Gathering Knowledge:
Indigenous Methodologies of Land/Place-Based
Visual Storytelling/Filmmaking and Visual Sovereignty

by
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Abstract

This dissertation addresses two questions that examine how localized cultural knowledge informs production practices in visual narratives produced for Fourth World Cinema and how Indigenous visual storytelling/filmmaking styles based in that knowledge determine the film elements, thus the cultural congruency of their selected aesthetics. Secwepemc-Syilx systems of knowledge in British Columbia are used as an exemplar for the development of a localized theory for creating visually sovereign narratives for Fourth World Cinema. This culturally specific ontology formulates a land/place-based identity, specific to Secwepemc-Syilx territories. Land, story and cultural protocols are central to this work and the seamless relational quality is illustrated by emphasizing how integral they are to Indigenous self-representation and identity.

In the film discourse, the researcher brings together Manuel (Secwepemc) and Poslun’s Fourth World (1974) and Barclay’s (Maori) (1990, 2003a, 2003b) assertion of a Fourth Cinema to further develop the notion of a Fourth World Cinema. The ways that Indigenous film aesthetics shape the meaning of visual sovereignty and the concept of cultural congruency in constructing film elements are fundamental for Fourth World Cinema. In the globalization and film discourses the researcher interrogates how the concepts of political identity (indigeneity) and geographical location (deterritorialization) affect the treatment of Indigenous representation.

An Indigenous Inquiry process is set in an Indigenous research paradigm that privileges Indigenous systems of knowledge. Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge(s) are juxtaposed to reveal the philosophical differences that affect land, story, and cultural protocols. Archibald’s (2008) seven Indigenous storywork principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy set the framework for the shared conversations of 13 Indigenous knowledge keepers. The findings of the knowledge gathered illustrate the
commonalities in the cosmologies within the diverse expansive Indigenous worldviews. Another layer of investigation documents a peer-to-peer discussion between the researcher who is a visual storyteller and a diverse group of 17 Indigenous filmmakers who shared stories from their film production experiences. Their perspectives affirmed the role of culture in contemporary film production practices and led to the development of the concepts of story, land, cultural protocols, and Indigenous identity in Fourth World Cinema.
Preface

Dorothy Christian carried out the research design, analysis, and written chapters of this dissertation. The dissertation is an original and unpublished work of Dorothy Christian. The following committees and informal advisor listed below provided guidance and feedback to Dorothy Christian throughout the research and dissertation writing process.

University of British Columbia PhD Committee:
Dr. Jo-ann Archibald, Supervisor
Dr. Sheryl Lightfoot, Member
Dr. Rita Shelton Deverell, Member

Ethical Approval for interviews received from: The University of British Columbia, Office of Research Services and Administration, Behavioural Research Ethics Board, Certificate Number H13-01914

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use of the materials must honour these Nations’ inherent authority in regard to their cultural information in their specific knowledge system and must seek permissions from them.

Kukwstec-kuc to Kukpi/Dr. Ron Ignace, Dr. Marianne Ignace, Dr. Nancy Turner and Dr. Kelly Bannister for developing the wording for this statement on copyright and intellectual property.

In addition, I extend this respect to the authors of the graphics that are used in my dissertation. The copyright of Figure 3: Mobilizing Indigenous Land Based Framework Eshkakimikwe Kaandossowin: Earth Ways of Knowing and Figure 4: Gee-zhee-kan-kan’-dug Cedar Pedagogy sits with the original author Alannah Young Leon (Cree-Anishinabe).

Kukwstsétsemc to Secwepemc graphic artist Tania Willard who donated her creativity and time to create Figure 1: Cucw-la7 Preparing for Flight, Figure 2: Cucw-la7 Gathering Knowledge and Figure 6: Cucw-la7 with the Eggs She Laid. We share copyright on these images.

For the original work by Dorothy Christian, citations may be used in accordance with academic protocol for citing knowledge/sources.

**Cultural Advisory Council:** Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis), Mike Myers (Seneca/Iroquois), Mona Jules (Secwepemc) and Rosalind Williams (Secwepemc).

**Informal Indigenous Film Advisor:** Victor Masayesva, Jr.
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Figure 3. Mobilizing Indigenous land-based framework: Eshkakimikwe kaandossowin [Earth ways of knowing]. Artwork by C. Poernomo, 2014. Reproduced from “Indigenous elders pedagogy for land-based health education programs: Gee-zhee-kan’-dug cedar pedagogical pathways” by A. Young, 2015, p. 93. Copyright 2015 by A. Young; used with permission .................................................64

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List of Acronyms

- APTN  Aboriginal People’s Television Network
- BC  British Columbia, Canada
- BREB  Behavioural Research Ethics Board
- CRUW  Culturally Relevant Urban Wellness
- IK  Indigenous systems of knowledge
- MA  Master of Arts
- NFB  National Film Board
- NMAI  Museum of the American Indian
- OCAP  Ownership, Control Access and Possession
- PBS  Public Broadcasting Station
- PhD  Doctor of Philosophy
- RCAP  Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
- TRC  Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- TV  Television
- UBC  University of British Columbia
- UNDRIP  UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
- VACFSS  Vancouver Aboriginal Child and Family Services Society
- WIPO  World Intellectual Property Organization
- ZDF  Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen
Glossary

Aboriginal, Indigenous, Native, First Nations, and Indian refers to original peoples of Turtle Island (North America)

Indigenous systems of knowledge(s) and Euro-Western system of knowledge:
Throughout this dissertation I make reference to both these terms. To clarify my meaning of Indigenous knowledge(s), I am acknowledging that each Indigenous group has its own philosophies, epistemologies, pedagogies and ontologies. In addition, to explain how I use the term Euro-Western system of knowledge, I am referring to the dominant Euro-Western philosophy used in academic institutions. I acknowledge that there is not one monolithic Euro-Western system of knowledge but a spectrum of knowledge systems based in Western Europe.

Nsyilxcen – Syilx Language

Secwepemcitsin – Secwepemc Language

Secwepemculecw – Secwepemc Land

Sek’lep – Secwepemc word for Coyote

Sen’klip – Syilx word for Coyote

Sk’elép from Kukpi/Dr. R Ignace’s PhD dissertation

Turtle Island referring to how Indigenous Peoples identify North America

Use of English Language:
At the beginning of this dissertation, I explain how using the English language is difficult when conveying meaning of Secwepemc/Syilx/Indigenous concepts. In particular, when I use the English words, “theoretical/theory/concept”, I am referring to Indigenous ways of knowing, thinking, being, acting and listening.
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This work is dedicated to all the story knowledge keepers of the Secwepemc and Syilx Nations in the generations before me who worked at preserving the cultural knowledge so that we may continue to perpetuate life on our lands. And, to those story knowledge keepers who will follow in the generations after me to ensure that our children know who we are on the land.
Chapter 1.

Introduction

1.1. Cultural Location

I am of the Secwepemc (Shuswap) and Syilx (Okanagan) Nations from the interior plateau lands of what is now geo-politically known as British Columbia. The three tribal names I carry are all bird names so I turn to the Eagle for guidance. I was given a story with each name. I was told that the names are living energies that need to be respected and looked after. This is the story within the story of my receiving my Cucw-la7 name. After observing me for over 10 years, the old ladies from my Secwepemc Splats’in home community gave me a name at a ceremony in May 2007. It was an emotional experience because I was taken away from my community when I was 13 years old and put into white foster homes. Some of my siblings, nieces, nephews and cousins were present to witness my name giving. Lena Bell, the eldest woman in our community (now deceased) gave me the name and her daughter Marion Lee (my cousin) said, “... my Mom has forgotten to add, that the Meadowlark that Dorothy is like—She is not afraid to talk about anything that needs to be revealed. In her...film and video work, like the Meadowlark, she travels and flies all over and comes home to talk about it, in a loud voice! That’s why she was given Cucw-la7. Weyt Cucw-la7.”

My Secwepemc spirit name, Cucw-la7 made its presence known in May 2014 when I was at Ron & Marianne Ignace’s home—as we set up the equipment, a Meadowlark was singing outside the patio door—Marianne said, “Cucw-la7”—I looked at her as my body tingled. I said, “That’s my Indian name!” The spirit of Cucw-la7 flew with me and guided me as I gathered knowledge for this work.
I am the first in my family to pursue graduate level studies, mostly because my Syilx Grandmother who raised me in the first 4 years of my life said, “Go to school we have to learn how those people think!”
1.1.1. Cucw-la7 Gathering Knowledge

Figure 2. Cucw-la7: Gathering knowledge. Artist T. Willard. Copyright by D. Christian & T. Willard; used with permission.
1.1.2. **Ancestral Collective Memories**

During my writing process, I was feeling very disconnected from my community and questioning whether or not I had the right to be working with this knowledge. While on a writing retreat at a home overlooking the Salish Sea, an Eagle did a ‘fly by’ every day to remind me of my spirit connection. I also had a dream/visitation that comforted me. I was shown that the collective memories of my blood relatives are with me on this journey. My Great Uncle Joe came to help me with this work. He’s been gone from this physical reality since the mid-1990s. He is one of my maternal grandfather’s brothers. In our way that makes me his grandchild too.

DREAM: I was driving down Canyon Road—this road cuts right through the land where my grandparents and great grandparents lived. I saw Uncle Joe standing in this field and stopped to say hello. I was watching him watch these guys who were doing ‘something’ to the land. He was w-a-t-c-h-i-n-g them VERY INTENTLY. I asked him if I could give him a ride home when he was ready. He avoided the question. I realized he didn’t really know who I was. I told him my name and explained that I was Delphine’s oldest daughter and Emily and Alec’s first grandchild.

Finally he let me give him a ride down the Canyon Road, to his home. When we’re driving, he asks me “Who are you again?” I repeat my genealogy and tell him “so you are my grandpa too”! We’re visiting at his place after I gave him some canned deer meat that I had done up. He starts telling me about these horse races that are happening on Saturday and he wants to go. I ask him if I can go with him, thinking this was a way for me to spend more time with him. I know he walks everywhere. He doesn’t have a car. He tells me, “No but you can take a message for me.” I think, Oh poop, I really wanted to just hang out with him. He brings out this piece of paper and it has all kinds of writings and drawings on it—it looks kind of like a map. He tells me the name of the guy he wants me to give this information to. Then he shows me on the paper what I need to show the people. It’s about what he was ‘observing’ in relation to the land. He tells me, “You write this down and take it over there and show those people.”

After that dream, I felt like I was on track—I was totally comforted by Uncle Joe’s visit, I knew my ancestors are with me and the work I am doing is for the land!

I am diverging from the conventional way of academic writing in that I write in four voices to visually represent the holistic approach, as I did in my MA thesis. The

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1 In April 2014, I sat with Mona Jules, a Secwepemc Elder and one of my knowledge keepers and she confirmed for me that great Uncle Joe would also be considered a grandfather to me.
four voices are: the storyteller voice (body) represented in *italicized Papyrus 11 point font with 1.15 spacing, that is right margined*; the dream voice (spirit) represented in the *Papyrus italicized 11 point bold font, with 1.15 spacing*, also right margined; the scholar (mind) voice is represented in Cambria 12 point font, with 1.5 spacing and left margined. The last voice is the heart voice, which is silent and invisible; however, it synthesizes the other voices through the emotions of the heart. I include graphics to illustrate the metaphorical metaphysical space of my Secwepemc name Cucw-la7 that is directly related to the ‘gathering knowledge’ aspect of this study. The storyteller and spirit (dream) voices signify some of my lived experiences that are relevant to this study.

### 1.2. Chapter Overview

To respect my Indigenous research paradigm and Indigenous methodological choices, I introduce myself in a culturally appropriate way. I visually represent the metaphor of this doctoral research that is my Secwepemc name Cucw-la7 flying around Turtle Island to gather knowledge (see Figure 2). I explain how I got the name and the meaning of the name. I share a dream that occurred during my writing process. This is an unconventional ‘way of doing’ in academe; I incorporate as much as possible my Indigenous way of doing, which I fully explain in the third chapter (methodology) of the overall dissertation.

In the following section, I provide the background of my approach to this doctoral dissertation. I then describe the major components of my PhD study, that is, I explain my Indigenous research paradigm and methodologies/methods, plus I outline the research purpose and objectives. I state the research questions to provide clarity on what is being addressed in the overall study. I explain my research design and methodology and provide a brief summary of the concepts in the globalization and film theory discourses that directly relate to this work. Further, I explain my cultural
education that affirms my Indigenous way of knowing, seeing, doing, thinking and listening. I conclude by summarizing the chapters of the dissertation.

1.3. Back Story of Doctoral Research: The Master’s Thesis


The “Indigenous standpoint” theory that Nakata (2007) developed is concerned with the validity and coherence of Indigenous knowledge. Nakata (2007) argues that in order for the cultural interface to be understood there must be a priori knowledge of historical specificities of Indigenous experience, otherwise the Indigenous voice will remain as the objects of study and relegated to the prescribed narrative of the dominant society where on a theoretical level Indigenous voices do not have the power to interrogate the larger narrative. In the dominant narrative, the Indigenous voice(s) is/are reduced to an advisor role so that other peoples may understand them (p. 210). (Christian, 2010, p. 7)

In this context, I exercised agency as an Indigenous scholar. Together with Smith’s (2002) pivotal work on methodologies and Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous storywork process, my Indigenous perspective was affirmed. Then I addressed the intricacies of, and the multifaceted concerns of my research project.

Other critical theories that informed my Master’s thesis were Stuart Hall’s 1973 model of communications of ‘Encoding and Decoding’ and Lorna Roth’s 2005 development model. Hall’s critical cultural theory from the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies is central because it reveals how cultural knowledge determines how

\(^2\) I elaborated the three criteria of Nakata’s Indigenous Standpoint Theory in my MA thesis (Christian, 2010, p. 8). I did not include it here because of space constraints.
one constructs, disseminates and interprets visual narratives. And Roth’s model provided an in-depth history of the policy developments that led to the licensing of the first ever Aboriginal People’s Television Network (APTN) on February 22, 1999. Most importantly, Roth (2005) acknowledges the space of Fourth World and speaks of Indigenous peoples transforming from “objectified being to subject-agents” in media production (p. 227). Further, Roth developed an inclusive communications framework that called into question the status quo of what was the accepted norm of broadcasting in Canada (p. 229).


I continue to maintain the same position around the complexity of issues that surround Indigenous knowledge as articulated in my 2010 MA thesis (Christian, 2010) from the perspective of an Indigenous visual storyteller/filmmaker/researcher out in the field. I fully discussed the theoretical nuances of the issues in a section called “The Problem Before the Research Problem” (pp. 1-12). I maintain the same inherent complexities still exist in 2016.

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3 Full text is available at http://summit.sfu.ca/system/files/iritems1/11842/etd6042_DChristian.pdf
4 Full text is available at http://summit.sfu.ca/system/files/iritems1/11842/etd6042_DChristian.pdf
1.4. Doctoral Study–Gathering Knowledge: Indigenous Methodologies of Land/Place-Based Storytelling and Visual Sovereignty

This work is a continuation of my MA thesis. As an Indigenous researcher, I am mindful that the majority of the discourses I use are grounded in colonial, post-colonial, neo-colonial perspectives that are based in Euro-Western systems of knowledge. It is important to acknowledge the international, national and regional political landscape within which I am working. Canada was one of four nation-states (including Australia, New Zealand, and the USA) that voted against the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007. In 2010 Canada reversed their decision with various caveats along with the other colonial nation-states. In May 2016, Indigenous Affairs Liberal Minister Carolyn Bennett announced to the UN that Canada was now a full supporter of UNDRIP, “without qualification.” Further she stated, “We intend nothing less than to adopt and implement the declaration in accordance with the Canadian Constitution.”

It is critical to point out that “...the primary obstacles for the nation-state were land rights and self-determination, including the principle of free, prior, and informed consent (Lightfoot, 2016, pp. 1-2). The global Indigenous rights movement that has persisted for 30 years to gain recognition on land issues are significant because land and the visual sovereignty of cultural stories is central to this research study.

The colonial mindset that Canada continues to perpetuate insists on categorizing Indigenous peoples as ethnic minorities, even though it is obvious to Indigenous peoples that we/they are outside the boxes of various ethnic/immigrant groups. Current policies in the art of media making give the “illusion of inclusion” (Cornassel, 2008, 2012) through the multicultural and diversity programs and they do not recognize the unique location of Indigenous peoples on the colonized lands. Indigenous

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cultural producers continue to be treated as if they/we are just another interest group and because of this political reality my work tacitly includes the issue of race.

The time-period I focused on during the research of this doctoral research is the late 1990s, and early 2000s when there was an explosion of Indigenous visual storytelling in independent production. There were significant policy transformations that occurred because of a strong social, political and cultural movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s to claim the right to tell our own stories. Up to this time, cultural appropriation of Indigenous stories by mainstream writers in Canada was common practice. With Indigenous writers challenging the status quo, there were noteworthy changes in how Indigenous stories were treated. Indigenous writers asserted a culturally specific storytelling style in transposing the oral stories to the written form\(^6\) (Armstrong cited in Anderson, 1987; Beaucage, 2005; Campbell, 1995, 1976, 1973). This was the beginning of a corpus of Indigenous literature that developed Indigenous storytelling styles, which captured the shift from the oral to the written form. This study takes the next step and looks at how Indigenous stories are being transposed from the written to the visual form, which is made for the ever-present screen culture.

During this same time-period, the Canadian screen culture blossomed to include Indigenous stories by broadcasters such as the Aboriginal People’s Television Network (APTN), VISION TV and OMNI. During this time the global Indigenous filmmaking communities grew to include: producers, directors, assistant directors, writers, production managers, location managers, casting directors, animators, set designers, costume designers, editors, camera men/women and agents for the actors. Indigenous

\(^6\) Although, there were individuals such as Mohawk poet, Pauline Johnson and Okanagan writer, Christine Quintasket who were writing in the late 1800s and early 1900s, they were the exception. Quintasket wrote under the pen name, Mourning Dove and she wrote and published oral stories in the written form. Historical information for Quintasket can be read at:\nhttp://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=9512 retrieved April 28, 2015.
visual storytellers are involved in every conceivable genre, in feature films, in series television, in comedy sitcoms, in documentaries, in animation, in experimental films and in the many forms of new media including graphic art.

Some of our cultural stories are thousands of years old and are represented visually on rock paintings/petroglyphs/pictographs that are literally written into the land (Ignace, 2009; Sam 2013). The storytelling form I discuss is relatively new. I call it visual storytelling; others call it filmmaking. Silent films started in the late 1800s, which is comparatively recent when considering the thousands of years of history of the rock paintings/petroglyphs. Since the inception of moving pictures, Indigenous peoples have been involved in the film industry in various roles as actors, stunt men, and directors (Raheja, 2010). In contemporary times, some Indigenous peoples continue to participate in the Hollywood film industry in a multitude of roles; however, that is not the focus of this study. Rather, the emphasis of this work is the independent filmmaking of those I call, “visual storytellers.” I use this term to refer to Indigenous peoples who are working in the many forms of visual screen culture beyond the narrow scope of filmmaking.

In this PhD research, I adopt what Archibald (2008) refers to as “research as storytelling” (p. 47), in that I am listening to the stories and conversations of two groups of Indigenous peoples, while at the same time sharing some stories with them. The first group I conversed with are 13 knowledge keepers from the following Nations on Turtle Island: Secwepemc, Secwepemc-Syilx, Mohawk, Cree-Métis, Haida, Stó:lō and Seneca. One, non-Indigenous scholar/linguist is included; she is of Plattdutsch ancestry who traces her genealogy on her homelands for 800 years. She is married into the Secwepemc Nation and has been adopted by both the Haida and Secwepemc cultures. We shared conversations, stories and experiences, which reveal the expansive worldviews of some of the knowledge keepers. Furthermore, to provide insights into the cultural protocols of our stories and to understand how they guide our teaching and
learning practices, to see if our cultural knowledge is still relevant today in how we apply cultural protocols.

The second group I spoke with are 17 multi-generational Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers (Abenaki, Cree, Anishinabe, Cree-Métis, Mohawk, Mohawk/Heiltsuk, Hopi, Inuit, and Secwépemc) to understand how our cultural knowledge informs how we see, think, do, act, listen, teach and learn in our production practices. Fourteen of the visual storytellers work in the film and television industry and my youngest visual storyteller/filmmaker is in film school and intends to work in the industry. Three women (Anishinabe-Cree, Plains Cree, Cree-Saulteaux-Métis) whom I refer to as the Winnipeg Women Collective identify themselves as digital visual storytellers and they are not engaged in visual production professionally but produce stories for community-based purposes.

This study is unique because the knowledge shared by the knowledge keepers is an Indigenous-to-Indigenous conversation, while the stories and shared experiences of the visual storytellers/filmmakers is a peer-to-peer conversation because the researcher is an Indigenous visual storyteller. Undoubtedly, I am privileging Indigenous knowledge systems over Euro-Western system of knowledge; however, to be clear, I share Sami scholar Porsanger’s (2004) perspective that:

... the indigenous approaches to research on indigenous issues are not meant to compete with, or replace, the Western research paradigm; rather, to challenge it and contribute to the body of knowledge of indigenous peoples about themselves and for themselves, and for their own needs as peoples, rather than as objects of investigation. (p. 105)

I expand Porsanger’s stance one step further; I believe Indigenous systems of knowledge(s) are adding to the production of world knowledge, which is currently dominated by the Euro-Western system of knowledge.
1.5. **Research Purpose and Research Questions: Giving Voice to the Stories and the Land/Visual Sovereignty**

Within the scope of the global, national and regional Indigenous film/visual storytelling and media landscape, the underlying purpose of this PhD research is to expand my 2010 MA thesis, which outlined a theoretical framework for Indigenous film/video production thus adding to and expanding conceptual ideas in the global and national Indigenous visual storytelling/film theory discourse (Columpar, 2010; Knopf, 2009; Marks, 2000, 2002, 2004; Monk, 2001; Raheja, 2010). From the global to the national, local/regional scope, the particular purpose of this doctoral project is to theorize a localized Secwepemc and Syilx critical theory that speaks to how our cultural stories are at the core of our ways of knowing, being, doing, acting, listening and thinking that directly impact the pedagogical possibilities. Furthermore, our Sek’lep or Senklip⁷/Coyote stories are intimately connected to the land and embed the customary laws and cultural protocols that give us our operating principles of how we as Secwepemc and Syilx peoples are to live with each other and all the other sentient beings on the land. When delving into the Secwepemc and Syilx systems of knowledge, the following questions guide my exploration:

1. How do Secwepemc-Syilx systems of knowledge contribute to developing a localized theory for visually sovereign narratives in relation to how the elements are constructed for Fourth World Cinema? What role do cultural protocols play in choosing the elements of the films?

2. What are the Indigenous visual storytelling styles and elements that determine the cultural congruency of the films/videos of Fourth World Cinema? What does cultural congruency mean to their production (what can or cannot be filmed), performativity (where they can be screened) and how they are used for teaching/learning?

In Chapter 6, *Fourth World Cinema: Indigenous Methodologies of Land/Place-Based Visual Storytelling and Visual Sovereignty*, I clarify my use of the encumbered

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⁷ The Secwepemc and Syilx both have Coyote as the main character in their stories. The Secwepemc spelling for Coyote is, ‘Sek’lep’ and the Syilx spell is, ‘Senklip’.
term, ‘visual sovereignty’. From an Indigenous perspective, the concept of visual sovereignty is one that speaks to self-representation and aesthetic control of images by Indigenous cultural producers. Jolene Rickard\(^8\) (Tuscarora) was the first to introduce the concept in 1995, with another articulation in 2011. Since then Michelle Raheja (Seneca), 2007, 2010; and Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie (Seminole-Muscogee-Navajo) 2008 have added to the discussion. Therefore, I join the ongoing critical dialogue with these scholars.

With the strong foundation that Rickard, Raheja and Tsinhnahjinnie have developed surrounding the notion of visual sovereignty, I expand the discussion by putting their ideas of visual production with the shared information, conversations, and stories of the visual storytellers/filmmakers. In addition, I compare how the localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory I developed relates to what I mean by visual sovereignty and the continuance of Indigenous cultures on the land through our Coyote/Sen’klep stories.

1.6. Research Objectives

The main objective of this work is to answer a question that Archibald (2008) asks, that is: “... how to keep the story spirit alive and how to make it live on the printed page or through media such as video and digital technology” (p. 149). I am guided by Archibald’s Indigenous storywork process that she elaborates in seven chapters, where as a reader you see how the practices of her Stó:lō Coast Salish culture are implicit in her theoretical framework. She explains how being a part of, and witnessing the transmission of Indigenous knowledge in Coast Salish Longhouses is the “spiritual work of oratory, ceremony and songs” (p. 3), which I assert are the cornerstones of Indigenous cultures. Archibald explains why she coined the term “storywork,” in that she wanted to encode the discourse with the realization that “our stories and

\(^8\) Dr. Jolene Rickard has an upcoming book titled Visual Sovereignty, publish date unknown and she is developing a journal on “Global Aesthetics,” publish date unknown.
storytelling were to be taken seriously” (p. 3) thus moving away from diminishing our stories to simple folklore. I seek to reinforce Archibald’s stance of the critical role of stories and visual storytelling through the objectives of this study. I establish whether or not the seven operating principles of Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous storywork process, which are: respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy (p. 33) are discussed in the conversations with two separate groups that I introduced in this chapter’s Doctoral Study section. I extend Archibald’s Indigenous storywork process to an Indigenous visual storywork process, with the same underlying principles.

Another objective is to examine how the cultural stories of Indigenous peoples determine their relationship to the land, including the interrelatedness of all seen and unseen beings on the territories, that is, all life forms including the animals, the winged ones, the trees/plants/medicines, and all forms of water (streams, lakes, rivers, oceans). The last objective is to examine how the stories of the land affect the film/video elements selected by the visual storytellers and what that means to land/place-based aesthetics and Indigenous identity.

