'RESURGENCE OF THE OCEAN-GOING CANOE':
AN EXPLORATION OF THE IMPACTS OF TRIBAL CANOE JOURNEYS ON THE HEILTSUK NATION THROUGH PARTICIPATORY VIDEO

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ABSTRACT

Tribal Canoe Journeys (TCJ) is an Indigenous cultural gathering along the Northwest Pacific Coast. Over the last three decades, members of the Heiltsuk Nation played an important role in the development and growth of the journeys, yet no research studies explore the history and impacts of TCJ with the Heiltsuk in a collaborative manner. This thesis addressed this gap by working collaboratively with Vina Brown and Frank Brown at every stage in the research process while utilizing Indigenous and community-based participatory research (CBPR) methodologies, and participatory video (PV) and qualitative interview methods. We conducted video-based qualitative interviews – which were transcribed, analyzed and coded – and from this developed both written and video deliverables. Through analysis using Nvivo software, this study found the journeys helped participants reconnect to the natural environment; supported participants individual healing and growth; helped establish relationships and networks within 'canoe families', across generations, and between different Indigenous Nations; enabled the Nation's cultural resurgence; and may lead participants to engage in other political activities. Many of these themes are explored in the 46-minute collaborative film that was developed as part of the project called '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*', which premiered at *imagineNative Film and Media Arts Festival* in October 2017. We evaluated the film process and found that researchers working on video-based projects in Indigenous communities should establish strong relationships with community members; collaborate with community members and institutions; educate themselves about the community's history and culture; discuss ownership and rights of research products; be cognizant of power imbalances in the process; and provide additional benefits to the community. Overall, this thesis contributes to larger discussions about Indigenous resurgence and collaborative video research processes in Canada.

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I also must thank my family and friends, who have supported me throughout my academic journey. To my parents, Dennis and Patti Beattie, I thank you for always encouraging me to learn and teaching me to care about the environment. Bobby Beattie, my brother, I thank you for demonstrating the importance of hard work, passion, and perseverance. Finally, Matt Austman, you've provided me with an incredible amount of support. Your dedication and commitment to fighting for progressive political change in Manitoba is inspiring to me.

DISCLAIMER

As per the requirements of the University of Manitoba, I am listed as the sole author of this thesis. However, this research would not have been possible without the significant contributions of Frank Brown, Vina Brown, and other members of the Heiltsuk Nation. Further, my advisor, Ian Mauro, and I agreed upon the First Nations Information Governance Centre's "OCAP" (Ownership, Control, Access and Possession) with our community partners Frank and Vina at the beginning of this project. This means that I neither own nor control the research results. Rather, they ultimately belong to the Heiltsuk Nation. This will be reflected in any publications based on this research.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBPR   Community-based participatory research

DFO   Department of Fisheries and Oceans

HIRMD   Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department

HTC   Heiltsuk Tribal Council

PV   Participatory video

TCJ   Tribal Canoe Journeys

TRC   Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Collaborators

FB   Frank Brown

HB   Hillary Beattie

IM   Ian Mauro

VB   Vina Brown

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION, OBJECTIVES, AND OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

As this thesis was being written in 2017, Canada celebrated its 150th anniversary as a nation state. From coast to coast to coast, the federal government sponsored 'Canada 150' events and projects: there were parades and festivals as well as art installations and historical exhibitions across the country. There was even a 150-day voyage that sailed along the entire coastline (Government of Canada, 2017). Despite their diversity, these events and projects all had one thing in common: they celebrated the nation state's identity and helped unite the country's 36 million citizens into a single 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006).

At the heart of these celebrations was the nation state's national narrative, which Regan (2010) calls the 'Peacemaker myth'. According to the myth, Canada's historical and contemporary relations with Indigenous peoples have primarily been peaceful and diplomatic. Canadians, unlike Americans, had good intentions and always acted in the best interests of Indigenous people. The myth suggests that the policies and practices designed to displace Canada's original inhabitants from their lands and assimilate them into mainstream society were 'saving' them from their purportedly backwards and heathen ways (Regan, 2010). Though the social theories about 'racial superiority' that originally legitimized these actions are long defunct, the idea that Canada was peacefully settled continues to inform and shape the nation-state's identity today.

Of course, the truth is quite different. Colonialism was anything but peaceful and benevolent for the Indigenous communities across the land now known as Canada. In broad terms, many of these communities were devastated shortly after initial contact by the introduction of western diseases. After their populations were weakened, the British expanded across their territories and 'managed' the remaining Indigenous populations through the Indian Act and the Reserve System. The federal government and the churches also implemented policies and practices like the Potlatch Ban and Residential Schools to assimilate communities (TRC, 2015). The overall result was disorientation, disempowerment, discord, and disease (Alfred, 2009). These traumas were passed down through generations and continue to impact Indigenous communities today.

Given the discrepancy between Canada's national narrative and its colonial history, Indigenous activists and allies argue the nation-state's narrative needs to be re-storied (Regan, 2010; Aguirre, 2015). This stems from the recognition that narratives or myths are not apolitical. Rather, they influence how individuals understand the world around them and therefore play an important role in either maintaining or changing the status quo (Kertzer, 1989). If Canadians accept the Peacemaker Myth as their national narrative, then the history and causes behind the current social issues in many Indigenous communities are obscured. However, if Canada's national narrative is re-storied, citizens can begin to understand that these issues are the result of specific policies and practices. This could alter the way that Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians understand their country's past and present.

Nevertheless, while it is important for Canadians to understand the nation's dark history, scholars argue that other stories about Indigenous peoples also need to be shared. Alfred and Corntassel (2005) write that "there is a danger in allowing colonization to be the only story of Indigenous lives" (p. 601). Instead of only focusing on state-centered colonial histories, Indigenous communities also need to share stories about resistance, resilience, and resurgence (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Simpson, 2011). These stories teach Indigenous people who they are and can inspire them to revitalize their cultural, land-based practices. In short, as the Canadian nation-state celebrates its 150th anniversary, Indigenous scholars and allies argue that narratives about both state-centered colonialism *and* Indigenous-led resurgence are important to document and share.

One way to document and disseminate these narratives is through a method called 'participatory video' (PV). This approach involves researchers working with communities to create a film about issues that are important to them. Though the approach varies significantly from project to project, PV projects ideally involve community members collaborating with researchers and filmmakers at each stage of the filmmaking process, from the initial film conception and plan to the final stages of editing and disseminating the film (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). Through this process, PV permits "communities to question the ideologies which depreciate them, select the information which is truly important for them, and project more positive images of themselves" (Servaes, 1999, p. 84). In other words, the

approach allows community members to challenge dominant narratives and highlight affirming stories about their community and culture.

In this master's project, my primary advisor Ian Mauro and I worked with Vina Brown and Frank Brown from the Heiltsuk Nation on a participatory documentary research project and film about the Heiltsuk's resurgence. Through this video, we hope to help re-story Canada's national narrative by documenting the Heiltsuk's experiences with colonialism as well as their resurgence through an annual cultural gathering called Tribal Canoe Journeys (TCJ). In a conversation about Canada's narrative in 2015, Frank explained the importance of this story:

"As Canada is about to celebrate its 150th birthday, we have a far different story
that is filled with tragedy and loss. And I don't think it's right and fair if people don't
truly understand the impacts that occurred to the First Peoples of this land."

In other words, Frank believed it was important the Heiltsuk's experiences with colonialism was shared with Canadians. However, his son, Saul Brown, said there was more to the story than tragedy and loss. He said:

"That's not the whole story, because there's resilience and there's beauty, and those
rich, vibrant ways of being, ways of knowing, ways of governing, ways of relating to
one another still shine through to this day. And we're still here, and we're still here
as Heiltsuk people, and we're Heiltsuk strong."

Like Alfred and Corntassel (2005), Saul argued it was important to highlight stories of Indigenous resilience and resurgence. Both Frank and Saul agreed the Heiltsuk's experiences with TCJ highlighted the negative impacts of colonialism as well as the strength and resilience of the community. For this reason, we decided to document the story in a 46-minute film called '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*,' included and discussed throughout this thesis. To provide context, this introduction chapter includes background information, the objectives, the research approach, and an overview of the thesis.

1.2 BACKGROUND

1.2.1 HEILTSUK NATION

For thousands of years, the Heiltsuk people have lived on the central coast currently known as British Columbia, Canada (see **Figure 1**). According to western archeology, the Heiltsuk have lived there for at least fourteen-thousand years while according to Heiltsuk oral histories, they've lived there since time immemorial (Nair, 2017). Prior to European colonization, the Heiltsuk lived in several different village sites in their traditional territories, which included over 35,000 square kilometers. They developed a rich culture with complex social, political, and economic systems and relied on the canoe for travelling through the territory as well as gathering food. These complex systems, along with the canoe, allowed the Heiltsuk to thrive for thousands of years (Moody-Humchitt & Slett, 2015).

In the nineteenth-century, European colonization began to impact the Heiltsuk Nation. In 1833, the Hudson's Bay Company built a trading post in the territory on Campbell Island and in 1862, a smallpox epidemic devastated Indigenous communities along the coast, including the Heiltsuk. This impacted the survivors not only physically and emotionally, but also culturally: as the Heiltsuk's knowledge was passed down from generation to generation orally, the loss of population meant the loss of some cultural knowledge. Following the epidemic in the 1860s and 1870s, the Heiltsuk relocated from their village sites to Campbell Island and amalgamated into a single community known as Bella Bella. In 1881, the Joint Indian Reserve Commission Heiltsuk assigned 13 reserves to the Heiltsuk. However, the Commission never established or signed treaties with Indigenous Nations in British Columbia, including the Heiltsuk. This means that the Nation's traditional territory remains unceded (Tennant, 1990; Harris, 2002).

Throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the federal government of Canada – with the support of Christian churches – implemented policies and practices designed to assimilate Indigenous peoples. In 1880, Methodist missionaries entered Bella Bella to convert the Heiltsuk to Christianity (see **Figure 5** and **Figure 6** in *Chapter 2*). Following this, in 1885, the Government of Canada outlawed the potlatch, an important cultural gathering which involved feasting, dancing, and gifting, in order to expedite the assimilation of coastal nations into European culture (Cole & Chaikin, 1990). Around this time, the federal government and

churches also began establishing residential and day schools to assimilate Indigenous children into western culture (TRC, 2015). In 1909, a day school was built in the community which children attended until seventh grade. Following this, they were sent to a boarding home in a larger community or to St. Michael's Indian Residential School in Alert Bay, BC (see **Figure 4** in *Chapter 2*). In both cases, children were removed from their families and cultural traditions in an attempt to assimilate them into western culture (TRC, 2015). Overall, the result of the epidemics and assimilation policies was an incomplete cultural genocide.

The word 'incomplete' is important. As described in more detail throughout this thesis, the Heiltsuk did not passively accept the government's and churches' attempts to assimilate them. Rather, at each step, some members of the Nation resisted and continued to pass on their cultural knowledge, even when this had to be done in secret. Currently, the Nation is revitalizing their complex cultural, social, political, and economic systems that sustained their ancestors for thousands of years. In part, they are accomplishing this by hosting and participating on Tribal Canoe Journeys (TCJ), which is highlighted throughout this thesis.

Figure 1: Map of the Heiltsuk Nation's traditional territory.

1.2.2   RESEARCHER BACKGROUND

As an non-Indigenous researcher working in an Indigenous community, it is important to position myself in relation to the research. I am a settler of Scottish and German descent in my mid-twenties. For most of the twentieth century, my extended maternal family lived in Winnipeg's north end. Two years before I was born, my parents moved north of the city near Selkirk in Treaty 1 territory, where I was born and lived until university.

As a child, I enjoyed learning about the 'settler' history of the prairies. I attended camp at Lower Fort Garry – where Treaty 1 was signed – and avidly read the *Little House on the Prairie* series. During this period, my school division did not teach students about the impacts of settlement on the Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States. As a result, I learned a lot about the hardships and opportunities that the western frontier presented to settlers, and a very limited amount about the atrocities that Indigenous peoples experienced. I did not realize how much was missing from the narrative I grew up with until high school, when I took a course on human rights that introduced me to the negative impacts of colonialism on Indigenous peoples. In my undergraduate degree, I explored the topic in greater depth through courses in human rights, human geography, and international development studies. I was outraged that I had not learned about this darker side of Canada's history earlier on.

It is worth mentioning that from about the age of ten onwards, I loved the idea of filmmaking. As a child and teenager, I taught myself how to use a consumer camcorder and editing software, which I used to create short videos with my friends. In high school, I took several courses in photography. In university, I began to realize how powerful of a medium film is and started making short films for local non-profits like Climate Change Connection. I also attended a three-month documentary filmmaking program at Seneca College in Toronto, ON.

Around this time, Dr. Ian Mauro (IM), an environmental scientist, geographer and filmmaker, accepted a job at the University of Winnipeg where I was a student. After taking his class, I started working as a research assistant for him, which involved helping him edit short environmental videos. When I was invited to work on this project, I was still upset about the omissions in Canada's dominant national narrative, which I had grown up with. For this reason, I was interested in helping the Heiltsuk document and share their story through film.

1.2.3 COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

This thesis was created through a collaborative partnership between Heiltsuk community members Vina Brown (VB) and Frank Brown (FB), my primary advisor IM, and myself, Hillary Beattie (HB). After IM and I created a short documentary 2014 TCJ gathering in Bella Bella – which IM filmed – FB and VB invited us to work on a larger video-based research project with them, which turned into this thesis (see **Table 1** in *Chapter 4* for more details). Overall, the research process was community-led and involved collaboration at every stage. FB and VB initiated the project and determined the research objectives and approach, based on their community's priorities. They also established a committee of community leaders and Elders to oversee every stage of the process. The team obtained project approval from the Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department (HIRMD) and both University of Winnipeg and University of Manitoba Research Ethics Boards. Next, the team collaboratively planned and conducted the fieldwork together. HB and VB filmed the majority of interviews together (see **Figure 2**), and also taught three Heiltsuk youth how to help film the documentary. After this, HB edited the film in consultation with VB by sending her drafts online and regularly discussing them. VB flew to Winnipeg to finalize the documentary, which the team disseminated together at a community screening in Bella Bella, and at *imagineNATIVE Film and Media Arts Festival* in Toronto.

Figure 2: Vina Brown and Hillary Beattie filming the 2016 TCJ.

1.3 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The overall purpose of this master's thesis is to explore and document the impacts of Tribal Canoe Journeys (TCJ) gatherings on the Heiltsuk Nation through a participatory documentary film and associated research outputs. Each of the objectives are addressed in one of the main body chapters. The specific objectives are to:

1. explore the impacts of TCJ on the resurgence of the Heiltsuk in the context of the Nation's larger history (Chapter 2).

2. document the impacts of TCJ through a participatory film (Chapter 3); and

3. investigate community members' perspectives of collaborative research approaches and in particular, participatory videography (Chapter 4).

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND METHODS

In this thesis, I use Indigenous and community-based participatory research (CBPR) *methodologies* to guide the overall research process. I use participatory video and qualitative interview *methods* to collect, analyze, and disseminate the research results. As this thesis is formatted in a 'sandwich' style, these methods are discussed more in *Chapters 2* and *4*.

1.4.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

Historically, non-Indigenous researchers working in Indigenous communities relied on western, positivist assumptions about knowledge. They entered Indigenous communities, dismissed Indigenous knowledge, extracted data using positivist approaches, and left without consulting or involving community members in the process. The data would usually be disseminated in an academic report that was inaccessible to Indigenous community members (Smith, 1999). Sometimes this research was also used to justify colonial policies and practices (Said, 1978). Overall, this research did not include, reflect, or benefit Indigenous communities, and indeed sometimes actively harmed them (Smith, 1999). In response to criticisms of these practices, researchers developed Indigenous research approaches and community-based participatory research (CBPR) approaches. This thesis combines these two approaches into an Indigenous CBPR approach (Stanton, 2013), discussed below.

1.4.2.1   INDIGENOUS RESEARCH

Unlike western research approaches, an Indigenous research approach helps heal, mobilize, transform, and decolonize communities (see Error! Reference source not found., copied verbatim from Smith, 1999, p. 117), which our team worked to support throughout the project (Chilisa, 2012). As discussed in *Chapter 2*, we found that TCJ helps heal and transform youth participants. We indirectly supported this healing and transformation by donating funds to the Heiltsuk 'canoe family' for the 2016 TCJ gathering, and by volunteering along the journey. Further, IM and I supported the transformation of individuals like VB – who learned research and filmmaking skills – and three Heiltsuk youth – who also learned about filmmaking. Our team also worked to support the mobilization and decolonization of Indigenous communities by documenting and sharing the Heiltsuk's story of resurgence, which scholars argue can inspire other communities to revitalize their cultural practices (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009). In these ways, our team worked to support Smith's Indigenous research approach.
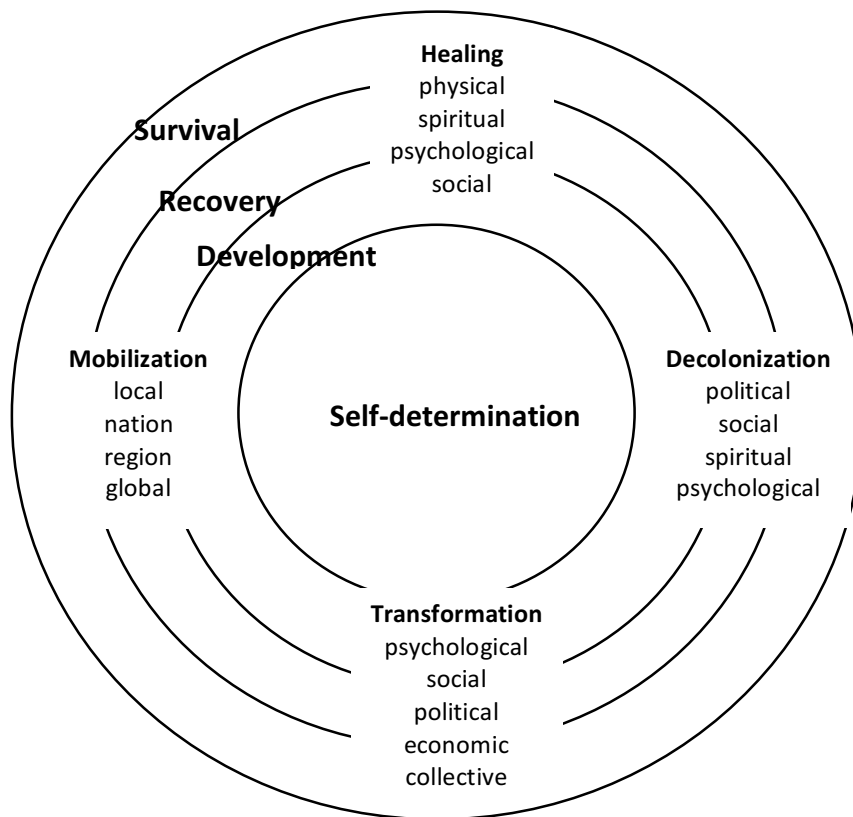
1.4.2.2   *Figure 3*: *Linda Smith's Indigenous Research Approach.*   COMMUNITY-
BASED   PARTICIPATORY
RESEARCH

Throughout the project, our team also used a CBPR approach, which was developed in response to the positivist, western approaches discussed above. At its core, this type of research is conducted *with*, *by*, and *for* the community. Though CBPR approaches vary significantly in scope, there are several principles common to all projects, which our team has applied to this thesis (see **Table 1**).

