"Learning *Haisla Nuuyum* through stories about traditional territory, feasting and lifestyles"

written by

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BSW, University of Victoria, 1998
MPA, University of Victoria, 2000

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Supervisory Committee

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Haisla Nuuyum is our way of life and laws and includes knowledge of place, seasons, weather, feasting, and oolichan fishing including cultural practices that are important to sustain our Nuuyum. Throughout this dissertation work, I examine whether our Nuuyum and its philosophical underpinnings can intertwine and have a productive relationship with contemporary forms of leadership and Chief and Council governance systems. I draw on old Haisla stories of place and identity to examine how they affirm our governing responsibilities within contemporary community leadership. I show how our cultural practices have been affected and have shifted through colonial encounters. I argue that despite the effects of colonialism, the philosophical underpinnings of our Nuuyum have remained at the core of who we are as a Haisla people. This dissertation work is a compilation of published articles and as such, is organized thematically. I introduce each article to weave together the elements of Nuuyum.

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Preface

As a student and now as an Associate Professor in the School of Social Work, I have recognized the importance of incorporating Haisla Nuuyum into my academic teaching, writing and research. Throughout my PhD studies, I have journeyed through Haisla stories and translated these stories into published articles. In 2008, I published an article entitled *Reclaiming Haisla Ways: remembering oolichan fishing*. This article articulates traditional teachings, Haisla creation story and our relationship to oolichan fishing. In 2009, I revisited this article and analyzed these stories to look at how these Haisla accounts could inform social work practice. My analysis of this story resulted in a chapter entitled *Decolonizing social work practice through Oolichan Fishing.* These two articles and analyses offered me a renewed excitement and energy to continue through our stories to explore how Haisla traditional teachings could inform governance, well being, and leadership roles within my community. Since these two publications, I have submitted four additional articles for publication and am currently awaiting confirmation of acceptance from publishers[1].

This dissertation work is a compilation of published and in-press articles that express and exemplify my commitment to examine how Nuuyum can manifest and enrich not only my scholarship, but my leadership and my own journey to becoming a Haisla Elder. Throughout my writing, my overarching query is: "how can I learn our Nuuyum?" and, "how can I learn to re-teach our Nuuyum to my children, other children, and other young people in my community?" The question about learning our Nuuyum involves many epistemic and ethical factors such as: what stories are important to hear?; why are they important for me?; who will I ask?; and who

[1] Throughout this dissertation work, I will preface each article with publisher information.

gets to learn these stories? Over the last few years, I have mulled over what questions to ask and how I wished to write this PhD.

My approach to writing these scholarly papers is to weave together Haisla ontologies, epistemologies and academic experiences into a compilation of published papers. To this end, I critically analyze how these life histories could inform the manifestation of Haisla Nuuyum within contemporary governance and leadership. Given the historical and contemporary effects of assimilation policies and practices to our Indigenous Way of Life, I have been very cautious throughout my storying about how I write into what cultural practices are and how I re-interpret them. My intentions of writing about our Nuuyum were to examine methods for preserving Haisla way of life and to look at methods to transform specific philosophies from our Nuuyum into contemporary governance and leadership.

Throughout this body of work, I will introduce each article and the place of publication. Although each article was submitted separately to different publishers, all articles have been compiled as my PhD dissertation manuscript. In total, I include the following six published articles for this body of work:

1. Noosa – A Haisla Paradigm of Sacred Storying: "Learning diverse and sacred cultural practices – ethically?"
2. Reclaiming Haisla Ways: Remembering oolichan fishing
3. Transforming our Nuuyum: Contemporary Indigenous Leadership and Governance
4. Spirituality, Faith Affiliations and Indigenous People's Experiences of Citizenship
5. Haisla Nuuyum: Cultural conservation and regulation methods within traditional fishing and hunting
6. Gyawaglaab (helping one another): Best practices through teachings of oolichan fishing

I start with *Noosa – A Haisla Paradigm of Sacred Storying: Learning diverse and sacred cultural practices – ethically?"* as this article provides a framework for understanding Haisla storying. Noosa is a framework by which I have heard and experienced Haisla Nuuyum. Throughout the six articles you will note such repetitions as Haisla protocol, acknowledgment of territory and about my cultural teachers. Each acknowledgement and protocol is reflective of the objectives of the story and storytellers. Each article articulates that the stories shared with me are one story and one teaching. In this, I articulate the importance of knowing and respecting the diversity of varying Indigenous (Haisla[2]) practices. Moreover, each article alerts readers that this cultural knowledge is our Haisla experience. Although each article has its own academic and cultural objectives such as storying, feasting, cultural teachings – I include how colonial processes and practices are woven into each accounts.

Next, I introduce *Reclaiming Haisla Ways: Remembering oolichan fishing* which introduces readers to our creation or existence story. Our people are known as oolichan fishers and this article introduces oolichan fishing processing and the significance of oolichans to Haisla peoples. I move on to introducing *Transforming our Nuuyum: contemporary Indigenous leadership and governance* as the article provides readers with rich description and analysis of our historical landscapes and the stories that occupy these places. This article provides readers with a detailed overview of the philosophical leadership and governance within feasting. Knowledge of Haisla places and feasting systems are essential to understanding, learning and re-teaching Haisla Nuuyum. Knowing our creation and historical places, I then move to introducing our cultural practices. Here, I introduce *Spirituality, Faith Affiliations and Indigenous People's Experiences of Citizenship*. This article provides an overview about the importance of respectful

[2] There are diverse indigenous practices and within Haisla territory, there are diverse Haisla teachings according to family and clan.

relationships to land, animals and the Spirit world. I also include in this article aspects of how colonial law attempted to dismantle ways in which we are taught to be in relation to all living things. My next article *Haisla Nuuyum: Cultural conservation and regulation methods within traditional fishing and hunting* discuss critical and sacred practices essential for fishing and hunting conservation. This article includes stories about sacred rituals and ceremonies that include the fisher and hunters entire family. I conclude this dissertation work with the article g*yawaglaab (helping one another) best practices through teachings of oolichan fishing* which illustrates ways in which our Nuuyum teaches our people to help and work with one another. Gyawglaab is a notion that reminds us to take a moment and make sure that others around us are not struggling. In this sense, Gyawglaab is the Haisla philosophy I draw upon as a reminder that in order for our people to continue to enhance and strengthen our Nuuyum, it is important to 'help one another' to move beyond and through colonial acts that have attempted to destroy our existence.

Throughout this dissertation work, I have learned that our Nuuyum is buried in the souls and hearts of our old people and elders. I recognize that our Nuuyum is the heart and strength of our nation and that it is essential to re-learn and re-generate these values, beliefs and philosophies for future generations. Within each article I include my own thoughts of what and how to return to living our Nuuyum. I provide questions to evoke critical thought about each of our roles in embracing and centering Haisla Nuuyum philosophies. I conclude this body of work with sharing my 'breakwater' story. I draw on the breakwater as an analogy that signifies our generation of people as the bridge between dismantling and un-learning colonial forces while at the same to re-generating cultural knowledge. I indicate that through feasting, our Nuuyum will

continue to transpire and weave in notions of our places, identities and cultural practices. Through Noosta, we can continue to strengthen our Nuuyum.

Haisla Terminology

Hemas – Male Chief
Moosmagilth – Female Chief(s)
Moogilth – Female Chief
Knewq – I am
Guukulu – Our Haisla people
Gwelude – Indigenous people like us (Nisgaa, Tsmishian, Lekwungen, Yukon)
Haisla – Kitamaat Village
Kuqwajeequas – within Haisla territory
Xanaxiyala – Kemano
Kitselas – one village in Tsmishian territory
Huncleesela – First Haisla person in our territory
Nuuyum – Haisla way of life and our laws
Noosa – space for storytelling and learning
Noosta – share another story
Diditkala – teaching a way of life: caring for baby; rituals during grief; feasting protocols
Daditkala – you have been taught; you know and live the teachings
Gyawaglaab – helping one another
Uss – Indian ice-cream; soap berries
Tspa – to dip our (*Toloss*) dried fish in oolichan grease
Oolichans – also known as za'Xw en
Kqlateeh – oolichan grease
Aghingt – herring eggs
Xklucas – seaweed
Taqka – funnel nets
Dukqwa – stinging needles
Denuc - cedar
Smigatsk – boiler bins for making oolichan grease
Aixgwellas – see you soon
Wa – thank you

Acknowledgments

It has been such a wonderful and exciting time to remember, gather and re-tell stories of Haisla Nuuyum. I am grateful to my parents, Kgal askq touwq, Ray Green and Bakk jus moojilth Mary Green for teaching and directing me about how to 'learn' and how to 'live' our Nuuyum. This dissertation is a result of what you have taught me, how you taught me and the generous love and guidance you provided me so that I can 'learn' and 'live' our Nuuyum. Thank you for lifelong teachings!

I am grateful to all my, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces, and nephews who joined us for dinner to Noosa. Since I moved away from home to pursue my studies, my Aunt Sarah and my Uncle Dan have played such an important role in how I prepared and how I studied and learned Haisla Nuuyum. To Auntie Sarah, Uncle Dan and my parents, you are my PhD teachers, leaders and you are essential to my academic committee throughout my study.

I want to acknowledge my academic professors and colleagues for your guidance of how to translate, re-interpret and re-tell Haisla Nuuyum into publishable articles. I appreciate the space within the University to examine how Nuuyum teachings could inform contemporary leadership within academe and community. Importantly, I appreciate my committee members for taking time to travel to my territory so that I can defend this body of work among my people within my territory and within our feast hall! *Wa!* I am thankful to Dr. Peter Cole for accepting the invitation to witness my work. I appreciate your contribution to my work academically and spiritually. *Wa!*

Of course, this work cannot be completed without the support of family and friends. Thank you to my very precious friends who spent hours re-reading my work, talking through my

thoughts, assisting me to re-interpret Haisla Nuuyum into English text –*Wa!* to fairn herising and Roshni Narain for your generosity in friendship and love. Thank you to my colleagues Robina and Mehmoona for your encouragement and support as I navigated through my writing, as I changed my mind, and for talking me through the many times I felt like giving up *Wa!*

A very big appreciation and love to my girls Rosie and Lisa for all the support you provided as I endeavoured to pursue post secondary education. We left our home, family and friends to start this new life in *Lekwungen* territory and you both stood beside me during my studies and new career– I love you big much! And of course to all my little babies – Dakota, Nizhonie, Jordanna, Dallas, Sienna – this work is for you as you grow and pursue higher education. I appreciate all the messages, visits, hugs and phone calls from my other children, Barb, Sonny and little Jada. To my brothers Ray Jr and Andrew, I loved that every time I went home, we Noosa'd; we worked on sockeye and learned together from mom and dad – love you! I not only want to acknowledge my partner in life, Naadli, Todd Ormiston, but I want to congratulate you as well – we were on this PhD journey together and we made it!

Dedication

First of all, I want to pay tribute to my grandparents and ancestors for living, teaching and showing us the importance of our Nuuyum!

I dedicate this body work to all the young people within our territories!
I dedicate this to our upcoming Haisla Scholars

Noosa – A Haisla Paradigm of Sacred Storying "Learning diverse and sacred cultural practices – ethically?"

Acknowledgements

Hemas – Moosmagilth! Gukulu – Ungwa! hkenuuk kundokq, hkenuuk helkinew, hkenuuk xanaksiyala, kitselas, haisla. Wuh, Lekwungen and Esquimalt

I want to acknowledge the Elders, Chiefs and Ancestors of this beautiful territory. I want to thank the keepers of this territory of where we are working, studying and playing.

I want to acknowledge and thank my storytellers, my cultural teachers, my parents, my children, my babies, my family members, friends and colleagues for sharing stories with me and thank you for hearing my stories.

Introduction to Article

I chose to place this Noosa article first as it illustrates the framework by which I have heard stories for this dissertation work. I also illustrate in this article the diverse methods of knowledge, practice and sacred teachings. I show through Noosa that Indigenous researching or searching is a lifelong and complex process that is experiential and storied. This article provides readers with diverse (borrowed) cultural knowledges and westernized research methods that I weave together to illustrate that knowledge searching from a Haisla space is multifaceted. In this 'weaved[3]' analysis, I show how Noosa is a space of which I *could* refer to as a Haisla research paradigm. I do however, show that to learn, analyze and re-share 'knowledge' or 'cultural teachings' we do this within a Noosa space which is shared searcher and learner space and that knowledge becomes a story that continues to transpire throughout time and place.

[3] I often use the term 'weaved' – this word brings together the words 'weave' and 'woven' together and signals that the past and present are inextricably linked and the connections between Indigenous peoples and western/colonial powers. 'Weaved' does not reflect a future tense or orientation.

Throughout this work, I emphasize the importance as educators and cultural leaders to find methods of sharing and learning spaces for our people who have been forcefully removed from their families and communities. In this sense, I reference Noosa as a space to explore how respectful teachings can be 'shared' and 'learned'. Throughout this article, I include our practice of 'Noosta" which are posed as questions to encourage readers to think about methods or approaches that would enhance their own research experience. My intentions in this article are to demonstrate and live Noosa and Noosta within this written text. The two storytellers and teachers who have supported me throughout this dissertation work are my uncle Dan and aunt Sarah.

Figure 1 Chief G'psgolox, Uncle Dan Paul, Aunt Liza and Aunt Sarah

This article was submitted to:

Canadian Journal of Native Education: Indigenous Education Institute of Canada. UBC Faculty of Education. 2013 Theme issue: "Indian Control of Indian Education – 40 years later"

Introduction

This article is a journey with Indigenous researching. Specifically, this article attempts to take up Indigenous researching through and with my Haisla cultural teachings: *Haisla Nuuyum*[4]. What excites and interests me is how to simultaneously learn and take up my cultural teachings and effectively re-teach our Haisla Nuuyum. As Haisla peoples, we are taught our Nuuyum through 'Noosa'; Noosa refers to and means a space for learning, teaching and re-teaching. In Noosa, when the learner or listener desires further teachings they say 'Noosta', which translates to, 'teach or share more'. As such, this paper will demonstrate the doing and living of Noosa within this writing and Noosta will be demonstrated with varying questions throughout this paper[5]. I realize that such an endeavour to learning, teaching and living our Nuuyum is challenging to reinterpret and translate into text and English; however, I want to examine how and if academic methods for research could be 'weaved' into learning Haisla Nuuyum.

In part, this project is inspired by a contemporary dilemma that I see facing our community and that may have a detrimental effect on our community: many of our people live away from Haisla territory, yet our cultural teachers and knowledge-bearers live within our home territory. This led me to wonder how I would teach my children our Nuuyum if we don't live near our home.

In this query, I thought about the post- secondary courses I have taken, the different professional development activities to enhance my academic scholarly role in the university and how these institutional teachings have prepared me to become a tenured professor. In each

[4] Translates into Haisla way of life and laws.

[5] Preparation for this article involves spiritually and ceremoniously preparing to share, to learn; unlearn and re-learn. In this, the writing and articulation of Noosa includes Haisla epistemologies, ontology's and weaved intensities when hearing stories.

of these projects, I have been cognisant of the diverse Indigenous epistemologies, histories and identities. I have learned to shift my writing and analyses to not only engage this diversity, but to also reflect on how colonial regimes have and continue to affect how our people identify themselves as Indigenous peoples. (Absolon, 2011; Archibald, 2008; Turner, 2006)

Throughout my experiences of meeting and working with people from diverse backgrounds, I see the discomfort among our people about how to ask for cultural teachings. This discomfort, I believe, comes from our knowledge about sacred teachings and the importance to keep this knowledge sacred. I hold the notion of 'sacred' to mean intimate specific cultural teachings that are kept within Clan, Ceremony, family or community. I respect these tenets of sacred teachings, but I also am curious about how we learn these teachings in an effort to keep them alive and active for future generations. Within these complex negotiations, I am also curious about how we share cultural teachings with our people who have been forcefully removed from their families and communities. I wonder about the children who have non Indigenous parents and how they may come to understand their traditions and teachings. There are many non-Indigenous people who are strong allies for Indigenous movements – how do we engage them in cultural learning or do we engage them at all? In this paper, I examine some methods for learning sacred cultural teachings in a manner that is respectful to Indigenous teachings.

I have proposed this research query for a few reasons. One, I am interested in ongoing dialogue about finding methods to share cultural teachings and ceremonies for people who have not had the opportunity to learn or be around culture. Second, those of us who grew up in our communities and with our families did not necessarily grow up understanding the full extent of cultural living, teachings or ceremonies. Last, I am curious about how we respect diverse

cultural teachings (as educators and cultural teachers) and how do we respectfully engage learners and students to learn about these diverse teachings and sacred ceremonies. Further, I remain concerned for Indigenous people who are aware they are Indigenous but are not connected to their indigeneity, yet express a deep desire to re-connect and learn cultural practices.

In Haisla Nuuyum, we teach and learn cultural practices through Noosa. I will use Noosa as searching space (paradigm) to critically think through the learning and re-teaching of sacred cultural practices. Noosa translates into "hearing stories" – a practice that determines *when* stories are heard and *who* shares stories. This paper will explore how Noosa can be thought of as a research framework to gather sacred stories (data), to learn what do with the stories (analysis) and how to re-tell these stories (dissemination or knowledge mobilization). Within the framework of Noosa, what becomes clear is how Noosa also offers an ethical framework and guide for research (ers).

Why Noosa is necessary for re-learning and re-teaching

In contrast to scholarly work, each time I return home to my community, it is my obligation and responsibility to contribute to cultural practices. More recently, I have also been expected to assist in a leadership role – a role for which I often feel unprepared. This expectation led me to consider what I know about our Nuuyum and wonder if I knew enough cultural teachings to share with my children. I contemplated on what kind of an elder I would be and if I had enough knowledge to offer others. These thoughts brought me to a place of asking my parents how I might learn our Nuuyum. I learned from my parents that Noosa is a living practice of storying. Although I grew up understanding the substance or essence of our

Nuuyum and learned how to respect these cultural practices, I was not familiar with all that Noosa entailed.

In Haisla language, family advisors and/or teachers are referred to as *diditkala,* which means teaching a way of life, customs and/or rules[6]. *Daditkala* means you have been taught, and/or you have been shown the teachings. For example, we are taught that when there is a death we have to stay still; we stay at home and do not participate in events where there is a lot of loudness and activity – such as a dance or sport activity. We are told to respect the families as they mourn and the ancestors who are waiting for the deceased to make their journey to the Spirit world. We are told and taught to cry when the grieving families cry, to laugh when they laugh and to go through each emotion with the family while at the same time supporting them. When we see young people in the community who are exhibiting these behaviours and actions, the older people will say *daditkala*, they were taught. Although *diditkala* translates into 'teaching moments', it does not provide 'storying space' like Noosa does.

I will show how Noosa has its own specific attributes and elements that contribute to knowledge creation more broadly. On one hand, I am excited to forge this analysis with a Haisla worldview, on the other hand, I worry that western academic language may take away essential cultural teaching principles in relation to our Nuuyum and Noosa as I reiterate our oral teachings through writing. My intent is to explore how Noosa and Noosta offer a Haisla epistemological space to conduct research, and importantly, how they provide a cultural space for sharing and disseminating Indigenous cultural and sacred knowledges. Within a Noosa space/paradigm, when the storyteller is done sharing a story and if a listener wants to hear more of the story, they would say "noosta"; this means the storyteller will proceed with the same

[6] This terms has many translations, including: teaching a way of life; teaching about fishing or hunting; teaching about our feasting protocols; or, teaching about family lineage.

story, or will share another story, or will ask another person who is present to share a story. In this notion of noosta, and of significance to the research paradigm and process, knowledge is conceptualized through ongoing, open and reciprocal dialogue within a Noosa space. Depending on what story or experience is shared, those involved in Noosa in that particular time and place transform the Noosa experience into a dialogue that could lead to finding an answer. Answers may emerge in that moment, or be experienced later in life or through another experience at a different place, with different people or through a different story. This experience of Noosa illustrates that within varying research approaches, attaining cultural knowledge does not necessarily transpire within a specific research phase. Within the Noosa framework, learning transgresses and transcends both space and time. In this way, we come to understand research not as a fixed entity where knowledge is bound in time and space; rather, Noosa demonstrates that learning through stories is a lifelong and repetitive experience and process.

An important aspect in conceptualizing this research approach was to reflect on the cultural teachers instrumental in teaching me different methods of learning and living cultural practices. I also reflected on different Indigenous scholars who forged through institutional ideologies and processes to create space in the academy so that we could situate and center Indigenous research epistemologies and methodologies. From these reflections and my experience, I have learned the importance of being open minded to diverse cultural practices and teachings. I have gained an appreciation for the varied Indigenous pedagogical approaches to incorporating cultural knowledge and practice into curriculum. Based on these intersecting experiences, I recognize the importance of understanding my own cultural teachings for building, contributing and enhancing Indigenous research frameworks. As an interactive, living

research experience, I will explore how Noosa can contribute to diverse Indigenous research approaches.

Borrowed teachings – research and sharing cultural and sacred practices

In this section, I want to share personal experiences about participating in cultural ceremonies and practices that are outside of Haisla Nuuyum. As a learner and educator, I have benefitted by exploring methods for hearing and re-teaching cultural knowledges; within the scope of research, these experiences are relevant in providing me with cultural learning opportunities that are other than my own. Experiencing these cultural practices taught me how to be silent, how to observe, and how to be respectful and open-minded to other practices. As a learner, each cultural teacher assisted me through their ceremony and cultural practices. They reminded me to 'sit with the teaching' and to critically think through how or if their teaching was relevant to me spiritually, emotionally, physically and mentally. I was told and taught that I can adjust the cultural teaching to reflect who I am and how I want to share and/or live with this teaching. I was uncomfortable at times, because I felt that I was betraying cultural teachings from my clan and family. However, due to the generosity of my cultural teachers/friends and family who shared their teachings with me, I learned that philosophies of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, accountability, honor, and love are core and common attributes within our various cultural teachings. By using borrowed teachings, and understanding the respectful ways by which to use these teachings, I learned the importance of understanding the distinct cultural practices. In particular, I have come to understand that respecting diversity in ceremonial teachings broadens our ability to transform cultural experiences into multiple and differing epistemological and research approaches.

Having shared this personal account of borrowed teachings, I also want to caution learners that within sacred and/or cultural spaces, it is important to know and understand when *one does not apply or re-teach these ceremonial experiences. Knowing when to not appropriate cultural teachings* requires a necessary connection to understanding diverse Indigenous holistic practices. For example, if you are participating in a smudge ceremony or working within medicine wheel teachings and you do not intuitively understand and/or feel and respect the teaching shared, then it is respectful and important that you keep the experience in your heart and not re-teach these knowledges.

Cree teachings

A few years ago, a Cree Elder was visiting his nephew who worked in our community. During his visit in our territory, he offered us the opportunity to engage in a smudging ceremony, smoke a sacred pipe and participate in a sweat lodge. At that time in my life, I believed that these cultural practices were not what our people in the Northwest coast of British Columbia participated in, so I declined to be involved in these ceremonial practices. After rejecting many invitations to engage in these ceremonies, this Cree elder asked me why I would not participate. I shared with him that these cultural practices are not practiced in this territory. He then asked me what my cultural practices were. I could not answer him. At that time I did not know what ceremonies our people practiced except for the following: I was aware of and participated in our feasting system and I was familiar with the customs when one of our people journeyed into the Spirit world. After discussing my worries about participating in a 'different' cultural practice, the elder gifted me with the ceremonies for smudging, smoking a sacred pipe and participating in a sweat lodge. He told me that I could borrow these teachings until I learned more about our Haisla Nuuyum ceremonies. He related to me that our cultural

teachings were intended to be taught and shared with others. The Cree elder taught me how to be open to the gift of ceremony. He said that ceremonial teachings are generous and that I could borrow his gift of ceremonial teachings until I learned how to practice our Haisla ceremonies. As I began to learn about the cultural practices for Haisla people, I came to realize that we hold similar philosophies to the smudge, sweat lodge or pipe ceremonies. The distinction was that our philosophies are *practiced* differently. I learned from this ceremonial experience that, although I was uncomfortable participating in another ceremonial practice, the ceremony itself re-affirmed and grounded me spiritually as a leader.

Anishnabe and Ojibway teachings

My second experience of being gifted with a cultural practice that is not my own is from two professors who are *Anishnabe Kwe* and *Ojibway*. These two professors draw upon pedagogical approaches that center sharing circles and medicine wheel philosophies in the classroom. I learned through their medicine wheel teachings how to incorporate aspects from each direction (the eastern, southern, western and northern directions). In each direction there are varying components depending on who you are, who your cultural teacher is and how you interpreted medicine wheel philosophies. Both of my professors started each class with a smudge and used a talking circle rather than a lecture or seminar approach. Fisher River scholar, Dr. Michael Hart in his book *Seeking Mino-Pimatisiwin: An Aboriginal Approach to Helping* (2002) writes about circle pedagogies and states:

> The atmosphere of the sharing circles that I participated in must be highlighted as a reflection of the types of relationships present through the process. For the most part, in each of these sharing circles the atmosphere was one of mutuality and support. While everyone was encouraged to benefit from what was shared,

> they also were supported to share their own contributions through their presence, what they had to say and what they expressed emotionally. (p 83)

As a new post secondary student at the time, it was inconceivable to me that this type of classroom teaching could happen. I remember feeling 'at home' with their teaching style in these classes and was comforted in hearing accounts of Indigenous histories and cultural practices throughout the directions of the medicine wheel and sitting in circle using a talking feather. Stó:lō Scholar, Q'um Q'um Xiiem, Dr. Jo-ann Archibald (2008) wrote about methods for centering Indigenous knowledges and Indigenous ways of knowing within academe. In her book *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the heart, mind, body and spirit,* she affirms, "…students' responses indicate that we need to bring back story-telling in ways that respectfully and responsibly resonate with the cultural community of the students" (p 131). As students, this circle and storying method offered each student (Indigenous and non Indigenous) in the classroom the space and time to hear diverse experiences and knowledge about the distinct and interconnected histories of Indigenous peoples. This pedagogy allowed a space to share our meaning making of our varied worldviews. In circle, if and when questions were sought, the classroom did not stop to respond directly to the question, but continued with the use of a talking feather. In circle pedagogy we come to learn that often, our answers are answered by what another student shares when they hold the feather.

My experiences from other cultural teachers taught me to embrace my quest to learning our Nuyuum. These cultural teachers were patient with me. They also recognized that in my community there is a strong presence of cultural practices that armed our people to sustain themselves during colonial encroachments. In Haisla territory, our cultural practices have been affected by a number of factors, including the expansion of an aluminum smelter built within

our territory[7]. Missionaries and state laws also prohibited our people to live according to Haisla Nuuyum (Helin, 2006, p 97). As I reflect back on my experiences of learning cultural practices other than my own, I realize that given so many of our cultural practices have been 'put to sleep[8]' or 'buried within the souls of our elders', the cultural teachers who I have met illustrate to me the generosity and necessity for awakening and sharing our cultural teachings.

As I am writing and thinking through notions of 'borrowed teachings' and how to share and learn ceremonial and sacred teachings in a respectful manner, I pose some general questions that guide my considerations for ethical exchange of cultural teachings and sacred practices: *Noosta!*

1. How do we share or teach cultural teachings with other Indigenous peoples?
2. How and where do we find ways to learn and ask respectful questions about cultural sacred practices?

An impact of colonization is its effect on the processes of how we learn cultural practices and how we ask questions about ceremonies. Q'um Q'um Xiiem, Archibald (2008) states:

> Indigenous stories have lost much educational and social value due to colonization, which resulted in weak translations from Aboriginal languages to English, stories shaped to fit a Western literate form, and stories adapted to fit a predominantly Western education system. The translations lose much of the original humour and meaning and are misinterpreted and/or appropriated by those who don't understand the story connections and cultural teachings. I did

[7] The town of Kitimat is a company town developed for the building of an Aluminum smelter, Alcan, now known as Rio Tinto.

[8] I often refer to 'put to sleep' or 'buried in their souls' because, I believe our cultural teachings were not conquered or eradicated, but that our people refrained from practicing them due to the criminalization of being Indians. Charlotte Coté (2010) speaks throughout her book how her mother buried stories in her memory and soul.

> not want to perpetuate this loss. Instead, I wanted to find a way to respectfully place First Nations stories within the academic and educational mileux. (p 7)

Q'um Q'um Xiiem expresses how cultural knowledges have been weakened, due to colonialism, while I agree, I also wish to express the importance of re-awakening these teachings through storying and re-storying. Throughout my experience with different Indigenous academic programs, I have witnessed the importance of drawing upon sacred teachings and/or cultural practices as a foundation to enhance Indigenous education. As educators I am curious about how we speak to and/or work with diverse cultural practices in a 'good way'[9]. An important step would be to re-search our own historical and cultural practices. (Absolon, 2011; Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2009) I am interested in broadening my scholarship to include a specific research methodology that will provide space for the determination of our people to learn Indigenous sacred and cultural teachings. To do so, I will draw on Noosa as a starting place.

Understanding storying

In varying Indigenous research paradigms, storying is a common approach for conducting research. Storying can be all, or some of the varying aspects within a research paradigm such as: story as a methodology; an analysis; or as frameworks. Storying is a multi-faceted method that provides space for the 'participant' and the 'researcher' to dialogue about a research topic. Because there can be many diverse aspects within a storying method, storying is and can be an important and critical space for learning cultural teachings. For example, storying could lead to reframing the research question, methodology and analysis throughout the

[9] I use this term to denote, respectful, honorable and ethical. A lot of times, I hear relatives, Elders and old people reference cultural or ceremonial work done 'in a good' way. Often, I hear educators use this term, in dialogue, I understand this to mean ethical and respectful work.

research process. Or, in the research, storying could be used as concluding remarks about how to be cognizant and accepting of when another story emerges rather than concluding research with specific recommendations. As I reflect on this experience with my Cree, Anishnabe and Ojibway teachers, I appreciate they knew that through the experiences and stories they shared with me, my quest for learning Haisla teachings would emerge through my own experiences and storying.

Weaving in westernized critical approaches

Anti-oppressive/anti-colonial/anti-racist are theoretical frameworks that have been used within institutions for centering Indigenous knowledges and practices[10] while at the same time forging varying notions of social justice for diverse groups of people and practices (Brown & Strega, Eds. 2005). As we endeavour to decolonize our mind, body and spirit within institutes, anti-oppressive theories provide paradigms not only to decolonize, but to centre and respect diverse Indigenous knowledges. In this sense, engaging social justice for Indigenous research is to center practices relevant to diverse knowledges and in many instances, storying is a common method to re-learn, re-claim and re-live culture. In these critical theoretical spaces, Indigenous peoples conceptualize *for* themselves and *by* themselves through specific storying approaches for enhancing cultural knowledges within their/our communities.

From an Indigenous research perspective, social justice includes using 'storying' as place for sacred knowledge to emerge and be in the forefront of academic research practices. Storying requires openness and respect to learning diverse knowledges and practices, including

[10] Although there are many critical thinkers who draw upon critical theories – these are predominantly conducted within academia or other mainstream institutional settings. An Indigenous worldview, framework or perspective typically begins by centering Indigenous perspective, such as situating Haisla Nuuyum at the onset. In this sense, our communities do not reference anti oppressive or anti racist or anti colonial theories, rather, our people reference who we are, where we are located and cultural laws and knowledge from that place.

weaving of history and place; in this weaving, the social justice that emerges is a unified front that can result in societal change for Indigenous peoples. The importance of these Indigenous research paradigms are threefold: first, they center diverse Indigenous knowledges[11], thereby shifting its subordinated and marginalized status within academic research; second, they offer a critical and analytical space to decolonize our own research space; and third, they provide for 'seven generational philosophies', in which research methods offer findings and direction for future generations. In this, as an Indigenous researcher, the research framework will be reflective of your/my knowledge and understanding of place and the stories that belong to these places (epistemology). Within our own analysis of our research frameworks, and through our own experiences within storying, we then learn how to apply our specific research framework such as Noosa (ontology). Finally, through our own diverse cultural teachings, we then learn specific methods for re-telling stories or teachings, which are not only for dissemination, but also offers a process by which we preserve stories, and teachings. These aims secure a visionary approach to research thereby a method for weaving and broadening the scope of Indigenous research.

Centering Indigenous knowledges and traditions within research paradigms does not preclude associations or deny a resonance with other non-Indigenous research paradigms. Anishnabe scholar, Minogiizhigokew, Kathleen Absolon, in her book *Kaandossiwin: Coming to Know* (2011) writes about complexities as Indigenous searchers within academe. She states:

> Knowledge quests and knowledge searchers are all around us. Indigenous peoples have always had means of seeking and accessing knowledge. Yet, Indigenous searchers are usually caught in the context of colonial theories and

[11] Within a non Indigenous academic or other institutional setting, we will center an Indigenous epistemology. In reference to 'diverse' Indigenous peoples, I will center Haisla Nuuyum.

> methodologies. We tend to spend a lot of time there while compromising the development of our own knowledge. (p 23)

Indeed, in an effort to examine the complex, inter- and multi-generational effects of colonization in Indigenous people's lives, it is necessary to advance interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary frameworks and methods to unravel the layers of injustice that Indigenous people experience and confront daily.