1.7. Indigenous Way of Doing: Research Design and Methodology

In meeting these objectives, I examine critical Indigenous and non-Indigenous theories; however, I privilege Indigenous knowledge by choosing an Indigenous research paradigm, methodologies and methods. At the beginning of this chapter, I explain my holistic method of writing this dissertation, which is an integral part of my choice of research paradigm.

An important point to acknowledge is that in respecting both Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge, means double work for Indigenous scholars as we unpack and deconstruct colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial theoretical frameworks
while at the same time developing critical Indigenous theories. Furthermore, to add to an already heavy workload, many Indigenous scholars are pulled into educating non-Indigenous scholars about why it is important to decolonize the hegemonic system we all work within. While Indigenous scholars are balancing these two systems of knowledge, they/we continue to move forward as sovereign individuals on self-determined academic pathways. In this work, I am one of many Indigenous scholars who are traversing a self-determined path through a multi-dimensional lens that encompasses a multidisciplinary trajectory to add Indigenous knowledge production to that of world knowledge.

In developing my research design and in gaining clarity on my methodological choices, I concur with Kovach (2009) when she states, “Knowledge is neither acultural nor apolitical” (p. 30). I also agree with Marshall and Rossman (2006) when they state, “critical and post-modern genres...assume that all knowledge is political and that researchers are not neutral since their ultimate purposes include advocacy and action” (p. 72). In the theoretical choices I make, I navigate an intellectual minefield of methodological and epistemological differences between Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge(s); however, I am also moving into an arena of action by contributing to and transforming some of the existing concepts in the critical globalization and film theory discourses by looking at how Indigenous systems of knowledge shape Indigenous ways of doing in relation to land and story.

Moreover, I write myself into the research process because I am a part of the community I am researching and I am actively participating in the process of contemporary Indigenous knowledge production. In this way, I “bring together the study of self (auto) in relation to culture (ethnography)” while at the same time including an approach where, “self-reflection moves beyond field notes to have a more integral positioning within the research process and the construction of knowledge itself” (Kovach, 2009, p. 33). I maintained a journal during my knowledge gathering process that includes my emotional reactions/responses that I experienced in finding
my ‘sense of place’ on the land, within my own family, home community and Nations. I share some relevant lived experience stories throughout the dissertation to enhance the meanings of issues discussed.

My research is a critical qualitative study; therefore, it is important to reiterate another critical point that Kovach (2009) makes about the problematic nature of bringing Indigenous methodologies under the “wing” of qualitative research and her concern centers around language. She states:

The first centers on form or, more specifically, the language that holds meaning in epistemological discourse. Indigenous knowledges have a fluidity and motion that is manifested in the distinctive structure of tribal languages. They resist the culturally imbued constructs of the English language, and from this perspective alone Western research and Indigenous inquiry can walk together only so far. (p. 30)

Although there are some limitations, this study is a part of decolonizing the research field (Kovach, 2009, pp. 31-34). I think of this work as indigenizing the field of research, thus becoming the verb, the action of decolonizing. This research is also a part of what Denzin, Lincoln, and Tuhiwai Smith (2008) call “…the Decade of Critical Indigenous Inquiry” (p. ix). This means working with non-Indigenous scholar-allies to be a part of Grande’s (2005) construct of “indigena” thus becoming a part of “the fourth space” (p. 171) to address concerns of the Indigenous visual storytelling communities. My intention is to “us[e] methods critically” and to bring theory and practice together that are “emancipatory and empowering” for me as an Indigenous researcher (Denzin et al., 2008, pp. 1-20). I join numerous global Indigenous scholars working in this fourth space as I theorize a “localized [Secwepemc-Syilx] critical theory” (p. 9).

I become a part of the much-needed reform in education that calls for a shift away from the deficit model of education to one that is self-determined by Indigenous educators and includes strategies for culturally relevant teaching and learning processes (Archibald, 2008; Battiste, 1986; Brayboy & Castagno, 2008; Grande, 2008; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991). For the theoretical framework of my localized
Secwepemc-Syilx theory, I turn to the work of Secwepemc and Syilx scholars (Armstrong, 2009; Billy, 2009; Cohen, 2010; Ignace, 2009; Michel, 2012; Sam 2013) who have developed culturally specific theories that shape my work. I locate my doctoral research in academia as a critical qualitative study that centers Indigenous knowledge(s) and is firmly grounded in an Indigenous research paradigm and utilizes Indigenous methodologies and methods in the gathering of knowledge (Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2009).

I place myself in a squirmy “insider/outsider” relationship with the visual storytellers, cultural knowledge keepers, my community and my Nation whereas my engagement with them is shifting. There are tensions because I am applying Indigenous epistemologies within an Indigenous approach to qualitative research that is “attempt[ing] to fit tribal epistemology into Western conceptual cultural rubrics” (Kovach, 2009, p. 31). I say that my researcher relationship is “squirmy” because I am adding another dimension, that of academic researcher to the existing familial, cultural and professional relationships that I have within my Nation(s) and within the community of visual storytellers/filmmakers in Canada.

My experience as a dislocated Secwepemc-Syilx woman returning to my homelands coupled with my professional experience in visual media informs this research. My eclectic work experience in the industry\(^9\) includes: working for national broadcaster VISION TV as a director/writer and segment producer for eight television seasons whereas I travelled throughout Turtle Island and into Mexico to bring Indigenous stories to the Canadian screen culture. Over those 8 years, I accumulated over 100 professional production credits. Previous to that time, I served as board member and Chair of the Ontario Film Review Board, a provincial agency that classifies film and video for commercial distribution. Before I entered graduate school, I was contracted by a non-profit organization, the Indigenous Media Arts Group in Vancouver.

\(^9\) I will include experiential stories in Chapter six focused on Visual Storytelling and Visual Sovereignty.
to fulfill the roles of Executive Director, Film Festival Director and Office Manager. I have produced, directed and wrote one independent film, “a spiritual land claim” (2006). I acknowledge I have not worked on any feature film sets. Thus my cumulative experiences of interacting with numerous Indigenous communities and their protocols, commercial distribution/dissemination, programming Indigenous stories in film festivals and producing an independent film I believe enhances this study that includes the international, national and regional domains.

1.8. **Globalization and Global Film Discourses: Indigeneity and Deterritorialization**

Land is a critical aspect of this work because it is integral to our land/place-based cultural stories; therefore, land and story are intertwined and central to my research. The recent inclusion of some of our cultural stories in curriculum development is important to educational reform because they bring culturally relevant ways of teaching and learning to Indigenous students. This is significant because as Archibald (2008) points out:

Indigenous peoples’ history of colonization has left many of our peoples and our cultures weak and fragmented. Cultural knowledge, traditions and healing have lessened the detrimental effects of colonization. Cultural knowledge and traditions have also helped us to resist assimilation. I believe that Indigenous stories are at the core of our cultures. They have the power to make us think, feel, and be good human beings. They have the power to bring storied life back to us. (p. 139)

Many Indigenous cultures are developing effective strategies to strengthen our communities by turning to their/our culturally specific knowledge base, which means understanding their/our cultural stories and how they relate to the land. Throughout the dissertation, I refer to this movement as “re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-
storyingourselves on our ancestral territories. To fully understand how stories inform our practices on the land, from a theoretical perspective, I utilize the scholarship of some Indigenous Nations, that is, Young Leon (Cree-Anishinabe) (2015); Corntassell (Cherokee) (2008; 2012); Coulthard (Dene) (2014); Lightfoot (Anishinabe) (2016); Maracle (Stó:lō) (2007) and Simpson (Nishnaabeg) (2008, 2014). Moreover, to situate my study of land and stories in the Secwepemc and Syilx philosophies I refer to recent Secwepemc and Syilx scholarship from my two Nations, which are the primary sources for developing my localized critical theory (Armstrong, 2009; Billy, 2009; Cohen, 2010; Ignace, 2008; Michel, 2012; Sam, 2013). In my theory Chapter 4, I explain the specific Secwepemc and Syilx concepts that lay the theoretical framework for the localized critical theory I develop for visual storytelling.

Central to this research are Indigenous peoples’ relationship to land and how story is implicit in that relationship; therefore, I examined how the globalization and film theory discourses treat the geographical/physical locations and the political identities of Indigenous peoples. I focused on the concepts of deterritorialization and indigeneity and put the Euro-Western understandings of these two concepts alongside Indigenous critical theories that address place-based locations and how we identify ourselves on our land. A major thrust of the critical Indigenous theories that I apply is an intellectual intervention of the globalization and Indigeneity discourses by two Syilx scholars (Armstrong, 2009; Sam, 2013). I add to Armstrong and Sam’s intervention through the localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory I developed, which refines a culturally specific Indigenous identity. The theoretical framework put forward is a counter-narrative to what cultural anthropologist Appadurai presents. In my theory, Chapter 4, I critique Appadurai’s (1988, 1990, 1996) globalization construct of deterritorialization to expose his erasure of Indigenous peoples from the discussion.

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10 I am developing and asserting these 3Rs, “re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying” as part of the continuous decolonizing occurring on my territories. Kathryn Michel speaks of re-storying on Secwepemc territories in her 2012 dissertation and I have added to her term.
In addition, I examine how mainstream film theorists apply the term deterritorialization, which includes how Indigenous peoples are treated in the global media landscape (Columpar, 2010; Knopf, 2009; Marks, 2000, 2002, 2004; Monk, 2001; Shohat & Stam, 2013). Further, I consider how critical Indigenous scholars discuss the concepts that pertain to Indigenous visual narrative production (Barclay, 1990, 2003, 2003a; Raheja, 2007; 2010; Rickard, 1995, 2011; Tsinhnahjinnie, 2008).

To examine my visual narrative production process, I look at how my relationship to land and cultural stories has been determined by the social and political policies of the successive settler colonial governments. To reclaim my place on the land, I purposefully invoked my own curriculum to home school myself in an Indigenous cultural education.

1.9. The Land Is Our University:\textsuperscript{11}: Home Schooling Myself

Before I started this research journey, I questioned my own relationship to the land and to the Sek’lep/Senklip/Coyote stories of the Secwepemc and Syilx Nations. Both my MA thesis and this doctoral dissertation are driven by a desire to understand how culture influenced me when I was constructing my visual stories for the national broadcaster, VISION TV. To do that, it was necessary to go back in time to understand how I can move forward on this research pathway.

That research pathway is literally a life way for me; it is not separate from how I conduct my day-to-day activities. I have a commitment to engage in and perpetuate effective tribal land-based pedagogical processes, which means I maintain a consistent relationship with my ancestral homelands and my Nations. I drive home to Splatsin

\textsuperscript{11} I have heard numerous Elders from different Nations say this phrase so I cannot give acknowledgement to any one person. Janice Billy (Secwepemc) uses this phrase in her PhD dissertation.
frequently to pick berries and harvest salmon and to attend family gatherings, community events, and funerals, thus upholding my responsibilities to my people and my land (Corntassel, 2012).

I renew my relationship to all of Creation and the land by actively participating in spiritual/cultural ceremonies at home as well as inter-tribally on other territories. An example of my community involvement occurred in August 2014, I went home to be a helper at a Community theatrical production; “Tuwitames,” (pronounced too-weet-a-miss, which means he/she is growing up)\(^{12}\) which presented some of our cultural stories at an outdoor stage at Splatsin. I sewed in the Costume Department. In addition, I attended numerous Storytelling on the Land, Storytelling and the Law and Song and Dance sessions that occurred between 2010 and 2014. I am an active part of ‘re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-story-ing’ our place on the land. However, this way of being, knowing, and doing has evolved over a number of years because of severe disruptions in my cultural education.

Access to my language and culture was severely interrupted by Canada’s genocidal policies and practices that forced the generation before me to attend residential school. And my generation were captives of the 1960s Scoop\(^{13}\); my brothers and sisters and I were taken from our family and community. I was in five foster homes in 5 years and separated from my siblings. Some of my siblings were infants when they were apprehended. Thankfully my grandparents raised me in the first 4 years of my life and they set the foundation for me as a child. I had time with my


\(^{13}\) During the 1960s Scoop 80 to 90% of the children from my community were taken and put into white foster homes. This statistic was given to me through a personal communication with a Social Worker, Earl Shipmaker, who worked in my community during this time. This phenomenon called the 1960s Scoop is finally being discussed as the wave of assimilation policies and practices that followed residential schools. More information is available at this website: http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/sixties-scoop.html retrieved November 8, 2015. There are 4 class action suits in the litigation process (BC, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Labrador). I am a part of the one in BC and the focus is on loss of language and culture.
great grandfather and great uncles and aunts before they passed. None of the old people in my family went to residential school. I have memories of sitting under the table listening while they visited. I carry blood memories of the stories from my land (Holmes, 2000, pp. 37-53; Kovach, 2009, p. 57); some people call this a “collective memory” (Armstrong, 2009, pp. 106-108). I believe cultural information is passed on through the genetics of my ancestors. As a child, I was a language speaker/listener; nowadays I have a very limited understanding of the Syilx language. Up to my grandmother’s passing in 1971, she would only speak to me in the language. When I am around Syilx language speakers, I can follow the gist of the conversation.

I started my home schooling process to reclaim my Indian within while I lived on the territories of the Iroquois and the Anishinabe peoples. Their cultural knowledge helped me to reconnect to the land; therefore, I am influenced by the teachings of the Iroquois of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Tuscarora) and the Anishinabe. In the late 80s and early 90s, I volunteered at the Toronto Friendship Centre for 7 years where I served as President, Vice-President and Treasurer. We set up a Traditional Peoples and Elders Advisory Council, which made it possible for me to spend considerable time with knowledge keepers from these cultures. I learned of their Creation stories/prophecies, which propelled me to seek out the stories of other Indigenous cultures. I attended Anishinabe Midewiwin Ceremonies and was a guest in Iroquois Longhouses. The teaching of the Two Row Wampum from the Iroquois profoundly influences my ideological stance because it epitomizes what it means to be an autonomous and sovereign person. Still today, I use this model of co-existence that upholds the principles of peace, respect and friendship between Indigenous and settler peoples.

In 1990 I started a purposeful spiritual reclamation. I worked with a Sioux Medicine Man who taught me what it means to relate to the land and spirits on the land. I fasted for 4 days in 4 consecutive years at Bear Butte in South Dakota. He was not trying to fashion me into becoming a Sioux person; rather he was helping me to more fully understand what it was to be a Secwepemc-Syilx person on the land, from a spiritual perspective. Following years of dislocation, I returned to my homelands in 1995, I worked with a Syilx medicine woman (now deceased) who directed me in my Syilx cultural education. She guided me through spiritual processes, which helped me to reconnect in a very real and personal way to the land and beings on my ancestral territories. She suggested I put up a Feast & Giveaway where I could announce myself back on the land. I took 5 years to prepare for this ceremony where I was given a Syilx
name, Kwash Kay. In the intervening years, I have made relationships with Secwepemc and Syilx knowledge keepers to understand our ways of knowing, doing, acting, seeing and listening. I Sun danced with the Eagle Dance Society/Red Blanket men, which occurred on my territories in Merritt. In the summer of 2016, I was bestowed with a Red Shawl at Sundance to be a part of the women leadership of this society. I participate in intertribal ceremonies in the urban center and help out at ceremonies on my home territories.

Although these lands hold many horrifying childhood memories of the genocide of my people, it also holds many beautiful embodied genetic blood memories that I carry in my subconscious memories.

I have an innate sense of my connection to the land that holds the blood and bones of generations of my ancestors. When I first returned to my territories in 1995, I travelled by car back and forth between Coast Salish territories (Vancouver) and my home territories to do post-production work. On my way home to the Okanagan Valley I drove the Coquihalla Highway and there is a particular point as I enter Merritt where my whole body feels a surge of energy that touches me from head to toe. It feels like a wave of energy washing over me. I have the same wondrous experience as I drive into Princeton when I take the Hope-Princeton Highway 3 route to the Okanagan Valley. I believe when this surge of energy runs through my body, my being is being recognized by my ancestral land.

My life circumstances and experiences provide me with numerous filters; therefore I have a multi-facetted view of the world. I have had the privilege of traveling globally (Kenya, Uganda, Russia, Jamaica, Hawaii, Germany, Mexico). In Indian country, I have visited many Indigenous communities on Turtle Island to witness and to hear their cultural stories. I consider the knowledge keepers of land/place-based cultures as the professors of Indigenous knowledge from the land.

1.10. What’s Missing?: The Knowledge Gap

This Gathering Knowledge: Indigenous Methodologies of Land/Place-Based Visual Storytelling/Filmmaking and Visual Sovereignty project will contribute to the scant body of knowledge in the Indigenous film discourse. There is very little documented “talking in” (Barclay, 1990, p. 76) discussion of present-day Indigenous visual storytellers
sharing ideas and recounting their creative experiences in how they treat their contemporary stories as they construct the visual narratives in the form of film/video. As German film theorist Knopf (2009) states, “...there is hardly any basic research on Indigenous filmmaking in North America” (p. xv), save a few articles or essays written by Indigenous filmmakers. Barry Barclay’s *Our Own Image* (1990) is the exception because it is a book that presents an Indigenous-to-Indigenous conversation about Indigenous filmmaking. This research study will add to what exists in the discourse and expand the discussion on Indigenous film theory and production practice.

Certainly, there are some books and many journal articles in mainstream film discourse that analyzes the work of some of the Indigenous filmmakers and which interpret their visual narratives through the lens of mainstream film theory (Columpar, 2010; Knopf, 2009; Leuthold, 1994; Lewis, 2006; Marks, 2000, 2002, 2004). This study does not do that. This work is unique because it is a layered Indigenous-to-Indigenous discussion, that is, Indigenous knowledge keepers speaking with an Indigenous visual storyteller about how their cosmologies and worldviews situate their cultures within the universe. The second circle of conversation is an Indigenous visual storyteller speaking with her peers about their production practices. Through these conversations, Indigenous ways of knowing are affirmed and Indigenous film theory is put side by side with the experiential practices of the visual storytellers/filmmakers. This “talking in” (Barclay, 1990, p. 76) conversation is unique in the Indigenous film discourse. I believe this study will be useful for other Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers, scholars focusing on Indigenous visual production and for policy makers who determine diversity programming in the cultural industries in Canada.

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14 There are examples such as the story “Raven Stole the Sun” in a video format, located at this website: [http://www.redskyperformance.com/transcript-ravenvideo](http://www.redskyperformance.com/transcript-ravenvideo) retrieved July 16, 2013. The script is available; however, there is no discussion about the actual process of enlivening the story. Another story, “When Raven Stole the Moon” is another contemporary example of transposing an oral story to the screen. Retrieved July 16, 2013 and it can be viewed at: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNo2hFTMay4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNo2hFTMay4)
1.11. Summary of Chapters

To review the overview and salient points of this Introduction chapter see section “Chapter Overview” above.

In Chapter 2, I outline the literature I reviewed in various disciplines to discuss Indigenous cultural stories and how they implicitly hold our customary laws, our ways of knowing and being. Most importantly I look at how those stories explain Indigenous peoples’ relationship to the land. To do that, I briefly discuss the history of “The Oral Stories and Western Literary Genres,” including how Indigenous writers challenged the precepts of the Euro-Western literary discipline. I also review “Critical Interdisciplinary Indigenous Theories” to look at the historical development of Indigenous scholars in Euro-Western educational institutions and put forward critical Indigenous theories that are pertinent to this study. To be more explicit, I discuss “What the Land Means to Secwepemc and Syilx Stories” by discussing recent work of Secwepemc and Syilx scholars who discuss cultural stories and how they relate to the peoples’ place on the land. I complete the chapter by examining critical theories in the Globalization and Global Film Theory discourses that directly impact the critical Indigenous theories that pertain to stories and land. I point out the differences in the philosophies of Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge and how they affect this research.

Maracle (2007) and Young Leon’s (2015) model of “Mobilizing Indigenous Land-Based Framework” to create the context for how I treat cultural stories and their relationship to land in my work. Through the sub-titles, “How to Do Things in Indian Country,” “Hand in Glove: Protocols and Accountability,” and “Multiple Levels of Accountabilities,” I explain my approach during this research process, which is an example of engaged Indigenous methodologies and methods. Then I focus on the Indigenous methods used in gathering the knowledge for this study. I complete the chapter with what worked and what did not work in the research process.

In Chapter 4, the theory chapter, I begin by providing an overview; then I briefly discuss legal precedents in Euro-Western jurisprudence that directly impact Indigenous land and stories. Followed by an examination of the globalization phenomenon from an Indigenous/Syilx perspective (Armstrong, 2009; Sam, 2013). I dedicate the next section to looking at globalization at the intersection of Indigenous systems of knowledge and Euro-Western systems of knowledge when discussing this phenomenon. Within that discussion, I purposefully deconstruct a prominent cultural anthropologist’s theorizing of Native/Aboriginal/Indigenous peoples (Appadurai 1988, 1990, 1996) in relation to the land and the concept of deterritorialization. Most importantly, I focus on how this theorizing erases Indigenous peoples from their connection to their ancestral homelands in a contemporary global community.

This discussion is followed by Secwepemc and Syilx shared perspectives about land and stories. I utilize a Cree-Anishinabe model for the land the stories and cultural protocols to illustrate shared values of Indigenous peoples. Then I delve into some critical land-based Indigenous theories that include using story as a theoretical anchor. I move to looking specifically at how Secwepemc and Syilx relate to the land and stories, including a discussion on Indigeneity and customary laws that govern how land and stories are treated. To develop the localized theory from my Secwepemc-Syilx perspective, I use a Sek’lep/Coyote story and provide my rationale of how I use the story of not copying others to further examine the issue of Indigenous identity. Next, I
conclude by utilizing specific Secwepemc and Syilx concepts to explain the localized critical theory I developed that puts forward a culturally specific Secwepemc-Syilx identity in direct relationship to the territories we occupy.

In Chapter 5, I revitalize the metaphor of “Cucw-la7 Gathering Knowledge,” that I introduced in Chapter 1 and represented by the Figure 2 graphic illustrating the territories I travelled to meet with the knowledge keepers and visual storytellers/filmmakers. Then I explain my process of interpretation, which upholds an Indigenous research paradigm. In conventional academic terms, this chapter delivers the findings or the data of the shared information; however, as an Indigenous researcher I chose to refer to the gathered knowledge as ‘shared stories/conversations’. In addition, I elect to use lengthy quotes so as not to de-contextualize their stories/information and to maintain a semblance of orality with a conversational sensibility. I separate the shared stories/conversations into discussions around land, stories, and cultural protocols and have a short discussion on technology (social media/Facebook) before concluding the chapter.

The knowledge keepers are introduced in Chapter 5, with their names, their Nations, their ages, genders and whether or not they speak their language. Also included is their geographical location and any additional roles they uphold in their communities. Through their shared knowledge(s), Indigenous worldviews are discussed and how that relates to land, stories, and cultural protocols. I summarize how Archibald’s Indigenous storywork principles sit alongside the Indigenous philosophies shared, with the intent of searching for parallel understandings. To conclude, I insert a section “Still Writing on the Land” briefly discussing the contemporary ways that Secwepemc and Syilx stories are still being written on the land.

In Chapter 6, Fourth World Cinema in the international and national spheres, I use my second research question as the guide to the discussion. I provide an overview of the chapter, followed by an introduction to the Indigenous visual
storytellers/filmmakers who participated in this study in Chapter 6. Then look briefly at how the representation of Indigenous peoples has shifted in the Hollywood blockbuster films. Next, I look at Fourth World Cinema and how filmmakers have been Indigenizing their production practices; after which I situate Fourth World Cinema in the international and national spheres. In the discussion, I examine the concepts of deterritorialization (geographical location) and indigeneity (political identity). Plus, I analyze the film discourses to reveal an erasure of Indigenous filmmakers. Next, I look at Indigenous place on the land and how that forms a culturally specific Indigenous identity. I then add to and expand the discussion on the encumbered term of visual sovereignty, which is presented from different Indigenous points-of-view. I turn the focus to land, story, and cultural protocols and how they inform our place-based identities, which are grounded in our ancestral homelands. I deliver excerpts from my conversations with the visual storytellers/filmmakers surrounding land, story, and cultural protocols. I finalize the chapter by providing an analysis and recount some observations of the comments by the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers.

In Chapter 7, I focus on the concept of cultural congruency and Indigenous film aesthetics. The chapter begins with an experiential story to illustrate what I mean by cultural congruency, followed by an overview of the chapter contents. Next, I briefly discuss the development of Indigenous involvement in the arts landscape of Canada. The subsequent discussions focus on film as part of Indigenous knowledge production and I explicate the different types of knowledge(s) from a Hopi/Indigenous perspective. In addition, I explain the internal and external accountabilities that Indigenous filmmakers must contend with in their production practices. I look at the issue of race and how that influences artistic integrity and our choices of film aesthetics, including language and sound. Then I examine our aesthetic choices and how that affects the culturally congruency of Indigenous production practices. Next, I briefly discuss a Women’s Collective who are creating community-based visual stories to record our own histories for our own purposes. I conclude by summarizing the chapter.
In Chapter 8, I return to the metaphor that opened this dissertation. This chapter is named “What Eggs Did Cucw-la7 Lay?” As is usual, I begin with an overview of the chapter, and then discuss how gathering knowledge is “more than a metaphor.” I restate my research questions within the context of my “findings” from the Knowledge Keepers and the Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers. Next, I summarize the contributions that this dissertation makes to Indigenous knowledge production, specifically in Indigenous critical theories, Indigenous place-based identity, Fourth World Cinema/Indigenous film theory and Indigenous Methodologies. I identify the areas of study where this research may be utilized. I outline further research projects that emerged from this work. Next, I look at the implications and limitations of this research in the context of Truth and Reconciliation in Canada. I conclude with reflections from my own personal reconciliation process that occurred during the process of the production of this dissertation.
Chapter 2.

Literature Review

2.1. Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I give an overview of the literature I utilize to realize the stated purpose of this research study, which is to add to/expand the Indigenous film theories of representation on a global and national level. While at the same time I developed a localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory based in culturally specific Indigenous knowledge systems that illustrates how Indigenous identity is shaped by linking the language, cultural stories and the land to our philosophies, which I believe is similar in global Indigenous communities.