CBPR Principle[1]	Application in this project
Project acknowledges community as a unit of identity.	Project acknowledged and was based upon the priorities and perspectives of the Heiltsuk community, who are connected by their ancestral ties, culture, and relationship with their territory.
Project builds on the strengths and resources within the community.	Research was based upon community members' knowledge of TCJ. Project was also based on FB's filmmaking experience with the *Voyage of Rediscovery* (1990) and *Qatuwas: People Gathering Together* (1997).
Project facilitates a collaborative, equitable partnership in all phases of research.	Team members collaborated at each stage of the process, including planning, filming, editing, and disseminating over a two-and-a-half-year period.
Project fosters co-learning and capacity building among all partners.	VB learned about research and filmmaking processes. Three Heiltsuk youth also learned about filmmaking. HB learned about Heiltsuk culture and history, and collaborative film practices.
Project integrates and achieves a balance between knowledge generation and intervention for the mutual benefit of all partners.	VB and HB generated outcomes for both the Heiltsuk community (documentary film about TCJ) and the academic community (research articles about TCJ and CBPR processes). These outcomes benefit all team members.
Project focuses on the local relevance of public health problems and on ecological perspectives that attend to the multiple determinants of health.	As demonstrated in Chapter 2, TCJ helps participants heal, reconnect to nature, re-establish relationships between generations and across communities, and revitalize their cultural traditions. This project focused on these positive impacts of TCJ on Heiltsuk youth.
Project involves systems development using a cyclical and iterative process.	Project developed and changed over two-and-a-half-year period, based on community's priorities and goals.
Project disseminates results to all partners and involves them in the wider dissemination of results.	Team presented documentary back to Heiltsuk community in Bella Bella, and burned 1000 DVDs to distribute to community members. Team also disseminated the film together at *imagineNATIVE Film and Media Arts Festival* in Toronto.

[1] Principles copied verbatim from Hacker, 2013, pp. 10 – 14.

Project involves a long-term process and commitment to sustainability.	Team members developed long-term friendship. VB and HB plan to work together on other video-based projects in the future.

Table 1: CBPR principles applied to thesis project.

1.4.3 METHODS

1.4.3.1 PARTICIPATORY VIDEO

PV is a visual CBPR approach that involves researchers and community members collaboratively creating a film (Garrett B. , 2010). This process involves a number of steps including planning and obtaining permission to conduct the research; negotiating the ownership and control over project outcomes; providing community members with technical training and economic support; conducting and recording video interviews (when the film is a documentary); recording 'b-roll' material; editing the film; and disseminating the final film to community members and – if the community agrees – to external audiences (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). While PV processes vary from project to project, researchers and community members ideally collaborate during each of these steps, which are discussed in more detail in *Chapter 4*.

Researchers and community members use PV methods for many reasons. Unlike standard interviews – which generally are audio-recorded, transcribed, coded, and synthesized in the researcher's words – PV methods preserve interviews participants' responses in their own words (Pink, 2007; Garrett, 2010). PV also retains an 'extended language' of participants' subtle gestures, expressions, and emotions, which are lost in other methods (Wheeler, 2009). For this reason, scholars use the method to archive Indigenous knowledge, which can be shared with current and future generations (Bali & Kofinas, 2014). Further, research videos are easier to share with policy makers and the general public than academic texts are (Anderson & McLachlan, 2016). In this way, video outputs can contribute to public dialogues and support political change (Ferreira, 2006; Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017).

In *Chapter 3* of this thesis, PV was used to explore and impacts of TCJ on the Heiltsuk Nation. As described in greater detail in *Chapter 4*, our team worked together on every step of the filmmaking process, from the initial planning stage to the final dissemination stage when we shared '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' in Bella Bella and downtown Toronto.

1.4.3.2   QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Our team also collected research through qualitative interviews, which is "a data-gathering method in which there is a spoken exchange of information" (Dunn, 2005, p. 79). Researchers use this method to explore and understand interview participants' complex thoughts, motivations, and behaviors, which they may not be able to study through other approaches. There are three types of qualitative interviews – structured, semi-structured, and unstructured – which exist along a spectrum. Structured interviews involve carefully organized questions, while unstructured interviews involve what Dunn calls 'normal conversational interaction' guided by the interviewee's responses. Semi-structured interviews involve pre-written questions, but the order and delivery of the questions is flexible, which is what we used here (Dunn, 2005). This ordered yet flexible approach allows researchers to explore the diverse and complex perspectives of individuals in a broadly structured framework.

However, this approach has been criticized for relying heavily on western theories about knowledge, and overlooking Indigenous perspectives on research. In order to decolonize this approach, scholars recommend that non-Indigenous researchers begin interviews by acknowledging and adhering to the community's cultural traditions (for example by offering tobacco in Anishinaabe communities). They also recommend that researchers begin with a discussion of both the researcher's and the participant's relations with each other, with the community, and with the study topic. Throughout the interview, researchers can also encourage participants to use cultural ideas and metaphors to describe phenomena (Chilisa, 2012).

After researchers conduct an interview, they transcribe, code, and analyze the results. Once the transcriptions are complete, Dunn (2005) recommends a five-stage process for effective coding. First, researchers should draw from literature, past findings, memos, and comments to develop a preliminary coding system. This coding system will likely be amended as the process unfolds. Second, researchers should properly prepare and format the transcripts for analysis. Next, researchers should code the transcript. This is an iterative process that will

likely involve updating the coding system and coding the transcript multiple times. Following a few cycles of this, researchers should retrieve similarly coded text and organize them together. Finally, researchers should review and confirm the data themes that emerged from the coding process (Dunn, 2005). This process ensures that the diverse range of ideas, opinions, and perspectives collected in interviews are reflected in the final research results.

In this project, our team conducted interviews with fifty participants over a three-year period. These interviews were transcribed, coded, and included in *Chapter 2* of this thesis. Many of the interviews were also incorporated into the film in *Chapter 3*. After the video was complete, I also conducted three individual interviews and one group interview about collaborative research processes, which are included in *Chapter 4* of this thesis.

1.5   THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is structured in a group manuscript style, also known as a 'sandwich thesis', which includes three complementary, yet distinct, body chapters. Each of these chapters relates to the broad idea of using PV to document stories of Indigenous resilience and resurgence, discussed extensively in this introductory chapter. While complementary, the three chapters are distinct written papers (or in the case of *Chapter 3*, a film). For this reason, the two written chapters – *Chapter 2* and *Chapter 4* – have their own literature review and methods sections. The reasons for structuring the thesis this way, rather than in a traditional format, are two-fold. First, I wanted to explore two distinct aspects of the participatory video: the content, and the process used to make the film. As these are distinct topics situated in different bodies of literature, it made sense to separate them. Second, I understand that it is easier to submit distinct, written chapters to academic journals for publication than it is to break up a traditional-style thesis. Given this, it made sense to format my thesis in a 'sandwich' style.

Further, the thesis is structured so that the two written chapters 'hinge' on the film. The film, *'Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe'*, comprises *Chapter 3* of the thesis and serves as a metaphorical 'teeter-totter' between *Chapter 2* and *Chapter 4*. *Chapter 2* explores and expands upon the *content* of the film. Specifically, it focuses on the history and impacts of Tribal Journeys on the Heiltsuk Nation over the last three decades. On the other hand, chapter

4 explores the *process* of creating the film over the last two years. It also explores PV research methods more generally. Overall, the filmmaking process created all the data for each of the written chapters, while generating a final film product, and thus is central to the entire thesis.

1.6 CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

In this thesis, I contribute to two distinct bodies of academic literature. In *Chapter 2* and *Chapter 3* of this thesis, I explore the history and impacts of TCJ on the Heiltsuk Nation over the last three decades, which I situate in research on Indigenous resurgence. This is significant as there are a limited number of studies on TCJ. None of these studies were as extensive as this one in terms of the number of field seasons and quantity of interview participants; the level of community collaboration in the project; and this study was is the only one to use visual methods and led to the production of '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*'. Through qualitative interviews and participatory video, we found that TCJ helped Heiltsuk youth heal from intergenerational traumas, reconnect to the environment, re-establish relationships with other Nations and with Elders, revitalize their culture, and potentially engage in political activities. These findings contribute to, and situate, TCJ research in the large and growing body of work on Indigenous resurgence.

Further, in *Chapter 4*, this thesis contributes to a growing body of research on collaborative research processes between western researchers and Indigenous community members. It focuses on Heiltsuk community members' experiences with and perspectives of community-based research processes in general, and this video-based project in particular. This chapter is important as most research on community-based processes are based on the reflections and experiences of researchers rather than community members. Through qualitative interviews with community members, I found that external researchers should establish strong relationships with community members; hire locals to educate them about the community's history and culture; provide the community with additional benefits; be cognizant of power imbalances in the process; and discuss the ownership and rights of materials early in the research process. These findings both reinforce and contribute new insights to the growing field of work on collaborative research processes.

CHAPTER 2: TRIBAL CANOE JOURNEYS AS A 'PATHWAY TO RESURGENCE' FOR THE HEILTSUK NATION

2.1 ABSTRACT

Tribal Canoe Journeys is an annual cultural gathering on the Northwest Pacific Coast, which involves 'canoe families' paddling to host communities and sharing cultural songs, dances, stories, and teachings. Members of the Heiltsuk Nation have played a significant role in the establishment and growth of the journeys over the last three decades. However, these experiences have not been studied extensively in a collaborative manner. In this chapter, the author explores the history and impacts of the journeys on the Nation over the last three decades. The chapter is situated in a literature review on Indigenous resurgence, which focuses on visioning and storytelling; intergenerational healing and knowledge transmission; revitalizing language, traditional diets; restoring Indigenous institutions, land-based practices, economies, and legal systems; and re-establishing pre-contact relationships between Indigenous Nations. The literature review also explores other studies on Tribal Canoe Journeys. The original research in this chapter is based on 50 qualitative interviews conducted with Heiltsuk community members and other leaders between 2014 and 2016. The interviews were transcribed, analyzed, and coded used NVivo software. Based on this analysis, the author(s) found Tribal Canoe Journeys impacted the Heiltsuk in five ways: 1) the journeys helped participants reconnect to the natural environment; 2) they supported participants individual healing and growth; 3) they helped establish relationships and networks within 'canoe families', across generations, and between different Indigenous Nations; 4) the journeys enabled the Nation's cultural resurgence; and 5) they may lead participants to other political actions. Given the contemporary challenges that many Indigenous communities in Canada face, these research results are significant as they suggest Tribal Canoe Journeys can be thought of as a 'pathway' to resurgence for Indigenous Nations.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Tribal Canoe Journeys (TCJ) is an Indigenous cultural gathering that takes place annually in different host communities along the Northwest Pacific coast of Canada and the United States. The gathering involves 'canoe families' from different Indigenous Nations paddling to the host community and sharing cultural songs, dances, stories, and teachings during 'protocol' over a series of several days. The gathering unofficially started in 1986 when Frank Brown and other Heiltsuk Nation members carved and paddled a traditional dugout canoe – known as a '*glwa*' in the Heiltsuk language which is known as *Hailhzaqvl* – from Bella Bella to Vancouver to celebrate their traditional mode of transportation at 'Expo '86'. This was the first time a *glwa* had been carved in the community for over one hundred years, and represented the beginning of the Heiltsuk's cultural resurgence for many members of the Nation (Marshall, 2011).

Following this journey, the Heiltsuk have participated in many canoe gatherings. In 1989, Frank and other Heiltsuk members paddled to Seattle to celebrate Washington State's centennial. When they were there, Frank invited coastal Indigenous communities to paddle to Bella Bella in 1993 to attend a gathering he called '*Qatuwas*', which mean 'people gathering together' (Neel, 1995). The gathering involved several days of cultural celebration and sharing. Since 1993, the gathering has grown significantly and now attracts thousands of participants to different host communities along the Northwest Pacific coast every year. Participants come from as far away as Alaska, Oregon and New Zealand to celebrate and share their culture. In 2014, the gathering came 'full circle' and the Heiltsuk once again hosted *Qatuwas* Tribal Journeys. Thousands of participants from Indigenous communities up and down the coast paddled to Bella Bella (Slett, 2014).

This chapter explores the history and impacts of TCJ on the Heiltsuk from the perspective of the community members who supported and witnessed its growth over the last three decades. To contextualize these results, it begins with a literature review on Indigenous resurgence and TCJ.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Across Canada, Indigenous Nations are currently resurging from the devastating impacts of colonialism. Following its establishment in 1867, the Canadian state implemented policies and practices designed to assimilate Indigenous people into mainstream society. The government isolated communities on small reserves, which represented a nominal portion of their traditional territory, and in many cases banned them from traditional subsistence activities like fishing and harvesting (Newell, 1993; Alfred, 2009). Along with Christian churches, the government also established Residential Schools designed to "kill the Indian in the child" (TRC, 2015, p. 130), where many children experienced emotional, physical, and sexual abuse (see **Figure 4**). In addition, the government banned potlatches, which were important cultural and political ceremonies for many Indigenous communities along the Northwest Pacific Coast, including the Heiltsuk Nation (Cole & Chaikin, 1990; Gauvreau, 2015). All of these federal policies were designed to transform Indigenous Nations from 'savage' and 'heathen' villages into 'civilized' and Christian communities (see **Figure 6** and **Figure 6**). In effect, the policies disconnected Indigenous people from their traditional territories as well as their cultural knowledge and practices, which had allowed their ancestors to survive for thousands of years (Turner, Boelscher, & Ignace, 2000). Many of the social issues experienced in Indigenous communities today, including substance abuse, violence, and poor health, can be traced back to this environmental and cultural disconnection (Boldt, 1993; Alfred, 2009).

Figure 4: Children at St. Michael's Residential School in Alert Bay, B.C.

A HEATHEN VILLAGE—AN APPEAL FOR THE GOSPEL.

Figure 5: Representation of Bella Bella as a 'Heathen Village' before missionaries.

NEW BELLA BELLA—A CHRISTIAN VILLAGE.

Figure 6: Representation of Bella Bella as a 'Christian Village' after missionaries.

In the past several decades, Canada tried to address these intergenerational issues in a number of ways. One way was through the recognition of Indigenous rights in the Canadian judicial system, which Coulthard (2014) has characterized as the 'politics of recognition'. Another way was a process of reconciliation through the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC, 2015), which documented and shared the experiences of Residential School survivors with Canadians (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009). The government also tried to support Indigenous communities through economic development initiatives, which often involved the extraction of resources from traditional territories. However, Alfred (2005), Corntassel (2012) and other scholars argue these approaches do not address the root causes of the intergenerational issues. Importantly, these scholars do not deny the existence of economic and political challenges, which the state-centered approaches discussed above seek to address. However, they argue these challenges are the outcome of Indigenous peoples' disconnection from their lands, cultures, and communities, which they say needs to be addressed before broader political and economic reforms can take place (Alfred, 2005).

Given this, many scholars argue Indigenous communities should prioritize resurgence. While there are many perspectives on what this involves, several themes emerge from the literature including: visioning and storytelling; intergenerational healing and knowledge transmission; the revitalization of language and traditional diets; the restoration of Indigenous institutions, land-based practices, economies, and legal systems; and the reestablishment of precolonial inter-national relationships. Each of these will be discussed and connected to TCJ literature in this review.

Visioning and Storytelling: The literature on Indigenous resurgence suggests individuals should begin by sharing visions and stories about resistance and resurgence. Through stories, Indigenous people can both deconstruct current colonial narratives and reconstruct alternative stories about the past, present, and future of Canada (Regan, 2010; Sium & Ritskes, 2013). Simpson (2008; 2011) argues colonialism caused generations of Indigenous people to feel shame and humiliation. This shame, she writes, was intended to convince Indigenous people that they were weak and incapable of resisting colonial policies. Simpson and other scholars

argue Indigenous people can overcome this shame by sharing positive stories about grassroots resurgence.

Stories are an important part of TCJ gatherings. Along the journey and at the final host community, participants share stories along with songs and dances, which teach Indigenous youth about their history and identity. In one study of the journeys, Patricia Thomas explained "the songs, legends, and stories are a constant reminder of being mindful of yourself: who you are and where you come from" (cited in Marshall, 2011, p. 87). Other studies on TCJ have also highlighted how protocol ceremonies create important spaces for Elders and community leaders to share traditional and contemporary stories with hundreds or sometimes thousands of Indigenous youth from coastal First Nations (Suarez, 2012; Johansen, 2012).

Intergenerational Healing: Another important part of resurgence involves the healing of individuals and communities (Jacob, 2013; TRC, 2015). This healing begins with the recognition that the suffering and pain previous generations of Indigenous people experienced as a result of Residential Schools (TRC, 2015) and other colonial policies is passed down through the generations (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014). Given this, healing is an essential part of revitalizing communities. It is worth noting that healing can be an outcome of other processes discussed in this review. For example, Jacob (2013) found that revitalizing language helps heal both individuals and communities.

Current research on TCJ suggests the journeys support intergenerational healing in multiple ways. Participants in one study said 'being on the water' and witnessing the cultural protocol ceremony helped them heal (Marshall, 2011). Suarez also discussed how Elders, youth and other community members participate in traditional healing circles on the journey, which supports intergenerational healing (Suarez, 2012). Smethurst also discussed the 'healing aspect' of TCJ, and suggested it may be what encourages youth to continue to participate year after year (2012).

Intergenerational Knowledge Exchange: Scholars argue the transmission of cultural knowledge from Elders to youth is one of the most important aspects of Indigenous resurgence. Many Indigenous Elders possess a great deal of cultural knowledge, which was passed down through the generations for millennia. This includes 'traditional ecological knowledge', which

consists of holistic worldviews as well as local environmental knowledge (Berkes, 2008). However, through Residential Schools and other assimilative policies, the Canadian state blocked the transmission of much of this knowledge to the current generation of Indigenous people (TRC, 2015). Given this, scholars argue Elders must pass on their knowledge to youth to ensure the survival and revival of Indigenous cultures (Boldt, 1993).

The literature suggests TCJ supports intergenerational knowledge transmission. Elders often accompany youth on the journey and support them at the final host community (Smethurst, 2012). They're available to counsel and teach the youth throughout the process, and help them work through the challenges they encounter. Marshall (2011) writes that TCJ allows youth to connect with Elders, and "to witness their knowledge, to learn from their teachings, and to hear their stories" (p. 87). Johansen (2012) also said many Elders are worried their traditional knowledge will be lost after they pass away, and therefore are happy to pass it on to youth on the journeys. In these ways, the journeys support knowledge transmission.

Indigenous Language: An important part of all Indigenous cultures is language. Scholars emphasize that languages are a way into a particular knowledge system and worldview (Simpson, 2008). Without Indigenous languages, Indigenous people do not have the full access to their traditional knowledge and intergenerational worldview. In the words of Boldt (1993), without language, they "cannot think or feel the same spiritual relationship with the land and all life forms thereon that their ancestors did" (p. 187). Many Indigenous languages in Canada – and in the Pacific region specifically – are critically endangered (First Peoples' Cultural Council, 2014). For this reason, "confronting linguistic genocide" (Simspon 2008) is a crucial aspect of Indigenous resurgence.

Current research suggests that TCJ encourages the revitalization of Indigenous languages. On the journey as well as at the final destination, youth hear many different Indigenous languages (Marshall, 2011). At the end of every day, canoe families land at host communities and ask permission to come ashore. Often, the speaker makes this request in their traditional languages. Further, Indigenous communities often incorporate their languages into their final protocol ceremony (Johansen, 2012). In these ways, TCJ introduces traditional

languages to Indigenous youth, who are encouraged to "speak their language and find their own voice" (Smethurst, 2012, p. 60).

Land-based Cultural Practices: Another important part of resurgence is restoring land-based cultural practices and economies, which reconnect individuals to the natural environment. Alfred (2009) argues that restoring these practices is "key to the reclamation of spiritual, physical and psychological health and to the restoration of communities characterized by peace and harmony and strength." (p. 44). While these traditional land-based cultural practices differ for each community, some examples are trapping, hunting, fishing, horticulture, basket-making, and collecting and using medicinal plants (Alfred, 2014; Claxton, 2015). Through these activities, communities can reconnect to their culture and support their local economy (Simpson, 2014).

Scholars argue that TCJ supports the resurgence of an important cultural land-based practise along the Northwest Pacific Coast: canoeing. Since time immemorial, coastal Indigenous communities have carved and used canoes for transportation and fishing (Marshall, 2011). However, due to the assimilative policies discussed above, Indigenous canoe culture largely disappeared along the coast by the 1920s (Johansen, 2012). Beginning in the 1980s, TCJ inspired coastal Nations to carve traditional dugout canoes, which Johansen writes is a "deeply spiritual undertaking" (2012, p. 133). The journeys also reconnect youth to the cultural practice of paddling, or 'pulling', canoes over long distances, and to the natural environment (Marshall, 2011; Suarez, 2012).

