Ḥaaḥuupa and fisheries: an indigenous methodological approach to *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems in support of community renewal

by

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I acknowledge and respect the lək'wəŋən peoples on whose territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

Indigenous research methodologies encourage indigenous scholars and allies to re-make research. Deliberately positioning academic inquiry as part of a research design, research can sustain and renew a community's ability to engage their political priorities while fostering a transition back to community-based knowledge production. In this dissertation, I report on two research projects I was involved in that were led by *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations. Both projects examine *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems and values in relation to other lifeforms like salmon. I document how the *Tla-o-qui-aht* community and I, as a researcher, navigated a series of existing institutional and community-based ethical processes together and were able to create new ones to guide our research as well as research in the future. These processes included: creating a *Tla-o-qui-aht* Research Liaison position, establishing a Traditional Resource Committee for the review of all research involving *Tla-o-qui-aht*, and relocating the researcher to the community. The practices emerging from these processes reoriented *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations' research accountabilities toward their *ḥaw̓iiḥ* (hereditary chiefs) and *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* (high-ranking women) as part of their regeneration of their relationships with the *ḥaḥuułi* (chiefly territories). This praxis of indigenous research in *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi*, that is, ensuring that practice is informed by community knowledge, demonstrates the importance of placing research leadership *in* the community. By situating leadership and researcher in community the ontologies of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems emerged as a way to describe dissonance, recentre lived values and imagine possible futures of abundance. The use of filming as research method, centring *Ciiqciqasa* (speaking *Nuučaan̓ułʔath*), digitization of community records, and analysis of existing

community records of *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, storytelling) were directed by *Tla-o-qui-aht* and reflect how academic research can serve community renewal.

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I have been treated well as an invited guest. I have witnessed traditional song, dance and *ḥaaḥuupa* that strengthen my desire to see the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, *ḥatkm̓iiḥ*, *ḥaḥuułi* and the *muschim* regenerated.

I am grateful for the leadership of the Natural Resource Department, Fisheries and Tribal Parks of *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations. Tla-o-qui-aht lead in the development of research and recruited me to research and am grateful for the opportunity to contribute to the project of renewal.

Seit-cha (One who swims in the Water), I hope my work and research has demonstrated my *ʔiisaak* for your support of my community. I am grateful that your family has been so inviting and such gracious hosts. I look forward to listening to your music.

I am indebted to the five Nations, *Tla-o-qui-aht*, *Ahousaht, Ehattesaht/Chinehkint, Hesquiaht, Mowachaht/Muchalaht* for providing opportunities to support the renewal of your fisheries, governance and welcoming me with such kindness.

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Hay ce:p qa Xwchíyò:m and all my relations for your openness in receiving me when I first returned home. I appreciate your patience, kindness, and humour as you continue to teach me about the Salish world.

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Introduction

Canadian fisheries governance and aquatic resource management (ARM) are failing to conserve and sustain freshwater and anadromous fish like salmon (Cooke, Lapointe & Smol, 2021). Fisheries governance systems can be rigid, hierarchical, and have been proven to be ineffectual in staving off social and political conflicts (Fanning, 2011), accentuating deteriorating diversity in species and habitat. *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations, a *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*[1] community on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, Canada, is attempting to respond to defects in fisheries governance and management while pursuing self-determination through the renewal of the relationship of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* (hereditary chiefs) and *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* (high-ranking women) with their *ḥaḥuułi* (chiefly territories). *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal takes many forms at different physical and conceptual sites, including the building of tribal parks, local and national alliance building, direct action, litigation, and attempts at treaty and negotiations. For fisheries, the project of renewal involves leadership and partnership in funded research, litigation, negotiations, program delivery and direct action. Fisheries is a site of protracted legal and jurisdictional conflict between the Canadian state and the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*. By way of illustration, *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations is one of five *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*[2] Nations involved in *Ahousaht Indian Band and Nation v. Canada (Attorney General*), 2009 BCSC 1494. The court has acknowledged that the five Nations have rights to co-manage a multi-species commercial fishery within the collective *ḥaḥuułi.* Figure 1 *Plaintiff Nations*, produced by Ha'oom Fisheries Society, is a map

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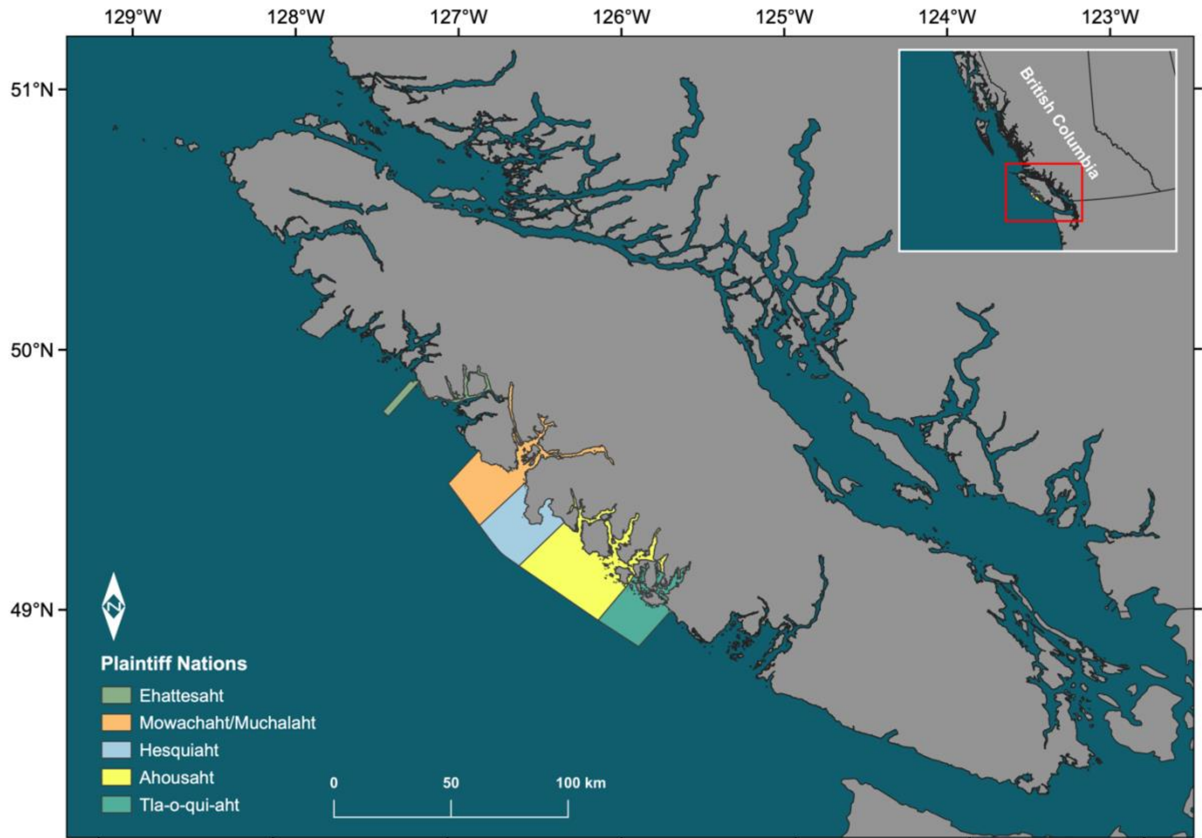
[1] I use the *Nuučaan̓ułʔ* alphabet and spellings provided by *Tla-o-qui-aht* Language Services and Linguist Dr. Adam Werle. In citations I will use the spelling of the organization or author(s).

[2] The five Nations are *Ahousaht*, *Ehattesaht*/*Chinehkint*, *Hesquiaht*, *Mowachaht*/*Muchalaht*.

of Vancouver Island British Columbia with each colour on the west coast representing one the five Nations court recognized fishing territory.

Figure 1

Plaintiff Nations



Note. This map was created by Ha'oom Fisheries Society to illustrate the court recognized fishing area. Copyright 2022 to Ha'oom Fisheries Society.

Using funded research at academic sites to address community political priorities and move knowledge co-production closer to home are strategies that are informed by *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal. My research on fisheries is guided by *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of

renewal, supporting their self-determination strategies. The research explores ontologies of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems, i.e. the nature of reality, including what it means to be *quu?as* (human), and how nature, regeneration, and life are practiced in *ḥaaḥuupa* (stories, teachings). The research embraces multiple ontologies, and multi-naturalism (Blaser, 2009). Rather than one world with a plurality of competing cultural understandings, multi-naturalism suggests that there is a multiplicity of natures. In article 1 I discuss developments in indigenous geography that provide texture to the concept of multiple ontologies (see Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2012a; Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2012b; Huntington & Watson, 2008). In the research this means being attentive to how *Tla-o-qui-aht* understand and teach reality, including through *ḥaaḥuupa* and *Ćiinuł* (totem pole). The objective of the research is to assist those in community fisheries governance to advocate for the restoration of *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi*. The research suggests that expanding sites of cultural practice by reviving spiritual agreements with lifeforms and expanding sites of governance by recovering the *c̓ac̓aałuk* (river keeper) *Tla-o-qui-aht* can centre their lived values. Knowledge systems in the research reflects a *Nuučaan̓uł?* world in the making.

Knowledge systems in fisheries governance involve the acquisition, use, value, and circulation of knowledge for decision-making (Fanning, 2011). Knowledge systems have emerged as a promising direction in fisheries governance to address social and political conflicts. Akin to how Mol (1999) describes ontological politics as the "way in which 'the real' is implicated in the 'political' and vice versa" (p. 74), ontologies of knowledge systems are the way realities are implicated in knowledge systems and vice versa. A systems-based approach moves beyond epistemic translations of static ideas of knowledge and taxonomies. Epistemic translations can be thought of as discrete depictions of 'substantive' knowledge without grasping

how mechanisms of generation, circulation, and use are set up to work. Article 3, for example, shows how *Ćiinuł* teaches about the relationship between *hupał* (the Moon or the Sun) and *ʔiisaak* (v. respect). The relationship between *hupał* and *ʔiisaak* sets out expectations for what reality is and what it means to be human in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world. Ontologies of knowledge systems provides a perspective on how mechanisms of knowledge systems work to renew and maintain worlds. A focus on epistemic translations like "*ʔiisaak* means respect" neglects the reality of *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* lived values and does not contribute to *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal.

Battiste (2002) identifies taxonomies of indigenous knowledge as part of the creation and mischaracterization of a "generalized perspective" (p. 10). Generalization takes shape when indigenous knowledge systems are portrayed as fixed, timeless, spiritual, and useful when it aligns with existing "quantifiably observable empirical elements" (Battiste, 2002, p. 10) in research. The taxonomical approach, largely from the field of Ecology, reduces the multiplicity of worlds to one world where a generalized indigenous knowledge is just another competing metaphor (Raymond et al., 2013) about human-environment relations. One of the consequences of fixing indigenous knowledge as timeless means inducing uncontrolled equivocation. "A type of communicative disjuncture" uncontrolled equivocation occurs when "interlocutors are not talking about the same thing, and do not know this" (Viveiros de Castro, E. , 2004, p.7 see also Blaser, 2011). For *Tla-o-qui-aht* uncontrolled equivocation takes place through the misrepresentation of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems through superficial epistemic translations like '*ʔiisaak* means respect'. The stabilization of indigenous knowledge systems through taxonomies and metaphors contradicts the ongoing relational dynamism, the unfixed everydayness, of *Tla-o-qui-aht's* knowledge systems.

The research indicates that in the Canadian Fisheries context, epistemic translations take shape when the Canadian State bureaucracy and program frameworks depict indigenous knowledge as fixed inputs into the State's planning, and as contributions or correlates to conservation and sustainability. The emphasis on ontology in this research is an intentional response to narrow epistemic and taxonomical approaches to valuing indigenous knowledge. For *Tla-o-qui-aht*, research on their knowledge-systems provides an opportunity to document their own understandings of how knowledge is valued, acquired, circulated, and used in *their* world. The research is designed to be utilized by *Tla-o-qui-aht* leadership in advocacy for change, and internally to extend sites of cultural renewal.

The research emphasis on participation in *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal and reflects the adoption of indigenous research methodologies. At the broadest level, indigenous methodologies (IM) focus on decolonization through embracing projects of community regeneration, and self-determination. Much of the dissertation illustrates how my political commitment to *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal, informed by IM, took shape, and directed the outcomes of the research. Specifically, the use of film as a method for research was directed by *Tla-o-qui-aht's* Traditional Resource Committee (TRC). The creation of the TRC is discussed in Article 1 and is designed to complement the project of renewal.

The overall objectives for this research are to:

1) To explore the ontologies of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems, for example how nature, regeneration, and life (e.g., salmon) are imagined in *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories), how lived values are taught by *Ćiinuł* (totem poles) and through spiritual agreements like the First Salmon Ritual [article 3, films]

2) To describe how indigenous research methodologies can encourage indigenous scholars and allies to re-make research such that it sustains and renews a community's ability to engage their political priorities while fostering a transition back to community-based knowledge production [article 1]
3) To use film as a research method to provide space and opportunity for *Tla-o-qui-aht* research co-participants to chart the world-making practices associated with *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories) [films]
4) Committing to multiplicities by:
    a. Exploring how indigenous research, alongside auto-methods, can open pathways for indigenous people to be themselves in academic knowledge co-production. [article 1]
    b. Investigating knowledge systems literature with a focus on ontologies of knowledge systems to facilitate a novel way to bring knowledges together [article 3]
    c. Documenting *Tla-o-qui-aht* fisheries governance initiatives and program delivery while looking for opportunities and strategies for TFN to use to create space and expand their project of renewal [article 3, Conclusion]
5) To illuminate ways for *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems to find expression within the current (e.g., local, regional, national, international) fisheries governance regimes [article 3, Conclusion]

As an invited guest of *Tla-o-qui-aht*, the research also presented occasions to learn about traditional Salish subjectivities. I am from *Xwchíyò:m*, a Coast Salish community near Agassiz,

British Columbia. The research permitted me to *Witness*, to reciprocate *ólhet*[3] (respect) shown to my community by members of *Tla-o-qui-aht*, to work as an ally and colleague, and to nurture friendships. In the following section I continue to situate myself, addressing my pre-existing relationships, introducing the community of *Tla-o-qui-aht*, the research projects, and the existing community research infrastructure in *Tla-o-qui-aht*. I then introduce areas of theoretical, methodological, and analytical significance for each of the articles and spend more time unpacking the complexity and challenges of using film as a research method. I conclude with discussing the structure of the dissertation.

Background and Relationships

Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations is located on the west coast of Vancouver Island, encompassing Clayoquot Sound and the coastal community of Tofino in the province of British Columbia, Canada. *Tla-o-qui-aht* is one of 14 *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* communities, related to the Makah Tribe located at Neah Bay in Washington State. *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations governance is a combination of a hereditary system and an elected Chief and Council. The *ḥaw̓iiḥ* of *Tla-o-qui-aht* govern the collective *ḥaḥuułi* and lead spiritual and cultural activities. *Tla-o-qui-aht's taayii* (head chief) is *ḥaayuʔiiḥ* (Ray Seitcher), the *ḥaw̓ił* are *Hiisquuishsinuptshilth* (Alex Frank), *Muuchinink* (Bruce Frank), *Naakqwiimulthnii* (Simon Tom Sr.), and *Nuukmiis* (Robert Martin). Elected Chief and Council oversee and administer programs delivered in the *Tla-o-qui-aht* villages of *Opitsaht*, *Esowista* and *Ty-histanis*. The *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and Chief and Council work together on community issues, and both provide ongoing permission for the research through a *Tla-o-qui-aht* research protocol and the Traditional Resource Committee, discussed in Section 2.

[3] Upriver Halkomelem, the language of my community, *Xwchíyò:m.*

Tla-o-qui-aht research liaison, *Seit-cha* (One who swims in the Water, English name Terry Dorward), is from the Seitcher family and belongs to the house of *Tla-o-qui-aht's taayii ḥaw̓ił ḥaayuʔiiḥ*. *Seit-cha* is a founding member of the activist groups the West Coast Warriors Society and the Native Youth Movement. In our initial conversations about the research, we realized that we had met in my community of *Xwchíyò:m* when I first returned to my village. In 1999 and 2000, my community challenged DFO fisheries regulations, receiving national notoriety and becoming a target for physical intimidation and abuse from DFO Enforcement officers (now called Conservation and Protection). *Seit-cha* and other *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* members of the activist groups were invited to my community by our Elected Chief June Quipp to protect our fishers and community.

Figure 2

Photo of blockade with members of Cheam and the West Coast Warrior Society

Note. This photo shows members of my community *Xwchíyò:m* alongside *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* activists in 2000. First Nations: Land Rights and Environmentalism in British Columbia (http://www.firstnations.de/development/cheam.htm). Copyright 2000 Bert Crowfoot.

The camouflage used by the Warriors and our fishers illustrated that the conflict was physical. Camouflage was an intentional visual trope linking our conflict to other indigenous resistance movements in Ipperwash, Oka, and in Central and South America. Fatigues heightened media interest and highlighted that the Canadian state was violently suppressing the *Mi'kmaq* community of *Esgenoopetitj* (Burnt Church) and the *Sto:lo* at *Xwchíyò:m* for practicing traditional relationships with other lifeforms (Alfred & Lowe, 2005).

Fisheries conflict produced inconsistent outcomes. It brought some of our community together in a sense of comradery but pushed others apart. While some of our relatives and allies came to our aid, it marked our fishers, supporters, and community members as outlaws. Conflict left some with criminal records. I am not a fisherman, but my memories are of working on the beach, butchering and canning fish for our elders and those of the surrounding *Sto:lo* communities. My community's relationship with fish is simultaneously a potent site of cultural activity and rejuvenation, and of protracted conflict with the Canadian State. The fishery is where I met some of my relatives and members of my community, heard my community's stories and teachings, and developed new ways of relating to lifeforms like fish. At the same time, it is the site where I first interacted with State enforcement officers from DFO and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and was asked to identify myself through my Indian Status Card number. Fourteen years after *Seit-cha* and the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* activists intervened to protect our community, I was presented an opportunity to demonstrate *ólhet* by traveling to *Tla-*

o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi and support community aspirations in academic and community knowledge co-production.

Research activities are an important site for *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal. *Tla-o-qui-aht* has been a lead partner in a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) funded project exploring Indigenous knowledge systems to inform fisheries governance on Canada's coasts (Fish-WIKS[4]). This funded research, alongside *Tla-o-qui-aht* priorities for salmon restoration, led to partnering in EPIC4 (Enhanced Production in Coho: Culture, Community, Catch[5]) to further document values associated with *ćuwit* (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*, Coho salmon). *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations approach to Fish-WIKS and EPIC4 is partially built upon previous funded research infrastructure. In the early- to mid-2000's, research with Vancouver Island University furthered the community political priority of Tribal Parks, introduced the functions of a community research liaison and the adoption of a research protocol. The liaison and the research protocol are critical to bringing academic knowledge production involving the community closer to home. The protocol and liaison are strategies at sites of knowledge co-production in *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal. In Section 2, I summarize how the research made progress down a path of indigenizing knowledge co-production, decentring

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[4] "Fish-WIKS research looks at understanding western and Indigenous knowledge systems and explores how the different processes by which knowledge is acquired, transmitted and used can be harnessed to enhance Canadian fisheries policy. Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the research aims to identify the commonalities and differences in Indigenous knowledge systems across the Pacific, Arctic, Inland and Atlantic regions and in four distinct coastal communities in Canada (Tla-o-qui-aht, British Columbia; Naujaat, Nunavut; Nipissing, Ontario; and Eskasoni, Nova Scotia)" (https://www.dal.ca/sites/fishwiks.html).