I examine, challenge and compare the analyses in the discourse with regard to the trajectory of my arguments, that is, in terms of how cultural stories are treated and how they determine Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies thus shaping the relationships with the land and all other seen and unseen beings within the environment. Further, I examine the interrelatedness of the cultural stories, the land, and the people and how that may or may not affect the contemporary visual storytelling/filmmaking practices of Indigenous peoples. I provide a short history of “The Oral Stories and Western Literary Genres” and how Indigenous writers claim a space to discuss how their oral stories relate to Euro-Western literature. In addition, I discuss “Critical Interdisciplinary Indigenous Theories” that are developed in the social and political sciences and in education discourses.

The concepts I examine in these disciplines relate to land, the role of stories and land-based education. Further, I explore how these concepts apply to Secwepemc and Syilx lands. To do this, I explore “Secwepemc and Syilx Philosophies: Land and Stories” by looking at some of the history between the two Nations and examine recent
Secwepemc and Syilx scholarship to situate concepts that are the basis for the development of a localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory. I turn to “Euro-Western Critical Theories” in the religious studies discipline, global film and globalization discourses to specifically examine the notion of de-territorialization, which has direct impact on the relationship Indigenous peoples have with their ancestral lands. I conclude by looking at the contributions of critical Indigenous and non-Indigenous theorists to this study.

2.2. The Oral Stories and Euro-Western Literary Genres

Historically, the literature about the cultural stories of Indigenous peoples has been the subject of research and interpreted through the pervasive ethnocentric lens of such disciplines as, anthropology, literary studies, political science and education. In the overall Euro-Western education institutions the stories of the Secwepemc, Syilx and by extension most Indigenous peoples have been diminished to the status of folklore, which delegitimizes and skews the critical role they have in Indigenous cultures. Regrettably, this has become the established knowledge for Indigenous oral stories (Boas, 1909; Bouchard & Kennedy, 1979, 2002; Cruickshank, 1998; Guie, 1990; Robinson, 2005; Wickwire, 1989, 1992). It is prudent to acknowledge that the work of the non-Indigenous scholars who documented Indigenous cultural knowledge at a time when Indigenous peoples were not transposing the oral stories to the written form is a valuable source of information today. However, some of their interpretations are problematic because their discussions were with each other within the academic domain and their conclusions may have created misunderstandings in how we as Secwepemc and Syilx interrelate with each other and our physical and spiritual environments. More recently, in the book Orality about Literacy: Reflections across Disciplines (2011), Carlson’s chapter, “Orality about Literacy: The ‘Black and White’ of Salish History” looks at how the historical view from an Indigenous point-of-view “…not only challenge Western chronologies but dispute Western ways of knowing” (Carlson, 2011, pp. 43-69). With non-Indigenous scholars decolonizing themselves from the
status quo of colonial histories and examining their own culturally biased views, Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge(s) may together bring a more realistic view of the colonizing process, which includes an Indigenous perspective.

In the late 1980s, this perspective was strongly asserted by some Indigenous women writers to claim a space in the literary field. They did this to bring some understanding of the underpinnings of Indigenous philosophies and ways of being and to explain the roles of cultural stories. Thus begins the discussion on the controversial appropriation of Indigenous stories issue. Two Indigenous women writers who were instrumental in claiming a culturally specific literary space are Lee Maracle (Stó:lō - Coast Salish) and Lenore Keeshig-Tobias (Anishinabe). Maracle challenged the feminist community at an International Feminist Book Fair in Montreal in 1988, which is documented by Christine St. Peter in a feminist journal (Greenhill & Tyé, 1997, pp. 65-72). St. Peter calls on the “professional academics or artists from the dominant group” who are gaining financially by studying marginalized women to address the unethical practices of appropriating “others” stories in the face of centuries of genocidal treatment” (St. Peter cited in Greenhill & Tyé, 1997, p. 70). In 1989, Keeshig-Tobias confronted the systemic racist policies of the Writers Union of Canada at an Annual General Meeting by addressing the “Appropriation of Voice” controversy. This historical action is included in the history of the Writers Union on their website. However, there are more than appropriation issues that concern the Indigenous writers. In addressing the complexities of how Indigenous oral stories fit into Euro-Western literature and its categorization of genres, Jeannette Armstrong, Syilx traditional storyteller, writer, environmentalist and scholar states:

There are more than structural concerns. The question is how do you tell an Indigenous story from within the Indigenous worldview but in the western literary prose tradition? What is the role of the narrator? How do you write sounds? Indigenous writers have created innovative techniques

15 These actions are included in the history of the Writers Union of Canada on their website: http://www.writersunion.ca/content/history retrieved May 18, 2015.
in their writing to create a reality that is understood from an Indigenous cultural context. They create a series of vignettes, impressions and images that are pulled together in a larger gestalt of movement in the story. (Armstrong cited in Anderson, 1997, p. 55)

She also says that oratory:

[...] extends beyond poetry in its need to interact with, and persuade an audience. It is not simply political rhetoric because of its link to traditional story. It is not drama because, at its roots, it is prayer. It is a distinct combination that defies western genres. (Armstrong cited in Anderson, 1997, pp. 55-56)

Another traditional storyteller, Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis) accentuated that the cultural protocols need to be attended to when she says:

No one ever told a story that was not his/her own and if they did, it was only if the story had been given to them or if the story was traded. Even then, the storyteller would begin the story by telling how he/she came by it and the name of the original creator would be given. Some stories are sacred and can only be told at certain times by the people who have been chosen and trained to carry them for the people. (Campbell cited in Beaucage 2005, p. 144)

These actions by the creative writers started the development of a body of Indigenous literature that transposed oral stories to the written form. While these writers were explaining Indigenous story protocols, some Indigenous scholars were carving a space for Indigenous systems of knowledge in academia, which by its very nature addresses research paradigms, theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches. To fully understand Indigenous research paradigms and methodologies in academia, it is necessary to look at the historical development of Indigenous scholars in the academy, which I discuss extensively in Chapter 3, my methodology chapter.

2.3. **Critical Interdisciplinary Indigenous Theories**

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2002) seminal text, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* shifted Indigenous scholars the world over to begin
presenting critical Indigenous theories that challenged the staid Euro-Western theories that dominated and stultified their intellectual development. Indigenous scholars such as Kovach (2009) and Wilson (2008) developed critical theories that pertain directly to Indigenous methodologies and methods. Other Indigenous theorists moved away from the ever-present colonial binaries to a decolonizing approach, which enabled them to develop critical Indigenous theories in their disciplines. Some would argue that the area most damaged by the colonial approach is the domain of education where the deficit model has hampered effective strategies developed by Indigenous educators and communities. The dissatisfaction of Indigenous educators and the political leadership resulted in a call for Indian Control of Indian Education that resulted in a national education policy that was written in 1972 and accepted by the federal government in 1973. Two decades later, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples released a 5-volume, 4,000-page comprehensive document in 1996, which revealed many abhorrent conditions in the social, political, cultural domains of Indigenous peoples’ lives. In this highly-referenced document, numerous recommendations were made to improve education policies and practices for Aboriginal children; however, in 2015 as statistics continue to attest, the performance outcomes continue to reflect a system that is not working for Indigenous children.

To transform a very tired ineffective educational system, groundbreaking research emerged in educational studies that were centered in Indigenous ways of being. Through their article on post-secondary education, Kirkness and Barnhardt’s (1991) introduction of the fundamental operating principles, the 4Rs: respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility provided a glimpse into Indigenous epistemologies. Battiste (1986) addressed how the colonial education system had assimilated Indigenous peoples and she presents the concept of cognitive imperialism to counter the master narrative that Indigenous peoples were failures in the system. Grande’s Red Pedagogy (2004) called for a transformation in Indigenous education policies and practices by adding the notion of a “Red Pedagogy” (p. 165), along with the
concepts of “a fourth space of Indigenism” (p. 167) and “indigena” (p. 171) to the education discourse.

In 2005, Brayboy authors “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education” where he elicits his reasoning for developing a tribally specific theory that addresses tribal/Indigenous issues in education. He explains the original intent of the dominant critical race theory was addressing African-American peoples and cultures, following the Civil Rights Movement; however, Brayboy felt it was important to develop a race theory specifically for Indigenous peoples in the United States. I argue that what Brayboy postulates also applies to Indigenous peoples in Canada. Most importantly, he explains that critical race theory and by extension, Tribal Critical Race Theory “values narrative and stories as important sources of data” (p. 428). Brayboy collaborates with Castagno (2008) to introduce the notion of culturally relevant schooling as a strategy for Indigenous students to learn in a way that is suitable to their way of knowing and being. At the same time, they presented the notion of “code switching” (2008) that explains what Indigenous students have to invoke in order to learn in Euro-Western-based educational institutions. These critical theories developed by Indigenous scholars are important to my work because they theoretically formulate how and why culturally specific ways of learning are central to the intellectual development of Indigenous students. Most importantly, it becomes clear how stories are at the center of Indigenous learning, which leads to transforming a system that historically does not serve Indigenous people.

One critical work that specifically delves into the complexities of the role of cultural stories in teaching and learning processes of Indigenous communities is Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit. Her work is extremely significant to my work because in the description of her process of engagement, I gain insight into the complicated and layered nature of the undertaking of this research. Archibald engages for years in different sectors of her home community, in the Coast Salish community and in the academic community to
formulate her Stó:lō-Coast Salish localized theory of Indigenous Storywork. Her Indigenous methodology is embedded in her writing, that is, she includes dreams and cultural stories from many different Indigenous cultures throughout the book to explain how she came to her Indigenous Storywork theory. In her research with the Elders/Storytellers and within the communities she embodies the Indigenous principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. What is remarkable to me is that Archibald also incorporates all those valued principles throughout the book. She says, “The mystery, magic, and truth/respect/trust relationship between the speaker/storyteller and listener/reader may be brought to life on the printed page if the principles of the oral tradition are used” (p. 20). This forced me to ask, “I wonder if this applies to visual storytelling too?”

The Indigenous storywork process that Archibald developed engages all parts of a human being (heart, body, mind and spirit) which is integral to Indigenous peoples’ way of knowing and being in how they/we make meaning in our day-to-day lives. Indigenous cultural stories give us the “principles for creating story meaning” (p. 25) on so many levels, including the research process. Archibald refers to a number of writers and storytellers from various Indigenous cultures to identify some of the principles such as: inclusiveness (Simon Ortiz), oratory as prayer (Lee Maracle), community responsibility (Maria Campbell), quietness (Jeannette Armstrong), healing power of story (Leslie Marmon-Silko) and reciprocity (Norma Marks Daunhauer) (pp. 25-28).

Archibald’s text is deceiving in that, it seemingly is ‘telling stories’ but as an Indigenous person, hearing the sounds of the story in my head, I have a knowingness that there are many ways to understanding each story. Reading and re-reading each story, brings something different each time because there is so much cultural information hidden in the layers of the story. Utilizing Archibald’s storywork process to make meaning is valuable to my analysis of how visual storytellers/filmmakers use the technology to tell our cultural stories. In particular, I am interested in the synergistic relationship between the story, the storyteller and those who benefit from listening or
watching the interrelationship in action. I am particularly interested in how and what senses are engaged when hearing/listening or watching a visual story. Through her way of using story to make meaning in our lives, Archibald opens up innovative ways to also use cultural stories in the teaching and learning processes in the classroom while at the same time teaching the readers about the cultural protocols surrounding a responsible and ethical approach to the stories.

Another area where critical Indigenous theories have been developed is in the political science discipline (Alfred, 2009; Corntassel, 2012; Coulthard, G., 2014; Lightfoot, 2016), which is essential to this study because it elevates Indigenous self-determination and human rights to the international domain (Lightfoot, 2016). The intersections that the international political rights movement encompasses are what Lightfoot’s calls “soft rights” that includes culture, education, language, spirituality and identity. The “hard rights” she identifies are land rights and self-determination (p. 13). These concepts are relevant to this work because of the implications to Indigenous relationship to land and how they converge with cultural stories and how that directly relates to place-based teaching and learning practices. While Lightfoot (2016) informs the international Indigenous political rights domain, Alfred (2009) calls for action and transformation in academe and in the community. While Corntassel (2012) cautions of the dangers of an “illusion of inclusion” (p. 92) in national policies that could mislead people. In understanding Lightfoot’s comprehensive historical background of Indigenous rights, answering Alfred’s metaphorical war cry and paying attention to Corntassel’s warning, Indigenous scholars Coulthard (2014), Simpson (2008, 2014), and Young Leon (2015) develop theories that highlights Indigenous peoples’ relationship to land, cultural protocols on the land, cultural stories from the land and place-based education.

To fully comprehend what Indigenous scholars are countering in the discussion of land-based education, it is necessary to examine the globalization discourse because it has significant implications to Indigenous relationship to land. There is very little in
the globalization dialogue written from an Indigenous perspective (Brown & Sant, 1999; Maaka & Fleras, 2005; Wilson & Stewart, Editors (2008)). However, Sam (2013, pp. 24-62) provides a thorough and in-depth look at the historical development of the phenomenon of globalization and the implications that it has on Indigenous peoples, lands, waters and other resources.

Sam’s analysis is a strong counter-narrative to cultural anthropologist Appadurai’s 1990 article on the global economy. To understand Appadurai’s lack of consideration of global Indigenous cultures in his analysis of the global economy, it is necessary to examine his earlier 1988 article. In that article, he theoretically rationalizes a complete erasure of Indigenous peoples by disconnecting the people from the land. I argue that the analysis and critical theories developed by Coultard, Sam, Simpson and Young Leon successfully disputes Appadurai’s sophisticated theoretical dismissal of Indigenous peoples in the globalization discourse. Young-Leon’s (2015) model of “Mobilizing Indigenous Land-Based Framework” (p. 87) and her “Cedar Pedagogical Pathways” (p. 56) clearly illustrates Indigenous relationship to land. Coultard and Simpson take the classroom out on the land through the program they teach at the “Dechinta Bush University: Indigenous land-based education and embodied resurgence” (2014), where land-based educational practices are enacted. One of the concepts in Coultard’s Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition (2014), addresses specifically Indigenous peoples’ relationship to the land in what he has named, “grounded normativity.” He says:

I call this place-based foundation of Indigenous decolonial thought and practice grounded normativity, by which I mean the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time. (p. 13)

I interpret Coulthard’s concept to mean we have specific relationships to the land through the generations of Indigenous knowledge that is transmitted through culturally-based practices on the lands that each Indigenous group is born on and that
hold stories which explain those relationships. Simpson (2014) takes a deeper look at the role of cultural stories on the land by explaining the Anishinabe maple sugar story. She provides an excellent example of just how a cultural story guides and teaches Indigenous reciprocal relationship to land. To examine how these critical Indigenous theories apply to my region, I turn to recent Secwepemc and Syilx scholarship, which centralizes land in their theoretical frameworks.

2.4. Secwepemc and Syilx Philosophies: Land and Stories

The Secwepemc and Syilx are traditional neighbors; they have co-existed on their respective lands for thousands of years and have historically shared use of some of those lands. Syilx scholar, Marlowe Sam (2013) states:

It is my intent to include the brother nation of the Syilx, the Secwepemc, as not too far in the recent past (a few thousand years) these two Salish tribal groups were one people. The oral traditions of the Secwepemc are an important part of this inquiry based on the fact that the narratives are used in remarkably similar manner as the Syilx. The Secwepemc stories and personal perspectives of the interviewees will be used to assert that Sn’kliip’s laws are present within other Salish tribes. (p. 7)

Furthermore, the two Nations have stood together in resisting the occupation by the colonial powers on their lands and have advocated for, and asserted sovereignty on their respective territories. The historical document, Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada dated 25 August 1910 and presented at Kamloops, BC is a declaration by the Interior Chiefs of the Secwepemc (Shuswap), Syilx (Okanagan), N’laka’pamux (Thompson) and other Nations to the then Prime Minster of Canada. Clearly, when the full text is read, it illustrates that the Chiefs are acting and speaking as sovereign peoples, not as defeated victims on their own lands (Ignace 2008, pp. 233-235). The Secwepemc and Syilx are re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-

storying our traditional homelands by memorializing significant historical events. On June 11, 2010, 100 years after this meeting with the Prime Minister of Canada, community members and Chiefs of some of the original signatory Nations attended a gathering at the confluence of the Thompson and Nicola Rivers at Spence’s Bridge\(^\text{17}\) to celebrate and commemorate this inter-Nation political stance. On October 15, 2014, another event that took place to re-establish the historical ally relationship between the Secwepemc and Syilx Nations is the reaffirming and celebrating of the long-standing pre-contact Fish Lake Accord\(^\text{18}\)—an agreement made long before the colonial settlement of their territories. Marlowe Sam (2013) explains the long-standing political relationship, he states:

According to Glen Douglas (1990) a Syilx traditional knowledge keeper who served as an interpreter and aide to Okanagan Grandchief, Tommy Gregoire, the first Okanagan/Shuswap Confederacy was formed in the summer of 1878 in response to the growing incursion of white settlers in the Interior Plateau. Over a century later the Okanagan/Shuswap Confederacy was reaffirmed in December 1986 at the Alkali Lake Reserve community hall due to the growing threat of political unrest that was threatening the rights of aboriginal people in Canada’s province of British Columbia. (p. 152)

With this thinking embedded in the historical consciousness of the interior plateau peoples, it is clear that the two Nations stand together politically and spiritually and they are very aware of how necessary it is to counteract the current pathway to extinction. Although their languages are specific to their cultures, they do share Coyote as the primary character of their cultural stories who provides the teachings of how to live on their adjacent lands.

The Secwepemc Nation\(^\text{19}\) consists of 17 communities and has the largest land base in what is now called the province of British Columbia. The traditional lands of the


\(^{18}\) A copy of the poster for this event is attached in the Appendices of this dissertation.

\(^{19}\) A more detailed description of Secwepemc people and territories can be found at: [http://www.secwepemc.org/about/ourstory](http://www.secwepemc.org/about/ourstory) retrieved May 19, 2015.
Secwepemc covers a region of 145,000 square kilometers. The role of Coyote is explained more fully on a website that explains Secwepemc stories. They speak of Coyote in this way:

The Secwepemc people believe that the world was made good to live in by the all powerful "Old One" with the help of Coyote. The original story, told and retold by generations of Secwepemc people, explained how the earth was made ready for Secwepemc people.\(^\text{20}\)

The website for the Syilx Nation explains their relationship to Coyote in this way:

In our histories we are told that the creator sent Senklip (Coyote), to help our people survive on this land. Coyote’s travels are a record of the natural laws necessary for our Syilx people to survive and essential to our ability to carry on. We weren’t born with the instincts to know how to live in nature’s laws, instead we are given memory to remind us of what we could and couldn’t be doing. Understanding the living land and teaching our young generations how to become a ‘part of it’ is the only way we, the Syilx, have survived. (Okanagan First Peoples)\(^\text{21}\)

The Syilx Nation\(^\text{22}\) consists of eight communities, including one south of the imposed 49\(^{\text{th}}\) parallel boundary and their traditional territories covers approximately 69,000 square kilometers.

In the past decade, scholars from both the Secwepemc and Syilx Nations have added to the production of world knowledge from an Indigenous perspective. They introduce critical theories that are extremely important to my work because they directly link the cultural stories to the land within the Secwepemc and Syilx ways of knowing and being. The works of Jeannette Armstrong (2009), Ron Ignace (2008), Kathryn Michel (2012) and Marlowe Sam (2013) are the primary texts I utilized for

\(^{\text{20}}\) An invaluable source of information regarding the body of Secwepemc cultural stories can be found at: [http://secwepemc.sd73.bc.ca/sec_origin/sec_originfs.html](http://secwepemc.sd73.bc.ca/sec_origin/sec_originfs.html) retrieved May 20, 2015.


\(^{\text{22}}\) [http://www.syilx.org/who-we-are/organization-information/ona-member-bands](http://www.syilx.org/who-we-are/organization-information/ona-member-bands) and a description of how the Syilx describe their place on the land can be found at: [http://www.syilx.org/who-we-are/the-syilx-people](http://www.syilx.org/who-we-are/the-syilx-people) retrieved May 20, 2015.
Secwepemc and Syilx social and political critical theories. In addition, they provide
cultural concepts that directly relate to cultural stories and how they relate to the land
and which have direct implications to the localized critical theory I develop.

Ron Ignace’s (2008) *Our Stories Are Our Iron Posts: Secwepemc Historical
Consciousness* takes an in-depth look at how our stories are embedded in
Secwépemcúlecww, the Secwepemc word for our land. His work is significant to my
study because he ties together, the language, the oral stories and the physical locations
on the land. Furthermore, how he substantiates the cultural knowledge within the
stories, with scientific data is not just instructive but also affirms the knowledge that
has been passed on through generations of Secwepemc storytellers and knowledge
keepers. Ignace examines how the overlapping information that archaeology, geology,
and paleo-ecology (defined as “the branch of ecology dealing with the relations and
interactions between ancient life forms and their environment”23) confirms historical
facts in Secwepemc oral stories. In addition, he re-interprets, from his Secwepemc
worldview, some of the misunderstandings and/or distortions that have been recorded
by anthropologists or ethnographers who studied the Secwepemc peoples and their
stories. In his own words, Ignace (2008) states he did this “to cross check and
triangulate evidence” that he received in the oral stories of Secwepemc elders from his
life experience (p. 31). Ron Ignace is not just a scholar, he is Kukpi (Chief) of his
Sketchesn community and his ancestors have been in leadership roles for
generations, so it is no surprise that he is a part of resisting the imposition of colonial
powers on our lands. He is a language speaker and his childhood was filled with oral
stories from his great grandparents, grandparents and other old people. Ignace is a part
of the recent proliferation of scholarship in the interior plateau region that one Syilx
scholar calls “reactionary resistance” (Cohen, 2010, p. 7-8). His Secwepemc perspective
reveals many facets of how Indigenous peoples view their relationship to the lands they
have existed on for centuries.

An important Syilx scholar is Jeannette Armstrong (2009) whose dissertation *Constructing Indigeneity: Syilx Okanagan Oraliture and _tmixʷcentrism* is critical for a number of reasons. Armstrong challenges the dominant discourse’s permutations of the concept of Indigeneity, which has been perpetually linked to Indigenous cultural identity. She introduces a Syilx way of knowing and being on the land that formulates Indigeneity as a social paradigm which Armstrong says is not an ethnicity but is a way of gaining wisdom and knowledge from the land so that life may continue to perpetuate itself (p. 1). Armstrong sources her in-depth knowledge of the language and culture to develop a Syilx environmental ethics model, which illustrates the complex layers of interdependence and interrelatedness of all life forms that are needed for the regeneration of the land. In other words, this way of knowing the land is about sustainability, not about the extraction and exploitation of resources. She explicates how “the tmixʷ” are understood to be many strands which are continuously being bound with each other to form one strong thread coiling year after year always creating a living future” (p. 3), thus regenerating to bring new life on the land. The Syilx word, “tmx w ulax w” (life-force-place) brings all the beings together with the territories on which they live (p. 3).

Furthermore, Armstrong (2009) outlines the genres of the Syilx Okanagan stories to create a way to understand an “oral literature,” which is very different from a written literary form. She provides an in-depth explanation of the cultural protocols of when, how and which stories are told. A critical aspect of Armstrong’s theorizing is that she also explains in detail the linguistic limitations of the English translations of Syilx words and concepts that provide immeasurable insights into the misunderstandings and distortions of meanings of Syilx cultural ways of being. Her work affirms how the Syilx stories are embedded in the collective memories of the people and how that

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24 [http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/paradigm](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/paradigm) defines a social paradigm as: a philosophical and theoretical framework of a scientific school or discipline within which theories, laws, and generalizations and the experiments performed in support of them are formulated; broadly: a philosophical or theoretical framework of any kind, retrieved May 29, 2015.
relates to the environment and the land (Armstrong, 2009, p. 74, pp. 90-105, pp. 106-108). The fact that Armstrong is a language speaker provides invaluable insights into how the stories of the Syilx govern how the people interrelate to all the beings on the land and how they outline the responsibilities the people have to upholding the regenerating principles given in the stories. In fact she is identified as, a suxʷqʷaqʷalulaxʷ “speaker for the land” and she “hold[s] the highest qualification within the knowledge structure of the Syilx Okanagan” (p. 6).

Another critical Syilx thinker is Marlowe Sam (2013) who brings an in-depth examination of the historical development of the phenomenon of globalization and how it has caused destruction on Indigenous lands and in particular how it has affected the water on those lands (pp. 24-62). Sam’s analysis and assertions are a counter-narrative to Appadurai (1988, 1990) in that he speaks of how globalization has affected regional economies “while European capitalism flourished with the shift of regional centers of accumulation” (Sam, 2013, p. 29). In documenting the history of globalization, he brings together Indigenous and non-Indigenous philosophers, political scientists and economists to deliver an Indigenous perspective to the globalization discourse. This Syilx critical analysis of globalization is valuable to my work because Sam elucidates insights into how the global economy has destructive affects on the lands and resources of regional locales; in particular, to “Indian reservations and reserves” in North America” because they “hold significant deposits of the last remaining and accessible natural resources found in the Western hemisphere” (p. 35). Another important aspect that Sam brings forward is the collusion between church and the state during the colonizing of the what Euro-Western thinkers call the “new world” in that they used “two legal doctrines of dispossession; the Doctrine of Discover and terra nullius” to “justify the taking of indigenous lands and resources in North America” (p. 39). Sam’s systematic and detailed look at the consequences of globalization in the social, political, and economic domains of Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island (North America) is significant to critical Indigenous social and political theories because he provides a Syilx perspective, which is rare in the globalization discourse.
Secwepemc scholars Janice Billy (2009) and Kathryn Michel (2012) and Syilx scholar W.A. Cohen (2010) are also important to my work because they have all been involved in setting up language immersion schools in Secwepemc and Syilx territories. Billy and Michel are the co-founders of The Chief Atahm School at Adams Lake and Cohen is the founder of the Nkmaplqs I Snmamayatn kl Sqilxwtet: Okanagan Language Immersion at the Head-of-the-Lake community in Vernon, BC. Their examination of land and stories in relation to culturally specific teaching and learning processes is invaluable to this study.