Restoring cultural land-based activities could also help Indigenous communities revitalize their traditional diets and support food sovereignty. When communities were disconnected from their land-based practices, their healthy, traditional diets were replaced with western, refined ingredients such as sugar and flour. Among other things, these dietary changes contributed to deterioration of Indigenous peoples' health (Alfred, 2009). By returning to traditional land-based practices - like fishing, hunting, and gathering – scholars argues that Indigenous communities can address some dietary-related health issues and support their resurgence (Grey & Patel, 2015; Matties, 2016).

Social and Political Institutions: Another important aspect of Indigenous resurgence is the revitalization of traditional social and political institutions. Alfred (2009) argues current state-funded Indigenous institutions, such as band councils and agencies, conform to and benefit the Canadian state more than they benefit communities. He believes that in order for resurgence to occur, Indigenous communities need to reconfigure these institutions so they are based on their Indigenous cultural values rather than on the Canadian states' values. In this way, resurgence involves the transformation not only of individual people but also of the broader institutions that shape their lives.

Current research suggests TCJ supports the revitalization of some traditional institutions. For example, potlatches were an important political ceremony along the coast (Gauvreau, 2015). Marshall (2011) writes that while TCJ protocols are not real potlatches, they are often compared to them because both involve traditional regalia and performances. Further, communities host traditional ceremonies including healing ceremonies and naming ceremonies at TCJ (Johansen, 2012). As Indigenous names connect individuals to specific political privileges, responsibilities, and knowledge, these ceremonies are also a way of maintaining Indigenous political institutions. TCJ also provides opportunities for youth to bond with each other (Smethurst, 2012), and supports the establishment of what Johansen (2012) calls 'canoe family membership,' which he writes is a "way of life" that prevents some youth from joining urban gangs (p. 134). In this way, the 'canoe family membership' can be considered a social institute in and of itself. Finally, Wikaire (2013) writes that TCJ empowers Nations by supporting their struggle for self-determination.

Indigenous Legal Traditions: A closely related part of resurgence involves the revitalization of Indigenous legal traditions. Scholars acknowledge that complex systems of Indigenous law existed prior to European colonization in the land now called Canada. These legal systems were embedded in Indigenous Nations' spiritual, economic, social, and political institutions, and were as diverse as the communities they were based in (Clogg, Askew, Kung, & Smith, 2016). In some cases, the Canadian judicial system has recognized Indigenous legal traditions, however, Borrows (2002) argues these traditions are often ignored. He believes that

upholding these legal systems is an important part of lightning the prophetic 'Eighth Fire' and revitalizing Indigenous nationhood (Simpson, 2008; McAdam, 2015).

None of the current literature on TCJ specifically connects the journeys to the revitalization of Indigenous legal systems. However, multiple articles highlight how the TCJ supports the overall transmission and revitalization of Indigenous cultural traditions (Marshall, 2011; Suarez, 2012; Johansen, 2012). If legal traditions are embedded within these larger cultural traditions (Clogg, Askew, Kung, & Smith, 2016), then it logically follows that TCJ supports the revitalization of legal systems.

Relationships Between Nations: Finally, scholars argue that Indigenous Nations need to build solidarity and re-establish traditional relationships among diverse Indigenous Nations. Simpson writes that before contact, the many distinct Indigenous Nations currently in Canada had treaties and formal diplomatic relationships with each other. These governed how Nations worked together and resolved conflicts among themselves. Simpson argues that a critical aspect of Indigenous resurgence is the reestablishment of these precolonial relationships among Nations. By doing so, Nations could work in solidarity and support each other's revitalization strategies and efforts.

In recent research, scholars suggest TCJ supports the re-establishment of relationships and specific protocols between Indigenous Nations. For example, prior to colonization, canoe families acknowledged tribal sovereignty by asking permission to land on neighbouring communities' territories. On TCJ, canoe families continue to practice this protocol (Johansen, 2012). Another way TCJ strengthens relationships between Nations is through gift-giving and cultural sharing, which is an important part of protocol. In a more informal way, TCJ also helps Indigenous people connect with extended family members who moved and married into other coastal Nations. Further, during protocols and free time, youth are able to form and strengthen friendships with other Indigenous youth on the journeys (Marshall, 2011). Finally, the journeys also help Nations establish alliances, which can help communities in broader political efforts (Wrubleski, 2014).

Overall, there is a large and growing body of academic research on Indigenous resurgence and TCJ, which suggests the journeys may be understood as a 'pathway to

resurgence' for Nations like the Heiltsuk (Corntassel J. , 2012). However, despite this body of work, there are notable gaps in the research (see **Table 2**). First, as their titles suggest, none of the studies focus on Indigenous resurgence. To be clear: each of the studies relate to resurgence in some way, as I have demonstrated by weaving the articles into the Indigenous resurgence. However, none of them *explicitly* focus on the concept of resurgence. Second, all of these studies are relatively small in size, with the largest study involving 22 interview participants and two of the studies involving no formal interviews at all. Third, the studies were relatively short in length. Indeed, all of the studies that involved formal field work were limited to one season and up to three weeks in time. Finally, the majority of studies do not appear to involve in-depth community participation, with the exception of Smethurst's (2012) that explored wellbeing and identity and included community co-investigators.

Study author and title	# of participants	Fieldwork length	Research approach
Marshall, T. (2011). A tribal journey: Canoes, traditions, and cultural continuity.	Interviews with 18 adult participants; observations of 18 youth participants.	Two weeks during the 2010 TCJ.	Indigenous approach with Kw'umut Lelum CFS. Qualitative interviews; participant observation; field notes; ethnography.
Johansen, B. (2012). Canoe journeys and cultural revival.	N/A.	N/A.	Commentary incorporating personal reflections and secondary research.
Smethurst, T. (2012). Well-being and ethnic identity promotion for Aboriginal youth: A community based mixed methods study of Tribal Journeys.	Interviews with 22 participants in total, including 9 youth and 4 adults from the Heiltsuk Nation.	Three weeks during the 2011 TCJ.	CBPR with the Victoria Native Friendship Centre and Heiltsuk canoe family. Quantitative and qualitative interviews.
Suarez, T. (2012). Tribal journeys: An integrated voice approach towards transformative learning.	Interviews with 18 participants.	19 days during the 2010 TCJ.	CBR with Puget Sound canoe family. Qualitative interviews; participant observation and field notes; photography.
Wikaire, R. (2013). Preparing the canoe to navigate the storm: Sport for development from a Suquamish perspective.	'Collaborative storytelling' interviews with 7 participants.	8 days during 2013 (not during a TCJ).	Indigenous methodology with Suquamish Nation. Collaborative storytelling with participants.
Wrubleski, T. (2014). Pulling together: Indigeneity, masculinity & allyship.	N/A.	7 days during the 2014 TCJ.	Theoretical paper based on observations and informal conversations at TCJ.

Table 2: *Overview of current research on Tribal Canoe Journeys.*

The research conducted in this present study addresses each of these gaps. It focused primarily on TCJ and resurgence; it involved fifty interview participants over three field seasons (2014 – 2016); and it was community-initiated and involved in-depth community participation at each stage of the research process, as described below.

2.4 OBJECTIVE

This chapter addresses the second objective of the overall thesis, which is: to use community-based participatory research methods to explore the impacts of Tribal Canoe Journeys on the resurgence of the Heiltsuk in the context of the Nation's larger history.

2.5 METHODS

This research was conducted in collaboration with members of the Heiltsuk Nation through a CBPR approach (Hacker, 2013). This project was initiated by Heiltsuk chief FB, who invited HB and IM to create a participatory research film and larger academic project about the Heiltsuk's experience with TCJ. HB and IM worked closely with Frank and his daughter, VB, throughout the project. Together, they planned, conducted, discussed, and presented the results of the research.

Over a three-year period, there were sixty-one semi-structured qualitative interviews (Dunn, 2005) conducted with fifty participants in total (some participants were interviewed more than once). IM conducted ten interviews between July 16th – 18th, 2014, which are included in this chapter. HB and VB conducted thirty-two interviews between June 21st – July 20th, 2015; and another nineteen between July 6th – August 4th, 2016. Most of the interviews in 2014 and 2015 were conducted in Bella Bella, B.C. In 2016, several participants were interviewed during a Tribal Journeys paddle from Blaine, W.A. to Nisqually Indian Tribe near Olympia, W.A. Research participants were selected based on their knowledge of Indigenous resurgence and Tribal Journeys. The interviews were all recorded using video cameras, and some were included in the associated documentary *Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe* in *Chapter 3*.

There were a variety of participants interviewed for this research (see Table 3). While the majority (70%) of participants were Heiltsuk, others were Haida (8%), Cowichan (4%), Saanich (4%), Chemanius (2%), Nisga'a (2%), Nuu-chah-nulth (2%), Suquamish (2%), and Tlingit (2%). There was also a variety of ages: in total, there were 17 youth (34%), 20 adults (40%), and 13 Elders (26%) interviewed for this research. 20 of the participants were female (40%), while the other 30 were male (60%). This variety ensured that multiple perspectives were included in the research project.

Gender	Age	Status	Indigenous Nation
Male (30)	Adult (20)	Indigenous (48)	Heiltsuk (35)
Female (20)	Youth (17)	Non-Indigenous (2)	Haida (4)
	Elder (13)		Cowichan (2)
			Saanich (2)
			Chemanius (1)
			Nisga'a (1)
			Nuu-chah-nulth (1)
			Suquamish (1)
			Tlingit (1)
			N/A (2)

Table 3: Participant demographics in this research study.

Following the data collection stage, the interviews were transcribed, coded, and analyzed. Hillary transcribed the interviews from all three years into 426 single-spaced pages. We then used an 'open coding' process with Nvivo software. This was an iterative process that involved coding the transcripts, reviewing the codes, altering the codes, and re-coding the interviews multiple times (see **Figure 7** for an example). Throughout this process, we had informal conversations about the emergent themes. After several iterations of this process, we developed a coding structure that accurately reflected and was 'grounded' in the transcripts (Dunn, 2005). Specifically, we found that all of the interview content about TCJ could fit into two 'parent nodes': 'Heiltsuk history', and 'Impacts of Tribal Journeys'. The former was included in the research in order to properly contextualize the Nation's current resurgence. Within these two parent nodes, there were multiple 'child nodes' which are mapped out in the results section.

Figure 7: Poster of connections between codes following the first round of 'open coding'.

2.6 RESULTS

2.6.1   HEILTSUK HISTORY
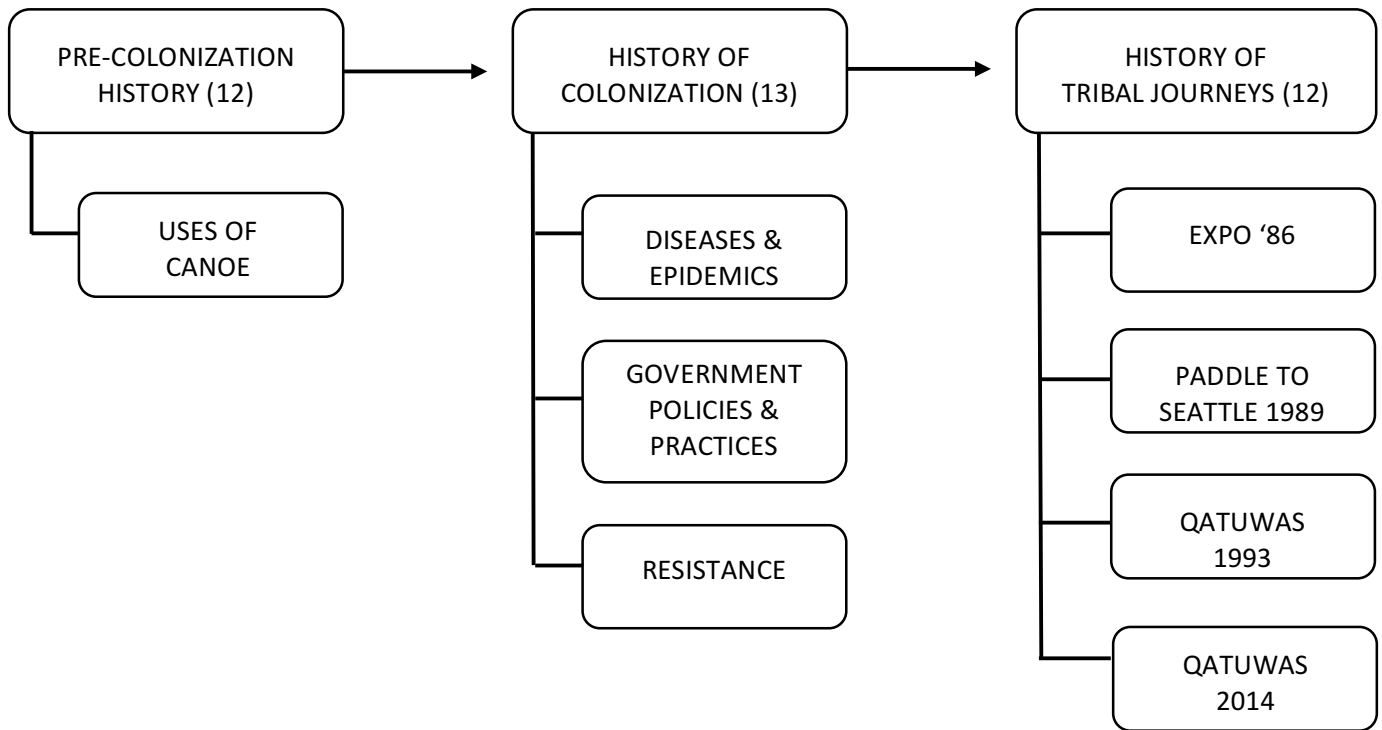
Figure 8: Participant responses included in the 'Heiltsuk history' node

The research interviews about the Heiltsuk Nation's history can be divided into three sections: pre-colonization history, history of colonization, and the more recent history of Tribal Journeys. The number under each heading in **Figure 8** indicates how many participants spoke about each topic.

2.6.1.1   PRE-COLONIZATION HISTORY

Heiltsuk chief Frank Brown emphasized the Heiltsuk people's long-term presence in their territories. He said the Heiltsuk had "over 10,000 years of continuous occupation" in the territory according to archeological evidence.[2] However, he said Heiltsuk creation stories state "we've been here since the Creator put our ancestors down." Both of these sources emphasized the Heiltsuk people's long history on the central coast.

Heiltsuk participants also emphasized the importance of the ocean-going canoe to their ancestors' lives. Frank Brown and Heiltsuk Elder William Gladstone both said the canoe was critical to the Heiltsuk people's successful development. William said that without the canoe, "we wouldn't have been a society, period." Nine interview participants discussed the pragmatic uses of the canoe, including fishing and gathering traditional foods like salmon, herring, and herring eggs; travelling to different Heiltsuk village sites; and travelling to neighbouring Nations for trades, wars, and for cultural and political gatherings including potlatches and Chiefs meetings. Heiltsuk members Ian Reid and Saul Brown also discussed how the canoe spiritually connected their ancestors to their natural environment. In this way, the canoe was both a pragmatic and spiritual vessel for the Heiltsuk.

2.6.1.2   HISTORY OF COLONIZATION

Participants discussed how western diseases like small-pox and tuberculosis impacted their ancestors. In the mid-1800s, Heiltsuk members contracted small-pox at Fort Victoria, where they were trading. Heiltsuk Elder Elizabeth Brown explained that many died on the way

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[2] After Frank shared this, new archeological evidence was uncovered that showed Heiltsuk Territory had been inhabited for at least 14,000 years (Nair, 2017).

home. She said: "They were dying off, all the way … There are remains of everybody's ancestors up and down the coast." The Heiltsuk ancestors who survived unintentionally brought the disease back to the Heiltsuk village sites, which devastated the population. Frank Brown said that up to 80% of the population died, and Ian Reid and Heiltsuk member Gary Wilson said there were only 200 Heiltsuk people left after the epidemic. Gary and Ian Reid also said that much of the Heiltsuk's traditional knowledge was lost during this time. Prior to these epidemics, the Heiltsuk lived at multiple village sites in their traditional territories. Following the epidemics, Elizabeth Brown said the surviving chiefs decided to amalgamate at 'Old Towns', near present-day Bella Bella, to strengthen themselves.

At this time, the chiefs also had to deal with another challenge: the introduction of government policies including the Potlatch Ban. Frank Brown explained the potlatch was an important ceremony, which allowed the Heiltsuk to sustain themselves socially and politically. For this reason, he said, the ban made it easier for the government to assimilate his ancestors. Because of the ban and Residential Schools, the Heiltsuk lost much of their traditional knowledge. By the mid-twentieth century, many Heiltsuk youth were not taught about their traditional culture. Heiltsuk chief David Bell said that when he was growing up in the 1960s, "we were just taught to be good Canadians and get a job and work, like everybody else. We weren't taught to look at our culture. Our culture didn't matter."

However, there were exceptions to this. Some Heiltsuk women resisted the government's policies and secretly passed on the Nation's culture to some youth like David Gladstone, who became a renowned artist, canoe carver, and cultural leader.

2.6.1.3   HISTORY OF TRIBAL JOURNEYS

In the 1980s, the Heiltsuk Nation started revitalizing their cultural traditions and practices in part through canoe journeys. Frank Brown said a group of Heiltsuk decided to carve a traditional dug-out canoe and paddle to Vancouver for Expo '86, which had a theme of Transportation and Communication, in order to highlight "the first form of transportation on the coast" (see **Figure 9** and **Figure 10**). Participants recalled the impact this journey had on the Nation. Heiltsuk Elder Margaret Brown said that many of the Elders cried out of joy. Heiltsuk

member Mavis Windsor recalled "the day the canoe arrived at Expo was so incredible … there's just no words to describe how we all felt."

After Expo '86, the Suquamish Tribe in Washington State invited the Heiltsuk to participate in the Washington State's centenary celebration in 1989. The Heiltsuk accepted the invitation and paddled to Seattle for the commemoration. Elizabeth said this journey: "really opened everybody's eyes up and down the coast that we have a history here." During this journey, Frank Brown invited all coastal Indigenous Nations to paddle to Bella Bella in 1993 for a celebration they were calling *Qatuwas*.

For *Qatuwas*, twenty-three 'canoe families' from different Nations paddled to the community for the cultural gathering. Interview participants spoke about the impact of *Qatuwas* on the Heiltsuk. Heiltsuk Elder Connie Newman said she was very emotional when she heard the singing and drumming, and saw the canoes coming in, as her grandmother had worked hard to preserve their culture. Christian White, a Haida man who attended the event, said *Qatuwas* "was something that really brought us all together as a family, as friends, and it was a statement by all the coastal First Nations that we were still here."

Following *Qatuwas*, other coastal Indigenous Nations started hosting cultural gatherings in their communities, which became known as TCJ gatherings and grew significantly in size. In 2014, the Heiltsuk hosted TCJ again. Frank Brown said there were twice as many 'canoe families' at the 2014 gathering than at the 1993 one. Overall, the research participants highlighted the history of the Tribal Journeys from the perspective of the Heiltsuk Nation.

Figure 9: Heiltsuk members carving a traditional dugout canoe for Expo '86.

Figure 10: Heiltsuk members paddling to Vancouver for Expo '86.