Weaving in participatory action research

One such method that provides a research and social justice space for storying (learning and teaching) is participatory action research (PAR). PAR is a method that attempts to centralize and be inclusive of participant voices in order to provide experiential knowledge about a specific research agenda. This research paradigm is particularly viable within and for Indigenous communities as it has the potential to reflect and include knowledge systems from the telling of cultural practices, cultural teachers, to Elders including to those who participate in learning cultural knowledge and practices. Sanders and Munford (2009) use PAR to illustrate the importance of including additional people, places or ecological surroundings to enhance and broaden the scope and knowledge of the research project. They state, "active engagement with research participants with ecological perspectives requires consideration not only for the person, but also other people in his/her life, groups and the context in which the person functions" (p 78). Issues of voice and inclusion have profound epistemological implications because they cut to the heart of our beliefs about how knowledge is created and whose interests it serves (cited by Crotty, 1998 in Saunders and Munford, p 79). PAR is one approach that has been utilized within academia for including and centralizing voices of Indigenous peoples. Additionally, there is space in PAR to provide a sense of 'ownership' of knowledge in that

participants play a key role in guiding how the research should unfold, identifying key aspects to the research process and voice their suggestions for dissemination of findings. As such, for Indigenous research, PAR is a flexible and critical framework to include research space for hearing oral accunts and cultural practices.

While the intent of Indigenous research is to center Indigenous knowledges, it is critical to understand when and how to weave in aspects about the ways in which colonialism has affected how we know and understand cultural knowledgs today. For example, in my own storying, I have heard accounts of my great grandmother who witnessed Xanaksiyala as an untouched territory, without any colonial influence. My great grandmothers teachings were shared by my parents, and in this same storying, colonial acts such as residential school and industrial development was weaved into our Haisla life histories. Within Noosa, my story and my childrens stories simultaneously includes our Nuuyum and the experiences and effects of colonialism. For students and learners of Indigenous histories and cultures, storytelling is an essential framework to hear the story, to think through how the story was heard and interpreted, while at the same time reflecting on 'what,' 'how' or 'if' one includes the colonial story.

Contemplating westernized 'narrative' frameworks

Oral narratives is another institutional research framework that has been most effective for researching Indigenous histories of places and life histories. This approach creates spiritual and intellecutual space for the researcher to listen and hear oral acocunts of specific Indigenous places. Professor of Anthropology, Julie Cruikshank (1990; 1998) used this framework to write two books collectively with Elders Angela Sidney, Annie Ned and Kitty Smith on traditions and life stories of Athapaskan and Tlingit peoples. These three Elders had wanted to ensure that the young people in their territories would always have a way to learn about their histories. The

Elders were open to contemporary methods for documenting their life histories, allowing Cruikshank to publish their stories. In her book, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders (*1990) Cruikshank states, "several women independently suggest that I make a substansive contribution by working with their mothers or grandmothers recording life histories in a form that could be distributed to family members" (p 13). Cruikshank immersed herself in hearing the lifestories of elders; this eventually led to both men and women contributing to their own family cultural documentations (p 13). What I most appreciate about Cruikshank's work, in her capacity as an anthropologist, is how she shifted her research agenda. Her research intention was to interview and query about how the Klondike gold rush (1896 – 1998) and the building of the Alaskan highway have affected lives of Yukon First Nations people. The three elders she interviewed did not engage in her research agenda, instead, they persisted in telling Cruikshank their life histories. In the life stories shared, Cruikshank recognized the importance of narrative to include notions of landscapes, mythology, everyday events and continuity between generations (p 2). Importantly, Cruikshank noted, "Life history investigation provides a model for research...ongoing collaboration between interviewer and interviewee"(p 1). From this collaborative oral narrative, Cruikshank's work is acclaimed in academia and continually used for judicial processes in land claim disputes.

Cruikshank's work set the tone and method for upcoming researchers both within and outside legal institutions and discourses to use oral traditions to document community histories. Within the judiciary system, oral traditions were compared to westernized historicising, which in turn attempted to equate oral traditional practices to evidenced based history. Evidenced based history relies on objective researching to document the historical accounts of a specific

groups of Indigenous people. Cruikshank argues that once historical accounts are documented in a legal forum, the oral tradition then becomes stagnant, similar to court room evidence. Her discomfort in the comparison of this framework was how the term 'oral tradition' was defined and interpreted by the courts. For her, oral traditions and histories are old stories that continue to manifest in contemporary living. In a panel discussion hosted by the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, Cruikshank stated, "the oldest history-making is oral tradition, it's thousands of years old and it is a part of the production of history" (Cruikshank, 1999, p 2). For Cruikshank, oral traditions were not confined to 'written' evidence based information, but were accounts that illustrate histories that evolve, are re-newed and are remembered. In this sense, it is critical to further examine methods to illustrate the importance of oral accounts in westernized contemporary settings, especially if oral accounts are utilized to affirm inherent relationship and connection to varying landscapes.

To broaden the discussion of westernized research methods, I pose the following questions to ponder if these research paradigms/spaces are effective and respectful to Indigenous histories and experiences: *Noosta*!

1. In the spirit of re-learning and re-teaching, can westernized research frameworks provide effective researching space when learning sacred knowledges?
2. As Indigenous educators and cultural teachers, how do we contemplate in our spirit, the idea of documenting or publishing (disseminating) sacred teachings?

Contemplating westernized research methods

In the last decade and a half, as I have been studying and teaching within academia, I have drawn upon and learned many methods about how to conduct research in a manner that attempts not to create harm to the people and communities we study in. I learned very early how important research is to maintaining and enhancing knowledges within varying faculties, governments and institutions. I also learned very quickly that for Indigenous researching, there were gaps in how knowledge was searched out, analyzed and formalized. However, for many of these courses [in the last 15 years] there was limited literature that included or centered Indigenous knowledge. "What these texts lack is the attention to detail of the oral tradition" (Bauerele, 2003, p xix). However, at that same time, there was a substantial amount of books, journal articles and curriculum emerging by and from Indigenous scholars that were not given equal recognition or acknowledgement within the academy and various levels of government.

In my quest for research methods that would be reflective of Indigenous philosophies, I found that the western/non-Indigenous research methods most relevant in my work were PAR, anti oppressive and oral histories. These 'relative' or 'relational' methodologies provided paradigms to conduct research reflective of Indigenous peoples, territories, histories and identities. As a student 'researcher,' it was essential in my studies to understand westernized language, theories and methods as they relate to research. As an Indigenous person, it was important to learn westernized research methods in order to decolonize research that has historically harmed Indigenous peoples. I was able to conceptualize possibilities for westernized research methodologies to weave 'to' and 'within' an Indigenous research paradigm.

In my deliberations of westernized research methods, I was brought back to how our people experienced and understood their early encounters with settler people. I imagined the

strangeness of all the foreign languages, technologies and laws that our Elders had to quickly learn. I imagined Elders 'contemplating' settler attributes within Noosa, then discussing and in some cases deciding which settler elements they will adopt and how they would do this[12]. Similarly within Indigenous research paradigms, it was and is critical to contemplate 'what' westernized research is and what westernized aspects we could weave together. While it is essential to first and foremost begin our research within our own worldview, such as Haisla Nuuyum, it is also important to contemplate and or critically analyze other research frameworks that could enhance our research approach – if and when necessary. Within Indigenous worldviews and/or frameworks, there are many aspects that contribute to knowledge such as inclusion about knowledge of landscapes; weather; animals; spirit world; experiences and historical places (to name a few). Hence, within contemporary research approaches, not only do we center our worldview, epistemology or framework, we weave in experiences and encounters with settlers, which from my perspective, honors life histories and experiences of our ancestors and honors the resiliency and strength to maintaining their indigeneity while conceptualizing and negotiating the complex encounters with settler worldviews and their new laws.

It is also critical to consider what research means from 'our' Indigenous perspective in order to critically situate our Indigenous perspective about how western research attempted to re-define who and how our people were in nature. In other words, as Indigenous researchers we constantly decolonize and bring forward our narrative, our story, our Nuuyum. We continuously contemplate in our hearts, spirits and intellect how to engage aspects of 'research'

[12] In this sense, I am generous in how I state 'contemplating westernized attributes'. In early contact, most of our people were 'forced' to adapt to westernized living and in some cases penalized if they did not adapt. In hindsight, our people did think through and discuss how and what will shift within our Nuuyum. As is the case within contemporary institutions, by the very nature that research methods are written and reported, this is a method of how we adapt westernized aspects into an Indigenous research paradigm.

within an Indigenous paradigm. The result of our contemplating, unpacking and 'moving forward' from westernized research emphasizes the importance to learn and understand 'our' narratives and life stories from our diverse places as Indigenous peoples. In my quest for weaving diverse epistemologies, theories and research paradigms, I pose the following questions that potentially inform and/or position our research approach and intent: *Noosta!*

1. What are important elements of 'self' and 'cultural knowledge' when formulating Indigenous research frameworks?
2. Since each of our identities and histories with settler peoples are diverse and complex, what are inclusive frameworks that respect and enrich the complexities of our experiences as Indigenous peoples?

Adapting to these varying world views are at times demanding, relentless and exhausting. The exhaustion often stems from needing to persist in keeping the Indigenous worldviews paramount throughout the entire research process. Maintaining Indigenous worldviews is not the demanding part; it is the reinterpretation, translation and publication of Indigenous knowledges within a western framework and the need to make our research 'legible' for non-Indigenous peoples. For instance, Haisla Nuuyum encapsulates many philosophies about and attributes of Haisla people, identity, place, history and cultural practices. In addition to Haisla philosophies, there are diverse languages, cultural teachings and sacred ceremonial teachings. As an Indigenous researcher, it is challenging to respectfully capture notions of cultural or ceremonial teachings to weave with westernized ideologies in a manner that does not harm people. For example, learning and hearing accounts of our historical places and cultural teachings, I recognize the difficulty for my teachers to translate this knowledge from Haisla language into English. I see their uneasiness as they notice that English

translation does not capture the full account of the story or teaching. I have learned that I must stay attentive to their unease to ensure that I am able to convey our knowledges both respectfully and accurately. As a learner of cultural knowledge, I then am challenged to once again translate this same teaching into academic writing. In one sense, this historical account was shared through songs or dances, which in turn were passed on to younger generations. Or, they were preserved through totem poles, carved masks, button blankets or other forms of regalia. This form of knowledge was danced to, sang or seen through imagery. As a researcher, it is our responsibility to capture these forms of knowledge and respectfully, appropriately and effectively transform it into contemporary research reporting.

Hermeneutic framework that contemplates challenges and complexities

To further contextualize complexities within Indigenous research methods, Alex de Cosson, (2002) a professional sculptor and educator wrote about the aporia of the artist/researcher/teacher in an article "The Hermeneutic Dialogic: Finding Patterns Amid the Aporia of the Artist/Researcher/Teacher". I appreciate how he presents his article that illustrates the complexities of his research approach. He presents his narrative and analysis by using visual concepts such as pictures, large and/or coloured font, and text was aligned either to the left of right side of the paper. He referred to this style of writing to state the following:

> I feel the need to write to that sp(l)ace – to write to the learning that has taken place as I've struggled to hold the three hats of artist/researcher/teacher.
>
> I have learned how hard it is to stay amid these three, to stay afloat, with all in simultaneous motion. I'm teaching three courses, doing research, being *in* the aporia of my praxis - I (re) learned what I already know, what we all know. As

> artists, that art learning is an embodied practice learned through praxis. As a teacher of art I must always stay vigilant to this "knowing."
>
> As a teacher I am also reminded of the power of the student as "other," that without this "other" constantly reflecting back to me my (re) learning I am nothing. Without the "other" honoured as equal in the circling hermeneutic of learning and (re)learning) I will be grounded. (p. 24)

The hermeneutic paradigm allows for the researcher to be fully engaged as a learner through experiences, emotions and close connection to the research participants. Hermeneutic dialogue research comes across as potentially inclusive research that intersects the various complexities and allows for research space to adapt the 'unknown' to the research project. Similarly, storytelling methods adapt to the 'unknown' and can be interpreted as complex. Storying teaches the learner that the nature of the story cannot necessarily be interpreted in the moment it is told, but that the meaning of the story could occur immediately or later in life through another story, another experience or in a dream – like in our Noosa. A hermeneutic method is an interpretive tool utilized in helping to understand a concept and allows space for complexities to unfold in the research. In storying, the traditional teaching often links to principles in life about how to live, how to respect all living things and how to respect the Spirit world – all of which entail complexities of interpretation for research purposes. Storytelling methods are ancient frameworks; they hold ancestral knowledge, and storytelling was a way of life. There were no set guidelines about how to story tell, or who will story tell. While many of our stories, cultural practices and histories are entrenched within our regalia, totems, carved masks, songs and dances, I pose this question to think through how we capture the essence of our people and ancestors within our learning, searching and sharing: *Noosta!*

1. What are methods to maintain essential principles of ancient storying methods in our capacity as family, educators, researchers, community leaders?

Moving in – Indigenous research in academia

As westernized theories came under pressure to be more inclusive of marginal spaces and bodies, research implicating Indigenous peoples began to shift and Indigenous peoples started asserting Indigenous paradigms, knowledges, ethics and protocols within academia. These assertions include situating and centering of diverse research paradigms that include historical accounts, identity and cultural practices. Q'um Q'um Xiiem, Archibald (2008) in her quest to contemplate, situate and center stories states:

> I also wanted to demonstrate that Indigenous knowledge systems could be investigated from an Indigenous perspective with rigour acceptable to the academy. Along the way, I decided to focus on the topic of Indigenous stories, even though at the time I did not have a full appreciation of their power. (p. 5)

Indigenous students and academics continue to contemplate and transform research paradigms that draw on diverse worldviews and centers Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. Indigenous Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) is one of the earlier scholars to publish a book that centers Indigenous epistemologies in a research paradigm. Importantly, Smith and other Indigenous scholars such as Shawn Wilson (2008), Margaret Kovach (2009), and Kathleen Absolon (2011) highlight how stories, ceremonies, language, visions, complex histories and identities are essential within Indigenous research approaches. At the same time, scholars such as Taiaiake Alfred, (1999) Jo-anne Archibald, (2008) Marie Battiste, (2000) John Borrows, (2010) Gregory Cajete, (2004) Jeff Corntassel (2008), Oscar Kwagley, Patricia

Monture-Anges, (1999) are all forerunners in contributing and broadening the scope of Indigenous epistemology in western institutions. These diverse Indigenous epistemologies enrich the research agenda for new and upcoming Indigenous scholars. These Indigenous scholars forged the academic road and broke down institutional barriers so that upcoming scholars could begin, with less resistance, to approach research that is reflective and respectful of diverse Indigenous places. The "Tri-council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans" clearly states in its ethic criteria for research involving the First nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada, that methods must be respectful, inclusive, collaborative and reciprocal with Indigenous peoples and communities (http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/chapter9-chapitre9/ retrieved July 8, 2012).

Although Indigenous research protocols are affirmed in documents such as the above Policy Statement, there are still complex challenges in how to respectfully learn cultural teachings/ceremonies, provide an analysis of these ceremonies, and disseminate the knowledge appropriately. As I have noted earlier, there are significant numbers of Indigenous peoples who may not have access to information and knowledge of their communities, their traditions and ceremonies. There are several reasons: some have grown up outside of their communities through forced adoptions of Indigenous children. Those who have grown up in their communities might not be able to access their traditional Way of Life given the colonial history of Residential Schools, policies of assimilation and the criminalization of our spiritual ceremonies and traditional practices. For this reason, many of us may not necessarily have grown up understanding the full extent of cultural living, teachings or ceremonies.

Sharing sacred teachings through Noosa

Although research methods are progressing to becoming more respectful rather than harmful to Indigenous peoples, I remain curious about how we might provide cultural and sacred research, storying or life histories to our people in a 'sacred Indigenous way'. To examine sharing or teaching sacred knowledges, and in the spirit of *Noosta!* The following questions are intended to examine how we define 'sacred knowledges' including methods for teaching life histories and cultural practices. *Noosta!*

1) Who defines Indigenous methodology? Who governs what Indigenous methodologies are?
2) How do we as leaders reach out to and teach those of our people who grew up in our communities, but have internalized colonial worldviews?
3) How do we as leaders create time and space to teach sacred knowledge to our people who were forcefully removed from their families and communities through government forces?
4) As leaders, what can we do to be more accessible and open hearted to our people who are uncomfortable or afraid to ask about learning sacred teachings and ceremonies?

As a Haisla researcher, Noosa is how I define a sacred research methodology to discuss these questions. In Noosa, listeners or students engage in varying stories about a topic or question posed at the onset of Noosa. In Noosa, the analysis occurs in the diverse stories shared. Findings emerge from how one makes sense of the multiple stories shared. Or, findings could occur in another Noosa setting, or many years later, through another story or experience. Dissemination in a Noosa paradigm is for participants to organize and host their own Noosa.

Noosa can occur around the dinner table, while fishing or driving in the car. In earlier years, Noosa occurred while teaching how to fish, how to preserve food, when a baby was born or when there was a large gathering of family members enjoying a big bowl of *uss.*

> *Uss is known as soap berries or Indian ice cream. Soap berries are small berries that are preserved by either canning or freezing the berries. When a person wants to serve soap berries, they would mix the berries until it forms a whipped cream texture, then sugar is added and sometimes fresh fruit. Typically soap berries are served in one large bowl and everyone who is present shares from this bowl with their own spoons. While everyone is sharing soap berries, someone has an opportunity to share stories – to Noosa.*

Another place for *Noosa* is when we *tspa:*

> *For many coastal Indigenous communities' tspa translates into dipping your tolouus (fully dried fish) into oolichan grease. We tspa when we are out fishing, at the oolichan camp, or at home with family and/or visitors.*
> *Similar to having uss, there would put one or two bowls of klateex (oolichan grease) on the table and everyone present has their own tolouus to dip in the grease.*

Noosa can begin by a listener asking a specific question, or the storyteller could start Noosa by reminiscing about historical times about family, fishing/hunting processes or an event such as sports.

Theorizing Noosa

Throughout my studies, assignments and research projects, I often reflected on conversations and experiences from family who would share stories about how culture was once lived. Reflecting on these teachings and experiences, I continuously examine the stories and the teachings to understand if they can manifest within a research framework, pedagogical methods and/or analyses that reflect Indigenous philosophies. I was and am cautious of how I interpret and use the term 'analysis' because in our cultural practices, we do not analyze in the western sense – in other words, analysis is not about finding 'the' answer. Within Haisla

traditions, ‘analyze’ would refer to learning through living cultural practices. Thus, analysis is not static or bound in time; it is an active and vital form of knowledge production. Bauerle (2003) affirms this understanding of analysis:

> The majority of the texts I have read are not written with the care found in Crow oral tradition. The Western worldview, which involves a tendency to overanalyze, to see events as black and white, interferes with the Native worldview of interconnectedness and the understanding of how and why things are done. (p xix)

Stories and cultural practices are taught through experiential teaching from families and clans and in this, understanding cultural knowledge is emphasised through living and experiencing Haisla Nuuyum. My experiences within westernized forms of analyses often involve thinking through particular aspects of human nature and how one makes sense of these aspects. Analysis includes re-interpreting actions, breaking down aspects to understand processes, or breaking down each action and linking this action to an outcome or meaning. Hence, as I re-hear and learn through stories and cultural teachings, I am cautious of how much analysis I put towards cultural practices and teachings.

In the act of Noosa, there are different interpretations about time limits, anonymity, confidentiality, and ethics. Noosa can be a natural or organic occurrence that could happen during specific events, gatherings or traditional practice. The learner may see the opportunity when there are significant people gathered who are knowledgeable about a specific topic or practice. Or, the storyteller or cultural teacher may see that within the gathering of people (at dinner, or fishing, feasting) is an opportune time to Noosa. Noosa shows me that the utmost respect and care is taken into account for the listener and the storyteller. Both the listener and

the storyteller are bound in a relationship of reciprocity; they have the responsibility to be a respectful teacher and learner when knowledge is sought out. In storying, the question may not be answered directly, and/or in one particular story, and/or in the moment; rather, the answer may emerge, arrive or be illustrated through other stories and experiences in the learner's lifetime. "Looking to Indigenous traditional principles helps preserve the cultural power of stories and ensures that story pedagogy is educationally sound and beneficial" (Q'um Q'um Xiiem, Archibald, 2008, p. 138). In this way, I did not come to fully understand the Cree, Anishnabe or Ojibway teachings until later in life. As an educator, these 'other' cultural teachings provided me with stories and experiences about their specific cultural practices. Their cultural teachings remained a vital part of my life for many years until I felt confident in incorporating and applying my own familial cultural teachings within my scholarship.

As illustrated in a Noosa method, storytelling and teaching are not restricted to one central person. While a person is sharing a story, this story may resonate for another person in the room and remind them of a similar experience. Or, the story may remind them and link them to a different experience or story. Typically stories or teachings within a Noosa space resonate from experiences, dreams, fishing, hunting and often including humorous experiences. The use of humour by the story teller within Noosa often alleviates the seriousness in teaching sacred knowledges. Someone would lovingly be reminded of a mistake made or be given a nickname that would bring laughter to the discussion. Using these culturally-specific forms of humour in

Figure 2 Noosa in Kitwanga BC. Late, Uncle Herman, Mom, Dad, Aunt Carol

teaching becomes a vehicle by which to bring together both the intellect and the emotion in Noosa, thus simultaneously nurturing and affirming the mind, heart and spirit.

Living Noosa

In one of my experiences in Noosa, I was visiting with my parents, my uncle, my children and other relatives. In Noosa, uncle was sharing stories about when they lived in Kemano. He told stories about my dad and how they often got into mischief and were always corrected by their grandmother. They would laugh because as young boys, they thought they outwitted their grandmother. They told stories about many places where they fished and who fished with them and about how hard the work was during those fishing times. There was laughter. My mom told a story about where her mom fished and how her mom shared her catch with 'the entire village[13]'. Often the stories were about how granny fished by herself. Mom shared about how much granny loved the waters, nature and granny always thought about who she would share her fish with. Uncle spoke again and continued with his story about Kemano and their activities as young boys. There was a pause, and my little grandson said *Noosta!* Everyone was surprised that he engaged in Noosa, and so with great pleasure, my uncle offered my grandson a story about a little boy in Kemano. Because my grandson was five at the time, the story shared with him was about a five year old. There was respect in how Noosta was stated and in return, there was respect in what story would be shared next. There is space for a listener to say *Noosta* and ask "how did young people prepare for fishing or womanhood" or

[13] In Indigenous storying often times our people will elaborate or exaggerate on experiences. One example is about my *grandmother shaing fish with the whole village* – she did share with our entire family – which is a big family, but likely not the "whole village". However, in saying that granny shared the catch with the whole village was meant to convey an important point: that her mother was a skilled and successful fisher who could be relied on to feed our large family. This story conveys the important role our grandmother had in her family as well as her generous and giving spirit. Another example of elaboration in story is when they reference older years – they would, and I do as well – will refer to that period as a 'million years ago'.

"tell me about when our team won the All Native Basketball tournament three years in a row – how did they train?"

Re-learning and re-living Noosa

Prior to industrialization in our territory, notions of Noosa flourished. Noosa was common practice, particularly as there were fewer technologies to distract and divert the children's interests. Currently, it is difficult to create these sacred spaces for Noosa. My people are busy with employment, away for school, participating in sports or they are not aware or potentially interested in Noosa. Noosa can be a wonderful and sacred space to ask our families what they are willing to share about our Nuuyum.

Noosta!

For Indigenous researchers, our role in knowledge creation and production is not solely our own 'research findings'. Knowledge from research stems from our Elders, our cultural teachers, clan systems, ceremonies and life experiences. As Indigenous researchers, we are cognizant that, first and foremost, we are accountable to our story tellers, communities, clans and nations. This requires that the research relationship with a community will continue after the research is complete. This also means that there must be a means to co-author and credit research findings respectfully. As a Haisla researcher, my scholarship is reflective of cultural attributes from my family and clan members – what I write is in consideration of my community. I am responsible and accountable to my family and community for what I research and publish. My responsibility as an academic is to ensure these publications are written with respect to these teachings. In my teachings, I am expected to demonstrate to learners that what I have written is only one approach to understanding cultural teachings – that there are many other approaches to learn cultural teachings.

In a keynote speech, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005) addresses how research has become a dirty word for our people, stating, "either we are all dirty people or we're looking at research in a different manner" (World Indigenous Peoples Conference, 2005). Indigenous Research insists that our relationships and commitments to Indigenous knowledges and practices are respected, transparent and life-long. It is our responsibility as educators to search sacred methods and to share sacred teachings.

Aixgwellas – see you soon – in another story

As I navigate through writing about our Nuuyum, I am cautious of how I share about the 'sacredness' of Indigenous ceremonies and knowledges. I am cautious about how some Indigenous peoples grapple with 'what' Indigenous research is. I am conscious of our people who have had their sacred knowledges forcefully expelled from their lives. I am arguing about the necessity to find ways to share and teach cultural ceremonies and to regenerate these teachings for future generations. My father has shared with me on many occasions "what I am teaching you is only one way, Uncle Dan, Jimmy, Ron may teach you, but in a different way". Often when my parents are sharing teachings with our family, they always say "this is what I know; you can do whatever you want with what I have shared with you". Thomas King (2003) also states in his writing, "now you have heard the story, you may re-tell the story, you may change the characters, you may never re-tell this story again, but don't ever say you did not hear the story" (p.60). Both of these citations resonate in what storying means to me. There are diverse stories, they are interpreted in many different ways, they are re-taught in diverse modern methods, but the core of the Indigenous story reflects identity, place, cultural practices/ceremonies and histories. Living and weaving these accounts will affirm our life histories for future generations in a firm braid. *Wa! Hy'chka! Thank you*

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Reclaiming Haisla ways: Remembering oolichan fishing

Who I am, where my place is
Hemaas, knewq Kundoqk of the Helkinew clan, knewq Haisla, Kemano and Kitselas. Creator, Ancestors my English name is Jacquie and I belong to the Killer Whale clan of the Haisla peoples. I acknowledge the traditional territory of the Lekwungen peoples and offer thanks for being able to study and live on this territory.

Figure 3 Empty oolichan bin Ray Green

Introduction to Article

This article illustrates our Haisla existence/creation story and provides readers with information about how and why oolichan fishing is essential to our people. I provide readers with the entirety of oolichan fishing and show that through oolichan fishing, we learn effective leadership and communication practices. This was the first article I wrote within my PhD studies. I was interested in exploring oolichan fishing because almost 10 years ago, the oolichans did not and have not since spawned in our territory. My concern was that I did not have the opportunity to learn oolichan fishing process and to have this storying a part of my life. I was concerned about how we preserve cultural practices and teachings within oolichan fishing. I wrote this article in conjunction with my parents by way of daily conversations on the phone. What I appreciated from this storying is that by my 'asking' or stating 'noosta' my parents shared many stories about earlier oolichan fishing times.

Although my family members have shared that as Haisla people we never allude to having a 'creation story' or that our people existed within our territory 'since time immemorial', I believe that this oolichan story is our creation story. It is a story that I look

forward to sharing with my children and babies. This article set the tone for how I wanted to proceed within my doctorial studies and I saw the importance to further examine our historical places and other cultural and sacred stories.

This article emerged from a paper I wrote during my doctoral course work. In my first draft, I attempted to include references and a bibliography that I thought would enhance this Haisla story. It was suggested that I needed to choose either an Indigenous knowledge framework such as storying, or to follow a more mainstream Western framework of writing. I naturally chose to centralize the Indigenous paradigm of 'storying' and experienced the intricacies involved in capturing cultural stories and re-interpreting these stories into text. For me, this meant listening, hearing, writing and re-writing these stories shared with me. Still today, even after I've written and published stories of oolichan fishing, my parents continue to correct and ask that I fine-tune how certain tasks within oolichan fishing are captured within my writing. What I have learned is that when storying, the written text has potential to make the story stagnant. To unravel the significance of oolichan accounts for Haisla people, I wrote additional papers so that 'reclaiming Haisla way" could continue to unravel and transpire. Even after the completion of this dissertation, this storywork will continue to transpire.

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Introduction

I want to acknowledge the storytellers of my community and family. Over and over again they have shared with me stories – different stories – of our place and about who we are as Haisla people. These stories were shared with me in the different sites that we live, work, and practice our social and cultural traditions: around the dinner table, in our feast hall, and on the boat with my Dad. I want to honour them for their teachings and their patience as I continue to ask questions about the stories they have shared with me. I also want to acknowledge my academic teachers, my peers, and other storytellers in the academy.

Within my scholarship I utilize this academic space to explore my identity through an examination and analysis of our stories. The analyses of our stories have also provided me with various pedagogical strategies and methods to utilize within my professional academic work. This paper will demonstrate various forms of teachings about identity, traditional teachings and traditional territories. I want to illustrate that by knowing our personal stories, we can re-generate our traditional Indigenous knowledges, philosophies and values. I believe that by centering Indigenous knowledge, we therefore assert our Indigenous philosophy wherever we are! I recognize my privilege in the academy and am thankful for our Haisla stories. *WA* (thank you)

Throughout my academic journey, both as a student and an assistant professor, I have much appreciation for the strengths that emerge from our Indigenous stories – stories that highlight and demonstrate our resiliency as a people. As an Indigenous student in college and university, I experienced many sad and lonely moments of being the only Indigenous student in the class, learning about our history, our socialization and the effects of colonization. As I reflect on my student journey, I realize that what nurtured and motivated me to complete my

education programs have been the stories shared to me by family and extended family. One such beautiful story is about my great grandmother and how she canoed from the Northwest coast of British Columbia to the shores of Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia and Seattle, Washington. When she arrived at the shores of Vancouver there were camp fires and construction underway that comprised the beginning of the development of what is now known as Vancouver. What I found and saw in this story was her bravery and courage to see an evolving and ever changing world. For myself, I am in a place where I am constantly meeting an evolving world through different forms of scholarly knowledge here at the university. I learned through this story of my grandmother to overcome my loneliness and be brave and courageous in meeting our shifting world similar to my great grandmother's canoe journey experience. Within my scholarship, I continue to examine methods to foreground our Indigenous stories as a form of analysis to inform how I teach, write and research. In this paper I will draw on our Creation story as Haisla people to illustrate multiple teachings I hold and carry which shape my knowledge, scholarship, research and teaching methods. As you read my story, you may encounter a similar teaching or you may experience new teachings from your own stories.

Kundoqk is my traditional name which originates from Kitselas territory and means "journeying over the mountain with my belongings on my back." Kitselas people are known as 'those who live by the river' and are famous for living beside the Kermode bears. The Kermode Bear is known as the "spirit bear" because they are black bears that are actually white in color. It is said when spirit bear meets you, you must pay attention to its actions because its actions hold a message for you. The old people say that the only time you meet with spirit bear is when Creator has a message for you, or if there is some healing that is needed. You never know when

this meeting will take place. You could be by the river, you could be in the mountains, or you could be around your home. I had the honor of meeting 'spirit bear' by my home. I was home with my cousin who was babysitting us children and we were looking out our window when we saw the bear lurking around our house. We watched the bear from the window until he trotted deep into the woods. I was shown through spirit bear my identity is not only Haisla, but also Kitselas. *Kundoqk* originates from Kitselas territory and I must journey back through our stories to learn and understand my place and my identity. I believe the message from this encounter is to remember my roots within Kitselas territory.

An important aspect of understanding my place and identity was brought forward in 1982 at a memorial feast in Haisla when I received my traditional name. It was here that I learned the story about my traditional name, *Kundoqk*. This name was given to my parents by the late Walter Write on their wedding day for their first born daughter. When a traditional name is given to a person in the feast hall, the custom is that it is given by someone from a clan other than your own. The name-giver explains to the people where the name is from and what it means. The keeper of the name then pays the name-giver (with either money or dry goods). By receiving my traditional name at this feast, the teachings say that I will always know where I come from and who I am. In turn, I must ensure that my children understand their traditional identities through *Noosa*[14]. It is a powerful teaching to learn the process of name-giving and the ceremony of receiving a name – a ceremony which includes elders, other clan members and other clan chiefs as witnesses. In receiving my name I was taught that we pay everyone in the feast hall. The feast hall teachings illustrate that by paying witnesses, they assume the responsibility to remember my name and any other 'work' that was done at the feast.

[14] Storytelling to people, families, children.

In our feast hall, there are three other clans other than our Killer Whale clan: Eagle, Raven, and Beaver. The *Hemaas*[15] calls the name receiver to the front and then he calls a *Mus Magithl*[16]. In the name giving, *Mus Magithl* is usually from a clan other than your own. The people in the feast hall watch and pay close attention because it is their responsibility to not only know the name given, but to also know where the name comes from. *Mus Magithl* states the name three times, either by singing the name in a tune, or speaking it in a loud voice. When she is done with sharing the history of the name, she is thanked and then the name receiver repeats the teachings to all the witnesses in the feast hall.

In the feast system, naming ceremonies are one important ceremony that occurs in the feast hall. Other important acts for our people within the feast hall are cleansing, memorial and other important community gatherings. These various acts of ceremony signify and illustrate that our feast hall and feasting system sustains our laws, our *Nuuyum*[17] and our identity. The next story I want to share with you is the story about my place of belonging and who we are as Haisla, Kitselas people and the significant role of oolichan fishing to my people. Kitselas is located in Northwest of British Columbia and east of Haisla territory. Although Kitselas is situated beside a river, the Kitselas people do not process oolichans for grease like Haisla. When you are in Kitselas territory, you can hear the roar of the river and sounds of eagles in the mountains. During the fall season in the Northwest the land is often times damp, the sky is filled with dark clouds, and your feet sink into the ground if you are standing still. And, as a northerner, you know never to stay in one spot especially when you walk by the river. During the winter the land is white with snow. Sometimes it snows so much that the snow piles are as high as houses. During spring, the run-off from the snow dampens the land, and the rivers are

[15] Male Chief.
[16] Female Chief.
[17] Traditional teachings

flowing strong. Many times you will see moose, or deer that are as big, if not bigger than horses. During the summer months, the rivers are filled with salmon and the bears are either lurking by the river or are in the woods picking berries. Compared to winter, summer is usually mild to warm – not as damp, but still usually muddy ground by the river, and in the woods.