Billy (2009), whose work Back from the Brink: Decolonizing Through the Restoration of Secwepemc Language, Culture and Identity, takes a decolonizing approach to understand how the domination/oppression of colonialism caused the “loss of Secwepemc language, most aspects of culture, loss of land, and self-determination” (p. 14-15). Her questions about Secwepemc knowledge and how it is produced and by whom lead her to develop “An Ideal [Secwepemc] Education Model” (p. 163) that puts the child at the center and includes extended family. Billy explains that the Secwepemc language does not have a word for ‘education’ per se. However, the training that individuals went through was intended to help them develop into full human beings, that is, to be spiritually, cognitively, physically and socially competent (pp. 165-166). The acquisition of knowledge meant learning from the land. Students were active participants in everyday land-based activities (hunting, fishing trapping, berry and root gathering, medicine gathering, implement and tool making, building outdoor shelters, building sweat lodges, singing, drumming and dancing, and playing traditional sports and games) (p. 183) thus illustrating that the “land is our university.” Billy’s work dovetails with Kathryn Michel’s discussion on why it was important to set up the Chief Atahm immersion school in their/our traditional territories so that our children can learn the Secwepemcts’in language by extending the classroom to the land where they can participate in land-based day-to-day cultural activities.
In Michel’s (2012) *Trickster’s Path to Language Transformation: Stories of Secwepemctsin from Chief Atahm School* she shares her vital knowledge of the Coyote stories by outlining foundational concepts of the Secwepemc culture in Secwepemctsin. The translation(s) Michel gives shifts away from Euro-Western way of knowing. For example, the Secwepemc concept, “k’weseltktnés” translates to the notion of “we are all related” (p. 83) to expand relationships beyond the human, there is a much broader understanding of relating to all the other seen and unseen beings on the land (pp. 143-144). Most importantly, when Michel speaks Secwepemc concepts, she links the language to Billy’s practical application of learning from the land in that individuals are expected to take personal responsibility for their learning. A prime example is the concept “knucwestut.s” which means, “taking care of yourself [to] hone individual strength” in our day-to-day lives (p. 82). She refers to this process as “re-storying Self to Power” through “etsxe,” a process for learning how to survive and live on the land by vision questing, to be a whole human being so that we may be a part of the collective re-storying of the land. Furthermore, Michel explains how specific words from the culture come from the Coyote stories and how they shape Secwepemc epistemologies, thus affirming a culturally specific way of teaching and learning (pp. 82-84). Michel’s work provides the understanding of how the stories and the teachings within them hold our culturally specific pedagogical practices.

W.A. Cohen, is the founder of the Okanagan Immersion school, *Nkmaplqs i Snmamayatn kl Sqilxwtet (NSS)*, which translates to: The North Okanagan-Head of the Lake place for learning. Throughout his dissertation, *School Failed Coyote, so Fox Made a New School—Indigenous Okanagan Knowledge Transforms Educational Pedagogy* (2010) Cohen shows how he represents Coyote’s brother Fox in setting up this “new school.” He introduces what he calls, a “radical pedagogical framework” (p. 41) because he is applying Syilx ways of knowing and being in the teaching and learning processes that are central to the language immersion school he founded. Like Billy (2009), Cohen’s delivers a Syilx teaching and learning model that is also child centered and includes extended family participation. Cohen’s pedagogical model is a practical application of
Armstrong's (2009) model of regenerating life on the land that implicitly connects, land, language and story. Stories are central to Cohen’s work; he refers to Coyote stories throughout and he includes his own experiential stories in the Euro-Western education system while at the same time sharing stories from the community. Central to all his stories is the Syilx relationship to the land and how the stories embody the teachings of how to be interrelated with human and non-human relatives by honouring the basic operating principles of respect, responsibility, relevance and reverence.

2.5. Euro-Western Critical Theories: Religious Studies and the Land

The notion of reverence or sacredness is central to my probing for reconciliation between Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge because I am keenly interested in the role of spirituality in our human development and how that plays out in a shared society. In educational studies, Brayboy and Castagno examined some of the differences between the two ways of knowing in their discussion of culturally responsive curriculum for Aboriginal youth in math, science and language arts. The first evident difference was that Indigenous ways of being highly value being a part of the collective and perceive themselves in that context whereas in the Euro-Western ways of knowing, the individual is given primacy. When discussing how searching for one’s purpose in life, which I argue is part of the human condition, no matter what culture you are a part of, Brayboy and Castagno (2008) discuss how Indigenous peoples conceive of this differently from the dominant Euro-Western society (p. 964). The second difference and possibly the most critical, is that Euro-Western knowledge considers spirituality a taboo subject. They state:

It is important for teachers to be aware of and treat appropriately the connections many Indigenous peoples make between spirituality and science. Although much tribal knowledge of the earth, animals, and humans is intimately tied to moral and spiritual values, many teachers are reluctant to bring spirituality into the classroom. (Pewewardy & Bushey, 1992 cited in Brayboy & Castagno, 2008, p. 967)
I argue that Indigenous spiritual practice goes beyond the human collective of family and community because our worldviews include the interrelatedness of all things, the earth, the waters, the plants, the animals, and the water beings. Spirituality may be the most contentious issue that sits between the Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge and because of these fundamental differences that permeate every level of education; they create possibly irreconcilable tensions in the coexistence of these two ideological ways of knowing.

One Religious Studies text, an edited volume *Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations* addresses some of these tensions, which is why I look closely at how the authors link the concepts of Indigeneity, Indigenous diasporas, in relation to their discussion of home, and homelands (Thompson & Harvey, 2005). The editors, Thompson and Harvey clarify in their introduction that this notion of diaspora is usually thought of in terms of the movement of Jewish populations and they refer to this as, the “classic form of diaspora”; however, they expand the idea of a diaspora to include refugees, migrant workers, traders and multiculturalists (p. 1). It is the inclusion of Indigenous peoples in this notion of populations moving from one territory to the other that is of particular interest to my research. More importantly, the authors connect the concept of Indigeneity to Indigenous spirituality and because of this unique approach; their analysis is critical to my theorizing about cultural stories and relationship to land because these two things have a profound impact on what the ancestral lands mean to an Indigenous person. No matter where we/they live, there is still an intimate spiritual connection to the land we call “home.” This gives a much deeper meaning to “home”—beyond just a physical structure where we reside. Interestingly, Thompson and Harvey speak of Indigenous diasporas as a “de-storying of traditions” (p. 10), which speaks to my ideas of re-Indigenizing, re-storying, and re-inscribing the land. Thus, the Indigenous diaspora that these authors speak of has more to do with people being removed from their homeland whereas the conventional thinking of diaspora is related to the movement of populations.
2.6. It Really Is About the Land: Globalization, Indigeneity and Deterritorialization

In the social anthropology discourse on globalization, there are two terms ‘Indigeneity’ and ‘deterritorialization’ that are concepts pertinent to my study in that these notions are directly related to Indigenous peoples’ relationship to land. The abstractions of the highly-discussed term, Indigeneity are generally identified as relating to facets of Indigenous cultural identity while the term deterritorialization is generally related to the dissolving of national borders between nations and the movement of global populations who are voluntarily or involuntarily removed from their home country. Deleuze and Guattari (2009) originally developed the concept ‘detrimentalization’ in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* in philosophical discussions in 1972. They were exploring the psychological aspects of space and place. Since that time the term has been adopted and transformed by cultural anthropology in the globalization discourse. The Oxford Dictionary defines deterritorialization to mean, “the severance of social, political, or cultural practices from their native places and populations”\(^{25}\), which is the definition that will be utilized within this research. However, it is prudent to state that in principle some Indigenous peoples have been severed from their homelands and their ways of knowing and being since the time of first contact with settler/colonial incursions. Certainly Indigenous peoples/Nations on Turtle Island (North America) have had their relationship to their territories interrupted by the process of colonialism, which from an Indigenous perspective is critical to any discussions on globalization.

In the analysis of most discussions of globalization, the ethnic, refugee, immigrant and hyphenated groups of people who move from one country to another are the populations considered. Marlowe Sam’s (2013) analysis of globalization brings a rare Indigenous perspective on how the influx of foreign populations affects Indigenous peoples, their territories and natural resources. This perspective, I argue is

new to the globalization discourse. When there is any mention of Indigenous peoples, it is usually at the margins, or not at all. However, I add an Indigenous perspective on how this term ‘deterritorialization’ touches the lives of contemporary Indigenous peoples by closely examining Appadurai’s use of the term in discussing globalization.

Appadurai’s (1990) analysis of globalization addresses the “fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics” (p. 2) whereas his analysis looks closely at the fractures in populations that is, political exiles, refugees, immigrant workers and other ethnic minorities caused by the global movement of peoples; however he marginalizes Indigenous populations in his work. In fact, in his earlier 1988 publication, he rationalizes the erasure of Indigenous populations in the globalization discussion and through a sophisticated conceptual discussion he separates the Indigenous connection to the land. In his book, Modernity at Large, Appadurai’s (1996) discussion of deterritorialization expands his theorizing of this concept by looking at the notion of neighborhoods as a localizing phenomenon (pp. 178-199). In his earlier 1990 work, he referred to this notion as “indigenizing” meaning the migratory populations were adjusting to their new locations. I look at the nuances of Appadarai’s theory of localizing and compare it to what Secwpemc and Syilx scholars Armstrong (2009), Billy (2009), Cohen (2010), Ignace (2008), Michel (2012) and Sam (2013) say about Indigenous relationship to their homelands and cultural stories, which is based in culturally specific knowledge systems. I focus on deconstructing the concept of deterritorialization in the globalization discourse from a Secwepemc-Syilx perspective.

2.7. Global Film Discourse and Deterritorialization

The global film discourse discusses deterritorialization when referencing filmmakers who are displaced from their original country; however, none of the film theorists examine the unique position that Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers have on territories that the diasporic populations occupy. From the global film

Film theorist, Laura Marks, whose book *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment and the Senses* (2000), and subsequent articles “Touch: Sensuous Theory and Multisensory Media” (2002) and “Haptic Visuality: Touching with the Eyes” (2004) are relevant to my discussion of Indigenous film theory because she recognizes how cultural differences are reflected in visual narratives. Marks (2000) discusses the work of minority filmmakers in what she calls an intercultural cinema and who she says, “[…] are cultural minorities living in the West often-recent immigrants from Asia, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa, as well as First Nations makers (p. 1). I argue that the naming of Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers as a generic “First Nations makers” is problematic for two reasons. First, this categorization is a pan-Indian approach to Indigenous visual storyteller/filmmakers and does not recognize the unique national/cultural identity of each individual filmmaker. Secondly, Marks does not elaborate on the distinctive position of Indigenous filmmakers on the land/territory and this is very different from those filmmakers of the immigrant, exiled, or diasporic populations. However, she does put forward a critical characteristic of intercultural cinema that gives weight and recognition of, a filmic gaze that recognizes cultural difference. Marks purports that minority group filmmakers have differentiated ways of knowing and representing on film because they/we “...attempt to represent the experience of living between two or more cultural regimes of knowledge” (p. 1). Most importantly, she recognizes that the film works of these cultural minority groups, “evoke memories both individual and cultural, through an appeal to non-visual knowledge, embodied knowledge, and experience of the senses, such as touch, smell, and taste” (p. 2).

This recognition that Marks (2000) gives to alternative ways of experiencing knowledge, beyond the cerebral knowing, is of particular interest because I am
exploring how our culturally specific stories and ancestral knowledge from the land affect how Indigenous filmmakers relate to the land. To delve into the question of relationship to land, I turn to the analysis of Thompson and Harvey (2005) in their discussion of Indigenous diasporas and what home/homelands means to Indigenous peoples. I juxtapose their examination with the knowledge gathered from my participant visual storytellers/filmmakers to articulate some of the elements of what Marks calls “non-visual knowledge” and “embodied knowledge” from an Indigenous perspective. I question the filmmakers about what they are negotiating when balancing their artistic sensibilities with their embodied ancestral knowledge(s) while at the same time representing their way of knowing within the conventions of the dominant Euro-Western film culture? Are they engaged in culturally specific production practices?

Kerstin Knopf’s (2009) book, *Decolonizing The Lens: Indigenous Films in North America* focuses on the visual storytellers/Indigenous filmmakers on Turtle Island and her interdisciplinary (film theory, post colonialism, Indigenous studies) de-colonial approach is valuable to me because she acknowledges that “[...] there is no framework yet for the analysis of Indigenous films, there is also no specifically indigenous film terminology with which to refer to the tools, techniques, rules, [...]” (p. xiii). She names four stages of the development of “Fourth World” film (pp. 54-58) to provide a context for her study. Another feature of Knopf’s text that is useful to my analysis is that she discusses the benefits and drawbacks of transposing Indigenous oral stories to the contemporary format of film and video (pp. 83-98). In addition, she briefly discusses the implications of Indigenous visual storytellers working within a capitalist society, and how that affects the marketing and dissemination of their work (pp. 73-74). There are numerous reasons why Knopf’s analysis is important to my work; however, in her line of inquiry, she states the purpose of her book as:

ask[ing] whether or not there is a definite Indigenous film practice and whether filmmakers tend to disassociate their work from dominant classical filmmaking, adapt to it, or create new film forms and styles by
merging with and consciously violating classical film conventions. (Knopf, 2009, pp. xii-xiii)

Knopf’s (2009) line of questioning merges directly with some of my line of inquiry to the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers and she names some concepts that is, “a cinema of duty,” “a burden of representation” and “a cinema of pleasure” (pp. 59-60), when discussing Fourth World Cinema that I examine closely in Chapter 6. In fact, I assert that the theoretical model I developed in my 2010 MA thesis, “A “Cinema of Sovereignty”: Working in the Cultural Interface to Create a Model for Fourth World Film Pre-production and Aesthetics” is the beginning of a framework for analyzing Indigenous films and, also, I articulate terminology for techniques and storytelling styles of Indigenous film production. Although Knopf is decolonizing mainstream film theory, she does not address the issue of visual sovereignty for Indigenous film, which I address directly in the development of a localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory in my theory Chapter 4.

Finally, Corinn Columpar’s (2010) book, Unsettling Sights: The Fourth World on Film capitalizes the “I” in Indigenous she is cognizant of Maori filmmaker Barry Barclay’s role in naming “Fourth World Cinema.” She identifies her “object of examination” as “the specific role of [Indigenous] cinema” within a transnational context (p. xiv) and states that she is responding to Barclay’s discussion on the ongoing negotiation of being Indigenous within the colonial context. To illustrate this, Columpar does not skirt the issue of how politically and socially complicated it is for Indigenous peoples to produce what she calls, “counter-narrative traditions predicated on “representational, if not political sovereignty” (p. xv). I deconstruct, analyze and challenge Columpar’s concepts of, “representational sovereignty and question the participant filmmakers on their thoughts about “sites of internal exile” and “loss [of land] and deterritorialization” in terms of the reality of their lived experience as Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers.

2.8. Summary of Critical Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Theories

My selection of Indigenous, non-Indigenous theorists and non-Indigenous allies all relate to various aspects of my inquiry. The specific contributions of these scholars and the significance of their work to my project are outlined in the above sections; nonetheless, I summarize here for clarity. In the education discourse, the following Indigenous scholars (Archibald, 2008; Battiste, 1986; Brayboy and Castagno, 2008; Grande, 2004; Kirkness and Barnhardt, 1991) lay the theoretical foundation for culturally specific epistemologies and pedagogical practices. Moreover, they specify concepts that determine culturally relevant teaching and learning for Indigenous students. Archibald’s text is critical because her Indigenous storywork process is the guiding framework for my research and my theoretical baseline. In addition, the operating principles she identifies provide the parameters of the cultural protocols when speaking of how to access to cultural stories and how they are to be treated and used in curriculum development.

practices on the land. Simpson (2008, 2014) challenges Euro-Western education and puts forward a critical analysis of precisely how cultural stories are embedded in the land of the Anishabe and how they are directly connected to land-based practices. Young Leon’s (2015) theoretical model is a serious contribution to critical Indigenous theories because she elaborates the links between Indigenous peoples, their relationship to the land, and the cultural stories. Although her model is from the Cree-Anishinabe perspective, it can be modified by other Indigenous cultures because the fundamental precepts are shared by most land-based societies. I argue that all these Indigenous scholars make exemplary contributions to the production of knowledge in academe.

The contributions of Secwepemc and Syilx scholars are irreplaceable in my work because they are theorizing from a culturally specific location about how our bodies of Coyote stories explicitly lay out how the various stories are to be treated and how they hold the fundamental principles of how humans are to interrelate with each other and with the other seen and unseen beings with whom they share the land. (Armstrong, 2009; Billy, 2009; Cohen, 2010; Ignace, 2008; Michel, 2012; Sam, 2013). The specific concepts that directly relate to my line of inquiry are discussed in the pages above. It is important to note that the Secwepemc and Syilx scholars also make key contributions to the production of world knowledge. What is missing in the Secwepemc-Syilx scholarship is the perspective of one who has been ripped away from the language and the culture and has not had access to the cultural stories. My project, will address that gap to some degree.

The contributions of the non-Indigenous theorists that are particular to my line of inquiry are: Appadurai’s (1988; 1990, 2005) analysis of globalization and its impact on cultures, global economy and land (deterritorialization) is the narrative that I specifically counter, along with other Indigenous scholars in the globalization discourse. Harvey and Thompson’s (2005) discussion in the Religious Studies discipline looks at the concept of Indigeneity as identity and what that means to being dislocated from
ancestral land. These scholars include Indigenous peoples in their dialogue about diasporas (the disbursement of populations), which affirms some of my theorizing about what homeland means to Indigenous peoples.

The film theorists make a number of contributions in that they provide the historical and global context for my discussions about the production practices of Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers. Furthermore the concepts that Columpar, Marks and Knopf develop about Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers point to how difficult it is to situate these cultural producers in the global filmmaking discourse because of the particular political reality of First Peoples. My project will address some of the gaps in the existing film discourse and will add a unique perspective of an “Indigenous to Indigenous” conversation in the global film discussion. These gaps will be discussed in Chapter 6 on Fourth World Cinema: International and National Spheres.
Chapter 3.

What Horse Did I Ride in on?: Methodologies

When I started grade one, it was the first time for me to meet white kids—I was very excited to see all these different people. I remember running around asking them, “Do you think in pictures or words?” I am sure this was my little person trying to sort out my Secwepemc-Syilx way of seeing the world.

3.1. Chapter Overview

I begin this chapter with a self-explanatory childhood memory. I chose this method of story sharing as if I were speaking to the reader thus representing the oratory of Indigenous storytelling. I used this style of storytelling in Chapter 1, the introduction when speaking of my lived experiences.

In this methodology chapter I navigate an intellectual maze of methodological and epistemological differences between Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge(s) because I chose a political and cultural stance that validates an Indigenous way of knowing (Kovach, 2009, p. 30). I agree with the statement that, “critical and post-modern genres [...] assume that all knowledge is political and that researchers are not neutral since their ultimate purposes include advocacy and action” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 72).

Certainly, through this work I advocate for Indigenous systems of knowledge (IK) and for a self-determined research path, which means I am a sovereign, autonomous Secwepemc-Syilx woman with agency to make choices that reflect my

26 I was reassured when I read the section in Dr. Archibald’s 2008 book where she discusses one of her encounters with Dr. Ellen White who talked about how she was taught to make a picture and a picture frame in her mind and to see the images in that picture (p. 134).
position. It is my intention to contribute to the Indigenous research methodology discourse while at the same time, transforming and adding to existing Indigenous film theory and the globalization discourse. I begin by declaring my ideological stance and then I go back in history to look at the historical development of Indigenous peoples in the academy because Indigenous systems of knowledge have not been deemed a part of knowledge production by Euro-Western educational institutions until recently. I believe it is important to understand the history so that the context of the current acceptance of Indigenous knowledge is known. I believe that central to Indigenous research design and methodology is the knowledge system the researcher is utilizing.

Further to contextualize the research design of my critical qualitative study that is immersed in Indigenous methodologies and methods, I do a cursory introduction of the theories of critical Indigenous scholars (Kovach, 2009; Maracle, 2007; Young Leon, 2015) and discuss the application of these theories in how I treat cultural stories and Indigenous relationship to land within my methodological approach. By using the subtitles, “Methodology: How To Do Things in Indian Country,” “Hand in Glove: Protocols and Accountability,” and “Multiple Levels of Accountabilities,” I give an accounting of my conduct during this research process, which reflects the methodologies and methods I engaged. I complete this chapter with summarizing the methodological challenges and the successes I encountered.

3.1.1. What Horse Did I Ride in on?

To be clear about what ground I am riding my horse on as a Secwepemc-Syilx researcher, I align my thinking with Graham Hingangaroa Smith’s (1997) Kaupapa Maori model that brings theory and practice together in a self-determining way, which means exercising agency from my Indigenous point-of-view. Therefore, the following assumptions are embedded in my Secwepemc-Syilx philosophical point-of-view and any theories I develop: (a) relates to being Secwepemc and Syilx, (b) connects to Secwepemc and Syilx philosophy and principles, (c) takes for granted the validity and
legitimacy of Secwepemc and Syilx ways of knowing, (d) assumes the criticality of Secwepemc and Syilx language and culture, and (e) is concerned with “the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being” (Smith, 2002, p. 185). Further, I extend the same assumptions to any Indigenous scholar, visual storyteller/filmmaker and cultural knowledge keeper whose work I utilize in this study. It is within this context that my conceptual framework is placed within and embodies the relational approach of Indigenous methodologies and methods.

3.2. History: “Hands Back, Hands Forward”

While reading the “Hands Back, Hands Forward” (Archibald, 2008, pp. 50-51) teaching of Tsimilano, Dr. Vincent Stogan (Musqueam), my eyes, ears and mind interpret this to mean that we must ensure that our cultures continue in perpetuity. Moreover, for me it implicitly holds the notion of knowing what in our history is critical so that we may know what we are moving towards in the future. In the spirit of this teaching, I briefly review the linear history of Indigenous scholars in Euro-Western educational institutions as utilized by Shawn Wilson (2008), to give glimpses into an exciting future for the coming together of two ways of knowing the world. Wilson (2008) outlines the history of the four stages of development of Indigenous knowledge systems, developed by Patsy Steinhauer (2001a cited in Wilson 2008), which brings a clearer understanding of how and when the underpinnings of the Indigenous Research Paradigm started in the academy (pp. 52-54). The first stage begins during the 1940s-1970s (pp. 49-50). Steinhauer postulates that Indigenous scholars were working completely in the Euro-Western research paradigm and strove to be “western researchers of the highest caliber” (p. 52). Wilson identifies Indigenous scholars such as Beatrice Medicine (2001), Vine Deloria, Jr. (1969, 1973), and Howard Adams (1975) who were grappling with their Indigeneity within the Euro-Western academic institutions and produced a counter narrative to the commonly accepted colonial meta-
narrative. In the second stage, Indigenous academics were still battling the colonial discourse but continue to utilize the Euro-Western framework to avoid being marginalized. The primary issue encountered during this phase is that Indigenous systems of knowledge were being compared to Euro-Western ways of knowing which resulted in Indigenous knowledge to be inevitably relegated to an inferior position.

As Patrick Stewart, Nisga’a architect emphasizes Indigenous systems of knowledge(s) were sidelined by what he calls the 6d’s, “[...] that the his/her/story of the schooling process discredits/degrades/dishonours/disgraces/disparages indigenous knowledges as deficient” (Stewart, 2015, p. xiv). I assert that this deficit model in education, was and is still the accepted meta-narrative of the Euro-Western institutions and continues to dominate theory that results in the erasure of the reality of Indigenous historical, social and political experiences. As Kovach (2009) points out the critical theorists argue that various disciplines, that is, “postpositivism, postmodern and postcolonial” obfuscates any real analysis of history (p. 75) because the experiences of Indigenous peoples are pushed to the margins and the dominant narrative of Indigenous peoples as victims continues in the discourse.

In the third stage of indigenizing Euro-Western methodologies, Linda Tuhiwai-Smith’s 2002 pivotal text, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People inspired many Indigenous researchers to challenge the status quo. She specifically challenged the post-colonial theorists when she stated that this notion implies that the colonial process is complete (p. 99), when as Indigenous peoples we are very aware that there is in fact a neo-colonial process at play in our communities. Indigenous scholars, the world over, consciously engage in decolonizing the disciplines they work within as active agents and were/are able to claim a culturally specific space from their

\footnote{Metanarrative or grand narrative or mater narrative is a term developed by Jean-François Lyotard to mean a theory that tries to give a totalizing, comprehensive account to various historical events, experiences, and social, cultural phenomena based upon the appeal to universal truth or universal values retrieved on May 7, 2015 from the following website: \url{http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Metanarrative}}
distinct worldviews to add to the production of world knowledge. This meant they were not completely paralyzed in deconstructing the ever-present and ever oppressive colonial binaries. This set a firm foundation for an Indigenous Research Paradigm. In the fourth stage, Indigenous academics are doing research within their own and other Indigenous communities (Steinhauer cited in Wilson, 2008, pp. 52-54). There is a proliferation of Indigenous researchers who fall within this stage, including this doctoral work. In the mid-1980s, outside of academia, Indigenous writers were reclaiming the right to tell their/our own stories and in the late 1990s visual storytellers/filmmakers were claiming self-representation in the visual culture by stating that their storytelling was, 'by us, for us, and about us'. This statement was a commonly heard statement during the time the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) was launched in 1999 in Canada. While these significant transformations were taking place in the academy and in the film and television industry, legal precedents were recognizing the relationship between the land and story for Indigenous peoples in Canada.