2.6.2   IMPACTS OF TRIBAL JOURNEYS

The research interviews related to the impacts of Tribal Journeys on the Heiltsuk Nation can be divided into five 'child nodes': reconnection to nature; relationships and networks; cultural revitalization; healing and growth; and potential political actions. The final node, potential political actions, is an outcome of the first four nodes. The numbers under the headings in **Figure 11**, below, indicate how many participants discussed each node. **Table 4** highlights examples of phrases from each child node.
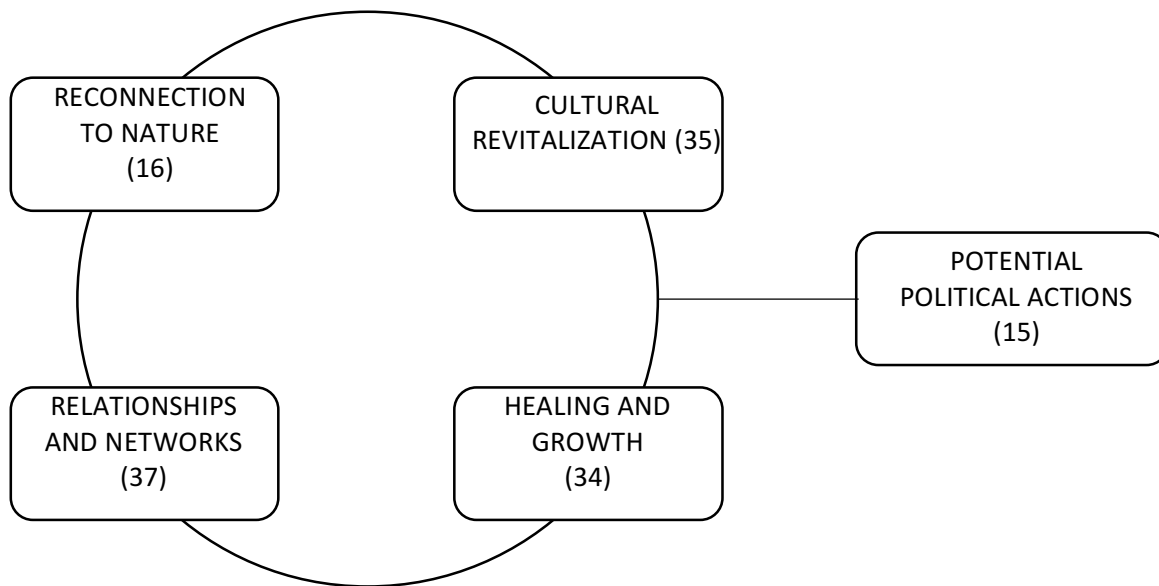

Figure 11: Participant responses including in the 'Impacts of Tribal Journeys' node

Summary	Examples of phrases used
Reconnection to nature	
Allowed participants to reconnect to the natural environmental physically and spiritually.	"reconnecting with nature"; "facing mother nature"; "connection with the vessel, the natural environment around you"; "connect them back to the land"; "connecting with the land, with the water"; "reengage our people back to the water"
Individual healing and growth	
Allowed participants to heal from inter-generational impacts of colonialism. Allowed participants to grow, develop confidence and pride, and learn 'life skills'.	"lot of healing to me"; "it's self-growth, it's healing"; "brings so much good medicine"; "a life-changing experience"; "transformed lives and the trajectory of lives of our young people"; "a new perspective in life"; "personal growth and development of the participants"; "seen a lot of growth"; "have more confidence"; "achieve a sense of accomplishment, self-confidence"; "a sense of dignity and pride in who we are"; "so much pride and joy"; "very healthy and empowering"; "a way of empowering our youth"; "helps with life skills"; "totally changed their lifestyle"; "keep learning new lessons every journey"
Cultural revitalization	
Allowed participants to learn and share their traditional language and cultural teachings, stories, songs, and dances.	"it's bringing back stuff we haven't seen in years"; "continuation of a way of being and a way of existing"; "a good way to get people back into their cultural kind of mindset"; "re-igniting our own Indignity"; "get back in tune with the cultural aspect of yourself"; "a start of the awakening of our culture, and traditions"; "such a huge part of the revitalization of the culture"; "learning a lot more about my culture"; "share some of their cultures"; "people get to the community and they do the cultural sharing"; "participate in this large cultural gathering"; "they bring their culture and their language"; "show who they are through sharing of their songs and dances"; "sharing their protocols and their dances and songs";
Relationships and networks	
Allowed participants to establish and strengthen relationships within 'canoe families', across generations, and between Nations.	"connecting to other people"; "really brings the people together"; "made friends that I never thought I would"; "friendship that you gain from it is just unreal"; "we're all like brothers and sisters in this canoe family"; "elders come as advisors to share their life experiences"; "good way for the elders and the older people to get together with the youth"; "the elders did show me a lot of things"; "going and meeting with other communities"; "meet a lot of different people, from different Nations"; "brings all Nations together"; "make life-long friendships"
Potential political actions	
Potentially motivated and helped participants pursue political initiatives and actions after the journeys.	"people getting more active"; "seeing that indigenous people globally are fighting the same struggle"; "raises awareness and gives an opportunity to share approaches"; "the strongest way to fight it, is from our place of power, our canoe, our traditions, our culture"; "the strength in our heart is that strength of culture";

***Table 4**: Summary of phrases used by participants in the 'Impacts of Tribal Journeys' node.*

2.6.2.1 RECONNECTION TO NATURE

In their everyday lives, many Heiltsuk people are disconnected from the natural environment. Some youth said that before participating on a journey, they had little or no experience on a canoe. Mary Brown, a coordinator at the Heiltsuk Restorative Justice program, said many youths were fearful at the start of a journey because they "haven't been on the water for a number of years, and the disconnect for them was huge." Similarly, Heiltsuk language teacher Frances Brown said: "we live our everyday lives here, but we never ever have gotten on a canoe, and been able to really experience our land, and see the resources." They were disconnected from their territories.

Participants said the journeys allowed Heiltsuk people to reconnect and interact with nature in a way that other transportation methods did not allow. Saul Brown explained "when you're out on the canoe, it's different than being out on the water in any other way because you see it differently. You're closer, you're in relation to it." He said the canoe physically, mentally, and spiritually connected him to nature in a way that is "only attainable when you're two feet off the water," and that it helped him appreciate how dependent he was on the environment for survival. Frances Brown also reflected on the experience, saying: "it's amazing, it's so peaceful. … Sometimes you get caught in the rain, but you know what, you feel it. You're so in-tuned." Frank Brown said the canoe connected him to "a sacred place between the land and the sky", where he could meditate and reflect on the power and fragility of nature. In these ways, TCJ reconnects Heiltsuk people physically and spiritually to nature.

Heiltsuk members also spoke about how TCJ reconnected the Heiltsuk to their ancestors and their ancestors' practices of using the canoe to travel to village sites; gather and trade food; and participate in feasts, marriage celebrations and potlatches. Former Heiltsuk TCJ participant Krista Walkus explained that "being on the canoe kind of brings you back to, you know, our great-great-great-grandmothers, and great-great-great-grandfathers, who travelled these oceans through the canoe." Frances Brown also said when she said paddling, "I could not help but think about my ancestors, knowing that they traveled these natural highways, and how fortunate I was to be able to experience that." Similarly, Gary Wilson said TCJ gave him a better appreciation for the daily struggles and challenges his ancestors faced. In these ways, by

reconnecting Heiltsuk participants to the natural environment, the journeys also reconnected them to their ancestral ways of life.

2.6.2.2 INDIVIDUAL HEALING AND GROWTH

The intergenerational traumas caused by colonization continue to impact the Heiltsuk, participants like Heiltsuk youth Jessica Brown explained. In addition to these intergenerational traumas, Saul Brown said youth are surrounded by negative stereotypes about Indigenous peoples, which permeate mainstream society. As a result, Heiltsuk youth often have a low sense of self-esteem.

Participants said that TCJ helps youth heal from these traumas. Several adults and youth talked about how the journey allowed the youth to 'release' some of their pain into the water. Linda Humchitt, a former TCJ participant, said the journey "becomes a release to you. Like, you can release everything into the water, every stroke you take. It gets everything, like all the negativity away from you." Similarly, Walter Campbell Jr., another former Heiltsuk participant, said: "it brings a lot of healing to me. Being on the water, hearing nothing but the paddle hitting the water … it's always a powerful experience for me."

In addition to healing, TCJ also helps youth develop confidence and self-esteem. Participants said that after completing a long and challenging journey, youth felt proud of their accomplishments. Former youth participant Nevada Collins said: "after Tribal Journeys, it's just such a feeling of … self-worth and knowing that you're capable of doing something of that magnitude." Heiltsuk adults and Elders also spoke about how happy and proud youth are when they arrive at the final destination. "You can see the strength and the pride, instantly," Mary Brown said. Participants like William Gladstone and Saul Brown also said TCJ helps youth be proud of their Indigenous identity. Saul said that 'pulling canoe' helps youth understand what their ancestors went through, and that they "stand on the shoulders of greatness [and] come from good people." He said this helps youth deflect the negative stereotypes and narratives about Indigenous people, and be proud of their identity.

As well as healing and instilling pride in youth, TCJ also transmitted what Frank Brown called 'canoe teachings' or 'life skills' to them. Participants shared multiple teachings and skills

that youth learned on the journeys. These include: how to work together as a team and not be selfish; how to communicate with others; how to work in the natural environment; how to plan and organize a large project like a journey; and the importance of discipline and perseverance. Canoe 'skippers' also learned leadership skills. Frank said these teachings and skills were very relevant to youth today, and could be applied to other aspects of their lives.

2.6.2.3 CULTURAL REVITALIZATION

Research participants spoke about how many Heiltsuk youths do not regularly participate in cultural practices. Heiltsuk artist Ian Reid explained youth "have this immense challenge on knowing who they are, where they're from, what their first-generation stories are" due to the influence of western culture. Heiltsuk youth Tsinda Humchitt also said that even if some youth want to learn about their culture, some families do not have the knowledge or 'tools' to teach them about it. For these reasons, many youths do not participate in cultural activities in Bella Bella.

TCJ is a way to reconnect Heiltsuk youth to their traditions and revitalize their culture. On a journey, youth spend time learning their traditional language *Hailhzaqvl* as well as songs, dances, and stories. Significantly, all of the Heiltsuk songs are in *Hailhzaqvl*, which Frances Brown said helps "our youth to have confidence and [embrace] our language again." Once the youth arrive at the final destination, they transition into the second part of the journeys, which is known as protocol and can last for several days. It involves each of the 'canoe families' sharing their cultural language, stories, songs, dances, and teachings with the other Nations. Walter Campbell Jr. explained this allows youth "to listen and watch and learn stuff they never seen before." Participants said this can inspire youth to get more involved in their own culture. Linda Humchitt explained that after participating, "I started going to potlatches and I started dancing more and I started actually listening to the treasures that we have." Overall, participants emphasized that TCJ inspired youth to learn about their culture.

Part of this revitalization involves the revival of Heiltsuk traditional knowledge about the natural environment. This knowledge includes ancestral laws, known as *Gvi'ilas* in *Hailhzaqvl*, which govern how the Heiltsuk interact with the natural environment. Kelly Brown, the director

of the Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department (HIRMD), said a simple example of these laws is 'take a little, leave a lot'. Other Heiltsuk cultural teachings emphasize the connections between the Heiltsuk, the land, and the water. Mavis Windsor said: "there's no way that we can say that we're not connected to our environment. It's who we are, it how we live our way of life." During TCJ, youth learn about these teachings during conversations and protocol ceremonies. On the journeys, Kelly said Nations "share their treasures and talk about their relationship to the ocean and the rivers and the land." TCJ highlights the Heiltsuk's cultural relationship to their traditional territories and resources.

2.6.2.4 RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS

On TCJ gatherings, Heiltsuk youth spend a significant amount of time interacting and working with others, both during the paddle as well as during the cultural protocol. In interviews, participants said youth build strong relationships with others in their 'canoe family', which is the group of youth that paddle together. Nevada Collins and Tsinda Humchitt both said many Heiltsuk youth do not speak to each other due to family conflicts. However, after paddling together for several days, Tsinda said "you just grow this friendship that is unbreakable. It's amazing." Mary Brown and Frank Brown said these friendships can help youth overcome challenges on and after the journey. Frank explained "it's a powerful bonding experience … so it will help to develop a peer support group." Multiple youth said that by the end of a journey, the canoe family felt like a real family to them.

On the journeys, the Heiltsuk also meet and form friendships with Indigenous people from other Nations. Participants explained that they built bonds with other Nations through cultural sharing during protocol. Through this sharing, Frances Brown said, "we develop lifelong relationships and we have new understandings about each other." Participants said these new relationships are especially important for Heiltsuk youth as Bella Bella is an isolated community. In addition to learning about other Nations' cultures, youth also witness other youth pursuing drug-free and alcohol-free lifestyles. Ian Reid said "they interact with all these people and their circle of wellness and healthiness builds." In short, TCJ help Heiltsuk member learn about and build friendships with other coastal peoples.

Further, Heiltsuk Elders often accompany youth during TCJ. Multiple participants spoke about the importance of building intergenerational bonds on the journeys. Nevada Collins said: "it's a good way for the elders and the older people to get together with the youth to explain … the reasons behind what we do, and the history of our dances, our songs [and] the canoe." In addition to passing on cultural knowledge, participants said that the Elders also help youth work through personal challenges. Tsinda Humchitt said that when someone feels like giving up, they can "just go and sit with the Elders, and you know, they bring you back up again." Heiltsuk Elder Connie Newman emphasized the importance of this intergenerational connection, saying that: "the closer the youth and the elders are, the stronger and healthier we are as a people." In these ways, TCJ helps establish relationships and networks within 'canoe families', across Nations, and across generations.

2.6.2.5 POTENTIAL POLITICAL ACTIONS

Research participants also discussed how TCJ potentially supported political initiatives in Heiltsuk territory. On the journeys, political issues and strategies are often discussed, both at protocol and in informal conversations. Mavis Windsor said this inter-tribal sharing "raises awareness and gives an opportunity to share approaches." Likewise, Jessica Brown said TCJ allowed individuals to learn about each other's political struggles and figure out how they can work together. Frank also suggested the 'life skills' – such as planning and organization skills – that people learn on a journey are applicable to political work, like the Heiltsuk's fight to protect their natural resources. In these ways, the journeys help Heiltsuk participants learn about political challenges, develop partnerships, and take action.

In addition, TCJ allowed Nations to reaffirm their title and rights to their traditional – unceded – territories. As explained above, when other 'canoe families' arrive at the final destination, they introduce themselves and ask the host community permission to land their canoe. In doing so, Frank Brown said they acknowledge the Nation's title and rights to that land. Further, because TCJ garners media attention, Nations can use the journeys to highlight their relationship to their traditional territories. Kelly Brown said that for him, the 2014 journeys were about "about reaffirming our authority in the area [… and] making sure that other people

are aware that we're still here and we're still strong." In other words, TCJ helped Nations acknowledge and reaffirm their title and rights to their territories.

Saul Brown also suggested that TCJ encouraged political initiatives thanks to the revitalization of the Heiltsuk's *Gvi'ilas*, discussed above. He said that after TCJ 2014, a group of Heiltsuk youth occupied their local Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) office to protest the unsustainable harvesting of herring. He explained they were "abiding by our *Gvi'ilas*, our comprehensive system of laws that directly challenge [the] Canadian judicial systems of assumed jurisdiction over our waterways." In this way, TCJ indirectly supported political activism.

Finally, participants argued that by revitalizing the culture, TCJ encourages individuals to stand up for and defend the environment in their traditional territories. Gary Wilson explained that Heiltsuk culture comes from the natural environment. He said if a marine species like herring went extinct, the Heiltsuk "would lose our language, lose our dances, our songs, because that's where they come from. It comes from the territory. It comes from the resources, the marine and the land." Haida leader Guujaaw also spoke about the important connection between Indigenous culture and the environment. He said TCJ instills a 'love of culture' in youth, which can encourage them to stand up for their environment when it is threatened. In his experience, he said: "when we go into a fight with something, the strength in our heart is that strength of culture. And the people who are there, really on the land, on the water, feeling it, tasting it, and knowing it, you know, like being amongst the old people, are the ones who are more inclined to fight for it."

2.7   DISCUSSION

As discussed in the literature review, the 'pathway to resurgence' involves several key steps including: visioning and storytelling; intergenerational healing and knowledge transmission; revitalizing language; restoring Indigenous institutions and legal systems; land-based practices, economies, traditional diets; and restabilising pre-contact relationships between Indigenous Nations. There are many connections between this literature and the

research results in this study, which suggests TCJ can be thought of as one such 'pathway' for coastal Indigenous Nations like the Heiltsuk.[3]

One way that TCJ supports Indigenous resurgence is by creating a time and space for storytelling. As discussed in the literature review, sharing stories that deconstruct colonial narratives and reconstruct alternative ones about resurgence is an important part of the overall process (Simpson, 2008; Simpson, 2011). As both the literature review (Marshall, 2011; Suarez, 2012; Johansen, 2012) and the research results demonstrate, lots of Indigenous storytelling takes place at TCJ gatherings. Along the journey, Elders share stories with the youth they are travelling with. Once they arrive at the final destination, youth also listen to stories told by leaders from other Indigenous Nations at the protocol ceremony and in informal conversations. These stories can counter the negative narratives about Indigenous people that both Simspon (2011) and Saul discussed, and inspire them to (continue to) support Indigenous resurgence.

TCJ also supports the healing of both individuals and communities, which Jacob (2013) emphasizes is an important part of revitalization. Many communities including the Heiltsuk still suffer from the intergenerational traumas. However, as both previous literature on TCJ (Marshall, 2011; Suarez, 2012; Smethurst, 2012) and research in this chapter demonstrate, TCJ supports the healing of Heiltsuk youth. As participants explained, the journeys allow Heiltsuk youth to 'release' their pain into the water and reject the negative stereotypes they hear about Indigenous peoples. In addition to healing, this research showed that youth are also able to learn practical 'life skills' including organizational and teamwork skills, which was a unique finding. These skills are applicable to work outside of the journeys, and can help youth support other goals.

In addition, TCJ supports the transmission of Indigenous knowledge and teachings from Elders to youth. Prior to colonization, this was the primary way Indigenous knowledge was passed down through generations. However, due to Residential Schools and other government policies, this transmission method was severed (TRC, 2015). Previous research on TCJ (Marshall, 2011; Smethurst, 2012; Johansen, 2012) and this research study both demonstrate that TCJ

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[3] Other initiatives, such as the Koeye Culture Camp and language classes at the community school, also contributed to the Heiltsuk's resurgence but were beyond the scope of this project.

supports this intergenerational knowledge exchange. On the journeys, Elders spend lots of time with youth, and pass on their knowledge and teachings to them. This includes teachings about the natural environment, about the Nation's traditional *Gvi'ilas* and governance system, and about creation stories. Elders also support and provide youth advice on how to work through personal struggles and challenges. As Connie Newman said in her interview, by strengthening these intergenerational bonds, TCJ strengthens the overall Heiltsuk Nation.

Another way TCJ supports Indigenous resurgence is by helping the Heiltsuk revitalize their language *Hailhzaqvl*, which Simpson (2008) and others argue is a necessary part of resurgence. This is because Indigenous people can only fully access their ancestral worldview and knowledge through their traditional language (Boldt, 1993). According to a 2014 report, there are only 60 fluent speakers of *Hailhzaqvl* left (First Peoples' Cultural Council, 2014). As both previous (Marshall, 2011; Smethurst, 2012; Johansen, 2012) and current research demonstrates, youth spend time hearing and learning their traditional language on the journey. One way Heiltsuk youth learn this is through practicing traditional and modern Heiltsuk songs, which are all in *Hailhzaqvl.* During TCJ, youth also have a chance hear and see other coastal Indigenous youth learning their traditional languages. In these ways, TCJ helps confront 'linguistic genocide' (Simpson, 2008).

TCJ also supports the revitalization of the Heiltsuk Nation's land-based cultural practicing of 'pulling', or paddling, canoes. Both previous literature (Johansen, 2012) and the interviews in this chapter highlight how important the canoe was to coastal Indigenous Nations like the Heiltsuk prior to colonization. On TCJ, Heiltsuk members are able to reconnect to this land-based practice, as the results section demonstrates. Indeed, the journeys encourage Nations to carve traditional dugout canoes, like the Heiltsuk did in the 1980s. They also reconnect youth to the practice of canoeing. In turn, the research suggests that 'pulling' canoes help connects youth back to the natural environment and their ancestors' way of life. Canoeing also teaches them important 'canoe teachings' or 'life skills.' In these ways, TCJ revitalizes the Heiltsuk's traditional practice of canoeing.