The definition of Haisla translates in this way: 'Haisu' means when you point at the end of the river and 'sla' is added to refer to people. Haisla is known to many other Indigenous peoples and settlers as the Northern tip of the Kwaguilth peoples, or as the territory and people at the mouth of the Douglas Channel. Our people speak Haisla and because of our territorial relationship with other communities, we understand and dialogue with Tsmishian peoples and those within the Oweekeno and Kwaguilth territories. Another term that we are known as is Kitamaat, which means "people of the snow". 'Kit' refers to 'peoples' and 'amaat' refers to territory or place. Our Kitamaat name became misrepresented when Alcan Industries[18] were built in our territory. Alcan attempted to bring a new face to our territory and proclaimed it to be a place called the 'town of the future', and changed the spelling to Kitimat.

In the north, if driving from Kitselas to Haisla, you will drive along a river on one side and mountains on the other. You will experience the elegance of eagles throughout your journey. At any time, you could see as many as fifteen bald eagles sitting on one tree. You will also have the honor of seeing many beaver homes. Beavers build their homes beside riverbanks and their homes are made of twigs and other pieces from the land. Sometimes you will see black bears fishing in the river and, if you are fortunate, you will see the spirit bear. Of all the wildlife present on this journey, the fiercest is the moose. The moose is to be feared because if you are driving

[18] Alcan Aluminum Industries, an aluminum production company, entered our territory in 1950

and you fail to see it, you will crash into the moose. If you are fortunate, you will see the moose and have time to slow down to watch it trot into the forest or cross your path.

When you are close to our territory, you will enter the town of Kitimat. Kitimat is a 'company town' and like many company towns, it is a small residential planned place. If you turn left off the main road and follow a winding road for about fifteen minutes you will once again enter wildlife and the forest. You are now in *Kuqwajeequas* territory. This is the place where our existence began as Haisla, where the sustenance of our being evolves, and our Creation story about our relationship to oolichans.

Oolichan fishing is vital to understanding Haisla community, people, and ways of being. There was only one time I was at our oolichan camp. I was about four years old. This experience at the camp has never left me, nor has the passion to learn how to prepare oolichan fish and to understand where I come from. In remembering, I have listened to many stories of the traditional connections between oolichan harvesting and how Haisla peoples came to be. However, other than the one time at the oolichan camp, I never participated in oolichan fishing again because colonial structures took me in a different direction. Perhaps in my reminiscences and dreams, along with stories being shared with me, I recognize the commitment to understanding and learning our ways. Identity has to be reinforced by returning to my traditional stories, and understanding accounts of my place.

Haisla Peoples: Our place, our existence

Huncleesela was the first man to journey to the Haisla Territory. *Huncleesela* and some of his family left Oweekeno territory (which is south of Haisla) because he accidentally killed his wife. I was told that the law of that time meant banishment for the perpetrator in the instance where death happened. As a result, *Huncleesela* and his entire family would be

punished for the death, even though it was an accident. *Huncleesela* escaped by journeying up toward the Northwest Coast of Oweekeno and continued until he reached *Kluqwajeequas* just outside Haisla Territory. It was told in many different villages that the reason he journeyed north was because there was a monster in this area. Because of the monster in this area there were no people living there, and he thought *Kluqwajeequas* would be a good place to hide. *Huncleesela* camped outside the territory and every once in a while the monster would open his mouth really big and make a loud noise. As he listened to the loud noise, he made sure he watched every movement the monster made. Eventually, as *Huncleesela* felt comfortable in his exploration of the monster, he felt he was brave enough to get closer. When he got as close as he could, he realized the big mouth was not a monster at all, but were flocks of seagulls swooping down to grab oolichans from the river. This story tells of the discovery of Haisla territory and the relationship to oolichans.

During *Huncleeslas* time in this area, he and his family lived in *Kluqwajeequas*. While there, he and his family noticed twigs floating in the river and what they found unusual was that they were not twigs made by beavers. *Huncleesela* was familiar with twigs in the river made by beavers. In his curiosity, *Huncleesela* ventured out to see where these strange twigs came from. As he journeyed east of *Kuqwajeequas*, he met with Kitselas and Kitsumkalum[19] peoples who were trappers and fishermen. The twigs he found in the river were made by Tsmishian people who used the twigs to trap wild life. *Huncleesala* built long lasting relationships and family ties with Tsmishian people.

[19] Known as Tsmishian People. Tsmishian territory also includes Hartley Bay, Kitasoo, Port Simpson, Metlakatla BC and Alaska.

Oolichan Fishing: Core of who we are

Oolichan fishing is one of the most important aspects of Haisla life, along with trapping, hunting and seafood fishing (clams, cockles, halibut and other deep water shell fish). In our language oolichan is "za' X w en[20]". The old people tell us our za' X w en is a mystery fish because they are known to spawn only once a year. They spawn in the winter months, usually just before spring weather or at the end of "north wind season". This is unusual because other types of fish normally spawn in spring and summer months. Some say you could 'smell' the oolichan season and feel a certain chill in the air; this scent and feeling is what we refer to as "oolichan weather". Another reference to oolichans are as 'candle fish' because at one time, the old people would fish the oolichans, fully dry them and burn them for light. The main uses of oolichan fish are to harvest and process for *kqlateeh*[21], preserve and use for trading to other communities for *aghingt*[22] and *xklucas*[23]. Because there is so much work and time involved in harvesting oolichans, many of our neighbouring communities travel to our home to trade or to purchase our *kqlateeh*.

Kqlateeh for Haisla people and to those who seek it is known as a delicacy. Not only is *kqlateeh* food, but it also has excellent medicinal use and value. The old people have used *kqlateeh* for severe cases of pneumonia, bronchitis and other such illnesses. They say that if you have no energy to work or cannot get rid of the common cold, two teaspoons or 'swigs' of *kglateeh* will cure you. The taste of *kglateeh* on fish and other foods is delicious. However, if you have it 'straight-up' without fish, there is a different taste. Having it 'straight' is like drinking vegetable oil by itself, only with a fishy aroma to it. As you swallow *kglateeh*, it glides

[20] Pronounced as jax-quin.

[21] Oolichan grease. Kwaguilth & Tshmishian people call it kqleena

[22] Herring Eggs which is a one of the main sources of food of Kitsasoo, Heiltsuk and Hartley Bay

[23] Seaweed

very slowly down your throat to your stomach. Perhaps it is the slow journey throughout your body that cures any illness that is there. If babies were sickly, the old women would add a bit *kglateeh* to water and simmer this on the stove. The steam, with its *kglateeh* aroma, would help babies to breathe easier and clear their airways. Some of the old people also said that if they did not want a certain kind of visitor (like a white person), they would simmer *kglateeh* prior to the visit. If you are not raised around oolichans, the aroma is often not appealing and visitors are then likely to leave very quickly.

In the old days, our people would camp and deep water fish close to oolichan time. They would set up their camps in the forest on one of the many islands in the Douglas Channel to fish for halibut, dig for clams, and set crab traps. While cleaning their catch, if they found oolichans in the stomach of the fish, they knew it was time to prepare their oolichan camps. Another sign that it was oolichan time was when sea lions, seals, ducks and seagulls were dipping in the water and eating the oolichan, similar to *Huncleesala's* monster story. Oolichan time usually begins at the end of January and lasts to the middle of April.

Once all the oolichan time signs were recognized, families began to prepare their oolichan camps. People would begin to prepare and harvest their fishing tools and equipment – all of which were constructed from resources of the land. The men would drive poles into the bottom of the river and ensure they were firm and could withhold the heaviness of netting and the rush of the river. The ladies would make the *taqka*[24], which would be fastened to the poles. This particular type of netting is made of *dukqwa*[25] and would be tied with *dunuc*[26]. When preparing oolichan camps in the old way, the process of such preparations would take up to three days to complete. As much as fishers wanted to preserve their gear for the following year,

[24] Funnel nets.
[25] Stinging Nettles.
[26] Cedar bark.

it was never possible because while they were in storage after oolichan season, wildlife would nest in the gear and ruin it. For this reason watching for signs and preparing gear was a yearly process.

To make the *kglateeh*, bins were prepared with resources from the land. The *Smigatsk*[27] were made of wooden planks with a metal bottom. The metal bottom was coated with clay which prevents fire from getting to the wooden sides. Water is placed in the bin and left to simmer overnight. The clay and heat seals the bin so no fluids would leak. This step was crucial to preventing oolichan oil from being wasted. Preparing the *smigatsk* for oolichan grease was done overnight. Once the gear and oolichan camps were ready and the oolichans were running, our Hereditary Chief and his family would go out and get the first catch of the season. When he returned, he would feed the community and give permission to the other families to go and do their own fishing. The first catch was celebrated and during the feasting, the people shared their plans for the new season. They shared old stories from other years. As well people re-told *Huncleeslas* journey, our monster story, and our oolichan story.

When it was time for communities to fish, their first catch after the celebration feast was used to make *kglateeh* and placed in oolichan bins. Haisla people always used female oolichans to make *kglatee*h because they contained more fat than males. The oolichans are then placed in bins to ferment. Before fermenting, the role of children was to dig through all the oolichans with their hands and pick out large oolichans (males) which would be preserved through a process of smoking and salting.[28]. Once oolichans were fermented, the bins were ready to be heated to a boiling point to make *kglatee*h. The elders have shared that they would test

[27] Boilers or Bins that were 15 X 15 and 3 feet deep.

[28] Smoking oolichans were done in smoke houses at the camps. Salting is done by placing oolichans in buckets with course salt. Both types of preserving did not require refrigeration and could be stored outdoors during other seasons.

fermented oolichans by hanging an oolichan over a stick: if the oolichan fell apart easily, then it was fermented enough. Once the test was passed, the oolichans would be boiled at a steady pace for a day.

This step would be repeated three times in order to produce as much oil as possible from the oolichans. After each boiling/simmering period, the oolichans were left for about half an hour to settle. The oolichan fishers understood timing in that they knew how long to boil oolichans and how long to let them simmer in the bins. Afterwards, water would be added to the bins, after which they would mash the oolichans and once again leave the contents in the bin to settle. While settling, the oil would surface to the top and the mashing cycle would repeat itself until the fishers felt they were ready to skim for the oil. In this step, the men would ensure there was enough water added. During this process, the men and women together would discuss with each other whether or not there was enough grease, prior to moving to the next steps. The women, who were experts in skimming the grease, knew just how much grease would be produced based on how many oolichans were placed in the bins; the women's knowledge would therefore show the men that indeed there was enough water and grease to skim.

Throughout the preparation and first catch process, there are many areas of expertise demonstrated through modeling, feasting, and teaching. Communication among one another taught what type of wood, plants, and places are required to harvest oolichans. The men with their knowledge of the land, water and what signs to watch for, would in turn pass these teachings to young men who were fishing with them.

During the preparation and fish catching process, timing was of great importance as well as understanding the functions of environment, seasons, weather and animals. Timing included patience. Communicating in a respectful, teachable manner for all people was critical

to ensuring *kglateeh* would be processed in the best way possible. Timing included learning how to prepare equipment and tools to work with oolichans. Repetition was not only important for processing, but also for teaching young people. The entire process of oolichan fishing included teachings of respect, honor, modeling our relationship with the land, the importance of family, and community. Oolichan fishing processes required that the whole community work together to complete this daunting task.

The task of skimming the oil from the bins involved placing the cooked oil into barrels to undergo a purifying process. While the women were skimming the oil, young people were looking for black rocks to be placed in the oil. The rocks would be heated until red hot and placed in the oil. When they saw flames there were enough rocks. The old people say that placing hot rocks in the grease purifies the grease and that the grease could then be preserved over a long period of time[29]. To purify further, the women would continue to strain the oil until there is no meal left[30]. This is how Haisla grease becomes white and gains its reputation as a delicacy to those who seek it. It is these final touches that make Haisla grease different and whiter than others who may process oolichan grease.

Once the process of *kglateeh* is completed and the grease is sealed in their barrels, the fishers would clean up their tools and their camps, and then they would go hunting. They say they hunted after the oolichan process so the *kglateeh* would harden and would not spill on the journey back to our community.

[29] Some families have kept their preserved grease for close to ten years.

[30] Any parts of the oolichan fish.

Teachings of gyawaglaab

There were many different families at the oolichan camps. The different families who were at their camps helped each other with different tasks; this helping is what our people call *gyawaglaab* meaning "helping one another". For Haisla people, oolichan fishing generates this collective aspect throughout the community. Traditionally, there were specific roles for each family member. When the oolichan barrels are *agaheestamas* [31] fishers would either take a rest or help other family fishers who have not filled their bins.

If families were not catching as much fish, other families who were ahead in their camps would leave to go help and share their equipment and tools with others as needed. The roles of women were to build tools and to put the final touches to the *kglateeh*. The roles of men were to prepare the camps and to fish oolichans. Although everyone had specific roles they learned and fulfilled, the fishers would pitch in to help as needed. Community people who could not go to the camps helped out by providing the fishing families with food, baked goods or other sorts of preserved food. They also waited for fishers to return from their camps and helped unload equipment, oolichans and *kglateeh*. People who remained in the community were predominantly the really old people, people who had some form of disability and those who did not have the equipment and resources to oolichan fish. While waiting for oolichan fishers, community members would undertake different tasks to prepare themselves for the return. Community members also needed to be knowledgeable about oolichan season, about timing during processing and have the ability to communicate with each other when oolichan fishers arrived. Each remaining family would coordinate among themselves regarding those families who would prepare meals and those who would wait at the beach to unpack gear.

[31] Filled and sealed with oolichans.

Depending on their catch, families would return with close to 30 gallons of *kglateeh* along with fully dried, half-dried, and salted oolichans. They would also return with wild game and other deep water fish. The oolichan fishing season not only has many teachings, but also provides for other ways to regenerate and sustain lives and families throughout other seasons.

In the summer months families would return to their oolichan camps for shorter periods of time to fish for sockeye, coho and crab. During these outings, the catch from oolichan fishing is what was eaten. The best part of camping in the summer is singeing dried oolichans. Usually this is the first thing that is cooked once the summer camps are set up. On other summer outings, families would take the young people out on their boats and show them traditional landmarks and places to fish. As children, we were told names of places, names of beaches, and other important Haisla landmarks.

Throughout other seasons, our people would trade oolichans and *kglateeh* with other communities for *xklucas* and *aghingt*. Those who trade *xklucas* and *aghingt* with us prepare their catch in camps away from their community as well. To them, this is their sustenance – and so we complement one another and trade to fulfill all our dietary and nutritional desires and needs. Surrounding communities, who are not near rivers of oolichans but closer to the forest, would trade berries and other wild game with our people. Other communities would offer money to purchase *kglateeh*. The Haisla people, along with other Indigenous peoples, were aware of what different communities harvested and what they could trade for. Additionally, the different communities learned to thrive and help one another in terms of sharing food, resources and by respecting each other's territories. Although not spoken to directly, the notion of Gyawaglaab is demonstrated throughout the Northwest Coast through trading.

Through our stories our Elders remind us about resilience

People of the Northwest coast continue to harvest food and fish throughout different seasons. Our people continue to trade, to feast and to teach traditional ways as much as possible. However, our people suffered a devastating tragedy a few years ago. The oolichans in our area stopped spawning. Our old people said there were many reasons why this happened. First and foremost, it was known that the levels of pollution in our area was a major factor. Secondly, other fishermen said it was due to 'draggers' who were disrupting the oolichan run. The draggers fished for prawns, halibut and other deep water fish, but never fished for oolichans. If they caught oolichans, they threw it away because they did not have any use for it. Thirdly, and related to the second point, the old people knew that the cycle of oolichans meant that they mature every three years; oolichans did not have an opportunity to mature before they were destroyed and thrown back in the water by draggers. Last, it was not only Haisla people who experienced this drought; people along the coast of Turtle Island from California to the Northwest Coast faced this similar tragedy.

This tragedy has been a re-awakening for our people and many different things happened and changed. The older people in our community said we needed to go back to the old ways of harvesting oolichans. In my storying, I have chosen to speak to how oolichans were harvested traditionally. However, it is important to speak to the ways in which harvesting of oolichans have changed over time for my people. Today, the differences are the following: rather than canoes, our people use 100 horse power punts; rather than funnel nets and poles they use herring nets; rather than barrels they use pails; rather than black rocks they use lava rocks; and rather than wooden bins they use sheet metal bins. In all this change, oolichans and *kglateeh* are processed in a much faster way. Additionally, our people are not out in the camp and hunting area as long as they once did. They now fish the oolichans on a weekend, or take a

day off during a workweek (most with no pay). Rather than staying in the camps for a few months, they now return to the community in order to return to their paid work. During the short time period they are fishing for oolichans, they place their oolichan catch in bins and then return to their paid work. After seven days, when the oolichans have fermented, the people take their vacation time from work and stay at their camps to process *kglateeh*. With the change from traditional ways to contemporary fishing practices, there is a loss of pre-oolichan preparation, deep-water fishing and post-oolichan hunting. The speedy and contemporary process of how our oolichans are processed have threatened our old ways and our *Nuuyum*. While the modeling of oolichan processing is still evident, the time, care and space needed to teach this important aspect of our livelihood has been severely disrupted. Sharing and storytelling among fisher members is now contained to precious and fleeting moments. The visibility and presence of young people in the oolichan harvest has decreased. Through the recent tragedy, our people have re-awakened to re-building our old ways to oolichan fish, recognizing its importance for sustenance and strengthening our traditions and community. The old people say we must re-generate our core teachings of who we are as Haisla peoples and revisit our relationship to the old ways of oolichan fishing processes.

The old people are telling us today that due to scarcity of oolichans and other contemporary circumstances, the notion of gyawaglaab has the potential to be lost. What has changed today is the difficulty for our people to share their oolichans and their *kqlateeh* due to the loss of oolichans over the last few years. The act of not sharing is not the meaning of *gyawaglaab*. The oolichan equipment and tools are no longer prepared yearly and children are not as present at the camps anymore. Through stories, the old people share with us about those times when camps were directly in *Kluqwajeequa*s and how the entire community was involved

in oolichan harvesting as a reminder of *gywaglaab*. It is mainly fishermen and their immediate family today who oolichan fish and, in this, there is not enough time to teach others. The old people are concerned that Haisla traditions, stories, and teachings will be lost. They are urging our people to learn our old ways and to share these teachings with our younger people. *Gyawaglaab* is evident in our community, but not thriving like it had before. Our generation must learn meanings of our place, of our people and of our traditional names. As I remember the meaning of my name *Kundoqk*, I must take the journey back to our old ways of oolichan fishing and to learn and to share them with my children and with younger people in my community.

I remember our stories: Re-learning and re-generation of Haisla teachings

Since the threat of extinction for oolichan fishing, my conviction to learn the essence of being Haisla has resurfaced. I must go directly to the oolichan camps and learn the old ways of my family and of my people. I am determined to work with my friends and family to discuss how we can make oolichan fishing a priority in our lives once again. I recognize and understand that in the process of learning, we must look at how the loss of language and loss of traditions contribute to loss of *gyawaglaab* for Haisla peoples. There have been times when I wanted to share with my children stories of Haisla and our oolichan fishing but could not get to the core of our teachings. My conviction of not knowing 'enough' terrifies me. I recognize the stories I know do not bring forth the essence of our traditional ways. To share our stories and teachings with my children is to model how we can truly revive our old teachings. In order to do this revival we must go oolichan fishing. In the faces of my children I see their curiosity to learn and to help. I have hope that they too will make their journey to understand their identity, their place and their stories by seeing me model my journey.

Thus far, I have shared important accounts of Haisla people through our connection to oolichan fishing and our *Nuuyum*. To re-learn our *Nuuyum*, it is important to make our languages and history a core part of our existence in our families and in our communities. Language is one way our parents and others retell our Creation stories. One summer I traveled on a gill-netter with my father for twelve hours to Kitasoo. During this ride, he shared stories of many locations that represented land and water. I must say that although the islands, trees and bodies of water looked the same to me at the time, he identified specific areas that represent important landmarks for our history as Haisla. I was saddened because I saw how he wanted to share and explain to me in Haisla the meaning of these places that are difficult to translate into English. Nevertheless, I heard the story in English and got the gist of the history. I have learned from this experience on the boat that I must learn our language in order to re-tell our history to our young people. This boat ride also reminded me that as a young person these places were shown to me before. I have learned that in storytelling we need to hear stories over and over again.

My oolichan vision!

I remember as a child I was involved in harvesting oolichans and making oolichan grease. I was about four years of age. We were still able to fish in the mouth of *Kluqwajeequas*. Our family camp was set up on the beach and there were other families who were with us. At the camp, people worked hard at packing and fishing oolichans, keeping the fires going and preparing oolichan bins. There were other people who were maintaining food supplies by cooking and feeding everyone. At this moment, this experience and the stories that were shared with me are at a distance. However, these teachings have remained at the core of my heart and my commitment to re-learn our ways. It was not too long ago that I experienced this and

indeed, I do look at this memory as a place of hope and important journey. The translation of *Kundoqk* has resurfaced for me to make this journey. The meaning of my name "journeying over the mountain with belongings on my back" is the analogy I use to carrying forth teachings of oolichan fishing, language and place to our future. Through my story, through my children's story, we will be able to keep our historical place a part of who we are as Haisla, as Kitselas, as Kemano and our relationship to oolichan fishing.

My fathers name is Kgal askq touwq which means 'new beginning'. He has shared many accounts of our family, our place, our history and our traditional way of life with me. Throughout my educational journey I have sought his expertise about our way of life as Haisla people. I have learned from him the importance of analyzing our complex histories through methods such as storytelling. I want to honour my father for teaching me our history, our socialization and our laws which inform how I am as an academic and scholar. My mothers name is Bakk jus moojilth (lady always harvesting) and she has taught me the role of leadership as an Indigenous woman. I have learned through her the elements and importance of *gyawaglaab* in our family, our community and ways to bring these teachings of 'helping one another' into my scholarship. My parents have shared countless stories and teachings with me in various places and various times throughout my life. They have both taught and modeled to me the essence of *Gyawaaglaab* – wa! (thank you)

I take these stories into my workplace and use my analogy of journeying over the mountain with my belongings on my back to engage students of the importance for them to revisit their histories and ceremonies, and examine the history, meanings and significance of their names. Through analysis of our histories, we as Indigenous peoples solidify our philosophies and values not only for ourselves, but for our nations. Worldwide, our people are

asserting our traditional teachings, for my story, I draw upon our *Nuuyum* as keystones for re-generation of our knowledge in our communities and in our professions. Making present our Nuuyum in my practice reinforces my ability to truly reflect Indigenous knowledge in order for others to re-learn their traditional ways of being. It is essential that we continue to explore our stories so the next seven generations of our people could live their lives like our old stories.

Wa Aixgwellas!

Wa, Hy'chka! Thank you

Transforming our *Nuuyum*: Contemporary Indigenous Leadership and Governance

Acknowledgements/Protocol

Hemas – Moosmagilth! Gukulu – Ungwa! hkenuuk kundoqk, hkenuuk helkinew, hkenuuk xanaksiyala, kitselas, haisla. Wa, Lekwungen and Esquimalt

My traditional name was gifted to my parents on their wedding day for their first born daughter from the late Walter Write who is from Kitselas/Tsmishian nation. My name means 'journeying over the mountains with belongings on my back'; my parents are glasttowk askq and bakk jus moojillth – Ray and Mary Green. My maternal grandparents are the late Walter/Murial Nyce from Haisla, Kitselas territory and my paternal grandparents are the late James/Agnes Green from Xanaksiyala/Haisla territory. Hereditary Chieftainship is from both sides of my family. The late Jonny Paul is my father's grandfather and was hereditary Chief for Xanaksiyala people. The late Walter Wright is my mother's grandfather and was hereditary Chief for Kitselas/Tsmishian people. There are two Wa'wais (trap lines) significant to my family. Awigela belonged to my grandfather, Aiksdukwi'yu (Walter Nyce) of which my brother Ray Green Jr. now owns. Q'epuwax and W. Geltuis belonged to my Great Grandfather Wengulhamid (Andrew Green) and now belongs to my uncle who is my father's brother, James Green Jr.

I want to acknowledge the Elders, Chiefs and Ancestors of this beautiful territory. I want to acknowledge the keepers of this territory of where we are working, studying and playing.

Introduction to Article

In this article, I explore within our Noosa and through oral his-stories about philosophical aspects of Haisla Nuuyum that could inform contemporary leadership and governance. Through our Noosa, as I was learning about our hereditary chiefs, our clans, and clan systems, I saw the importance of how 'stories' of landscapes are essential components to understanding our feasting systems. For example, many of our hereditary or clan chief names stem from places with Haisla, Xanaksiyala and Tsmishian landscapes**.** And our chief names are also connected to our Wa'wais, which are trap lines that surround and are within our territories.

I have been very privileged to visit these places and to learn the significance of stories from each place, and why the place is relevant to my family, clan and community. In this article, I illustrate through stories, experiences and my family connections to and within these landscapes.

I then provide a detailed account of feasting processes and demonstrate the sophistication of our feasting. Within these accounts of historical places and feasting, I weave in aspects of how colonial forces shifted the ways in which our people live our Nuuyum. I draw upon philosopher Michel Foucault and mainstream historians to demonstrate notions of subjugation, imprisonment and marginalized of Haisla Nuuyum. My intention for drawing on critical Western theorists is to analyze and demonstrate that both westernized and Haisla philosophy could be woven together for an appropriate analysis and historical account regarding colonial encounters in Haisla territories.

As I moved through history and feasting, I was able to formulate a framework that illustrates leadership and governance within feasting. My intentions are to position feasting as a starting point for our community to navigate and negotiate upcoming and future economic proposals to our community. First and foremost, I explore and situate our Nuuyum leadership and suggest that, as family, clan and community members, it is our responsibility to re-learn and re-teach our Nuuyum for future generations of Haisla peoples.

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Introduction

Haisla Nuuyum translates into a *Haisla* way of life and its laws. The laws refer to cultural teachings involving practices such as protocol and ethics about how to respect and honor all living things. (Kitamaat Village Council, 2005, p 62) We are taught to always remember who we are, where we come from, and our traditional name and its meaning. In sharing who we are with you, there is an expectation of reciprocity: you will share who you are, where you come from, and your cultural practices with me.

Throughout this article, I will center Haisla terms and names in places where English words are not able to fully express the entirety of the Haisla term. I will use 'footnotes' to elaborate and interpret teachings from Haisla Nuuyum, however, it is important to know that English language and writing does not appropriately capture the essence of Haisla Nuyuum and processes. A central aim of this paper is to re-interpret and translate our Nuuyum into writing so that younger generations can use this work for their learning and living.

Figure 4 Haisla Village

hkenuuk kundoqk, hkenuuk helkinew, hkenuuk xanaksiyala, kitselas, haisla

As a community member of the *Haisla* people, I am familiar with cultural practices within Haisla Nuuyum. While I do not speak the language fluently, I understand much of the meanings and processes within our language. For example, within our Clan and feasting system I know some *Haisla* names for our Chiefs, but for the most part I know

our *Hemas*[32] and *Mus Magthl*[33] by their English names. In our community there are four Clans: *Helkinew* (Killer Whale/Fish), *Iksduq'ya* (Eagle), *Qulu'n* (Beaver) and Raven – Raven and Beaver are combined as one Clan[34]. Harvey Grant Jr. and Kevin Stewart are *Hemas* together with Annie Woods and Rose Robinson who are *Mus Magthl* for Killer Whale/Fish. *Chief Jassie*, Sammy Robinson is Hereditary Chief and Rod Bolton is *Hemas* together with *Adeqx*, Doris Nelson who is *Moogilth* for Beaver/Raven. The Late *Sunnahead*, Johnny Wilson was *Hemas* together with Late *Wixboon*, Lorna Bolton who is *Moogilth* for Eagle. Traditionally, our community only had one Hereditary Chief. However due to varying views, teachings and knowledge about Chieftain names, we now have two Hereditary Chiefs: Sammy Robinson and Greg Smith both of whom are from the Beaver Clan.

Although each Clan has their specific Clan memberships, these members are also my family members. Our community is matrilineally organized; however, during a naming feast, it is possible for members to be adopted into a Clan other than that of their mothers. For example, my maternal grandfather belonged to Beaver Clan and at a feast, his sister adopted my mother's sister, who had belonged to Killer Whale. Since my Aunt inherited her father's Beaver Clan name and through this adoption ceremony and process, she adopted her children and grandchildren into the Beaver Clan.

As a scholar I am privileged to learn and know about western methods, ethics and protocols required for academic scholarly research purposes. The convergence of my identity and place of belonging in the Haisla nation, and who I am as a scholar offer me an opportunity

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[32] Male Clan Chief

[33] Female Clan Chief

[34] Although this reads as four clans, there really are diverse aspects within the makeup of our Clan systems. For example, my clan is comprised of Black Fish, Fish, and Killer Whale. I am Killer Whale, my cousin is black fish, but we both belong in the same clan. Similarly, within the Beaver/Raven clan, members are clear and specific and define themselves as either Raven or Beaver, but both groups work together as one clan.

to write in a manner that is respectful to Haisla people while at the same time meeting the expectations of conventional academic rigor. Within my immediate family, my parents are the last generation to speak Haisla language fluently. My interpretations of cultural practices are in constant translation from the central nature of Haisla Nuuyum into English language, writing and analysis. Moreover, my storytellers and my father consistently translate and re-interpret Haisla Nuuyum into English. The stories and cultural teachings I share in this article come from my parents, *kgal askq* and *bakk jus moojillth* – Ray and Mary Green. My parents explain to me the different sets of responsibilities given to parents in relation to cultural teachings: it is the duty of my father and his family members to provide his children with cultural teachings, and the duty of my mother and her family members to nurture the teachings. Both *kgal askq* and *bakk jus moojilth* have learned this practice from their parents. My story tellers/teachers have cautioned me that stories shared with me are only one version of cultural teachings; there may be another family member who will share about our Nuuyum, but their approach and practices could potentially be different.

Each generation has adapted our Nuuyum as our community started to expand and intersect with economic expansions. My scholarship has been informed and adapted by philosophies embedded within our Nuuyum, including my continued journey and commitment to studying Indigenous philosophies within westernized institutions. My vision is to continue to broaden the scope of diverse Indigenous epistemologies, theories and philosophies within academia, within my community and with younger generations.

Our people continue to engage traditional practices by hosting and participating in our feasting system as well as by visiting our historical places that are culturally and spiritually significant to Haisla. Social, spiritual and cultural events are strongly informed by evolving

traditional practices. While many of our people live in other towns and urban cities, the essence of our Nuuyum remains at the core of, and central to, our people. Given the continued centrality, vitality and saliency of Nuuyum among Haisla people, I want to examine whether our *Nuuyum* and its philosophical underpinnings can intertwine and have a productive relationship with contemporary forms of leadership and Chief and Council governance systems.

Haisla Nuuyum as leadership and governance

In conversations with other Indigenous scholars, a key point of discussion is how cultural teachings might manifest itself in contemporary governance and leadership positions. In her book *Spirits of our whaling ancestors: Revitalizing Makah & Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions,* (2010), Nuu-chah-nulth scholar Dr. Charlotte Coté writes about reviving the Makah whale hunt and the development and establishment of the Makah Whaling Commission (MWC) that supports the inclusion of traditional practices within contemporary movements. She goes on to say:

> The MWC wanted to conduct a hunt that adhered to the cultural practices of the whaling ancestors, while at the same time incorporating into it modern technology and equipment to ensure the safety of the whaling crew and to assure that the hunt would be efficient and humane. (p 151)

An important consideration and site of unease for many Indigenous scholars, though, is how state laws interfere with and inhibit traditional concepts of Indigenous law. (Alfred, T. 1999; Coté, C. 2010; Grande, S. 2004; Simpson, L. 2008; Simpson, L. 2011) In these contentions with the state, Indigenous scholars assert that an essential component for effective Indigenous governance is to centralize cultural practices. Key to comprehending Haisla notions of leadership and governance is the specific cultural understanding and knowledge of identity,

including *Indian* names, Clans and historical places of social, political and spiritual significance to Haisla. Of importance is the interconnection between these knowledges and self-determination: knowledge of self, family and community strengthens our quest for self-determination. Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred (1999) states "In the indigenous tradition, the idea of self-determination truly starts with the self; political identity – with its inherent freedoms, powers, and responsibilities – is not surrendered to any external entity." (p 25) Intrinsic to our political identity is our feasting system which once played an essential role in how our communities were governed, and still continues today, albeit not as predominantly as in the past.