3.3. Research Design: Indigenous Research Paradigm and Indigenous Methodology and Methods

I identify my research as an interdisciplinary critical qualitative study. I am mindful of the complexities of Indigenous methodologies that I am navigating. Kovach makes a critical point about bringing Indigenous methodologies under the “wing” of Euro-Western qualitative research discourses. Her concerns move beyond the form of the language to include trepidations about the misunderstandings of the meanings of the words in the language. She points to the differences in the unique structures of tribal languages in that “They resist the culturally imbued constructs of the English language, and from this perspective alone Western research and Indigenous inquiry can walk together only so far” (Kovach, 2009, p. 30). It is my intention to walk as far as I can to bring Indigenous knowledge methodologies and methods together with the
dominant understanding of critical qualitative research. Another aspect that is important for the reader to understand is the Indigenous approach to subjectivity because:

Tribal epistemologies cannot be disassociated from the subjective. Tribal epistemologies are a way of knowing that does not debate the subjectivity factor in knowledge production—subjectivity is a given. To embrace Indigenous methodologies is to accept subjective knowledge. This is difficult for sectors of the Western research community to accept, and it is where much of the contention about Indigenous research arises. (Kovach, 2008, p. 111)

I believe that the debate about objectivity/subjectivity between Indigenous and Euro-Western scholarship is found in diametrically opposed values at the core of the two ideologies. These differences implicitly infuse any dialogue between the two ways of knowing, including the approaches to the researching process. In a very general sense, Euro-Western way of knowing gives the intellectual (mind) perspective primacy in any dialectical discussion. This leads to a myriad of problematic areas in any conversation. This approach reduces the research to only one part of the whole, which is antithetical to an Indigenous holistic approach. In Indigenous thought all parts of your humanity are included (Maracle, 2007, p. 65; Archibald, 2008), that is, the heart, body, mind and spirit which means that for Indigenous scholars they are relating to the subject or phenomenon being researched from a holistic point of view. In this study, I research from a holistic perspective.

To set the backdrop of the research model that links story, land, and people, I utilize Alannah Young Leon’s (2015) “Mobilizing Indigenous Land Based Framework” as a visual and theoretical guide to illustrate the connections (see Figure 3). Although her graphic of the cedar tree/branch metaphor is from a Cree-Anishinabe perspective, I believe that her prototype can be modified to fit any Indigenous culture, including

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28 Permission granted to use this graphic was given through a personal communication (email) on May 5, 2015. Alannah Young Leon confirmed that she owns copyright of the illustration; therefore, her permissions include the artist/illustrator permission.
Secwepemc-Syilx because how I relate to my environment is very similar to the way of knowing she presents. The rings of the tree trunk characterize my relationships with the Creator, the Creation, my family, my community and my Nation. As Kovach (2009) explains:

As Indigenous people, we understand each other because we share a worldview that holds common, enduring beliefs about the world. As Indigenous scholar Leroy Little Bear states, ‘there is enough similarity among North American Indian philosophies to apply concepts generally’ (2000:79). Thus, when considering Indigenous epistemologies, Indigenous people contextualize to their tribal affiliation. We do this because our knowledges are bound to place. (p. 37)

To show how the Indigenous pedagogical process is tied to localized communities, Young Leon illustrates the necessary components required so that knowledge keepers may transmit the knowledge to the learners in a culturally congruent way. The five pedagogical pathways identified are: community, ethics, orality (stories), land and culture. When a community place-based teaching and learning process is engaged, it implicitly works with the individual being part of the collective community/Nation because it puts Indigenous knowledge at the center while at the same time un-learning colonial practices. Most importantly, the research model is firmly rooted in the operating principles of respect, relationship, responsibility, reciprocity and relevance. Young Leon outlines steps that a researcher must engage to honour Indigenous principles. As they research it is critical to reflect on the shared information, and that they prepare for their engagement with the community with the appropriate cultural protocols, before the application of any process they are facilitating within the community.
3.4. Methodologies: Research as Storytelling and Indigenous Storywork to Make Meaning

When theorizing and developing her storywork process, Archibald (2008) identified the guiding seven principles to engage with cultural stories as: respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy (p. xi). She explains that these principles helped her “to get to the ‘core’ of making meaning with and through stories” (p IX). In addition, Archibald clarifies that she is not assuming that her storywork process is applicable to all Indigenous peoples but that “these principles may act as a catalyst for examining and developing other storywork theories” (p. 140). Most certainly her work made a key contribution to my Masters thesis²⁹ and it continues to be a catalytic agent in my PhD research on multiple levels.

One critical point that Archibald makes when speaking about a Tlingit book³⁰ that “[...] could serve as a model for bringing together epistemology and research methodology” but she qualifies her statement by saying:

The introductory ethnographic information helps the cultural ‘outsider’ gain some contextual background to understanding the meanings in the Elders’ orality. If one does not know the cultural values and ‘codes,’ then an understanding of the oral tradition may not occur. (pp. 30-31)

This observation is not just important for oral storytelling but for most interactions in Indigenous communities. For certain, it affects the quality and content of visual storytelling/filmmaking because cultural protocols guide what can and cannot be filmed, who can be filmed and when it can be done. If we do not understand the cultural values and the embedded codes in the stories, how can we conceivably tell meaningful stories on the screen? In many ways, the film and television industry is antithetical to

²⁹ In 2009/2010, I was on the verge of quitting my MA program because I was so dissatisfied with the thesis I had written. I read Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit (2008) and I was catapulted into writing my second draft, which came pouring out of me. My Indigenous perspective was validated and I was able to write from a holistic point-of-view.

³⁰ Referring to Haa tuwunaagu yis, for healing our spirit: Tlingit oratory (1990), Norma and Richard Dauenhauer (Editors).
Indigenous oral storytelling because of the diametrically opposed values that are involved. For instance, television broadcasting is very time-driven because production deadlines have to be met so that the story can go to air and dollars are not lost; running times/lengths are strictly observed; and “dead air” (silence) is taboo. Indigenous storytelling is time driven in another sense, time seems to stand still, you engage in the present, past and future realms all at the same time; the length of the story is irrelevant; and silent time/space has meaning.

Another factor that affects our ability to hear stories in these contemporary times is that of language loss. If we do not understand the language, how can we conceivably understand the fullness of the story when some of the concepts do not have English words for them? (Archibald, 2008, p. 75). Another aspect of storytelling that Archibald speaks of is that Indigenous pedagogy engages all parts of our humanness, that is, the heart, the body, the mind and the spirit. She speaks of the importance of being able to “…listen with three ears, two on the sides of our head and one in our heart” (p. 76). In this very fast paced world that we live within and that is dominated by visual screens, it feels like everything is reduced to five-second sound bytes, purposeful listening does not seem possible. In her “Learning to Make Meaning from Stories” Archibald speaks of the sometimes long silences that occurred when she was asking her questions and how silences in the seemingly blank space, have meaning. There are two levels of adaptation happening in the silence, first the storyteller is adapting from their language to English, and then they are considering the expansive context of the question they are asked (in Archibald’s case, for education purposes) (pp. 85-89).

Obviously there are numerous considerations to make before going into a community to do meaningful research, or film a meaningful story; after all, documentary filmmaking is a form of research. It will be very difficult for a researcher or visual storyteller to do their work especially if they do not speak the language, are not

31 In my theory chapter 4, I discuss this extensively in what Dr. Ron Ignace calls, “the space between the words.”
conversant in the cultural values of that community, do not know how to listen with intent and do not know how to be respectful of what may seem like big empty spaces.

3.5. How to Do Things in Indian Country

Before I began my engagement with the 17 Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers and the 13 Indigenous cultural knowledge keepers, I was required to meet the criteria of the University of British Columbia’s Behavioral Research Ethics Board (BREB). I was issued ethics certificate number H13-01914, which was approved on September 17, 2013. I applied for an amendment to my study to accommodate Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit) because I was not able to fly to Igloolik in Nunavut due to the high cost of airfare. I amended the manner of interview from face-to-face to phone interview. This amendment was approved on December 11, 2014. The study was completed and terminated on August 27, 2015. In my pre-engagement contact with the participants, I explained the ethics process of the University of British Columbia and inquired as to whether or not there were formal protocols of their respective Nations for which I needed to follow. Victor Masayesva, Jr. of the Hopi Nation was the only one who had a formal cultural protocol process; however, he opted to exercise his individual agency to participate in the study.

The dimension of “pre-existing” (Kovach, 2008, p. 126) relationships occurs at all levels of engagement in my research. Over the years, I have established relationships with individuals in the national and provincial Indigenous arts community. They know me in various capacities. That is, as the first Coordinator/Organizer of the 1993 international conference, Beyond Survival: The Waking Dreamer Ends the Silence; as Board member and Chair of the Ontario Film Review Board (provincial agency for commercial distribution), as Visual Storyteller for the national broadcaster VISION TV (1994-2002) accumulating over 100 professional production credits, as Executive Director, Film Festival Director and Office Manager of the Indigenous Media Arts Group in Vancouver (a non-profit organization), as an Indigenous programmer for film
festivals and instructor of entry-level production at the Native Education Centre in Vancouver.

At home, in the Secwepemc and Syilx Nations, I have familial, community, cultural and political relationships. The people know me as a family, community and Nation member, as an organizer and participant of cultural events, as a participant in ceremony and as a television producer/director who carried some of our stories to the screen. From 1995 to 2003, I traveled throughout Turtle Island (North America) and into Mexico to bring Indigenous stories to the national screen culture in Canada. In Chapter 7, “Indigenous Films and Culturally Congruent Aesthetics” I discuss the internal and external accountabilities that Indigenous filmmakers contend with when working with our communities. Corporate accountability is very different than community accountability.

3.5.1. Personal Community Engagement

In 2000, I co-organized the 17th Annual Traditional Secwepemc gathering that my home community Splatsin hosted. This was groundbreaking for my community and me because we engaged cultural protocols between our sister Secwepemc communities and with the surrounding local non-Indigenous communities/municipalities. This was a first because up to this time, our settler neighbors were never invited to our gatherings. At the end of the 4-day gathering, we closed with a major international ceremony bringing the north and south together to uphold the Eagle and the Condor prophecy. The Peace and Dignity Journeys transferred the responsibility of care of over 50 Eagle staffs to the Secwepemc Nation. Arthur Dick of the northern Secwepemc community of Esket (near Williams Lake) accepted the staffs. This was a first for my community. For me I had never facilitated an international ceremony and it was filled with anxious moments because spiritual protocols are in a category of their own because there are many sensitive issues to consider.

More recently, in May 2013, Kukpi (Chief) Judy Manuel-Wilson asked me to be a part of a Secwepemc Women’s Gathering in her community of Neskonlith. I camped out with the
women for 4 days and helped out in different ways, including with the sweat lodge ceremonies.

That same summer, in July 2013, my community Splatsin hosted the Secwepemc Canoe Journey: Pulling Together. They would be traveling through four bodies of water in our territories. My brother who is Kukpi (Chief) asked me to help out in bringing the Secwepemc women pipe carriers together to conduct the sunrise ceremony at the beginning of the canoe journey. The spiritual responsibility started months before the actual journey and I was tasked with seeking out the women who carried pipes, from five of our communities (Splatsin, Adams Lake, Little Shuswap, Neskonlith, and Tk’emlúps). The eldest woman pipe carrier was 90 at the time! There were over 50 canoes launched from the shores of Mara Lake. I witnessed the canoes as they paddled to the shore to request permission to travel through four bodies of water in our territories. I visited the paddlers and ground crew every evening to hear their stories. They completed their journey at Tk’emlúps and over 200 people (paddlers, ground crew and community members) were a part of the Opening Grand Entry ceremony at the Kamloops pow wow. I was very proud to be working quietly in the background while our communities did their first ever Canoe Journey with other communities in BC.

Over the years the people have observed me, witnessed the quality of work that I do and recognize the cultural intent of that work. I have established sound, meaningful and respectful relationships in Indian country—in my regional area, provincially and nationally. This is the first time that my community and other land-based and urban Indigenous communities are meeting me as a researcher. One of the problems I encounter is that I do not have a substantive ‘pre-existing relationship’ with my own community because I have been away for so long. Rosalind Williams explains the relationship building aspect in the community when I asked her how she has come to be the knowledge protector of our stories. She states:

Oh, because I am a question box, you know. I had a burning desire to know the answers to lots of questions, you know, and I think they came to know me—our elders came to know me through my questions and came to know me through seeing the kind of work that I did in the community
and they came to trust me, you know. (Personal communication, Williams, January 2014)

Rosalind has been working with the Elders since the 1970s; therefore, she has the trust of the elders because she has been working with them for about 45 years. In my case, I have only been home for 20 years and 10 of those years I have been living as a guest on Coast Salish territories.

3.6. “Hand in Glove”: Protocols and Accountability

It is from this perspective and accumulated lived experiences that I discuss how I engaged with various communities, that is, my Secwepemc home community of Splatsin and some of the leadership of the Secwepemc Nation, my peer visual storyteller community of Indigenous peoples from different Indigenous Nations and recognized cultural knowledge keepers also from various Indigenous Nations. Like the theoretical minefield, I was aware of; I am equally mindful as I gingerly tread the fields and valleys of the cultural protocols of the Secwepemc and Syilx, as well as the intertribal diverse Indigenous Nations with whom I am working. I feel the weight of responsibility to conduct myself in such a way that will make my family, community and ancestors proud.

Hopi filmmaker, photographer, water activist and scholar, Victor Masayesva, Jr. makes the following statement, which illustrates a clear difference between Euro-Western ways of knowing and Indigenous ways of knowing when thinking about accountability.

A Native filmmaker has [...] the accountability built into him. The white man doesn’t have that. That’s the single big distinction. Accountability as an individual, as a clan, as a tribal [member and], as a family member. That’s where we’re at as Indian filmmakers. (Masayesva cited in Leuthold 1998, p. 1)
What Masayesva does not explicitly lay out is that from an Indigenous way of knowing, cultural protocols and accountability go together in what I call “a hand in a glove” motion, they are tightly bound together with your conduct within community. In addition, another critical point is that Masayesva, Jr. does not separate his individual person from the family, clan, community or Nation from his role as a visual storyteller.

One of the levels of accountability that weighed heavily on me was an obligation I felt towards the intertribal group of visual storytellers/filmmakers. Even though, I had a ‘pre-existing’ relationship with many of them in a professional domain, I felt a strong conscious pull to also extend a deeply felt respect to the cultural knowledge of their respective Nations. In order to alleviate the angst I was feeling, I set up an **Advisory Council** from the diverse group of Cultural Knowledge Keepers to keep me in check with how I interpreted cultural knowledge from my peer visual storytellers/filmmakers. Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis), Mike Myers (Seneca), Mona Jules (Secwepemc) and Rosalind Williams (Secwepemc) agreed to be on the Advisory Council for my project. I felt that these four would assist me if I encountered any conundrums in the multiple levels of knowledge I was gathering. Throughout the project, Victor Masayesva, Jr. acted as an informal Advisor for the Indigenous filmmaking aspects of this study. Similar to Archibald (2008) I shared some anxious moments about being “culturally worthy” (p. 41), to do this research. It is essential to know that anthropologists who have copyrighted some of our cultural stories under their own names have exploited the Secwepemc and Syilx by not sharing any of the monetary benefits with the storytellers or the communities they represent. Suspicions are grounded in this historical reality, which is common knowledge in the communities and in the Nation; therefore, as a Secwepemc-Syilx researcher, I am scrutinized just as thoroughly as any non-Indigenous researcher.
3.7. Multiple Levels of Accountabilities

3.7.1. My Home Community

In my own community of Splatsin, I have a fractured relationship with individuals, families and the community overall because I was removed from my family and community when I was 13 years old and placed in white foster homes. Some of the Elders remember me as a child. They know my mother, my grandparents and my siblings who returned from their foster homes to live in the community. The generation of people who are now recognized as cultural and language knowledge keepers are of the same generation as me, some of them are my cousins. They do not know me. I did not grow up with them. One of the recognized knowledge keepers Rosalind Williams explains what it was like for her in the 1970s, when she was questioning our place on the land. “[... ] I started to try to learn about our own history and our own background, [because] there was nothing.” Rosalind explains the suspicions that the Elders had and they asked her “What do you want to know for [and] what do you want to use it for?” She thought it was amusing that she was now in the role of cultural knowledge keeper and was asking me the same questions, even though we are from the same community (Williams, personal communication, January 2014). It is not a surprise to me that Rosalind is suspicious of me because she does not know me; she knows my aunt who went to residential school with her. Rosalind knows my mother, my uncles, great uncles and grandparents. We have not had any consistent time together to build a friendship with a deeper connection. My family is very involved in the leadership of the community and community-based politics sometimes interferes in building meaningful relationships. What is important for me is that Rosalind was asking the same question 45 years ago, that I am asking now, which is, ‘Who are we on this land?’

To be respectful of my own community, I met with the Chief and Council of Splatsin on January 28, 2014, at the Band Office. Our meeting was conducted in a “business-like” fashion. We met in a trailer that is set up as an office space. I explained
my purpose for requesting a meeting with them. Before I started my presentation, I introduced myself by explaining who my parents, grandparents and great grandparents are because some of the people do not know me, other than the fact that I carry the last name Christian.

I explained some of my work history and what I have been doing out in the larger world that led me to this work. I explained that “I want you to hear about this work from me and not from someone else because I am from here, I want to be respectful to the leadership and the community.” Further, I explained where I received the funding to do this research. I did a power point presentation to explain my research in everyday English, as opposed to academic language. When I completed the presentation, there were very few questions. I asked all those in attendance, “How many of you know our Coyote stories?” and everyone acknowledged that they did not know our cultural stories. My brother Wenecwtsin, who is Kukpi (Chief32) told me about the upcoming Storytelling and the Law sessions that he and Kukpi Ron Ignace were working on to deliver to the communities. He also asked about the Ownership, Control Access and Possession (OCAP) Principles of the National Aboriginal Health Council and the Tri-Council guidelines. I explained the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board (BREB) and how that process protects vulnerable or at risk people or communities in accordance with the OCAP research principles. I explained I was meeting with the Elders group in our community. Wenecwtsin also stated he thought I should be involved with the Thompson Rivers University research forum.

On January 30, 2014, I met with an Elders’ Group at Splatsin, which consists of mostly women in my community. I arranged to meet with them at a time that was convenient to them, in a setting that is comfortable for them at the Splatsin Tsm7aksátln (pronounced: Splat-cheen Chim-ak-sal-tin) the Splatsin Teaching Centre Society. We conducted our discussion in a Talking Circle style, where I explained the

32 My Splatsin community like all the other Secwepemc Nation communities operate under the imposed Indian Act system of governance, thus all the Kukpis are elected Chiefs.
work I was doing and asked for comments. There was an extensive discussion about the cultural knowledge that has been collected by Rosalind Williams for the community in the 1970s. I provided lunch for those who attended and I brought culturally appropriate and meaningful gifts for all the women and one man who attended. The driver for the women is my cousin Lawrence Lee. My gift to him was a picture of his deceased sister Eileen, from her younger years. I was very close to his sister when I was a child. There was general agreement that the work I was doing okay. Rosalind Williams did not attend this session. One Elder woman Julianna Alexander who did not attend, sent me a note that said:

I’m okay about people sharing all their experiences that involve their own stories and opinions, which can be used in movies or videos to share with the public. Now when it comes to our legends, spirituality, and language, which has our laws in it that concerns all Secwepemc people. It involves all our Nation—22 Bands. Then I think we as Splatsin alone cannot make a decision about our language, stories, [and] legends. We would have to involve the other bands. This is my insight and feelings (Alexander, J., Nuxnuxskaxa Tsá7i7elt, personal communication, January 30, 2014).

3.7.2. Inter-Tribal Engagement:
Participant Visual Storytellers and Cultural Knowledge Keepers

To maintain and honour Indigenous relational approaches, I initiated a pre-engagement process in the year previous to doing my fieldwork. I met people at different events and had informal conversations where I explained my project and asked if they would consider being interviewed. The multi-generational visual storytellers I shared stories with span many decades; the youngest is in his 20s and the eldest is 84. They are: Marjorie Beaucage (Métis), Kevin Lee Burton (Swampy Cree), Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis), Tracey Deer (Mohawk/Kahnawake), Danis Goulet (Cree-Métis), Raohserahawi Hemlock (Mohawk/Kahnawake), Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Mohawk/Six Nations), Lisa Jackson (Anishinabe), Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit),
Doreen Manuel (Secwépemc), Victor Masayesva, Jr. (Hopi), Shelley Niro (Mohawk/Six Nations), Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki), Loretta Todd (Cree-Métis) and a collective of women filming digital stories of residential school survivors—Lorena Fontaine (Anishinabe-Cree), Wendy McNab (Cree/Saulteaux) and Roberta Stout (Plains Cree). They all chose to be known by their names and not to be anonymous in the study. There are 17 in total. I provide more in-depth information about the visual storytellers/filmmakers, which is located in Chapter 6.

The primary factor for choosing my participant filmmakers is their level of engagement in the Indigenous arts community and that they are recognized as established or emerging visual storytellers/filmmakers. The other criteria for selection were: age, gender, physical location (urban or on-reserve), language speaker (or not) and whether or not they have attended film school. Further, I selected individuals representing diverse cultures. There were some filmmakers who I approached that were not able to commit because life circumstances (pregnancy) or production schedules did not afford them the time to participate. As the researcher I had to make cost effective decisions. I would fly to one major urban center (Montreal, Saskatoon, Toronto, Winnipeg) and drive to the surrounding regions where the filmmakers lived. Geographically the Indigenous representation starts from Montreal/Kahnawake west to British Columbia, north to Nunavut and one individual south of the 49th parallel. I acknowledge that I did not seek out filmmakers in the Atlantic provinces of Canada because of financial constraints. I include Victor Masayesva, Jr., Hopi filmmaker who is south of the 49th parallel, in what many identify as the United States; however, from some Indigenous points of view, that is a politically imposed border33. Masayesva, Jr. was selected because of his long-term involvement since 1965 in visual representation and visual narrative production. Plus there are a number of journals and articles that

33 The purpose of this dissertation was to examine how culture informs Indigenous production practices; therefore, a comparative analysis of the differences in arts programming and funding for filmmakers north and south of the 49th parallel is not included. A comparative analysis of this scope would have required a stand-alone chapter.
reference his stance surrounding Indigenous aesthetics and its ensuing implications to visual sovereignty.

Initially, I had selected six visual storytellers to have conversations with; however, as I engaged within the film community, other names were recommended to me. In Indigenous communities, we refer to this passing of information verbally from person to person as the “Moccasin Telegraph.” This method I believe is called, “the snowball effect” in Western knowledge methods. As a point of clarification, the focus of my research with these visual storytellers/filmmakers is not a visual analysis of their films. The research I am conducting is focused on how their cultural knowledge shapes or guides (or not) their production practices. In other words, it is their process of constructing visual narratives that is central to my inquiry, not the content of their stories.

The multi-generational cultural knowledge keepers I shared stories and experiences with and listened intently to are: Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis), Wenecwtsin Christian (Secwepemc-Syilx), Lynn Delisle (Mohawk/Kahnawake), Ron Ignace (Secwepemc), Marianne Ignace, Mona Jules (Secwepemc), Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit), Victor Masayesva, Jr. (Hopi), Ross Montour (Mohawk/Kahnawake), Woody Morrison (Haida), Laura Norton (Mohawk), Kenthen Thomas (Secwepemc), Rosalind Williams (Secwepemc). There are 13 in total. Maria Campbell, Victor Masayesva, Jr. and Zacharias Kunuk are in both visual storyteller and cultural knowledge keeper groups because they are knowledge keepers within their Nations and all are language speakers. The overarching principle that guided me in my choice of cultural knowledge keepers is that they are recognized in their communities as someone who carries cultural knowledge and/or is working towards preserving culture in their own work. I am expanding the understanding of ‘cultural knowledge keeper’ beyond the usual interpretation of being an older person, most commonly referred to as Elders. There are some younger people I had conversations with because of the storytelling work they
are engaged in, within the community. The knowledge keepers will be introduced more fully in Chapter 5.

I introduced myself in a cultural way, which means telling people what Nations I belong to, who I am, who my family is, where I live and what territories my people live on in the interior plateau regions of BC. I told them I am the eldest of 10 and I have one daughter and over 55 nieces and nephews and great nieces and nephews. I share with them that one of my brothers is Kukpi (Chief) at home and that I bring greetings from my home community of Splatsin. I also introduced myself professionally and explain the full spectrum of my work experience in the national arts sector. I spoke about my approach to my visual storytelling and how long I worked for the national broadcaster. I explained the scope of my work and that I had traveled throughout Turtle Island and worked with many Indigenous Nations, to carry out the stories they wanted told. In addition, I explained the intent of my research project and why I have selected them.

Before we engage in our conversation, I confirmed that they had received the required documents of the University of British Columbia’s Behavioral Research Ethics Board (BREB) forms that I had sent electronically. We reviewed the informed consent forms and interview guide. They signed the required forms. Furthermore, I explained I would send a copy of their transcript for their approval and that I would forward to them any sections of my dissertations where I would use their words. In closing the formalities of the institutional requirements, I pointed out to them the email address of my supervisor and the Ethics Board at UBC if they wished to question any of my engagement with them.

It was my intention to travel to the home location of each cultural knowledge keeper and filmmaker/visual storyteller to be respectful of their schedules and because I felt it was important that they be comfortable in their own setting. I did visit everyone in their preferred setting, usually in their home, with the exception of Zacharias Kunuk. To fly to Igloolik, Nunavut was over $5,000 and I could not afford that airfare and
accommodation costs. We tried to meet when he was in the South but that kept changing from month to month. I asked him if he would be open to doing a phone interview and he said yes. I applied to Behavioral Research Ethics Board (BREB) at UBC for an amendment to my application to include phone interviews, under the “unforeseen” event clause. With some I spent an afternoon and with others I visited for a number of days to gain a sense of the energy and aesthetics of their lands. During my visit to their homes, we shared some intimate stories of our personal lives. At the beginning of our conversation, I presented a culturally appropriate gift to each person. I researched each person’s culture so that I was able to present a thoughtful gift that would be useful and memorable.