In addition to reviving land-based practices, the research suggests that TCJ may also support the re-emergence of Indigenous social and political institutions, which Alfred (2009)

argues is a critical part of resurgence. As the literature points out, TCJ protocols are not real potlatches, but they do share similarities (Marshall, 2011). However, by introducing youth to Heiltsuk songs, dances, stories and ceremonial practices, TCJ prepare them to participate in potlatches in Bella Bella, which have recently been revived. Further, the journeys establish what Johansen (2012) called 'canoe family membership', which Frank said contributes to a peer-support in Bella Bella. In these ways, while TCJ does not directly revitalize traditional social and political institutions within Nations, it does support the revival of these institutions outside of the journeys.

Another way TCJ supports resurgence is through the revival of traditional laws and legal systems, which Borrows (2002) argues is an important part of lighting the prophetic 'Eighth Fire.' As the research in this chapter demonstrates, TCJ supports the revival of the Heiltsuk's traditional cultural teachings. Embedded in these teachings are the Heiltsuk's traditional system of laws known as the *Gvi'ilas*. Among other things, these *Gvi'ilas* have governed the Heiltsuk's interactions with the natural environment for thousands of years. They emphasize the connections between the Heiltsuk and the environment, and encourage ecological conservation (Housty, et al., 2014). Importantly, to the best of the author's knowledge, no other research highlights how TCJ supports the revival of Indigenous legal traditions, making this a unique research finding.

TCJ also helps re-establish precolonial relationships between coastal Indigenous Nations, which Simpson (2008) writes is also an important aspect of resurgence. Indeed, prior to colonization, coastal Nations regularly travelled to other Nations' village sites and had formal international agreements, which were disrupted by colonialism. Both previous literature on TCJ (Marshall, 2011; Johansen, 2012; Wrubleski, 2014) and this research chapter demonstrates that the gatherings allow coastal Nations to exchange cultural songs, dances, and stories as well as gifts through protocols. During protocol and in informal conversations, Nations also discuss political issues and share strategies. In short, the journeys help Nations to revive international relationships and form alliances.

Finally, this research suggests that TCJ can indirectly support broader political changes in Heiltsuk territory. Alfred (2005) argues that before broader political and economic reforms

between sovereign Indigenous Nations and the Canadian state can occur, Indigenous communities need to resurge themselves. This chapter demonstrates that as a result of TCJ, the Heiltsuk is revitalizing itself through storytelling; intergenerational healing and knowledge exchange; the revitalization of indigenous languages, land-based cultural practices, social and political institutions, and legal traditions; and the re-establishment of relationships between Indigenous Nations. Arguably because of these changes, the Nation is able to pursue broader political initiatives. For example, because of the revitalization of their traditional ecological knowledge and the establishment of inter-national relationships, Nations are able to share ecological knowledge and political strategies. Likewise, because of both the resurgence of culture – or what Guujaaw called the 'love of culture' – and the 'life skills' youth learned on the journeys, they have both the passion and knowledge needed to defend their traditional territories.

There are many recent examples of the Heiltsuk's recent political initiatives, which may have been supported by TCJ. These include the Heiltsuk occupation of their local DFO office (Gillis D. , 2015), the Heiltsuk-Haida-Nuu-chah-nulth peace treaty (Gillis D. , 2015), the Heiltsuk's *Declaration of Heiltsuk Title & Rights* (Moody-Humchitt & Slett, 2015), Heiltsuk resistance to the Northern Gateway Pipeline project (Slett M. , 2016), and the Heiltsuk Nation's response to the Nathan E. Stewart oil spill in its territory (Heiltsuk Tribal Council, 2017), among others. While it is difficult to directly connect any single event or incident to TCJ, the research presented in this chapter suggests the Heiltsuk's involvement in the journeys over the last three decades played a role in these larger political initiatives.

2.8   CONCLUSION

This chapter highlights how TCJ contributed to the Heiltsuk Nation's on-going process of resurgence over the last three decades. Specifically, it shows how the journeys supported Indigenous storytelling; intergenerational healing and knowledge transmission; language revitalization; the restoration of Indigenous institutions and legal systems, land-based practices, economies, traditional diets; and reestablishment of pre-contact relationships between

Indigenous Nations. Taken together, these contributions helped the Heiltsuk revive their culture and reconnect to their traditional territories.

This resurgence is very significant for Indigenous communities like the Heiltsuk Nation. As discussed above, many Indigenous communities in Canada have high rates of substance abuse, violence, and health issues. These problems stem from colonial policies, like Residential Schools, which disconnected individuals from their cultures, communities, and territories (Alfred, 2009). This is why proposed state-centered solutions – such as the recognition of Indigenous rights in the Canadian legal system and economic development initiatives – have often failed (Corntassel J. , 2012). Instead of these state-centric proposals, scholars like Alfred (2005; 2009), Corntassel (2012), and Simpson (2011) argue that communities need to restore their sacred connections to each other, to their culture, and to their environment in order to address the root causes of aforementioned current social issues. In short, this is what TCJ has helped the Heiltsuk Nation accomplish.

That being said, there are problems with the way research results and discussion are analyzed and presented in this study. The eighty-seven interviews with participants were recorded, transcribed, coded, summarized and disseminated into a neat and tidy academic format, epitomized best by **Table 4**. Through this standard western process, the participants' interviews were de- and re-contextualized in an academic framework, which most Heiltsuk members – or Canadians at large – will never read (Garrett, 2010). While this written study does contribute to a growing body of academic literature on Indigenous resurgence, it arguably does not support the Heiltsuk Nation in a meaningful way. If researchers are serious about supporting Indigenous communities – which much of literature on community-based research emphasizes – then scholars argue they need to do more to provide communities with tangible benefits (Garrett, 2010). Participatory filmmaking is one way that scholars can contribute to Nations like the Heiltsuk in a more meaningful way (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). This is because video interviews allow participants to "speak for themselves" in a way that other mediums, like written papers, do not (Pink, 2007). Further, video is able to record and retain an 'extended language' of participants' subtle gestures, expressions, and emotions (Wheeler J. , 2009; Garrett, 2010). For these reasons, video can be an effective way to

document, archive, and share Indigenous knowledge with current and future generations (Bali & Kofinas, 2014). Participatory video methods also allow research results to be disseminated beyond traditional academic audiences to the general public and policy makers (Ferreira, 2006). For these reasons, the authors of this study also collaborated on a 46-minute documentary film about the resurgence of the Heiltsuk through TCJ.

CHAPTER 3:
'GLWA: RESURGENCE OF THE OCEAN-GOING CANOE'
PARTICIPATORY FILM

3.1 GLWA FILM

See attached film.

CHAPTER 4:
HEILTSUK PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY-BASED
PARTICIPATORY VIDEO RESEARCH PROCESSES

4.1 ABSTRACT

Over a two-and-a-half-year period, Heiltsuk community members and university-based researchers collaborated on a documentary film called '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*,' which explores the Heiltsuk's cultural resurgence. This film was created using participatory video, which is a community-based participatory research method. While researchers' experiences with participatory video have been explored in multiple studies, there is a limited amount of research that explores *community members'* reflections on the process. In this chapter, the author explores Heiltsuk community leaders' experiences with outsider researchers and filmmakers. It also studies the experiences of the Heiltsuk community members who were involved in the production of the '*Glwa*' film. This research is situated in literature review on community-based and participatory video processes. The original research in this chapter is based on three qualitative interviews with community leaders, and one group interview with community participants in the '*Glwa*' film. The interviews were transcribed, analyzed, and coded used NVivo software. In their interviews, community leaders discussed 1) the importance of cultural education; 2) collaboration processes; 3) issues of ownership and control over research; and 4) additional community benefits researchers can give back. '*Glwa*' participants discussed 1) the issue of geographical separation between directors; 2) the importance of research partnerships; 3) the challenge of maintaining wider community relations; and 4) power imbalances in the participatory process. Based on this, the authors recommend that researchers establish strong relationships with community members; hire locals to educate them about the community's history and culture; be cognizant of power imbalances in the process; and discuss the ownership and rights of materials early in the research process. Overall, this chapter contributes to research on participatory video processes by highlighting community members' perspectives of the experience.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

The film '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' is a collaborative 46-minute documentary by Heiltsuk community members VB and FB, and university-based researchers HB and IM. The film explores the resurgence of the Heiltsuk Nation through TCJ. It focuses on the history and impacts of the journeys on the Heiltsuk Nation over the last three decades (see **Figure 12**). The film includes interviews with Heiltsuk youth and Elders as well as community members and leaders. It was created using PV, which is a type of CBPR approach. Over a two-and-a-half-year period, HB and VB worked together at every stage of the collaborative filmmaking process, from the initial planning phase to the final dissemination phase.

Throughout the process, HB spoke with FB and VB about outside past researchers and filmmakers who came to Bella Bella and acted in problematic ways. These included 'parachute researchers' who flew in and out of the community very quickly, researchers who misrepresented the Heiltsuk's people and culture, and those who did not involve community members in their projects or give anything back to the community. FB said there are still not clear guidelines for these outsider researchers and filmmakers to follow, and that the 'rule book' for collaborative research is still being written. He said our collaborative process was a good example of how researchers should work in Bella Bella. After reviewing academic literature on PV processes, HB also realized that very few studies focused on community members' – rather than researchers' – perspectives of the process (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). For these reason, HB, VB, FB, and IM decided to reflect on and record their successes and challenges throughout their process, as well as suggestions for other researchers using PV methods. HB also decided to speak to Heiltsuk leaders about best practices for collaborative research.

This chapter explores the successes and challenges of research projects in Heiltsuk territory, as well as suggestions for future researchers working in Indigenous communities. To contextualize these results, the chapter begins with an overview of the project and a review of CBPR and PV literature.

Figure 12*: Video still from 'Glwa' film of Heiltsuk youth paddling past Seattle, WA.*

4.3 PROJECT OVERVIEW

HB, VB, IM, and FB collaborated on the film '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' over a two-and-a-half-year period (see **Table 5**). Overall, HB and VB completed each step of the research process together, with feedback and guidance from IM and FB. This included planning the film as well as conducting and recording the interviews and 'b-roll' material during two seasons of fieldwork (see **Figure 2** in *Chapter 1)*. It also included editing and finalizing the film. After this process, the film was presented to the community in Bella Bella, BC, and premiered at *imagineNATIVE Film and Media Arts Festival* in Toronto, ON.

The filmmaking process was participatory in other ways as well. The filmmaking process was overseen by a group of eight community leaders and members known as the '*Qatuwas Committee'*. This included Frances Brown, Anita Hall, Shirley Hall, Travis Hall, Wilfred Humchitt, Dolly Lansdowne, Connie Newman, Gary Wilson and Mavis Windsor. In July 2016, HB and VB also taught three Heiltsuk youth – Bryce Wilson Reid, Nathaniel Mason, and Royce Lawson – how to film and interview others. These three youths paddled on and helped film the 2016 Paddle to Nisqually TCJ (see **Figure 13**). In these ways, the process included multiple levels of community participation and oversight.

Date	Event
June 2014	IM reached out to FB and VB to discuss attending Qatuwas 2014 with the intent of developing a partnership to develop video outputs with and for the community. IM has ethics in place from University of Winnipeg.
July 2014	IM attended Qatuwas, further refined scope of project with FB and VB, and they collaborated on conducting 10 number of interviews.
October 2014	IM hires undergraduate student HB to help edit a short documentary film for the Heiltsuk. IM and HB create a 13-minute film called 'Qatuwas 2014' and send it to FB and VB.
February 2015	FB and VB invite IM and HB to collaborate on a larger documentary film about Qatuwas.
March 2015	HB flies to Lummi Tribe, WA to meet FB and VB. They plan out the film.
April 2015	The Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department (HIRMD) and the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board both approve the project.
June – July 2015	HB and VB film twenty-six interviews with Heiltsuk community members and other leaders in Bella Bella, BC. Following this, they travel down the coast and conduct six other interviews with Indigenous people involved in the journeys.
September 2015	HB transcribes interviews in Winnipeg, MB and create detailed video outlines for FB and VB to review (see **Figure 16)**.
October – November 2015	HB edits first draft of the film. She regularly sends VB clips online and discusses the films progress with her, in consultation with FB and IM.
December 2015	VB flies to Winnipeg to help HB edit the film. They finalize a 54-minute draft called 'Sacred Vessels', but realize they need more footage of a TCJ gathering. The team plans a second summer of fieldwork.
June 2016	HB and VB present on preliminary research findings at the Coastal Zone Canada Conference in Toronto, ON.
July – August 2016	HB and VB follow a group of Heiltsuk youth as they prepare for and participate on the 2016 TCJ paddle to Nisqually. They teach three youth how to film the journey, and conduct nineteen interviews with youth and other Heiltsuk members (see **Figure 13**).
September 2016	HB transcribes interviews in Winnipeg and sends them to VB.
October 2016 – April 2017	HB edits a new version of the film in Winnipeg, MB, in consultation with the larger team. HB and IM send series of drafts to VB and FB online and discuss the films progress via telephone. VB and FB coordinate screenings with the Qatuwas Committee, which provides feedback throughout the process.
May 2017	VB flies to Winnipeg to help HB edit the film. The team finalizes a 46-minute documentary called '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*,' which is approved by the Qatuwas Committee.
July 2017	VTape agrees to distribute '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*'.
August 2017	HIRMD approves the final film. HB, VB, FB, and IM present and give out copies of the film to Heiltsuk community members in Bella Bella, BC. (see **Figure 14**).
October 2017	HB, VB, FB, and IM attend the world premiere of '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' at *imagineNATIVE Film and Media Arts Festival* in Toronto, ON (see **Figure 22**).

Table 5: *Timeline of events included in the 'Glwa' collaborative filmmaking process.*

Figure 13: Heiltsuk youth Bryce Wilson Reid filming TCJ 2016.

Figure 14: Vina Brown and Hillary Beattie presenting the film in Bella Bella, BC.

4.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

CBPR is a research approach that involves community members actively participating in a research project. Before this approach was developed, non-Indigenous scholars routinely entered Indigenous communities, extracted data, and left without consulting or giving anything back to its members. The data would usually be disseminated in an academic report that was inaccessible to Indigenous community members (Smith, 1999). Sometimes this research was also used to justify colonial policies and practices (Said, 1978). Indeed, in nineteenth-century Canada, researchers represented Indigenous peoples as savage, childlike, and backwards, thereby justifying assimilation policies and practices like Residential Schools (TRC, 2015). Overall, this research did not include, reflect, or benefit Indigenous communities, and indeed sometimes actively harmed them (Smith, 1999). In response to criticisms of these practices, researchers developed CBPR (and closely related 'participatory research', 'participatory action research' and 'action research') approaches. Currently, there is a large and growing body of literature about CBPR that is discussed below (Hacker, 2013).

At its core, CBPR is research conducted *with*, *by*, and *for* the community in question. The approach involves community members and academic researchers co-learning and working together throughout the research process. In this way, CBPR destabilizes traditional power hierarches between the "researched" and the "researcher". Further, the CBPR projects often focus on social and ecological issues that are important to community members, ensuring that the project is beneficial to the community and not just the researchers. This differs from traditional research projects, which were mainly focused on academic researchers' objectives. CBPR projects are also usually shared with community members and involve the long-term commitment of researchers. In these ways, CBPR approaches greatly differ from traditional research approaches (Hacker, 2013).

As technological changes lower barriers to access, scholars are increasingly using *visual* CBPR methods to document and share research. These methods include photo-voice, digital storytelling, digital GIS, and PV (Gubrium & Harper, 2016). Scholars argue these approaches are more accessible and democratic to community members than non-visual methods, which helps alter the uneven power dynamics between researchers and community members (Packard,

2008; Reavey & Johnson, 2012). The literature also suggests that visual research products – such as photo essays and videos – can be shared with larger audiences than traditional academic products such as academic reports (Garrett, 2010). Researchers use these visual approaches to share their research, start dialogues with general audiences and policy makers, and effect social change (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017).

In recent years, PV methods have become increasingly popular among researchers. One of the reasons for this is PV keeps participants' research responses in their own words, allowing them to "speak for themselves" in a way that other mediums do not (Pink, 2007; Garrett, 2010). Further, PV records and retains an 'extended language' of participants' subtle gestures, expressions, and emotions, which are lost in other methods (Wheeler J. , 2009). Given this, video is an effective way to document, archive, and share traditional Indigenous knowledge. Communities can use these archives to teach future generations about Indigenous culture, history, and knowledge (Bali & Kofinas, 2014).

Researchers at Canadian universities are increasingly using PV methods to explore social and ecological research in Indigenous communities. This includes but is not limited to research on resource privatization, treaty rights, and resistance in Bear River First Nation (Stiegman & Pictou, 2010); Inuit knowledge of climate change in the Canadian arctic (Mauro & Kunuk, 2010); food sovereignty in rural Indigenous communities in northern Manitoba (Thompson & Lozeznik, 2012); Indigenous knowledge about caribou in northern Canada (Bali & Kofinas, 2014); Indigenous communities' experiences with oil sands developments along the Slave and Athabasca Rivers (McLachlan & Tyas, 2014); and Indigenous youths' experiences in Canada's 'chemical valley' (Wiebe S. , 2015). These PV projects involve several steps that are described below.

Critical Reflection: Before starting a PV project, the literature suggests researchers critically reflect on their privileged positions. This involves researching historical relationships between settlers and Indigenous people, and critically analyzing their particular project (Wallerstein & Duran, 2006; Ball & Janyst, 2008). Important questions to ask are: how are community members participating in the research process? Is the project challenging unequal relations between researchers and participants? Will the research really benefit the

community? Is the research being conducted in a 'good' way? By considering these questions early on, researchers can be more aware of power imbalances during the project (Nicholls, 2009).

Plans and Permission: The literature suggests community members should help plan the project goals, objectives, and timeline to ensure the research supports the community's priorities (Gibbs, 2001; Ball & Janyst, 2008). Researchers should obtain permission from the community and establish multiple levels of oversight, including the local Tribal Council, community organizations, and individual community members. This may include establishing a formal research agreement or memorandum of understanding with the community (Fisher & Ball, 2003; Menzies, 2004). Finally, it is also important for researchers to obtain permission from formal university ethics boards prior to beginning the project. While these ethics boards have been criticized for multiple reasons (see Blake, 2007; Cahill, 2007; Louis, 2007; Martin, 2007), all SSHRC-funded projects need to be approved by them.

Ownership and Control: Researchers and community members should discuss ownership, control, access, and possession – known as the OCAP principles – of the video and research material, including both the raw footage/data and the final product(s) (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2014). This is important as western researchers have commodified and appropriated Indigenous knowledge without receiving permission or providing the community with compensation or recognition. By discussing and adhering to the OCAP principles, researchers can help ensure that research projects benefit the community they were based in, rather than western researchers (Gibbs, 2001; Schnarch, 2004).

Community Relationships: It is also important for researchers to establish strong relationships with community members (Cahill, 2007; Tondu, et al., 2014), which some scholars say are the 'backbone' of successful collaborations (Ball & Janyst, 2008). Researchers can do this by disclosing personal information about their intentions, their family life, and their ancestry (Ball & Janyst, 2008), and by participating in local activities such as feasts, potlatches, fishing trips, and sporting events (Gearhead & Shirley, 2007; Tondu, et al., 2014). Through these informal interactions, researchers can develop trusting relationships with community members (Pearce, et al., 2009, p. 17). However, it is important to note that these relationships can take a

long period of time to establish. Indeed, some scholars spent 'the first-year drinking tea' (Castleden, Sloan Morgan, & Lamb, 2012).

Technical Training: In addition, researchers should provide community members with technical training on how to film and edit videos (White, 2003), which can help 'break the ice' (Garrett, 2010) and obtain community 'buy-in' (Ferreira, 2006). This training is very important as community members' ability to participate as full partners in video productions can be severely limited by their lack of technological expertise. Given this, training helps establish more equitable power dynamics between researchers and community members (Evans & Foster, 2009; Mistry, Bignante, & Berardi, 2016).