[5] "EPIC4 uses genomics to address challenges facing the sustainable management and production of Coho Salmon" (http://www.sfu.ca/epic4/index.html). The research falls under activity 5 "Work with First Nations, non-aboriginal communities and recreational fisheries to identify concerns and perceived benefits of genomics tools in wild fisheries and hatcheries" (http://www.sfu.ca/epic4/about.html).

the academy, incorporating existing community infrastructure, and building novel ways for *Tla-o-qui-aht* members to direct research as co-participants.

Blended Methodologies and Analysis

In this section I discuss how indigenous and other qualitative research methodologies frame the research and knowledge co-production. Smith (*Maori*) (1999, 2008) advocates for indigenous research methodologies that address self-determination by supporting individual and community revitalization, and liberation from structural oppression and violence. In *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (2010) Margaret Kovach (*Nehiyaw* and *Saulteux*) encourages indigenous research methodologies that are not prescribed, but rather have a prefigured focus on the careful and reflexive construction of spaces to bring knowledges together in new ways. Kovach makes the methodological problems spatial: "I think we need to make strategic concessions to win what we can, but the critical understanding here is that this is only one site of struggle – we ought to be developing transformation in many sites" (2010, p. 90). 'Sites' of decolonization are understood as polyvalent, emerging across historical, social, and metaphysical terrains. For indigenous research methodology, academic knowledge co-production is one of a multitude of physical and conceptual sites that require transformation. Supporting *Tla-o-qui-aht* attempts to transform a key instrument of Canadian state power, the fishery, informs the research methodology and how this research is positioned at academic sites. I also worked at other sites of the struggle as an ally and colleague, and nurtured friendships. Pushing beyond the physical and conceptual boundaries of academic institutions is critical because "Developing sovereignty, and self-determination in an institution where we don't have power just doesn't ring true" (G.H. Smith (*Maori*) in Kovach, 2010, p. 90). Decentring the academy by situating it as one of many 'site[s] of struggle' in community revitalization is

liberating, opening endless situated possibilities for academic and activist work in community renewal. To do indigenous research asks a researcher to be multiple, situated, and embodied. Positionality in knowledge co-production (see Sultana, 2017; Vanner, 2015; Johnson, 2009) is discussed in Article 1. Positionality is part of a researcher's reflexive practice, central to all research processes. I discuss in Article 1 how I have been positioned differently in my work supporting *Tla-o-qiu-aht's* project of renewal.

On this 'tricky ground' (Smith, 2008), *Seit-cha* and I worked to develop an approach to research that is consistent with *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s project of renewal. This started with the development of a Terms of Reference for a Traditional Resource Committee (TRC). The research touches on both fisheries program delivery (Chief and Council) and social and cultural renewal (*ḥaw̓iiḥ*) which means continuously working across and between governing systems. The TRC is a mandated standing committee of the *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations Chief and Council and makes recommendations for the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*. The blend of participatory and indigenous methodologies parallels the governance that exists for *Tla-o-qui-aht* today. The TRC is designed as a committee with a Terms of Reference because *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s Chief and Council is founded on authorities consistent with the *Indian Act* (1876). The TRC is also guided by *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* lived values that embrace and recognize the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*. The TRC is populated by elected Councillors, activists, elders, natural resource managers and *ḥaw̓ił.* Article 1 describes how we used principles of recognition and *ʔiisaak* for *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi* as key determinants in defining the number and recruitment strategies of co-participants. The purposeful sample echoes the complexities of intersecting tribal perspectives in the community. The TRC centres knowledge production about *Tla-o-qui-aht* physically and conceptually in *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* by structuring researcher accountabilities in *Tla-o-qui-aht.*

The *Tla-o-qui-aht* Research Protocol (2015) and the political and methodological commitment to decentering the academy in knowledge co-production informed our decision making in the research. Creation of the TRC is one example of the choices *Seit-cha* and I made moving knowledge production closer to home. It demonstrates how *Seit-cha* and I used our positionalities in the research process. *Seit-cha* is positioned as an activist, a speaker for the *taayii ḥaw̓ił ḥaayuʔiiḥ*, an elected Councillor and a Program Manager for *Tla-o-qui-aht* Tribal Parks. By moving to *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* I was positioned in multiple roles at many sites simultaneously. I was an invited guest researcher, a *Witness*, a facilitator with *T'aaq-wiihak*[6] (fishing with permission of the chiefs) supporting the five Nations' Lead Negotiators in reconciliation negotiations, and a strategic advisor for *Ha'oom*[7] (good food) supporting the implementation of the multi-species fishery. To conduct the research *Seit-cha* and I used our positions in community, practical skills in administrative and governance systems and *ʔiisaak* for *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi.* The research uses a blend of indigenous and participatory methodology that parallels the governance that exists for *Tla-o-qui-aht* and reflects the positionalities of the co-participants.

Embracing a multiplicity of realties and being attentive to how realities are constructed means that this research is both post-positivist and constructivist. The research is participatory as it situates the TRC and researcher as co-participants in "studying, reframing, and reconstructing social practices" (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2008, p. 277). Qualitative, participatory, and indigenous methodologies ask researchers to be clear about their political commitments. I committed to recognizing ontological multiplicities and to thinking in terms of a multiplicity of

[6] *T'aaq-wiihak* is charged with negotiating a multi-species fishery for the five Nations.
[7] *Ha'oom* Fisheries Society is an incorporated not-for-profit society with a mandate to implement the multi-species fishery for the five Nations.

stories-so-far woven in and across the covalent realities in which they are produced and performed (Mol, 2002). Massey (2005) uses stories-so-far to indicate her refusal of totalizing, mechanistic and deterministic narratives. My political commitment to stories-so-far informs my analysis and discussion of *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories) in Article 3. *ḥaaḥuupa* is a lifelong practice so I treat what I am learning by and about *ḥaaḥuupa* as iterative, partial, and provisional. *ḥaaḥuupa* and *Ćiinuł* are entry points to *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* worlds, telling us what it means to be *quuʔas* and providing conceptions of wealth, space, place, nature, ways of being, and ongoing relations. In Article 3 I explore the challenges of trying to 'get on the same page' through the governmental strategies of cultural competency and translations of *Ciiqciqasa* (speaking *Nuučaan̓ułʔath*) into English. I do this to highlight how uncontrolled equivocation based on ontological dissonance sits at the centre of *Tla-o-qui-aht's* relationship with the State of Canada. In the following section I discuss film as a novel method in our research.

Film as Method

In my first individual research interview, a *Tla-o-qui-aht* co-participant urged me to do group interviews and to video the interviews. The co-participant had recordings of his Elders and family and listened to them. He suggested that seeing would provide another layer of understanding, like traditional dance seeing the rhythm amongst people is important. The four films produced as part of the dissertation take up the challenge of using the visual method of film to portray the rhythms of groups, the intimacy of knowledge systems, and *quuʔas* in relation with the *ḥaḥuułi.* In Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post)colonial British Columbia (1997), Braun questions how *Tla-o-qui-aht* and their chiefly *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* relatives are presented in the photography book Clayoquot: On the Wild Side (Dorst & Young, 1990). Braun argues that the photography "contain no signs of ongoing struggles by the Nuu-chah-nulth

to forge a cultural existence that is at once continuous and modern" (1997, p. 21). Film as method afforded our research the opportunity to have *Tla-o-qui-aht* research co-participants speak directly about their 'continuous and modern' lives in the *ḥaḥuułi.* In this section I outline how I was directed by research co-participants to produce films for our research, how the production occurred, and provide insight on technical and postproduction details.

In retrospect it seems painfully obvious why the use film was recommended, and I am grateful that I listened without fully understanding. I now understand the practices of *ḥaaḥuupa* continue to structure expectations for research with *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems. *ḥaaḥuupa* occurs within and across *ushtakimilh* (lineage group) and families. Knowledge in *ḥaaḥuupa* is created, circulated, and acquired in a multi-generational family setting where visual and spoken rhythms are synonymous with lived values and stories told illuminate conceptions of the good. Early in the research another co-participant encouraged me to be in the *ḥaḥuułi* when I interviewed people, so I could see people in action, in relation to the *ḥaḥuułi,* rather than an office or a board room. What I was being told is that the traditional academic individual qualitative interview format is often incongruent with how knowledge is acquired, valued, and circulated in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world. I sought direction from my academic supervisor and PhD committee members on how to proceed and the roles of the films in this dissertation. The TRC directed the use of film as a method for group interviews, to portray the villages and see how the *muschim* (people) relate with the *ḥaḥuułi* today.

Seit-cha and I lacked the practical skills of filming and wanted the films to reflect our respect for the research co-participants and to be products *Tla-o-qui-aht* could use for educational purposes. Fish-WIKS and EPIC4 made filming possible through funding for the recruitment of an indigenous filmmaker. We looked for *Tla-o-qui-aht* and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*

filmmakers but were unsuccessful. We broadened our search to include established First Nations filmmakers that the community and I could trust to work on this part of the research together. We were able to convince my friend Odessa Shuquaya (*Kluane* First Nation), who has Cinematography and Independent Indigenous filmmaking diplomas from Capilano University, to work with us. Odessa directed the documentary *Cedar Tree of Life* (2018) and is credited in our films as a co-producer and editor. As co-producer, she recruited a Director of Photography, Location Sound and rented our equipment. On October 10, 2017, our 'Film Crew' of four rented a large SUV in Vancouver and travelled to *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* to film for three days. We used our travel time as a production meeting. I asked that we film low and wide to facilitate a human scale of physical relationships. From a human scale, the films reflect the visual and auditory rhythms of the *ḥaḥuułi*. We spent much of our time filming light dappling water, rolling clouds and trees swaying while recording the wind and the waves. Research co-participants were prepped but questions were not scripted. I asked research co-participants to tell us where we were, what we were seeing, and about experiences with *ḥaaḥuupa*. Our Director of Photography used a Sony FX7 camera with Nikon lenses and the Location Sound used a multi-track field recorder mixer, a boom, and wireless microphones. Incredibly, we encountered no rain and only made two mistakes that required additional footage. In "Going to *Opitsaht*" we initially filmed the wrong plant as Ivy Martin discusses her relationship to nettles (*Urtica dioica*) and viewers may see that our drone footage in "Drone Training" is from the same location but from a different time (provided by Redd Fish Restoration Society).

Coding of the film transcripts and editing was an iterative process. Initially, I went through the time stamped transcripts of the films and highlighted experiences with *ḥaaḥuupa* and then coded. Coding was built by employing a method of cultural renewal, taught to me by *Seit-*

cha, developed by the late Roy Hayupis of *Ahousaht*. The method starts by evaluating the colonial present, then takes stock of cultural practices from the past that can be used as resources to realize a future that re-centres *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* values and ways of being. The colonial present assumes that past practices of colonialism are present in contemporary ways of thinking about the self and the world. To evaluate the colonial present, then, means to challenge the way systems and our thinking recapitulate the past into the present. *Ćiinuł* and *ḥaaḥuupa* provide entry points to take stock of the past cultural practices a place to imagine a revitalized *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* future. The coded transcripts were used as a guide to make the first rough cut of the films. Odessa used Adobe Premier software to combine audio and visual tracks and to edit. Odessa and I then sat in front of her computer in Vancouver using the software to go frame by frame and edit the films together. The process was fun and challenging as sometimes the transcripts did not have usable corresponding film. We used secondary footage of the *ḥaḥuułi* to fill those gaps when we could. The benefit of having funding for an experienced film crew meant those moments were few and far between. Adopting a timeline of 15 minutes and coding helped us focus on co-participant stories that provide insight on how knowledge is acquired, circulated, and valued by the *muschim* of *Tla-o-qui-aht*. The master prints for each of the four films resides in a *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations digital archive.

Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation on the regeneration of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems and fisheries governance is presented as two journal articles and four films, along with this introduction and a conclusion. Although initially thought of as three separate products like other journal-style dissertations, themes emerged over time that suggest a different way of approaching the order of films and journal articles. I will touch on the themes as I suggest the order for reading and

watching. In *Going to Opitsaht*, the film features a conversation with Ivy Martin from the Frank family. Departing from the 1st Street dock in Tofino, a water taxi takes us to the village of *Opitsaht*. Ivy introduces variations of how *ʔiisaak* is practised in relationships and how *uu-a-thluk* (taking care of) the self, family and other lifeforms happens in *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi. Evenings at Ty-Histanis,* kept in the digital archive, captures conversations with *Tla-o-qui-aht* elders at two dinners hosted by *Seit-cha* in the village of *Ty-Histanis* at the community Health Centre. Elders and others reflect on their participation in forestry and some of the prolonged impacts that activity has had in their *ḥaḥuułi*. Fishermen speak about their frustrations and hope for a renewed fishery that can support them and reinvigorate the community. The film also provides space for a discussion and illustration of *his-shuk-nish-c̓awaak* (we are all one), connecting the health of *quuʔas* with the *ḥaḥuułi.*

Article 1 reflects on how we (the *Tla-o-qui-aht* Traditional Resource Committee, the Community Research Liaison, and me as researcher) employed a blended research methodology to purposefully position our research to contribute to *Tla-o-qui-aht* political priorities and continue the transition to community-based knowledge production. Article 1 traces my situatedness as an indigenous researcher and how my embodied, partial perspectives contributed to our research and provided insights that challenge static dualistic notions of in-/out-sider positions in indigenous-led academic research.

In the film *Paddle to Wanačas Hiłhuuʔis*, Tsimka Martin and Terrell Lamb, from *Tla-o-qui-aht*, take us on a canoe trip between Tofino, *Opitsaht* and *Wanačas Hiłhuuʔis* (the beach in front of Lone Cone). Tsimka, from the Martin family, studies *Ciiqciqasa* and is the language support worker at *Tla-o-qui-aht* Language Services. Tsimka speaks about traditional relationships to *nism̓a* (the land) and roles like the *c̓ac̓aałuk* (river keeper), and the challenges of

living between worlds in the *ḥaḥuułi.* Terrell, from the Seitcher family, speaks about his experiences at Tribal Canoe Journeys and the Hooksum Outdoor School, and how the connections to the *ḥaḥuułi* sustains his personal growth. *ḥaaḥuupa* and my primary research are used in Article 3 to explore some of the world-making practices associated with how *Tla-o-qui-aht* exercises relationships with other lifeforms, including salmon. I discuss *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* beings like *Ćiinul* that educate community members and others of the lived values and ways of being in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world. I juxtapose the lived values with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) conceptualization and implementation of conservation and sustainability as an entry point to discuss ongoing knowledge gaps between the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ and* non-*Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* arising from ontological dissonance. In the final film, *Drone Training at Chu-is*, we catch up with *Tla-o-qui-aht* Tribal Parks as they do their last in-class and field training for drone pilot certification. *Seit-cha* speaks directly to how *Tla-o-qui-aht* are combining their teachings about lived values and new technology to renew the relationship of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* with the *ḥaḥuułi*. In the conclusion I address the key findings and reflect on film as method.

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"*ich-moot-nilth*" Don't forget we've been around as long as the fish
Alice Paul from *Hesquiaht* (as cited in Nuu-chah-nulth Community & Human Services, 1996, p. 2)

Contexts for Research

My earliest memories of fish are at seven years old. I sat at the front of our 12-foot aluminium boat fishing for salmon (*Oncorhynchus spp.*). I was supposed to spot bull kelp (*Nereocystis*) so my dad could avoid getting the propellor ensnared in the stalks as we exited Winter Cove on Saturna Island. In my 20s, when I first returned to my birth father's Coast Salish village of *Xwchíyò:m*, salmon were at the centre of my cultural and political education. Some 20 years on I still work with fish and people.

One of my roles involves working with the five *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* First Nations, *Ahousaht*, *Ehattesaht*/*Chinehkint*, *Hesquiaht*, *Mowachaht*/*Muchalaht* and *Tla-o-qui-aht* (the five Nations), on fisheries management, governance, and reconciliation with the Canadian federal government. *t̓aqwiiy̓ak*[8] (straight from the source authority) is a carved figure, one that resides in a *huupukʷanum,* a wooden chest of treasures "outlining [the] inherent rights, titles and responsibilities" (Stanley Sam, 2013, n.p.) of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* (hereditary chiefs). In its current use, *T'aaq-wiihak* means "fishing with the permission of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*" and is the name of the organization charged with negotiating the legal fishing rights of the five Nations acknowledged in a BC Supreme Court decision (*Ahousaht Nation v. Canada*, 2009). The town of Tofino is a hub for the *Tla-o-qui-aht* villages of *Esowista* and *Ty histanis*, and for their neighbours and relatives, the *Ahousaht* on Flores Island and the *Hesquiaht* that reside in Hot Springs Cove. The *T'aaq-wiihak* office is on the second floor, perched over the post office at the corner of First Street and Campbell; at street level, a grocery store, bank and bakery fill in the downtown. The

[8] I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and spellings provided by Tla-o-qui-aht Language Services. In citations I will use the spelling of the organization or author(s).

cramped office is often bustling, with five staff members in a small space, and shares a wall with the offices of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Community Health Nurses who travel to the *Ahousaht, Opitsaht*, and *Hesquiaht* by water taxi. The marine radio on the office wall amplifies the water taxi operator's concern about the schedule. From my desk I can see the *wanačas hiłḥuuʔis* (Meares Island, the beach in front of Lone Cone) to the north, with *Opitsaht* and Clayoquot Sound to the east, and the nurses rushing to the docks.

My colleague photocopied the quote from Alice Paul I open this article with and taped it beside the computer monitor. On weekly hours-long calls with regional Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada officials about realising *T'aaq-wiihak* through fisheries management, catch monitoring or compliance, the quote was often a point of my attention. Her words provide solace and act as a guide: to practice respect (*ʔiisaak*) I focus my conduct on reciprocating the gifts that fish provide.

Another one of my other roles is doing research. The research I am doing with *Tla-o-qui-aht* on their knowledge systems and values continues *Tla-o-qui-aht's* active re-positioning of academic research. I want to support the regeneration of the relationship between *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaw̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi* (chiefly territories), alongside the transition to *Tla-o-qui-aht*-based knowledge production and circulation. The research also provides an opening for me to acknowledge, uphold and celebrate lived values that the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* and Coast Salish hold in common, *ʔiisaak* (v. respect) and *c̓awaak* (one) are *ólhet* (respect) and *letsemot* (togetherness, relationality) in my upriver *Halkomelem* language. My relationships with *Tla-o-qui-aht* are manifold in this work and reflect my professional role as well as that of being a Coast Salish person in the role of Witness, the obligations of which manifest in our research processes, practices, and subsequent outputs.

The first section in this article provides some details about the specific historical and colonial circumstances of *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations to illustrate how *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations has done the work of self-determination at different sites. *Tla-o-qui-aht's* specific history and practices of self-determination alongside my multiple positioning informs the utilisation of indigenous methodologies in our research. The research and the implementation of *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s court-acknowledged[9] collective right to a commercial fishery led me to question assumptions about insider/outsider positions in indigenous research (Bishop, 2005). I demonstrate how *Tla-o-qui-aht* has taken control of community-based knowledge production through a protocol and a Community Research liaison position. A significant outcome of the research was the creation of a Traditional Resource Committee that works closely with researchers to maintain accountability and catalyzes collective political action.

***Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations: Historical and Colonial Contexts**

There are many historically situated practices of resistance to the colonial expropriation of the *ḥaḥuułi* and the abatement of *ḥaw̓iiḥ* as an authority to demonstrate how *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations does the work of community self-determination and decolonization. These interactions have informed *Tla-o-qui-aht's* approach to knowledge co-production today. It is worth highlighting key historical moments and processes that have shaped this relationship. The relationship, for example, suffered from the "twin legal constructs" (Harris, 2008, p. 4) of indigenous lands and fisheries. These constructs accomplished three things intrinsic to the process of colonization: 1) the reterritorialization of the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ ḥaḥuułi* and *nism̓a* (the land) into the West Coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada; 2) the physical restriction of movement of the *Tla-o-qui-aht* by creating a reserve; and 3) the pooling of a body

1 The Nations use the term "court-acknowledged" because from the Nations' perspectives their rights flow from the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*.

of wage labourers for the extractive capitalist enterprises of industrial forestry and fishing. Integral to the legal capture was the forced re-location and re-education of three generations of *Tla-o-qui-aht* through Christian Residential Schools and the outlawing of the world-making practices associated with the potlatch (Cote, 2010; M. Atleo, 2001).

Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations' relatively recent experiences with colonialism and how *Tla-o-qui-aht* has responded in these interactions are important. Worlds, natures, ways of being and relationships are ongoing achievements and are considered to be continually constituted through "historically situated practices, including their mutual interactions" (Blaser, 2009, p. 11; see also Haraway, 1997; Law & Hassard, 1999; Mol, 2002). Thus, all are implicated in the history of *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations. Figure 1, produced by *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations, represents the major watersheds of the *ḥaḥuułi.* The darker blue areas are reserves, created by the Government of Canada, to which the *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations are restricted.

Figure 1

TFN Territory Base Map

Note. From *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations, 2008 (https://www.tla-o-qui-aht.org/territory).

Figure 1 documents the extent of Canada's terrestrial expropriation. More importantly, it also documents how *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations resist this colonial act by creating their own representations of territory, using their own names to identify sites of significance in their collective *ḥaḥuułi*.

The red line on Figure 1, Highway 4, physically links the west coast to Port Alberni and the rest of Vancouver Island and was completed in the summer of 1959. In 1970, the Canadian federal government created the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. Figure 2 shows the location of the National Park Reserve from Port Renfrew in the south and Tofino in the north.

Figure 2

Map of Pacific Rim National Park

Note. From Pacific Rim National Park, 2007, Wikimedia Commons (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pacific_Rim_National_Park_Reserve#/media/File:Pacific_Rim_National_Park.png). In the public domain.

The creation of the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve appropriated 511km^2 from seven *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ ḥaḥuułi*. *Tla-o-qui-aht* villages *Esowista* and *Ty-histanis* are located within the National Park Reserve boundaries, as are a series of smaller fishing station reserves. The appropriation of significant portions of the *ḥaḥuułi* by the creation of the National Park Reserve generated anger and concern within the families of *Tla-o-qui-aht* (Tammy Dorward, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty-histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication,

October 2017). The disconnection in the relationship between *Tla-o-qui-aht* and their *ḥaḥuułi* elevated the importance of keeping the remaining *nisma̓,* and ancestral gardens intact, including *wanačas hiłḥuuʔis*, in Clayoquot Sound. Tsimka Martin describes ancestral gardens as part of a of the *Tla-o-qui-aht* world:

> Many people refer to it as old growth forest, but I prefer that term ancestral garden because it really is our garden. We tended everything that we took from and made sure there was reciprocity in the relationships with all living beings there,
> in opposition to old growth. (Tsimka Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Squamish and *Esowista,* British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017)

A similarly textured notion of reciprocity and the relationship to the *ḥaḥuułi* is described by *Seit-cha* (Terry Dorward):

> You know, this place right here *ha`uukmin* is a great feast bowl … just the word a great big feast bowl right here, it says a lot. And it's been disturbed through unhealthy logging practices, over-fishing, so we want to get to a place where [it can] be once again a great feast bowl, *ha`uukmin*. (Terry Dorward, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty Histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017)

In 1984, the provincial government permitted logging on *wanačas hiłḥuuʔis*. *Tla-o-qui-aht* understandings of tribal parks and ancestral gardens were central to how Chief Councilor Moses Martin greeted engineers and loggers from the forestry company on the shores of *wanačas hiłḥuuʔis* (Meares Island) saying, "You are welcome to come ashore and join us for a meal, but you have to leave your chainsaws in your boats. This is not a tree farm – this is Wah-nah-juss

Hilth-hooiss, this is our Garden, this is a Tribal Park" (Morrow, 2014, n.p.). Despite Chief Martin's appeals, the logging went ahead. In response, the villages of the *Ahousaht*, *Tla-o-qui-aht* and *Hesquiaht*, as well as the other 11 *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* communities, resisted by petitioning the Provincial government for improved forest management, an early example of eco-system-based management, and a return of traditional harvest practices.

The *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* also took direct action by setting up blockades to prevent clear-cutting. For indigenous peoples, the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* acted as land protectors, while Canada viewed the "War in the Woods" as an act of civil disobedience. By 1994, the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* were successful in gaining control over forestry through an Interim Measures Agreement. Former Premier of British Columbia Glen Clark called protests on *wanačas hiłḥuuʔis* "one of the first big victories for First Nations land rights, and one of the key break-through moments for First Nations in Canada. … It was epic" (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, 2016, n.p.).

For the *Tla-o-qui-aht*, the resistance to commercial logging reinvigorated the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* (high-ranking women) *and ḥaḥuułi*. Kotaska's (2013) discussion of an Interim Measures Agreement reached with Provincial government illustrates how the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* approached the renewal of their governance authority:

> an Interim Measures Agreement with five Nuu-chah-nulth nations containing co-management provisions respecting resources, the formation of a Science Panel to develop logging recommendations in the Sound, and the purchase of 51% of the logging rights in the area by the Nuu-chah-nulth (giving them another form of governance over the area). (p.122)

Within this governance framing, the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* created a footing for the inclusion of *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* knowledge alongside other knowledges in the practices of forestry management,

planning and harvesting (Cote, 2010; Umeek, 2004). Once established, *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations and the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* were able to pursue their political priorities in fisheries.

Fisheries

Canada's federal and provincial governments assign the provinces jurisdiction over forestry while the federal government, through the Constitution Act of 1867, has jurisdiction over fisheries and indigenous lands and rights. Fisheries are sites of ongoing protracted embodied and legal conflicts in Canada (Harris, 2001, 2004, 2008; Ware, 1983). They are a space to illustrate and participate in a trajectory of *Tla-o-qui-aht's* struggle for self-determination as they repair and regenerate the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and the *ḥaḥuułi*. In the Canadian context, both settler colonialism and indigenous self-determination movements have frequently arisen from the dismembering of indigenous governance. Canada reconstituted governance with the creation and imposition of Indian reservations and Indian food fisheries (Harris, 2008). The Indian food fishery can be thought of as an ungenerous subsistence fishery. "These two legal constructs – the Indian reserve and the Indian food fishery – were two of the principal instruments of state power and colonial control in British Columbia" (Harris, 2008, p. 4). Figure 1 displays the extent of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* loss of control over the *ḥaḥuułi* resulting from the creation of reserves that removed large portions of indigenous ancestral territory from their authority. Where their territory had previously been immense, the Indian Act restricted the movement of the *Tla-o-qui-aht* to 12 Indian reserves (Indian Act, 1876), of which 10 are merely small Fishing Stations. In his history of how the law works, Harris (2001, pp. 14-76; 2008, pp. 1-4) demonstrates that the Fisheries Act (1868) accomplished similar colonial objectives of restricted movement by creating an "increasingly restricted and uncertain Indian food fishery" as a mere "remnant of Native peoples' prior claim to the fish" that now acts as their "primary

means of support" (Harris, 2008, p. 4). By 1920, through incremental implementation of the Fisheries Act, *Tla-o-qui-aht* were unable to maintain the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* operational ownership of the *ḥaḥuułi* which resulted in "devastating the Nuu-chah-nulth fishing culture" (Kirchner, 2010, p. 2). For *Tla-o-qui-aht* this means simply that the vast majority of the collective *ḥaḥuułi* is reallocated for the benefit of 'all' Canadians. The legal reterritorialization of *ḥaḥuułi* left *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations enmeshed in "a vast and complex web of regulations, programs, and policies" (Ahousaht, para. 523) compelling those that fished to participate in either the regular Canadian commercial fishery, the Indian food fishery or as fishing guides. The remnant roles were nearly eradicated by successive Canadian Pacific fishery re-rationalizations. Expressed solely as numbers, the 14 *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* communities went from between 70 and 80 active skippers (active mostly full-time fisher, often employing deckhands) in 1992 to only three by 2007 (Ahousaht, para 646).

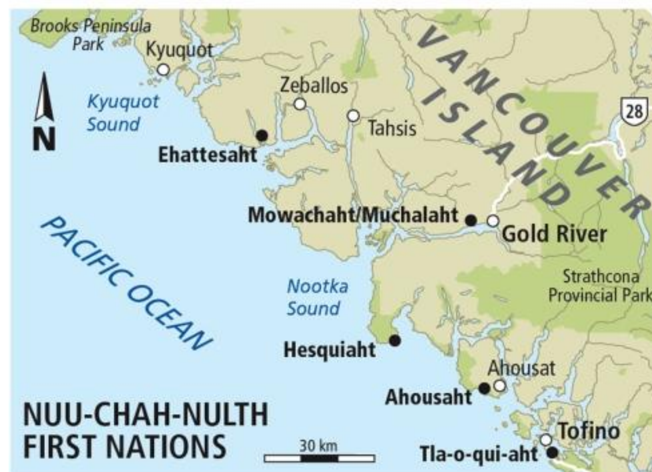
As they did with forestry, *Tla-o-qui-aht* and their chiefly relatives organized to reinvigorate the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ and ḥaḥuułi* and pursued their goal to renew their place as owners and managers of fisheries in their *ḥaḥuułi*. For over 40 years the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* have been engaged in legal actions. These struggles resulted in a British Columbia Supreme Court decision in 2009 that affirmed rights for five *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* Nations (*Ahousaht, Ehattesaht/Chinehkint, Hesquiaht, Tla-o-qui-aht, Mowachaht/Muchalaht*) to catch and sell all species of fish traditionally caught in their *ḥaḥuułi* (see Figure 3).

> Madam Justice Garson (now J.A.) concluded that all five Nuu-chah-nulth plaintiffs have aboriginal rights to fish in their traditional territories and sell that fish into the commercial marketplace. This marks only the second case in Canada in which aboriginal rights to sell fish have been established outside of a treaty and the first such case that

expressly applies that right to any species of fish available in the First Nations' territories. (Kirchner, 2010, p. 1.)

Figure 3

Nuu-Chah-Nulth First Nations



Note: From "Commercial fishery decision victory for Island First Nations" by Dene Moore & Sandra Mcculloch, 2014, Times Colonist (https://www.timescolonist.com/business/commercial-fishery-decision-victory-for-island-first-nations-4604986). Copyright 2014 by Times Colonist.

While the Nations and Canada are in a reconciliation negotiations process about how to realize a new fisheries management regime, partial implementation of the Nations' management plans has seen over 130 members register to fish with 43 actively fishing and another 45 operating as deckhands (labourers) (HFS 2021 Post Season Report). Each participant is approved by their respective *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, providing limited governance within the *ḥaḥuułi*.

Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, like other *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* First Nations, resist colonial control over the collective *ḥaḥuułi* with collective and individual direct action, political suasion and legal challenges targeting Canada's asserted control. *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations resistance is

simultaneously personal, familial, political, administrative, academic and is centred on upholding sites for continued cultural survival. It is within these sites where the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and the *ḥaḥuułi* can be revitalized as part of their self-determination practices.

Academic Sites and Knowledge Production

For my research on knowledge systems and values, I focus on how the academic sites of knowledge co-production and knowledge circulation can benefit *Tla-o-qui-aht's* agenda. In this section I report how experiences from two different research projects inform *Tla-o-qui-aht's* approach to the development of research protocols and establishing a Community Research Liaison while repositioning the production of knowledge about the community closer to home. While the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* were active in resisting provincial logging practices in the 1980's they were also participating in ground-breaking research that was designed to better understand mercury levels in seafood, diabetes, and to address the high rates of rheumatic diseases affecting roughly two thirds of the population (Wiwchar, 2000).

A research project on rheumatic diseases that developed into the largest genetic study of First Nations in Canada, funded by Health Canada and delivered in partnership with the University of British Columbia, was considered "A beacon of hope" (Wiwchar, 2000). 1,878 of the 2,300 *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* were surveyed, 883 provided 30ml blood samples for the study. The negative findings, disconfirming the hypothesis, were published in a report to Health Canada (Wiwchar, 2004) and in the *Journal of Rheumatology* (Wiwchar, 2000). The *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* participants were disappointed when the research failed to redress a community research priority. Dr. Richard Ward, the lead researcher, had acquired participant consent based on the search for genetic markers associated with rheumatic diseases. Yet later he decided to use the existing samples for genetic anthropological research on human migration and retroviruses, receiving

new funding from the U.S. Department of Health. Although not disclosed or reported to the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*, the new "secondary" research results provided contributions to over 100 publications (Garrison et al., 2019) that were widely read and used. For example, the article *Extensive mitochondrial diversity within a single Amerindian tribe* (Ward et al., 1991) published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America has been cited close to 600 times and is still being referenced as of 2019 (*A Companion to Anthropological Genetics*, O'Rourke, 2019). The researcher also found success and assumed the position of Professor of Biological Anthropology at the University of Oxford in 1996. In 2000, when the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* became aware of what had been done with the genetic samples, they began a battle for a return of their blood, successfully achieving their goal in 2004. In response to this egregious violation of research ethics, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council created their own research ethics committee, formed research protocols and "contributed to the Canadian Institutes for Health Research's Guidelines for Health Research Involving Aboriginal People (2007–2010)" (Garrison et al., 2019, p. 499).

Although deceived by this researcher and his research, *Tla-o-qui-aht* and the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* are active in producing academic knowledge, addressing their own individual and community-based priorities, and have had success in repositioning knowledge production closer to home. Priority topics and successful examples include: *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* philosophies (Umeek, 2004, 2010), pedagogy (M. Atleo, 2001, 2005, 2009; Dawn Smith, 2018), the role of *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching and storytelling) in individual and community decolonization projects (*Chaw-win-is*, 2007, 2012), aboriginal justice (*kweesh-kweesh-ata-aqsa*, 2005), indigenous governance (Sayachapis Masso, 2005; Tom Happynook Jr, 2007), economics (C. Atleo, 2015), whaling, and sovereignty (Cote, 2010).

Tla-o-qui-aht and their chiefly *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* relatives have also been successful in organizing themselves and gathering allies to support their vision of self-determination. At academic sites of knowledge co-production, *Tla-o-qui-aht's* self-determination agenda has taken the form of multiple, partnered research efforts. For example, the community used academic research associated with protected area governance to further and refine *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s vision to implement *Tla-o-qui-aht* Tribal Parks (e.g. Murray & King, 2012; Murray & Burrows, 2018). Funding partners for the Protected Areas for Poverty Reduction (PAPR) project included Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) under the International Community-University Research Alliance Program (ICURA). Beyond aligning with *Tla-o-qui-aht's* vision of a Tribal Park, PAPR produced durable and functional relationships between the community and Vancouver Island University (VIU), including the establishment of a Community Research Liaison and the funding of a revised community research protocol. This relationship led to *Tla-o-qui-aht's* lead in funded fisheries research exploring distinct indigenous knowledge systems to inform fisheries governance and management on Canada's coasts (Fish-WIKS) and partnering in EPIC4 (Enhanced Production in Coho: Culture, Community, Catch) to further document community values associated with *ćuwit*. These externally funded FISH-WIKS and EPIC4 research projects with *Tla-o-qui-aht*, working on knowledge systems and values, continues the trajectory of aligning research to support the regeneration of *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi* and further the transition to *Tla-o-qui-aht*-based knowledge co-production. This transition to knowledge co-production parallels an increasing emphasis on indigenous methodologies, which have developed as indigenous researchers sought to utilize methodologies sensitive to community research, especially indigenous communities.

Indigenous Research Methodology

My evolving understanding of indigenous research presupposes a generative relationship between a researcher, the field of research, and an indigenous community's transformative agenda. I also commit to multiple ontologies, or the multiple, as it contributes to the practices of reflexivity in indigenous research. Across indigenous communities, the indigenous methodologies agenda often comprises the prefigured goal of self-determination, targets social and institutional change, and attends to power and inequality (L.T. Smith, 1999, 2008; G.H. Smith, 1997). An agenda operates as an outline for change and is supported by a series of transformative goals. Achieving these transformative goals in research necessitates a reframing of the purpose of the research (Coombes, Johnson and Howitt, 2014) as well as the roles and goals of a researcher (Weber-Pillwax, 2001).

> Indigenous research methodologies are those that enable and permit Indigenous researchers to be who they are while engaged actively as participants in research processes that create new knowledge and transform who they are and where they are. (Weber-Pilwax, 2001, p. 174)

Therefore, for indigenous research methodologies, the emphasis on remaking research as well as the researcher establishes a clear focus on the careful and reflexive construction of spaces to bring knowledges together in new ways (Kovach, 2010). Part of the remaking of research means providing opportunities to indigenous peoples' allies, academic and otherwise, to be *who* they are while they perform, reflect on, and transform roles in indigenous research. By combining research with community activism, indigenous research embraces community ethics of engagement to sustain and further a community's transformative agenda. Indigenous research methodologies call researchers to decolonize academic knowledge production and use research

as an opportunity to renew epistemologies and tribal ontologies as multiple (Kovach, 2010). In response, we indigenous researchers must surpass the reach of a community, researcher, or research project.

I understand the goals of indigenous research as part of a spatial social justice "expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains" (Smith, 1999, p. 115-6). Smith's terrains are akin to Massey's (2005) "sites" that see space as the condition for the possibility of becoming. Where an emphasis on being focuses on essences and stable conceptualizations, becoming attends to a "reality [that] is always in the making through the dynamic relations of heterogeneous assemblages involving more-than-humans" (Blaser, 2014, p. 54). More-than-human eschews anthropocentricity and embraces viewing humans as one lifeform co-existing with others. In this conception, space is a conduit for becoming to exist. "We cannot 'become', in other words, without others. And it is space that provides the necessary condition for that possibility" (Massey, 2005, p. 56). This emphasis on becoming, rather than being, aligns with developments in critical and indigenous geographies as it brings clarity to the organizing concept of multiple ontologies (see Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2012a; Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2012b; Huntington & Watson, 2008). By shifting the focus away from being toward becoming, the concept of multiple ontologies reinforces the call in indigenous research to bring knowledges together in new ways.

A commitment to multiple ontologies facilitates a multi-naturalist approach that "focuses on what kinds of worlds are there and how they come into being (an ontological concern)" (Blaser, 2009, p. 11). By multi-naturalist I mean an approach that assumes that there is more than one world, and more than one reality. Being part of the ontological turn (Escobar, 2007), a multi-naturalist approach opens paths for indigenous researchers like me to incorporate our subject

positions and various roles we play across communities into knowledge production. In my case, I used 'witnessing' to bring balance and harmony to our work. A Witness is called forward at Coast Salish ceremonial events and asked to remember and to tell others of the words, feelings and the work that has been done. The paths are multiple in the becoming of knowledge; they relate to traditional and emerging indigenous subject positions, ways of becoming that sustain worlds. Part of the careful construction of the spaces we inhabit that bring knowledges together is being open to novel and multiple subject positions, rather than relying on the stable bifurcation of emic/etic (Bishop, 2005; Beals, Kidman & Funaki, 2020), or what is known methodologically as insider/outsider research positions.