3.8. Indigenous Methods in Gathering Knowledge

Although this section of “methods” appear to be in tidy categories, it is important to note that these “ways of being and knowing” do not occur in linear, well-organized boxes but rather they occur organically in what some may call a chaotic fashion. In lived reality, they overlap in various ways and happen at different levels of engagement. The conversational method worked for me with the visual storytellers and knowledge keepers when I was able to spend days with them in their home environments. It is not possible to engage in conversational method when the person you are speaking with only has a two-hour time allotment for the researcher. Kovach (2008) describes the conversational method as an open-structured process that:

...shows respect for the participant’s story and allows research participants greater control over what they wish to share with respect to the research question. It is an approach that may take longer and require more sessions than with highly structured interviews. (p. 124)

Although I engaged with my participants in a respectful way, I do not feel I can assess the conversational method effectively because I did not spend an extended period of time with most them. The following four methods are the most notable in my study.
3.8.1. The Journal: Experiential/Lived Experience as Knowledge and Reflexivity Method

At the beginning of this chapter I shared a lived experience story to illustrate the technical ways I use to differentiate the storyteller voice from the scholar voice. The larger body of text is represented in the conventional APA requirements, that is, left margined, 1.5 spacing, and using the Cambria 12-point font. The lived experience stories are infused throughout the thesis in relevant sections including, field production, researcher, and other life experiences. My Supervisor at the national broadcaster frequently asked me ‘where are you in the story?’ and if I was a part of the community story, I allowed myself to be filmed engaging with the people at whatever family or community event we were attending. In that way, I think of these experiential/lived experience stories as ‘writing myself into the story of the research’ as a part of my responsibility as a visual storyteller. Archibald (2008) states, “Many First Nations storytellers use their personal life experiences as teaching stories in a manner similar to how they use traditional stories. These storytellers help to carry on the oral tradition’s obligation of educational reciprocity” (p. 112).

In addition, I feel I am a part of the group that Kovach (2009) acknowledges as, “[...] the progressive work by many qualitative researchers for creating the necessary space required by emergent methodologies, such as Indigenous inquiry, that place significant value on the relational, and that allow recognition of the experiential nature of Indigenous research frameworks” (p. 34). In this approach, I feel I am co-creating with the people in the production of knowledge, rather than sitting outside of the circle of my own community, or Nation.

In the first stage of this work, I started what I called an ‘Academic Journal’ where I recorded my reactions, responses, feelings, and observations as a form of “a reflexivity method of research.” From time-to-time I read the journal to reflect on the content of what I wrote or to remind myself of what I was doing and why I was doing it. The journal is part of my “critically reflexive self-location” (Kovach, 2009, p. 112), so that I
can maintain clarity on my purpose and motivation for doing this work. Clarity is a serious consideration because I was maneuvering a minefield of cultural protocols, given the various dimensions of interactions I had undertaken. I discovered the journal to be an invaluable tool because reflection is such a significant aspect of any research; however, as an Indigenous method it is critical to meditate or ponder the knowledge gathered over-and-over again because with each time you consider the information, another facet may reveal itself. The journal enabled me to become clearer about the overlapping grey areas that are inevitably a part of the research process.

I include personal reflections of my process of engagement with the filmmakers, which will “move beyond field notes” to become a part of the Secwepemc-Syilx knowledge production (Kovach 2009, p. 33). This intuitive and experiential knowledge is an integral part of my research process and is a part of constructing contemporary Secwepemc-Syilx knowledge (p. 110), which is the basis for theorizing a localized Secwepemc-Syilx film theory that will add to Raheja’s development of an Indigenous film theory (Raheja, 2010, p. xi-xiii). While at the same time I expand on Rickard’s 1995 intellectual intervention in the political/legal discourse surrounding the concept of visual sovereignty (p. 51) and extend Raheja (2007, 2010) and Tsinhnahjinnie’s (2008) nuances. The theoretical framework developed for my localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory will be explored as a possible guide for other Indigenous visual storytellers who are exploring ways to speak of their production practices.

3.8.2. Synergy and Interrelatedness: Active Listening with Three Ears

In Chapter 3’s “Methodologies: Research as Storytelling and Indigenous Storywork to Make Meaning” section, I discussed extensively ‘the act of listening’ as a method. Kovach (2008) calls it “active listening,” that is listening twice as much as we speak (p. 125), which is another way of saying what Archibald stated, that is listening with three ears, the two on our head and the one on our heart (p. 76)—so “heart” listening is the way I think of a conscious and awakened auditory sensory experience.
What this means to me is to open up your heart when you are listening to the storyteller, or reading the story. In fact, opening up all your senses, to be totally present in the moment to activate the principles of synergy and interrelatedness that Archibald (2008) speaks of (p. 32-33), which to me is the unseen energy exchange between the story, the storyteller and the listener.

In my experience as a listener, I believe the synergy and interrelatedness also happens in a holistic way that engages heart, body, mind and spirit with the story and the storyteller. It is that place that Ignace (2008) calls, “the spaces between the words” (p. 13) the place that holds the silences and the energies that can transport the listener into places that do not mark linear time. This space to me is a place where I as the listener get to feel the ‘alive energy of the story’, if I sit still and be quiet and not allow my own energies to interfere but to revel in the very presence of the story as a listener, I get to have a magical experience. From a storyteller perspective, Archibald (2008) explains her process of being trained and how she uses her intuition to guide her to which story is to be told, by feeling the ‘alive energy of the story’—she calls this, “Living the Power of Story” (pp. 92-100). Another way I lived the power of the story was on my road trips home. I plugged my iPhone into the USB port of my radio and listened to my interviews, I engaged with the cadence and nuances of the storytellers’ voice and the stories they were telling me. I did this because listening to an audio recording of the storyteller is very different from reading the text of the interview. I was transported back to wherever we were when they were telling the story.

3.8.3. Inward Knowledge as a Method

The “inward knowledge” method is the most difficult for me to discuss because it is such an intimate part of who I am as a human being. I participate in fasting, sweat lodge and other spiritual ceremonies and from time-to-time my dream world sends me ‘inward knowledge’ that pertains to what I am ‘doing’ in the physical world. Since 1985, I have kept a dream journal.
What causes me great angst is that since childhood I have heard numerous times from various people throughout my life that we do not share this information openly because it is considered sacred and intimately personal (Armstrong, 2009, p. 105). The counsel is always to be cautious about when, where and with whom you share this treasured knowledge. In my discussions with Ron and Marianne Ignace (2014) about this particular subject, this is what Marianne said:

... in Secwepemc culture, there is definitely the whole sort of whole deeply set notion, if you divulge to a public audience... information about your spirit quests, your helpers, your protectors, that information...can be used against you... It can then negatively impact you. I think as researchers we have the responsibility not to disclose anything that somebody doesn’t want to be disclosed. (Ignace, M., personal communication, August 2014)

And, this is what Ron told me:

There is very little in Secwepemc culture that is kept secret, that I know of. I think that people don’t go and talk too much about their, like you were saying about the etsxe, spirit quest, what you have seen and heard out there, you come back and you perform it right? The songs, and maybe talk about your vision and how it is supposed to unfold, and how it could help the people. (Ignace, R., personal communication, August 2014)

So, it was with great trepidation that I shared the ‘inward knowledge’ of my dream in Chapter 1, where my great Uncle Joe came to ‘talk to me’ about this research. It was also a challenge to disclose the ‘visitation’ of my spirit name Cucw-la7 during my conversations with Ron and Marianne Ignace, which I also included in Chapter 1. It felt like I was giving away something that is precious to an unknown audience. My rationale for doing this is that I am not revealing any information that will bring harm to others. I pick up on Ron Ignace’s thought of ‘performing’ the information I received in my dream, thus writing this dissertation is in part the performativity aspect of that dream. I made a conscious choice to share these inward knowledge(s) in an academic forum in a purposeful manner, which is to illustrate how inward knowledge affected me
as a researcher. I am communicating some information that would normally stay within my family and community.

Respected Maori scholar Graham Smith thinks that there is no need to justify an Indigenous method of inward knowledge in Euro-Western institutions (Kovach, 2008, p. 127). Kovach states:

It is likely that this form of knowledge matters to non-Indigenous researchers; however, the crucial difference is that Indigenous researchers count inward ways of knowing as part of knowledge construction and referencing methods, subsequently legitimizing them in academic research. (p. 127)

This method of critical Indigenous inquiry and methodology may be the most difficult for Euro-Western scholars to accept because it involves prayer and is based in the spiritual relationship Indigenous peoples have with the unseen beings in their/our personal and physical environments (Brayboy & Castagno, 2008, p. 967). Furthermore, Kovach states that she believes “... there need to be methods to record these types of knowing so that they become a formal part of the meaning-making aspect of research” (p. 126). As a Secwepemc-Syilx researcher, I am still wary of sharing inward knowledge that I experience and there is still information I withhold to keep only for my personal counsel. The times that I do share this kind of information is guided by the intent of the telling/sharing, which is generally guided by who the audience is, what the context of the discussion is and will sharing the experience be a favorable teaching moment? However, my angst is somewhat assuaged through knowing that other Indigenous scholars are using their dreams in their research process (Archibald, 2008, pp. 2-3; Marsden, 2005, pp. 52-53).
3.9. Challenges and Successes of Indigenous Methodologies/Methods

In retrospect, I see that some of my choices have affected the depth and breadth of the results of my study. I have a full spectrum of representation in the diversity of nations of the visual storytellers/filmmakers; however, I see now that I have a cumbersome number of interviews. It is evident to me now that had I allowed for some ‘reflection time’ in the interview process that the depth of conversations would be enhanced. I also see now if I had interviewed 50% less and did a second round of interviews that our conversations could have encompassed a deeper discussion of the issues. I observed a difference in the quality of interviews between the people who I visited with on their lands, in their homes (Zoe, Maria, Marjorie, Shelley, Victor) and with those who I met with in-between appointments who fit me in for an hour and a half conversation. It was not always possible to have quiet, quality time with busy people whose production schedules demand their attention.

Another reflection is that I wish I had scheduled a block of time to listen to the audio recorded Secwepemc stories that are housed at the Secwepemc Nation Cultural Society and in my home community of Splatsin so that I could begin to embed in my memory the “core stories” (Archibald, pp. 53-54). Although, I did hear the stories when I attended the Land and Stories session, I believe that is a different form of listening. I feel I am at the beginning point of my Secwepemc cultural education, which I am sorely lacking in because of my history of disenfranchisement from my people and the culture.

My Advisory Council was like a security blanket for me in the writing process of this research. Fortunately, I did not have to make a nuisance of myself. I did call them from time-to-time to give them updates or if I had a question that I was pondering. In the end, I see that I know much more about cultural protocols and how to conduct myself in Nation-to-Nation diplomacy situations than I realized.
The singular Indigenous method that guided me is what is named as Inward knowledge(s) in this way of speaking but I know it as my spiritual connection to my Ancestors and to the land.
Chapter 4.

Who Are We on the Land?:
Critical Indigenous Theories

4.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter is complex because it conveys an expansive global view through layers of information to reach a localized point-of-view. To do this I intersect some critical social and political science theories and critical Indigenous theories including references to Euro-Western jurisprudence to develop a localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory for land/place-based Indigenous visual storytelling/filmmaking. Indigenous relationship to land and cultural stories are at the core of each line of inquiry and where all discussions culminate to formulate the localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory for contemporary visual storytelling.

I begin this chapter by explaining the connection of Indigenous land and story to Euro-Western jurisprudence. The next two sections focus on the globalization discourse from an Indigenous perspective and at the cultural interface of Euro-Western and Indigenous critical theories. I critique Appadurai’s concept of deterritorialization and his rationalization of this term that erases Indigenous peoples in the discussion, thus excluding the important aspect of how Indigenous peoples relate to the land. Following these segments, I turn to critical theorists of the Cree-Anishinabe, Dene and Anishinabe to discuss how other Indigenous cultures illustrate the significance of the relationship between land and story to Indigenous peoples. In the next section, I deliberate on the significance of stories in the relationship to land for the Secwepemc and Syilx cultures. The story and land knowledge I examine shape the localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory I develop that directly relates to my first research question. The trajectory of my inquiry
lays the theoretical foundation (ways of knowing, being, doing, acting, listening) for how a localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory treats cultural stories in these present-day times.

This research is situated in a global space and interrogates the globalization discourse as to how it pertains to Indigenous peoples in relation to how their cultural stories are grounded in their regional relationship to their ancestral homelands. This chapter examines some of the tensions between Indigenous peoples and the diasporic settler populations.

4.2. Euro-Western Jurisprudence: What’s Land Got to Do with Story?

For settler peoples, it appears that land is to be owned, controlled and used for monetary gain and recreation activities. For Indigenous peoples’ land carries a multitude of meanings. Land is their homeland, it holds the stories of their origins, it holds the blood and bones of generations of their ancestors and it is the shared home of the animals (four-legged and swimmers) and plants who provide food and medicines. Moreover, land provides a spiritual sustenance for Indigenous peoples and deeply entrenched in this spiritual relationship is a reciprocity, which means the people have a responsibility to protect those lands. Intricately woven within those responsibilities is a deep understanding that actions on the land are to ensure the perpetuation of life in all its forms of the seen and unseen beings that coexist on that land (Armstrong, 2009).

For external observers, this may seem like a simplistic way of relating to the land; however, when the depth and breadth of the philosophical underpinnings of Indigenous

\[34\text{ In the introduction, I discuss the difficulties of adapting the English language when speaking from a Secwepemc-Syilx point-of-view in a Euro-Western institution; therefore, to clarify in the overall dissertation when I am speaking of theoretical frameworks or concepts, I am thinking of Secwepemc-Syilx “ways of knowing, being, doing, acting, listening” because as I allude to at the beginning of my methodology chapter, I believe the differences in the two ways of knowing lie somewhere between words and pictures.} \]
cultures are explored, a profound, complex and elaborate way of relating to land is revealed.

Centuries of colonization and generations of settler populations have a deeply entrenched assumed cultural superiority, which does not make space for the philosophies/knowledge systems of the Indigenous people whose lands they occupy. Through this superiority, successive settler colonial governments have assumed an entitlement to the land and a hegemonic control over the original peoples. A legislated genocide (Christian, W., personal communication, April 2014) occurred by systematically destroying the Indigenous connection to land, outlawing cultural/spiritual practices and banning the use of their own languages. The most perverse practice of the colonizers was the enforced removal of the children from their families and communities to be placed in residential schools and white foster homes. Although, this inhumane action started in the late 1800s, the consequences reverberate throughout our Nations and on the city streets in Canada still in the 21st Century. The cumulative results of privileging the Euro-Western mindset and the lack of political will to understand the complex relationships that Indigenous peoples and cultures have to the territories they live on has forced them into Euro-Western jurisprudence systems to gain a modicum of consideration from the larger dominant society.

In 1997 the landmark Delgamuukw decision at the Supreme Court of Canada set a legal precedent because it recognized the role of oral stories in the transmission of knowledge from generation-to-generation and it acknowledged that the cultural stories embed the historical relationship Indigenous peoples have to their ancestral lands. The victory of the Gitxsan and Wet’suwet’en of northern British Columbia in this legal decision is critical because it recognizes “...that oral testimony has the same weight as written evidence in land entitlement cases” (Kovach, 2009, p. 95). This legal determination is of particular importance in British Columbia because most of the land sits on unceded territories, which means that Indigenous peoples’ rights and title to the
land were never given up, thus still exists and must be considered in the political and economic domains.

The more recent 2014 35Tsilhqot’in Supreme Court decision recognized Aboriginal title, which is written into Section 35 of the *Canadian Constitution*. This legal decision strengthens the place of Indigenous peoples on their traditional homelands, which inherently hold the keys to their knowledge within their bodies of land/place-based cultural stories that are passed down orally from generation to generation. This decision is touted as ground-breaking because many believe that it stipulates that any development on Indigenous land requires the consent of the Indigenous group affected by government or multi-national intrusion. However, a closer read of the legalese of the decision indicates that Canada still holds a position of power on lands where they have a vested interest. As the case summary of the Tsilhqot’in Nation v. British Columbia 2014 SCC 44 at the Mandel Pinder website reveals. Specifically it states under the titled section “What Rights Does Aboriginal Title Confer?”:

The court reasoned that Aboriginal titleholders have the “right to the benefits associated with the land—to use it, enjoy it and profit from its economic development” such that “the Crown does not retain a beneficial interest in Aboriginal title land.”36

This caveat means that the Crown (the government) still holds the ultimate power over the land. These two legal decisions are recognized in this research, that is, that Indigenous oral stories are as valid as written histories are in Euro-Western societies thus affirms our Indigenous ways of knowing and that our existence on our ancestral lands precedes first contact with settler populations. However, it is pragmatic to also acknowledge that Indigenous people will always be in a reduced position, given that any court decision is being made in the Euro-Western Rule of Law system, which does

not recognize Indigenous customary laws. These laws come directly from the stories that are held in the body of Indigenous knowledge on the ancestral lands of each Indigenous Nation.

To illustrate what ancestral homelands means to Secwepemc people, I turn to Kukpi (Chief) Ron Ignace, a language speaker, storyteller and scholar. He opens a small window into the complex relationships that the people have with Secwepemculecw (Secwepemc Land). He states:

As our people lived and traveled throughout our lands, they made history not only by naming places of heroic events; in addition, they named places after the resources, including game, fish and plants, they knew they could harvest there: Pellcilcel ("has silverweed") reminds us of the occurrence of an important indigenous root plant, Potentilla anserina. Pellskwenkwinem reminds us of the Indian potatoes (Claytonia lanceolata) associated with this place; Ts'otinetkwe, "rattlesnake lake" Pestsets'uye, "has porcupines," Pelltnilmen, "has Indian hellabore," are further example of place names that give clues to past animals and plants found there [...] 

Yet other place names give hints about what we do there, referring to the plants and animals we harvested in strategic, ecologically suitable locations: Cllumimen ("stabbing place") is our harpooning place across from the mouth of Deadman's Creek; C7emtsinten on the North Thompson near Clearwater is the place where people "sat at the shore" catching spring salmon. C7emtusten is a cliff where people did their etsxem or guardian spirit questing. K'ecse7ten, "drying meat place" is a place at the northern boundary of Skeetchestn reserve where, on a southern exposure, our people dried the meat from their fall hunting. It was also a village site, as several depressions still show us, and a tool-making area, as the evidence of large amounts of lithic flakes on the flat at K'ecse7ten shows. (Ignace, R., 2009, pp. 188-189)

Jeannette Armstrong (Syilx) is also a language speaker, storyteller and scholar. She is a suxʷqʷaqʷalulaxʷ-speaker for the land and reveals some of the multifaceted

37 Armstrong (2009) explains fully the training that bestows her credentials in her PhD dissertation (p. 6).
relationships that the oral stories have to land and how that gives meaning to the reciprocal relationship between the people and the land. She states:

Syilx Okanagan oral story, on one level, contains essential specific environmental knowledge as an oral documentation method, while on another level, as literature, captikʷɬ reconstructs the ethos of interdependency specific to the ecology of the Syilx Okanagan territory through reenactment of nature’s interactions. Syilx Okanagan captikʷɬ in the Nsyilxcen language mimics the dynamic aspects of nature’s required regenerative principles. captikʷɬ, when communicated to each succeeding generation, acts as a feedback loop reconstructing the social paradigm as an environmental ethic. captikʷɬ might be seen as a distinctly Indigenous human adaptive response scheme within a natural system. The way captikʷɬ, as social instruction, constructs the Syilx Okanagan world, results in behavior with a direct sustainable outcome in the environment. (Armstrong, 2009, p. 2)

Clearly the Secwepemc and Syilx have an intimate, complex relationship with land that is directly related to their cultural stories, which innately guides one’s conduct within the layers of engagement, including that of Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers even in this time of globalization.

4.3. Globalization from an Indigenous (Syilx) Perspective

Marlowe Sam (2013) devotes a lengthy chapter (pp. 24-62) to provide a comprehensive examination of the historical development of this phenomenon known as globalization from his Syilx point-of-view. He states:

Sam and Armstrong (2013:385) argue that globalization, from the indigenous standpoint, can be thought of as the subsuming phenomenon of colonization engulfing indigenous peoples and their lands in domestic law as an economic order revolving around and centered on the systematic global movement of natural resources situated to benefit foreign investment interests through trade agreement law-making designed to exclude, dispossess, and disengage indigenous and local autonomies in decision-making. (pp. 24-25)
This understanding sees globalization from an Indigenous way of knowing and thinking thus provides the framework for this discussion. What is important about Sam’s globalization discussion is how the evolution of this phenomenon has cumulative impacts to Indigenous people, their ancestral lands and its natural resources in these contemporary times. He names globalization as “the subsuming phenomenon of colonization,” which makes it difficult to distinguish one from the other because the two occurrences intersect and at other times occur simultaneously in his deconstruction of the historical aspects of colonization and globalization.

Nonetheless, Sam’s (2013) analysis is unique precisely because it is from an Indigenous (Syilx) perspective and provides a far deeper analysis than most in the globalization discourse. He conducts a systematic search into the history of Western civilization and deconstructs the time-period in world history when the major imperial powers were colonizing what Indigenous peoples know as Turtle Island (North America) and what the colonizers termed the ‘new world’. Sam asserts that he “view[s] the birth of the phenomenon of globalization” as occurring during the time of the Greeks (p. 32), then he teases out a legal and political discussion that pertains to the development of globalization and how it affects Indigenous peoples in the Americas. He says no one can agree on when globalization started and what the definition is for this phenomenon (p. 25).

Sam (2013) reviews the writings of Indigenous and non-Indigenous philosophers, historians, economists, social and political scientists and he asserts that globalization “dictates the politics of colonization” (p. 30), thus it appears that colonization and globalization are occurring simultaneously. He shows what he means by directly linking his analysis of the global economy (trade) to how the military was used in the colonization process. He discusses how that impacts Indigenous lands and the extraction of natural resources, which provides a rarely conceived perspective (p. 25). Furthermore he asserts that "Modern globalization began in 1800 and is linked to these key factors, “the rise of the nation-state, and the rapid spread of industrialization,
population growth, free trade, imperialism and war.” Sam claims that a form of postcolonial globalization started in the 1950s, which is when global capitalism (read: global economy) and trade started dissolving “territorial boundaries, which are of central importance to national sovereignty and international relations” (pp. 30-31) of the so-called modern nation-states. This has a direct impact on the social and political integrity of Indigenous Nations.

Sam (2013) discusses the collusion between the Church and the Imperial powers that colonized the Americas by painstakingly laying out the series of four papal bulls issued by the Roman Catholic Church in the 1400s and 1500s (pp. 42, 43, 44), which he says determined the political approach of the colonization process. The monarchies bestowed the colonies with the power to gain “economic control and dominion over the Indigenous peoples land and resources” (p. 33). He explains how the Doctrine of Discovery and terra nullius concepts lay the foundation for the colonizers’ social, political and legal theory that are still used in Euro-Western jurisprudence today. Moreover, he utilizes the legal opinions of Indigenous legal scholars John Borrows, Sharon Venne, and Tracey Lindberg to counter the Euro-Western legal philosophies. The most critical point that Sam makes that is important to this study is his explanation of pre-existing Syilx social and political structures and customary laws that were diminished when the social, political, and legal philosophies of the colonizers were imposed within Syilx territories.

Sam’s in-depth analysis and review of the development of globalization is enlightening because it encompasses layers of investigation that includes scrutinizing the social, political, economic and legal domains that have dire ramifications on those environments of Indigenous peoples and their lands/resources still today. Undoubtedly Marlowe Sam’s contributions to the production of world knowledge can be thought of being a part of the strong movement in international Indigenous rights that calls for a post-colonial completion (Lightfoot, 2016, pp. 6-7), which I say is decolonizing from an Indigenous perspective.
4.4. Globalization: The Interface of Indigenous and Euro-Western Systems of Knowledge

The globalization discourse is a prime example of how Euro-Western knowledge has not decolonized or deconstructed their ideological approach to Indigenous peoples and in fact perpetuate a neo-colonial approach (Alfred, 2009; Corntassel, 2012). This is particularly troubling when discussing the concept of deterritorialization, which has direct implications on Indigenous peoples and their ancestral territories. The online Oxford dictionary defines this concept as, “the severance of social, political, or cultural practices from their native places and populations.” French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari in Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia originally published in 1972 and republished in 2009 initially formulated the word ‘deterritorialization’ when exploring the notions of place and space in the psychology discipline.

The discourse has since developed a general understanding of this term to make reference to populations of immigrants, refugees, exiles, ethnic minorities with hyphenated identities and other diaspora groups who are voluntarily or involuntarily removed from their homeland for numerous reasons. In addition, Indigenous peoples are sometimes mistakenly and awkwardly included in the discussion because theorists do not want to acknowledge Indigenous peoples’ prior relationship to the lands that are being examined. I discuss the specifics of this in my Chapter 6 discussion of locating political identities of Indigenous visual storyteller/filmmakers in the film theory discourse. Furthermore, the impact of the movements of these large groups of people on Indigenous populations and their territories is rarely included in the conceptualization and analysis of globalization.

Arjun Appadurai, prominent social-cultural anthropologist is recognized as a leading theorist in the globalization discourse. While his publications, Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization (Appadurai, 1996) and his journal article

“Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” (Appadurai, 1990) provide important ways of examining globalization, he largely erases Indigenous people(s) in his discussions. He formulates the “fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics” and dislocates the then existing “center-periphery model” by discussing the “new global economy as a disorganized capitalism” (p. 2). Appadurai explains how this implicates modern nation-states and the territories they occupy. In 2016, 26 years later, some power structures have been decentralized and the global economy seems to have run amok, with countries such as Greece\(^{39}\), Spain\(^{40}\) and China\(^{41}\) in a state of financial crisis.

For this work, it is how Appadurai (1990) considers the concept of deterritorialization and how that relates to the erasure of Indigenous people(s), which is central to my critique of his theorizing. He says that globalization:

> Is a fertile ground of deterritorialization, in, which money, commodities, and persons are involved in ceaselessly chasing each other around the world, that the mediascapes and ideoscapes of the modern world find their fractured and fragmented counterpart. For the ideas and images produced by mass media often are only partial guides to the goods and experiences that deterritorialized populations transfer to one another. (p. 7)

Furthermore, he says the movement of populations is an “essential feature” of globalization (p. 2); however, Indigenous populations are not included in his analysis. Appadurai continues to say that displaced diasporas become “indigenized in one way or other” and that “the dynamics of such indigenization have begun to be explored in a sophisticated manner” (p. 1). I dispute this aspect of Appadurai’s analysis because he does not consider how these transient populations affect the original Indigenous

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populations\textsuperscript{42} who live on their ancestral homelands within the borders of the so-called modern nation-states. Nor does he clarify his use of the word “indigenize.” Appadurai’s use of the word “indigenized” is further obscured in his 1996 publication where a chapter is dedicated to “The Production of Locality” in which he purports that the diasporic populations become “localized” (pp. 178-199) to the new territories they have settled in without considering the homelands of the ‘original inhabitants’ of the land (pp. 178-199).