Economic Support: The literature also suggests that researchers should support the local economy as much as possible, given the high unemployment rates in many Indigenous communities (Gearhead & Shirley, 2007). In addition to hiring and training community members to assist with the project (Castleden, Sloan Morgan, & Lamb, 2012), researchers can pay for local transportation, lodging, and food and provide honorariums for meetings and interviews (Pearce, et al., 2009).

Video Production: After these steps, community members and researchers can start recording the video. Some practitioners recommend researchers start this process by creating storyboards with community members (Lunch & Lunch, 2006). However, the production process varies depending on the genre (ie. drama, comedy, documentary) of the film. When creating a documentary, this stage involves community members and researchers interviewing other community members. As discussed above, this is an effective way to document and share Indigenous knowledge (Bali & Kofinas, 2014; Mistry, Bignante, & Berardi, 2016). Researchers and filmmakers can also record community events and activities during this stage. During this stage, the literature suggests that researchers and community members should regularly screen and discuss raw material in order to evaluate their progress and determine what material is appropriate for the final video product (Mistry & Berardi, 2011).

Video Editing: Following this, scholars suggest that researchers and community members edit the film together. They can begin by reviewing the raw material and listening for recurring ideas or themes, which can help inform the editing process (Chávez, et al., 2004;

Mistry & Berardi, 2011). However, scholars warn this is the most challenging stage to complete collaboratively. Due to geographical separation, community members may not be able to edit the film with researchers. This is problematic as researchers may misinterpret and unintentionally alter the meaning of interviews if community members are not there to properly contextualize them (Bali & Kofinas, 2014). Further, even when community members are present in the editing suite, there are still technological barriers that can prevent them from fully participating (Mak, 2012). However, Mak (2012) argues the editing process can still be considered 'participatory' as long as researchers constantly request and incorporate community members' feedback into the process.

Dissemination: The literature suggests that researchers and community members disseminate the film together. An important audience to share the film with is the local community. These screenings can 'legitimize' certain struggles (Ferreira, 2006) and empower the community (White, 2003; Tremblay & de Oliveira Jayme, 2015). It can also spark a dialogue about local issues, both within the community and with neighbouring ones (Gurman, et al., 2014; Bali & Kofinas, 2014). Community members and researchers can also share videos with audiences outside of the community. By doing so, they have the potential to shape public opinion and impact political decisions (Ferreira, 2006; Corneil, 2012). However, while it is important for this final stage to be completed collaboratively, it often is not as researchers run out of time and money, and do not have adequate models of participatory dissemination to follow (Luchs & Miller, 2016).

Additional contributions: After PV projects are complete, the literature suggests researchers leave communities with copies of the raw and final videos (Garrett, 2010), in order to adhere to the OCAP principles. They also suggest researchers leave behind video cameras and editing equipment for community members to use in future projects (Dougherty & Sawhney, 2012; Haynes & Tanner, 2015).

Overall, though there is a growing body of literature on PV methods, described in this review, there are still gaps in the current research. In particular, as FB pointed out, there are no papers that explore video-based collaborations between community members and researchers in or near Heiltsuk territory. As he put it, the collaborative filmmaking 'rule book' for the

community is still being written. There is a more general academic paper about engaged scientific research in Heiltsuk territory, which emphasizes the importance of collaborative and respectful processes (Adams, et al., 2014). However, this paper does not directly explore video-based research processes. FB said this is problematic as the Heiltsuk currently receive requests from filmmakers who are interested in filming the 'Great Bear Rainforest' in Heiltsuk territory, but have little experience with collaborative processes.

More generally, there is a very limited amount of research on collaborative research – and in particular, collaborative visual research – that explores community members' perspectives of the process. Indeed, in their recent book '*Participatory Visual Methodologies*', Mitchell et al. (2017) acknowledge there is little written about "the impact of participatory visual work on various communities and stakeholders" (p. 5). In contrast, several research articles explore researchers' experiences conducting community-based research (see Minkler, 2005; Gearhead & Shirley, 2007; Castleden et al., 2010; Castleden et al., 2012; Grimwood et al., 2012; Tondu et al. 2014). For this reason, the authors thought it was important to study and reflect on the community members' thoughts and feelings about the successes and challenges of collaborative and visual research projects.

4.5 OBJECTIVES

This chapter addresses the second objective of the overall thesis, which is: to explore community members' perspectives of collaborative research approaches and in particular, participatory videography.

4.6 METHODS

The research presented in this chapter was collected using semi-structured, qualitative interviews (Dunn, 2005). In August 2017, HB conducted three one-on-one interviews with Heiltsuk leaders who were selected because of their experience working with outside researchers (see **Table 6**)). The interviews explored the participants' experiences working with researchers and filmmakers, and their recommendations for future outsiders working in Heiltsuk territory. The interviews were conducted in Bella Bella and were audio recorded. In

September 2017, HB also conducted a group interview with FB, IM, and VB (see **Table 6**). The interview focused primarily on the team members' perceptions of the successes and challenges the group experienced during the *Glwa* project. It also included a discussion about recommendations for future researchers working in Heiltsuk territory. The interview was conducted through a conference call and was audio recorded.

Following the interviews, HB transcribed, coded, and analyzed them. HB used an 'open coding' process with NVivo software. This was an iterative process that involved coding the transcripts, reviewing the codes, altering the codes, and re-coding three times. After three iterations, HB developed a coding structure she felt accurately reflected the interviews. She found that all of the community leaders' interviews could fit into four nodes: 'cultural knowledge,' 'collaboration,' 'ownership and control,' and 'additional community benefits,' while the group interview could fit into four other nodes: 'geographical separation,' 'research partnerships,' 'wider community relations,' and 'power imbalances.' These results are summarized in the next subsection.

Participant Name	Title(s)	Relationship to Research
Individual interviews		
Marilyn Slett (MS)	Chief Councillor of the Heiltsuk Tribal Council (HTC).	Responsible for overseeing all of the tribal council's work in Heiltsuk territory.
Kelly Brown (KB)	Director of the HTC's Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department (HIRMD).	Responsible for overseeing all film and research projects conducted in Heiltsuk territory.
Jessie Housty (JH)	Elected councillor at the HTC; member of the HIRMD Board of Directors; and Communications and Fundraising Director for Qqs Project Society.	Oversees and advises research and film projects in Heiltsuk territory.
Group interview		
Frank Brown (FB)	Heiltsuk chief with experience in previous films 'Voyage of Rediscovery' (1990)' and 'Qatuwas: People Gathering Together (1997).	Co-producer of '*Glwa*' film.
Vina Brown (VB)	Communications coordinator at Qatuwas 2014. Traditional Foods and Plants Specialist at the Northwest Indlan College.	Co-director of '*Glwa*' film.
Ian Mauro (IM)	Geography professor and community-based filmmaker at the University of Winnipeg.	Co-producer of '*Glwa*' film.

Table 6: Interview participants' titles and relationship to research.

4.7 RESULTS

4.7.1 RESEARCH AND FILM PROJECTS IN HEILTSUK TERRITORY

4.7.1.1   CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

One of the main challenges participants spoke about was researchers and filmmakers entering Bella Bella without educating themselves about the history and culture of the Heiltsuk Nation. KB explained that a lot of film crews who come to Bella Bella "are more interested in the Great Bear Rainforest" than the Heiltsuk. He said they "have no idea about the Heiltsuk people, they have no idea about the landscape [or] even a general idea of who we are." KB said another problem was outsiders did not understand or abide by the Heiltsuk's ancestral laws, known as *Gvi'ilas*, which govern how the Heiltsuk interact with each other and the environment. For example, some laws focus on how humans should interact with certain streams at certain times of the year. Without knowing these laws, researchers could violate them. While KB did not think non-Heiltsuk could understand the value or meaning of the laws, he said they should seek guidance from the Heiltsuk about the *Gvi'ilas*.

JH also spoke about filmmakers and researchers who did not research the Heiltsuk's history and culture before starting their project. Because of this, she said that outsiders have 'triggered' Elders by asking sensitive questions. She explained these outsiders "have no idea what might trigger re-traumatizing them around Residential School experiences or land theft, or things that they've experienced in their life that are still really present and traumatic for them." Further, JH said filmmakers have entered the community with preconceived and problematic ideas about Indigenous people and the story they want to tell, which caused negative friction between the filmmakers and the Heiltsuk. JH also said filmmakers have requested to use Heiltsuk music in culturally inappropriate ways. For example, she explained that a film crew making a documentary about salmon wanted to use a song about hunting. She said the crew did not understand that that Heiltsuk song was not: "just music for listening pleasure but that it has meaning, and that the words mean something. And that it conveys information that is not compatible with the story they're trying to tell." JH explained that it is difficult to explain to researchers and filmmakers why these issues – asking inappropriate historical questions, coming in with preconceived stories, and requesting inappropriate cultural

songs to use – are problematic unless they understand the culture and history of the community.

Given these issues, interview participants emphasized the importance of researchers taking time to learn about the community before beginning their project. MS said researchers and filmmakers can use the cultural and historical information to properly contextualize their projects. She explained that outsiders need to know "that this is Heiltsuk traditional territory, that we've occupied our territory since millennia, and we're seafaring people." JH also emphasized the importance of education at the start of projects, especially long-term projects. She said: "it's good education for everyone. The reality is that you're living here when you're doing your project, you want to be a good community member, you want to be a good neighbor."

KB and JH had specific recommendations about how outsiders could educate themselves at the start of projects. KB said that HIRMD offered presentations for researchers and filmmakers about the work of their department and the Nation more generally. JH also said there are educators and Elders in the community that can provide outsiders with cultural and historical orientations. She also suggested that before they arrive in the community, researchers and filmmakers could hire local community members to develop an orientation that included both broad cultural and historical background material; and tailored to their specific area of focus.

4.7.1.2   COLLABORATION

Participants also spoke about the importance of collaborating with the Heiltsuk throughout the research process. JH explained that outside researchers and filmmakers sometimes entered Bella Bella with a sense of superiority. She said: "people come in and feel like we should just be grateful that they're paying attention to our remote little part of the world, and that […] someone wants to tell our story, and therefore we shouldn't be questioning them and being hard on them and directing them." JH said the Heiltsuk found this approach very problematic. She emphasized that, despite what some researchers and filmmakers think, the Heiltsuk: "don't need people to speak for us. We don't need people to tell our stories, but

people who can help to capture and elevate our voices and our stories is really important powerful work." In other words, JH said the Heiltsuk want to be active collaborators in research and film projects, rather than passive characters' in outsiders' stories.

In order to support collaboration, KB and JH recommended that researchers and filmmakers develop partnerships with community members, and work with HIRMD. KB said outsiders should hire what he called a 'local champion' to collaborate with them on each stage of the project. JH explained these local community members ensure that outsiders act in an ethical manner, and that the overall project goes smoothly. KB and JH also emphasized the importance of working closely with HIRMD. KB said that while 'local champions' are important, researchers and filmmakers were also responsible to the larger community, which HIRMD represents. Further, JH explained that outsiders benefited from working with HIRMD. She said: "the people who cooperate and collaborate and build relationships and get approvals and do things right end up with better projects […] because they have all of the resources that HIRMD is able to offer and the Nation is able to offer."

KB and JH discussed specific steps for researchers and filmmakers to follow when working with HIRMD. After completing the paper application, KB recommended that researchers and filmmakers organize a meeting with HIRMD to have an in-depth discussion about the project, including data ownership and publication rights (discussed below). KB emphasized that it was important for researchers to obtain formal ethics approval from their university's research ethics board prior to beginning their project. For him, this was one way of ensuring that researchers understood their responsibilities when working in an Indigenous community. During this meeting, KB said researchers should explain their methods, objectives, and specific questions with HIRMD. He said it was common for research studies to focus on the same questions, and said this was one way to ensure studies weren't being repeated "because the Elders don't like sitting and talking over and over."

After the overall project is complete, KB also said it was important for outsiders to report back to community leaders. He explained it was good to "have a wrap-up meeting with our chiefs and elders to say this project is done and [have] the researcher make a presentation to the leadership". KB also said he appreciated when researchers and filmmakers presented the

results back to the broader community. He said: "I think it is important for people to have an opportunity to see the work that's taking place, and to report back. We do our best to try to make that happen." However, he said it was sometimes a challenge to accomplish this with limited resources.

4.7.1.3   OWNERSHIP AND PUBLICATION RIGHTS

Interview participants also discussed challenges related to the ownership of research in Heiltsuk territory. In their paper research application, HIRMD declares that the Nation owns all data collected in the territory. However, KB said some academic institutions and researchers will not accept this ownership agreement, which has caused legal challenges for the Nation. JH said: "it's important for [researchers] in their academic context to own the data. And it's important to us, in our un-ceded territory, that we own the data. And it's not really clear how that gets resolved other than case-by-case at this point." In other words, the challenge over ownership of data is ongoing for the Heiltsuk.

A closely related issue that participants discussed was publication rights. KB said he is uncomfortable with the publication of most research conducted in Heiltsuk territory. He explained that some data and analyses might be sensitive, and that HIRMD could use the research strategically when negotiating with private industry, government partners, or non-governmental organizations. Given this, KB said it is important for HIRMD to review and approve all research papers and films before they are published to ensure sensitive information is not being shared. He also said the screening process allowed HIRMD to ensure that information was accurate and that the Heiltsuk were being represented properly. KB said that with films, it is important "that the story is being told properly, from a Heiltsuk perspective, that it's not being fabricated." JH also explained that: "it's important to make sure that people are sharing information with the appropriate context […] and that things are not being framed in strange ways."

4.7.1.4   COMMUNITY BENEFITS

Participants also spoke about the ways researchers could provide the community with tangible benefits. KB and JH said researchers and filmmakers should leave a copy of all their data and material with the Nation at the end of their project. KB explained that raw scientific data was valuable to the Heiltsuk, as it could be used in their plans, negotiations, and reports. He also said that qualitative interviews with community members were important for the Nation to have a copy of because they could be included in reports and kept in the community archives. In these interviews, he said there might be "information that's going to really assist us, you know, putting together a strong position paper on rights or access, you know, whatever it is. Really important statements from different people." KB said it was especially important for the Nation to have copies of interviews with the local Elders and historians. However, he said this often did not happen right now: "we don't get a lot of the information back from those interviews […] I don't get to hear, or read what their interviews were about." For this reason, he said that researchers and filmmakers should ensure that the Heiltsuk have access to the raw data and video before leaving Heiltsuk territory.

In addition, participants also spoke about the importance of researchers and filmmakers of supporting local community projects. JH suggested that filmmakers could offer workshops and classes for youth at the school and youth centre. Through these workshops, filmmakers could teach Heiltsuk youth technological skills and inspire them to share their stories. KB suggested that researchers could ask additional questions, specifically for HIRMD's purposes, in their interviews. JH suggested that researchers and filmmakers could go one step further by conducting local interviews and capturing video footage that was unrelated to their work specifically for the Heiltsuk Nation. Overall, KB emphasized that researchers and filmmakers working in Heiltsuk territory "should be supporting what we're doing here [at HIRMD}, or supporting the community" broadly.

Participants also recommended that researchers and filmmakers provide local community members with financial compensation and benefits as much as possible. JH said that she likes to see outsiders: "hiring local boats if they're going out in the field. If they need extra hands, if they need things catered, that they're hiring community members. If they're up

here for long enough that they need lodging, it's nice when people are staying in the community." Further, KB emphasized the importance of giving honorariums to community members for interviews. He said: "we're expecting that people get paid […] If it's a chief or a tribal councilor or a community member, there has to be a way to honor their time." In short, they said researchers should support the local economy and provide financial compensation as much as possible.

4.7.2 *GLWA* FILM PROJECT

4.7.2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL SEPARATION

One of the challenges VB discussed in relation to the *Glwa* project was geographical separation between the partners. During the project, HB Beattie and IM were living in Winnipeg, while FB was living in Bella Bella, BC, and VB was living in Lummi, WA, USA. At the beginning of the project, VB said she worried about whether HB and IM would be familiar with the unique history and culture of Indigenous communities on the Northwest Pacific Coast. She said, "being from that region, you know, when I first thought that, I was like, 'I don't know, you know, are they really going to be able to get it?' Even just coming from a different landscape, right?" However, VB explained that her friendship with HB partially made up for the geographical separation.

4.7.2.2 RESEARCH PARTNERSHIPS

In the group interview, VB emphasized the importance of the strong partnership between herself and HB, which she said will extend beyond this project. VB said they bonded during the first summer of fieldwork in 2015, which helped them succeed in the second summer. She explained that after her and HB established a friendship "things just rolled and it was just really great, you know. We felt like we were on the same page." However, she explained this was not always an easy at the beginning, as HB was non-Indigenous and came from a different region of Canada. "We talked about things that weren't always easy to talk about, you know, cultural differences, beliefs, and having different worldviews," she said. However, she emphasized that it was important to have these conversations: "If we don't have

those conversations, even though they're challenging, and we don't kind of call each other out, both sides of things, then we can't move past. And it's almost like bonding […] Like to get to that common ground, and that can be challenging.". At the start of projects, she recommended that researchers "build the foundation, build the relationship, go in, let them know what your intentions are, be upfront, be honest, and build that trust."

Both Heiltsuk project partners emphasized the importance of this strong partnership for the success of the project. VB explained that because of the friendship her, HB and IM formed, she felt could trust them. She said: "I always felt really the genuine trust there, like I never doubted your guys' intentions, and that's really good, and that's based [on] that relationship, right? Like, the two years that we built that foundation." VB also said the relationship allowed HB to really 'hear' and understand the Heiltsuk's story, and contributed "to the success of the film, being told really from our perspective." FB also discussed the importance of mutual trust, stating that collaborative filmmaking "is based on trust, it's imperative to have trust between the partners, the indigenous and non-Indigenous partners in going forward telling stories." He explained it was necessary for him and VB to trust in both HB and IM's technical filmmaking skills and their intentions. At the same time, he said it was necessary for HB and IM to trust in their ability to make the project happen. Establishing this friendship and trust, he said, was necessary to the success of the overall project.

4.7.2.3   WIDER COMMUNITY RELATIONS

In the interview, FB also spoke about the challenge of maintaining wider community relationships throughout the video production process. He explained that because of family histories in Bella Bella and his leadership position as a chief, he sometimes found it difficult to work in the community. He said that his daughter called it "our own Game of Thrones here. You know, we got some really deep, deep history amongst [us] as families and as tribes, and putting myself out there like this was not an easy thing. […] Like I basically made myself a target." FB said this challenge was not unique to this project but rather was something he experienced in multiple leadership positions. He said that: "I've been in a position of responsibility my whole adult life but I've also been a lightning rod and taken a lot of shit because of that. Controversial

in my own community." In other words, FB emphasized that maintaining wider community relations was a challenge in all of his work as a leader.

That being said, FB worked hard to maintain community relations by establishing the *Qatuwas Committee,* and asking his family and friends for feedback on the film. He spoke about the support and feedback he received from the Committee, who watched multiple drafts of the film and approved the final draft. He also regularly shared drafts with his family and close friends, who provided critical feedback. FB explained this feedback was critical to the success of the project, and was the most rewarding part of it for him. He shared that "the greatest gift I've received in this has been the love and support of my family, and my children."

FB and VB also said the final community screening in August 2017 helped maintain wider community relations. VB explained she received positive feedback from community members who attended the screening. She said "the reaction that we got in Bella Bella was awesome" and that a lot of people indicated that they 'cried a few times,' or you know, 'that really moved me.'" FB also said that the community screening was successful and gave the team the 'social licence' to move forward. He said: "I thought it was a good thing to do … and I know that's going to propel us forward. You know, we have that social license, and we put it all on the line. Stand by our work, for good or for bad." In other words, both FB and VB thought that bringing the film back to the community and presenting it there first helped ensure the project's success.

4.7.2.4   POWER IMBALANCES

In his interview, FB discussed the power imbalances in the collaborative relationship. He said that during the creation of the film *Glwa*, there was a slight tension between HB and IM on one hand, and him and VB on the other. This is because in many Indigenous communities including Bella Bella, there is a desire to see more Indigenous people telling their own stories. However, he said that due to the intergenerational traumas in many communities, it can be difficult to document and share stories without the help of outsiders who have technical skills like HB and IM. Given this imbalance, FB explained that other community members might think him and VB were co-opted to give the project legitimacy. He said: "you're the technical people,

and had the technical ability, and I really appreciate the resources […] that being said, there's sort of a fine line here, a nuance, like 'Oh yeah, FB and VB are basically just there to give legitimacy to the story', you know, 'It's not really them telling the story,' which is partially true." In other words, FB partly felt that HB and IM – who had more production and post-production skills – rather than him and VB were controlling the narrative of the film.