In this article I will share stories about Haisla Nuuyum as told to me by my parents, uncles, aunts and cousins, each of whom articulate varying versions of what our Nuuyum means for them. These accounts are inclusive of and interchangeable with *Xanaksiyala, Haisla* and *Tsmishian* teachings. Our Nuuyum involves knowledge of landscapes, water, mountains, languages and ethics within Haisla feasting systems. (Green, R.[35]; Green, M.; Kitamaat Village Council, 2005)

Indigenous cultural practices coalesce at the intersections of identity, places and philosophies, all of which are diverse yet specific teachings that are informed by where you were raised and who your teachers were. Moreover, these cultural practices have sustained substantial adjustments that may be attributed to shifts in the landscape, demographics of people[36] and new technologies introduced to the land and water. Keith Basso (1996), professor

[35] In 2007 I travelled with my father to visit Kemano, Kitlope and other ancestral landscapes relevant to my people. At these different places, my dad shared an historical account of our places, our Nuuyum and stories that belonged to each place and era of time.

[36] My storytellers have shared that due to intermarriages with people in surrounding territories, these new formed relationships enhanced and broadened cultural practices from their own communities and the unity of the relationship took on practices that accommodated both cultural teachings. In other instances, some of our people

of Anthropology at the University of Mexico, researched the relationship of the Apache people to landscape and language. In his study, he heard many accounts that illustrate how the knowledge of the land that we receive from our ancestors is directly linked to our identities as Indigenous peoples. He states:

> For Indian men and women, the past lies embedded in features of the earth – in canyons and lakes, mountains and arroyos, rocks and vacant fields – which together endow their lands with multiple forms of significance that reach into their lives and shape the ways they think. Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one's position in the larger scheme of things, including one's own community and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person. (p. 34)

For Haisla people, our history intersects with varying places that hold stories about our families, our Nuuyum and our relationships to all who are around our place. I will draw on old Haisla stories of place and identity to examine how they affirm our governing responsibilities within contemporary community leadership. I will illustrate how our cultural practices have been affected and have shifted through colonial encounters. I will argue that despite the effects of colonialism, the philosophical underpinnings of our Nuuyum have remained at the core of who we are as a community, Clan, family and self. Although many Indigenous cultural practices became illegal through *Indian Act* laws, many of our people found methods to preserve these teachings through Noosa[37]. Our people adapted how they lived our Nuuyum through the shifts and encroachments of settlers and western forms of economy and

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relocated to urban cities or very isolated territories and in this demographic shift, our Nuuyum was adapted to where they located themselves.

[37] Noosa means to tell stories. Noosa occurred when people were fishing, during meal times, during the birth or death of a person. In Noosa, this is how our people heard and maintained our Nuuyum.

governance. Consequently, these inter-relationships (such as *Indian Act* Chief and Council regulations and industrial and missionary influences) had hegemonic effects and its governing force superseded cultural governing methods such as in our Clan systems. My argument in this article flows from a strong, underlying belief that our Nuuyum remained within the Spirit and core of our Elders, and that it is the responsibility of our generation to draw upon their knowledges in an effort to centralize traditional forms of governance and transform leadership practices. The responsibility of my generation, then, is to appropriately center the diverse traditional cultural teachings while simultaneously including those contemporary practices that enhance and strengthen our Nuuyum.

Theorizing and surviance to and within forces of colonialism

Before I begin this section, I first want to apologize to my Elders, my cultural teachers and all the sacred children in my life for the theoretical westernized language I will be using in this section. I will be referring to terms such as 'subjectivity,' 'power' and 'knowledge' – terms that are part of such intellectual pursuits as postcolonial and post structural theories. For me, these theoretical frameworks provide a paradigm to critically analyze the nature of the state and its imposed control and marginalization of Indigenous peoples. Moreover, I draw on westernized frameworks as a space to resist dominance by centralizing Indigenous knowledges within my writing. My second apology is about my use of historians, anthropologist and ethnographers who studied the existence of our people in early contact years and most offensively defined characteristics and practices of my people as savagery. I do not refer to native-settler history as savagery. Instead, I draw upon this history and identify the resistance and resiliency of my people for withstanding the onslaught of colonizers. I will not cite the

racist 'analysis', but, rather, I will cite the books which I feel have objectified and subjugated my people, our way of life and our histories. My humble apologies.

The various effects of colonization entails that we, as Indigenous peoples, are in a constant state of unlearning and relearning knowledges, ceremonies, culture and traditions. Our way of life became subjected to colonial forces and in this, our subjectivity within our 'living', forces a necessary commitment to re-learn old ways to thrive off the land and the water. (Chamberlin, J.E., 2004) We need to re-hear our old stories and learn how to re-tell these stories to our children, grandchildren and for all future generations. (Cruikshank. J. 1990; Cruikshank. J., 1998; Cruikshank, J. 2005; Nadasdy, P. 2003) Although, aspects of Haisla living has been subjugated by, and subjected to, colonial forces, I believe there are approaches to unlearn western forms of living[38]. Contemporaneously, one such method of unlearning is through various education systems. Indigenous peoples who attain higher education have adapted and/or creatively intertwined Western scholarly research paradigms, academic and government languages and ideologies to better reflect Indigenous philosophies. Like our ancestors – who adapted and adjusted to their evolving environment – Indigenous peoples in the present moment continue to be in constant translation, interpretation and dialogue with westernized ideologies and our cultural teachers, cultural practice and historical knowledges throughout their/our studies.

The process of unlearning colonialism and reclaiming traditional Indigenous knowledges is deeply implicated in processes and practices of power. Power, as both a concept and as an operation, has been deployed as a repressive tool against Indigenous communities, resulting in practices of both exclusion and assimilation. My understanding of power and its

[38] To unlearn, we as parents together with our children learn Haisla language. And, that, we start referring to each other with our Indian names, rather than English names. Taking the time to visit cultural teachers and elders to hear and experience our Nuuyum.

relationship to Indigenous peoples has benefited from French philosopher, Michel Foucault's conceptualization of power. (Foucault, M., 1977; Foucault, M., 1980; Foucault, M., 1994) I first learned about his work during my first year of teaching in a post secondary context. The task set before my colleagues and I was to develop curriculum that reflected an anti oppressive framework in an effort to confront hegemonic powers and to center marginalized lives. Accordingly, we used Foucault's work to illustrate how dominant or elite societies exercise power, disciplinary practices and punishment to organize, control and manage marginalized groups. As a teacher, it was my job to interpret and translate how I understand Foucault to students. For me, Foucault made sense in his discussion of subjugated knowledges and his use of power, punishment and discipline as it linked to the ways in which various policies sought to fragment, dislocate and marginalize our people and our communities. Colonial state relations of power sought to subjugate the once economically, socially and politically vibrant communities by cementing a set of hierarchical relations that was crucial to producing the dispossession of our people in a myriad of ways.

In his book *Discipline and Power* (1975), Foucault offers notions about how prison and torture was a technique to force those who 'needed' discipline or for those who deviated from societal norms to conform to how the emperor or states define normativity. In this book, he addresses the era when torture was abolished, and discipline and punishment became the technique to replace the cruelty to humanity. He discusses how theorists of those times found it inconceivable that people would no longer suffer from torture. "If the penalty in its most severe forms no longer addresses itself to the body, on what does it lay hold?" (p 16) Foucault found that although there was no torture, nevertheless, he makes the following observation about punishment: "It seems to be contained…since it is no longer the body, it must be the

soul." (p 16). In Foucault's theorizing, he shows us that although there are no physical constraints to control humanity, there is however, what he refers to as consistent surveillance and discipline that control and enforce dominant societal norms. This form of control eventually shifted from physical dominance to more discrete methods of controlling, forcing and torturing the mind and soul to maintain discipline and order within society. (p 295) In the book, *The Potlatch Papers: A colonial case history* (1997), Bracken provides an account of the early encounters between First Nations people in British Columbia and early anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Gilbert Malcolm Spout whose quest was to map out land for settler people. This is one of many books that provides graphic descriptions of how settler people viewed and described First Nations peoples – all of which clearly disparage and undermine the complex knowledge of who and how our people were in early settler encounter times[39] and contributed to the subjugation of Indigenous knowledges and way of life.

As an educator, I have come to understand and confront the ways in which modern state norms have subjugated generations of Indigenous peoples lives. While I reference Foucault's articulations of power and control – which he examined through the lens of torture – my discussion of Foucault and the specific techniques of discipline and control does not focus on torture, but to a different set of techniques used against Indigenous people (Foucault, 1975, p 194). More precisely, I pick up Foucault's work to understand the dispersal and production of power to investigate the specific techniques of control and discipline used in the context of Indigenous peoples in 'North America'. Specifically, I am interested in the ways by which relations of power and techniques of discipline and control violently impeded our way of life as Indigenous peoples. Some of these disciplinary powers were present in the systematic punitive

[39] I have deliberately chosen not to cite anything from this book as it is degrading to how our people have been described and subjected to colonial racist accounts.

measures used by colonial governments to repress Indigenous peoples for speaking our language, by the creation of reserve systems, and by drafting and implementing state law defining and curtailing Indian identity.

In the discussion of subjugation, discipline and punishment, Foucault speaks to the context of these ideological relationships and how hegemonic status indicates subjectivity within each realm. In this sense, I look at power as a technique of how our people have been made systematically invisible by the state. When Foucault writes of normalcy, he indicates the processes by which society becomes normalized and how society is complicit in ensuring a certain dominant status by defining and determining what is normal or correct standards of being, a standard that simultaneously informs us of those classified as 'deviants' or 'abnormal.' Foucault states:

> Like surveillance and with it, normalization becomes one of the great instruments of power at the end of the classical age. For the marks that once indicated status, privilege and affiliation were increasingly replaced – or at least supplemented – by a whole range of degrees of normality indicating membership of a homogenous social body but also playing a part in the classification, hiearchization and the distribution of rank. (p 184)

Thus, the violent operations of power shape the subjugation of others through wilful absenting and discrediting of particular forms of economic, social and political life. This thick spiral of Foucauldian theories about notions of power, knowledge, subjectivity first provides intellectual space to understand dominance, but also the realization that sources of hegemony is forever a part of nation-state relationship. As I move on from Foucault, I am drawn to the work of Dr. Sande Grande, a Quechua woman from Peru and Associate Professor of Education at

Connecticut College. Grande moves beyond thinking though and within power and subjectivity and offers critical theorists a space to explore what she terms as American Indian Education and Revolutionary Critical Pedagogy: Toward a New Red Pedagogy. (p 26) She explains Red Pedagogy in the following way:

> What distinguishes Red pedagogy is its basis in hope. Not the future-centered hope of the Western imagination, but rather, a hope that lives in contingency with the past – one that trusts the beliefs and understandings of our ancestors as well as the power of traditional knowledge. A Red pedagogy is, thus, as much about belief and acquiescence as it is about questioning and empowerment, about respecting the space of tradition as it intersects with the linear time frames of the (post)modern world. (p 28)

These theories indicate the necessity to understand our violent history, but beyond this, as educators we must centralize and intersect Indigenous philosophies as a form of revolutionary critical theorizing as a technique and journey within the paradigm of Red pedagogy.

Who Haisla people are

Our Village[40] is located in the Northwest coast of British Columbia within the Douglas Channel. We are known as the northern tip of the Kwagiulth Nation. Our linguistic family has journeyed from Kwakwaka'wakw territory (Northern Vancouver Island) through Oweekeno, Heiltsuk territory (Bella Bella) Misk'usa (old-Kitlope), Xanaksiyala (Kemano) and in to Haisla territory. (Green, R. 2007; Olson, R. 1940; Lopatin, I. 1945). Due to our relationship and

[40] In the northwest coast of British Columbia, it is common for people to reference our community as the Village rather than Haisla, Kitamaat or the rez – in this sense, I have capitalized "V" to acknowledge and recognize that our Village is how our neighbouring communities and towns reference our place.

trading with neighbouring communities, our people also understand and communicate with Tsmishian peoples in their languages and through their cultural practices. Historically, many of our neighbouring communities traveled between various territories to trade for herring eggs, seaweed, soap berries and wild meat in return for our oolichan grease, or oolichans. (Lutz, 2008, p 121) Trading for food and other resources linked together various Villages. Respect for each other's territory and traditional resources enriched our relationships with one another as nations of people. Following a devastating smallpox epidemic in the late 1800's, a large avalanche wiped out Misk'usa Village, forcing the people to relocate to Xanaksiyala[41] (Green, 2007; http://www.nanakila.org/pole/culture/index.html, retrieved June 26, 2012). Eventually in the 1940s, Misk'usa and Xanaksiyala amalgamated with Haisla people. I am told that my Great Grandmother Annie Paul was one of the Mugilths from Kemano who engaged in discussions with Haisla Chiefs about the amalgamation. I was also told that, to commemorate this unification, there was a parade in Haisla Village and my Aunt Eunice was one of the people who led the procession (held the flag) in honor of this event.

Figure 5 Kemano Village

Figure 6 T'ismista. Photo courtesy Sheree Romaasen

Although there are remnants of Misk'usa and Xanaksiyala Villages, no people live there today. However, during fishing, clam digging or hunting seasons, our people visit these

[41] Kemano Village

landscapes each year. During the summer of 2007, I had an opportunity to visit these old Villages for the first time. My late Great Grandmother Annie has provided historical accounts and cultural practices to her children and grandchildren about these places. Our Xansiyala family commemorates her today by continuing to share her cultural knowledge. To her, Xanaksiyala means a 'place of many stories – Nuuyum jiis'. My great grandmother experienced an untouched Xanaksiyala lifestyle, but also witnessed the numerous shifts and changes in nationhood of Xanaksiyala people due to the encroachments to landscapes, the enforcements of foreign laws, and the expansion of industry and missionary influence.

Kitlope is a *Tsimshian* word meaning 'People of the Rocks', which describes the territories distinguished rock cliffs and jagged mountain peaks. (Green, R. 2007; Kitamaat Village Council, 2005) One story about this place entails the 'man who turned to rock':

> *His name was T'ismista. He was travelling by canoe with his two dogs and went to a place where young men learned to mountain climb. Mountain climbing was important so that they could hunt for mountain goat. T'ismista and his two dogs beached the canoe and started walking towards the mountain. Once they got out of the canoe, they left their foot imprints on the rocks of the shore. When T'ismista arrived at the top of the Mountain, he stopped to rest and whistle for his dogs. When he stopped, he turned to stone. Some say he is standing and others say he is sitting down. Some people say his dogs turned to stone within that territory. Some say that every once in a while you can still hear T'ismista whistling for his dogs. Our people say that it is very dangerous to climb the mountain to see T'ismista. But, if you are travelling by boat in this territory and you are with someone who is knowledgeable about this story, you can see the man who turned to stone.*

There are other versions of this story. Each family or Clan has its own experiences and knowledge about *T'ismista*. There are also many different teachings about why he and his dogs turned to stone. Some say he did not listen to others who shared with him the danger about walking in that territory. Others use this story to illustrate the rough terrain in that area. And some families have shared that *T'ismista* belonged to the Beaver Clan. This beautiful territory

of *Kitlope* is the only remaining untouched area of glacier, water, rock and land in the northwest coast. Our Nuuyum that is still practiced today goes like this:

> *When you are travelling, fishing or visiting this territory it is customary that everyone who enters the Kitlope Valley are required to wash their face in the glacial waters. This practice signifies your respect to the water, mountains and all that surrounds this place. This cultural practice also signifies that the 'place' will become acquainted with you.*

Nuuyum from *Kitlope* illustrate not only the spiritual connection between people and the land, but also the necessity to understand environment, glacier waters and rugged terrain. There was an attempt by logging industries to rape this beautiful land, but through resistance movements, our people were successful in protecting this place. There were also eco-system partners who supported our cause and united with our people to prevent future clear cutting within this area. (http://www.ecotrust.org/publications/Greater_Kitlope.html) retrieved, June 26, 2012)

As you journey from *Xanaksiyala* towards Haisla there are many stories and places about how our people fished, trapped and lived. Trap lines were another source of places abundant with natural resources such as for hunting, fishing, berry and medicine picking. (Kitamaat Village Council, p ii) These *Wa'wais* (trap lines) offered families vast territories to hunt for trading and economic purposes. Although there were no obvious borders or signifiers about where the trap line started or ended, people were knowledgeable of places due to their knowledge and cultural teachings about landscape. There were no written accounts, regulations or policies regarding a time to hunt, how much to hunt and what to do with the hunted. Our Nuuyum involves knowledge of families who own trap lines, where the trap lines are and the Haisla names for various trap lines. People did not hunt in anyone's trap line other than their own unless they were invited to trap with another family.

On this journey to *Haisla* territory, there is a particular point that is the boundary between *Xanaksiyala* and Haisla. An experiential story shared with me by father about this boundary goes like this:

> *A Xanaksiyala person living in Haisla territory and passed away would still be buried at Xanaksiyala. When you travel by gill-netter, this journey can take anywhere from five to seven hours. There would be many boats that would accompany the family of the deceased and all would stop at the boundary between Haisla and Xanaksiyala and my great grandmother Annie would sing in her language the 'crying song'. The crying song indicated the loss of the loved one and that during the burial all those who were present were to cry and mourn with the family.*

The boundary between these Villages is not obvious to people who are not familiar with this area. Even with modern forms of technology, people would be unable to determine where this traditional boundary is. Instead, knowledge about this boundary stems from experiences of people who stop there and from people who often travelled in between Villages. The last time a Xanaksiyala person was buried in that territory was in the 1970's[42]. Although my great grandmother was not present at that time (she passed in 1966) all the boats stopped at the boundary to mourn and cry. On my visit to *Xanaksiyala*, we too stopped at this boundary and my father shared with me the song that my great grandmother would sing. In the midst of ocean, mountains, and logs on the beach – and through this song – I felt the essence of my grandmother's teachings and in that very moment, it was as if she was on the boat with us.

> *When we arrived on the shore of Kemano Village, I was surrounded by the landscape of ancestral stories. There were many logs on the beach as we pulled onto shore. My father pointed out one particular log and shared that during their playtime as children that particular log had appeared very huge for them. He shared that they did not have many*

[42] During the writing of this paper, my late uncle Crosby passed away and was buried in Kemano. He was a Hemas from Killer Whale Clan.

toys, but that their playtime was playing on logs, climbing mountains and gathering rocks with his granny.

There were two aspects of this story that I found extraordinary: first, that this log was still in the same place as when my father was little, and second, how the presence of this big log bought back such clear and vivid memories of Kemano children playing.

My great grandmother's house still stands at Kemano Village along with a couple more houses that are overgrown with different types of shrubs and trees. Many of our family members have built cabins there for when they are fishing or visiting the Village. What is still present at Kemano is the burial place which holds many of our ancestors.

During my visit at the burial place, I noted that one of the burial plots was much larger than other graves; I was curious and asked why this was so. My dad shared that during the flu or small pox epidemic there were so many deaths that there was a mass burial for the people – about ten people in one plot.

At that moment, standing in our ancestral place, the sheer brutality of colonial forces resonated for me. One of the plots had a carved log that was shaped like a fish and another plot had a carved log shaped like a wolf. At other plots there were old pots and a sewing machine and another plot had an old gun. In those days, it was customary to leave personal items that belonged to the deceased at the grave plot[43]. I was amazed that after 70 years, these gravesite remnants remained untouched.

[43] In our Nuuyum it is not customary to talk about these burial plots in this public manner. Even in my visit to this place I was conscious about how I observed and asked questions, I did not want to be intrusive or rude. I asked permission if I could take pictures of these sacred places so that I could remember these stories. I knew at that time, that these pictures would be a reminder for me and my children so that we would know about Kemano. After my visit here, I saw these pictures on the internet which came from museum archives. As an Indigenous person, I often feel saddened when I see our stories and artifacts confined to these archives. In the archives, I often feel like our ancestral knowledge is not kept in a sacred place and often these images of our stories become appropriated and misconstrued and the 'true' account of Kemano is not articulated in an accurate manner. In this observation, I thought it would be important to share my personal account of these pictures and honor my ancestors and the imagery of place they left for our people. http://www.livinglandscapes.bc.ca/northwest/kitlope/part_3.htm. Retrieved, June 26, 2012.

As I walked around the Village, I could not help but envision our people living in this territory and the experiences of joy and trauma they encountered through time. I imagined the difficult discussions and decisions that had to be made to vacate this place and what they must have said to settlers and missionaries who wanted to show them a different life. Due to the massive fatal illnesses in Kemano, my great grandmother shared with her family that it was time to leave the Village. There were significant numbers of inter-marriages between the Haisla and other communities (for example, marriages with Tsmishian peoples) and very few people were returning to Kemano. An especially painful era for our people occurred when many Haisla children were forcefully removed from their families and forced into residential schools. Due to declining population from illnesses, removal of children and encroachment on land by governments and industries, it was decided that the original Kemano peoples would integrate with Haisla and the two Villages would become one.

Figure 7 Ray Green, Jacquie Green, Noosa in Kemano

A shift in Haisla living

Southwest of our community is an old cannery place known as Butedale. Butedale was a cannery that employed many of our people during the expansion of the growing and economically viable fishing industry. Many of the men worked in the fishing industry while most of the women worked in the canneries. (Lutz, 2008; Harris, D. 2001) Haisla families lived in Butedale with their children, and due to their active role in this fishing economy, their children were viewed as neglected. The perception of neglect led to

the apprehension of our children by Indian Agents and Butedale became a "pick up place" for Haisla children[44].

Butedale became the place for commercializing fishing and processing -- commercialization that slowly started replacing our people's cultural and traditional ways of sustaining their families. My dad shares and relates that, during those cannery years, there existed a division and segregation between Chinese, white and Indian people both within the cannery and in their bunk homes. (Green, R. 2007; Lutz, J.,2008, p 207) Although Butedale was not a large place, it was divided by race, language, class and culture. During those cannery days, our people worked twice as hard by participating in the growing western economy while also maintaining our Nuuyum. During my studies, I had the opportunity to study with University of Victoria scholar, John Lutz, who at the time of my studies was working on a book entitled "*Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal White Relations*" (2008). His work illustrates the economic burst throughout BC and in referencing Butedale, states, "at the turn of the century the whole Village went to the canneries to fish and can fish" (p 278). However, Harris (2001) describes that Indigenous people were systematically pushed out of working at the canneries which contrasts with Lutz's account. My father affirms both authors portrayals and shares that although our people were forced to participate and contribute to this growing economy, they no doubt faced racism and injustices:

> As the cost of fishing technology grew and canneries consolidated, and as settlers arrived to work in the canneries, the importance of Native labor

[44] Because the men were away from their homes and community for commercial fishing and the women worked long hours at Butedale canneries, children were viewed as been neglected, resulting in the forceful removal of children who were then placed in residential schools in Port Alberni, Coqualeetza residential schools. Some children were removed to as far away as Edmonton Alberta residential schools. Children were placed on steamboats at Butedale and travelled long distances to be left at these varying residential schools. Some of our people refer to Butedale as the 'pick up place' for children.

> diminished. Canneries hired Japanese people to fish and Chinese people to work in the canneries and the state granted independent licenses to whites to encourage their settlement. (p 203)

The above quote signals to not only the displacement and alienation of Indigenous peoples and their labour, but also illustrates the consolidation of the colonial process that actively supported the plundering of our lands and resources.

In Butedale today, and similar to *Xanaksiyala* territory, there are remnants of old buildings and the old wharf which are all overgrown with trees and bushes. During fishing and/or hunting time, our people and families visit this place to pick berries, to fish, to picnic and reminisce about the old days. And so it is that Haisla roots include and intersect with *Misk'usa, Xanaksiyala, Tsmishian* ancestors, histories, stories and cultural practices; simultaneously, they have adapted to westernized economic, religious and state laws.

Laws, policies and regulations affecting Nuuyum: A way of life

Since contact with settlers and their governments, missionaries and industries - many of our natural and cultural resources have been misappropriated, violated and/or became illegal to live with[45]. Of particular concern is the ways in which the pollution from these industrial developments has seriously affected our cultural practices. Since the building of Alcan and the continual exportation of renewable goods to other countries, their ships have affected the flow of the waters throughout the Douglas Channel, which in turn negatively affects the migration of

[45] Fisher 1992; Bolt 1992; Harris 2001 (to name a few scholars in this field) do not necessarily speak to misappropriation using the same lens that we as Haisla people would recall these experiences. However, they do allude to the necessity to produce and expand the industrial and fishing industry (and other colonial entities) to benefit the greater cause for settler peoples. In this sense, I am referencing these authors to verify my point about the misappropriation of our way of being, from a Haisla perspective.

the salmon and oolichans. Given the importance of salmon and oolichans to Haisla economy and culture, and its intrinsic relationship to our traditions, the pollution from Alcan's industrial encroachments seriously impeded (and continues to impede) Haisla way of life.

Westernized governing systems controlled and regulated an Indigenous way of life and forced our people and way of life to conform to evolving national and industrial movements. (Newell, D. 1993) For many Indigenous peoples (globally), these Western laws were not only repressive in that they legally controlled every aspect of Indigenous life, but for many Indigenous people and nations, these laws constituted a systematic genocidal campaign (Grande, 2004, p 5). When native people did not conform to evolving industrial movements that were part of colonial expansion efforts, more stringent laws were developed and imposed to control, regulate and assimilate native peoples into the Canadian politic.

While the legal sphere structured the relations of colonial dominance, the colonial settler state colluded with and was supported by religious authorities, particularly missionaries, who set out to save our people from what they defined as immoral and savage practices[46] (Bolt, 1992; Titley, E. 1986) Although missionaries were establishing themselves and 'their place' in our community, our people maintained the importance of our Nuuyum. One way in which our people negotiated their traditions with the establishment and consolidation of religious ideology in our community is by recasting the use of the church for Nuuyum. Our people utilized the space in the church to discuss important aspects or issues relevant to Haisla peoples. These types of meetings are referred to as *Haisla Gou* – which means only *Haisla* people are in

[46] Missionaries were instrumental in changing ways in which our families functioned, the organization of gender, and the formation and expression of sexuality. There were cultural rites of passages important for young girls and boys that were shunned. Cultural teachings during death, the use of traditional regalia, Indian names and languages were forbidden by missionaries. One Tsmishian community was relocated in order completely remove the people from any aspects of Indianess that they lived with and around – i.e., their traditional fishing & hunting practices; languages; feasting…(Bolt, 1992, p 22)

attendance of this meeting. In these gatherings and meetings, community members would collectively discuss and resolve any issues that involved community governance, disciplinary measures and/or fishing and hunting matters that were jeopardized by newcomer laws. The minister of the church or Indian agents could not and did not attend these specific meetings. The United Church became a new gathering place for our people – a place where we could live our Nuuyum such as *gywathlaab* (helping one another) in conjunction with ideologies of the United Church. Although there was a Non-Haisla minister, this person and his/her family understood notions of *Haisla gou* and did not expect to attend these special meetings.

The church and minister played specific roles during times when there was a death and our community held a feast for the memorial[47]. In those days, our people and the Church were learning to find ways to co-exist and work with each other to live both culturally and with Christian influences. Although missionaries were instrumental in attempting to decimate our cultural practices, and despite the intrusions of Christian beliefs, our Nuuyum remained central in the lives of our people. One story that my dad shared with me about the role of a church in our Village:

> *The United Church became a central meeting place in our community. In the old days, and every Easter, the entire Village would attend church. Everyone was dressed in their best clothing. During oolichan fishing season while everyone was in church, one person waited by the river to watch for oolichans. When this person spotted the oolichan run, he went to the church, made the announcement and everyone left the church and canoed, while still in their best clothing to the oolichan fishing grounds. Dad says, this is how important oolichans are to our*

[47] Our people gathered at the church for prayers during death. They started attending church on Sundays. There were junior choirs, adult choir and brass bands established. Ministers started to play a larger role during deaths, weddings, and baptisms. While these religious rituals started shifting how we lived our Nuuyum, which started to include religion, our people persisted to center our Nuuyum within this intersection and encounter with religion. Adapting to and incorporating some religious aspects was important to think through for our people. Our Elders were aware that the strong force of the colonial and religious regimes would take full control of our way of life; therefore our Elders found ways to live with the infringement of missionaries and their religiosity, while maintaining our Nuuyum.

people, and our people will leave everything and anything at once in order to oolichan fish.

What I understand from this story is that although religion established itself by building this church for religious purposes, our people utilized this building as a newly-formed gathering place to hear missionary teachings while simultaneously connecting with one another for cultural purposes. Although the church started to become a central part of Haisla existence, the church also provided space for our people to express their newfound skills that included participating in the choir and band.

Simultaneously with missionary incursions, the creation of the reserve system to manage, segregate and confine our people to small pieces of land[48] -- including the legislation which stipulated how an Indigenous person is defined and which reserve they belong to[49], – all superseded our Haisla Nuuyum. *Indian Act* laws set the tone for further regulations that would affect First Nations people. Under federal guidelines, our people were only permitted to fish when the Department of Fisheries (DFO) identified dates and places. (Harris, 2001) Rather than following fishing teachings within our Nuuyum, our people were required to apply for fishing permits and were regulated as to when and where they could fish. Fishing regulations that affected our Nuuyum came into full force by 1914. (Lutz, 2003, p 139) The influx of industry, missionaries, and government agents changed the ways in which our people mobilized and engaged within each other.

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[48] Once the reserves were created, our people were confined within these federally defined borders. Our people were not able to leave reserve lands for any purposes; if they left, they were then jailed. Reserve living affected the ability to fish or hunt as taught in our Nuuyum (according to seasons). Reserve living limited our mobility throughout our traditional territories including the inability to interact with neighbouring First Nations communities for ceremonial purposes.

[49] Indian status stipulated that a First Nation's person is directly linked to a reserve identified by the state. In the event of intermarriages, the women and their children become a member of her husband's band. Indian and reserve status provided specific federal resources that would provide a specific level of living standards for status Indians. In doing so, successive federal governments once again manipulated Indigenous governing structures and replaced feasting with band councils which added another term to place – some people refer to reserve lands as 'bands'.

Moreover, during and within economic purposes such as trade, or for intercultural ceremonies and potlatching, our people spoke Chinook language to each other and with settler peoples. (Green, R. 2007; Lutz, J. p 15) In early days of settler encounters, Chinook language was used as way for our people to engage and communicate with settlers in BC. Chinook language was fore grounded so that our people could maintain our Nuuyum while at the same time communicate our way of life to and within industrial movements.

While it is clear that there was a strong presence of the *Indian Act*, missionary and Christianity in our territory, many of our teachings and practices prevailed. Reflecting on this, my mother has voiced that one reason for this might be that our community was quite remote and the presence of Indian agents and missionaries was not as pervasive as in other communities. Thus, the physical isolation of our territory might well be linked to the survival of our traditions and Nuuyum.

Feasting – Haisla philosophical roots to living and learning our Nuuyum

The distinctiveness of Haisla is rooted in aspects of our Clan system, our relationship to *oolichan* fishing process, our diverse ancestral places, languages and histories. Haisla ontology is grounded in the philosophical component of how our feasting system functions. Each Clan has a *Hemas* and *Mus Magthl*. Typically, in Haisla feasting, there is one Clan who has the responsibility of being the host. A feast is hosted for different reasons: a memorial, traditional naming, *tsookwa*[50] (cleansing ceremony) or for leadership purposes[51]. Our Haisla feasting

[50]Our people defined cleansing in many different ways. Cleansing could be referred to if a person was fishing or hunting and had a near fatal accident, they would tsookwa – which meant they are offering thank you to the Spirit world that their life was spared. Similarly, if a person was fatally ill and recovered, family members would tsookwa. Or, if someone committed a crime or was violently abusive and changed these behaviors, they would tsookwa.

[51] In this matter, leadership is referred to both Haisla Hereditary Chiefs and Chief and Council. For example, our Clan chiefs believed it was necessary to have a feast during the year our community was affected by a multitude of deaths within a short period of time. Our chiefs saw the importance to honor those who journeyed to the spirit

system includes the four Clans: Killer Whale, Eagle, Raven and Beaver. Historically, there were additional Clans such as frog, wolf, crow and bear Clans. (Green, R. 2007; Lopatin, I.1945; Olson, R. 1940; Pritchard, J. 1977) The feast held many critical elements of responsibility for the host. As an example, during a feast for traditional naming, the person receiving a name must know the account of the name, his/her upcoming responsibility as a name holder and must be responsible and respectful to his/her namesake[52]. In the 'old days' the naming included a particular process involving who a Chieftain name will go to:

> *When a person who was in a high ranking Clan position passes on to the Spirit World, it was customary that this name would be passed on to the oldest sisters, oldest son. For a female, the name would go to the oldest sisters, oldest daughter of the deceased. It would be the responsibility of the name receiver to cover expenses for burial of the deceased, including expenses for a head stone, and all expenses involved in hosting a feast. Usually this feast would take place one year after the deceased.*

The person or family responsible for assembling a feast will first contact the Clan Chief to which they belong. At this initial meeting, the family will inform the *Hemas and Mus Magthl* of their Clan their reason for planning a feast, and together, the family and Chiefs decide on a date for the event. Also at this meeting, the family will identify who will be named as the co-host for the feast. Typically, the co-hosts comprise of one male and one female person and in this role, one of them will receive a traditional name. It is our custom that there be a balance of male and female to co host; depending on the name receiver, there will always be a person of the opposite gender to co host the feast. After the co-hosts are in place, the family then sets a

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world, while bringing our Clans and community together for grieving. Our Chief and Council often host feasts to announce an economic proposal to our Clans and people. At other times, Council will host a feast so they can update our community members about programs and progress within their administration. At times our Clan Chiefs and Chief and Council co-host feasts.