To fully comprehend Appadurai’s marginalizing of Indigenous people in his 1990 and 1996 theoretical construct of globalization, it is critical to carefully scrutinize his earlier 1988 publication “Putting Hierarchy in Its Place.” In this article Appadurai (1988) erases Indigenous peoples in two well-executed stages. In the first stage, he discusses the place-based quality of Indigenous peoples lives.

What it means is that natives are not only persons who are from certain places, and belong to those places, but they are also those who are somehow \textit{incarcerated}, or confined, in those places. What we need to examine is this attribution or assumption of incarceration, of imprisonment, or confinement. Why are some people seen as confined to, and by, their places?

Probably the simplest aspect of the common sense of anthropology to which this image corresponds is the sense of physical immobility...The natives are immobilized by their belonging to a place.

But the critical part of the attribution of nativeness to groups in remote parts of the world is a sense that their incarceration has a moral and intellectual dimension. They are confined by what they know, feel, and believe. They are prisoners of their “mode of thought.” (p. 37)

According to Appadurai (1988), we as Indigenous people are prisoners of our sense of belonging to our ancestral lands and by our ways of knowing. He further expounds that “there are fewer and fewer native cultures left” [read: authentic cultures]

\textsuperscript{42} For the Working Definition of Indigenous People used by the UN Permanent Forum for Indigenous People at this website, retrieved April 23, 2016. 
\url{http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IPeoples/UNDRIPManualForNHRIs.pdf}
because we have been adapting and adjusting to the waves of settlers occupying our lands. He proclaims, “my general case is that natives, people confined to and by places to which they belong, groups unsullied by contact with a larger world, have probably never existed” (p. 39). Embedded in his theorizing is the subtext that if these Indigenous cultures/people never really existed, then it is quite acceptable for nation-states and multinational corporations to steal their land and extract all the natural resources for capitalist profits.

In the second stage of Appadurai’s (1988) erasure of Indigenous peoples, he subtitles this discussion as “The Genealogy of Hierarchy” (pp. 40-46) in which he uses the caste system from his home country India as a template to illustrate the development of the concept of hierarchy. This is problematic because the top-down nature of the caste system does not apply to most Indigenous cultures on Turtle Island (North America). For instance, the Syilx governance approach is grounded in the Enowkinwixw process that embeds egalitarian principles and a consensus decision making way of working, which gives voice to all sectors of the society, that is, the Elders, the Mothers, the Fathers and the Youth in the issues at hand that affect the continuation of the people and the culture on the land (Armstrong, 2009, pp. 164-192). This approach is fundamentally different from what Appadurai assumes in that all peoples and cultures are hierarchical.

Appadurai (1988) completes his erasure of Indigenous peoples from the lands they are born to by discussing “Hierarchy in Place” (p. 45). In this section, he streamlines his erasure of Indigenous peoples by separating the people and the culture from the land. Appadurai effectively obliterates the cultural uniqueness of each Indigenous culture/group that share territorial boundaries like the Secwepemc and Syilx, when he states:

In such an approach, there would be an assumption of family resemblances between places, involving overlaps between not one but many characteristics of their ideologies. This assumption would not
require places to be encapsulated by single diacritics (or essences) in order for them to be compared with other places, but would permit several configurations of resemblance and contrast. Such a polythetic\(^{43}\) approach to comparison would discourage us from thinking of places as inhabited by natives, since multiple chains of family resemblance between places would blur any single set of cultural boundaries between them. Without such consistent boundaries, the confinement that lies at the heart of the idea of the native becomes impossible. (p. 46)

It is my contention that the intent of the rationale that Appadurai’s provides in his elaborate theorizing is to bring into question the uniqueness of each Indigenous group, thus providing the justification for delegitimizing the spiritual connection that Indigenous peoples have to their place-based territories. In effect, I believe he creates an ‘open season’ on Indigenous lands for multinational exploitation. When juxtaposing Appadurai’s theoretical constructs alongside Indigenous scholars’ theories (Armstrong, 2009; Sam, 2013; Ignace, 2008) it is apparent that there are numerous conceptual tensions when considering the land. For instance in Ignace’s (2008) triangulation of data from Euro-Western science and Secwepemc knowledge, he verifies the specific relationship that the people have with particular sites on their lands. In Armstrong’s (2009) work she elaborates how the language ties the Syilx peoples to the perpetuation of life on the territories. In Sam’s (2013) in-depth analysis of globalization he speaks of existing governance and social structures that existed within Syilx society prior to colonization. In addition, he ties specific Syilx stories to specific locations on the land. Therefore, I argue that these Secwepemc and Syilx theories (discussed in following sections) belie Appadurai’s theoretical constructs that attempt to erase the Indigenous peoples from the land.

\(^{43}\) Definition of polythetic, “relating to or sharing a number of characteristics which occur commonly in members of a group or class, but none of which is essential for membership of that group or class” retrieved October 2, 2015 from: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/polythetic
4.5. Shared Indigenous Perspectives: The Land and the Stories

In the globalization discourse, the Indigenous/Syilx viewpoint Sam (2013) embeds the Syilx people on their territories for generations by discussing how the oral stories hold historical knowledge and customary laws. At the same time, Appadurai (1988, 1990, 1996) theoretically erases Indigenous peoples from the land. However, Indigenous scholars from the Cree-Anishinabe, Dene and Nishnaabeg Nations examine and theorize about how the cultural stories encode the land with their epistemologies and pedagogies from their respective cultures through the enactment of their land-based practices.

Indigenous cultures have shared values and principles; however, there are complexities unique to each culture as Archibald states:

Each Aboriginal Nation has particular traditions, protocols, and rules concerning stories and the way that stories are to be told for teaching and learning purposes. [...] Some stories may be “owned,” those that are the responsibility of individuals, clans, or families; some belong to the “public domain,” being available for anyone to tell. [...] In addition to knowing the cultural protocols and rules pertaining to the telling of stories, one must know how to make meaning with stories. (Archibald, 2008, p. 83)

For clarity purposes, it is important to explain that I am working towards refining the ambiguous notions of indigeneity as ethnic identity that exists in some discourses. I believe how I explain and affirm the deep spiritual connection to the land through cultural stories shapes and deepens the specific indigeneity of Secwepemc and Syilx peoples (Armstrong, 2009; Ignace, 2009; Sam, 2013). In particular, I adopt Armstrong’s (2010) concept of Indigeneity as a social paradigm, which she says is not an Indigenous identity but identifies how localized Syilx peoples interact with the land to gain wisdom and knowledge so that life may continue to perpetuate itself in a continuous cycle of regeneration (p. 1).

I strongly believe that the term “ethnic identity” is an imposed one that suits policy makers in situating Indigenous peoples as yet another interest group that
appeases the segment of the public who support Indigenous issues. It appears that the term ethnic identity only applies to people of color because there is no category for ‘white’ settlers, only ethnic [read: people of color] immigrant groups and Indigenous people(s). What is important to how I formulate a culturally specific indigeneity is that I move away from the pan-Indigenous approach and affirm the unique cultural specificity of each Nation. I discuss this issue in a more in-depth manner later in this chapter. It is with this understanding that I apply the following model to illustrate some of the principles that are shared amongst Indigenous Nations and that I believe can be transposed to any Indigenous culture because of the similarity of values and principles. I recognize and extend respect for the cultural specificity of each Nation.

4.5.1. A Cree-Anishinabe Model for the Land, the Stories, and Cultural Protocols

A valuable study that puts people, place and pedagogy as the central tenets of land-based practices is Alannah Young Leon’s Eshkakimikwe Kandosowin, Earth Ways of Knowing, a model for “mobilizing [an] Indigenous land-based framework” (see Figure 4 below). The “Cedar Pedagogical Pathways” is grounded in the Cree-Anishinabe ways of knowing and they share knowledge along five paths to collective learning, which are: culture, land, orality, community and ethics. Each learning path upholds the autonomy of the Nations by being anchored to the roots of aspects of the culture, that is, prayer, performance, languages, genealogy, dreams, songs, ancestors and ceremonies. These learning paths are the foundation for a collective community-based decolonizing process.

However, the individual learner needs to engage by following a comprehensive “Five Step Indigenous Land-Based Pedagogy” that incorporates research, preparation, protocols and principles, reflection and application (Young Leon, 2015, pp. 9-10). To begin, Young Leon emphasizes the importance of educators finding local resources because that includes “local history, the language, regional stories and the local
knowledge.” This is critical to community partnerships and conducive to building “healthy learning environments” (p. 90). It is clear that the Indigenous way of teaching and learning is paramount to this process that engages the whole person, no matter what age, are encouraged to “accept the role of learner” and to “listen with all their senses” (p. 91).

I understand this to mean engaging in the multi-dimensional spaces of energy, sound, visuals, touch, taste and even the silences. For learners to benefit in this teaching approach a firm understanding of the “connection between spiritual ecology, ethics and relational laws, embedded in Indigenous stories, languages, and cultural practices” (Young Leon, 2015, p. 2) is critical; otherwise, the fundamental relationship of people, place and protocols is lost. Although, this model is grounded in Cree-Anishinabe knowledge, I believe it is applicable to both urban and rural Indigenous contemporary communities because the model can be adapted to the local region. Plus I assert that Indigenous Nations share the same primary values towards the people, the land, the language and the stories.
Figure 4. Gee-zhee-kan-kan'-dug: Cedar pedagogical pathways. Artwork by Clarissa Poernomo, 2014. Copyright Alannah Young, 2013; used with permission.
4.5.2. Critical Land-Based Theories: Story as Theoretical Anchor

Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson extends her 2008 article in which she addresses strategies for cultural survival by shifting to a deeper level of what Indigenous relationship to land means. In her 2014 article, “Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation” Simpson uses one of her Nation’s cultural stories as the “theoretical anchor” (p. 7) to illustrate how the practical application of the story is the theory (way of knowing, being, doing, acting) for land-based practices. She reinforces Coulthard’s grounded normativity theory that ties Indigenous land practices to our systems of knowledge that “inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time” (p. 13).

Simpson (2014) takes a strong stand on how the practice of engaging with the land and its bountiful gifts is very significant to upholding and honouring the specific Nishnaabeg intelligence system that cultural stories teach. I understand this to mean more than just how Nishnaabeg people think; but also how the stories encompass, how they do, how they act and how they listen in respecting the multitude of relationships within their families, clans, communities and the land. In other words, when engaged in land-based practices, Nishnaabeg embody their knowledge in their doing of day-to-day activities. It is not just intellectual, academic rhetoric. In using the story of how her people collect maple sugar, Simpson shares some meaningful considerations. She says, “For me, this story is a critical intervention into current thinking around Indigenous education, because Indigenous education is not Indigenous or education from within our intellectual traditions unless it comes through the land” (p. 9). With this important point she makes a critical distinction when discussing the Nishnaabeg practice of extracting maple sugar from the trees in that the conditions of the learning environment on the land need to be reconstructed to infuse the multi-layered teachings. Teaching just the mechanics of how to collect maple sugar is not sufficient. To fully explain what she means, Simpson (2014) states:
Settlers easily appropriate and reproduce the content of the story every year, within the context of capitalism, when they make commercial maple sugar; but they completely miss the wisdom that underlies the entire process because they deterritorialize the mechanics of maple sugar production from Nishnaabeg intelligence and from aki⁴⁴. They appropriate and recast the process within a hyper-individualism that negates relationality. (Emphasis added; p. 9)

Here Simpson is delving into the deeper cultural meanings of the Nishnaabeg story of sugar bushing that embeds the finer nuances of the conceptual (ways of doing) differences between Nishnaabeg/Indigenous knowledge and Euro-Western knowledge systems when applied to the land. For the Nishnaabeg (2008), maple sugar is a food source; a gift received by the people, given to them in a story that shows clearly the reciprocal relationship between the people and the maple tree and this “takes place in the context of family, community and relations” (p. 7). My interpretation is that the story is given to the people and it embeds the teachings of what they have to do to reap the ongoing benefits of the maple tree, that is, they uphold their part of the reciprocal spiritual relationship they have with the tree by offering tobacco to the spirit of the tree. They do not receive from the land without giving something back. This is very different from the Euro-Western capitalist approach that takes from the land by extracting the maple sugar resource only for corporate profits of individuals.

Coulthard and Simpson are faculty at the Dechinta Bush University⁴⁵ and in 2014⁴⁶ they discuss the Indigenous land-based program in Dene territories. They speak of the “Indigenous land-based education and embodied resurgence” where the land is the foundation of Indigenous teaching and learning processes (Simpson & Coulthard, 2014, p. 3). To me this is a reiteration of the notion that the land is our university and

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⁴⁴ Simpson explains that aki is, “The land, aki, is both context and process” (2008, p. 7).
our knowledge keeper practitioners are our professors. The most thought provoking is their stance of including urban centers as a part of Indigenous lands. This inclusive positioning is critical to a sustainable resurgence because many urban-based people are working for their home communities from their diasporic locations. In addition to setting up land-based programming within urban-based organizations this approach is a different policy direction to the status quo. Historically the conventional practice is for the settler governments to disseminate program dollars between so-called on-reserve and off reserve Indians, thus entrenching a divisiveness between the people and their home communities. Simpson and Coulthard are suggesting a strategy to counter the ‘divide and conquer’ normalized routine of the policy makers. More importantly, for our families and communities, this lends to a stronger inclusive approach to rebuilding our communities and is a way of ensuring a sustainable cultural resurgence that is founded in Indigenous ways of knowing and doing.

Our Indigenous knowledge does not evaporate from our daily lives when we live in urban centers; in fact, Indigenous diasporic peoples who live in the city do participate in land-based practices and inter-tribal ceremonies by honouring cultural protocols between communities and Nations. Moreover, urban-based programs are being developed to reconnect the people to the land. An exciting program that brings youth together with land-based practices is the Culturally Relevant Urban Wellness (CRUW) Program, “developed in 2011 by a community partnership led by Vancouver Aboriginal Child and Family Services Society (VACFSS)” and located at the University of British Columbia Farm which sits on unceded Musqueam territory. The majority of the youth involved are individuals who are in foster care, separated from their families and cultures. This urban-based program is a prime example of Alannah Young Leon’s theoretical framework reinforcing contemporary land-based practices.

4.6. Secwepemc and Syilx Relationship to Land

This discussion amongst Indigenous scholars that links land and story provides the environment for a meaningful discussion in my homelands; that is, how the Secwepemc and Syilx anchor themselves to their land with their/our cultural stories (Armstrong, 2009; Billy, 2009; Cohen, 2010; Ignace, 2008; Michel, 2012; and Sam, 2013). Sam acknowledges the close ties between the Secwepemc and Syilx in that they/we are both “Coyote’s people.” Our Coyote stories (Sek’lep for Secwepemc) and (Senklip for Syilx) known as the Stsptekwle (Secwepemc) and the captikxw (Syilx) have the “laws embedded within” and the two Nations “share these laws while upholding the ethics, protocols, and values upon which they are based” (Sam, 2013, p. 179). The two Nations have stood together politically since 1878 to uphold their responsibilities and customary laws of the lands of the interior plateau regions of what is known as British Columbia. I discuss the historical relationship between the two Nations in Chapter 2, Literature Review, section “Secwepemc and Syilx Philosophies: Land and Stories.” There I deliberate on the span of their political alliance, the similarity of their Coyote stories and their shared approach to their ancestral homelands. That relationship continues to this day.

4.6.1. Secwepemc Stories and Reciprocal Accountability

In Ron Ignace’s (2008) Our Stories Are Our Iron Posts: Secwepemc Historical Consciousness (2008), he uses one phrase, that is, “the spaces between the words” (p. 13) that I find myself repeating from time-to-time when I think of the spirit of my ancestral homeland and the Coyote stories. When I asked him about this phrase he said:

…it’s the essence of your soomik, your life force but also realizing that SPACE is also valuable to us as a people and the realization that sitting down with Elders and when you’re talking and all of a sudden, things go quiet and not a word has to be said but there’s a lot going on between you and that Elder. (Ignace & Ignace, personal communication, August 2014)
In the following statement, he describes his experiences of “the space between the words” when he was speaking to the Elders during his research process.

With me...I got into a time machine and went back in time. I wasn’t here in this world. I was back there, exploring and seeing, it’s phenomenal. You get that way when you’re listening to the elders, telling you things, telling you stories and you just sort of zone out and go into that other world and it’s powerful. Even sometimes, like, even after you’ve done the interviews and you’ve gone and come home. You can get into that ‘space between the words’. Like I’d be laying in bed, 3 or 4 o’clock and I’d wake up—or driving down the road, you know. I’d feel like I was transformed into Coyote as it were! And, be able to see these other worlds. And, wow that’s a strange feeling. It’s wonderful, powerful, and you get insights that are incredible and it all comes from them. It doesn’t have to be at that moment in time that you are listening to a story—you get into those— that ‘space between the words’, you carry those words with you, they take you to places. (Ignace & Ignace, personal communication, August 2014)

This lengthy quote gives a sense of what is happening between the energies of the story, the storyteller and the listener/reader. I believe Ignace (2008) is describing Archibald’s principle of synergy from her storywork process (p. 33). For me what that means is if I am consciously engaged then all the parts of me are in a hyper-alert state, that is, the energies of my body, heart, mind and spirit, can then access the energies of the story. When I am listening with “three ears” (Archibald, 2008, p. 76), I go into the “space between the words” (Ignace, 2008, p. 13). This phrase has come to represent the unknowns and the place where storytellers/readers/listeners interject their “life force” to interpret and bring understanding or meaning to the story.

Storyteller/Kukpi Ignace (2008) strongly links our stories, the Stseptekwle, which is translated to “mythical story or legend” or Slexeyem, translated as, “handed down story of experience” (p. 36) to physical locations in Secwépemcúlecww, the Secwepemc word for our land. However, in one of his footnotes he discusses how the root word, “ptekwll(em) has often been translated as “storytelling”’ but he thinks this is an inadequate translation and that it means more than that. He says others have
referred to this root word to mean “sacred stories” but that does not entirely cover it either because the stories move back and forth between the spaces of the sacred and the profane (p. 52).

With this caveat, Ignace (2008) shows how the cultural stories are embedded and written into the land by braiding together, the language, the oral stories and geographic physical locations on the land. He speaks of how these three aspects of the culture are deep in the historical consciousness of the Secwepemc peoples, especially when the person speaks the language, knows the Coyote stories and engages with the land. Ignace brilliantly interfaces Euro-Western scientific knowledge from the archaeology, geology, and paleo-ecology disciplines to confirm facts in Secwepemc oral stories. In his own words, Ignace states he did this “to cross check and triangulate evidence” that he received from Secwepemc elders/storytellers (p. 31). I believe the knowledge transmitted through the stories reveals the layers of relationship that the people have with the land, that is, it is personal, embodied, reciprocal, interdependent and spiritual. While placing the knowledge he gathered at each point of the triangle, Ignace re-interprets some of the misunderstandings and/or distortions of the oral stories, which he says can be “mined for nuggets of historical truths” (p. 322) that dispel some of the existing documentation that were inadequately translated thus creating misinterpretations. He says that the “true meaning” of the word (p. 90) is distorted because researchers use shortcuts in the English language, rather than digging deeper into the structure of the Secwepemc language.

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48 Defined as a noun, the branch of ecology dealing with the relations and interactions between ancient life forms and their environment retrieved from http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/paleoecology retrieved June 11, 2015.

49 Ron Ignace is a scholar and the Kukpi (Chief) of his Skeetchestn community. He comes from a long line of leaders who have been a part of the resistance of the imposition of colonial powers on Secwepemc lands. He was fortunate to be raised by grandparents and great grandparents. He is a language speaker and a keeper of cultural knowledge.
Most importantly for my study, Ignace (2008) gives a sense of how we as Secwepemc peoples relate to the land with our senses. He discusses how the place names in the language refer to geographical locations that also bring memories of the smells and the activities that took place there (p. 176). In his descriptions, he touches on a deeper sense of our relationships by linking the language to the land. He states:

Many, if not the majority of Secwepemc place names employ the opportunities offered by roots, prefixes and suffixes to indicate particular places in Secwepemc territory by their geological shapes, the habitat of plants and animals, and in the end the memories of ancestors traveling this land that they evoke among those of us who can relate to that, or learn it. In short, our sense of Secwepemculecw as organized in place-names and land-forms, is tied up in our aesthetic experience of shapes, and in the memories of living and traveling in a landscape of aesthetically organized shapes, and thus in our sense of history. (p. 177)

Ignace contextualizes the intricate, intimate and profound relationship that Secwepemc peoples have with their/our culturally specific land base and how we have a “reciprocal accountability” to each other, the community, the Nation and that level of accountability also applies to all the beings that we co-exist with on the land. He says, “The way I talk about it, reciprocal accountability is built into the language” (Ignace, R., personal communication, August 25, 2014) and he ties the land to the stories in a very definitive way when he states:

The stories of my people are inextricably linked to our land, Secwépemcúlecw, and to the ways in which successive generations marked the land with their deeds, named the land, showed us how to look after it, and thus deeded the land to us: we belong to it, and it belongs to us. Furthermore, I see the history of our connection to our homeland as inextricably linked to our language... (Ignace, 2008, p. 4)

Both Secwepemc and Syilx philosophies place language as a primary element that links the people to the knowledge encoded within the stories that bind them/us to the land.
4.6.2. **Syilx Stories: Customary Laws and Indigeneity**

In a lengthy chapter, Sam (2013) links Syilx oral stories that embed the customary laws of the people, which govern their reciprocal relationship to the land (pp. 145-196). He explains how the Syilx system of knowledge existed long before the arrival of the Eurocentric settler societies.

When the Europeans arrived with their idealist notions of being a superior civilization the early settlers began to transform the aboriginal societies and the land based on European cultural values, laws and knowledge systems. What is not told is that aboriginal societies (speaking for the Syilx) had known for centuries or millennia that the white man was going to make his presence in our lands. The Eurocentric perspective of history of the Americas supposedly began with the arrival of Europeans while aboriginal societies had been functioning under organized governance systems for thousands of years prior to the arrival of the white man. (Sam, 2013, pp. 25-26)

Most importantly, Sam (2013) connects Syilx cultural stories to specific geographic locations within the territories (pp. 157-159). Further, he uses four criteria of what he calls a European system of law to legitimize Syilx customary laws (pp. 156-160). Sam uses a Syilx story, “The War with the Frogs” as told by Martin Louie in 1975, to illustrate how the people managed their movement on the land thus connecting customary laws with specific regions on Syilx traditional territories (pp. 157-159). Sam’s (2013) work together with Armstrong’s (2009) theoretical frameworks strengthen the people’s place on the land.

Armstrong (2009) provides a full explanation of the depth and breadth of how Syilx oral stories relate to the land and the people on the territories. Armstrong is a suxʷqʷaʔwalulaxʷ “speaker for the land.” She “hold[s] the highest qualification within the knowledge structure of the Syilx Okanagan” (p. 6). She is a highly-respected writer, philosopher, activist, and scholar who’s PhD dissertation, *Constructing Indigeneity: Syilx Okanagan Oraliture and tmixw-centrism*, explains that the Syilx Okanagan stories in Nsyilxcen (the language) are a documentation and preservation system of the social
experience on the land. She documents the ways of Syilx knowing of how the people are to relate to each other, to the land, and all the other beings on the land, i.e., animals, plants, waters, rocks, including the seen and unseen forces.

Armstrong (2009) speaks of “four general genres” (p. 90) of Syilx stories that are open-ended and are fluid, moving from one to the other, and sometimes overlapping and sometimes sharing aspects of two or more genres. The captikʷɬ are stories told to serve different levels of audience and are multilayered in meaning. The four primary genres are: (a) the World-before-humans captikʷɬ; (b) Coyote-was-traveling- snk’lip aqw uy tə captikʷɬ; (c) There-were-people-living-kʷəliwt iʔ sqilxʷ captikʷɬ; and (d) Sacred Text: xaʔxaʔ tə captikʷɬ and each category carries specific characteristics along with conventions of where and when the stories are to be told (pp. 93-96).