In the same group interview, IM also discussed the uneven power dynamics present in collaborative film productions. In particular, he reflected on the power that video editors have, and the challenges this presented for community-based filmmakers. He said: "the power of being at an editing station is immense, the edits and the cuts, there's so much power in that, which has a huge impact on the outcome. We're not just techies". IM noted that editors are largely responsible for shaping how a film looks, sounds, and feels to the audience, and therefore have an enormous responsibility to ensure that spoken and visual narratives truly reflect the perspectives of community partners.

4.8 DISCUSSION

As discussed in the literature review, there are many things for researchers to be cognizant of when conducting PV research in Indigenous communities. However, at the same time, most of this research was based off of researchers' – rather than community members' – observations of the PV process (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). In contrast, the research results in this study highlight community members' perspectives of PV, who emphasize the importance of considering relationships, cultural education, power imbalances, and ownership and control of research products.

Relationships: This study reinforced the importance of establishing relationships between community partners at the beginning of research projects. In the project, FB, IM, VB, and HB established a strong and trusting partnership, which FB and VB argued was essential to the success of the overall project. This reinforces academic literature on the importance of establishing friendships. For example, Ball and Janyst (2008) write that researchers are expected to share information about their personal life and research objectives to establish trust. Similarly, other literature suggests that researchers dedicate time at the beginning of

projects to learning about the community. This involves attending and volunteering at local events and gatherings; participating in traditional activities (ie. hunting trips); and arranging formal and informal meetings with community members (Pearce, et al., 2009; Tondu, et al., 2014).

It is important not to underestimate the time it takes to establish strong community relationships. During the second summer of fieldwork, HB had breakfast with FB's wife Kathy and a visiting non-Indigenous scholar. The scholar, who studies political science and environmental studies, had just arrived on the journey and was introducing herself. She explained she was interested in researching how to encourage meaningful dialogue about contemporary political and ecological issues such as the Energy East pipeline. Kathy considered this briefly, and then said: "You can't talk about those issues until you have tea ten times." Kathy went on to explain that scholars and others who are interested in political and ecological topics need to build meaningful relationships and get to know individuals personally *before* engaging in dialogue about the issues. She then pointed towards HB and stated that, "HB wouldn't be a part of this year's canoe family if she hadn't taken the time to get to know us, to eat with us, to have tea with us last summer." This echoed other community-based researchers' observations about the importance of 'drinking tea' and developing meaningful friendships before conducting research (Castleden, Sloan Morgan, & Lamb, 2012).

A related finding, which was not emphasized in current CBPR or PV literature, was that it can be difficult for community partners to maintain positive relationships with other community members throughout a research process. FB discussed how in Bella Bella, there were generations of family history that impacted his relationships with other Heiltsuk members. He said he is often criticized when he accepts leadership positions, despite his good intentions, including positions working with outsiders such as HB and IM. In other words, it was a challenge for him to maintain positive relationships with others in Bella Bella while working on this project. Interestingly, there was little or no literature focusing on this issue, likely because most studies focus on researchers' rather than community members' experiences (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017).

Given the challenge of maintaining wider community relations, FB thought it was important to screen and give the film back to the community in Bella Bella before premiering it at the *imagineNATIVE Film and Media Arts Festival* in Toronto, ON. He was happy with the response at the community screening, and said this gave the team the social licence to share the film outside of Bella Bella (see **Figure 4**). This reflects Ferreira (2006)'s observation that when community members are skeptical of video-based projects, researchers can host community screenings to generate support for the project. Ferreira indicates: "screenings of the videos generated acceptance of the PV process. Seeing their fellow community members on the television screen combined with the knowledge that it was community members (mostly youth) who had shot the videos was a key determinant of the success" (p. 194) of the project. FB's and Ferreira's observations suggest community screenings are an important way to help community members maintain positive relationships with others in the community.

Figure 15: Frank Brown giving out DVDs of the 'Glwa' film after the screening in Bella Bella.

Cultural Education: Another key idea that emerged in this chapter was the importance of outsiders taking time to educate themselves about the community in which they are working. KB and JH both discussed the issue of researchers and filmmakers entering the community without knowledge of the Heiltsuk's history or culture. They said outsiders should educate themselves both prior to, and upon, arrival in Bella Bella. Grimwood et al. (2012) and Tondu et al. (2014) also emphasize the importance of researchers taking time to understand the community's specific history and culture. However, with the exception of these articles, there is limited research that focuses on this idea, perhaps because most work focuses on researchers' and not community members' perspectives of CBPR and PV (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). However, given KB and JH's reflections on the importance of this education, this step should not be overlooked. Rather, in the same way that developing relationships with community members is considered a key aspect of good CBPR, this study suggests that learning about the local history and culture should also be considered a key part of good CBPR.

That being said, researchers should critically consider the method they use to educate themselves about a community. While Tondu et al. (2014) emphasized the importance of learning about the local culture and history of the community, their suggestions on how researchers should learn were arguably problematic. As discussed above, they suggested that researchers:

- Attend and volunteer at local events (ie. recreational sports, feasts, youth events);

- Participate in traditional activities (ie. fishing trips, dancing, storytelling);

- Listen to Elders' and community members' stories;

- Discuss research in informal settings (ie. community events); and

- Have a community member help them understand and navigate local norms (p. 423).

This was how HB and IM learned about the Heiltsuk's culture and history. However, these methods are problematic as they largely rely on Indigenous community members dedicating their unpaid time to educating outsider researchers, which is a big issue in Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations more generally. Amidst current discussions about 'reconciliation' in Canada, many Indigenous people are expected to provide non-Indigenous Canadians with this type of free education (Lefebvre, 2017). This is why JH suggested that researchers and

filmmakers hire local community members to develop and present an orientation or workshop to them about the community's culture and history.

Power Imbalances: Community members also spoke about uneven power dynamics. Even though CBPR methods like PV are specifically designed to address these imbalances, FB and IM argued these imbalances still exist in collaborative projects including the *Glwa* film. They discussed how HB and IM had more technical skills, and therefore had a lot of influence on the film. These observations reinforce the current academic literature on power imbalances inherent in the PV process, especially in the editing stage (Ball & Janyst, 2008; Evans & Foster, 2009; Mak, 2012).

During this stage of the process, HB and IM recognized and tried to counter these power imbalances in several ways. They wanted to make the process as transparent as possible so that FB and VB could provide regular feedback, but also wanted to respect their busy schedules. To make the interview content easily accessible, HB transcribed the interviews and sent them to FB and VB. After this, she put together an 81-page 'audit' of the visual 'b-roll' material, which mostly consisted of FB boating around Heiltsuk territory (see **Figure 16**). After the team decided on the overall direction of the film, HB put together a 113-page scene-by-scene outline describing how the film would be edited. After everyone agreed on the outline, HB edited together the film, regularly sending drafts to VB and discussing them with her. When the film was almost done, VB went to Winnipeg to help HB finalize it.

However, even with transcripts, outlines, online clips, and regular correspondence, it is very difficult to collaboratively edit a film without community members present. As Bali and Kofinas (2014) argue, without community members present, participants' interviews can be misinterpreted, de-contextualized and altered in a way that can "change its entire meaning" (n.p.). There are many ways this could happen. Sentences could be cut and combined together, important caveats could be removed, interviews could be positioned next to other interviews that change their meaning, emotional music could be added to the interview, or 'b-roll' material could be placed over the interview in a way that alters its meaning. Given this, researchers who are not working with community members in the editing suite should be cognizant of their power to shape the overall film.
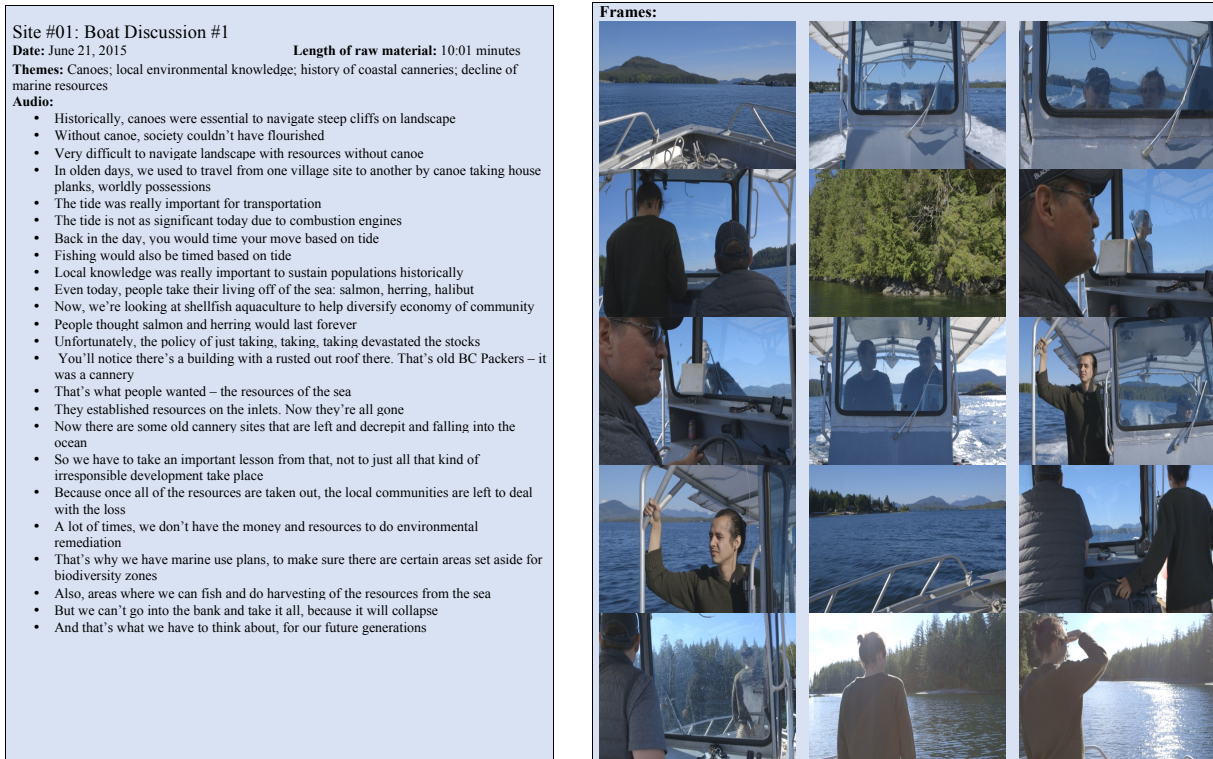
Site #01: Boat Discussion #1
Date: June 21, 2015   Length of raw material: 10:01 minutes
Themes: Canoes; local environmental knowledge; history of coastal canneries; decline of marine resources
Audio:
- Historically, canoes were essential to navigate steep cliffs on landscape
- Without canoe, society couldn't have flourished
- Very difficult to navigate landscape with resources without canoe
- In olden days, we used to travel from one village site to another by canoe taking house planks, worldly possessions
- The tide was really important for transportation
- The tide is not as significant today due to combustion engines
- Back in the day, you would time your move based on tide
- Fishing would also be timed based on tide
- Local knowledge was really important to sustain populations historically
- Even today, people take their living off of the sea: salmon, herring, halibut
- Now, we're looking at shellfish aquaculture to help diversify economy of community
- People thought salmon and herring would last forever
- Unfortunately, the policy of just taking, taking, taking devastated the stocks
- You'll notice there's a building with a rusted out roof there. That's old BC Packers – it was a cannery
- That's what people wanted – the resources of the sea
- They established resources on the inlets. Now they're all gone
- Now there are some old cannery sites that are left and decrepit and falling into the ocean
- So we have to take an important lesson from that, not to just all that kind of irresponsible development take place
- Because once all of the resources are taken out, the local communities are left to deal with the loss
- A lot of times, we don't have the money and resources to do environmental remediation
- That's why we have marine use plans, to make sure there are certain areas set aside for biodiversity zones
- Also, areas where we can fish and do harvesting of the resources from the sea
- But we can't go into the bank and take it all, because it will collapse
- And that's what we have to think about, for our future generations

Figure 16: Example of two[2] pages from the audit of raw footage.

Ownership and Control: The results in this chapter also highlight the importance of [3] researchers working closely with the local political institutions and leaders throughout their project. When working in Bella Bella, KB said that researchers should obtain university ethics prior to conducting CBPR projects. KB and JH also said researchers should meet with HIRMD to discuss their research overall project goals, objectives and methods. KB also recommended that researchers leave a copy of their data and material with HIRMD. These suggestions reinforce current studies that suggest researchers should work closely with local political leaders and institutions in the community (Fisher & Ball, 2003; Menzies, 2004). Interestingly, though, much of the literature is critical of university-based ethics reviews (Menzies, 2001; Hodge & Lester, 2006; Martin, 2007). In contrast, KB viewed them as an important first stage, stating that the review was one way for researchers to ensure they were acting responsibly in communities.

As a representative of HIRMD, KB also expressed concern about the ownership, control, and publication of sensitive research results. While he discussed this in relation to scientific

data, the same problem applies to video research. He explained the release of certain studies may impact how he strategizes and negotiates with the federal government and private industry. However, he also recognized how important publications are for researchers who want to advance their careers. KB's observation reinforces other literature on the topic. For example, Schnarch writes that the decision to publish research results usually depends upon the perceived scientific quality and contributions of the work, rather than on the broader political and cultural implications of the publication (Schnarch, 2004). While Schnarch suggested protocols researchers and community members could use to address this issue – including asking leaders to approve publications before their release and sharing research only for specific purposes – KB's interview suggests the issue is on-going. Given this, researchers should discuss ownership and publication rights over video products with leaders early in their negotiations.

4.9 CONCLUSION

At the end of the production, FB and VB thought the film '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' was a success. VB said she thought the story was authentic, and that it was told from the Heiltsuk's perspective. FB agreed, sharing that: "We showed results. I'm pleased with that the energy and the commitment ultimately resulted in a piece of work that fairly and accurately reflects our story." However, both also acknowledged the challenges associated with PV processes. VB explained that: "I look back at all of those challenges we had, you know, the distance and getting to know each other and building a relationship, and investing and building a friendship, and I just feel really proud of it. And I think it's all worth it." FB compared the process of making a film to a canoe journey, which is filled with challenges, explaining that: "you do the journey, you get to your safe harbour, and we're in our safe harbour, we're there." By this, he meant the team successfully paddled through the challenges and created a film that Heiltsuk community members approved at the local screening. This gave them the social licence to premiere it at *imagineNATIVE Film and Media Arts Festival* in Toronto.

However, FB emphasized that landing in this 'safe harbour' was not inevitable. The team could have gotten caught in a metaphorical storm that capsized the canoe. As it was, they had

to 'pull' or paddle through the challenges associated with PV productions. Among other things, discussed in this chapter, there was a geographical separation and power imbalances between community members and research partners. There were also wider community relationships that the team had to maintain. The team was ultimately able to navigate these rough waters and land in the 'safe harbour' for several reasons. First, the community members and researchers had a strong relationship. Second, the researcher took the time to get to know the community's culture and history. Third, the team was cognizant of the uneven power dynamics in the research process – particularly in the editing stage – and worked to collaborate as much as possible during every stage of the process, even when geographical distances between partners made it difficult to do so. Finally, the team maintained wider community relations by working with a Qatuwas Committee and screening the final film in Bella Bella. Overall, these practices helped the team successfully 'pull' to the safe harbour.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

On October 20, 2017, the film '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' premiered at *imagineNATIVE Film and Media Arts Festival*, the largest Indigenous film festival in the world, in Toronto, Canada. Over five days, the festival programmed 115 films and videos along with numerous workshops, art installations, and social events. '*Glwa*' was included in a daytime program about Indigenous youth revitalizing their cultural knowledge called 'Wisdom of Youth'. In addition to '*Glwa*,' the program included '*Twilight Dancers'*, '*Mikinakay: Trail of the Turtle*', and '*Keeping the Legends at Heart*' (imagineNATIVE, 2017). Many school groups purchased tickets to the 'Wisdom of Youth' program, making it the first one in the festival to sell out. Organizers moved the show from a 229-capacity theatre to a 358-capacity theatre, which also subsequently sold out (J. Ryle, personal communication, October 16, 2017). The program was packed with youth from the Greater Toronto Area who came to learn about Indigenous cultural revitalization (see **Figure 17** and **Figure 18**).

Figure 17: School groups at the 'Wisdom of Youth' program at imagineNATIVE Festival.

Figure 18: Heiltsuk community members watching 'Glwa' at imagineNATIVE.

The premiere of '*Glwa*' at *imagineNATIVE* was an ideal way to end the two-and-a-half-year collaboration between VB, FB, IM, and myself. Over this time, I learned a lot about coastal Indigenous history, culture, and politics, which is discussed throughout this thesis. One of the most inspiring things I learned was how Indigenous communities like the Heiltsuk are resurging through grassroots initiatives like Tribal Canoe Journeys (TCJ), which is the topic of *Chapter 2*. In my relatively short life, I've witnessed the federal government's attempts to address social issues in Indigenous communities through what Corntassel (2012) called 'state-centered' approaches such as the 'politics of recognition' (Coulthard, 2014) and economic development initiatives. However, as scholars observed, many of these initiatives were not successful as they did not address the root causes of Indigenous peoples' suffering (Alfred, 2009). In contrast, I've observed how TCJ has revitalized the Heiltsuk people by reconnecting them to their traditional territories, helping them heal from intergenerational traumas, re-establishing relationships between generations and Indigenous Nations, and supporting resurgence of their cultural knowledge and traditions. Based on this, I have come to the conclusion that grassroots cultural

initiatives like TCJ are a crucial component of addressing social issues in many Indigenous communities today.

That being said, I am wary of the suggestion that the Canadian state has no role to play in supporting grassroots initiatives like TCJ. In my opinion, this a slippery argument that can be used to justify many of the austere, neoliberal policies, which have become increasingly popular since the 1980s. According to the neoliberal ideology, the state has no role interfering in things like social programs and environmental conservation, which should instead be left to the 'free' market (Harvey, 2005). The problem with this is – quite simply – that program like TCJ cost a lot of money to run, and are of little interest to private investors in the 'free' market, who would not be able to profit from them. Indeed, the Heiltsuk canoe family had to raise roughly $40,000.00 for the 2016 journey to Nisqually to cover the cost of food, canoeing and camping gear, gasoline for support boats and vehicles, and hotel rooms for Elders, among other things. Because of this financial barrier, the canoe family was almost unable to complete the journey. In my opinion, federal and provincial governments could provide funding to support community-led initiatives like TCJ without jeopardizing the integrity of the grassroots program. Overall, this would benefit communities socially and culturally, as demonstrated in *Chapter 2* of this thesis. However, if this argument is not compelling enough to fiscally-prudent politicians, this type of investment also has the potential to save the government money in the long-run. This is because improvements in an individual's well-being can reduce their reliance on state services like health care, temporary housing, and the judicial system (Silver, 2014).

Based on my observations over the last two-and-a-half years, I also think TCJ is really important from an environmental perspective, both for the Heiltsuk and for Canadian society more generally. As discussed in *Chapter 2*, Heiltsuk community members and leaders are concerned about the impact of western, consumer culture on Indigenous youth. Frank Brown said many urban Indigenous youth are influenced by this material culture. Heiltsuk artist Ian Reid said this is also the case in Bella Bella, where Heiltsuk youth are exposed to western consumer culture through music, television, computers, and video games. These observations echo the concerns of Alfred (2005), who warns that some Indigenous people are being assimilated into mainstream, consumer culture, which he writes causes anxiety and depression.