[52] In one of my visits with my Auntie Sarah and my cousin Nina, we were talking about Indian Names. In our visit, we were talking about those of us who carry names of our aunts, mothers or grandmothers and that as inheritors of our names, we must remember to respect the dignity of the name and leadership of the person who held the name. So, we must respect our namesake. This visit with my aunt and cousin provided important knowledge and cultural teachings about name giving and receiving and I feel it is important to include in this section of my writing.

second date to invite their Clan members to another meeting to inform them about the intent and date of the feast. The co-hosts will speak on behalf of the family and Clan, and will have the responsibility to ensure feasting protocol and cultural teachings are followed appropriately and respectfully.

Clan members[53] are responsible for contributing and donating money, food or give away goods to the co-hosts; at the initial meeting, they will declare what their donation will be. The co-hosts, together with their Clan and family members, will then invite one other person to emcee the feast. Emcees are also viewed as leaders by their Clan and community. The process for choosing and inviting the emcee is based on their relationship with the family or Clan, and/or their cultural knowledge and expertise about the protocols that are required to host a feast.

On average, the Clan would serve and feed approximately 500 people, and in order to host this many people, the family and Clan must work collectively and seamlessly. Our Nuuyum teaches us that because we are hosting other Clans and Clan chiefs, we must be respectful and ensure we follow proper protocol as our actions in the feast hall will be a reflection of how our family and Clan live and practice our Nuuyum. While there is a distinct manner in how each Clan hosts a feast, another Clan will essentially follow the same philosophical principals, although their practices may be different.

In addition to the emcee, co-host and Clan members, another important role during the feast includes people who hold knowledge of *Indian* names and their Clans. Typically these

[53] Clan membership includes all people who have a received an Indian name and belong to a Clan. Usually those with high ranking names such as Chiefs donate a large sum of money or larger gift such as a motor for a boat. Other Clan members would donate pots, bowls, dishes, blankets or towels. Younger children who receive a name usually donate smaller items such as tea towels, cups or coffee mugs. If a family member does not yet belong to a Clan or have an Indian name, they can also make a donation. During this time, certain women who are known as 'feast cooks' will either be asked if they could cook a stock pot of soup, or they will offer to cook.

people are male who are recognized as cultural leaders and whose duty it is to *yoxwasayu* which translates into 'walking door to door to invite other Clan members to the feast[54]' and greet them on the day of the feast. My dad has shared with me how people were greeted and seated 'in the old days':

> *The Haisla Village hall was located on a very big hill. The men from the Clan who are hosting the feast were in place to greet and announce the arrival of guests and would start watching out for people as they made their way to the feast hall. One person would wait at the bottom of the hill; another person would wait half way up the hill, another person at the top of the hill and another person at the door of the feast hall. The person at the bottom of the feast hall would announce the Indian name and Clan of the person to the person who is waiting half way up the hill and this announcement would continue until the person arrived at the door of the feast hall. The feast hall is organized according to Clans – so in this case there would be four sections representing four Clans. There would be host men who were situated beside each Clan section to greet the guest. By the time the guest reaches the feast hall, his seat is ready for him. The guest is announced once they arrive in the feast hall and would be seated according to their ranking and Clan.*

One month or two weeks prior to the feast date, the Clan men will *yoxwasayu*. They will let the guest know who is hosting the feast, who will be *cenud*, which translates to who will receive a name and what the name means. They will let the guest know to bring their own soup bowls, cutlery and cups. It is protocol and within the ethics of feasting that invitations to a feast are communicated through this face-to-face invitation.

In the older days of feasting, Chiefs were regarded in a very prestigious manner; this high form of respect is attributed to their role as knowledge holders of vast places, histories and identities. At one time, this prestigious Chief had an assistant; the assistant's role was to act on behalf of the Chief. Here is an account of this old feasting practice:

[54] This is my interpretation of this Haisla word. I know that when the men *yoxwasayu*, they are inviting people to the feast.

> *A Clan Chief was always accompanied by a second person whose responsibility was to act on behalf of the Chief. The second person sat on the chair before the Chief sat down to ensure the chair was safe. He had the first taste of food to ensure the food was safe. He also spoke in the feast hall on behalf of the Chief. If there was a mistake made in his speech, then the repercussion was on him and not the Chief. In the old days, this was the cultural practice and it was not seen as disrespectful, oppressive or dominating, this practice was respected and honored. And, although this person represented the Chief, he was not ranked as a Chief.*

Today, Chiefs do not have this type of assistant. However, Chiefs are still seated according to their Chief ranking, they are still served first and they speak first. The Indian names of assistants to chiefs are still utilized today; however, these people are now viewed and ranked similar to Clan chiefs. These old cultural practices were lived, learned and understood by Haisla people from a young age. Families and Clan Chiefs understood and respected their roles and respected the 'philosophy' that substantiated their role as a Clan leader and members.

The welcoming of people to the feast entailed that the Clan chiefs, family representation, and the emcee shared an account of the feast with their guests. Welcoming people was an important task and it took time and patience to ensure that people understood the feast work that was about to happen. For our people, this feasting protocol is our method of preserving history within our Clans and communities. The traditional and cultural significance of feasting is signaled, in part, by the length of time it would take for a feast to transpire; time segments were not an issue and in those days, feasting occurred into the late night.

Both male and female Clan Chiefs played important roles in how our Nuuyum was lived, for it was their responsibility to teach Nuuyum protocols in feasting, and to our families. Living these feasting protocols taught our people responsible and respectful leadership. It was (and continues to be) important to communicate feasting processes and protocols appropriately,

effectively and respectfully so that young Clan members and other people were able to learn our feasting Nuuyum. Qualities of leadership and laws generated from feasting included having a collective approach, respectful communication and knowledge of landscape, seasons, ancestral places and identities, all of which informs how Clan members became knowledgeable of each other, our territories and our histories. In this manner, leadership illustrates the personable relationship and connectivity to each and every person. Over time, our feasting has evolved and occurs in the traditional ways, but with modifications to reflect the changes our community has undergone since colonial contact

An important ethical component of feasting is the act and role of 'witnessing'. As a method, witnessing explicates the responsibility of gathering and recording historical and statistical knowledge of our people such as those who have passed on to the spirit world, those families with new-born babies and also knowledge of those who will inherent Chieftainship names. Witnessing also occurred in *Tsookqwa* (cleansing feast), which displayed knowledge about the well being of community members. Witnessing required that each person in the feast hall understood the 'work' done by the host. Here, 'work' refers to such aspects as feeding the people, gifting with monetary or dry goods and ensuring that protocol is followed. Protocol required a specific seating order for each *Hemas* and *Mus magilth*. By providing food and by gifting guests, the guest must in turn remember details of the feast. If a person who did not attend the feast were to ask about the feast, the person who was gifted[55] as witness has the responsibility to know who hosted the feast, who received a name, where the name came from and what the name means. Hence, the feasting system constitutes a symbiotic and reciprocal relationship: both the host and guests are responsible and accountable for the historical feasting

[55] In feasting, gifting refers to the 'dry goods', money and food distributed to each guest at the feast.

knowledge affirmed through their hosting and participation. For Haisla people, this protocol is our form of law – this is how we determine Haisla Nuuyum.

Responsibilities for family/Clan members hosting a feast:

Gifting the people is categorized according to Clan ranking. A month or two weeks prior to the feast, the Clan gathers at a meeting place to 'tag' giveaway gifts. In this process the Clan must know who the Chiefs are and the Clan they belong to. They must remember past feasts and who were 'newly' appointed Chiefs. They must remember the babies or young people who received names. In so doing, each person will be gifted accordingly. Chiefs receive comforters, cash and sometimes larger gifts such as a boat, motor or trap line. Those who are ranked second to Chiefs are gifted with comforters, blankets, large pots or bowls and cash. The remainder of Clan members are noted as 'commoners' and receive cake pans, bowls, towels and small blankets. Young children are gifted with tea towels; smaller dish sets and blankets. If there are guests who do not have a Clan name there are giveaway goods set aside for them. All guests receive tea towel (female) or socks (men). All guests are provided with a loaf of bread, box of crackers, oranges, apples. The Chief ladies all receive a cake each. Once these gifts are distributed then the host will make cash payments. In the event of a memorial feast, cash payments are for services provided to the family during the loss of their loved one. People who receive payment typically are grave diggers; people who provide food, prayers and song for the grieving family and there is payment for facilities such as use of the church or recreation center. Typically the meal served is what our people refer to as 'wedding stew'. There are certain ladies in each Clan who cook a stock pot that is usually about 50 to 60 quarts. In order to feed 500 people there are usually five stock pots of stew prepared. Day before the feast the Clan members gather and cut vegetables and stew meat. At the venue where they will work on vegetables, whoever is the last person to arrive is required (stuck) with cutting onions for the stew – so, people are usually on time as they do not like cutting onions. In the morning of the feast day, the stew is cooked and simmered all day until it is time for feasting. The Clan hosts prepare the feast hall with tables and chairs; setting up a table for the giveaway; baked goods; preparing for speeches, name giving and ensuring that feasting protocol is prepared. At five o'clock, the feast begins and carries on until the feasting work is done.

The ranking order of gifting is still the same today, but the gifts and cash have adapted with a change in economic times.

In our Nuuyum, feasting process encapsulates community leadership, which in turn informs Haisla Laws and Governance. I have reflected on these feasting processes to examine how feasting philosophies could be more explicit within contemporary governing models.

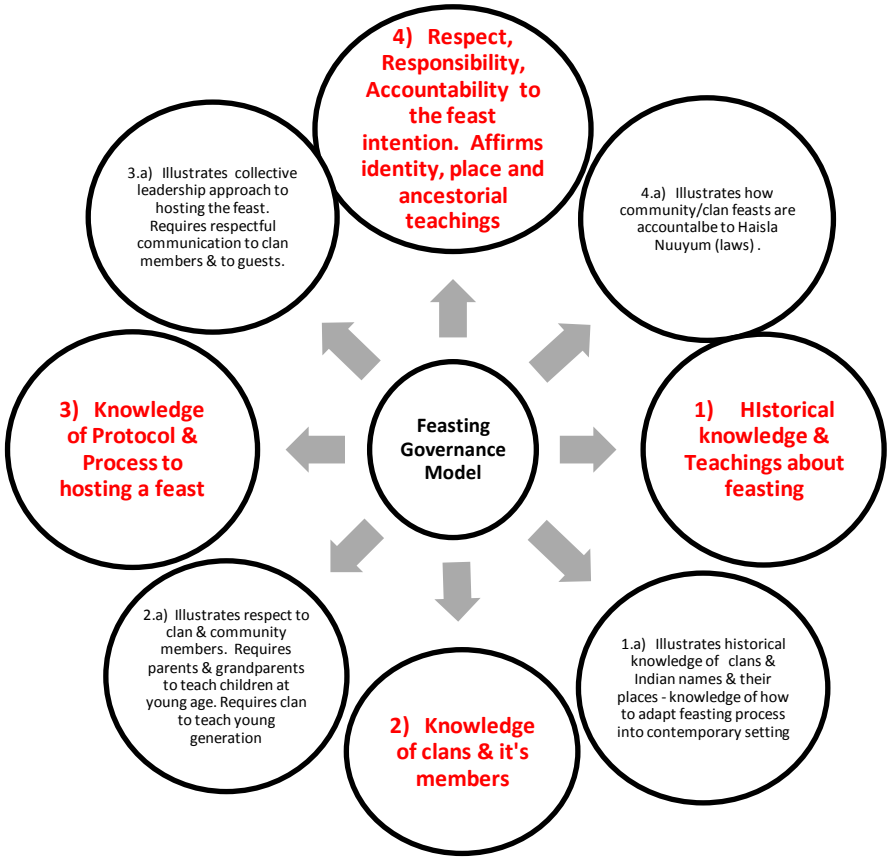
Figure 8 Haisla feasting

I have drawn upon a circle framework to show the intricacies of how Haisla ontology[56] (Wilson, S. 2008 p 33) within feasting is a form of leadership, knowledge, governance:

[56] In his book, *Research is Ceremony*, Indigenous Scholar, Shawn Wilson uses the term 'ontology' to explain that there are multiple views of a 'belief' and so people usually develop an ontological set of beliefs and take on faith from there. (p 33) I use this term here to highlight that my feasting beliefs herein are from my personal experience in the feast hall, learning from my parents, aunts and uncles and from the anthropological literature about Haisla feasting.

Feasting Knowledge

Figure 9 Haisla Nuuyum – Laws – Governance – Leadership



Green, J. (2011)

Weaving stories and histories

The influx of capital, western governance and economic growth initiatives have affected our Nuuyum. Just over 50 years ago, Alcan sought and attained a place to build its industry on our traditional territory. The town of Kitimat was planned to accommodate the development of Alcan. (Kendrick, 1987) Roads and railways were built to export aluminum and ships traveled through our waters as another mode to export goods. While our land and stories were

undergoing forced massive modernization and changes brought about through processes of colonization, our people adapted and adjusted to the rapid economic and cultural shifts circulating around them. (Helin, C. 2006 p 74) Like other Indigenous people around the world, our people sustained/created relationships with settler systems in an effort to ensure we had a voice and equal contribution to the economic expansion.

During this industrial, colonial and religious expansion, Haisla histories and Nuuyum became much more unsettled, complicated and complex. While our people recognized that industry was quickly expanding throughout our territories, they also saw the necessity to preserve our Nuuyum through all available and possible means. Some people saved their vacation time to fish for *oolichans* or to plan and work for their feast. Rather than going fishing with their families, children were in residential or day schools; this in turn affected the length of time families spent in the fishing areas (families did not want to be away from their children). Furthermore, English became the main form of communicating within our Villages[57].

Through these 'weaved' stories and experiences, our people have incorporated various methods to learning, understanding and living Haisla Nuuyum. We have heard stories and experiences about oolichan trails, other trading trails, epic devastations such as floods, disease and disenfranchisement of generations of people. Our ancestors armed themselves with their inherent cultural knowledge and practices as they met and engaged with newcomers who put a new face to the Northwest Coast of British Columbia. The old teachings of our Haisla ancestors and way of life brought together the elements of respect, honor and curiosity that manifested through *oolichan* fishing processing, historical landmarks and our feasting system. In my view, our people lived highly complex, nuanced and sophisticated lives as evidenced by

[57] English language was forced through residential and day schools, new *Indian Act* laws and missionary work.

the multipronged approaches they took to ensuring the survival by adapting and maintaining our cultural practices in the presence and force of local incursions and global demands.

Reflection

Our feasting system continues to be a strong force that brings our people and Clan members together. Our people continue to draw on this system for naming, memorial and other noteworthy community events such as sporting competitions, fundraisers, or sometimes as a means to bring community together during crisis. Vine Deloria Jr. (1999) elaborates on the importance of clans: "Clan structures began to evolve as tribal populations grew…Clans enhanced the life-world and never reduced it to a mechanical process." (p 178 - 179) On one occasion our Chief and council hosted a feast to commemorate a Peace Treaty between *Haisla, Kitasoo, Heiltsuk* (Kitamaat Village Council, 1999). This peace treaty was a response to the BC treaty process – a process that requires First Nations people in BC to negotiate pieces of land in order to settle a treaty agreement with British Columbia and Canada. (Prince, 2003 p 147) This BC treaty process disrupted the inherent knowledge of traditional places and the old historical trading stories that once formed the trails of native relations. The Peace Treaty was held in ceremony in our feast hall, and each Chief of the three Villages made an agreement with one another that they would not allow the BC Treaty Process to interrupt the relationship each community has with one another. During this Peace Feast, people were reminded about our inherent cultural knowledge and respect of the water, land, fish, birds and animals. They spoke to the importance of maintaining cultural relationships and responsibilities to future generations of all three nations. Importantly, our people were reminded about how colonial forces have harmed our way of life, about how our cultural governing systems have been subjugated and how we must gather as people to reclaim and solidify cultural practices relevant and distinct to

our Villages. The intentions of this Peace Feast as strengthening relations between Indigenous peoples are echoed in the work of Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel (2005). They argue that Indigenous peoples and communities must be unencumbered by and from the confines of the state, and to work towards a resurgence of governance that is reflective of our cultural ways. They further argue that engaging in state politics distracts us from Indigenous governance methods:

> Colonial legacies and contemporary practices of disconnection, dependency and dispossession have effectively confined Indigenous identities to state-sanctioned legal and political definitional approaches….such compartmentalization results in a 'politics of distraction' that diverts energies away from decolonizing and regenerating communities and frames of community relationships in state-centric terms, such as aforementioned 'aboriginality'. (p 600)

In his keynote address to the Alaskan Federation of Natives (AFN) Convention, Maori scholar, Dr. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2003) also refers to the notion of "politics of distraction" by which he means that if 'the natives' are kept busy doing 'trivial pursuits' there will be little time left to complain, question or rebel against the 'status quo' conditions. (p 1) These three Indigenous scholars argue that, rather than contemplate or negotiate within western regimes of governance, that we instead assert traditional forms of leadership and governance inherent from our Clan feasting to formulate a Haisla governing entity.

Suggestions for centering Haisla Nuuyum into leadership and governance

While there are many Indigenous communities who are negotiating and engaging in pathways to economic development, these negotiations often do not include community and

Clan members in an ethical or transparent way[58]. Moreover, surrounding communities and other non-Indigenous towns typically have not been included in the dialogue until well after discussions first began. My analysis of past westernized negotiations and its effects on our Nuuyum show the importance of developing relationships with varying groups of peoples and their communities at the *inception* of economic discussions or treaty negotiations. In so doing, key players such as our community and clan members, local towns and villages will be involved at the onset and ensure a greater level of accountability; knowledge of the economic proposal has the potential to be discussed and negotiated in a productive manner, resulting in an effective economic negotiation for all people who would be affected. In my reflection of our current governing systems[59], I want to examine the possibility of our Nuuyum and its philosophical underpinnings intertwining with contemporary leadership of Chief and Council[60] governance systems.

In our contemporary relationships, a key strategy for enhancing community input in economic development negotiations would be to center on our Nuuyum. Visitors such as non-native negotiators can begin by discussing economic proposals in our feast hall rather than negotiating in isolation with only band council members. Once band council members are contacted by economic developers, it would be beneficial and more in keeping with our traditional practices if council recommend that further discussion take place within the feast hall and issue invitations to all Clan and community members.

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[58] Most times, Clan and community members are not aware of the negotiation until well after the proposal was presented and developed.

[59] When I refer to 'our' in this context, I am referring to other Indigenous nations and not necessarily centering only the Haisla governing system.

[60] Although it is Haisla people who are elected into this system, it is still a westernized federal governing system. Currently there is an Elders advisory to this governing body, however, I want to explore how and if this and a traditional governance system can co-exist.

The specificities of returning to our Nuuyum would require a re-evaluation of our current methods, and may offer a richer, more collaborative and ethical dialogue among our people and in relation to visitors. In the feast hall the Chief Councilor will co-host the feast and he/she would work reciprocally at all stages of the process with our Hereditary Clan Chief and the other four Clan Chiefs. Rather than a naming or memorial feast, the feast work will be an introduction of the visiting negotiator to our Clan and community members. This approach of co hosting a feast will then be a forum that can unite our Clan and governing leaders (Chief and Council) as they discuss the proposed economic development that will affect our territory, resources and connection to these places. Hence, the level of autonomy in these discussions in our feast hall shifts to be inclusive of Clan and community members at the outset rather than learning of the 'negotiation' mid way or shortly after the proposal has been submitted to community. And, rather than reading a fifty page document about the proposal, information about the economic proposal will be presented orally to the Clan members in a feasting setting. From inception, these discussions could transform into sustainable viability for our people if a proposal was presented in a manner that included all peoples who would be impacted. Moreover, if our Clan and governing leaders decide together that they would initiate further discussions with the proposal, feasting can provide a space for each Clan to be represented for the duration of the proposal negotiations so that the process and results of negotiations can be effective, relevant, respectful and appropriate for our people and territory.

In most Indigenous communities, including our own, negotiations and discussions typically begin with the newcomer and Chief and Council. My suggestion moves beyond these two groups who negotiate on our behalf; I am suggesting that the first point of discussion is in our feast hall. Not only would the newcomer have the opportunity to present their proposal, but

our Clan Chiefs would in turn share the history of our ancestral places, our Nuuyum and its laws. In this manner, visitors are not the expert knowledge holders in the feast hall; instead, the responsibilities of knowledge is shared and reciprocated as they learn and understand how Haisla people sustain themselves and are connected to territory. Feasting provides all key players space and time to build and maintain a newfound relationship to discuss concerns or questions about a proposal that will affect *Haisla* livelihoods.

Here is what I mean: after the initial feast of introduction and sharing knowledge from all perspectives, it is incumbent on both parties that there is follow up with additional community feasts so that knowledge is shared and reciprocated. This method could take five to ten or twenty years before all parties involved have a specific and clear understanding of each other, all intentions are understood and all have had an opportunity to strategize what the process would look like and identify key people to be involved throughout future developments.

Now for newcomers, they will challenge a five to twenty year period 'just for discussions'. They may argue the necessity to expedite the partnerships due to economic demands; however, they would need to recognize that their success strongly depends on a foundational relationship between the people, their ancestral places and histories. They must consider and respect how westernized laws have historically dominated our people and subjugated our Nuuyum. They must also know that these discussions are not only straining for them, but also straining for our Elders, Clan Chiefs and the young people who are grasping to understand the implications for the future of land and children. There are significant and complex factors for the community to consider such as longevity of our land, fishing places, future of cultural practices including time and costs involved in discussing economic

sustainability within the territory. Many contemporary economic negotiations that occur mainly in westernized settings have a westernized agenda. Additionally, often times, the parties do not come to agreement in these negotiations in five to twenty-five years[61]. I am suggesting an alternate forum to discuss economic development outside of western forms of negotiations that would be reflective of the Indigenous communities and people. A change that centers Indigenous traditions and ways of governance will contribute to a shift in relations between Indigenous peoples and non-Native peoples.

Each Village throughout the northwest coast of BC has knowledge of and understanding about each community. Impositions of *Indian Act* laws and municipal boundaries have affected the ways in which these Villages now interact with one another. Moreover, many Villages now manage themselves in isolation from each other. An approach to re-claim those old relationships is to invite neighbouring Villages to a feast to discuss the proposed economic proposal. Additionally, it would be strategic to invite local non Indigenous peoples to hear about the presentation in our feast hall. Inviting our neighbouring First Nations and non-First Nations people to our feast hall to introduce them to the proposed economic proposal provides them with an understanding of Haisla history and also provides them a voice within the economic discussion.

None of the above would be to indicate to our neighbours that, at the point of the invitation, Haisla has agreed to accept the proposal, but that as Haisla people we are inviting our neighbours to be aware of this proposal at the onset. Moreover, this method is transparent

[61]In discussing this treaty processes with my partner, he shared his experience as a treaty negotiator for the province indicating that mainstream negotiators were quick to point out what was not working in negotiations and suggested other westernized negotiating techniques. In this, there were no recommendations to 'negotiate' within Indigenous forums or techniques. It was made clear that negotiations all take place in a westernized forum until a negotiation is agreed upon by all parties. I use the term 'forum' to indicate that negotiations currently occur within boardrooms in Victoria, BC or Ottawa – meeting in an Indigenous forum, such as a feast, or long house offers an alternate space to discuss important negotiations such as our Indigenous place. I'm suggesting that all meetings occur in Indigenous spaces.

and generous in that, non-Indigenous peoples are included in a feast to hear the account and affects of a proposed industry. While this method has the potential to be well-received by Indigenous peoples, non-Native people may not recognize it as valid knowledge mobilization and the vitality of traditional relationships with our neighbours. For example, within the contemporary colonial regime, racism and injustices continue to be unseen by British Columbians and the rest of Canada. There continues to be hegemonic political and governing views about reserves and so called 'rights' within a reserve system. The reserve system is what non-Indigenous peoples know; they remain uninformed and unknowledgeable about the philosophical aspects of the diverse cultural teachings and practices of Indigenous peoples. The hegemony of the colonial settler state and the privilege and authority of whiteness means that they are not obligated to know differently. In contrast, through these colonial relations, native people not only sustained cultural teachings, but have also learned how to subvert colonial forces. My method is simply a call to non native peoples to become responsible and accountable to understanding and respecting the philosophical worldviews that have sustained Indigenous people of the northwest coast. Alongside, this is also a call to our people to bring forth, live and assert our Nuuyum. Local towns and Villages will not go away; all will continue to prosper and grow as the demand for capital and economy are a part of our everyday lives.

While non-Indigenous peoples may find this method appears biased given my emphasis that all relationships and discussions be situated within a feasting system, feasting is intended as a starting point to discuss a proposal that directly affects traditional territories. Our Villages are in the situation they are in today as a result of western forms of negotiations. These forms of negotiations were and are not inclusive and transparent at the onset, nor did/do they take place within ancestral territories. As a result, many Villages are seeking compensation for

broken treaties and promises. Many Villages cannot fish for *oolichans*, pick berries, hunt or pick traditional medicines as they once did. Future economic development and expansion must take on a new face of producing resources. Discussions must shift from their current dominant western frameworks in order to be inclusive of the peoples and their lands that are centrally affected by the developments. Feasting needs to be understood as a method and framework to bring key peoples and their communities together to discuss the proposal at early stages. Haisla feasting provides an indispensible philosophical perspective about how landscapes and histories can be maintained and offers a brighter history of how economic expansion is a collective discussion rather than an imposed force. This suggested model would be hosted by Haisla chiefs while chief and council would be responsible for inviting diverse groups of people.

Figure 10 Feasting as a form of negotiating our economies

Green, J. (2011)

Finding our way back and reclaiming

Keith Basso (1996) refers to how the land entraps our souls. “The Apache old people say that young people will continue to drift towards these aspects of life. However, the old people don’t seem worried because the land will “stalk” our people and we will remember our stories”. (p 63) Although our people have moved towards western living, and western lifestyles have expropriated our places, we will remember and re-claim our old stories. This past year, while visiting the Lower Mainland, I met a man who I recognized as *Haisla*, I introduced myself and said, ‘your *Haisla*?’ he responded and said, ‘no, I’m *Kitlope*’. That was the first time I heard someone refer to himself as a Kitlope person. This interaction stayed with me and I appreciated how his identity is linked to that very old place. For Haisla people, identity encapsulates many places, stories, feast naming and interactions within an evolving society. This man’s response illustrates to me Basso’s reference of how our souls are intertwined with our lands regardless of whether we actively live on our traditional territories.

Non native people who are not aware of our people are aware of the town of Kitimat, and Alcan. Other people may refer to our people in reference to our *oolichan* grease. And yes, some people involved with native basketball in the North will know us as the first basketball team to win the “All Native Basketball Tournament” six years in a row. Our identities and places were never set out to be static. In fact, our identities include many facets of places that have emerged and intersected through generations. Gregory Cajete (2000) speaks to complex identities when he refers to the Pueblo tribes. He identifies how native people have their own creation stories, and how these stories evolve throughout time and throughout various places (p 37).

Perhaps for our people, our creation story is about the coming together of *Kemano* and *Tsimpshian* people through the life of *Huncleesla*. Today our ancient traditions of ‘place’ and

'identity' manifest in contemporary cultural practices in our feast hall. The older Clan Chiefs continues to address our people in Haisla language. Younger speakers only speak English. Some leaders choose to translate their words so young people can understand Haisla Nuuyum. Stories emerge today about many place names, what events occurred at these places, which families belong to these places. These stories must be documented and preserved for our children. Today, the emerging modern technology, industries and various forms of regulations have affected how we need to learn our Nuuyum. In our feast hall, most people understand the meaning of their traditional names and the stories behind their names, hence solidifying our knowledge of complex identities. Haisla traditional worldviews and ancient accounts are stories of community diversity. Our Nuuyum teaches us how to respect all living things, and is a philosophical framework to preserve our cultural practices, histories, places and identities. It is my hope that this piece of writing connects with and enhances the resurgence of our Nuuyum, and for the current and future generations to learn about our way of life. *Haisla Nuuyum is our law.*

Wa, Hy'chka, Thank you

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Haisla Nuuyum:
Cultural conservation and regulation methods within traditional fishing and hunting

Acknowledgements

Hemas – Moosmagilth! Gukulu – Ungwa! hkenuuk kundokq, hkenuuk helkinew, hkenuuk xanaksiyala, kitselas, haisla. Wa, Lekwungen and Esquimalt. My traditional name was gifted to my parents on their wedding day from the late Walter Wright. My name means 'journeying over the mountains with belongings on my back'; my parents are glasttowk askq and bakk jus moojillth – Ray and Mary Green. My grandparents are the late Walter/Muriel Nyce and the late James/Agnes Green.
I want to acknowledge the Elders, Chiefs and Ancestors of this beautiful territory where I work, study and play – Lekwungen (Songhees), *Wyomith* (Esquimalt), *WSANEC'* (Saanich)

Figure 11 Ray Green, Jacquie Green Noosa on the boat

Introduction to Article

This article includes stories of how our people practiced cultural and sacred conservation. As a young person I remember my parents preparing for oolichan fishing, clam digging and summer fishing. Drawing and building on oolichan fishing processes, and my memories of fishing preparations, I asked my parents about Haisla methods for living off the land and preserving food. In one of our Noosa sessions, my dad recalled ceremonies that were important for fishers and hunters to perform prior to their expedition. In great detail he shared the preparation that went into organizing people, time and places prior to fishing or hunting. This article captures my father's memories as he storied about earlier food gathering times. I learned from his fishing and hunting stories, that again, gywathlaab was an important

philosophy embedded and woven throughout food preparation and preserving. Fishing and hunting processes connected families, clans and our community together. Throughout this article I incorporate what I term 'cultural conservation' stories offered by my father. I illustrate how cultural and ceremonial practices during fishing and hunting hold similar intentions and objectives as mainstream conservation regulations, but conservation is practiced and regulated differently and with different intentions. Although both Haisla and western worldviews regarding conservation regulation are similar, the Haisla method for conservation is not recognized within government policies. In this article, I incorporate and weave in how colonial forces shifted the ways in which our people practiced cultural conservation.

As I reflect on hearing about these stories from my father, uncles and other family members, a constant refrain is that they always end their stories by indicating 'how things are changed now'. When they say these words, my sense is they do not feel like cultural conservation can be a part of our living. Working from these reflections, I make suggestions in this article about how younger generations can learn and understand cultural conservation in an effort to preserve these sacred teachings and practices.

Furthermore, in order for governments to understand cultural conservation methods, I suggest in this article that they take time to understand the specific processes embedded in rituals and ceremonies. I recognize that our people may choose not to invite state officials within our sacred cultural practices, however, I believe and hope that for *all* parties involved in developing and conducting conservation regulations, it is critical for them to understand diverse and Indigenous worldviews involving fishing and hunting. My intentions in this article are to explore methods for working together (with regulators and law makers) and to dialogue and think through how to replenish and preserve such valuable resources in our territories.

Introduction

Haisla Nuuyum (Way of Life and Laws) offers cultural teachings that continue to grow and develop throughout the generations. This paper translates and interprets stories told to me by my parents about how our Nuuyum illustrates the ways in which cultural rituals and ceremonies act or serve as methods of conservation and regulation for fishing and hunting. In these rituals and ceremonies, I include the roles that family members fulfil as the fisher and hunter prepares for their expedition. I will share accounts of cultural knowledge as it relates to seasons, weather conditions, and the ceremonial rituals required to be performed prior to, during and after the fishing or hunting trip. My analysis includes an examination of, and suggestions for how to apply rituals and ceremonies into contemporary fishing or hunting regulations. Throughout this paper I refer to cultural conservation as a set of methods that include rituals and ceremonies demonstrating how we practice conservation from our Haisla Nuuyum. Moreover, I explore strategies of how to re-teach cultural conservation to young people. It is important for you as a reader to understand that these cultural teachings are only one example of how a community practiced (and to a certain extent, still practices) conservation in a cultural way. There are diverse Indigenous[62] histories, identities and cultural practices and in these diverse places, some practices are still vibrant and lived, whereas for many other communities, cultural practices have been violated by colonial forces. Cultural teachings are lifelong processes and for many other Indigenous communities who continue to confront the devastation of their violated territories, there is an urgency to hear, preserve and re-tell their own sacred teachings as it relates to fishing and hunting.

[62] Throughout this paper I will use the terms, Indigenous, First Nations, Aboriginal and Native interchangeably. Our people use the term First Nations; primarily in academia, we use the term Indigenous. When I make reference to the Canadian government and other state officials and structures, I will use the term Aboriginal.

Due to modern shifts within Indigenous worldviews, it is essential that we are creative in how we relearn cultural knowledge and in how we re-tell these teachings to young people. As an academic, I have chosen to learn these cultural practices and translate them into text. In this text, I also incorporate specific stories that signify a cultural practice that, from my perspective, illustrates a teaching for conservation.

Centering an Indigenous paradigm in 'conservation' thoughts…

There has been an ongoing effort by academics and governments to learn and understand the relationship between Indigenous peoples, traditional practices and knowledges about fishing and hunting. As such, some contemporary regulations attempt to include aspects of Indigenous knowledges but do not capture the essence of cultural law. Cultural laws are diverse but specific for the different groups of Indigenous peoples and their landscapes. Cultural laws are traditional practices passed down from our ancestors who had intimate knowledge and understanding of how these practices would preserve natural resources, provide sustenance for people and ensure that mother earth and all her offsprings would be replenished throughout the seasons.