My subject positions are suspended between *Nuučaan̓uł?atḥ* and my own *Salish* political ontologies. My embodied, situated positions as co-participant in this research is complex and involves multiple ontologies that intersect and do not fit with the concepts of emic (inside) and etic (outside). Annmarie Mol (1999) uses 'ontological politics' as a way to make sense of what is commonly understood to be reality. She depicts these "conditions of possibility we live with" (p. 75) as contestable, multiple and "historically and culturally located" (p. 75). This is a spatial understanding where "reality is done and *enacted* rather than observed" (Mol, 1999, p. 77; my emphasis). For indigenous and non-indigenous researchers, I take this to mean that our situatedness is multiple. Given the circumstances of any one moment or situation, we enact our lives as we go along depending on whom we interact with and what historical and cultural influences are in play at any given time.

Taking up the challenge of the multiple provides for my practices of indigenous reflexivity that benefit the approach to knowledge co-production with *Tla-o-qui-aht*. A discussion of the multiple benefits how one can talk about how researchers are positioned in

research projects. Accounting for the researcher and their position in the research are often functions of the paradigm adopted by the researcher as a set of fundamental epistemic and ontological assumptions (Guba & Lincoln, 2008). For indigenous methodologies the practices of accounting for the researcher and positionality are fluid, part of an ongoing negotiation that may outlast the specific project or initiative. These practices must "make sense from an Indigenous knowledges perspective" (Kovach, 2010, p. 41). My role as a Salish Witness allows me to make sense of, and communicate to others, what I saw, felt, and heard from my own indigenous perspective as I encountered *Nuučaaṅułʔatḥ* world views.

Feminist scholars have, for decades, led the discussion on positionality (see Sultana, 2017; Vanner, 2015; Johnson, 2009) and demonstrated that reflexive practices are fundamental to all research processes. Integrating this insight into research leads to an understanding of knowledge production as always partial, bounded, provisional, and situated "rather than absolute, definitive, and generalizable" (Johnson, 2009, p. 56). Feminist methodologies help locate the figure of a researcher in knowledge co-production as embodied, partial, and requiring practices of self-discipline (see Moss & Falconer Al-Hindi, 2008; Moss & Donovan, 2017).

The Multiple in Research: Positionality and Reflexivity

In this research, I located myself in multiple roles that all align with indigenous research methodologies including as a guest at community functions, as an invited researcher, as a worker in fisheries, as an ally, as a friend, as a non-*Tla-o-qui-aht* indigenous person, and as a Salish indigenous person. In this section I first clarify how I used a voiced centred approach in the research. This approach, alongside my positionality, offered a path to renew the traditional role of Witness in my reflexivity and deepened my connections to both *Salish* and *Nuučaaṅułʔatḥ* ways of being.

Voice

For this research with *Tla-o-qui-aht* I used a voice-centered approach developed by Mauthner & Doucet (2003). In this practice, researchers continually "locate yourself and identify your assumptions" (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003, p. 419) by tracking research co-participants' narratives and your own emotional reactions and interpretations on a worksheet. This technique avoids the tendency to privilege one's position(s) when recounting the processes of academic knowledge production while acknowledging that my research co-participant reflections "constitute sources of knowledge" (Mishler, 1986 in Mauthner & Doucet, 2003, p. 419); see also Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Miles and Huberman, 1994) My practices of reflexivity also benefit from my collegial relationship with *Tla-o-qui-aht* Community Research Liaison and the Traditional Resource Committee (discussed below) that permit me to access second- and third-person dimensions of reflexivity.

As part of my practice of witnessing and reflexivity, I need to situate myself. My mother Bonnie and father Greg, with whom I learned to fish near Saturna Island, are Anglo-Canadian. My biological father Ernest is from *Xwchíyò:m*, a coast *Salish* community near Agassiz, British Columbia. Although I present, identify and am identifiable as a *Salish* cis gendered man, I grew up away from my community until I was 25. For the past 22 years I have worked with First Nations. Most recently I have been a Fisheries Manager and Advisor supporting five Nations (*Ahousaht, Ehattesaht/Chinehkint, Hesquiaht, Tla-o-qui-aht,* and *Mowachaht/Muchalaht*) in reconciliation negotiations. My embodied perspective, in this inter-governmental space, a zone of interacting and asymmetrical competing claims to authority, creates a complex matrix of emic (inside) and etic (outside) relationships. I am emic to regional and provincial scales of First Nations' political practices of self-determination. But this status does not make me an insider to

the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*. I share the lived values of *ʔiisaak* and *c̓awaak* (*ólhet*, and *letsemot* in my language) with the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* but I am still an outsider to *Tla-o-qui-aht*. And, in practice, my insider status derived from our shared lived values does not convey an insider status to me in our research.

This set of complex relationships however does provide insight on how indigenous relationality is practiced formally and informally. Moss and Besio (2017) identify two rationales researchers use to support employing auto-methods, that is, methods that draw on one's own experiences as a data source: as entry points to analysis, and as access to a shared world view. I use both rationales. My experience in First Nations' fisheries acts as an entry point to inter-governmental practices, while my shared cultural practices linking Salish and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* peoples provides spaces to sustain our shared political-ontologies and subjectivities. It is the latter that I discuss next.

Witnessing

Salish communities on what is now called Vancouver Island have political relations and shared cultural practices with the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* that precede and will outlast this research. When *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nation invited me to join them as a researcher for Fish-WIKS, I committed to being a Witness and to upholding our *Salish* and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* relationship by demonstrating *ʔiisaak*. I am excited that other Salish research is exploring the role of Witness in indigenous research and how it sustains our communities' worldview in knowledge co-production (Beard, 2018). To Witness is to perform a specific role, one that is intimately tied to Coast Salish practices of relationality. Elder Larry Grant, of *xʷməθkʷəy̓əm* (Musqueam), has taught me a great deal about the role of a Witness during the short times we travelled together and when he taught me the downriver dialect of our shared language (*hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓*). I have

largely relied on Larry to articulate the following cultural practices. If there are mistakes, they are my own.

In the ceremonies associated with the Big House, our cultural practices bring our communities together as winter dances take community members cyclically through Coast Salish territories from the city of Hope, south into Washington State, west down the Fraser River Valley and across the Salish Seas to the Southeastern part of Vancouver Island, including *Snuneymuxw* (Nanaimo). "Winterdances (*smilha*, also commonly referred to as 'spirit dances") serve the purpose of enabling people to rejuvenate themselves" (Carlson, 2010, p. 73). The rejuvenation is personal, connecting and affirming ancestral affinal and existing political relationships. Part of our ceremonial practices also involves being invited to Witness. A Witness is often called by a Speaker at a ceremonial event. They are sometimes people of high rank, or guests who have travelled a long distance. They are told by the Speaker that 'they are here to witness the work done' and they are obligated to tell others of their family and village about what had happened and verify and validate the truth of the work. To me, these are parallel to indigenous research methodologies' call for situated, political and ethical commitments to communities and auto-methods' use of personal experience and story as data. A Witness can also be recalled to the same role if controversy arises (Carlson, 2010). A Witness plays a critical role in laying out the historical record, governance and legal systems as our culture was, and to a large extent is, oral. The Witness is a role that builds and sustains relationships in-person (Grant, 2009). By accepting a gift, the Witness accepts the role.

"In principle there is no distinction between what is practiced formally during ceremonial feasts and what was practiced informally everyday" (Umeek, 2011, p. 81). The informal and everydayness of practices illustrates Mol's conception of how "mundane practices" (Mol, 1999,

p. 75) manifest the conditions of possibility (ontologies). These ‘mundane practices’ enact something specific or the reality of a specific situation. For the *Nuučaan̓uɫʔatḥ* and Coast Salish, *ʔiisaak*, *ólhet* (respect) and *c̓awaak*, *letsemot* (oneness) for all our relations (lifeforms) are our ‘mundane practices’, as they are active material practices.

When I have participated in our Salish ceremonies, the Speaker will call on a few guests to perform the role of Witness. The Witness’ role is important as it is “…through witnessing that our work is validated and provided legitimacy” (Grant, 2009). “The work could not take place without honoured and respected guests to witness it – they are asked to store and care for the history they witness, and most importantly, to share it with their own people when they return home” (Grant, 2009). It is one of the greatest honours to be asked to travel to another peoples’ territory. “It demonstrates great respect for the host and confirms and recognizes the importance of the relationship” (Grant, 2009, n.p.). It is a dual responsibility to be called as a Witness. As Larry often ends his direction to Witnesses: “We call upon all of the members of the audience to record this event in their minds and their hearts and to share the story of what happened here today” (Grant, 2009, n.p.). Adopting the role of Witness helped me engage with my own set of reflexive practices within a world that the *Nuučaan̓uɫʔatḥ* inhabit.

As a researcher, my practices of reflexivity were about my connection with myself and the academic community I inhabited, and my personal development within academic contexts. My reflexive practices continually brought me back to academic sites of knowledge production. By this I mean that my relationship to myself was dominated by my graduate classes, journal readings, and writing, leaving little time to tend to my connections with my community and *Tla-o-qui-aht*. The role of Witness permitted me to recover and enact a Salish identity continuous with our longhouse worldview. These practices of indigenous reflexivity brought me closer to

the community of *Tla-o-qui-aht* and aligning myself with their priorities and allowed me to challenge the “lingering imperialism” in my head (Gaudry, 2011 as cited in Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2014, p. 1).

Witnessing asks me to be present physically and emotionally. So, I moved to *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi*. My move supported my participation in the *Tla-o-qui-aht* political agenda through knowledge co-production, in line with, but also beyond, the academic sites of research. Witnessing permitted more time to practice forms of interpersonal and collective reflexivity: storytelling, singing, dancing and to be with the *ḥaḥuułi.* I also spent time listening in formal and informal events, journaling my experiences, and speaking with co-participants, the *Tla-o-qui-aht* research liaison and *Tla-o-qui-aht*’s Traditional Resource Committee (which I discuss in the next section) about my reactions and interpretations. *Umeek* (2011) states that, “among traditional indigenous societies, such as the coastal *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* and *Salish* peoples, interpretation of *ʔiisaak* (sacred respect) is not an issue” (p. 117), but notes that the practice of *ʔiisaak* is challenging, that it does not come naturally or easily. It is a purposeful practice, both in ceremonial and everyday life. As I participated in *Tla-o-qui-aht* events and ceremonies, the familiar rhythms in the dances, songs and community coming together reminded me of my own community, *Xwchíyò:m*. Experiencing myself in this rhythm became a practice of the self, an entry point and demonstration of *ʔiisaak.*

čimčima

In April of 2017, in the first interview for this research, *aniitsnaas* (His Majesty Tom Curley), *ḥaw̓ił* and elder from *Ehattesaht*/*Chinehkint*, who has lived primarily in *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* in the villages of *Opitsaht* and *Esowista*, talked with me at length about how to feel and see rhythm in the *ḥaḥuułi*. Feeling rhythm helped me physically connect to *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi*

and seeing rhythm helped me understand what I was being taught. Tom refers to this as *čimčima*. As we sat in the house he built, looking out over the beach, he encouraged me to practice *čimčima* by watching the trees move and feeling the wind, being attentive to how birds and other lifeforms moved, watching the waves meet the beach and feeling the percussion, and to observe the tides change. These feelings will be evoked again, Tom said, when you hear *Tla-o-qui-aht* or *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* drummers and singers, and see dancers with *čimčima*. He suggested that when you experience this, you can conclude that they come from families with good teachings. This *čimčima* is an ongoing achievement for the drummers, singers, dancers, artists and those of us that are there to witness.

Carvers and other *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* artists visually and physically illustrate this rhythm in their work. Figure 4 is a photo of a box by *tuutaaqʷisnapšiƛ̓* (Joe Martin), a *Tla-o-qui-aht* Master Carver and research co-participant. The photo was taken in his shop after our interview. On the ends of the box, he has carved the ocean waters moving with the tide, shaped by the wind.

Figure 4

Details of Carving by Joe Martin

Note: Photograph taken after interview by Saul Milne, 2017. Copyright 2022 by Joe Martin.

I made the commitment to spend time in the villages and the community as I worked my way through *Tla-o-qui-aht's* research protocol process. I took what Tom said to be an instruction to spend my time within *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* being attentive to people, lifeforms and movements. Tom was telling me that the commitments I was making to the community were more than just to humans, that *quu?as* (human) are but one member of a community. *quu?as* are intimately and axiologically connected to other lifeforms in the *ḥaḥuułi*. Tim Ingold (1996) describes this as an "ontology of dwelling" (p. 121), an experiential, rather than solely conceptual connection, where the subject is continually constructed through reciprocal relations with a set of physical and non-physical beings that share the 'dwelling'. For Robin Kimmerer (2013) sharing a dwelling implies a "moral covenant of reciprocity [that] calls us to honor our responsibilities for all we have been given, for all we have taken" (p. 384). Because Witnessing asked me to be physically and emotionally present in *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi*, I could harmonize my discursive construction of subjectivity and the structural location of the knowledge

production. The commitment to Witnessing facilitated my political commitments to the community.

I have been in the *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* since 2017, exploring and developing my personal, academic and professional relationships with the community. My physical presence allowed me to take up multiple roles: as guest, as worker, as facilitator, and as ally. Once I re-located, I had the opportunity to work for *Tla-o-qui-aht* as a facilitator of Fisheries meetings with *Tla-o-qui-aht Muschim* (the people), *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, Fisheries and Hatchery staff, fishers, *Tla-o-qui-aht* Tribal Parks, Commercial Fishing Enterprise, *T'aaq-wiihak* and community members. Indigenous research methodology (Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2014) speaks to a requirement to both reflect on and contemplate unjust social structures and move to collectively act against them.

Collective Political Action

My work with *Tla-o-qui-aht* after I relocated has comprised my attempts to work with the community to act collectively to produce more just relationships internally and with the governments of Canada. Collective political action took many forms for the research projects, including *Tla-o-qui-aht* hosting a Fisheries Forum in late January 2017. The *Tla-o-qui-aht* political leadership co-constructed the agenda with the fisheries manager, and I co-facilitated alongside the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* graphic facilitator Kelly Foxcroft-Poirier (*c̓išaaʔatḥ* First Nation). Although the Forum was wide-ranging, it centred on how the existing *Tla-o-qui-aht* fisheries governance processes can work together in decision-making on conservation, harvest and production.

Figure 5

Tla-o-qui-aht Fisheries Forum

Note. Graphic facilitation by Kelly Foxcroft-Poirier from *Tla-o-qui-aht* Fisheries Forum held January 30th and February 1st, 2017. Unpublished. Copyright 2017 to *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations.

One outcome of the forum has been to drive the development of decision-making guidelines for *ćuwit* (*Oncorhynchus kisutch,* Coho salmon) conservation and harvest for *Tla-o-qui-aht's* fisheries governance. There have also been a series of other actions based in the *ḥaḥuułi* and across multiple political scales of engagement. Two examples include: (1) *Tla-o-qui-aht* and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* traveling to the Okanagan Nation Alliance to explore new and emerging ecosystem-based hatchery production for Clayoquot Sound and incorporating the results into stream-based rebuilding plans for salmon, and (2) the *Tla-o-qui-aht* Traditional Resource Committee passing a resolution to remove open net pen salmon farms in an effort to reduce risk to returning salmon stocks of concern. Other outcomes are still taking form. For my research, meetings like these have provided an opportunity to deliver on my research commitments. I have found practical ways to support *Tla-o-qui-aht's* self-determination agenda by fostering and contributing to collective problem-solving in the community on priorities that

require practical political activity of the community on fisheries and natural resource management.

In early 2018, my role in supporting the political aspirations of *Tla-o-qui-aht* expanded in an unplanned way when, during a colleague's maternity leave, I took up the position as acting Manager of *T'aaq-wiihak* Fisheries. The position permitted me to travel to *Ahousaht, Ehattesaht/Chinehkint, Hesquiaht*, and *Mowachaht/Muchalaht ḥaḥuułi* and learn about the diversity of *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* governance and language, as well as community and fishers' ambitions and aspirations to renew their fishing culture. It also provided a stark reminder of how Canada's 'vast and complex web of regulations, programs, and policies' (Ahousaht, para. 523) are impoverishing the communities today. In effect, this web had reduced the five Nations to a few fishers with diminishing opportunities to participate in the fisheries in their *ḥaḥuułi*. Like they have with academic partnerships and resistance to commercial logging, *Tla-o-qui-aht* has used the court-acknowledged right to fish as another opportunity to renew the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi*. To regenerate requires reinvigorating the *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and others, including the *t̓iquwił* (hereditary seated advisor), *c̓ac̓aałuk* (riverkeeper), and *hitinqisnak* (beachkeeper).

Working closely with the five Nations on collective political responses targeting increased opportunities for participation came with limits. The work with *T'aaq-wiihak* pulled me back into the inter-governmental space, a zone rife with conflict and competing claims to authority. The conflict between *Tla-o-qui-aht* and the government of Canada is not solely rooted in natural resources as the claims to authority are about states of nature and are thus ontological (Coombes et al., 2013). It is a site of continued exasperation for the five Nations who have neither seen much meaningful action from Canada to accommodate the acknowledged economic

fishing rights, nor tangible results of negotiations. So even though it is a place for me to reflect on and serve *Tla-o-qui-aht's* self-determination agenda it has also associated me with a site of protracted conflict, one where I appear, to community members, more often with Canada than in my role as Witness to *Tla-o-qui-aht's* struggle for self-determination. This is also an issue of political scale and abstraction; while I was once seen in *Tla-o-qui-aht* as their worker, I am now responsible for a programmatic-based relationship with the five Nations and the government of Canada. As I moved between my multiple roles, *Tla-o-qui-aht* was also exploring different structures for collective political action.

Community Knowledge Co-Production

Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations' approach to knowledge co-production is institutionally complex. In my research, the functions of *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations' Community Liaison, *Tla-o-qui-aht* Traditional Resource Committee (TRC) and community research protocol are intertwined. The research protocol first developed by the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council in 2010 was revised by *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations in 2014. I was the first researcher to complete *Tla-o-qui-aht's* revised community research protocol in 2015 and benefited significantly from the assistance of the Community Research Liaison. *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations' focus on establishing a community research protocol and the Community Research Liaison as core community functions has supported the transition to community-based knowledge production. I begin this section by introducing the Community Liaison that I have worked with and how his situatedness has been important to our successes in this research, and how the role supports *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations' vision of self-determination through the creation of the Traditional Resource Committee.

Seit-cha (Terry Dorward) is from the Seitcher family and belongs to the house of *Tla-o-qui-aht's taayii* (Head Chief) *Haayuʔiiḥ* (Ray Seitcher). Terry is parent to five children, the manager of *Tla-o-qui-aht* Tribal Parks, an elected Councillor, an activist, a traditional dancer, a musician and a DJ on the local radio station and eclectic fan of all music, from rock, hip hop to Californian Indios punk. Terry is a founding member of the West Coast Warrior Society, the Native Youth Movement and the Native Youth Movement Security Force. Although the groups are now retired, *Seit-cha*, his wife Bev (Cree), and other members of his family traverse North America taking peaceful political action in solidarity with indigenous communities. As a member of the Native Youth Movement Security Force in 1999 and 2000, *Seit-cha* protected fishers and families from my community, *Xwchíýò:m*. *Seit-cha's* most recent work involves building a broad political alliance to support Tribal Parks through a certification process (https://tribalparksalliance.com).

Seit-cha's multiple situatedness is critical to our successes. He works in a complicated zone of interaction within the *Ha'wiih* as a representative for the *taayii Haayuʔiiḥ.* As Tribal Park manager he is part of the administration delivered through *Tl-o-qui-aht* First Nations, and is an elected councillor. *Seit-cha* attends meetings of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, elected Chief and Council, and fisheries, advocating for the research by linking our work to the development of Tribal Parks. When *Seit-cha* is doing this, he often says that the research we do takes the activism in the community to an academic level, and this has helped in building relationships between members of the community and me. Initially *Seit-cha* would introduce me to members of the community as a researcher and as a *Tla-o-qui-aht* worker. *Seit-cha*'s activism, and my experience in facilitation, animates much of our practical approach to building the Traditional Resource

Committee, a place to tell *Tla-o-qui-aht's* stories and seek *Tla-o-qui-aht's* understandings (à la Kovach), and a place from which to target political change (à la Smith).