Simpson (2011) goes further and argues that consumerism actually represents a *lack* of culture. She writes that modern society "is a culture of absence because consumer culture requires both absence and wanting things in order to perpetuate itself" (2011, p. 92). This consumer culture is not only *psychologically* harmful (Alfred, 2005), it is also *environmentally* harmful as many environmental scholars and activists have pointed out (The Worldwatch Institute, 2010). In this way, TCJ may discourage consumerism and environmental degradation by reconnecting Indigenous youth with their own culture, rather than western material culture.

More broadly, I think TCJ is important from an environmental perspective as it supports the revitalization of Heiltsuk worldviews and laws – or *gvi'ilas* – about the environment. As Kelly Brown and Mavis Windsor pointed out in *Chapter 2*, the Heiltsuk's teachings highlight the fact that humans are fundamentally connected to, and dependent on, the natural environment. Given this, the Heiltsuk *gvi'ilas* encourage individuals to conserve and sustain resources. These teachings are echoed in other published literature by Heiltsuk leaders – including Frank Brown and Kathy Brown (2009), and Housty et al. (2014) – who emphasize the interconnections between the Heiltsuk people and the environment. For thousands of years, this traditional ecological knowledge has enabled Indigenous communities like the Heiltsuk to not only survive but thrive in their traditional territories (Turner, Boelscher, & Ignace, 2000). By revitalizing this knowledge, TCJ can encourage Heiltsuk youth to stand up to protect their natural environment. Indeed, this is what happened in in March 2015 – less than a year after the Heiltsuk hosted *Qatuwas* TCJ – when Heiltsuk youth and leaders occupied the local DFO office to protest their decision to open the herring fishery (Gillis, 2015) (see **Figure 19**).

This revitalization of traditional ecological knowledge is important not only for the Heiltsuk but also for Canadian society as a whole. Currently, Canadians face a number of interconnected ecological challenges including resource depletion, environmental degradation, climate change, and ocean acidification, among other issues. Arguably, these problems stem – at least in part – from the western, scientific way of looking at the environment, which suggests humans are distinct from, and dominant over, nature (Merchant, 2004). By revitalizing alternative ways of understanding our relationship and responsibility to the environment, I think TCJ can help Canadians address some of our current ecological challenges.

Figure 19: Heiltsuk youth and leaders defending local herring fishery.

Over the last two-and-a-half years, I also spent a lot of time thinking about critical theory, collaborative video processes, and my role as a white, middle-class female from the prairies in this project. I was influenced by Said (1978; 1993), who highlighted the connections between the construction of knowledge and representations on one hand, and imperialism and colonialism on the other hand. He argued western scholars routinely represented colonized 'Others' as backward, uncivilized, and inferior to western individuals, thereby implicitly justifying the colonization of these 'Others'. There are multiple examples of this type of representation of the Heiltsuk 'Other'. One of the earliest was in Methodist missionary William Crosby's 1914 book *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship*. In this book, Crosby explains how, before the mission, the Heiltsuk "were said to be warlike, and in later years were the dread of some of the Coast tribes, as well as of the white settlers" (Crosby, 1914, p. 184). However, after he met with the "King of Bella Bella" in his "great heathen house" (1914, p. 185) and arranged for a mission, the community was saved. According to his account, missionaries entered the community and converted the Heiltsuk to Christianity. He wrote that it was "one of the most successful Christian villages on the north-west Coast of British Columbia" (1914, p. 186), and even illustrated his point with photographs (see **Figure 4** and **Figure 5**). In

this example, Crosby suggested that white missionaries 'saved' members of the Heiltsuk Nation from their savage, heathen ways.

While Crosby's book was published over one-hundred years ago, this narrative can still be found in current stories about Bella Bella. In September 2016, Maclean's magazine published an article about how Bella Bella 'solved suicide'. The article explained that thirty years ago, Bella Bella was plagued by social issues that many Indigenous communities across Canada face: high unemployment, low graduation rates, alcoholism and a general sense of hopelessness. According to the article, the community began turning around when Larry Jorgensen, "a young, mental health bureaucrat from southern Ontario", arrived in Bella Bella and started creating youth programs. The article went on to explain that Jorgensen took the Heiltsuk youth to their traditional territories, taught them about the landscapes, and built cabins with them across the territory (Macdonald, 2016). Though the article did acknowledge other (nameless) Heiltsuk leaders who helped turn around the community, it emphasized the role of this white outsider above all others. In doing so, it overlooked the work of many Heiltsuk leaders and grassroots initiatives like TCJ, which supported the Nation's revitalization. It also reinforced the myth about the colonized, inferior 'Other' in need of a white savior. These examples demonstrate how outsiders with good intentions can construct problematic narratives about communities.

Given the power of these representations of the 'Other' (Said, 1993), I think it is very important for researchers to be critical of their privileged position when working in Indigenous communities. In my opinion, this should be the case even when researchers enter communities with the very best of intentions, as the history of colonial interactions in Canada is littered with examples of individuals – like Crosby (1914) – who thought they were helping Indigenous communities but could not see past the racism and sexism that coloured the social and political norms of their era (Haig-Brown & Nock, 2006). It also goes without saying that I think researchers need to work in collaboration with community members to analyze research results and construct narratives in order to avoid framing the community in inappropriate or inaccurate ways, as was the case in the previous example. In this project, FB and VB were unhappy with the narrative of the film in the early drafts. They thought it focused too heavily on the 2016 TCJ gathering and did not contextualize the history of colonialism and the journeys

enough. In collaboration with them, I put together several iterative drafts of the film, as described in *Chapter 4*, until they were content with the way the community and the journeys were framed. In projects like this, where the research product is visual an therefore has the potential to reach and influence large audiences (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017), I think it is especially important for researchers to work in a critical and collaborative manner.

This raises the question about the differences between non-visual methods – which were used in *Chapters 2* and *4* of this thesis – and visual research methods – which were used in *Chapter 3*. In *Chapter 2*, I transcribed, coded, and analyzed interviews about TCJ, which were disseminated in a written text. There are multiple benefits to using this approach, including the fact that it allows researchers to contextualize results in academic literature and discuss nuanced details in a way that they can't through a film alone. Indeed, in *Chapter* 2, I was able to situate my results in scholarly work about colonialism and Indigenous resurgence, which we were unable to do in *Chapter 3*. Researchers can also use this written approach to incorporate and represent the experiences of a large number of participants in a relatively succinct manner (ie. **Table 4**), which can make it a powerful tool for sharing research with policy makers. In *Chapter 2,* I was able to incorporate the experiences of all 50 interview participants in some manner, while we were only able to incorporate twenty-nine participants into the film.

That being said, there are challenges associated with a non-Indigenous researcher interpreting, synthesizing, and disseminating Indigenous peoples' experiences through a western lens. Through this process, participants' interviews are arguably "colonized through the language of academia" (Bonnett, 2009; cited in Garrett, 2010). Indeed, in *Chapter 2,* I used academic terms to paraphrase many participants' responses, while in *Chapter 3*, participants responses were left in their own words. A related challenge with this written approach is research is disseminated in estoeric language through academic journals, which the general public is often unable to access (Anderson & McLachlan, 2016). Because of this, a lot of academic research is not shared with the general public or with the communities it came from (Garrett, 2010). For these reasons, researchers have started using more visual methods like PV.

There are many benefits to using visual methods, as described in *Chapter 4* of this thesis. One of these benefits – as this project highlighted – is that video products can be used to reach large audiences and potentially impact policy makers (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). in the first six months of finishing *Chapter 3*, the film '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' has already been shared in numerous places. In August 2017, VB and I created a Facebook page and shared the trailer online. As of October 2017, the trailer was shared more than 2,400 times and viewed by more than 71,000 people (see **Figure 20**).
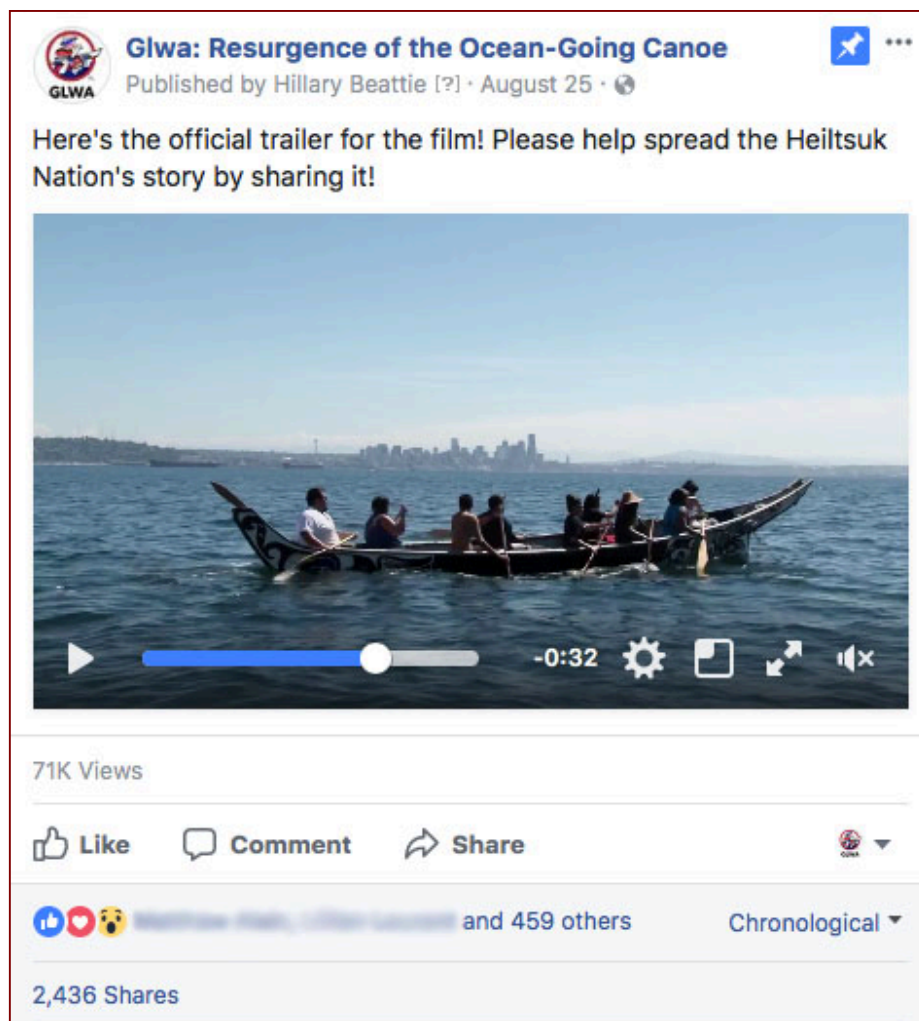

Figure 20: Facebook post of 'Glwa' trailer, October 2017.

We also created a promotional website for the film at www.glwafilm.com (see **Figure 21**). Artist-run distributor VTape also agreed to rent and sell '*Glwa*' to educational institutions and art galleries for the Heiltsuk Nation. At the end of August, FB, IM, VB and I also presented '*Glwa*' back to the Heiltsuk Nation through a community screening in Bella Bella. VB – who teaches courses at the Northwest Indian College in Lummi, WA – also shared the film with her colleagues and students. In October 2017, as discussed above, the team also premiered the film at *imagineNATIVE* in Toronto (see **Figure 22**). In these myriad ways, *Chapter 3* of this thesis has already been shared with hundreds, if not thousands, of individuals.
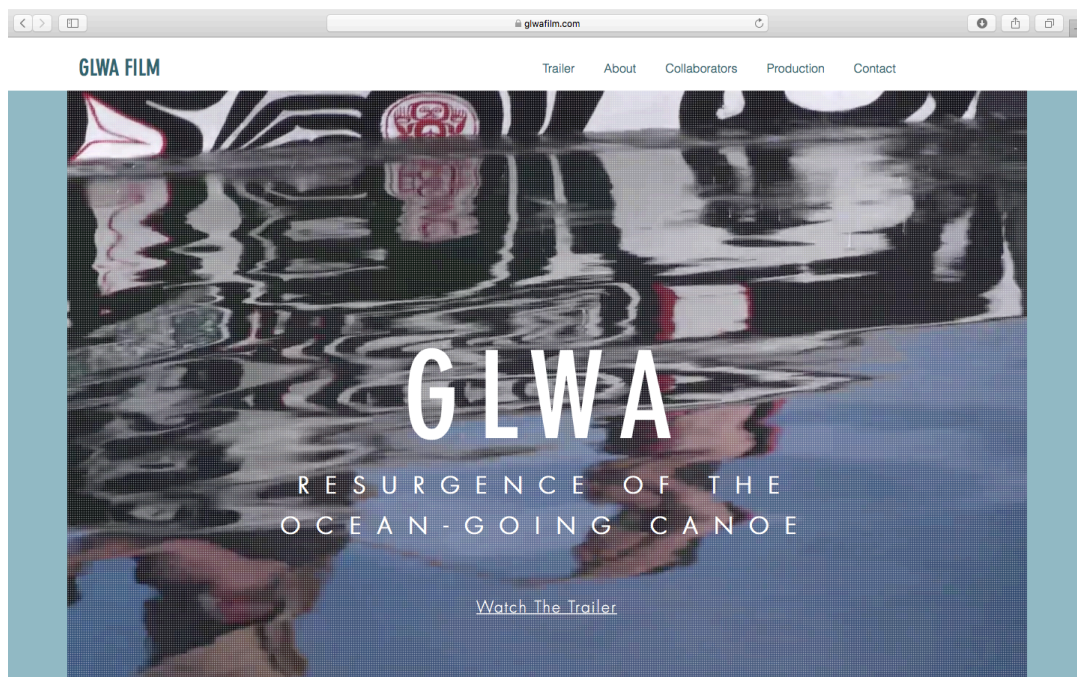

Figure 21: Screen capture of 'Glwa' film website.

Through participatory films like '*Glwa*,' I think researchers can contribute to national dialogues, including conversations about the country's national narrative. As discussed in *Chapter 1*, many scholars argue Canada's current narrative – which suggests the country was settled through primarily peaceful negotiations with Indigenous people – needs to be re-storied so that Canadians understand how colonialism impacted Indigenous communities historically

and contemporarily (Regan, 2010; Aguirre, 2015). Scholars also argue that Indigenous people need to share stories about their resistance, resilience, and resurgence, which can inspire other Indigenous communities to revitalize their cultural practices (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Simspon, 2011). By challenging the national narrative, these counter-hegemonic stories about colonialism and resurgence can change the way non-Indigenous Canadians think about the past, present, and future of their country and their relationship with Indigenous people.
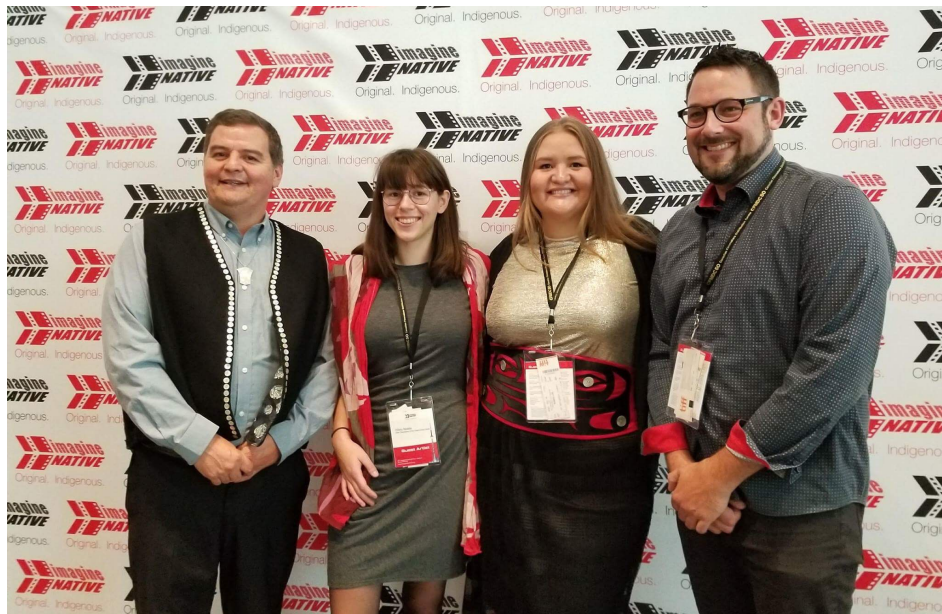

Figure 22: Frank Brown, Hillary Beattie, Vina Brown and Ian Mauro at imagineNATIVE.

Films like '*Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe*' can contribute to this change. The documentary begins by highlighting the Heiltsuk's long history in their traditional territory, and discusses how the Nation was impacted by western diseases and Residential Schools. In this way, the film challenges the idea that Canada was settled in a primarily peaceful manner, and highlights how intergenerational traumas continue to impact communities like the Heiltsuk (Regan, 2010). However, the film also focuses on the Nation's grassroots resurgence. It shows the history of the Heiltsuk's involvement with TCJ over the last three decades. It also demonstrates how the journeys help Heiltsuk youth reconnect to the natural environment and their culture. The journeys also allow youth to re-establish relationships within 'canoe families',

across generations, and between Indigenous coastal nations (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009). By illustrating this resurgence, the film may change the way Canadian citizens think about solutions to some of the intergenerational issues in Indigenous communities.

I think that films like '*Glwa*' also have the potential to influence how Indigenous youth think about themselves. As Saul Brown said in his interview, Indigenous youth grow up surrounded by negative representations of themselves, which causes them to feel shame. In his words, these include "the 'Drunken Indian', the 'Savage Indian', [and] the 'Violent Indian.'" This is reflected in academic literature about media representations of Indigenous people, which are overwhelmingly negative (Anderson & Robertson, 2011). These representations can cause Indigenous youth to feel weak and hopeless about their future (Simspon, 2011). In Saul's opinion, youth can deflect these negative narratives by participating in TCJ, which can show them that they "come from good people". Taking it one step further, I think films like '*Glwa*' can help Indigenous youth deflect negative narratives about Indigenous people, and see that there are opportunities to engage in meaningful cultural activities and resurgence. Given the important role that they can play in inspiring youth, I think films and other visual media forms are crucial to the resurgence of Indigenous communities across Canada. For this reason, I think the film '*Glwa*' was the most important outcome of this project, and I hope it continues to be viewed by Indigenous youth across the country.

FIGURE SOURCES

Figure 1: Map from: Heiltsuk Nation. (2015). *Heiltsuk title and rights strategy: Implementing a reconciliation agenda.* Bella Bella, BC.

Figure 2: Photographs by Hillary Beattie and Vina Brown.

Figure 3: Graphic from p. 177 of: Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* Zed Books.

Figure 4: Photograph from the Anglican Church of Canada Archives. Fond: 008/Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) fonds; Series: MSCC Scrapbook 7 – Indian Residential and Day Schools. Finding Aid: The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada Archives. Accession: P75-103.

Figure 5: Photograph from p. 187 of: Crosby, T. (1914). *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship.* Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Young People's Forward Movement Department.

Figure 6: Photograph from p. 187 of: Crosby, T. (1914). *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship.* Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Young People's Forward Movement Department.

Figure 7: Photograph by Hillary Beattie.

Figure 8: Graphic by Hillary Beattie.

Figure 9: Photograph from Frank Brown.

Figure 10: Photograph from Frank Brown.

Figure 11: Graphic by Hillary Beattie.

Figure 12: Video still from film 'Glwa: Resurgence of the Ocean-Going Canoe'.

Figure 13: Photograph by Hillary Beattie.

Figure 14: Photograph by Ian Mauro.

Figure 15: Photograph by Hillary Beattie.

Figure 16: Audit by Hillary Beattie.

Figure 17: Photograph by Hillary Beattie.

Figure 18: Photograph by Ian Mauro.

Figure 19: Photograph by Pacific Wild from: Gillis, D. (2015, March 29). *Heiltsuk Nation occupies DFO office in face of expected herring fishery*. Retrieved from Common Sense Canadian: http://commonsensecanadian.ca/heiltsuk-nation-occupies-dfo-office-in-face-of-expected-herring-fishery/

Figure 20: Screen capture from www.facebook.com/glwafilm

Figure 21: Screen capture from www.glwafilm.com

Figure 22: Photograph by Kathy Brown.

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