Translating these diverse and specific cultural methods into westernized regulations often results in the loss of the original intent of the cultural teachings. (Absolon, 2011; Archibald, 2008; Bauerle, 2003) For the listener or student of these cultural teachings, it is critical that there be a respectful relationship between the storyteller and the listener/learner. 'Respectful relationship,' refers to the important practice whereby you, as a reader, connect this text with a place and person you are familiar with in an effort to learn and understand the traditional practices relevant to that place and people. Now, for a student/learner of this type of cultural practice, it is important that the listener attempt to capture the cultural teachings

through experiential learning and be inclusive of the cultural teacher. If the intent is to develop a regulation, then it is essential that the learner maintain lifelong relationships with the cultural teacher and that the teacher be inclusive of a final written regulation.

To respectfully situate Haisla Nuuyum, it is necessary that my writing stems from and operates within an Indigenous paradigm that appropriately reflects philosophies of our Nuuyum. I will intersect this paradigm with a decolonizing framework as I explore methods for translating Haisla Nuuyum into contemporary regulation systems. The teachings I share in this article resonate from one family: my family[63]. My parents have shared that there are many methods, practices and approaches within cultural teachings. Each family, clan or community has their own distinct method for fishing or hunting and although distinct to each family, the core practices that guide them are the philosophies of Haisla Nuuyum. Not one family method is more valuable than the other. In this sense, my analysis will be to write in a manner that does not subject readers to the notion that this written piece is 'the answer', but rather, that readers search for their own accountability and responsibility of what they will do with the knowledge they acquire from this article. Wahpetunwan Dakota scholar, Waziyatawin writes about Dakota creation stories in her book *What Does Justice Look Like? The Struggle for Liberation in Dakota Homeland* (2008). In this book, she cautions her readers that the Dakota story is a story that connects her people to ancient traditions stating, "…the reason I am sharing this story is to demonstrate the ancient and sacred relations we have with this landscape" (p. 20). Throughout this paper, I draw on 'my' family stories to inform my analysis of cultural conservation. My analysis includes an examination of how these stories may be deployed in order to inform

[63] When I refer to "my family" this includes extended family such as aunts, uncles, grandparents from both sides of my immediate family.

specific operations to re-introduce cultural practices into existing family systems and into contemporary policies and regulations as they relate to fishing or hunting.

Theorizing Haisla conservation, regulation & laws of the land and water

Traditional worldviews of *Haisla* people encapsulate the distinct yet interconnecting knowledge of the land, the seasons, the weather, and the water; this knowledge informs people of seasonal and appropriate times throughout the year to fish and hunt (Basso, 1996; Cajete, 1994; Deloria 1999). Within these intersections, fishers must know how to work respectfully and sensitively within the ecosystems and must be prepared to conduct and adapt their lives in relation and response to weather. There are certain forms of rain, north wind and animal movements which affect how the water flows and in turn, this affects where the fish and other sea animals travel. So, for many fishers they must be of a good mind and heart to know these specific facets and be prepared to work in whatever conditions and elements presented to them. These aspects do not prevent the fishers from carrying out their work, but it allows them to know whether their fishing will be challenging; if it is challenging, it will also alert them to what these challenges may be and to prepare for them. *The old people say – 'the fish aren't going to wait for you or the weather to get better, get ready to fish!* Anthropologist Dr. Paul Nadasdy (2003) wrote extensively about relationships between Kluane First Nations people, the land, the animals and the state. He illustrates that for Kluane people, hunting is a way of life and that to hunt, meant knowledge and survival to and with interconnection of landscapes. He states,

> …Kluane people continue to conceive hunting essential to their physical survival. Many people explicitly spoke to me about hunting as being necessary for survival and stressed how important it is to "know how to survive." By this

> they did not mean the plane-crash-in-the-woods type of emergency survival but, rather, the ability to live and function comfortably in the bush for extended periods. (p. 64)

In the ambiguity of weather and other ecological factors, fishers and hunters require knowledge about certain methods of communicating effectively with each other while simultaneously paying close attention to the ecosystems and mountainous places throughout the Northwest.[64]

As stated, each family holds their own specific cultural teachings as it relates to their experiences and knowledge of fishing, trapping and hunting. These diverse stories include, but are not limited to, accounts of place names, events that have occurred at these places and historical knowledge of which families belong to these places. Deloria (1999) explains:

> The most common experience of Indian tribes today is that of reflective places…Tribal histories, for the most part, are land-centered. That is to say, every feature of a landscape has stories attached to it. If a tribal group is very large or has lived on a particular piece of land for many generations, some natural features will have many stories attached to them…These stories relate both secular events such as tales of hunting and warfare and sacred events such as personal or tribal religious experiences. (p. 252)

Embedded within these cultural knowledges are practices and methods that refuse to consider cultural infractions as illegal acts that require punitive actions as a corrective to the preservation of resources as is the case in contemporary conservation regulations for fishing and hunting.

[64] Northwest Coast of British Columbia (BC)

Rather, our cultural forms of regulations center teachings as a form of remedy in order to ensure accountability and communal responsibility.

Knowledge of landscape

Our ancestors have always maintained the importance of knowledge of and relationships to weather, land, animals and seasons. Their teaching is steadfast and clear: *if we have knowledge of these relationships then our families will never be poor, our families will always have food throughout the seasons and the fish will always return to our places*. . Speaking to the cultural teachings of the Kluane First Nations, Paul Nadasdy (2003) states:

> Yukon First Nations peoples have historically seen themselves as part of the land rather than as separate from it (McClellan et al. 1987) although they have drawn and continue to draw their sustenance from the land, they did not – until recently – think of their relation to the land in terms of ownership; instead they were in a complex web of reciprocal relations and obligations with the land and the animals upon it. (p. 223)

This form of relational knowledge, however, has oftentimes been subjugated throughout the evolution of the fishing industry (Harris, 2001; Newell, 1993). In the last decade, policy makers have made great strides in listening to the cultural teachings; however, this has not necessarily resulted in successful translation of cultural knowledges into contemporary laws

Generally, Indigenous peoples inherit knowledge that focuses us to our various obligations to ecology, cosmos and all living things. This knowledge includes an understanding of the respect and care not only for the resources and seasons we prosper from, but we were also taught to respect ourselves as fishers. Respecting ourselves as fishers entails the particular forms of familial accountability whereby families have to fulfill specific roles as their family

member prepares to fish. The knowledge that informs these vibrant, respected and lived cultural and ritualized practices were and are considered to form Indigenous law and governance. Anishinabek scholar, Dr. John Borrows (2010) asserts:

> Anishinabek legal traditions have ancient roots, but they are not stunted by time. They continue to grow and develop through observation, experience, and interaction with other people's more recent presence within their territories. Like other Indigenous legal systems, Anishinabek law is a living social order, developed through comparing, contrasting, accepting, and rejecting legal standards from many sources. (p. 244)

The diverse Indigenous laws contrast with western regulations and laws whereby aspects of spiritual and holistic relationships to and for fishing are not recognized as part of the state regulatory frameworks and functions.

What the landscapes tell us

Pueblo scholar, Dr. Gregory Cajete writes about science, cosmos, and Indigenous knowledges and illustrates how cultural teachings and Spiritual connectivity shape and is shaped by sacredness of ecology. In his book *Look to the Mountain: An ecology of Indigenous education* (1994) Dr. Cajete connects and interconnects spiritual metaphysics to learning, understanding and respect of all living things. He writes eloquently about ancestral knowledges and teachings to show us how to live harmoniously with all that is around us. For Cajete, these forms of knowledges are what he refers to as Indigenous or Tribal education and that the ultimate goal of Indigenous education is to be fully knowledgeable about one's innate spirituality (p. 42). Flowing from Cajete's work, we can understand that Indigenous education is not categorized and separated, but rather, education and knowledge is bought to us succinctly

as living within and in connection to our ecosystems. Cajete states, "What is called education today was, for American Indians, a journey for learning to be fully human. Learning about the nature of the spirit in relationship to community and the environment was considered central to learning the full meaning of life" (p. 43).

In the northwest of British Columbia Haisla rituals and ceremonies, as they relate to cultural conservation, resonate and are revealed throughout the different places that is now known as the Douglas Channel. Throughout the territory, there are many places, stories and teachings about where the Haisla people fished. Additionally, there are stories about different families and their experiences from those places. The fishing techniques in *the old days* are much different from those used today; what remain present, however, are the core values of when and how to fish. Throughout the Douglas Channel there are specific places, which tell the people where and when to fish. We come to know these places and gather this knowledge through weather movements and seasons; the weather and seasons are highly intertwined with, and influence our relationship to, the landscape, fish and animals. Embedded within these ecological spirals, are cultural rituals, ceremonies and practice that show us the respectful and appropriate times to fish and hunt. This story is shared by my parents:

> *In our Village across the water there are mountains. Of these mountains, there are mountains that are not pointed at the top; instead they are shaped like canoes at the top. These unique mountains tell the people a story and that story is about different species of fish migrating throughout specific places and in specific seasons. Throughout the seasons, fishers and their families' watch for which mountain the sun will set. For example, if the sun sets in the southern canoe top, it will be time to prepare and fish for herring. The fishers prepare themselves to work quickly because during this time the days are shorter and colder so they need to work fast. The fishers use a handmade tool called kediayou (this tool looks like a comb, but with nails that are burnt black – black so the herring cannot see the tool) Fishers used this tool to scoop herring rather than using nets for fishing. The people were*

taught that if nets were used, they would be over fishing the herring and that the herring would not return in the next season. Use of handmade tools was a method to control the amount of herring fished and in this; the people fished enough herring for their families winter supply and for ceremonial purposes such as feasting.

When the sun sets in a mountain beside the canoe shaped mountain, our people know it is almost time for oolichan fishing. At this time, the people prepare their oolichan camps, food, equipment and supplies. Finally, when the sun sets in the middle of the canoe, the people know that the oolichans have arrived. By then, they are prepared to oolichan fish and embark on their journey. Oolichans are a mystery fish. Year to year, people do not know when and where they will spawn. People do not know where they go or where they come from prior to oolichan fishing. My dad has shared that to this day, they do not know how much oolichans other fish, birds and seals have eaten before our people finally gain sight of oolichans. Fishers learn about oolichans by watching the activity of other animals, the weather and seasons and by watching closely where the sun will set. The people know that soon after the oolichans arrive, the next run of fish are steelhead, salmon, and trout and they are reaffirmed about this depending on which 'canoe mountain' top the sun sets at.

Regulating self: Cultural conservation

Historically, our people constructed and prepared their fishing/hunting equipment and supplies from materials found on the land. There were only certain times and seasons to use natural resources (trees, bark, roots, branches) for supplies and equipment. In the older days, oolichan fishing supplies and equipment were collected and built each year, by each oolichan camp members[65]. In addition to extensive preparation, families of the fishers also had important roles and responsibilities. Family members helped to gather supplies, prepare food and prepare boats, all of which were imperative to ensuring that the fishers would be safe and have the tools and means to successfully fish and provide for the families. Importantly, both fishers and their family members went through significant spiritual preparation, with the expectation of our

[65]For detailed information please see Green, J. (2008) Reclaiming Haisla ways: Remembering oolichan fishing. *Canadian Journal of Native Education.* Vol. 31, No. 1, pp 41 -60.

cultural practices being that both the fishers and their families would engage in honoring and paying respect through prayers before beginning their fishing journey.

Prior to fishing and hunting, fishers were required to carry out sacred teachings and rituals so that the fisher could be acquainted to the water, river, land, fish and animals. In this sacred ceremonial space, the fisher prayed to Creator for a safe and prosperous journey. It was emphasized that if the fisher respected the cultural teaching, this respect would be returned through an abundance of fish and/or wild game and the fisher would not fall into harm's way.

> *Prior to the departure, the fisher cleanses his spirit and prays as he bathes in the outdoor waters. He bathes and uses aweekas (devils club) as a cleansing medicine. The fisher bathes in the stream, prays and then plunges his/her entire being into the water three times. While bathing the fisher speaks to the fish or animal they will be harvesting. This sacred ceremony is done in isolation. No one is to know when the fisher bathes and prays. The fishers partner, usually a brother, uncle or friend also follows a similar process of bathing and plunging into the stream with aweekas. His prayers and ceremony will also be done in isolation and no one will know about his sacred preparation as well.*

Nuu-chah-nulth scholar Dr. Charlotte Coté discusses maintaining cultural links to their whaling ancestors. She states, "Our whaling ancestors never left us – they breathe life into our rich whaling narratives, preserved and reinforced through oral traditions. (p. 69) For Haisla people, the teaching is that one must be of sound mind and spiritually connected to knowledge of the cosmos. Cajete expands on these connections in the following way:

> The community embodies the essence of that "place," which is really the place of the spirit…each Indigenous community identifies itself as a sacred place, a place of living, learning, teaching, and renewal; a place where the "People" share the breath of their life and thought. The community is a living, spiritual entity that is supported by every responsible adult. (p. 47)

The very nature of requiring that the fisher connect spiritually and pay respect to the land, water and animals in advance of their fishing journey speaks to the traditional regulatory functions of our cultural practices. I was told that as soon as people received a sign about when to fish (where the sun sets), they began to prepare physically and spiritually. During this preparation, the *old people* have said some of the fish moved beyond the fishing place (went up the river) so that they can spawn for following years. The movement of fish demonstrates that the spiritual relationship to fishing helped to regulate how much fish would be left for the people. Determined by their place, various Indigenous peoples have similar fishing practices that establish this form of 'ceremonial regulation' of fishing. Speaking to his specific place and context, Gregory Cajete states:

> Hunters learned that preparing for the hunt was also preparing for life, a preparation most essential to body, mind and spirit. It involved a spiritual ethic of conservation and ecologically sound approaches for maintaining the life of the animals hunted. (p. 98)

A sacred ceremonial regulation as described here connects fishers to all other living things:

> *Through prayer, the teaching is that you will harvest only what is needed for your family and you will be guided where to fish. The fishing crew who will be travelling take time to map out their trip based on what they want to fish for, and where they will fish. By mapping out their trip, they are able to multitask by fishing for crab, halibut, and salmon and maybe even pick mussels. For example, they will travel by boat and begin their harvest at Beez inlet where they will drop their crab traps, and then travel to Collins bay to drop their nets for spring salmon. Once their nets are dropped at Collins bay, they may stop for lunch, pick mussels then return to Beez to check and pick up their crab pots. Last they will return too Collins bay to check and pick up their fishing nets. If time permits, they may gut and clean their catch while on the boat. By the time they return home, their catch is ready to be preserved.*

The sacred bathing ceremony confirms that Haisla people do not intentionally want to harm the animals, fish or land. In this cultural method, they do not fish for species that are not in its natural reproductive cycle, nor do they fish for species that are not naturally travelling its life cycle course. "The rituals performed for hunting functioned to attract animals and to cultivate a proper attitude and respect, but also allowed human beings to reconnect with those mythic times" (Cajete, p. 99). Cultural forms of fishing were and are regulatory and employed principles of conservation in order to ensure fishing supplies for future generations and for other forms of life that relied on fish for sustenance.

Family responsibilities to and for regulating

By now, fishers have prepared themselves, their supplies and equipment for their journey. One might assume that any fishing or hunting journey only includes the fisher. For Haisla peoples however, it was essential that families and their children also understand the underlying philosophies of our cultural practices as it relates to the fishing trip. The fishers spouse and children also prepared themselves spiritually; their distinct preparations, however, did not involve them partaking in the sacred bathing ceremony. The *old people* shared that it is important for families to be united spiritually and to be prepared to face any situation the fishers may encounter – whether it be stormy weathers or an overabundance of fish to be worked on:

> *Although the couple is in the same home, the fisher does not go near the spouse for three days before they travel. The spouse is to stay at home during the preparation including while the fisher is out on the harvest. The spouse demonstrates respect and prays for their spouse so they will be successful in their harvest.*
>
> *While the fisher is harvesting the spouse stays at home and does not participate in other activities or talk to other people outside of their*

> *home. The spouse is to respect and honor the fishing journey and any encounters with and to the land, water, animals or fish. If the spouse does not respect the stillness and quietness in their home, the fisher may not be successful in their harvest. When the fisher is out and catches nothing, people become suspicious and problems arise in the home and family. Our people refer to this instance as "Quolqual" which means when a person is skunked (no catch) due to the disrespect of the cultural practice from a family member*.

The call for the spouse to remain isolated and still during their partner's fishing journey was not viewed as sexist or patronizing; it was viewed as respecting the fisher who is fulfilling the family needs for the year whilst also providing a source of support through focus, mindfulness and attentiveness to the important journey. Teachings for why family members are to be isolated are:

> *The spouse may feel bad if there is an accident and the fisher gets hurt, or the accident is fatal. The family member may feel responsible if there was no catch. The beliefs in those days were if you don't respect cultural teachings during fishing or hunting – the fish, animals, land and water will not respect the fisher and family.*

> *This aspect was similar for children of the fisher and spouse. During fishing times, the children were to stay at home and not run around the Village, not participate in other activities such as sports, westernized dancing or they were not to scream around the Village – they were expected to stay at home, in stillness waiting for their fisher to return home.*

The teaching here is that family members are active participants and spiritually connected to the fishing journey. As such, cultural practices demand that family members must also believe and respect the sacred ceremonies that take place for the fishing journey.

From the children's perspective during those times, the cultural requirements were not understood as extreme in the way it would be perceived today. Typically, uncles, aunts, friends or other relatives would visit and provide support to the entire family. In the home, they would

be preparing their own supplies to preserve their catch. This would involve preparing their jars for canning, preparing wood for their smoke house and preparing barrels to salt their fish.

> *When the fishers' return to the community, they are greeted with people who help them unload their boats, bring their gear to their home and prepare their workspace to preserve their catch. For many fishers, they do not waste any part of the fish! The heads and tails of the fish are preserved by salting or they eat them right away by steaming or baking it. The bellies of the fish are salted and usually eaten during north wind season. P'ulaxw is the backbone of the fish and is barbequed and smoked before preserving. Typically, this is eaten during winter months sometimes together with seal meat. Both are slow cooked during the day for about 3 – 6 hours. For our people, this is a delicacy, especially during stormy weather. If there are salmon eggs, these are steamed and preserved: when it is time to eat the eggs, it is steamed in water and seaweed is added – again another delicacy. Typically this dish is used as an appetizer during mealtime. Another use of salmon eggs is to ferment the eggs and usually this is eaten raw or is fried and one can add seaweed (sometimes soya sauce) usually this dish is eaten together with deep fried potatoes and usually with a special invitation to the Old People or family or friends. The actual fish parts are smoked, salted, frozen or jarred – and usually eaten any time throughout the seasons. Usually the day the fishers return home, their family would cook Lejuk, which is steamed salmon cooked with onions and potatoes. Sometimes you can add seaweed, but what makes Lejuk delicious is adding oolichan grease. There are a number of different ways to smoke fish – half dried, fully dried and in strips which we call Toloss. When we eat the toloss with grease – we refer to this as 'tspa' which means, dipping your fish in grease. The unused parts of fish – usually guts – is either used as fertilizer for their fruit trees, or returned back to the water.*

Sacred ceremonies teach us to be respectful of ourselves, our families and all other living things. "If proper rituals were conducted during the First Salmon Ceremony, the salmon would see that as respect and would continue to return year after year" (Coté, p. 116). In the context of the fishing journey, cultural and spiritual practices emphasized the importance of respect for self. In this place of practicing silence and stillness, the fishers and their family were

honoring the 'spiritual' aspect of the fishing journey. In the older days, it was seen as a high honor when a family and crew were hunting or fishing. Community members assisted the family in their home, if necessary, while also offering support when fishers returned home. Often, when fishers returned home they would share their catch with other family or community members. In this way, fishers often contributed to the sustenance of the entire community.

This entire process for fishing illustrates how traditional knowledge, in its very specific forms, teaches fishers and their family members appropriate times for harvesting their food. Moreover, traditional knowledge shows the intelligence of not only the fisher, but also their entire family as they prepare and preserve their catch. I point out intelligence because *in those days*, typically a catch would involve up to 100 fish and this required fishers and their families to work precisely, astutely and with great speed so that there is no waste and that all of the catch could be preserved and shared with families and other community members. Because the family respected their cultural teachings – our *Nuuyum* – respect was returned to the family by the abundance of food they received that would last them until next fishing season.

This fishing process is very similar to preparing for oolichan fishing. My dad shared how his grandfather would celebrate the abundance of *oolichans*. His grandfather would stand in his canoe and holler "*Chaieee! Chaieee*!" This means there is plenty of *oolichans* in the river! Cajete (1994) also shares a celebration story:

> The celebration, often seven days in length, included feasting, gift-giving, torch-bearing processions, dancing and singing. During all the ceremonial of welcome, countless salmon were allowed to pass upstream to the spawning

> ground, and thus the ritual actually helped to assure the continuation of the salmon run. (p. 102)

During those times, fishing was life. Life was fishing. There were cultural laws that were taught and learned. In those times, the people were prosperous because of the abundance of resources and because they followed the governance and regulatory principles of respectful cultural conservation. They shared and they respected what was gifted to them in the form of fish.

Hunting must include knowledge of 'Wa'wais'

For Haisla people, different types of harvest call for distinct and specific forms of preparation and ceremonial processes. Based on the needs of the family and depending upon what they are harvesting, there are *cultural conversation and regulations* about how they prepare and approach their harvest. For example, they learn and understand teachings from and about the landscape; they must understand what harvest is available in what seasons; and they must be able to work adeptly and effectively with their crew. There are only certain seasons and months to hunt for ducks, seals or to dig for clams or cockles. There are strict seasonal times about when they can trap for smaller animals. These cultural practices were and are still in place so that our natural resources could replenish.

> *If they are trapping, the trapper must clean their traps by soaking them in aweekqas before their departure. Once the traps are cleansed, they are put away where no one could touch it. Before leaving for their boats or trap line, the trapper must also cleanse their boots and clothing with aweekqas. By doing this, they say the animals will only smell the aweekqas and not the human smell and therefore will not know that the hunter is in the woods.*

This sacred preparation is not only protection for self, but so that the trapper will not harm other animals in the process. As is the case in fishing preparations, hunters and their families follow similar spiritual preparedness. A person was always required to understand notions

within wa'wais when they embarked on a journey to access resources for family, clan or community

While I could write about wa'wais in the section about knowing our landscapes and/or knowing our creation stories, I have specifically chosen to place accounts of wa'wais with hunting. Wa'wais are hunting trap lines on pieces of land which belong to families, but owned by their Clan. Within wa'wais territories, people fished, hunted, trapped, picked roots and/or traditional medicines. Wa'wais tells us historic stories of who belongs there, and what they fished or hunted for during older times. During memorial feasting, wa'wais are then passed on to the next generation. "For Indian men and women, the past lies embedded in features of the earth…which together endow their lands with multiple forms of significance that reach into their lives and shape the ways they think. Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self…" (Basso, 1996 p 34). Haisla wa'wais tells stories of our histories, cultural economies and landscapes, and has taught our people how to respect the hunt and landscapes. Similar to our feasting protocol, wa'wais – together with the owners' traditional name – is passed on to the person who traditionally inherits this rite. Within our territories, there are five clans and fifty-four wa'wais. From this account, you can see that most families once owned their own wa'wais and we can also imagine that their livelihoods depended on knowledge of wa'wais and what it provided to the people. This type of ownership does not mean that families could only fish or hunt within their own wa'wais. If they wanted to fish or hunt for something other than what was in their area, they simply asked permission to fish or hunt in another members wa'wais. Sometimes as they were hunting within their wa'wais, they would meet up with another hunter from another wa'wais.

My dad shared many stories about his father and his uncle who were trappers and hunters. Mostly they would hunt for goat. One

time when his dad was hunting in Q'epuwax, his wa'wais, he was climbing the mountain hunting for goat. It must have been a long journey to the top and when he finally made it to open areas on the mountain – he saw his cousin who was also hunting. My sense is that they were both hunting by themselves. From the story, it appeared that they were surprised to see each other - they took a break, had their tea and lunch. Dad said after their tea, they headed back down the mountain, continued hunting before they returned home.

In these territories there are many forms of wildlife. Particularly, there are fierce animals such as grizzly, black or brown bears. Similar to the fishing spiritual regulations, it is essential that the hunters prepare themselves to be protected from fierce wildlife. I have often heard stories of how hunters, trappers or berry pickers would talk to the woods before entering. They would say in our Haisla language "*It's me, I'm only coming in to hunt or to pick berries – I won't hurt you"*. At the same time, if there was an accidental death of an animal, or if they saw something in the woods that they had never seen before, they would say "*nolaxw, nolaxw, nolaxw*". By saying this term three times, you acknowledge the spirit of the animal that died or you are expressing the 'awe' of something beautiful you have seen for the first time.

My grandmother from my mother's side was an avid fisher. What I remember about her is that her entire life depended on her ability to fish and preserve her catch. She dug for clams and cockles, she crab fished, salmon fished and she picked berries. She knew the traditional names of all the wa'wais and who owned them. She lived with my grandfather at a logging camp down the Douglas channel. While he worked at the logging camp, she fished for our entire family. While she never specifically 'said' anything to me, I watched her prepare herself for fishing, she preserved all the resources by herself and then she would 'boat' into Haisla and distribute to her sisters, brothers then her children. She included us as her grandchildren, she would give us chocolate bars and orange crush pop.

My grandmother is an example to me about respecting these wonderful resources. She was very careful in how she preserved her catch. She spent hours in her smoke house to ensure there was the right amount of smoke for the fish. She jarred cases of fish, wild crab apple, salmon and blue berries. Once, we as grandchildren went fishing with her. She was not impressed at our ability to help her – I think we got in her way.

> *Nevertheless, she showed us how to start her boat, how to slow it down when we came close to fishing grounds. She showed us how to look for signs of clams and cockles. Although we tried to pull up the crab trap for her, she wanted to show us how to be gentle and how to empty the crab trap gently so that the meat does not bruise. When we returned home, the task was to clean and preserve all the catch. We groaned as we saw the big bowl of crab to clean – it would take us hours. Once the crab was cleaned, she jarred it and awed at the beauty of how the crab looked in the jar. I suppose back then we could have said 'nolaxw, nolaxw, nolaxw'. My grandmother was a wonderful and beautiful teacher for fishing.*

Similar to knowing where the sun sets (on the mountain shaped like a canoe) and varying forms of weather patterns, wa'wais is equally important to know and re-learn. Traditionally, these wa'wais places played a significant role in the livelihoods of our people. Within Wa'wais territories, people respected these places, they shared them and they knew when to share their place with the entire community or with surrounding communities. There were natural laws which we refer to as our Nuuyum. Cleansing for our people is referred to as *Nakwelagila* which teaches the importance for cleansing inside and outside, mentally and physically. The old people have said the "strength of the medicine involves the power of the mind and that the mind is the backbone of our medicine" (Kitamaat Village Council, 2005, p 66). In this sense, the spiritual connection regulated our relationship to and with fishing and hunting and, consequently, our people prospered for many years with fish and wildlife.

Modernizing and adapting our Nuuyum

The cultural practices identified in these stories are *Haisla* law; this law attempted to safeguard and ensure that there is an abundance of resources throughout each season and for the entire community. These cultural teachings have been passed on through generations through storytelling and experiential learning (Green, R. 2007; Kitamaat Village Council, 2005). It has been emphasized in these teachings that you learn through experience and that

teachings are shown and told over and over. In the older days, fishers were taught skills at a very young age. They worked within their fishing crews for many years to learn and understand fishing processes and fishing meaning making. Throughout the years, fishing crews changed as their families grew and each of these cultural teachings shifted and adapted depending on which family you were fishing with.

Throughout the generations, these cultural teachings faced and were confronted with modern methods and techniques for fishing. With the emergence of new technologies, the influx of industry and intermarriages of young fishers, fishing processes were expedited (Coté, 2010; Harris, 2001; Newell, 1993). Throughout these shifts towards modern fishing technologies and practices, our people knew which fishing skills could be adapted, yet also knew which fishing processes remained untouched by modernization. However, during these times of changes and adaptations to new techniques, Haisla Nuuyum continued to be the philosophical foundation and epistemic guide for fishers.

Disruptions to our Nuuyum occurred and are occurring through the imposition and clash of other kinds of regulation and of western laws that attempt to interfere with and sever our way of life. *Indian Act* laws restricted our fishing and hunting, thereby causing a myriad of disturbances to our economic and social forms of life. The removal of countless children from our community and subsequent placement in residential schools led to ruptures in our kinship and familial relations, as well as severing the inheritance of intergenerational regulatory education acquired through participating in cultural practices and ceremony. Furthermore, a form of governance stemming from the *Indian Act* soon dictated laws that our people were forced to abide by. During the early years of these disruptions, there were laws in place that criminalized our people for failing to conform to these laws. It was not long before these newly

formed laws took hold and were exercised within our community. Historian John Lutz (2008) elaborates,

> Aboriginal people all over the province experienced the effects of laws explicitly aimed at limiting their economies as well as other laws, which, in the process of their administration, had the same effect. These severely limited the kinds of work that Aboriginal People could do, but even more fundamental were the laws and regulations that defined "Indians" and established a set of race-based privileges and limitations." (p. 236)

While the imposition of colonial laws has been devastating for so many First Nations communities in the Northwest, our people resisted and protected our Nuuyum in their memories and souls, thus stifling much of the fragmentation that comes with imposed colonial policies.

Due to the imposed laws, our cultural practices have not been utilized to the same extent they once were. Our people have not partaken in the sacred bathing ceremony like they once did. Not all family members are as involved with fishers as they once were. While most of our community fishes with their families – those old sacred teachings are no longer practiced. In her book, *Spirits of our Whaling Ancestors,* (2010) Dr. Charlotte Coté writes about stories her mother shared with her as she was growing up and how those stories shaped her life. Charlotte references Ballenger to say, "Memory is a place where cultural materials get put, usually in the form of stories that tell people who they are and who they have always been" (p. 84).

Westernized laws cannot criminalize our people like they once did, nor can the churches and governments so freely take away our children. In many of our First Nations communities, many of our people have attained post secondary education and hold graduate degrees. People

in our communities are taking up leadership roles in an effort to respectfully and appropriately provide for clans and community members. Leaders are governing the people in a manner reflective of their distinct territories, histories and cultural practices. Throughout all the developments over the last century we have seen many small villages and wa'wais throughout the Douglas Channel. We have witnessed the development of industry, the arrival of Christianity and the construction of the town of Kitimat. There are many more towns and industries in the Northwest, with people from around the world who live there. Many of our people have moved from the territory due to intermarriage, or for the purpose of work or school. In the midst of this survival and resistance, I wonder how we teach our children about sacred bathing. How do we teach young families to be still while their spouse is fishing? How do we make these sacred aspects a main part of our lives like it once was? Throughout my own educational journey, I have often wondered and sought to analyze how we might bring these teachings back and how we might incorporate cultural practices into policies and laws.

> *My first thoughts are that each family must take on the task of teaching their own children. Although there are no oolichans, it would be important for fishers to prepare themselves spiritually like they once did. It would be good learning experiences if the children and families learned how to prepare their equipment and camps like they once did. By doing this, children and families experience and learn those very old sacred processes for fishing. In an effort to allow children to participate, it would be good if schools could provide credit to students for participating in this process so that they are not discredited for missing school. In addition, it would be great to develop a social studies book for our community school and the town of Kitimat that provides the account of Haisla peoples and the evolvement of industry – and is seen as a credited book by the school district.*

The significance of these teachings is that we must believe in our traditional teachings, we must respect our families, all living things and ourselves. Deloria (1999) affirms the importance of our teachings in the following way: "The essence of the Indian attitude toward

peoples, lands, and other life forms is one of kinship relations in which no element of life can go unattached from human society" (p. 131). If we doubt our teachings then we do not learn how to conserve our resources. Cultural conservation was our livelihood and our lifeline. Our people harvested only what we needed for our families.