My initial expectations of the Committee were inspired by reading of Coombes, Johnson and Howitt (2014) and their fusion of Paulo Freire and Frantz Fanon's relational ethics in the field of liberation participatory research. The research process that *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations have co-designed is informed by participatory methods. The Committee acts as a process to continue the transition of theory development to the community and a method to generate a basis for independent research. It is also a method to take political action; moreover, it also provides a space for *Tla-o-qui-aht* to lead on this research (Coombes, 2012 in Coombes, Johnson and Howitt, 2014, p. 4). This TRC and its functions are a significant outcome for this research by continuing to serve *Tla-o-qui-aht's* evolving vision of self-determination.

The TRC is a community process, an academic site and a research co-participant supporting the implementation of *Tla-o-qui-aht's* research protocol. The TRC is asked to assist researchers in developing research accountabilities, participating in setting priorities, building awareness of the research and outcomes in the community, providing guidance and feedback, and participating in analysis and interpretation. The TRC process resulted in the use of film as a research method, the digitization of community records, and informed the analysis of existing community records of *ḥaaḥuupa*. The TRC is also a political site linked into *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations governance processes to provide advice to leadership on natural resource management and advise on the research protocol. For example, in Fall 2018, the TRC met and developed a resolution to remove open-net pen salmon aquaculture from *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* to reduce risks, specifically pathogens and sea lice, for Clayoquot Sound wild salmon. *Tla-o-qui-aht* Chief and Council supported the resolution. The removal of these nets will mean the loss of direct

employment to community members, and foregoing an impact benefit agreement with local aquaculture businesses. These examples illustrate how the TRC, developed for this research, furthered the community's ability to take collective political action.

As I noted above, I am the first researcher approved by the community research protocol. The approval was complicated and took time, involving three meetings with elected Chief and Council over four months. Critical to the approval was the terms of reference and funding for the Traditional Resource Committee, as well as funding and a continued role for Community Research Liaison. With *Seit-cha's* personal input and his knowledge of *Tla-o-qui-aht* governance processes, I drafted the terms of reference for the Traditional Resource Committee (TRC) that were passed by resolution of Chief and Council in late 2015.

The Committee (8 to 15 people) is populated by knowledge keepers, language speakers, elders, *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, youth and women from most of the families in the community. *Seit-cha* and I used the principles of recognition and *ʔiisaak* for *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi* as the key determinants in defining the sample size and recruitment strategies of co-participants. This approach to sampling in qualitative research is referred to as judgment or purposeful sample technique (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). *Seit-cha* is important to this work because he is in constant communication with hereditary and political leadership. This relationship enacts the principal of recognition by seeking permission and feedback, and demonstrates *ʔiisaak* by acknowledging the collective authority of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* over the *ḥaḥuułi*.

Meetings are hosted with meals in the villages (reserves), initiated with a prayer. When offered by *kaamatḥ* (Levi Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht), it commences with an acknowledgment and seeking support from *n'ass* (creator) and concludes with a desire to stand with honour, dignity and respect (Martin, 2018, n.p.). The prayer, for me, operates as an invitation to traverse from

my everyday activities to my desires for reciprocity amongst all lifeforms, and to uphold a *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* worldview. Prayer here is analogous to *čimčima* (rhythm) as a sensate, not solely conceptual, experiential connection, a part of a set of practices that connects me to a shared "ontology of dwelling" (Ingold, 1996, p. 121). This prayer is an aspect of how I demonstrate *ʔiisaak*, "an attitude and practice [that] must be learned, worked at and then maintained with effort and persistence often in trying circumstances" (R. Atleo, 2011, p. 159).

Since 2017, the Committee has been scheduled to meet periodically, organised by the Community Liaison. In my role as researcher, in these meetings I develop the agendas, objectives and summaries, and co-facilitate with *Seit-cha*. This process is dependable and confirmable as it provides a trail of data collection and analysis (Stringer, 1999). For this research the Traditional Resource Committee has proven to be a place to build rapport and trust (Lincoln and Guba, 1989). When I participate in community and family events I am known, and I am seen as a worker for the community. The Committee provides direct feedback on their priorities, the agenda, objectives and summaries I provide. I also work with the Community Liaison on preparation and follow up in-person. This helped both the research and the Committee to develop credibility (Stringer, 1999). This credibility was affirmed in 2018 when *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations Chief and Council and *ḥaw̓iiḥ* decided to fund the Committee beyond our research projects and make the Committee standing. Since 2017, the TRC has worked alongside a successful Master's student and are just commencing work with another PhD student looking at fisheries values. Moreover, the Clayoquot Biosphere Trust (CBT), an organization that funds conservation and sustainable development researchers, now also refers researchers and their own research to the TRC. The scope of functions has grown, creating a space for discussions and activism on a broad range of natural resource management issues not directly

addressed with academic researchers, including forestry, fish farming and tourism industries. In my role of witness, I will continue to tell the world how well *Tla-o-qui-aht* treats guests with respect, the good work of renewing the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and the *ḥaḥuułi* and to try and bring *čimčima* to all my relations.

Some Concluding Thoughts

420 years after France appointed a viceroy of Canada, activating the Canadian colonial project, Highway 4 physically connected *Tla-o-qui-aht* and their Chiefly *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ ḥaḥuułi* to Canada. *Tla-o-qui-aht* responded to colonization efforts by physically and legally resisting, by renewing the relationship between *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi*, and designing equal footing for their knowledge and values in decision-making processes. Being attentive to specific *Tla-o-qui-aht* practices of self-determination and deliberately positioning my academic research in line with those practices permitted our research and academic knowledge co-production to contribute to meaningful collective political action across a range of social, cultural, and economic sites. My political commitment to support the regeneration of the relationship between *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaw̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi* takes on multiple forms as a guest at community functions, as an invited researcher, as a worker in fisheries, as an ally, as a friend, and as a *xwelmexw* (a person). The renewal of tribal ontologies and epistemologies provides rich ground for practices of positionality and reflexivity for indigenous 'researchers', and is a promising direction to incorporate our indigenous identities in indigenous-led knowledge production. In our research the multiple allowed me to recover part of my longhouse worldview through the acts of being a witness. Witnessing provides me an opportunity to 'hold up' and celebrate our shared *Salish* and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* practices of respect (*ʔiisaak*, *ólhet*) and of oneness (*c̓awaak*, *letsemot*).

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Knowledge gaps based on ontological difference

Ćiinul and *ḥaaḥuupa* are active cultural sites that nourish *Tla-o-qui-aht* life. *Ćiinuł* (totem poles), for example, are *Tla-o-qui-aht* and *Nuučaan̓ułʔath*[10] beings that teach. Crests carved on the pole are assembled lifeforms that "come together for varying periods of time to ideally create new ways of functioning" (Livesey, 2010, p. 18). Each crest is a teaching about natural law (*tuutaaqʷisnapšiƛ*, Joe Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty-histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017). *Ćiinuł* are multiple: a celebration of artistic skill, a record of history, and a conveyor of natural law. *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* carvers and artists are at times asked to "capture new feelings, new ways of being, new relations" (*Seit-cha*, Terry Dorward, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty-histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017) and the artistic skill is in portraying the emerging feelings, relations, and connections. *Ćiinul* reflect history in the present by using crests as embodiments of and cues for traditional lived values. *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories) is knowledge "passed down through oral traditions" (Dorward, 1998, p. 14), within *ushtakimilh* (lineage group) (Cote, 2010, p. 18) and families (Umeek, 2004, p. 4), and "are lived values that form the basis for indigenous governance and regeneration" (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, T'lakwadzi, 2009, p. 38). *Tla-o-qui-aht* move seasonally within their *ḥaḥuułi* (chiefly territories) and *ḥaaḥuupa* reflect the variety of the seasons. *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations use *Ćiinuł* and *ḥaaḥuupa* to educate their families and others on ways of being in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ world* (Tribal Parks Series).

In this article, I use story to present my research and chart the world-making practices associated with *ḥaaḥuupa*. In British Columbia, indigenous peoples' stories provide researchers an entry point to witness how indigenous communities sustain and renew worlds on their terms.

[10] I use the *Nuučaan̓ułʔ* alphabet and spellings provided by *Tla-o-qui-aht* Language Services and Linguist Dr. Adam Werle. In citations I will use the spelling of the organization or author(s).

Indigenous research methodologies call for research to be directed at outcomes that legitimate collective indigenous ways of being (ontology) and liberate indigenous subjects from structural and lateral violence. Story has emerged as a flexible non-prescriptive focus for researchers to centre indigenous worlds and ways of being, and to de-centre the role of academic institutions in the decolonization project. Story occupies a critical conceptual role within indigenous community constellations, as wealth and as an embodiment of what it means to become in the world. In the academic decolonization project context, story is both a method (tool) and methodology (conduct of research). Story is a powerful tool in academia to bring marginalized voices into discussions of community-based knowledge co-production. Specifically, I story scholarly *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* literatures and my primary research on knowledge systems and fisheries by reading and writing each alongside one another. By doing so, I show that the renewal of the practice of *ḥaaḥuupa* provides a coherent archival context to discuss ontological concepts like *c̓awaak* (one), *quuʔas* (human) and other intimate assemblages associated with *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* knowledge systems. I begin with discussion of how *Ćiinuł* teach us about the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world, the lived values and what it means to be *quuʔas*. *Ćiinuł* provide an entry point to discuss gaps in knowledge between the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ and* non-*Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* based on ontological dissonance.

As natural law, *Ćiinuł* maps the relationship between *kwaaʔuuć* (the owner of all - creator), *ḥaw̓iiḥ* (hereditary chiefs), *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* (high ranking women), *ḥaḥuułi* (chiefly territories), and *muschim* (people). It is understood and described as 'natural law' because it is the making of *kwaaʔuuć*. *Ćiinuł* are important in making *kwaaʔuuć* accessible to all *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*. They story creation, the purpose of life, and the role of reality. *Tla-o-qui-aht* Master Carver *tuutaaqʷisnapšiƛ̓* (Joe Martin) also stories *Ćiinuł* as a living doctrine for the

community, demonstrating the fundamental connection to governance. Joe tells a story about first contact with settlers and the *Ćiinuł*:

> When the settlers first came to *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* they thought we were illiterate. We did not have books or systems of writing they understood. We *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* thought the same thing, the settlers must be illiterate because they did not have *Ćiinuł*, *huupukʷanum*, songs or dances. The settlers are still illiterate. (Joe Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty-histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017)

When I heard Joe's *Ćiinuł* story, I was an invited researcher in *Tla-o-qui-aht*. I had been asked by *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations (TFN) to research their knowledge systems, values and fisheries,[11] as part of taking the community's self-determination activism to the 'academic level' (Terry Dorward, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty-histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017). The story reminded me of my community *Xwchíyò:m* and our *Sto:lo* neighbours' struggles to have the authority of our governance recognized. Our *Síyá:m* (respected leaders) and Bighouse, like *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ ḥaw̓iiḥ* and the *ƛ̓iiċuu* (feeding people, referred to as the potlatch), have been outlawed, displaced, and disparaged in the creation of Canada. My research with the *Tla-o-qui-aht* reflects aspects of my commitments to support the regeneration of the relationship between indigenous communities and their sources of governance, between *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaw̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi*.

At first, I also understood Joe's story to be about a mutual lack of cultural knowledge and literacy. At the time, I thought that programmatic change in fisheries needed to

[11] *Tla-o-qui-aht* is a lead partner in SSHRC funded project *Exploring distinct indigenous knowledge systems to inform fisheries governance and management on Canada's coasts*. *Tla-o-qui-aht* also partnered in Genome Canada, Genome BC funded project *Enhancing Production in Coho: Culture, Community, Catch.*

embrace something akin to cultural competence and literacy. At the time, I was also working as a facilitator for the National Indigenous Fisheries Institute's Indigenous program review. Programs are Canada's primary tool for consulting, working with and funding indigenous communities in fisheries (https://indigenousfisheries.ca/en/indigenous-program-review/background/) and include the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy (AFS), Aboriginal Aquatic Resource and Oceans Management (AAROM), Aboriginal Fisheries Guardian (AFG) and Atlantic, Northern and Pacific Integrated Commercial Fisheries Initiatives (AICFI, NICFI, PICFI). Cultural competency is a strategy employed by governments, often in health care, to address inequities in access and outcomes for different groups, including indigenous peoples (DeSouza, 2008). Cultural literacy flows from cultural competence in that state entities can 'translate' indigenous needs into the bureaucratic system. Together they enable "systems to provide care to patients with diverse values, beliefs and behaviours, including tailoring delivery to meet patients' social, cultural and linguistic needs" (Betancourt, et al., 2002, p. v in DeSouza, 2008, p. 131). To reach a level of literacy, cultural competence is employed as a routine part of service delivery spanning a wide range of social services and policies that mediate the interface between Canada and First Nations. "The argument for developing culturally competent services and workforces is positioned in a human rights framework: the basic human right to life and health" (Jongen, McCalman, Bainbridge & Clifford, 2017, p. vii). This human rights approach is also consonant with Canada's recent affirmation of UNDRIP (Bill C-15) and frames a late liberal Canadian governmentality (Povinelli, 2011 in Radcliffe, 2017) and nascent interest in reconciliation. Cultural competence and literacy, then, are concepts and strategies that undergird programmatic change within relationships to First Nations in Canadian state institutions. As my work with *Tla-o-qui-aht* has progressed, however, I have come to see how Joe's story highlights a continuing and

fundamental point of ontological tension between the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* and state-based institutions as Canada tries to recognize indigenous rights and persists in designing and implementing programmatic change associated with the recently stated interest in reconciliation. In highlighting this tension, I revisit my conversation with Joe and the story about the *Ćiinuł* over and over as I have reflected on the ways knowledge is created and circulates in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world, in academia, and Canadian state institutions.

The top of a *Ćiinuł* is often a crest of *Hupał* (the Moon or the Sun) that teaches *ʔiisaak* (v. respect). *ʔiisaak* is the first *ḥaaḥuupa* that a *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* person receives in the womb. It is delivered by family and continues throughout life (*tuutaaqʷisnapšiƛ*, Joe Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017). The teachings, shared with meals, are about how personal conduct, self-governance, and relationships to all lifeforms are to be saturated with *ʔiisaak*. *Hupał* cycles are instructive collectively and individually in practicing *ʔiisaak*. "*Oosumich* (careful seeking in a fearsome environment)" (Atleo, 2004, p. 84) is initiated on a new moon (*Hupał) and* memorial activities take place during a waxing *Hupał.* Umeek (E Richard Atleo) in *Tsawalk: a Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* (2004) relays his family's practice from *Ahousaht*, *Tla-o-qui-aht's* Chiefly relatives to the North. "*Oosumich* is a secret and personal Nuu-chah-nulth spiritual activity that can involve varying lengths of time depending on purpose" (Atleo, 2004, p. 17). *Oosumich* involves bathing, cleansing, fasting, songs, and dances and is a "spiritual methodology of knowledge acquisition" (Atleo, 2004, p. 84). In S*pirits of our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions*, Coté (2016) states, in the context of preparing to whale with *Tseshaht*, the *ḥakum* (woman of high rank) and *ḥaw̓ił* (chief, wealthy) could *oosumich* for up to

eight months. The sites of *oosumich* in the *ḥaḥuuli* are guarded family secrets. The practice is personal and involves a spouse or another attendant.

Oosumich occurs in a fearsome environment because in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world reality "is inherently polarized and … it requires some form of management" (Atleo, 2004, p. 79). Management is about the self and the relationships to other lifeforms through recognition and *ʔiisaak*. "One of the purposes of creation is for humans and Qua-ootz [creator] or other spiritual representatives to reach firm agreements" (Atleo, 2004, p. 20). *Hakum* and *ḥaw̓ił* traverse the spiritual realm to acquire knowledge and make firm agreements with spiritual representatives so they are worthy to serve and succeed in the physical realm. *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaw̓iiḥ* successes in whaling validates their practices of recognition and *ʔiisaak* in *oosumich* and reinforces the "social position" of leadership (Coté, 2010, p. 35). *Oosumich* is one of the ways knowledge circulates between the spiritual and physical realms, is acquired through agreements, and used in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world.

In academia and Canadian liberal governmentality, on the other hand, knowledge is created, circulated, and valued by a predominantly Weberian model of bureaucracy (Fanning, 2011). Canadian bureaucratic decision making is hierarchical and authority-driven that

> uses the compartmentalization of functions and expertise; the separation of public and private life; advancement based on formally-approved credentials; and the sharing of information to those affected by decisions reached (Bendix 1960; White 2006 as cited in Fanning, 2011, p. 3).

These largely impersonal and institutional assemblages are tasked with delivering programmatic change in relationships with First Nations. Yet to use the epistemic tools of cultural competence and literacy to translate concepts and 'get on the same page' conceals ontological difference that

can then lead to miscommunication, misplaced expectations, cultural insensitivities, and even to discursive and physical violence. This is analogous to uncontrolled equivocation or "a type of communicative disjuncture where the interlocutors are not talking about the same thing, and do not know this" (Viveiros de Castro, E. , 2004, p.7 see also Blaser, 2009). This sort of communicative disjuncture "takes place not between those who share a common world but rather those whose worlds or ontologies are different" (Blaser, 2009, p .11). To translate the *hupał* (Moon) as 'respect' or to understand the conceptual connection to governance misconstrues the significance of *ʔiisaak*. Without the archival context (i.e., material history), and the intimate assemblages of the first *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories), *ʔiisaak* could be just another way to interact, albeit respectfully, with one another. But it is not. *ʔiisaak* is a way of life that permeates *quuʔas* relationships to all lifeforms. And it is through *ḥaaḥuupa* told within *ushtakimilh* (lineage group) by families that *Tla-o-qui-aht* 'form the basis' of their common world and provide the 'lived values' to continue to regenerate the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ*, *ḥatkm̓iiḥ*, *ḥaḥuułi* and the *muschim*.

The research I am doing with *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations is about their knowledge systems and fisheries governance. I understand knowledge systems to encompass the creation, circulation, and value of knowledge in decision-making. I have come to think of Joe Martin's story of *Ćiinuł* and the first settlers as an expression of the multiple, ongoing gaps in knowledge between the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ and* non-*Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* arising from ontological difference. I define ontological difference as dissonance resulting from interactions between differing worlds where ontologies "are not pregiven entities but rather the product of historically situated practices, including their mutual interactions" (see also Haraway 1997; Law and Hassard 1999; Mol 2002 in Blaser, 2009, p .11). Focusing solely on *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations' epistemologies, the

depictions of their knowledge translated into other languages and other cultures, eclipses the effects of hierarchical, developmental, and classificatory characteristics of the knowledge system. For example, the first teaching of *ʔiisaak* is a foundation for conceptions about both the world and the self, carried throughout life and practiced with all lifeforms. It is necessary to account for the ontological dissonance and directly address uncontrolled equivocation in knowledge co-production.

In the rest of this article, I explore ontological difference by charting the world-making practices of *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories) through *ʔiisaak* (v. respect), *uu-a-thluk* (taking care of), and *His-shuk-nish-c̓awaak* (we are all one). In particular, I focus on how *ḥaaḥuupa* tells us about what it means to be *quuʔas* (human), and the common world *quuʔas* live in. This is accomplished through reading scholarly *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* academic and non-academic literature and my primary research alongside each other so that I can *story* the information. I focus on how concepts associated with the environment, such as sustainability and conservation, primary principles in fisheries governance and decision-making, differ vastly depending on how one answers the question of what it is to be human and what it is to be in the world. Over-emphasizing epistemology, that is, a taxonomical approach (Battiste, 2002) to what is knowable, a common practice among ecologists (Berkes, F., Colding, J., & Folke, C. 2000), can lead to engaging with a knowledge practice without addressing incongruence in ontological assumptions about nature, regeneration, and life. The false impression of equivalency is not an error of translation or a lack of literacy but an epistemic misconstrual arising out of ontological difference.