Throughout these stories and in my studies, it is clear that our cultural conservation and regulatory processes evolved over time, due in part to the infringements of specific and varying legislative laws. At first, these laws were an attempt to keep our people confined to a reserve system. Soon, these laws began to regulate when and how our people could fish or hunt in order to thwart our people's efforts to disrupt the developments of a westernized fishing industry. At the onset of these laws, our people were not consulted. Paul Nadasdy analyzed the interruptions to Kluane First Nations people and stated:

> Kluane people have suffered all of the hardships and indignities experienced by colonized people the world over. If anything, the social change they experienced was all the more disruptive because of its rapidity. In just over fifty years they have made the transition from subsistence-oriented hunters and trappers to full – if still marginalized – citizens and workers in a post industrial capitalist state. Kluane people and their culture, however, have not simply given way before the irresistible onslaught of capitalism and the Canadian state. (p. 27)

More recently, governments have attempted to work with our people to amend existing laws. Although these laws are not as constrictive or exercised as violently as they once were, they remain violent in that they continue to have a demeaning and dehumanizing effect on the

dignity of our people as they fish, trap and hunt. Our people now have to register for a license and they must show a government agent their license, which also includes their *Indian Act* status number. (Green, R. 2007; Lutz, 2008) And, while they are fishing or hunting, they are often required to show their fishing bins to government agents to 'prove' that they are not over fishing. Thus, a systemic program of surveillance, regulation and curtailment of resources continue to permeate the relationship between Indigenous peoples and colonial state laws and governance. If our people showed government agents their traditional *wa'wais*, the government agents would not know what this means. In *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*, Paul Nadasdy (2003) emphasizes:

> First Nations people continue to use the very cultural meanings and practices they are trying to "preserve" as a basis for interpreting and action upon the world – including in their interactions with Euro-Canadian people and institutions. We cannot hope to understand Aboriginal-state relations without taking this into account. (p. 3)

I respect the works of Paul Nadasdy as he navigates through stories from Kluane First Nations Elders and constitutional laws in an attempt to analyze whether First Nations knowledge is correctly interpreted within political fishing regulations. Like Nadasdy, I believe that the government is aware of the injustice contained within existing laws in relation to First Nations peoples. While governmental departments are attempting to 'consult' with First Nations people to correct this 'unjust' policy, the consultation process and the action of amendments continue to be developed within western economic and political frameworks. Nadsasdy (2003) contends:

> So if we really want to understand the role knowledge plays in processes like co-management and land claims, then we have to examine not only the unequal power relations between participants but also the assumptions underlying the concept of knowledge integration itself and how they both derive from and reinforce those relations. (p. 113)

Contemporary regulations and laws of the Canadian state include some aspects of inherent rights for Aboriginal people. While this is significant, constitutional rights do not resemble nor does it respect the diverse cultural practices for First Nations peoples. Law Professor, Douglas Harris, (2001) states,

> …Native laws were much in evidence in Native/settler relations in northern British Columbia until late in the nineteenth century. The missionaries, whose, influence in Native society far exceeded that of local magistrates, used their knowledge of 'Indian Law' to resolve or diffuse disputes between Native and settlers. It was not until the 1880's…that Indian law was transformed by the state into 'privileges' granted under Canadian law…later, 'Indian law' became 'oral tradition' to be considered by courts as evidence but not as law. (p. 202)

Throughout Canada, First Nations people are asserting their inherent rights which flow from their relationship and ancestral knowledge to all living things. While there are arguments to having recognition from the Crown, this recognition must move beyond pieces of legislation that simply names First Nations, Inuit and Métis people without any consequential shifts or incorporating Indigenous forms of governance within legislations. If the government now recognizes these three groups of people, in what ways are these recognitions noteworthy? And

what does it mean for our people to be substantively recognized by the Canadian state? These crucial questions may come under consideration in another paper. Nonetheless, for regulation and conservation laws, our people have always maintained the necessity to be at the decision making table when these laws were developed. Perhaps government agents could participate in sacred preparedness to understand and learn how these traditional teachings influence and are effective conservation and regulatory laws. A Kluane First Nations person told Paul Nadasdy that a wildlife biologist asked her 'what exactly is traditional knowledge?' She responded, "…well, it's not really knowledge at all: it's more a way of life" (p 63).

> *So, I ask myself, what are ways in which government regulations could be inclusive and respectful for diverse Indigenous peoples? I think there are specific tasks that can be done to ensure cultural practices are understood. I think there are specific learning pieces that government official could undergo to better understand why or how ceremony can be regulatory. And, I think if there could be a way to pause the machinery of government to remember the historical relationship with First Nations people, and in this it is hoped they would remember the original commitment and relationships to the people. I believe that if government officials modeled a respectful and just relationship to First Nations peoples, then other provincial and municipal governments, including corporations and industries will follow suit. This would combat the racism our people face whenever there are governmental or corporate developments within our 'traditional' territories. Canada is not very old. There are Elders in our communities who have lived up to 90 years old and they remember all the shifts within and throughout our territories. They have told these stories to their children. There are government agents who are 90 years old and I'm sure they remember these experiences as well. The town of Kitimat is just over fifty years old. If our people are around to remind us about 'what used to be', I'm sure there are non-Indigenous peoples who need to remember their place in this history.*
>
> *I would suggest as a starting point that our people invite government officials to a feast to discuss conservation and regulation. I would also suggest that our people show and perhaps invite them to participate in a sacred ceremony for fishing and that officials participate in the preparation of their supplies and equipment so that they would have an understanding of what a cultural practice entails. If their involvement*

becomes the norm of government to develop policies, then I think that the needs of all people involved could be better addressed.

Certainly, my suggestions will likely face contention from some of our people and from many non-Indigenous peoples. I do not believe that government will consider our request in any meaningful way and change policy. Regardless of whether our people work in government, I remain skeptical of the possibility that policies will change – they have not changed thus far, despite the many consultation processes between Indigenous peoples and government bureaucracies. What I am suggesting is merely to put forward a recommendation for both sides of negotiators to relate to each other on an equal playing ground. From the outset, western practices and processes have dominated relations between Indigenous peoples and colonial settlers. While there have been a few government agents who have truly advocated for cultural practices, there remains to be no significant change. A hunter who collaborated with Paul Nadasdy stated his reasons for not attending co-management meetings in his territory.

> …government people treat him and his knowledge like it was "old-fashioned" and useless. He said that they should hold one of these meeting out on his trapline during the winter (where it might easily be -40◦ or -50◦ Celsius.). He would tell them they could discuss management after they got a fire going, built a brush camp, and got dinner ready. Then they might realize that he and other elders know a little something. (p. 132)

If various levels of governments were invested in shifting relations between the state bureaucracies and indigenous communities, and if they truly intend to 'amend' policies as they relate to First Nations people, they would know and understand that they would begin their collaborative journey in a feast or ceremony.

Weaving stories and experiences – so what?

Documenting traditional stories is not enough. Such stories must be regularly shared with our young people to strengthen our knowledge in order to continue preserving our land and water. Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) is one of the first Indigenous scholars to publish a book about what it means to conduct research from an Indigenous Scholarly perspective. "For many indigenous writers, stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further" (p. 145). While it is important to learn and re-learn cultural practices, it is also important to understand how colonialism has affected Haisla Nuuyum. Tuhiwai Smith's work affirms the importance of documenting both of these histories and to show our people ways in which we have not only preserved cultural practices, but have adapted our livelihoods within an encroaching and changing society. There are multiple forms to document our stories, our Nuuyum, our sacred teachings and our relationships to settlers. There certainly are stories shared in public schools about the development of Canada. However, there has not been a balance within our school systems and governments about how these two histories have intersected for over a century. Smith recommends "recording stories as a way of "writing back" whilst at the same time writing to ourselves" (p. 37).

Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank attempts both a recording and writing back method in her work with three Tlingit Elders – Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith and Annie Ned – to produce a beautiful account of their experiences in the southern Yukon. In her book, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and knowledge in the Yukon Territory*, Cruikshank (1998) shares how one of the elders describes that land ownership rarely includes formal boundaries and ownership is expressed through knowledge acquired during a lifetime (p. 16). Similar to the Elders from the Yukon, and how Tuhiwai Smith describes 'speaking back', our people were taught to respect

and know our *wa'wais*, our ecology, and to care for the land and the people who are working close by you. These notions of respect include what our people refer to as *Gywathlaab* which means 'helping one another'. (Green, M., 2006, p. 5) These old teachings are what frame *Haisla* laws and the practice of cultural conservation. Cruikshank's writing engages readers with the interchangeable styles of using both scientific dialogue and storytelling. Cruikshank is a non-Indigenous woman who has shown through her writing her commitment and respect for cultural teachings. She is a valuable ally and in her method of writing, she incorporates two voices throughout her writing – those who are Elders and those who are scientist. Her method of writing shows how western regulations become formalized; she draws on storytelling to illustrate how cultural practices formulate cultural laws that will 'conserve' our natural ecological environment.

Contemporary fishing and hunting has transformed rapidly and now includes modern technology and methods. While there remains a philosophical foundation for Haisla Nuuyum, there continues to be no recognition in western regulations to understand the meanings behind the cultural teachings. So the questions that emerges for me are: how do we as Indigenous Peoples and Scientist have a dialogue about mother earth and all living things based in respect and mutuality? How do we respectfully share each of our teachings and/or education about our world views that will not impose or take away from all groups of people? Moreover, how do we develop these in a way that does not perpetuate colonial thought and practices?

Four directions of cultural regulation and laws…

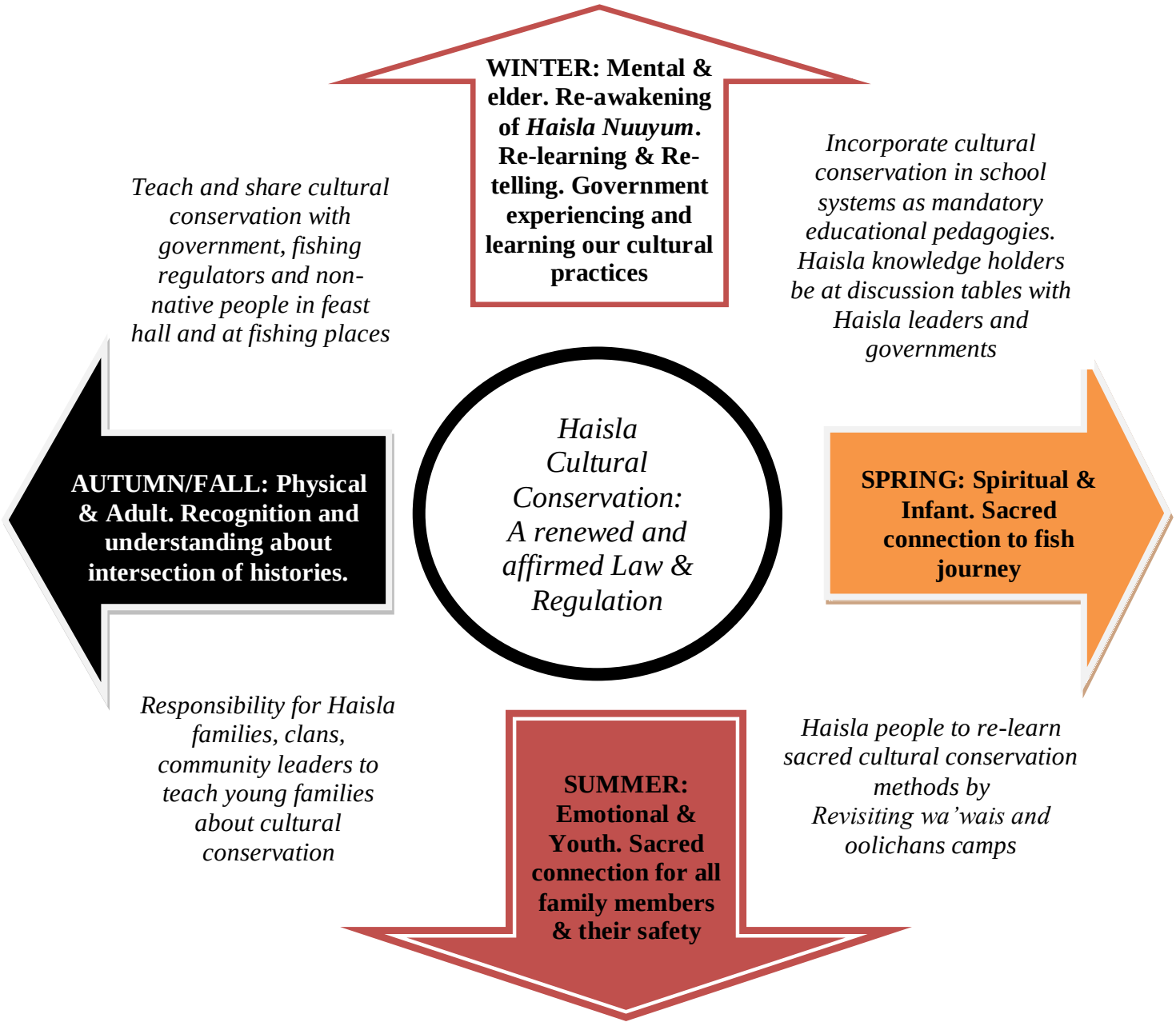
Four direction teachings illustrate a holistic connection to all aspects of life. There are many different teachings and practices about four direction teachings. Some Indigenous peoples refer to this teaching as Medicine Wheel teachings, while others refer to it as circular

teachings. Medicine Wheel teachings are a borrowed philosophy from my colleagues who are Anishnabe and Ojibway. I have used this philosophical framework throughout my professional and personal life. This philosophy guides me in how I think through my writing, research and daily living. Typically I draw upon four directions that include the life cycle, such as infant, youth, adult and elder. I also utilize aspects of our being, such as spiritual, emotional, physical and mental. Other aspects can be placed within the four directions such as colors, animals, and elements of the earth, traditional medicines and seasons. For the purposes of this paper on cultural conservation and regulation from a Haisla Nuuyum perspective, I will employ the four seasons to encapsulate my final thoughts for this paper.

The *Eastern* direction is the direction of infant and Spiritual being – this is the direction of spring. In this direction, our people prepared themselves spiritually by partaking in their spiritual bathing. They also spiritually prepared their supplies and equipment for their journey. During this season, they also watched for signs of what and where they would fish or hunt. The *Southern* direction is the direction of youth and Emotional being – this is the direction of summer. In this direction, families of the fishers prepared themselves and their household for the fishing journey. There were strict rules about how they must conduct themselves. The families also prepared their homes, supplies and smoke house to preserve their catch. In this cultural practice, all family and crew members engaged in prayer, silence and stillness. The *Western* direction is the direction of adult and the Physical being – this is the direction of fall/autumn. In this direction, we note two different worldviews between our people (First Nations' people) and non First Nations. This is direction when colonial foreign laws and physical forces attempted to prevent our Nuuyum from prevailing. The *Northern* direction is the direction of elder and the mental being – this is the direction of winter. The *Mental*

direction is where leadership is demonstrated, including the importance for fishers and their families to hold extensive knowledge about the entire fishing journey, pre and post preparation. In this direction, we ‘remember’. This is the direction to re-awaken those old sacred teachings. This is where non-Indigenous peoples learn and understand the philosophical teachings within traditional knowledges. This is also the direction where we re-think what conservation is and that this will better reflect and Indigenous worldview.

Figure 12 Cultural conservation, regulation laws throughout seasons…



Green, J. (2011)

Aixgwellas….

My dad shares that conservation is not a priority to organizations such as sport fishermen. Generally sports fishermen are not regulated in a same manner that Department of Fisheries (DFO) regulates Indigenous peoples when they fish. Sport fishers can fish up to seven days a week regardless of any limitation on their catch. Sport fishery organizations build lodges and camps to attract tourists and sport fishers to our territory and they can fish daily with no one to monitor their catch. The northwest coast waters are immaculate with beautiful scenery and with an abundance of places to fish. The beauty of our territory and its fishing attracts visitors from all over the world for sport fishing. The difficulty and the space of painfulness for Haisla people is that because these fishers are visitors and will leave our territory, they are often uncaring and abrupt in their actions and pollute our water with garbage. Fishing organizations that accommodate 'sport fishing' do not enforce 'common sense' laws of respect because this may be "bad for business." Douglas Harris (2002) writes in reference to Dianne Newell's question: "For whom are fish conserved? The answer she concludes is that Native people, despite their long history of effective resource management, bore the brunt of conservation for the sport and industrial fisheries." (p. 17)

Despite decades of rationalizing who has the right to fish or hunt, there has never been a satisfactory conclusion to meet the needs and concerns of our people. This is due, in large part, to there being little or no motivation on the part of non-Indigenous peoples to learn and know cultural living prior to settler developments. For Haisla people, fishing is life and fishing processing is our connection to all that is around us. Nadasdy (2003) shares an account of Kluane people and their life as hunters. He states,

> …when I talk about 'hunting' I am referring not simply to the shooting of animals but also to the entire constellation of values, beliefs, practices, and

> social relations that surround and give meaning to Kluane people's subsistence strategies and their relationship to animals. (p. 66)

There will continue to be amendments to laws, creation of new laws and legislation in an attempt to appease Canadian citizens. However, no one will be satisfied. From a Haisla perspective, all we ask is that you learn and understand the unique methods that our people lived of which we refer to as our Nuuyum and what you refer to as cultural conservation law.

Wa! Hy'chka! Thank you

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Spirituality, faith affiliations and Indigenous people's experiences of citizenship

Respectful relationships (protocol)

Hemas – Moosmagilth! Gukulu – Ungwa! hkenuuk kundokq, hkenuuk helkinew, hkenuuk xanaksiyala, kitselas, haisla. Wa, Lekwungen and Esquimalt

I want to acknowledge the Elders, Chiefs and Ancestors of this beautiful territory of where I study, work and play. My traditional name 'kundoqk' which means journeying over the mountain with belongings on my back. I belong to the Killer Whale Clan. I am Xanaksila, Tsmishian and Haisla.

I want to acknowledge and show utmost respect for our ancestors and honor them for sustaining cultural teachings within their soul and spirits

Introduction to Article

In this article, I write into and explore aspects of Spirituality from a Haisla and Indigenous perspective. As I have indicated earlier in this body of work, our Nuuyum is buried within the hearts of people – however, the Spirit of our Nuuyum manifests in the teachings of protocol, acknowledgement of ancestors, respect and care for all living things. I attribute discussions within this article to personal experiences of meeting Indigenous peoples from many different places in the west coast, nationally and internationally. There is a commonality in how Indigenous peoples relate, connect and live Spirituality.

Figure 13 Kitlope River 'where we oolichan fish'

I was invited to write this paper for a chapter in a book for an international project I was involved with: *EU-Canada project – Citizenship and Diversity: Promoting Inclusionary Social Work Practice with Socially Excluded Groups.* I was invited to offer an Indigenous perspective as it relates to citizenship, spirituality, religion and faith. In order to bring in an Indigenous perspective to this topic, it was essential that I draw upon and examine Spirituality within Haisla Nuuyum. From this, I was able to conceptualize and reiterate that Spirituality involves the connection, relation and cultural practice for all living things. The example I illustrate and live involves my acknowledgment of place, sharing my identity, acknowledging ancestors – all of which is a way Indigenous peoples 'live' spirituality. I draw on Indigenous scholars and my storytellers who re-affirm the necessity to return to cultural and sacred practices. Throughout my dissertation work I emphasize the importance to pause our lives and perhaps 'shelve' western forms of living and knowledge in order to take time to re-learn Indigenous ceremonies.

Consistent with the objectives of the book, my chapter contribution explores how citizenship can be inclusionary for mainstream Canadian citizens, but exclusionary for Indigenous peoples. I emphasize how state interpretations of faith or religion differ and in this difference, subjugate and limit the expression of Indigenous spirituality. However, my focus is not entirely on the processes of subjugation; rather, my intent is to explore ways to create openness to learning and understanding diverse worldviews of spirituality and religion.

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I would like to acknowledge a new friend and colleague I met through this project. Mariekatherine Poppel is a *Nuuk* woman from Greenland. Although *Nuuk* people are considered Danish citizens, my friend and her people are on a quest to affirm who and how they are as *Nuuk* peoples. *Nuuk* is surrounded by other nation states such as Canada, Denmark, United States and Nordic regions. Mariekatherine shared her interpretation about the relationships her people have with these countries; she also shared that the core principle espoused by her people is that they continue to maintain their connection to landscapes, cultural teachings, languages and practices. As Indigenous women, we recognize the similarities and resonances between us, particularly the ways in which our lives have been displaced and ruptured by the settlers of our nation states.

Introduction

Defined by and through nation-states, citizenship distinguishes groups of people, their identities and their rights and obligations within the state. In the Canadian context, distinguishing and defining the normative Canadian citizens was conjoined to the nation-

building project. For Indigenous peoples, the experience of citizenship and our relationship to the early dominion by the British colonial nation-state over our people can be characterized by asymmetrical relations of power that were marked by practices of exclusion and repression. That is, as a concept that signifies belonging within a nation state or to a homeland, the concept of citizenship for Indigenous peoples within a settler state has, and continues to be, a contentious and complicated concept, particularly in their struggles for self-determination and assertions of sovereignty.

Citizenship as a concept to have emerged within the tradition of Western liberal thought, and acting as a clear marker for nation-states is also implicated in the emphasis on secularism that is assumed of nation-states within this tradition. Through the rendering of a state-faith divide, religion and spirituality is omitted from the public space and confined to private, individual spaces (Berger, 2002, p. 49). This premise of separation between religion and state in Western thought sharply contrasts with Indigenous practices and understanding of spirituality. Spirituality is not considered a private affair, nor can it be confined as a practice within particular, discrete times and spaces. Rather, Indigenous expression of spirituality is an intricate part of our everyday experience, seeped within our laws, governance models, relationships to our environment, our economic practices and our philosophical outlook. As Paula Gunn Allen (1998) reminds us, "Everything, everyday, is sacred" (p. 44) and that there is no "clear line between the sacred and secular for tribal traditionalists" (p. 45).

The diffusion of Indigenous spirituality within the everyday practices of Indigenous peoples is crucially linked to claims of Indigenous sovereignty and national autonomy. Cherokee scholar and activist, Andrea Smith (2011) illustrates this point in her discussion of the importance that native women activists give to spirituality by articulating spiritually-based

visions of nationhood and forms of sovereignty from which to challenge westernized and colonial notions of the nation-state. (p 61)

For Indigenous peoples within the Canadian state, processes and practices of colonialism severely ruptured spiritual foundations and connections. Indigenous people respected and honoured animals, landscapes, waters and all our ancestors who have passed into the Spirit world (to name only a few spiritual attributes). Many Indigenous peoples referred to this form of relationality to all living things as 'spiritual being'. Although this relationality was never interpreted as religion, Indigenous spiritual beliefs share attributes and commonalities with various religions, including those of respect, love and honor.

Central to the differences between the expression of religious beliefs as practiced by non-Indigenous peoples and Indigenous spirituality is that religion has been imposed and forced into the lives of our people playing the role of a colonising force, whereby Christianity was considered to be a superior set of beliefs and Christian colonial settlers used religion as part of their strategies of dominance to secure their superiority (Wilson, 1998). In contrast, Indigenous spirituality fosters an egalitarian and harmonious relationship with all living beings without asserting dominance. Dakota scholar, Vine Deloria Jr.(1999) in his book on this subject emphasises the communal nature of Indigenous spirituality when he states:

> Tribal insights have been subjected to the erosions of time; they have been tested by uncounted generations, and they have been applied in a bewildering variety of settings in which they have proven reliable. That is to say, tribal wisdom is *communal* wisdom; it is part of the tribal definition of what it is to be a human being in a social setting. Therefore, tribal wisdom differs

> considerably from the slogans and beliefs of the networks of concerned people that pass for communities in the modern world. (p 251)

In this paper, I explore how the emergence and settlement of the Canadian nation state and its citizenship practices have affected and shifted the ways in which Indigenous peoples experience and express their spirituality.

Who our neighbouring communities are

Protocols link and connect Indigenous peoples to clans, places, histories and languages. Throughout the different countries and places that we have visited when working on the EU-Canada project, it was and is always important for us as Indigenous peoples to acknowledge both the territory and ancestors of those places. For our people, acknowledging place and ancestors is a philosophy and/or teaching that connects us and our spiritual being to places we visit. (Basso, K. 1996; Deloria, V. Jr. 1999). In keeping with these philosophies, I begin this article by acknowledging and introducing who I am, the clan and nation to which I belong, and acknowledging the spirits of my ancestors. This practice and common articulation of our traditions and spiritual practices (protocol) affirms my connections to place, kin and land, while also highlighting and building a relationship of respect with you, the reader.

In keeping with our protocol – and for purposes of my work in this project here on the west coast of Turtle Island (Canada), I am grateful to the land keepers and their chiefs for their generosity in allowing us to proceed with our international work. For our ancestors, these relationships and acknowledgements to land and cultural knowledge holders was and is a spiritual philosophy of how our everyday professional work remains connected to our landscapes and ancestors.

How our relationship shifted with the nation state

Indigenous peoples throughout Canada are a very diverse group of peoples and reside in many places and parts of the nation-state. Before settler contact, our people were mobile and travelled across vast territories – territories that provided sustenance for daily living and connected people for ceremonial purposes. As Indigenous peoples, our identities are closely connected to place, stories of place, creation stories, ancestral teachings, and ceremonial places, all of which we refer to as spiritual aspects within an Indigenous paradigm. Deloria (1999) states, "tribal histories, for the most part, are land-centered. That is to say, every feature of the landscape has stories attached to it." (P 252) Land teachings are viewed as a 'living entity' and as a part of a cultural lifestyle that enables people to pass on cultural knowledge for future generations. For our cultural and spiritual practices to be a 'living entity,' our teachings are taught through experience, passed down as knowledge to be shared and learned through the active process of 'doing' (Allen, 1998). As such, our experiential and oral practices are essential methods for preserving and sustaining cultural teachings. Our teachings are not taught through texts or lectures, but by living the 'learning'.

Shortly after Canadian confederation in 1867, the *Indian Act* was enacted. Maria C. Manzano-Munguía (2011) maintains "Indian policy and legislation emerged from the state's interest in making this population legible to the state" (p. 404) in order for the state to "rule by knowing, arranging, and categorizing people in ways 'that simplified . . . state functions" (ibid.). As a tool of governance, the *Indian Act* arranged all aspects of Indigenous lives, including land, access to health and education, economic life and forms of governance. As Mohawk legal scholar and activist, Patricia Monture-Angus (1995) writes, "The *Indian Act*, a single statute, controls almost every aspect of the life of a registered Indian person" (p. 155). Knowledge and categorization of Indigenous people's was accomplished, in part, by strictly

defining "Indian", leading to a fracturing and restructuring of our kinship structures and the imposition of patriarchal understandings of gender (Monture-Angus, 1995).

The *Indian Act* systematically disbanded and effaced Indigenous ways of life and attempted to destroy the entire being of who and how Indigenous peoples are. (Anderson, K. 2000; Green, J. 2007) Regulations from this *Act* legally set in motion the establishment of reserve systems that confined the mobility of Indigenous peoples. Andrea Smith (2005) explains, "Native spiritualties are land based—they generally cannot exist without the land from which they originate. When Native peoples fight for cultural/spiritual preservation, they are ultimately fighting for the land base which grounds their spirituality and culture" (p. 99). By restricting Indigenous people's movement, along with land appropriation for economic expansion, Indigenous spiritual sites and the corresponding ceremonies and practices were destroyed or drastically curtailed.

Hegemonic nation building and citizenship projects – with simultaneous economic encroachments throughout Canada – produced restrictions and obstacles for Indigenous peoples to maintain sacred relationships and connections to landscapes. (Harris, 2001; Lutz, J. 2008 Newell, D. 1993;) As well, the state deliberately crafted and implemented laws prohibiting Indigenous peoples from, and punishing them for, maintaining any form of cultural or traditional living and practices, including Sun Dance ceremonies and potlatching (Masco, 2012). Indeed, individuals were legally required to relinquish their sacred "dance masks and ritual objects to Canadian authorities (ibid, p. 68). The coercive infringement on Indigenous spirituality was an implicit strategy for 'civilizing' Native peoples so that they may assimilate into acceptable Canadian citizens and to become an improved "race of men" (Francis, 1998, p. 53). Anthropologist, Thomas Crosby (1992) states, "I cannot have anything to do with the old

way, the dance, the potlatch, etc., it is all bad." Crosby felt native society was so corrupt, it had to be abolished and replaced by something similar to "Canadian Society." (P 35) Colonial administrators believed that the pathway to citizenship – where Indigenous peoples would be regarded as rational, autonomous and mature subjects (Mawani, 2009, p. 138) – could be attained, in large part, if they were to suspend and abstain from their spiritual practices.

One strategy of civilizing Indigenous peoples for citizenship was the creation of Residential Schools. Believing that adults were too set in their ways, colonial administrators and missionaries targeted children for 'civilizing' instruction, and Residential Schools became legislated policy. (Milloy, J., 1999) As a state policy, and administered by religious groups, Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their home to separate them from the influences of their families and communities and to instil Christian values and beliefs to prepare them for assimilation within the dominant society. As a project of "cultural genocide" (Andrea Smith, 2004), the aim of Residential Schools curriculum was "the transformation of thought and spirit" (de Leeuw, 2007, p. 349). Because children were isolated from their families and traditions, forbidden to speak their language and severely punished for practicing their traditions, the legacy of official state program of Residential Schools has had, and will continue to have, long lasting consequences for the revitalization of language, traditions and spiritual practices for Indigenous peoples.

Without getting into controversial discussions about these enactments of law – a number of questions arises that highlight the contentious and paternalistic relationship between Indigenous peoples and settler state efforts to secure Indigenous citizenship. These questions include: why do *Indians* need protection and protection from whom? What were the intentions of an *Indian Act* and do other nation states have similar *Acts* that involve Indigenous peoples

within their countries? And, why were laws within these *Acts* only for *Indians* and not *all* Canadian citizens? Moreover, why is it that Canadian citizens are not aware of the exclusionary and restrictive *Indian Act* and it's destructive multi-generational effects for/on Indigenous peoples? By their very nature, these laws are systematically intended for Indigenous peoples, which serve to illustrate that within the Canadian state that Indigenous peoples were not considered Canadian citizens within our homelands. In addressing the exclusions of Indigenous peoples from both public policy and the national imagination, Monture-Angus claims that the controls posed by the *Indian Act* is not felt by any other Canadian. Indeed, "for all other Canadians, there is no parallel experience. No single statue controls every aspect of non-Indian life…this entrenches inequality and the subordinate status of Indian people…" (1995, p. 155-156).

The pervasiveness of these discriminatory laws began to weaken due to the commitment and leadership of Indigenous leaders such as George Manual and others who confronted these exclusionary practices. While state policies and practices have retained a formidable force in Indigenous people's lives, Indigenous people have used various means of collective resistance as a source of community strength, empowerment and resilience. One form of resistance is to assert a decolonizing framework to our lives that gives priority to traditional knowledges and spiritual practices. Resurgent resistance of Indigenous leaders have included reclaiming traditions, ceremonies, teachings and cultural customs. Dakota scholar, Angela Cavendar Wilson (2005) writes that at stake in such reclamations is "the potential to restore health and dignity to our people as well as assist us in advancing our political aims…It originates among indigenous people and openly endorses an indigenous agenda (p. 256). Mohawk scholar, Taiaiake Alfred (1999) calls on Indigenous communities to "turn away" (p. xiii) from state

demands of assimilation and to instead build a movement for self-determination based on revitalizing traditional political values and practices. Alfred's vision of revitalization is meaningful:

> We have a responsibility to recover, understand and preserve [our] values, not only because they represent a unique contribution to the history of ideas, but because renewal or respect for traditional values is the only lasting solution to the political, economic, and social problems that best teach our people (ibid. p. 5).

In this way, Alfred calls for a movement away from state recognition and inclusion, and instead, calls on Indigenous peoples to revitalize traditions to highlight and exert our collective strength and agency.

That we have traditions and spiritual practices to return to are a testament to the strength and will of our ancestors. I would argue that for Indigenous communities to be able to transfer knowledge of our sacred places, practices and beliefs might, in part, be linked to the pervasiveness of our spiritual practices in every domain of our lives. More precisely, given that our medicine, food, hunting rituals, our governance, our legal structures, and our economy are all tied to spiritual knowledge, it is quite conceivable that our survival and the survival of our traditions is rooted in the everyday expression of spirituality. While this is not to suggest that we are able to return to traditions prior to contact with colonial settlers – indeed, this would be an impossibility given not only the loss of some traditions, language and land, but also the recognition that cultures and traditions are dynamic, adapting and shifting (Anderson, 2004, p. 34, 37) – we are nevertheless, able to call forward the integrity and strength of our traditional Ways of Being.

International similarities and differences and differences within similarities

In the following section, I wish to turn my attention to the interconnectedness of and within the different expressions and articulations of ceremony and traditions amongst Indigenous peoples, there remains a similarity and resonance in our approaches and belief systems to spirituality and our relationship to the sacred and divine.

One teaching that highlights the linkages and connections between spiritual belief systems is found in the four directional teachings of the Medicine Wheel. I was taught four directions 'living' by my former academic and personal friends who are *Anishnabe Kwe* and *Ojibway*. In their teachings we were taught to start our process of learning in the eastern direction and moving towards the south, the west and onto the north. Throughout my educational journey, I have since adapted four direction teachings into my scholarship, research and my writing. I use these philosophies as a framework to critically analyze varying research projects, stories and cultural practices, in part, because these teachings have strong resonance with my own traditions, belief systems and worldviews. For our people, four directions could be interpreted as teachings, philosophies or frameworks. The four directions are situated within different contexts: it may include the four directions of east, south, west and north; or four directions linking to our being such as spiritual, emotional, physical and mental. Others have used four directions to reference seasons such as spring, summer, fall and winter, while other teachings reference the four life cycles of infant, youth, adult and elder. Still others recognize diverse groups of people through colors within the directions such as red, yellow, black and white. Four direction teachings show us similarities and differences within varying cultures and groups of people. As Marie Battiste (2000) reminds us "The Medicine Wheel illustrates symbolically that all things are interconnected and related, spiritual, complex, and powerful" (p. xxii).

The inter-connections and inter-relationships Indigenous peoples have with one another stem from and throughout all directions of mother earth. Leroy Little Bear (1996, as cited in Youngblood Henderson, 2000) provides a detailed description of our connection to, and centrality of land, as well as the sacredness of Mother Earth for Indigenous peoples:

> Tribal territory is important because the Earth is our Mother (and this is not a metaphor; it is real). The Earth cannot be separated from the actual being of Indians. The earth is where the continuous and/or repetitive process of creation occurs. It is on the Earth and from the Earth that cycles, phases, patterns, in other words, the constant flux and motion can be observed and experienced. (p. 248)

Understanding, protecting and respecting land, then, is a vital component of Indigenous spiritual and knowledge bases.