The following sections describe some intimate assemblages associated with *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* knowledge systems. I begin by situating the community of *Tla-o-qui-aht* First

Nations and their Traditional Resource Committee that directed this research. I then discuss how *Ciiqciqasa* (speaking *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ)* helps orient an understanding of *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* ontologies. I follow with case study of salmon in *Ook Min* (A calm place/a hot place) to illustrate how Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada's (DFO) Aboriginal programming and management practices of sustainability and conservation are dissonant with *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* lived values. I close by providing concluding thoughts on how *Tla-o-qui-aht* can continue to regenerate the relationship with their *ḥaḥuuli*.

***Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations**

Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations is located on the West Coast of Vancouver Island in the province of British Columbia, Canada. The Nation has over 1200 members three primary villages *Opitsaht*, *Esowista* (84ha) and *Ty-histanis* (85ha).[12] There is an active hereditary system with a *taayii ḥaw̓ił* (head chief), *ḥaayuʔiiḥ* and four *ḥaw̓iiḥ* (hereditary chiefs), as well as an elected Chief and Council that delivers programs for membership on-reserve. Fish and fisheries are central to how Canada rationalized the creation of small reservations and are significant to the existing relationship between Canada and *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations. For example, *Tla-o-qui-aht* villages *Echachis*, *Kootwis*, *Okeamin*, *Clayoqua*, *Winche*, *Ilthpaya*, *Onadsilth*, *Eelsueklis* are uninhabitable 'fishing stations' allotted for fishing purposes (Harris, 2008, p. 24-5). The three primary villages can only accommodate a third of the 1200 membership. The *Tla-o-qui-aht* diaspora sees many families living in Port Alberni, Nanaimo, Victoria, and Seattle. In 2005, *Tla-o-qui-aht* completed negotiations with the Canadian federal government, represented by Indian and Northern Affairs and Parks, to return land in the Pacific Rim National Park that became *Ty-*

[12] In the Canadian Legal system, under the Indian Act 1985, these villages are referred to as reservations and occupy a specific legal standing. Joe Martin, Master Carver from Tla-o-qui-aht, jokingly and seriously reminded me that "reservations are for plants and animals, we are people who live in villages".

histanis. Renewal of the community and cultural site is a continuation of *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations families' and their chiefly *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* relatives' collective political acts to uphold and regenerate the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and the *ḥaḥuułi*. *Ty-is-tanis* came from an elder since passed on, "his interpretation was that it was a place to anchor whales," and "more recently we anchored our fish boats at night to get out of weather during the fishing season. Now today we hope it will be a place to anchor our people that want to come home" (Moses Martin, 2011, in Titian, 2011, n.p.)

The health of the relationship between *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and their *ḥaḥuułi* is the footing the community uses to continue collective cultural survival. *Tla-o-qui-aht* and their chiefly *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* relatives *Ahousaht, Ehattesaht/Chinehkint, Hesquiaht, and Mowachaht/Muchalaht* successfully used the same foundation to have their economic and co-management rights affirmed in *Ahousaht Indian Band* v. *Canada*, 2009. *Tla-o-qui-aht's* leadership and partnership in academic research is designed to advance the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ*, *ḥaḥuułi,* and *muschim,* move knowledge production closer to home, and give life to their inherent rights.

Guidance from the *Tla-o-qui-aht* Traditional Resource Committee and the Importance of *Ciiqciqasa* (speaking *Nuučaan̓ułʔath*)

As an invited researcher I obtained and maintained consent, individually and collectively, through the community research protocol. The protocol was and is approved by the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and elected Chief and Council. A critical piece of existing community-based knowledge co-production is a *Tla-o-qui-aht* Community Research Liaison. My liaison, *Seit-cha* (Terry Dorward), is from the Seitcher family and belongs to the house of *Tla-o-qui-aht's taayii ḥaw̓ił ḥaayuʔiiḥ* (Ray Seitcher). *Seit-cha*'s situatedness, experience in leading indigenous political

activism, social and elected positions in the community and my experience in group facilitation informed our development of the *Tla-o-qui-aht* Traditional Resource Committee (TRC). The TRC, comprised of 8 to 15 people, are knowledge keepers, language speakers, elders, *Ha'wiih*, youth and women from most of the families in the community. The TRC is a research co-participant, and provides guidance and direction to researchers. For our research, that direction was the use of film as a research method, and the digitization of community records.

Members of the TRC provided a blunt response to the initial suggestion of new research about the nexus of fisheries, governance and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* knowledge: ‘it’s been asked and answered.’ Rather than conducting new interviews, The TRC asked that I make *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* literatures on *ḥaaḥuupa* the priority for this research and bring together *these literatures* alongside records in a community archive to make the previous knowledge and research accessible. Because *oosumich* is secret and personal, I did not pose any questions to research co-participants and relied on public *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* scholarship. As a result, my gathering of *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* literatures on *ḥaaḥuupa* centres *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* voices, and how they situate their practices of knowledge production in the mutually interacting worlds of academia, Canadian state institutions, and the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ.*

The language of *Tla-o-qui-aht* is a site of renewal and a way of moving research and knowledge co-production closer to home and I was asked to use *Ciiqciqasa* (speaking *Nuučaan̓ułʔath*) in my writing because translations are clumsy and misleading. *Tla-o-qui-aht* language is related to the Wakashan Family. This language family contains *Makah*, *Ditidaht*, *Kwakiutl*, *Heiltsuk* and *Haisla* (Powell, 1991, p. 3). The Wakashan Map, Figure 1, illustrates the enormous range of the language.

Figure 1

Wakashan Map

Note. From Wakashan languages, 2019, Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=85000422)

Ciiqciqasa is verb-based. English is noun-based. Kovach (2015) explores the differences: "most indigenous languages are verb-based and tell of a world in motion, interacting with humans and nature (Cajete, 1999) [whereas] … noun-based [language] … accentuates an outcome orientation to the world" (Kovach, p. 52). I return to the first *ḥaaḥuupa*, the teachings of *ʔiisaak*, to illustrate the differences between outcome-oriented noun-based concepts like sustainability and conservation and verb-based concepts like *Uu-a-thluk.* These are important areas of ontological dissonance that underpin the relationship between the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* and the Canadian State.

Understanding *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* ontologies

In 1996, the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Community & Human Services published a draft document entitled *Governing Self: Self Government*. This document is largely edited transcripts from

interviews with Elders between 1982 and 1993. *Tla-o-qui-aht* Elder Mary Hayes recalls her parents asking her at meals "Who did you help? That old man coming, just landing on the beach needs help to bring his stuff up" (1996, p. 6). *quuʔas* are expected to observe closely, find ways to help, and take care of others. *ʔiisaak* is in conduct and demonstrated in personal actions. As the world moves, *quuʔas* carry *ʔiisaak* within, demonstrating *ʔiisaak* in movement, training and self-discipline (Mary Hayes in 1996, p. 14).

Umeek (2011), in *Principles of Tsawalk: An Indigenous Approach to Global Crisis*, unpacks the spatial nature of the *Ciiqciqasa language* through his family's *ḥaaḥuupa*, *Son of Raven*. "The syllable *ha* refers to a reality that is spatially nearby, and the syllable *huu* refers to a reality spatially far away" (Atleo, 2011, p. 152-3). The *hahuułi*, the chiefly territories of a *Ḥaw̓iiḥ,* is a model of governance "based on origin stories about *kwaaʔuuć*, Owner Of All" (Atleo, 2011, p. 153). In *oosumich*, *quuʔas* traverse the distance between *ha*, the physical, and *huu*, beyond the physical, to secure knowledge. *ḥaaḥuupa*, can be understood as teachings that bring realities together. In the practice of *ḥaaḥuupa, quuʔas* move through and merge transitory points of integration. The idea of 'integrating realities' is an ontological insight about the nature of the world. The physical and beyond, realities nearby and far away are "so closely related, in fact, as to be astonishingly intimate" (Atleo, 2011, p. 153). *Oosumich* and *ḥaaḥuupa* are examples of the complex, in-motion intimate assemblages associated with *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems.

quuʔas exist in the verb-based language *Ciiqciqasa*, emphasizing an ontology of becoming and movement. *ḥaaḥuupa*, a verb, is an ongoing practice, always in action. "I think that has to do with our relationship to the world that we live in. That it's always teaching us something" (*Seit-cha*, Terry Dorward, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty histanis, British

Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017). Finding realities *huu* within yourself is a lifelong practice and a teaching about *His-shuk-nish- c̓awaak.* All lifeforms, no matter how disparate or distant are closely and intimately related. In the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world place and space are one and integrated by movement.

Place as a qualifier for indigenous knowledge is contested. Some geographers question the 'natural' association of place and indigenous knowledge systems. In *Geography and Indigeneity I/ Indigeneity, Coloniality and Knowledge* (2013), Radcliffe argues that the modern geographical imagination of indigeneity "is naturalized by its association with a telluric (almost magnetic) attachment to locale, a once pristine place" (p. 223). Place, as a noun, bounds complex spatiality to realities nearby, eclipsing those places far away. Place entices a controlled understanding of movement and relationality associated with indigenous knowledge systems. Sarah Hunt (2014) is a *Kwagu'ł* (*Kwakwaka'wakw* Nation), part of the *Wakashan* language family, and discusses the restrictions associated with place. In *Ontologies of Indigeneity: The Politics of Embodying a Concept*, Hunt contends that the "future of Indigenous rights and political struggles depend on the ability of Indigenous knowledge to retain its active, mobile, relational nature rather than the fixity it is given in colonial law, stuck at the point of contact with colonizers" (Hunt, 2014, p. 4). Situating *oosumich* and *ḥaaḥuupa* as place-based rather than 'active, mobile and relational' practices is a form of discursive violence arising out of ontological dissonance. A key component of the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ approach* to renewing the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and the *ḥaḥuułi* in fisheries is through language revitalization.

Language and Fisheries Revitalization

Language regeneration takes many forms in *Nuu-chah-nulth*. *Uu-a-thluk* is a *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* expression for "taking care of". *Uu-a-thluk* is also the name for the

Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ fisheries program. Part of the funding for *Uu-a-thluk* comes from DFO's Aboriginal and Aquatics Resource and Oceans Management program (AAROM). The AAROM program provides core funding for non-treaty First Nations to engage in advisory and co-management processes at a regional political scale. AAROM funds 35 groups and involves 258 First Nations across Canada (via the National Indigenous Fisheries Institute) to develop scientific and technical capacity in aggregate groups.

When working within the organizational context of *Uu-a-thluk*, '*to take care of"* means to work for the next generations of all lifeforms as part of an understanding that healthy communities reflect healthy *ḥaḥuułi* (*Uu-a-thluk*, 2018). *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* use the terms sustainability and conservation, not as a translation of *Uu-a-thluk,* but as a point of contact with AAROM program objectives. The mission of *Uu-a-thluk* is to manage the *ḥaḥuułi* of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* in a way that is "consistent with Nuu-chah-nulth knowledge and values. This is a responsibility given by Naas [the creator]" (*Uu-a-thluk*, p. 6). *ʔiisaak* is demonstrated by acknowledging the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* relationship with the *hahuułi*. *Hišukʔiš cawaak* and *ʔaasma,* embodied here "as everything is interconnected and everything is precious" (p. 6), respectively, are the other core principles and values of *Uu-a-thluk.*

Ha'oom Fisheries Society (HFS) created by *Ahousaht, Ehattesaht/Chinehkint, Hesquiaht, Mowachaht/Muchalaht* and *Tla-o-qui-aht* in 2020, seeks to realize their roles in co-managing and implementing rights to an economic fishery. HFS holds *ʔiisaak, Uu-a-thluk* and *Tsa'walk as* values and strategic directions. The five Nations' multi-species fisheries plans use *Ciiqciqasa* for organizational principals, species, and geographical descriptions. The use of *Ciiqciqasa* in planning documents and in implementation expands the cultural sites of renewal for the five Nations. Renewing fishing practices is integral to revitalizing language, each reinforcing the

other to buttress collective cultural survival. An important part of *Ha'oom* Fisheries Society's mandate is to regenerate the use of *ḥaaḥuupa* in the development of *Omeek (good fishermen).*

Earlier I discussed how *Umeek* describes the syllables *ha* and *huu* and how that helps to understand the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* social production of space in governance and in teaching. *ʔiisaak*, the first *ḥaaḥuupa*, is a process of recognition. While the teachings are substantively about how to carry *ʔiisaak* in movement, training, and self-discipline, it also initiates a lifelong process of recognition. "The way in which Nuu-chah-nulth people are prepared for their roles in life is through *ḥaaḥuupa*, which is usually translated as lecturing or teaching" (Governing Self: Self Government, 1996, p. 11). "This job (of teaching) belongs to all people, this lecture. It is all the same. There is very little difference" (Archie Frank, 1996, p. 11) For the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ, ḥaaḥuupa* is a shared responsibility and an aspect of taking care of each other. *ḥaaḥuupa,* like traditional song and dance, are social productions of histories and wealth.

> The wealth that my grandfather passed on (to) us in our family. Wealth of information, wealth of history, wealth of legends, wealth of teachings, the wealth of songs and customs, wealth of our relationships, the wealth of our histories. But, still I think it's important ... stressing that within the context of our culture, cultural teachings, cultural practices, spirituality is embedded right in there, anything and everything that we do. (Roy Haiyupus in Governing Self: Self Government, 1996, p. 5-6)

Practices in fisheries today reflect the integration of the spiritual and the material. *Tla-o-qui-aht* fishermen use modern material technology with individual practices of *oosumich* and other ceremonial blessings for the vessel seamlessly. *Ha'oom* reflects the practice by having the offices and vessel ceremonially blessed. These practices affirm the intimate relatedness of the

everyday and the ceremonial. For *quu?as*, *ḥaaḥuupa* is as much about the dynamic relationship to the self as it is about the relationship to others.

> Our stories, the teachings that are contained within those stories are the teachings for how to live and how we live our life. They give us teachings about everything throughout our environment, everything about mind, our body, our spirit, our relationships, our connections. (Tammy Dorward, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017)).

In seeing difference through cultural competency and a multi-cultural lens, it is tempting to cast *ḥaaḥuupa, Ćiinuł,* and *oosumich* as constituents of *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* knowledge systems. The value, creation and circulation of knowledge for individual and group decision-making are found in *ḥaaḥuupa, Ćiinuł,* and *oosumich.* However, the epistemic focus on translations and representations of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge eclipses ontological difference and creates dissonance. *his-shuk-nish-c̓awaak* teaches us that people and fish are interdependent lifeforms while conservation and sustainability see fish as a resource to be managed. In the following section I explore a case study of uncontrolled equivocation and ontological dissonance by juxtaposing the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* First Salmon Ritual with the late-liberal Canadian approach to salmon conservation and sustainability.

Canadian Concepts of Conservation and Sustainability in Fisheries

Canada's suite of national fisheries policies reflects pledges to the ecosystem approach to conservation, development, and co-management (regional and local advisory processes) found in the international policy instruments. Canada's current conceptualization of fisheries conservation and sustainability is found both in the *Fisheries Act* and commitments to international policy

instruments. Canada is a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations and endorses the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries (2011) under the umbrella of the FishCode Programme (FAO, 2009). The FishCode Programme principles are based on an ecosystem approach to defining conservation, co-management, and development. Conservation classifies fish as a 'natural resource' to be developed and managed by sovereign states, providing services to people and ecosystems. Conservation involves management measures for harvest, fish habitat protection, and rebuilding (FAO, 2011). As genetic and genomic research has evolved, the protection of genetic diversity has emerged as a description of fisheries conservation. The Oceans Act (1996), Canada's Oceans Strategy (2002) and Canada's Action Plan (2005) are the national policy instruments written in response to the international commitments. The Oceans Act describes co-management as multi-stakeholder advisory processes that contribute to integrated planning. Section 30 explains development as accessing resources to meet "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Oceans Act). AAROM is organized around same the principles, and funds co-management initiatives with First Nations.

In an ecosystems approach, fisheries governance involves the management of "interaction[s] between different value positions (use vs. conservation)" (Varjopuro et al., 2008, p. 151). Species and movement are key to determining boundaries, and delineating important habitat (Crowder & Norse, 2008). Initially, the goals of ecosystem management in fisheries were "optimizing long-term returns to humans" (Lackey, 1998, 1999, as cited in Garcia, 2003, p. 4) by providing "more stable flows of resources to the markets, [and] lower transaction costs" (Curtin & Prellezo, 2010, p. 824). The value positions were to be mediated or traded-off during decision making. "The objective of preserving marine ecosystems is broadly in conflict with all

other objectives because the more you protect an ecosystem the less resource is available for utilization in the form of yield, economic rents, or jobs" (Hilborn, 2007, p. 155). Recent developments in marine ecosystem-based management scholarship have brought into focus questions about intrinsic (Kalof & Satterfield, 2005), intangible (Satz et al., 2013), cultural (Murray, D'Anna, & McDonald, 2016) non-use values (Chan, Satterfield, & Goldstein, 2011) and relational values (Klain et al., 2017). Advances in scholarship on values add nuance to the ecosystem approach but in some situations can also continue the 'multiculturalist misunderstanding' of focusing on how cultures go about valuing the world (Blaser, 2009). The misunderstanding is not deliberate but results from assuming that there is one world with a plurality of cultural understandings rather than multiple worlds. A proposed remedy to the 'multiculturalist misunderstanding' is the 'multinaturalist approach.' A multinaturalist "approach focuses on what kinds of worlds are there and how they come into being (an ontological concern)" (Blaser, 2009, p. 11) and explores the worlds with which the values are congruent. The First Salmon Ritual demonstrates how the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world enacts relationships with other lifeforms and how that illuminates possible futures for *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations.

The First Salmon Ritual

The *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* First Salmon Ritual is described in the *Traditional Nuu-chah-nulth Food Harvesting and Preparation* document published by the Native Studies Programme School District No. 70 (no date). More than a celebration of the first catch, the ritual is undertaken to thank "the salmon spirits for sending the fish to the Nuu-chah-nulth people" (p. 34). The first salmon caught ought to be recognized and welcomed like an honoured guest or close relative.

> A strong new Nuu-chah-Nulth teaching therefore involves always greeting your "blood relatives" with joy and enthusiasm. This ensures that they will always be happy to visit

you. It makes sense to treat the salmon in the same way, so that they will continue to return to fulfill the natural and healthy role as a food source. (Umeek, 2011, p. 84)

The ritual involves songs that acknowledge and recognize salmon spirits and their sacrifice. All guests are fed, and the unbroken spine and organs are returned to the water at high tide. Salmon and ancestors in the spirit world are attentive and know when salmon are treated respectfully (*Traditional Nuu-chah-nulth Food Harvesting and Preparation*, p. 34). *ʔiisaak* is central to the songs and prayers in the ritual. All salmon are *ʔaasma* (precious) and *quuʔas* are expected to *uu-a-thluk* (take care of) salmon by observing protocols. Songs celebrate salmon returns in the material world, upholding agreements in the spiritual world, affirming *His-shuk-nish-c̓awaak*. The observation of protocol and demonstration of *ʔiisaak* is consequential. If *quuʔas* do not *uu-a-thluk*, recognize, and *ʔiisaak*, salmon will not return. “The Nuu-chah-nulth people did not rely entirely on nature's bounty but religiously devoted time and effort to ensure its continued abundance” (*Traditional Nuu-chah-nulth Food Harvesting and Preparation,* p. 34). Salmon are no longer abundant in the streams, rivers and lakes of *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi*. This has changed fishing patterns, seeing the last three generations of *Tla-o-qui-aht* Fisherman out in the open ocean to harvest salmon. The *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* are successful offshore fishermen for all species of fish but the destruction of salmon in Clayoquot Sound has had profound effects on *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaw̓iiḥ* social positions of authority.

Salmon in *Ook Min* (a Calm Place/a Hot Place)

Recounting the changes at *Ook Min* is to reflect on the relationship with salmon and to imagine possible futures of abundance. The following section illustrates how the Indian Act, commercial fishing, and forestry led to parallel declines in salmon and the social positions of authority of the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and the *ḥatkm̓iiḥ*. The section also documents how DFO’s management

responses have failed to sustain and conserve salmon in *Ook Min*. I conclude by returning to how *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s traditional responses to declines in salmon illuminate a way forward, renew cultural sites of practice, and return salmon to abundance. *Ook Min* is traditionally a large village, calm with few winds, and hot in summer. This is unique in *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi*. *Ook min,* Tranquil Creek, and Kennedy Lake are portions of the *ḥaḥuułi* occupied in the summer because of the abundance of salmon. *Ook Min* sits at the outlet of the Kennedy River that connects to Kennedy Lake, the largest lake on Vancouver Island. Sockeye (*Oncorhynchus nerka*), chinook (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), coho (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) and chum (*Oncorhynchus keta)* are present. It is estimated that Kennedy Lake was once home to between 300,000 and one million sockeye annually. The Indian Act (1876) established *Okeamin* as a name of an Indian Reservation established for *Tla-o-qui-aht*. Canada's legal and physical removal of *Tla-o-qui-aht* from the majority of the *ḥaḥuułi* created opportunities for extractive capitalist enterprises by settlers.

In the late 1890's a cannery was built in the bay adjacent to the mouth of Kennedy River close to *Ook Min* (Horsfield & Kennedy, 2014). The location is still referred to as Cannery Bay some 70 years after the cannery was abandoned. The cannery, in combination with the Indian Act, displaced *Tla-o-qui-aht* weir systems that reached throughout the Kennedy River. The industrial approach promoted extremely high harvest rates and unimaginable waste (Raygorodetsky. 2014, n.p.). Unjustifiable harvest occurred on the land, seeing industrial logging shatter freshwater habitat and hydrology (Parks Canada, 2020, n.p.). In this period of upheaval, the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* of *Tla-o-qui-aht* lost their *c̓ac̓aałuk* (river keeper). *C̓ac̓aałuk*, trained to *uu-a-thluk* the freshwater and intertidal portions of the *ḥaḥuułi*, were foundational to *ḥaw̓iiḥ* governance. With movement restricted and the traditional economy destroyed, the only local employment

opportunities for *Tla-o-qui-aht* members were to labour in logging and fishing. Research co-participants that participated in logging and industrial fishing reported feeling that their labour contributed to the decline of salmon. Two elders that worked as loggers explained their experiences. If *Tla-o-qui-aht* members objected to draining spent oil directly into streams or spoke out about clear cutting to the water's edge they were immediately demoted, removed or sent home (*Aniitsnaas,* His Majesty Tom Curley, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in *Esowista,* British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017; and *kaamatḥ*, Levi Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in *Esowista,* British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, October 2017). Logging and fishing impacts were compounded by infrastructure and transportation. Highway 4, connecting the West Coast to the East Coast of Vancouver Island, is built within 3 meters of some sensitive spawning areas in Kennedy Lake and continually deposits deleterious substances into the water (Andrew Jackson, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty-histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, November 2021).

Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi experienced a wild and abrupt swing from salmon abundance to scarcity, within living memory. *Ook Min* fed *Tla-o-qui-aht* families since time immemorial. *Ċaċaałuk* worked to ensure continued abundance of fish and freshwater, *Tla-o-qui-aht* families practiced the First Salmon Ritual. 60 years of the Indian Act and 40 years of extractive capitalism collapsed salmon abundance and smashed freshwater habitat. The *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* social positions of authority declined in parallel. The loss of *ċaċaałuk* left the *ḥaḥuułi* uncared for. The First Salmon Ritual diminished, likely because local declines in salmon forced *Tla-o-qui-aht* fishermen to adapt to fishing migrating salmon out in the ocean.

Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) attempted to manage the situation by ceasing all commercial harvest of Kennedy Lake sockeye in the early 1970's. In 1992, with just over 50,000 sockeye returning, DFO set out on rebuilding sockeye with *Tla-o-qui-aht*. By 2020, fewer than 10,000 sockeye returned (Andrew Jackson, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, lives in Ty histanis, British Columbia, Canada, personal communication, November 2021). *Tla-o-qui-aht* Fisheries, funded by AFS, and *Uu-a-thluk* biologists report a history of "shelf-ready" (unlikely to be brought into effect) studies and research that document decline, erratic habitat restoration and increasing costly and complex paths to recovery. Sockeye salmon at *Ook Min* is an example of a coast-wide trend. In 2017, the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) listed eight of the 24 sockeye populations in Fraser River as 'at risk.' It is unclear why Kennedy Lake sockeye have not been assessed by COSEWIC. What is clear is that extant DFO ecosystem management has been unable to do anything more than count declining salmon and make plans to recover sockeye (Cultus, Sakinaw). The *Syilx* People of the *Okanagan* Nation provide the only example of successful sockeye recovery efforts in British Columbia. The recovery of Okanagan Sockeye incorporates indigenous knowledge with modern restoration, stock assessment and enhancement technologies. It provides hope for returned abundance.

In the past, when salmon did not return in abundance, the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* developed responses. The communities understood that salmon and their spirits were *ʔaasma* (precious). To *uu-a-thluk* the relationship with salmon, *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* developed a First Salmon Ritual to demonstrate *ʔiisaak* in the physical and spiritual realms. This agreement in the spirit world was also enacted through the *c̓ac̓aałuk*. *C̓ac̓aałuk* were asked to 'religiously devote time and effort to ensure continued abundance' (*Traditional Nuu-chah-nulth Food Harvesting and Preparation*, p. 34). Although this approach returned salmon to abundance, it has not secured permanent

abundance. Spiritual agreements like those found in *oosumich* and the First Salmon Ritual are predicated on continuing recognition. The relationships between *quuʔas* and salmon spirits are in transformation, the world is unstable and demonstrations of *ʔiisaak* are consequential. *Tla-o-qui-aht* efforts to expand cultural sites of practice and strengthen their collective self-government in the future are dependent on their ability to *ʔiisaak*, *uu-a-thluk* and *his-shuk-nish-c̓awaak*.

Concluding Thoughts

Ḥaaḥuupa provide an entry point for *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* social productions of space, history and wealth. Understanding that the nature of *Ciiqciqasa* is action-oriented (verb-based) tells us of a world in transformation and lifeforms in motion. Like *Ćinuuł*, *ḥaaḥuupa* provide cues for traditional values. *ʔiisaak* and *uu-a-thluk* are trained-for and expected practices of *quuʔas*. *ḥaaḥuupa* and *Ćinuuł* will continue to be key to educating families and others on ways of being in the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world.

Tla-o-qui-aht will need to look within to revive ancient spiritual agreements, the *c̓ac̓aałuk* and other foundational elements of the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and the *ḥaḥuułi*. Decades of program funding has forced *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations to mirror state institutions' hegemonic forms of governance and economy (Andolina et al., 2009; Lindroth and Sinevaara, 2014). Despite the risks, *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations need to use state funding and programs strategically to develop partnerships, to provide advice, and to maintain management and scientific capacity. They need to be cognizant that the translation of their needs by the Canadian bureaucratic systems will promote uncontrolled equivocation based on ontological difference and develop approaches to address this dissonance. The nouns conserve and sustain that sit at the centre of Canada's management and program objectives are not synonymous with

how *Tla-o-qui-aht* practices the verbs *ʔiisaak* and *uu-a-thluk.* Conservation and sustainability are practiced in the largely impersonal and institutional assemblages of Canada's Weberian model of bureaucracy while *ʔiisaak* and *uu-a-thluk* are foundations for conceptions about both the world and the self, carried throughout life and practiced with all lifeforms. Cultural competence and literacy are unlikely to narrow the gaps in knowledge between the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ and* non-*Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* arising from ontological difference. Similarly, implementing Bill C-15 by translating the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world into human rights will lead to more epistemic miscontruals. To be 'successful' in negotiations with the Canadian State is to recognize this dissonance and make it clear that *Tla-o-qui-aht* needs to do it their way, congruent with their world, and as part of the commitment to self-governance.

The strategy for TFN Fisheries (2021) sets out to strengthen governance. The direction to expand the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* social position of authority suffuses *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations planning. One objective is educating people on the role of *Ha'wiih* in traditional governance (Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, 2022). Our research suggests that documenting current salmon rituals and reviving a community First Salmon Ritual and *c̓ac̓aałuk* provide opportunities to expand sites of cultural renewal and strengthen governance. The ritual returns to an active, mobile and relational process of *ʔiisaak* and *uu-a-thluk* celebrating a common world with salmon spirits. The joyful and enthusiastic welcoming of salmon is both ancient and 'capture[s] new feelings, new ways of being, new relations.' The renewal of the *c̓ac̓aałuk* is a challenging and worthy endeavour. As *Tla-o-qui-aht* sets out to revitalize their laws for land, air and water (RELAW), finding ways to bring back the *c̓ac̓aałuk* is paramount to healing the *ḥaḥuułi* and *muschim*.

The *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* ability to incorporate and adapt new methods and technologies, making them consistent with their world, combined with their ancient methodology for restoring

salmon abundance provides hope. Renewal of the *c̓ac̓aałuk*, rituals, and *ḥaaḥuupa* expand both the sites of cultural practice, and the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* and *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* social position of authority. The astonishingly intimate common world shared with salmon spirits affirms *his-shuk-nish-c̓awaak* (we are all one).

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Introduction

The objectives of this research were:

6) To explore the ontologies of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems, for example how nature, regeneration, and life (e.g. salmon) are imagined in *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories), how lived values are taught by *Ćiinuł* (totem poles) and through spiritual agreements like the First Salmon Ritual [article 3, films]
7) To describe how indigenous research methodologies can encourage indigenous scholars and allies to re-make research such that it sustains and renews a community's ability to engage their political priorities while fostering a transition back to community-based knowledge production [article 1]
8) To use film as a research method to provide space and opportunity for *Tla-o-qui-aht* research co-participants to chart the world-making practices associated with *ḥaaḥuupa* (teaching, stories) [films]
9) Committing to multiplicities by:
    a. Exploring how indigenous research, alongside auto-methods, can open pathways for indigenous people to be themselves in academic knowledge co-production. [article 1]
    b. Investigating knowledge systems literature with a focus on ontologies of knowledge systems to facilitate a novel way to bring knowledges together [article 3]
    c. Documenting *Tla-o-qui-aht* fisheries governance initiatives and program delivery while looking for opportunities and strategies for TFN to use to create space and expand their project of renewal [article 3, Conclusion]

10) To illuminate ways for *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems to find expression within the current (e.g., local, regional, national, international) fisheries governance regimes [article 3, Conclusion]

This concluding section is divided into three sections. Each section covers one or more of the research objectives and refers to findings in the written articles and the films. I structure the conclusion this way to maintain my commitment to address opportunities for change at different conceptual and physical sites that *Tla-o-qui-aht* can further the project of renewal.

Section 1 is titled Transitioning to community-based knowledge production, contributing to *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal, decentering the academy and accounting for the researcher. I purposely eschew generalizing findings and focus on the specifics of the research findings to address the paradox set up by indigenous geographies (Howitt et al., 2009), indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2002), and indigenous methodologies for researchers to work through. The paradox is how indigenous geographies and indigenous methodologies tend to categorize and singularize through a "generalized perspective" (Battiste, 2002, p. 10) the multiplicity of ways that indigenous people "know themselves and their worlds" (Howitt et al., 2009, p. 362). To engage in research that attends to ways that indigenous people know themselves and their worlds creates the need to re-orient conventional research. Re-orientation of research involves the development of context specific "ethics of engagement… 'developing relationships' rather than developing theory… and focusing on 'process' rather than outcome" (Howitt et al., 2009, p. 359). Ethical engagement in research is an ongoing practice of developing relationships with others and oneself (Objective 4 c). By decentering academic sites in knowledge co-production, expanding community research infrastructure, and supporting projects of renewal in fisheries, the

research with *Tla-o-qui-aht* is oriented to the goal of bringing knowledge co-production closer to home (Objective 2).

In Section 1, I document how the research provided an opportunity to extend the existing institutional and community-based ethical processes through the creation of the Traditional Resource Committee. I outline how the creation of the *Tla-o-qui-aht* Traditional Resource Committee fits into *Tla-o-qui-aht* strategies of moving knowledge production closer to home, directing research and methods, and creating new sites of community process for cultural revitalization. I map how the TRC is situated within existing *Tla-o-qui-aht* fisheries governance initiatives to illustrate the diversity of community processes (Objective 4 c). The focus is on contributions the research has made to fostering relationships and processes that uphold and shape strategies aligned with the project of renewing the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ* (hereditary chiefs)*, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* (women of high-rank) and *ḥaḥuułi* (chiefly territories) (Objectives 2, 4 a, c).

I then discuss how working at multiple sites of *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project reflects my political, ethical, situated commitments to community renewal and how this set of decisions decentered academic sites (Objective 2). I explore how rerouting research accountabilities toward *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* and employing auto-methods within a blended methodological framework permitted me to be indigenous while being actively engaged in the research process (Weber-Pillwax, 2001) and working at non-academic sites of community renewal (Objective 4 a). I also discuss how auto-methods provides openings to map the development of multiple ethical, situated relationships in community self-determination (Objective 4 a).

Section 2 is titled Film as method. In Section 2 I discuss what I learned by using the visual method of film (Objective 3). The four films we produced, based on the direction of the

TRC, attempt to construct spaces for *Tla-o-qui-aht* research co-participants to speak about their *ḥaaḥuupa* (which also addresses Objective 1). Film as method for conducting group interviews offered openings for research co-participants to speak about how they know themselves as *quuʔas* (human) in relation to their *ḥaḥuułi.* Film as method also permitted the research a novel opportunity to show how the lived values of the *muschim* (people) are dynamic and relational (Objectives 1, 4 b).

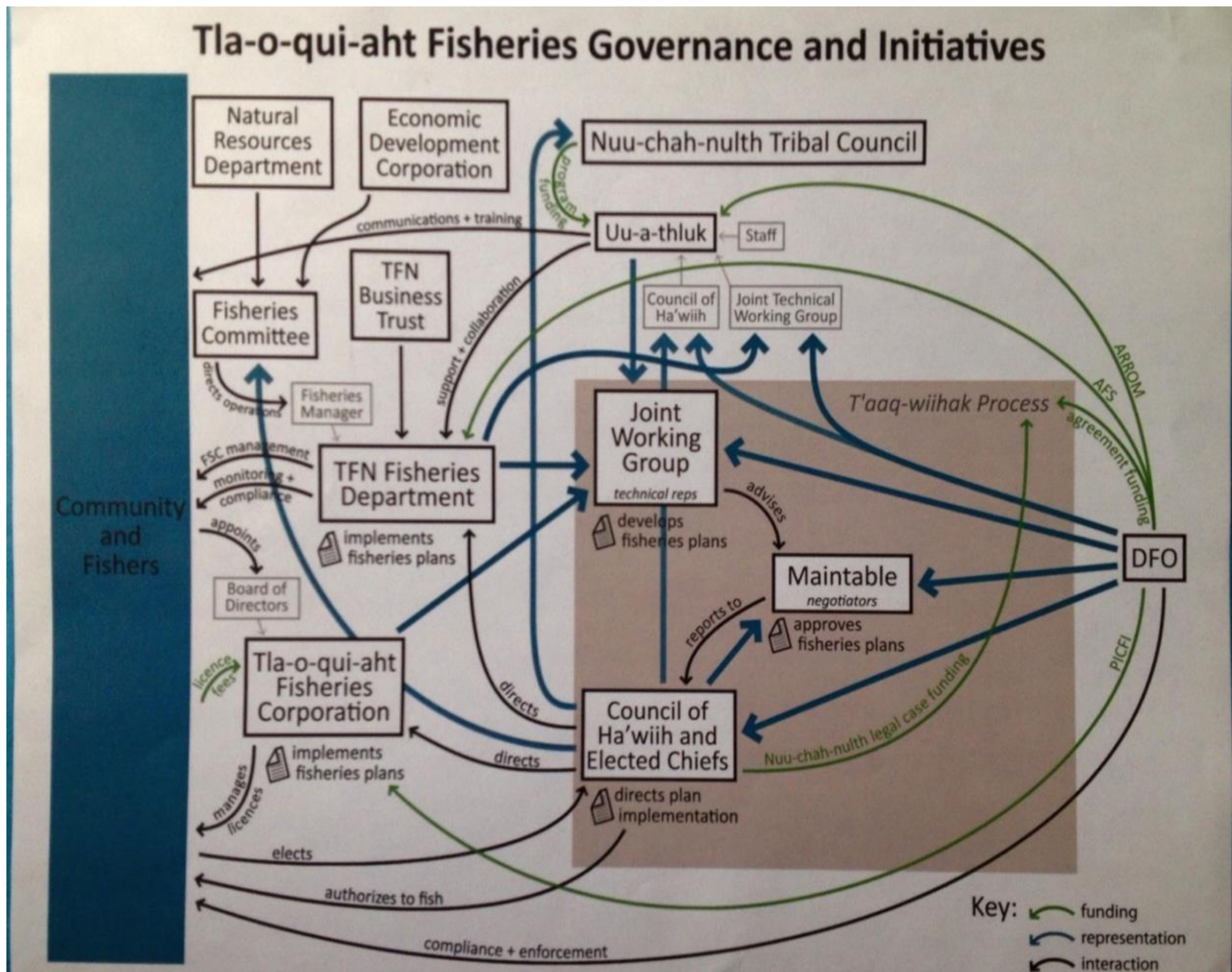
Section 3 is titled Opportunities to center lived values in emerging fisheries initiatives and expand *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal**.** In the final section I identify opportunities for *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations to advance the project of renewal by making use of the lived values in *ḥaaḥuupa* (Objectives 1, 5). In Section 3 in this conclusion, I discuss sites where *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal and self-determination strategies make use of *ḥaaḥuupa* as they work to realize a future that re-centres *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* lived values and ways of being (Objective 5).

Transitioning to Community-Based Knowledge Production, Contributing to *Tla-o-qui-aht's* Project of Renewal, Decentering the Academy and Accounting for the Researcher

Tla-o-qui-aht's project of regenerating the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi* organize community self-determination strategies. *Tla-o-qui-aht's* self-determination strategies take shape simultaneously at legal, political, administrative, and cultural sites across local, regional, national, and international scales. Although organized by the renewal of the relationship between *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi*, the shapes of self-determination strategies employed are not pre-determined but diverse and context specific. In Article 3 I discuss how state-funded programs intersect with the community project of renewal. Figure 1 *Tla-o-qui-aht Fisheries Governance and Initiatives* is an undated *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nation diagram that captures the evolving fisheries governance and initiatives at the time the research commenced, in 2015.

Figure 1

Tla-o-qui-aht Fisheries Governance Initiatives



Note. This is an undated and unpublished infographic of how state funding creates a dense set of initiatives that represent some of the spaces for *Tla-o-qui-aht* to employ strategies to create space and expand their project of renewal. Copyright 2022 to *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations.