Other similarities and cultural practices that connect Indigenous peoples together are notions of how to care for and respect the animals, those who swim, those who fly, the trees, insects, rocks, fire, water and air. This is in stark contrast to Western forms of knowledge and Judeo-Christian traditions that positions a division between humans and other living beings. This belief is upheld through biblical reference that God had given humans dominion over the animals (Book of Genesis, Chapter 1, Verse 26). For our people, these elements hold the same sacredness of human life and in this, we are all one. Ancient teachings taught us that we only fish or hunt enough for our families and for our ceremonies. We are taught that the animal 'gifts' itself to us during hunting or fishing and as such, we are to give thanks to Creator for looking after our sustenance. Within the realm of hunting and fishing the spiritual cultural practices involve a sacred ceremony prior to fishing or hunting. Many of our people often

spoke in prayer to the woods they were entering, in so doing, they announce their entry to all living things in the forest. The teaching in this practice was that they are letting mother earth and other animals know that they are hunting. They are asking in prayer that they be successful in their hunt and that other wild animals will not harm them. While the specific rituals of hunting and fishing are diverse amongst different nations, the philosophy of sacred relationships to land, territory, sea and animal life is similar. For example, my *Nuuk* friend Mariekatherine has shared the importance of attending to their rituals and taboos prior to hunting. Her people believe if they do not catch anything, people will know that they did not follow their hunting ritual. Similarly, our people in the northwest coast of Canada have a very similar practice to *Nuuk* people in that we have taboos about hunting or fishing and within our cultural teachings, if the hunter is not successful, community members will know that the cultural practice was not respected, and that they did not culturally prepare themselves and did not connect spiritually to the landscape – therefore they were not successful in their hunt.

Spirituality filters into and is interspersed within almost every aspect of Indigenous peoples public and private lives, accentuating the holistic frameworks by which we come to understand every aspect of our life. The strength of Indigenous beliefs lays in our practice, with an emphasis on experiential learning. From fishing to medicine, from governance and leadership to family and kinship structures, spirituality frames our way of life, our knowledge paradigms and our way of relating in the world.

Our spirit lives on!

At the onset of writing this chapter, I was not sure how I would connect notions of spirituality to notions of citizenship and diversity. It was challenging to look at how exclusionary or inclusionary practices played an essential role in the lives of Indigenous people

in the global context. Through my relationships and connections to people in this project, I have come to see and experience similarities and differences as to how citizenship is understood. I have learned through my experiences varying methods of how to 'braid' these diverse worldviews together in an effort to co-exist. Although there have been violent forces that have systematically excluded Indigenous peoples, I am conscious of how we collectively dialogue, learn and re-vision practices for our nation states, to respect these diverse, relational and spiritual spaces. It is essential to understand how Indigenous worldviews and spiritual knowledge is indeed a framework of how our people define themselves and live.

In the spirit of consciousness - to be inclusionary of Indigenous peoples means to be open minded to diverse knowledges of landscapes, connections to all living things and, spiritual relationships. For our people, we refer to Haisla members as *gukulu*. When we meet Indigenous peoples from other communities or nations, we refer to them as *gweluu*. It has been a wonderful experience to meet and learn from *gweluu* from other countries!

Wa! (Haisla)

Hycha! (Lekwungen, Esquimalt)

Qujanaq! (Nuuk)

Thank you

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Gyawglaab (helping one another) best practices through teachings of oolichan fishing

Hemaas, Moosmagilth, Ungwa, knewq Kundoqk of the Helkinew clan, knewq Haisla, Kemano and Kitselas.

Creator, Ancestors my English name is Jacquie and I belong to the Killer Whale clan and am a member of the Haisla, Kemano and Kitselas peoples.

Introduction to Article

Figure 14 'oolichans'

I chose to place gyawglaab as the concluding article in my dissertation work for two reasons. First, this article provides readers with possibilities of how to interpret stories and how to transform stories into practice. Throughout this article, I draw on *Reclaiming Haisla Ways: remember oolichan fishing (2008)* and I examine certain stories that can enhance and/or inform social work practice. Throughout my analysis of storying, I illustrate the complexities within our diverse indigenous identities. Importantly, I emphasize that as educators, professionals and/or leaders we must be cognizant of our assumptions when working with Indigenous peoples. My intent for unpacking our assumptions is that our identities are very complex. Many of our people may *look* Indigenous, but may not have lived with their families or communities. Many of our people may *look* white, and are very knowledgeable about cultural practices. And, many of our people may have internalized colonialism and may choose not to learn our cultural practices.

Second, I want to emphasize the importance of principles within gywathlaab. In our commitment to re-generating and broadening the scope of Indigenous knowledges within our communities and professions, it is important that we 'help one another'. In my reference to 'helping one another', I attribute this to sharing and learning cultural teachings as a collective. Furthermore, gywathlaab is a philosophy and/or belief that we work together to bring back sacred ceremonies into our families and clans, and that we reach out to those who have been removed from our communities. And, I believe it is important for non Indigenous peoples to take time to understand Indigenous/settler encounters in an effort to collectively dismantle colonial systems that have and continue to be present within our communities.

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Introduction

I acknowledge the story-tellers of my community and family. Over and over again, they have shared stories of our place and of our home. These stories were shared at various times and in various spaces: around the dinner table, in our feast hall, on the boat and in a car. As I have ventured through undergraduate and graduate studies, these stories have re-emerged as a strong and passionate force in my life. As I continue to journey as a social work professor and doctoral student, I find these stories are critically linked to the forms of knowledge and practices that I bring to the classroom and how I demonstrate what best practice is within Indigenous communities. I embrace the strength, passion, method and life-force of these stories in all aspects f my life. As such, this chapter is written in the ways in which I teach and practice. For me, teaching is about storying and about demonstrating with others the importance of understanding our histories, our identities and our traditional homelands through various accounts of our social, political, spiritual and economic lives. By understanding these aspects of our lives, we have a better understanding of how to interact with one another. For me, story-telling is best practice.

Identity story - Spirit Bear

Kundoqk is my traditional name, which originates from Kitselas territory and means "journeying over the mountain with my belongings on my back." Kitselas people are known as 'those who live by the river', and are famous for living beside the Kermode bear. Kermode Bear is also known as "spirit bear" because they are black bears that are white. The Kermode Bear is significant for Tsmishian[66] peoples because it is a bear that is neither a polar bear or albino bear and it has been said that Kermode bear has only been seen in these particular parts of British Columbia - Tsmishian territories.

The old people say that the only time you meet with spirit bear is when Creator has a message for you. You never know when this meeting will take

[66] Tsmishian territory comprises of Kitselas, Kitsumkalum, Hartley Bay, Port Simpson, Klemtu, Metlakatla BC and Metlakatla Alaska, .

place. You could be by the river, you could be in the mountains, or, you could be around your home. I had the honour of meeting 'spirit bear' by my home. I was home with my cousin looking out our window and saw the bear lurking around our house. We watched from the window until he trotted deep into the woods.

The information I have learned about my identity and the meaning of my name informs many aspects of a rich history in the northwest coast of British Columbia, particularly the history of Haisla peoples. In the classroom and in my profession, I always introduce myself starting with my traditional name and where it comes from. I also share that although I am very proud of my traditional name and place, my learning of our history is lifelong and that I continue to share our history with my children while continuing to learn from my parents and many other family members about who I am and where I come from. For Indigenous people, sharing our identity, the history of our place and sometimes who our families are, gives us a sense of knowing each other. Often people introduce themselves as just coming to know who their families and places are. Acknowledging our identities to each other brings a relief and a form of comfort, knowing we all share an Indigenous identity. Yet we are so diverse. Moreover, when acknowledging our knowledge of self and place or our coming to know who we are, we illustrate the importance of knowing our history and thereby our complex identities.

Creation story

Huncleesela was the first man to journey to the Haisla territory. Huncleesela and some of his family left Oweekeno territory, which is south of Haisla territory, because he accidentally killed his wife. It is told that the law of that time meant banishment if death happened. As a result, Huncleesela and his entire family would be punished for the death, even though it was an accident. Huncleesela escaped by journeying up toward the Northwest of Oweekeno and continued until he reached Kluqwajeequas just outside of Haisla Territory. It was told in many different villages that the reason he journeyed north was because there was a monster in this area. Because of the monster there were no people there, and he thought Kluqwajeequas would be a good place to hide. Huncleesela camped outside the territory and every once in a while the monster would open his mouth really big and make a

loud noise. As he listened to the loud noise, he made sure he watched every movement the monster made. Eventually, as Huncleesela felt comfortable in his exploration of the monster, he felt he was brave enough to get closer. When he got as close as he could, he realized the big mouth was not a monster at all, but were flocks of seagulls swooping down to grab oolichans from the river. This story tells of the discovery of Haisla territory and the relationship to oolichans, which is core to our existence, which is core to who I am as Haisla

For Haisla people, understanding oolichan fishers and fishing is vital to understanding our community, our people and our identities. I have listened to many stories of the traditional connections between oolichan harvesting and how Haisla peoples came to be. Perhaps in my reminiscence and dreams, along with stories being shared with me, I recognize the commitment to understand our ways. Identity has to be reinforced by returning to traditional stories and understanding our traditional places. In our practice, acknowledging our willingness to learn and incorporate traditional teachings into our profession ensures the call to Indigenous praxis and to the meanings of Indigenous professionalism.

Because traditional place names can be vague, what are the ways in which you come to understand and learn the various tellings of creation stories and place names? For many Indigenous people, identity can be a complex issue. For those Indigenous people who understand and continue to learn their stories, it is essential that these stories be shared with others, shared within your profession and shared with young people. By sharing creation stories, people begin to see the richness of Indigenous history and begin to see a nation of pride!

Indigenous communities worldwide have creation stories, ceremonial stories and many stories of our families. To exhibit Indigenous knowledge in our practice, we must continue to be reflective of who we are. Our Elders offered their knowledge by sharing with us he many stories of our histories and lives, and their stories contained the teachings of how to live. For

Haisla people, the central stories for our community are the telling and teachings about oolichan fishing. The practice of was crucial to community and family living. The people needed to understand the seasons and weather to understand timing for the oolichan catch, just like Huncleesela had to understand the story behind the "monster" and timing of when he would confront the monster. Understanding how the seasons rhythms for oolichan fishing inform how Haisla families are constructed is critical because of our reliance on oolichan fish and oolichan grease.

I have been told that w as Haisla people are known for oolichan and oolichan grease. Our surrounding territories often refer to our community as producers of the best oolichan grease. People from these territories often travel to our community to trade for oolichan grease. So not only do traditional teachings come through he process of oolichan fishing, there are interconnections between our various communities for oolichan grease. Therefore, in order to maintain our family traditions and our relationships with other communities and families, it is essential that we understand how to prepare and process oolichan and oolichan grease. And it is important that we as children and grandchildren learn and understand our stories, such as the teachings from hunclessela's story.

Huncleesela ventured throughout the land to become acquainted with the monster. He was curious and adventurous. In his exploration he learned about this great fish, the oolichan, and he continued to learn more about oolichan in order for him and his family to live life in a the great northwest. As professionals, the dominant systems inform us that we have become experts. However, to truly reflect Indigenous programs and practices, our practice must include an understanding of our storying about self and place. Students, clients and other people must come to understand traditional teachings by having an opportunity to freely ask questions and

to openly discuss aspects of our practice that are uncomfortable or unfamiliar to them. I asked my parents to tell me the Huncleesela story over and over again. In addition, there were many times during family dinners that my parents would ask my uncles and aunts to share the story of Huncleesela with me. And so, throughout dinner, they shared the story with me again, regardless of whether I wanted to hear it or not. Our Elders, parents and other family members provide teachings through story-telling around our dinner table. They tell us that as we take in our food for sustenance we take in the teachings at the same time. Many times in the classroom, we bring food and share with each other our own traditional teachings. Or some students have an opportunity to ask questions about culture and ceremony – all of these teachings happen while we are eating together in class.

As I reflect back on how I learned about Huncleesela, I recognize the patience of my story-tellers. I recognize the creativity in how and when they shared stories with me. The commitment to teaching by our story-tellers was ever present; they provided countless opportunities for me to ask questions that were difficult or awkward for them about the Huncleesela story such as the accidental death. Sometimes the story-tellers didn't answer and sometimes they did answer about the death. There were also times when we joked about how our ancestors are "fugitives." My story-tellers ensured that Haisla teachings were taught to me in a good way and in a way where I could understand my history and my identity as a Haisla woman.

As Indigenous professionals we must also provide opportunities for people to "begin" knowing their identities and their places. At times, we get consumed with our professional demands and we don't take time to listen and observe some of the discomfort that surrounds us.

Many times there are people who are Indigenous who do no know stories of their people or places. We must provide opportunities to learn about identity and place "together."

In our demonstration of Indigenous practice we must provide opportunities to grow and learn. Having said this, demonstrating learning must also include respect, honour and pride. Respect becomes very convoluted in mainstream institutions and organizations. In the classroom, for example, I teach in circle and bring in a "talking stone." Even though I explain the story behind my talking stone and my teachings about sitting in circle, may times my credentials as a "professor" are not respected. While I do acknowledge the respect I receive as an Indigenous woman, the expectations for academic course requirements are sometimes not adhered to. Let me explain further.

Through my experiences as an Indigenous professor, a life long learner of culture and tradition and a woman who predominantly lives away from home, I see the necessity of acknowledging and recognizing Indigenous knowledge as equal to other course requirements for our academic degrees. As well, I believe that students, clients, governments and other organizations must see the value of Indigenous knowledge as requirements for our professionalism. Occasionally, students think that because I am flexible, I have an open door policy; for example, that they do not need to hand in their assignments on time or hand them in at all!

My point in sharing these experiences is that, for me, respect is about addressing these incidents in a way so that I do not disrespect myself. As well, how do I apply institutional policies in a way that all students understand, and at the same, ensure that I am protected? Lastly, because I get frustrated and at times furious with the lack of respect, how do I maintain my integrity despite my emotions? For me, I remember the teachings of patience during

oolichan fishing. For example, Huncleesela waited for days, perhaps weeks before he faced the monster. Another example is the uncertainty of the oolichan run: our community never knows when the oolichan run will happen. Our families prepare their boats, the fishing gear, food and their camping grounds while waiting for the oolichan. Lately the oolichan have not been running every year, and all the preparations will have to be repeated in the following year. Even thought the oolichan did not run, our people were at least prepared for the harvest.

In my teachings, I must continue to be prepared for any sort of incident that could occur and put my "academic teaching agenda" on hold in order to work through various dynamics that present themselves in my work. I must also remember how I carry myself with challenges, frustration and fear. Importantly I remember that how I act and speak is a reflection of my family, my grannies, my grandpas and community. So it is just not I that faces the consequences of my action, but also my family and community.

Oolichan Fishing Story

Oolichan fishing is one of the most important aspects of Haisla life. In our language oolichan is "za' X w en[67]". The old people tell us, our za' X w en is a mystery fish because they are known to spawn only once a year. They spawn in the winter months, usually just before spring weather or at the end of "north wind season". Another reference to oolichan are candle fish, because at one time the old people would smoke the oolichans fully dry them and burn them for light. The main uses of oolichans are to harvest and process for kqlateeh, preserve and use for trading with other communities for aghingt and xklucas.

Kqlateeh for Haisla people, and to those who seek it, is known as a delicacy. Not only is kqlateeh food, but also it has excellent medicinal use. The old people have used kqlateeh for severe cases of pneumonia, bronchitis and other such illnesses. The taste of Kqlateeh on fish and other food sources is delicious. However, If you have it straight without accompanied by fish there is a different taste. Having it 'straight' is like drinking vegetable oil by itself, only with a fishy aroma to it. Or, you can liken Kqlateeh to olive oil or salad dressing. As you swallow kglateeh it glides very slowly down your throat to your stomach. Perhaps it is the slow journey throughout your body that cures any illness that is there. Some of the old people also said that if they did not want a certain kind of visitor (like a white person), they would simmer

[67] Pronounced as jax-quin.

kglateeh prior to the visit. If you were not raised around oolichans the aroma is often not appealing. Visitors are then likely to leave very quickly.

Although I grew up in my territory surrounded by my family and other Haisla people, this didn't necessarily mean that I knew my history, place and identity. Well, at least I thought I did not know our history. I did however know that oolichan and *kqlateeh* were important to our existence.

As I have journeyed through academia and lived away from home I recognize the intricacies and expertise embedded within the process of oolichan fishing. Throughout academia I recognize that indeed our history is the practice of oolichan fishing today. What is challenging today is how to strengthen traditional teachings about the current process of oolichan fishing. Reflecting on our family history, our place and where our traditional names come from, I see that there is so much resiliency and strength in how our people have sustained their/our livelihood just by maintaining traditional practices that are unique to each of our diverse communities. For our people, and for my learning, I continue to be amazed at how all the uses of oolichan oil held many practices for families to sustain health, education and governance of families and communities.

Preparation Story

In the old days our people would camp and deep water fish close to oolichan time. They would set up their camps in the forest on one of the many islands in the ocean to fish for halibut, dig for clams and set crab traps. While cleaning their catch, if they found oolichan in the stomach, they knew I was time to prepare their oolichan camps. Another sign that it was oolichan time was when sea lions seals, ducks, eagles and seagulls were dipping in the water and eating the oolichan, similar to Huncleesela monster story.

Understanding the seasons, the weather and the animals requires fishers to be competent in preparation for oolichan fishing. Preparing for the oolichan harvest also requires that

families, community members and leaders communicate efficiently so that they do not miss the oolichan run and that they are all prepared when the oolichan arrive. In the old days, each person had a role in preparation for the harvest.

It was up to the fishers to mentor young people in how to look for signs of an oolichan run among animals. Young people, or rather new learners, were mentored on how to build the required tools for fishing and for processing oolichan grease. Of course, during the preparation, children would be playing and running around the camps. The sounds of laughter, singing and splashing water gave adults the adrenaline to keep on working. Fishers needed to eat, to rest and to keep themselves clean, and so during the preparation time there was childcare, cooks and leaners among many teachers of oolichan processing. Everyone's role at the oolichan camp was and is deemed of equal importance and value. The preparation was done collectively, each according to their age and abilities.

Once the preparation for oolichan fishing was completed, our people waited for the hereditary chief to go out and fish and return with his first catch. This first catch was celebrated, and during feasting, the people shared their plans for the new season. They shared old stories from other years and reminisced about Huncleesela journey, our monster story and our oolichan story.

In or work as indigenous professionals, it is necessary that we are prepared to work with clients, students and other groups of people in a good way. Our professions require us to be honest and to seek help when we need it. Many times it is difficult to prepare a course and to teach a course knowing that students require us to know everything about social work. To prepare social work students to work with people we must be genuine in what we share in class about the course, about ourselves and about what we don't know. It is important to model

leadership, just as the fishers did to new learners at the oolichan camps. I must be willing to work with students in their preparation for social work practice by perhaps having a class in the community, bringing elders/healers (of all races, gender, ability and class) into class or perhaps sharing food in class just as we did around our dinner table.

As many of us know, the burnout rate for social workers is extremely high. When working with our own people, Indigenous people, we tend to work over and beyond our duty, because the reality is that we need to. It is imperative to know hen to take time for self and for family. Just like the preparation for oolichan fishing, if someone is not fulfilling their role, then the family and maybe community loses out on oolichan for the season.

At the oolichan camps, when someone knew a person was tired or hurt, they stepped in to take over for the tired person or delegated someone to assume their duties. Everyone at the camps was aware of each person's physical ability. It was crucial for people to understand and recognize each other's wellbeing during processing and preparation time. Tasks required at oolichan camps are the priority because families and the community rely on the sustenance of oolichan and oolichan grease throughout the year. Preparation of self, equipment and supplies is essential for quality work at the camps and for producing food which is the delicacy of our nation.

Now, if we are not well prepared in our profession, then we will not be able to work efficiently with families and children. It is imperative that we as professionals take time to support one another, make time for our families and nurture our own wellbeing. We must demonstrate how we can work collectively with all people, work through our challenges, face our fears and celebrate our successes! As professionals we all must work collectively to provide fun positive visions and dreams for our children, all children.

Oolichan Grease Story

When it was time for communities to fish, their first catch after the celebration feast was used to make kqlateeh and was placed in oolichan bins. Haislas always used female oolichan to make kqlateeh because they contained more fat than males, and usually the first run of oolichan were female. The second run of oolichan were mainly used for preserving (smoking and salting). The first catch of oolichan from the first run is then placed in bins to ferment. Before fermenting, the children would dig through all the oolichan with their hands, a cold process, and pick out large oolichan (males) for preserving by smoking and salting[68]. Once kqlateeh was fermented, the bins are ready to be heated to a boiling point. The Elders have shared that they would test the fermented oolichan by hanging an oolichan over a stick: if the oolichan fell apart easily, then it was fermented enough. If the "test" was passed, then the oolichan would be boi8led at a steady pace for a day.

During the filling of bins, the men and women would discuss whether there was enough grease. The amount of grease processed was important because families prepared grease not only for themselves but for other family members. Furthermore, families who processed grease often traded it with families from other communities for seaweed and herring eggs or other foods that were not processed in Haisla territory. There were times when families could not make it to oolichan camps the following year, due to death or illness of a family member. Families would want to know they had enough grease to last them until the next oolichan season. The women, who were the experts in skimming the grease, knew just how much grease would be produced according to how many oolichan were placed in the bins, and would therefore show the men that indeed there was enough water and grease to skim.

Throughout the preparation and first catch process, there are many areas of sharing expertise that are demonstrated through modelling, feasting and teaching. Communication among one another taught our people about what tipe of wood, plants and places are required

[68] Smoking oolichan was done in smoke houses at the camps. Salting is done by placing oolichan in buckets with coarse salt. Both types of preserving did not require refrigeration and could be stored outdoors during their seasons.

to harvest oolichan. The men, with their knowledge of the land and water, knew what signs to watch for, and would in turn share these teachings with the young men who were fishing with them. Timing is of great importance as well as understanding the functions of the environment and animals. Timing included patience. Communicating in a respectful, teachable manner for all people was critical to ensuring kqlateeh would be processed in the best way possible. Timing included learning how to prepare equipment and tools to work with the oolichan. The entire process of oolichan fishing includes teachings of respect, honour, our relationship with the land and the importance of family and community. It required that the whole community work together to complete this daunting task that was/is so integral to the wellbeing of our people and community. As a parent, aunt and grandmother, it has been challenging at times to let my daughters walk by themselves for the first time. It was at times difficult to watch them evolve into adulthood and face life and world challenges and richness. I suppose it has been the spirit of my ancestors who have given me strength to let them experience their own journey as young women and parents. In the classroom and in my social work practice I have also learned that families and students will make their own decisions. Each student's practice is unique and informed by their own family history and teachings. If I want to teach respect and honour, then I must engage with students and clients with respect and honour. They will make mistakes and so will I. The trick here is to recognize what a "teachable moment" is. We must be able to look at mistakes and failures as opportunities to do change and to do things differently.

For those who know me, I must share a famous quote by one of my favourite inspirational athletes, Michael Jordan: "Everyday I fail, and that is how I succeed. Often in our profession, we look at failures and mistakes and react with punishments or reprimands. To

break the cycles of dysfunction – not only in our families but also in our practices, our professions, classrooms and communities – change is possible if we shift how we look at issues and problems. In the oolichan camps, learners were shown how to work together with fishers. The fishers worked collectively and communicated respectfully at all instances. Effective communication and leadership are reasons why we continue to learn and understand philosophies of oolichan fishing today.

Gyawglaab

> *There were many different families at the oolichan camps. The different families, who were at their camps, helped each other with different tasks. Our people say Gyawglaab which means "helping one another". For Haisla's, oolichan fishing generates this collectivity and during the time of oolichan fishing, our entire community comes together as a collective. Traditionally there were roles for all family members. When the oolichan barrels are agaheestamas [69] fishers would either take a rest, or help other family fishers who hadn't filled their bins yet.*

Throughout my experiences as a worker, a student and a professional, I recognize how Indigenous peoples have always worked with pride and dignity with one another. I have learned through colleagues, friends and family that really there is no word for social work in our various languages. However, there are words that identify actions relevant to working with one another. For Haisla, *Gyawaglaab* encapsulates how we can work effectively with one another as social workers. Within our role as leaders, understanding our identity and our traditional place and history informs what praxis could look like. For some of our people who are beginning to learn their identity as Indigenous people, this knowledge is critical. Many of our young people and older people are reconnecting to their indigenous identities. There is a demand for our complex identities to come together as professionals. We must take time to listen and hear each other's stories. We must take time to ask courageous questions (Reid,

[69] Filled and sealed with oolichans.

2001). Importantly we must work together to implement Indigenous knowledge in our workplace, our communities and within our families.

An oolichan vision

I remember as a child, I was involved in harvesting oolichans and making oolichan grease. I was about 7 years of age. We were still able to fish right in the mouth of *Kluqwajeequas*. Our family camp was set up on the beach and there were other families who were around us. At the camp, people worked hard at packing and fishing oolichans, keeping the fires going, preparing the oolichan bins. There were other people who were maintaining food supplies by cooking and feeding everyone. I too had my own oolichan bucket and the job of packing oolichan. This experience and stories that were shared with me are at a distant memory. But these teachings have remained at the core of my heart and commitment to re-learn our ways. The translation of my name *Kundoqk* has resurfaced for me to make the journey of re-hearing, re-telling and re-connecting to teachings of my traditional identity of place and history. The meaning of my name "journeying over the mountain with belongings on my back" is the analogy I use to carry forth the teachings of oolichan fishing, language and place to our future. Through my story, through my children's story we will be able to keep our historical place a part of who we are as Haisla, as Kitselas, as Kemano and our relationship to oolichan fishing.

In our workplace it is essential that we as Indigenous people continue to present our traditional teachings with pride and honour. It is essential that we model our knowledge so that young people and new learners could carry forth traditional teachings to their children, to their students and/or to their clients. I have learned through hearing stories of oolichan fishing about how to communicate effectively, how to work collectively and importantly how to hear stories

and how to re-tell stories. I will continue to demonstrate leadership in my work that reflects the wonderful teachings of my grandparents and my parents. I will continue to acknowledge my territory, my identity wherever I journey. I will acknowledge ancestors of other places and lands. Importantly I must acknowledge and thank the Creator for the wonderful place we are living on, and the abundance of resources provided to us. Aixgwellas!

Wa, Hy'chka! Thank you

Nuuyum - passing on traditional teachings from our ancestors

In academic papers we are required to cite and reference sources that have informed our writing. What is complex for academia and for me in this process of writing is that my sources are from my family, my community and my culture, and have been shared with throughout my life.

Wa (thank you) to my family, my extended family, those I work with, those who are my friends and importantly my parents, my children, grandchildren and my partner for your teachings to me.

My life, my family members, my community members have all faced challenges, heartaches and tensions throughout the years. I believe the teachings of my parents have enable my family to work through issues. I have also bought forward these teachings to inform how I work through issues/challenges in my workplace. How I deal with challenges, successes and preparation professionally are all informed by family functionality. In terms of linking our Haisla Nuuyum to "best practice", my academic teaching is a reflection of how I was raised and taught by my parents, other family members and our community.

'Noosa' means re-telling stories, or telling stories. When we want our storyteller to share more stories, we say 'Noosta.' For myself, I heard various teachings and stories many times. It is my turn to remember these stories and re-tell these stories to my children, other children.

Figure 15 Mary Green, Jacquie Green,
Nina Shaw "Naming Feast'

Conclusion

Figure 16 Breakwater

Breakwater analysis

This is the breakwater located at the Bay[70] of Kitamaat Village. Gill netters, seine boats and small motor boats tie their boats up at the dock. During summer months children swim in the bay, swim from the beach to the wharf, and many teenagers swim from the wharf to the breakwater. The breakwater protects the boats, motors and children from the rough waters. For as long as I remember, this breakwater was always down the Bay and I remember as a child how this breakwater seemed so far away from the wharf and it seemed like it was such an important part of the bay. In 2010 when we were returning home after visiting Kemano, I found new meaning and purpose about what the breakwater means to me. I was able to see and appreciate the necessity for the breakwater and how it blocks strong forces of waves from disrupting or harming boats and children. The breakwater reminds me that our generation of people is tasked with confronting colonial acts while (rough waters) at the same we are

[70] At home, everyone refers to the 'bay' as 'down the bay'.

responsible for re-generating cultural teachings. In my mind, my generation is the breakwater and I will draw upon the breakwater as an analogy in the conclusion of this body of work.

Centralizing the Breakwater within community and academe

Throughout each article I have been conscious of how I write into our Haisla Nuuyum, including how I analyze aspects of Haisla ontology. I often found in my writing that I needed to include, and at times, intersect, aspects of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous worlds. At times it was a challenge to include colonialism and its assimilative forces, especially when writing about our flourishing Nuuyum. The questions that inform my writing in 'breakwater' spaces are: how do we 'live' beyond the shackles of colonialism? How has colonialism created 'fears' in how we re-learn cultural or ceremonial practices? I find that these specific questions and/or thoughts referring to colonialism bring me to Noosta to ask questions about our landscapes, cultural practices and ceremonies.

The breakwater also signifies for me the increasing numbers of Indigenous scholarly programs situated within colleges and universities globally. As a scholar, there certainly are questions and challenges about how we *truly* and *authentically* teach, learn and study Indigenous knowledges in western institutions. As an Indigenous scholar, I find Indigenous education at times to be contentious within mainstream institutes; I continue to grapple with respectful and ethical approaches to centralize ceremonial and cultural practices within curriculum while at the same time asserting this form of knowledge be supported with relevant institutional program credits or units. While I am excited that we can be innovative to make ceremony credited and accredited, I fear that 'credit' may affect how we know and live ceremony as Indigenous people. Although there is academic space to be innovative within Indigenous studies, to a certain degree (pun intended), many institutions subjugate Indigenous

courses and programs. For me, I embrace these contentions as productive and generative conversations, as it informs how I critically think through curriculum and program development. These contentions remind me that it is essential to 'weave' in diverse knowledges in an effort to develop, enhance and enrich Indigenous leadership, governance and Nuuyum.

I see, experience and know the rough waters

Colonization -- through *Indian Act* regulations and legislative laws -- continues to structure and influence the governance of our communities. I believe it is imperative that our administrative and governing systems including: Chief & Council, Tribal Councils, Assembly of First Nations, First Nations Summit and other federally funded native governing structures - explore methods to decolonize community politics, policies and practices within our communities. I believe it is necessary to relegate to the margins the *Indian Act* and other colonial policies and laws and instead, incorporate our Nuuyum into our community politics, policies and practices. I also believe that it is important for our community to find methods that centralize our Clan System as our overarching governing structures. Having said this, it is essential that our people, families, clans and community members recognize how colonialism continues to be a part of our everyday lives. For example, it is unacceptable that we do not speak our languages, we do not practice our ceremonies for cultural conservation and we do not visit our varying landscapes.

To move beyond the 'shackles' of colonialism, I am suggesting that, as a first step, perhaps our clan chiefs host a memorial feast. In our Nuuyum, we have ceremony and rituals for when a loved one has passed onto the Spirit world; perhaps, our community engage in memorial rituals to grieve our losses due to colonialism? Within feasting, this ceremony can be a process by which we relieve ourselves from colonial forces in an order to move forward and

re-build, re-vision our Nuuyum. The memorial feasting is also an opportune time to honour our people who have been removed from our community either through residential school, foster care or adoption. The memorial feasting can also pay tribute to our people who have lost their lives due to other forms of colonial violence. My breakwater analogy illustrates to me that I will always see, feel and know colonization is 'beside me'.

Regenerating our Nuuyum in calm waters

Throughout my dissertation work, my goals were to re-learn our Nuuyum, to find methods of how to re-live our cultural teachings and to learn how to re-teach our Nuuyum, our philosophies to the younger generations. My vision and hopes are that the young people will take up the philosophies within our Nuuyum and bring these vibrant and vital teachings vigorously to the leadership of our communities.

It is exciting to see *calm waters* in our communities. The young people are learning Haisla language within our community school and also organized a community Kitlope Dance group to re-learn and teach Haisla songs, drumming and dancing. It is important for our Clan and governing leaders to provide resources to groups that are engaging in learning our Nuuyum. Perhaps there could be cultural programs administered jointly by our Clan and Council leaders that provide young people with knowledge of oolichan fishing which would then require bringing kids to oolichan camps. Furthermore, perhaps this joint collaboration of leaders could host a naming feast to provide clan and *Indian* names to those who have been removed from our communities through fostering or adoption systems. Finally, through such an important joint effort, perhaps we could Noosa to find methods and time for ceremonies such as rituals prior to fishing or hunting.

Down the Bay a renewed vision

Throughout this dissertation work, I have come to recognize and experience that our Nuuyum has remained at the core of our hearts. Our Nuuyum was put to rest and now it is our responsibility to re-generate these. I often write and speak to notions of re-learning, re-storying and re-visioning and in this, I see a re-newed notion of our Nuuyum. In this re-newed Nuuyum, it is important that we recognize there are 'diverse' cultural practices within each of our families, clans and community. It is critical that we strengthen our Nuuyum within ceremonial feasting with neighbouring communities; with government, industrial and corporate entities. Through feasting, our Nuuyum will continue to transpire and weave in notions of our place, of our identities, and of our cultural practices. Through Noosta, it is the responsibility of our community and Clan members to continue asking, learning, and teaching our Nuuyum.

Aixgwellas!

Wa! Hy'chka! Thank you