The programs illustrated in Figure 1 influenced the development of *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s Traditional Resource Committee (TRC), illustrate where some of my commitments to support community renewal and involvements in strategies took shape, and where *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems find expression within the current fisheries governance initiatives. The TRC is situated in this

evolving set of initiatives. *Seit-cha* (One who swims in the Water, English name Terry Dorward), the Community Research Liaison, provided Figure 1 early in the research and we discussed it at length when developing the approach to purposeful sampling for interviews and as a guide for recruiting members for the TRC. The figure, alongside the lived values of recognition and *ʔiisaak* (v. respect) for *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaḥuułi* discussed in Article 1, were the key determinants in the process. Figure 1 captures how DFO funding programs create a density of *Tla-o-qui-aht* fisheries initiatives in the community and depicts *Tla-o-qui-aht's* blended governance system in the bottom left of the taupe coloured *T'aaq-wiihak* (fishing with permission of the chiefs) process box. As discussed in Article 1 the diversity of *Tla-o-qui-aht* perspectives involved in these initiatives informs our blended research methodology. The TRC members are from the blue box on the far left, Community and Fishers, and from a section of the fisheries governance and initiatives. Selecting co-participants from these initiatives for the TRC was a strategy to center the community and de-center the academy in the research.

The TRC also exists as part of a three-part strategy to extend control over knowledge production about the community. As discussed in Article 1 the *Tla-o-qui-aht* Community Research Liaison was established in the research project Protected Areas for Poverty Reduction (PAPR). PAPR was research funded in partnership by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) under the International Community-University Research Alliance Program (ICURA). PAPR also initiated a community research protocol that was used for this research. The existing institutional and community-based ethical processes, the protocol and Liaison, were extended through the creation of the Traditional Resource Committee.

The *Tla-o-qui-aht* Community Research Liaison identified the need for a community-based process to direct and participate in research and knowledge production. Co-participant positions and identities inform and contribute to the research. For example, *Seit-cha's* multiple positions in community are critical to our success. As an employee in Tribal Parks that reports to TFN Natural Resources, he was able to facilitate communication about the purpose of the research across the various fisheries governance initiatives. As a spokesperson and research co-participant he communicated about the research in community decision making processes and to wider indigenous audiences including the First Nations Fisheries Council of BC Indigenous Knowledge Forum (2019). The TRC is interwoven with the Community Research Protocol and Community Research Liaison position, drawn from the diverse fisheries governance initiatives, and a key outcome of the objective to foster a transition to community-based knowledge production.

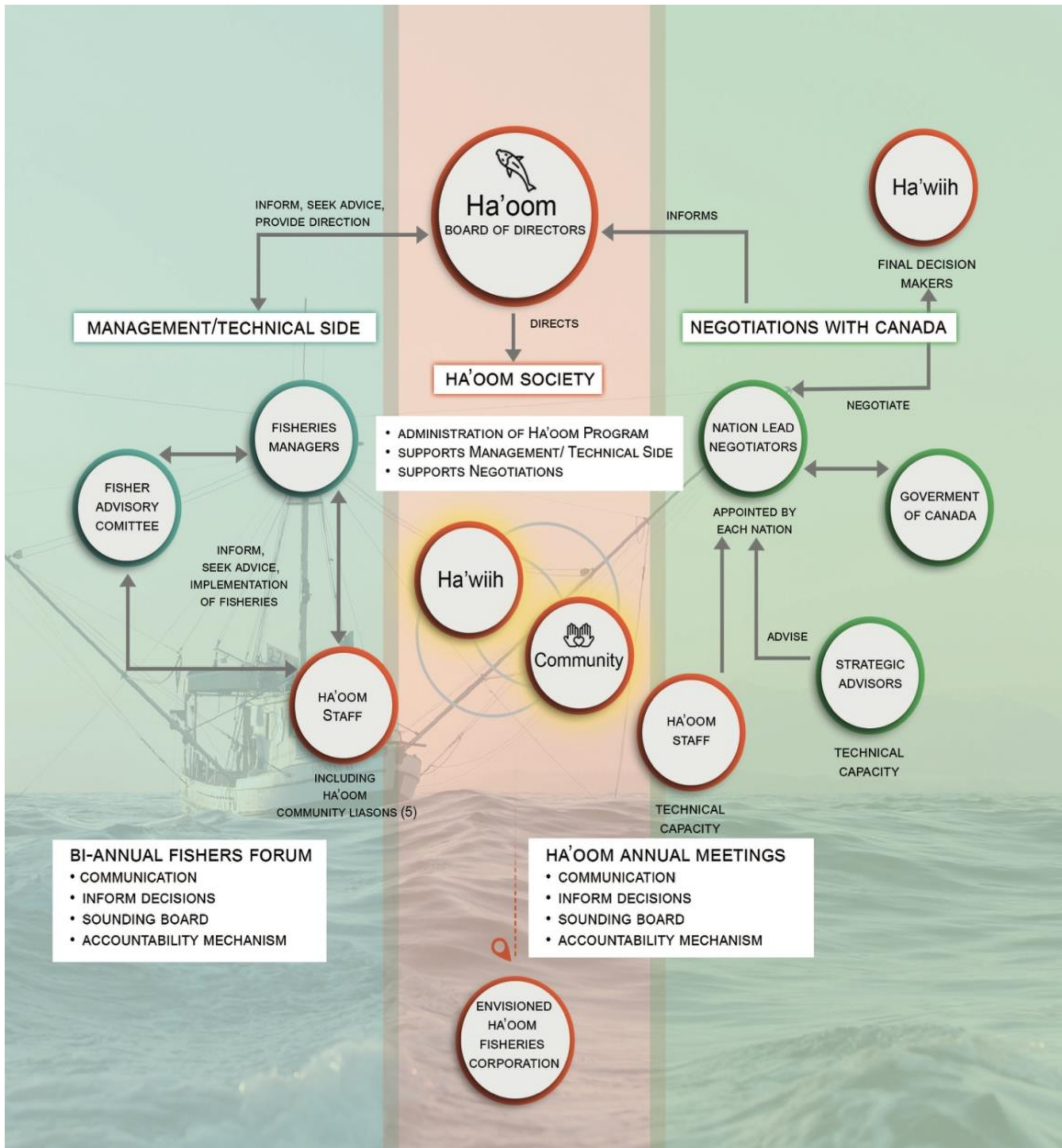
The TRC is an example of how the community has used successive funded research projects to extend their ability to engage in their political priorities. The TRC continues to work with graduate students, and is now a politically mandated process to discuss activism on a broad range of natural resource management issues including forestry, fish farming and tourism industries. *Tla-o-qui-aht's* three-part strategy was instrumental in shaping how the research objectives took place in the research process. For example, the direction from the initial TRC meetings were to use the language, incorporate previous research with knowledge holders, interview community members active in the *ḥaḥuułi*, and to leave space and time for discussion of community political priorities not aligned with the research. *Ciiqciqasa* (speaking *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ)* figures prominently in Article 3 and helped orient an understanding of *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* ontologies of knowledge systems and lived values. My use of the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ*

alphabet and spellings are provided by *Tla-o-qui-aht* Language Services and Linguist Dr. Adam Werle. The research with the *Tla-o-qui-aht* Language Service coordinator has provided two glossaries of terms that are available to other researchers and for TFN use in natural resource management and planning. Publications and interviews with *Tla-o-qui-aht* and other *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* knowledge holders are used to describe and texture an understanding of how *ḥaaḥuupa* upholds the *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* world and tells us what it means to be *quuʔas*. The discussion of *ḥaaḥuupa* and *Ćiinuł* in Article 3 correspond to the objective of exploring ontologies of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems. Finally, the TRC directed the development of a visual method to show the reciprocal and intimate assemblages between *quuʔas* and *ḥaḥuułi.*

The direction from the TRC, alongside my commitments to support community renewal, informed relocating my life to *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi* for research, to facilitate community meetings, leading to work in support of reconciliation negotiations, and a role in advising *Tla-o-qui-aht*, *Ahousaht, Ehattesaht/Chinehkint, Hesquiaht, Mowachaht/Muchalaht* (five Nations) in the creation of the *Ha'oom* Fisheries Society (HFS). *Figure 2 Ha'oom Infographic* (2019) illustrates how HFS is structured to work with the five Nations.

Figure 2

Ha'oom Infographic



Note: Ha'oom Fisheries Society created this infographic representation of how negotiations and implementation will be coordinated by the five Nations. Copyright 2019 to Ha'oom Fisheries Society.

My commitments to community renewal situated me as a multiple throughout my research and work with *Tla-o-qui-aht* and the five Nations. My multiple positionalities reflected my commitments to indigenous research methodology that were bolstered by feminist auto-methods.

Accounting for the researcher and positionality, discussed in Article 1, is a part of a researcher's reflexive practices; it is fundamental to all research processes (see Sultana, 2017; Vanner, 2015; Johnson, 2009). For indigenous methodologies the processes of identifying and analyzing how your own social positions or identities inform the research must "make sense from an Indigenous knowledges perspective" (Kovach, 2010, p. 41). Auto-methods legitimizes the indigenous researcher using their experiences to shape inquiry, alongside research co-participants' understandings, and as "ways to trace pathways of power" (Moss & Besio, 2017, p. 313). My experiences in inter-governmental fisheries practices, as internal facilitator for the five Nations and advisor to the HFS Executive Director and Board of Directors result, in part, from my political commitments to *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal. My multiple roles and identities supporting *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal reflected my embrace of the researcher as *multiple* rather than understood along insider/outsider boundaries. For me decentering the academy meant working at community sites of the project of renewal and making sense of my experiences from my partial perspective as a Salish Witness. My *Witnessing* of *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaaḥuupa,* dance and song, listening, watching and feeling emotions from speakers at community events situates me continuously amongst shared cultural practices linking Salish and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* people. The role I occupy as a Salish Witness in research with *Tla-o-qui-aht* means I uphold our relationship. I have written in my head and in my heart how I was treated as a guest, worker and researcher, and am obligated to tell others of what I saw, felt and heard. Being a Witness is to be part of the community's historical record, the *ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and *ḥaw̓iiḥ* of *Tla-o-qui-aht* can recall me at any

time. My obligations to Witness centers *Salish* and *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* ways of being and is an example of context specific opportunities for indigenous researchers to renew traditional subject positions in research that has been re-oriented to ethical engagements. The commitment to the broad principles of indigenous research methodologies results in unique outcomes depending on the positionality of the researcher, the co-participants and the specific sites of engagement. For example, my participation in *Tla-o-qui-aht* fisheries governance and initiatives contributed to how research co-participants were recruited. It seemed natural to recruit co-participants this way, but in hindsight I see how others, positioned differently, might sample differently, for example, by family. The same commitments to renewal could take endless embodied forms. My embrace of multiple ontologies and multi-naturalism (Blaser, 2009) is a consequence of my positionality and a response to my experiences of uncontrolled equivocation based on ontological dissonances in DFO programs. Beyond creating density in *Tla-o-qui-aht* fisheries governance initiatives, and as discussed in Article 3, the programmatic emphasis on sustainability and conservation lead to false senses of equivalency that frustrate attempts to get on the same page. I believe embracing multiple ontologies and using auto-methods are entry points for indigenous researchers, like me, to ethically engage others and oneself from indigenous subject positions while working and researching at community sites.

Film as Method

At the outset of the research with *Tla-o-qui-aht*, film was not a method I had contemplated. Film as method reflects the participatory aspect of the blended research methodology. As a research objective, the use of film as method precipitated out of the confluence of the direction from *Tla-o-qui-aht* research co-participants, capital resources provided by research FishWIKS and EPIC4, advice from my Committee and Supervisor,

coordination efforts of the Community Research Liaison, and access to an experienced filmmaker, location sound, and director of photography. In this section I discuss a few choices I made, the connections to illustrating ontologies of knowledge systems, and what I learned while using film as method.

The TRC is credited as the Director the four films. Odessa Shuquaya (*Kluane* First Nation) and I co-produced. The crediting is a purposeful choice to acknowledge the direction of the TRC and research co-participants. As discussed in the introduction, the direction was to visually record group interviews, demonstrate how *ḥaaḥuupa* is a group exercise, and to show how the *muschim* (people) relate with the *ḥaḥuułi* today. I spent many months trialing scenarios with *Seit-cha.* We discussed a range of formal and informal settings in the *ḥaḥuułi.* The budget provided by the funders and the cost of filming forced us to pare back complicated and time-consuming approaches. Budgeting editing time with the filmmaker was one of the ways we decided to aim for 10-to-15-minute run times for each film. Other practicalities like co-participant availability informed the selection of a three-day shoot in *Tla-o-qui-aht ḥaḥuułi.* I asked research co-participants to tell us where we were, what we were seeing, and about experiences with *ḥaaḥuupa*. This approach to preparation was my attempt to encourage spontaneous interactions amongst co-participants and the *ḥaḥuułi*. I could not have taken this open approach to production preparation if I did not have my co-producer, director of photography, and location sound providing advice and playing their roles. In editing, the initial focus on interviews led to presenting them separately as four vignettes rather than one film. As editing of the films progressed, I began to draft narration. My plan was to provide narration for context and to link some of the co-participants discussions with the research. However, as I was providing draft cuts to my committee, the feedback made me rethink the need for narration. One

of the intents was to film the ways the *muschim* relate with the *ḥaḥuułi* today and my narration would be problematic on two levels. My narration would take away from the clarity of the *Tla-o-qui-aht* co-participant voices, and privilege my voice as an omniscient narrator, undermining my situated and partial perspective. For coding, using the method of cultural renewal taught to *Seit-cha* by Roy Hayupis of *Ahousaht* helped us achieve clarity in story. In the introduction I explain how the method begins by assessing the colonial present, then takes stock of cultural practices from the past that can be used as resources to realize a future that re-centres *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* values and ways of being. The method of cultural renewal centred a revitalized *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* vision of the present, past and future in the films. Unlike audio recordings, written transcripts, and quotes in text, film changed the way I worked with research co-participants. In this process I sat next to the research co-participants at a location of their choice, and we watched the film on my laptop together. At times, film made co-participants report feeling self-conscious about their physical appearance on film, or instigated a reflection on how their feelings or thinking had evolved since the time of filming. These reservations did not stop co-participants from providing their consent.

To use film as method again, I would structure time to show co-participants unedited results within a week. This would allow for the exploration of ideas linked to, but not included in, the footage. A co-participant review of footage at this time would also permit the identification of any footage that they felt was inaccurate. I was lucky that some of the discussions of the intimate assemblages of family in the films were acceptable to the co-participants in their review, but I would not want to take that risk again. Moreover, I missed opportunities to extend my understanding of lived values by taking an unstructured approach to watching the edited films with co-participants. The process of watching the films with co-

participants reinforced my belief that worlds and people are in constant flux because they are dynamic and relational. For this research, film provided a way to illustrate the dynamism between *quu?as* in relation to *ḥaḥuułi* and how values of speaking *Nuučaan̓uł?atḥ* are incorporated into the way people live. Key to illustrating those lived values is hearing *Ciiqciqasa* and seeing *quu?as* active in the *ḥaḥuułi*. Film as method has the power to multiply *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s project of renewal. It is a novel way to bring many strategies of the project of renewal together and to communicate the continuous and modern lives of the *muschim*. In the final section I move to a discussion of other sites where *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal and self-determination strategies make use of *ḥaaḥuupa* as they work to realize a future that re-centres *Nuučaan̓uł?atḥ* lived values and ways of being.

Opportunities to center lived values in emerging fisheries initiatives and expand *Tla-o-qui-aht's* project of renewal

This section identifies where some of the outcomes from *Tla-o-qui-aht* research on fisheries and ontologies of their knowledge systems (Objectives 1, 4 b) can be incorporated at other sites of fisheries governance and multiply the project of renewal (Objective 2). In Article 3 I discuss the outcomes from the research objective of finding opportunities for *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems to find expression within the current fisheries governance regimes (Objective 5). I will confine my discussion in this conclusion to the finalization of *Tla-o-qui-aht* strategic plan for fisheries, the Salmon Laws Project, expanding the the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* social and spiritual positions of authority by reviving the roles like the *c̓ac̓aałuk* (river keeper), and the Salmon Ritual.

What I have referred to as the density of fisheries initiatives are based on state program funding that obliges *Tla-o-qui-aht*'s blended governance to develop clear plans and accountabilities to manage the complexity. Radcliffe (2015) encapsulates scholars' concern

about how late-liberal states structure indigenous governance by "demanding of them the necessary configurations of disposition, affect and outlook compatible with hegemonic forms of governance and economy" (Andolina et al., 2009; Lindroth & Sinevaara, 2014 in Radcliffe, 2015, p. 3). This is partially achieved through state-based program funding. *Figure 1* illustrates how multiple state programs create a challenge for governance at the community level. Food and ceremonial fishing and associated monitoring occur through the AFS funded coordinator, a separate Board of Directors oversees a commercial fishing enterprise funded through PICFI, while AAROM funds must be aggregated through the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council's fisheries program, *Uu-a-thluk*, to provide access to a biologist. DFO reconciliation funding is used for *Ha'oom* Fisheries Society and for on-going negotiations. This density of initiatives creates frustration for fishers and community members. *Tla-o-qui-aht* First Nations is in the process of finalizing a five-year strategic plan that addresses community political priorities and provides direction to the fisheries initiatives.

My role is to assist in re-drafting and facilitating community meetings to complete the plan by summer of 2022. I suggest that the strategic plan should manage the existing complexity, begin to incorporate *ḥaaḥuupa*, and identify objectives for the renewal of the *ḥatkm̓iiḥ,* the *t̓iquwił* (hereditary seated advisor), *c̓ac̓aałuk, hitinqisnak* (Vince Williams, beachkeeper) and the Salmon Ritual. I believe identifying specific steps to revitalize the *t̓iquwił, c̓ac̓aałuk, hitinqisnak* and the Salmon Ritual are examples of how *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems can find expression within existing and emerging fisheries governance regimes. Renewing traditional roles and responsibilities bolsters the relationship between the *ḥaw̓iiḥ, ḥatkm̓iiḥ* and the *ḥaḥuułi* directly linking to the on-going work of developing Salmon Laws.

Tla-o-qui-aht and six other *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* Nations have partnered with University of Victoria on a project to revitalize their laws for land, air and water (RELAW). Regenerating the roles and responsibilities of *t̓iquwił, c̓ac̓aałuk, hitinqisnak* and using *Ciiqciqasa* and *ḥaaḥuupa* will be instrumental to restoring traditional law and governance. These promising directions need to be complemented by purposeful work to recover practices that recognize and pay respect to salmon spirits (Salmon Ritual). The renewal of song, dance and other ritual practices are aligned with *Tla-o-qui-aht* Tribal Parks direction.

As *Tla-o-qui-aht* redevelops their Salmon Laws I suggest that *Tla-o-qui-aht* spend time at the TRC discussing how the existing Research Protocol and the Community Research Liaison can be used to support *ushtakimilh* (lineage group) and families to safeguard ownership of their *ḥaaḥuupa. Tla-o-qui-aht* ought to take the initiative to outline how their laws relate to their *ḥaaḥuupa.* I am deeply concerned that Canada's Intellectual Property Strategy (2020) will attempt to reduce the wealth and dynamism of *Tla-o-qui-aht* knowledge systems to 'indigenous knowledge' or 'indigenous cultural expression' as inputs for Canada's strategy. The way forward for *Tla-o-qui-aht* is to continue to foster spaces to imagine a revitalized *Nuučaan̓ułʔatḥ* future based on the regeneration of the lived values of *ʔiisaak* (respect), *uu-a-thluk* (taking care of) and *his-shuk-nish-c̓awaak* (we are all one) that returns abundance to the *ḥaḥuułi.*

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