Furthermore, Armstrong explains that there are two categories of stories that are not included in the captikʷɬ primary genres because they stand outside the criteria and conventions of how and when the stories are told. The first she names as “historical accounts or smaʔmay?” which are a re-telling of real events and “fall loosely” into three kinds of stories which are, “Epic stories, which are usually centered on a heroic figure; accounts of significant historical events, like disaster, war, disease; and anecdotal witness events about mysterious or out-of-the-ordinary occurrences” (pp. 103-104). These stories have their own rules for how they are to be shared. The other category of stories that falls outside the parameters of captikʷɬ is the “Found-By-Divine Means or Smipnumpt.” These stories are a stand-alone category that is “sometimes referred to as prophesy or dream trance visions”—“they are not limited to foretelling the future but include recounting information or instructions received in dreams.” Very strict guidelines are attached to this body of stories and how they are recounted and “this category exists separate from captikʷɬ (p. 105). Armstrong elaborates that, “The Syilx protocols for storytelling are practiced as custom to observe the purpose of (a) formal or public gatherings; (b) informal social occasions; (c) informal family centered gatherings; and (d) for individuals or select audience situations” (pp. 91-92).
To fully understand how to make meaning with stories, it is vital to understand the concepts that are embedded in the language. The first concept, central to Syilx Okanagan ways of knowing and seeing is what Armstrong (2009) names “tmixw” (pp. 148-149) that translates to “life force”⁵⁰, which can be understood as the spirit or essence central to each life form on the land. This essence for human beings is named, “tmx w ulax w” (life-force-place) (pp. 149-150), which reinforces a sense of belonging to the land and affirms a place-based identity. Further, this gives insight into why Indigenous peoples are so strongly related to their ancestral lands. Armstrong explains that from a Syilx point-of-view, each life form has a right to be regenerated to continue to bring new life. The concepts within these two words are the very core of the model of Syilx Okanagan environmental ethics that Armstrong has developed. Her model differs from mainstream Western ethics, in three ways:

1. there is a moral responsibility to the ongoing life form, not just one cell of the life form;
2. human beings are not separate from other life forms, they are placed on the land like everything else, to be a part of the continuance of life on the land; and,
3. it is a system that is not based on the capitalist, utilitarian model of profit that depletes resources. (Armstrong, 2009, p. 4)⁵¹

Within these three criteria, the tensions with Euro-Western systems of knowledge are apparent because within that way of knowing, humans are separated from all other living things and given a superior status that has primacy over all other life forms. As Grande (2008) explains, “The predominant relationship has been one of material exploitation: the forced extraction of labour and natural resources in the interest of capitalist gains” (p. 235), which is an entirely different approach to Syilx way

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⁵⁰ Ignace refers to life force as soomik.
⁵¹ Armstrong extensively explains how her Syilx environmental ethics differs from western ethics in her dissertation (pp. 220 to 307). With the space constraints of this dissertation, it is not possible for me to provide the deeper insights of the differences because almost every word has to be deconstructed to the root words in the Syilx language, and then explained within the limitations of the English language.
of knowing. Armstrong’s Syilx environmental ethics model constitutes a set of relational laws that is based on the responsibilities of humans as only one of the life forms who are part of the Circle of Life, not above, or greater than the lands, waters, animals, winged ones, trees, plants, and other seen and unseen beings. With these diametrically opposed ways of being on the land, it is necessary to understand how the language embeds the concepts and how that shapes the operating principles (ways of being) held within the complex stories of the land.

To provide an understanding of some of the complexities of the stories of the land, Armstrong provides an extensive explanation of how the “unique meaning(s) in Syilx words as being fundamental to access Syilx oraliture” in that they must be approached through the lens of the Syilx land in active image semantics provoked by the Nsyilxcen language (Armstrong, 2009, pp. 85-88). By thinking about “active image” she gives a small glimpse into how the Syilx language works, a worldview emerges that intertwines and brings together all living entities on the land. Armstrong says the captikwl provides the context to classify Syilx oral stories in order to avoid the limitations imposed by the terms myth and legend. She states:

captikʷɬ must be viewed in the context of their specialized role in communication. captikʷɬ are an essential part of the Syilx social matrix which formed as an Indigenous response to the land and resulted in the meaning and concept contained in words like tmxʷulaxʷ which is essential to understanding the tmixʷ as the life-force and who appear as animal characters of the stories. The land/nature images of Nsyilxcen built into the speaker of pre-Columbian Nsyilxcen and the stories which permeated that persons being were highly developed to influence social pattern and behavior as they were transferred from speaker to speaker in each generation. (pp. 88-89)

Armstrong’s coined term “oraliture” makes a distinction between oral and written stories and she applies this term to all the genres of Syilx stories. To assert the existence of oral scripts within Syilx oraliture, she utilizes the work of David C. Rubin to

52 “Syilx oraliture” is a concept of oral literature that Armstrong develops in her 2010 PhD dissertation.
substantiate her theory. Rubin’s argument is that the story, first and foremost must be contextualized within the culture and quotes his empirical study on the “structural schema of stories,” that is, “scripts, story grammars and associative networks” that he claims are ways to help people remember oral stories (Rubin cited in Armstrong, 2009, p. 106). Two important points of Rubin’s research which are necessary for the analysis of Armstrong’s conceptual framework is that the “captikʷɬ imbed specific intentions directed at the listeners” (p. 107) and Rubin’s approach to imagery in story as “an orality-conscious aid” where his concept uses an analogy like “a movie created in the head” (Rubin cited in Armstrong, 2009, p. 107). Armstrong’s theory is that the stories are held in “Syilx collective memory,” which I see as a shared movie in many heads and the movie is “transferred through captikʷɬ” thus are central to the two models of environmental ethics and Indigeneity as social paradigm that she proposes (pp. 106, 108).

The two models that Armstrong developed are major contributions to a spectrum of disciplines but particularly to environmental ethics and critical cultural studies. Armstrong’s (2009) Syilx environmental ethics model challenges the precepts of the mainstream environmental discourse that justify land and resource extraction as acceptable practice for the economic system gone awry that is leading to global destruction. Further her Indigeneity as a social paradigm model dismantles the generalized notion of Indigeneity as identity. I believe this brings an important Indigenous/Syilx perspective to the critical Indigenous, globalization and film discourses because it takes the issue of identity into a deeper understanding of what it means to be connected to the land as a Syilx person. Armstrong shifts the discussion of Indigeneity which she says is not an ethnic identity but is a way of interacting with the land to gain wisdom and knowledge so that life may continue to perpetuate itself in a continuous cycle of regeneration for all life forms, not just human (p. 1).

This is a profound shift from the many conceptual variations of Indigeneity as ethnicity in the globalization discourse, which I discussed extensively in my MA thesis (Christian, 2010, pp. 58-62). Along with other Indigenous scholars, Armstrong (2009) and Sam’s (2013)
critical Syilx theories bring an intellectual intervention to the commonly accepted concepts of Indigeneity and deterritorialization in the globalization discourse.

From my lived experience, I know that my identity as a Secwepemc and Syilx woman is strong because my connection to the territories is irrefutable. The concept of a collective memory still exists within our genetics53 (blood memory) no matter how long we have been away from the culture or how disrupted the continuity of our knowledge transmission process has been interrupted. We are still connected to the collective memory of our people. We also connect to our ancestors when we participate in ceremony where we enter a sacred space, which often triggers collective/genetic memories. I maintain that Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers still have that connection with their collective memories whether they/we live in their/our home territories or in urban centers (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013).

The stories embed complex layers of meanings that are more clearly understood if an individual is a fluent language speaker; however, I argue that the codes that are within the stories are accessible by non-language speakers as well because the stories are alive and the listener/reader/audience feels the energies of the stories (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013) in a visceral way in that place that Ignace (2008) calls, “the space between the words” (p. 13). It is this level of engagement that I argue ties into Armstrong’s principle of regeneration because it is implicit in the looping back to previous generations that provides a re-Indigenization of the land in a continuous spiral54 that Armstrong says is “constructing Indigeneity: Syilx Okanagan Oraliture and tmixw-centrism” (Armstrong, 2009, pp. 1-3), thus ensuring a sustainable survival on the land.

53 In Chapter 1, I share an experience of one of my ancestors, my great Uncle Joe coming to visit me in a dream.

54 Dr. Ron Ignace also speaks of Secwepemc knowledge being transmitted in a spiral, rather than a circle (Ignace & Ignace, personal communication, May 2014).
Clearly, from the Syilx perspective, a commitment to life and the regeneration of life on the land is a primary objective of this way of knowing, rather than seeing the land as a never-ending supply of natural resources to be extracted for material gains. And from a Secwepemc point-of-view the principle of regeneration that Armstrong speaks of is implicit in the language that strengthens the people’s relationship to the land. In the next section, I put forward a Secwepemc and Syilx way of knowing, being and doing as the foundation for developing a localized critical theory for how visual narrative is constructed and used for teaching and learning purposes. I rely on my intuitive, embodied ways of outward and inward knowing (dreams and ancestral memories) including the subconscious collective memories which hold the teaching and learning that my ancestors continue to pass on to me. This way of knowing, being and doing guides the way I walk on the land, including how I treat the cultural stories in these contemporary times.

4.7. Developing a Critical Localized Secwepemc-Syilx Theory

In order to open the discussion of developing a critical localized theory, it is necessary to clarify what I mean by this phrase. By the very nature of how cultural stories embed Indigenous peoples’ laws and how they relate to human and other life forms on their ancestral lands, it is logical that any theories developed from any research conducted are contextualized in the cultural norms of the land and the people who articulate and share their contributions. Therefore, I adopt Tuhiwai Smith’s following statement on local critical theory as common sense.

Critical theory must be localized, grounded in the specific meanings, traditions, customs, and community relations that operate in each indigenous setting. Localized critical theory can work if the goals of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation are not treated as if they have “universal characteristics that are independent of history, context, and agency.” (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 229). (cited in Denzin et al., 2008, p. 6)
Although I am developing a localized critical theory, I still draw on the work of other Indigenous peoples because we share many fundamental principles and values in their ways of knowing, being and acting (Young Leon, 2015; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2008, 2014) to support my localized theory.

In my articulation of a critical localized theory from a Secwepemc-Syilx perspective, I am cautious not to disseminate a problematic pan-Indian perspective but rather a specific bioregional point-of-view that is located within and from the ancestral lands that my family and two Nations have lived on for generations. I base this thinking on Armstrong’s (2009) explanation of the Syilx word “tmx w ulax w” that she translates to mean “life-force-place” (pp. 149-150), which I stated earlier reinforces a sense of belonging to the land and affirms a place-based identity. I believe this concept is similar to what Ignace (2014) identifies as, “...it’s the essence of your soomik, your life force.” By extension, I am confident that most Indigenous peoples would have a similar concept in their philosophies.

It is critical to understand that each Indigenous group has culturally specific knowledge that pertains only to them, thus this distinction means it is a stand-alone culture, not part of a pan-Indian culture. Kovach (2009) discusses the incongruities of a pan-Indian approach for tribal-based methodologies, and she explains that our methodologies cannot be standardized because “they are in relation to place and person” (pp. 37, 46, 56). This is why I have taken great measures to explicate my physical location (urban-based), my epistemological location (Secwepemc-Syilx systems of knowledge, including the influences of other Indigenous cultures and my academic (intellectual) genealogy. At the same time, I include some of my lived experience stories and dreams given to me from my inner world to further elaborate my positionality that are relevant to conducting this research of re-Indigenizing, re-storying and re-inscribing myself back onto my ancestral territories.
The following Secwepemc Sek'lep (Coyote) Story, shows readers/listeners through Coyote’s his antics, about the consequences and dangers of “copying others.” To be respectful to the story, I present it in its entirety so that I do not de-contextualize the story by quoting only specific lines. This entire story is from Kukpi Ron Ignace’s PhD dissertation and he gave me permission to use the story (Ignace, R., personal communication, January 29, 2017). I do not know the original storyteller of “Coyote and His Hosts”; however, in the Acknowledgements section of Ignace’s 2008 dissertation, he acknowledges all the old people and storytellers who told him these stories pp. vi-vii). Also at the Storytelling on the Land and Storytelling and the Law sessions, I heard over and over again that all Secwepemc have a right to using the Sek’lep/Coyote stories and that copyright sits with the whole Secwepemc Nation. No one person can assert ownership of the cultural stories. In addition, in my Glossary of Terms, I include a note on copyright to clarify the use of the stories in this dissertation.

Coyote and his Hosts - Tsxliten tem re Sek'lep

W7ec-ekwe re cwesetes re sk'elep, ne7elye ne tmicw-k.t.
Coyote was traveling here in our land,

T'7ek-ekwe, m-yews-ekwe re st7eyens re skemcis.
As he was walking along, they say, he met Grizzly Bear
Skllikenstemp, yiri7 re skwest.s.
Back-Fat-Man was his [Grizzly Bear’s] name.

M-ts7ecwes re skemcis, es wikt.s yi7ene xe7e7 te sqelemcw, xe7e7 yem re sk'elep.
Grizzly Bear was happy to see this smart man, this powerful Coyote.

M- yews re tsxlitens es ullcwes ne tsitcws es metes.
So he invited Coyote to his house to feed him.

M-tsuns re sk'elep, "yi7ene me7 wikt c ri7, ne7ene ren tsutswet.
And he told Coyote, "this, what you will see, is my way.
Ta7 ews ri7 k stet'ipentsemc, me7 xene-k e xwts'ilcucw te7s tet'ipentsemc!"
Don't copy me, you will get hurt by copying me, when you try it out.

M-yews re spusens ne7ene re ck'mikens re sem7e7ms yem re skemcis.
And then Grizzly rubbed his wife’s back,

M-nik'mes neri te sp'ellellc, oh! Le7 te tsiqw te ts'i7, le7 te sklliken yem.
And he cut off a slice of it, oh, it was nice red meat, nice back fat.

M-yews re sqw'lsentes ne7ene ne syeqwlltems, m-metcits ri7 re
Then he roasted this in his fire, and he fed this to Coyote.

Then he rubbed her back again, his wife's back.

And it was as good as ever.

"Ah! Xexex7e-ken yiri7! Xwent ri7 ken sxixlem!
Ah, I am smarter, I can do that, too!

And then he invited Skllikenstemt to come to his house so he could feed him.

He made fire, he made a big fire.

He wanted to roast his back to feed the Grizzly.

But instead, he scorched his back.

That's why the fur on Coyote's back does not look nice.

And he was told by Grizzly, "see, I told you.

I told you, 'don't copy me, or you will get hurt, you will hurt yourself."

And then Coyote travelled again.

And being hungry, he was told, "come here, come here, I'll welcome you.

Come here, I'll feed you!"

M-kwens re Styu7qenstimt yi7ene te tseck'pupcw,
Fish-Oil-Man took a bowl,

Neri7 ne tqeltks ne7ene re syeqwlltems m-tentes yem.
And he put it on top of his fire.

M-tnteses re kelcs nerī7 yem, re stextetxmen, . . . o h!
And he put his hands, his fins on top of it, oh!

M-tsimtes yi7ene re styu7qins yem re sqlelten, m-ct7ek’es re tseck’pupcw.

The salmon’s oil was melting, and it filled the bowl.

M-yews re tsut.s es kectes re sk’elep: "Tsxwente, illente yi7ene!"
And he wanted to give this to Coyote. "Come here, eat this."

Oh, xeteqs re stsk’em sens re sk’elep, k’emell m- tsuntem "illente! Le7 yiri7!"

Oh, at first Coyote didn’t want it, but he was told again, "eat it, it’s good!"

M-xwts’ilcmens es i l l e n s, m-yews re s7illens. Oh! Le7 yiri7!
He started to eat it, and he ate it. Oh, it was good!

Oh, m-tsuntem re sk’elep, "Me7 wiktco7ene ri7 ren tsutswet.
Coyote was told [by Fish-Oil-Man], "You see, this is my power.
Ta7 ews ks tet’ipentsemc, me7 xenstsut tri7 e xilmucw!"
If you don’t copy me, you will hurt yourself if you do this."
K’emell re sk’elep m-ptinesem, "me7 tsutenmecten ri7 xexex7eken yiri7!"

But Coyote thought, "I will show him that I am more powerful."

M-yews re stsxlitens yem re Styu7qenstimo7 es tsnes ne tsitcws yem es metes,
He then invited Fish-Oil-Man to come to his house to feed him.

Oh! M-yeqwllitem, xyum re syeqwlltems re sk’elep.
He made fire, Coyote made a big fire.

M-tntes re xyum te tseck’pupcw ne tqeltks re t7ikw,
He put a big bowl on top of the fire.

M-yews re stntes nerī7 re kelcs, es tsimeus re styu7qin.
And then he put his hands on there, to melt some fat.

Oh t’ucw e m-welpekstes, t’ri7 yem re sk’elep pyin m-qsus’uses
And all he did was burn his hands, that’s why Coyote now has burnt ells re-m-qwiquw’iytes re kelkelcs pyin e m-wiktccwes.
And black paws, as you can see nowadays.

M-yews re leqw’epems re sk’elep, " kepkept yem re xenstsut."
And Coyote hollered, "I’m sore, I hurt myself!"

M-yews re stsuntem, "xenteke me7e, kenem me7e re stet’ipentsemc?"
And he was told, "see, I told you, why did you copy me?
Teke, wel re7 m-xenstsut, m-xene-k!
See, you hurt yourself, you’re hurt.

Huu yem, qwetsets re sk’elep ne7ene m-t7eyentmes cuytsem te Sqlewsqentimt,
And Coyote left, and then he met Beaver-Man.

Yi7ene te sqlew te xexe7 te sqelemcw.
This wise man who is a beaver.

Oh, m-ts7ecwes re Sqlewstint es wikems, m-tsuneses,
And Beaver was happy to see him, he told him,
"tsxwente, ts7ullcw-ce nen tsitstcw, me7 metsin, yiri7 re
sxyemstsin."
Come here, come into my house, I'll feed you, I will honour you."

M-yews re s7ullcws ne7ene re Sk'elep.
And Sk'elep, he entered here

M-kwenses re ct7iqw'elqwtens yem re sqlew,
And Beaver took the scraper,

m-yews re snest.s ne7ene ne tsrep, ne s7eytsqwllp te tsrep,
and he went to that tree, the Ponderosa Pine

m-yews re sk'ulems te st7iqw'elqw.
And he made some cambium.

Cw7it re m-tsclems ne seck'upcw, wel re m-tskwenses.
There was lots that he got in his bowl,

M-yews re skectes re sk'elep es illens.
And he gave it to Coyote to eat.

Oh! Tskems ne sxeteqs re sk'elep: "Ta7 ri7 k sxwexhisteten es
i711en re sexts'esi!"
At first Coyote, refusing it, said, "I don't like to eat sticks !"
"Ta7 ri7 k sexts'eys, le7 ri7 te ststillen, illente!" tsunte7em te
sqlew.

"It's not sticks, it's good food, eat it ," is what Beaver said to him.

Oh, m-illenses, wenecwem yenke k sle7s! Oh, qw'empestes re
sk'elep.

Oh, and he ate it, and it was really good. Coyote ate it all up.
M-tsuns, "le7 ri7 re smetssetsemc! Me7 metsin ell es xyemstsin!
He told him, "It's good that you fed me. I'll feed you, too, to honour you!

M-yews ri7 re skitsentmes yi7ene te tsk'ewelc te sqelemcw.
And this is how that old fellow [Beaver] arrived at his place.

M-kwectses te ct7iqw'elqwtens, m-neses ne7ene, mt7iqw'elqwctmes.
He took his sap-scraper, and he went on, he went scraping.

Ta7 ks k'ulems cwem te st7iqw'elqw,
But he didn't make any cambium,

k'emell tskwens, t7iqw'elqwens re p'elens re mule.
All he got was the [outer bark] of cottonwood.

M-tsutes es metes yi7ene re sqlew!
That's what he wanted to feast Beaver!

M-tspiqwenses yi7ene re sqlew, "stemi k stsutsentsemc es
metsetsemc?
Beaver looked at this stuff and asked, "what are you trying to feast me?
Ta7 ri7 wes k sts7illentsnes!
I can't eat that stuff!"

Ah! Tsunsten, 'ta7ews ks tet'ipentsemc, ta7 ri7 ks tselxemstec stemi ke7 sw7ec." Ah, I told you, 'don't copy me,’ you don’t know what you are doing!"

Hunu... M-qwetsetses re Sqlewsttimt, m-llwelenses re sk'elep. Beaver-Man took off, he left Coyote behind.

M-i7ek-ekwe cuytsem re sk'elep.

Then Coyote went along his way again.

M-yews yir17 re s7istks;
And then it became wintertime;

m-t7eyetmes te ts'lostimt,
he was met by Kingfisher-Man,

ts'los-ekwe yi7ene te tsk'ewelc te sqelemcw.
This old man who was a Kingfisher, they say.

Oh, ts7ecw re Ts'lostimt es t7eyens yi7ene te xexe7 te sqelemcw.
Oh, Kingfisher-Man was glad to meet this powerful man.

M-tsuns, "tsxwente, me7 metsin, me7 xyemstsin! Ts7ullcwe nen c7istkten."
He told him, "come here, I'll feed you, I'll honour you! Come into my underground house!

Re Ts'lostimt, yiri7 re smut.s ne c7istktens ne qw'emtsins re tswec.
Kingfisher-Man lived in his underground house on the shore of the creek.

M-yews neri7 re s7ullcws re sk'elep.
And Coyote went inside there.

M-tsuntmes te ts'lostimt, "ne7elye, me7 wiktc ri7, yi7ene ren tsutswet."
He was told by Kingfisher-Man, "This, what you will see, is my way.

Ta7ews tet'ipentsemc, me7 xene-k, me7 xenstsut-k!" Don’t copy me, you’ll get hurt, you’ll hurt yourself!

Tq'mutes ne7ene ne txelcentens, ne tqeltks re c7istktens, nune re tq'mutes.
He climbed to the top of his ladder, on top of his underground home, that’s where he climbed.

M-ustes ne sewllkwe, oh, m-kwnemes te ts'olleniwt, mmm, le7 re sts'extens.
He dove into the water, oh, and he brought back a rainbow trout. Mm, it looked nice.

W7ec re welittes ne segwses yem yi7ene swewll te m-kwenwenses. It glistened in the sun, this fish that he took.

M-qw'lsenteses, m-meteses re sk'elep.
He roasted it, and fed it to Coyote.

M-yews re stsuns cuytsem, "teke, yi7ene ri7 ren tsutswet, ta7ews tet'ipentsemc."
And he told him again, "look, this is my way, don’t copy me.
Me7 xene-k yem e xwts'ilocucw t'ucw te7s xilem."
You'll get hurt if you do that."
K'emell re sk'elep, m-ptinesem, "Ah! Xexex7e-ken, me7 wikt.s ri7!"
But Coyote, he thought, "Ah, I'm smarter, he'll see!"
M-yews re sxlitens re Ts'lostiht es tsnes ne tsitcws es metes yem.
And he invited Kingfisher-Man to come to his house, so he could feed him.
Oh, m-kitscwes re Ts'lostimt ne tsitcws re sk'elep, ne ck'elpellcws.
And Kingfisher-Man arrived here at Coyote's house, at his coyote den.
Pupewtsnmes. "Ts7ullcwel!" m-tsuntmes.
He knocked on the door, "Come in!" he was told.
M-yews re sts7ullcws ner!7, ts7ullcw-ekwe nerit es me terns te sk'elep.
And he entered, they say that Kingfisher-Man entered to be fed by Coyote.
M'tsuntem te sk'elep, "me7 metsin."
He was told by Coyote, "I'll feed you!"
Teke, re sk'elep m-tq'emtnqinem, m-teq'mutes ne stxelqins re tsitcws.
And Coyote climbed up to the roof of his house.
M-ustes ne tswec, m-ustes ne tspetukws re scuyent.
And he dove into the creek, he dove through a hole in the ice.
Re Ts'lostimt, m-tsk'elem, m-tsk'elmins yem es metemst te sk'elep.
Kingfisher-Man, he waited, he waited for Coyote to feed him.
Oh, m-estk'ey wel re m-tsut, "Heqen me7 tcucsmen."
He waited, until he said, "Maybe I'll go look for him."
M-neses t'kllu7 es tcusmenses re sk'elep, m-kemnes-enke yem re sk'elep.
And he went to look for Coyote, to see what had happened to Coyote.
M-tcusmens, oh, stp'enlexwes ne7ene re Sk'elep re tsitcws,
He went looking for him, oh, he stepped out of Coyote's house,
Re sk'lepellcws yem M-tcusmens re uqw'is.
out of his Coyote den, and he went looking for his brother.
Oh! Wikt.s ne7ene tsxleq, xleq-enke ne7ene ne tspetukw te scuyent.
Oh, he saw that he was stuck, he was apparently stuck in the ice-hole.
M-xqwetsqpetkus!
He had drowned!
Re Ts'lostimt m-nes nerit7, m-tsuns, "Tsutsen yi7ene, 'ta7ews ks t'eypentsemc,
Kingfisher-Man went there, he told him, "I told you, 'don't copy me,
me7 xenstsut-k!" Teke, pyin me7 xqwetsqpetkwkwe-k!"
you'll get hurt! See, now you drowned."
Xeteqs yiri7 re spetinesmens re Ts'lostimt es melcupsens ne
tspetukw te scuyent.
At first Kingfisher-Man thought he’d kick him into the ice-hole.
K'emell ta7wes yem, m-etskumst.ses re sk'elep,
But he didn’t, he pulled Coyote out.
Yiri7 re skettese cuytsem te swumecs.
And he gave him back his life.
"Teke yem, me7 kecsin cuytsem te7 swumec. M-tsunstsen,
'Ta7ews k stet'ipentsemc'
See, I'll give you back your life. I told you, "don't copy me.
"teke, wel xqwetsqpetkucw, k'emell me7 kecsin cuytsem te7
swumec.
See, you drowned, but I'm giving you your life back.

Ta7ews ks t'eypenc k swet re tsuwet.s.
Don’t copy other people's ways.
Tsukw re newi7 re7 tsuwet yewske ri7 re sweatee.
It's your own ways that you must hang onto.
E ta7wes t'ri7, me7 xene-k, me7 xenststsut-k.
If you don't do it that way, you'll get hurt, you will hurt yourself."
Teke, pyin re qelmucw w7ec re t'eypenst.ses re semseme7,

See, nowadays our [Aboriginal] people are copying the White people,
tri7 re m-xene-k, m-xenststsut-k, m-xenstwecw-kt yem.
That way, we have got hurt, we have hurt ourselves, and we have hurt one another
even.
Llepentem re xqwelten-kt, llepentem re stsubkwe-lk,
We have forgotten our language, we have forgotten our stories,
Iri7 xwexwet te stem re tkw'nem7iple-k.
All the ways of governing ourselves.
Teke, wel qwenqwent-kt pyin.
See, we have become pitiful.
M-kwectels te tmcw re semseme7,
The White people have taken our land from us,
ye-ekwe ri7 k spelq'ilcmentem yi7ene le q'7es te qelmucw te
tsuwet.s,
That's why we must return to our own ancestors' ways,
es cuytsem es letwilc-k, es cwetwilc-k,
So that we can heal ourselves, and once again become numerous.
Ne7elye es xenwentem es k'ulentem re semseme7 es sucwentels ne
tmcw-k.
And, so that we can get the White people to recognize our existence on our land.

I believe this particular Coyote story speaks to more than “copying the White
people,” it is also critical to countering the generic pan-Indian image and reinforces why
a culturally specific way of knowing, being, doing, seeing and acting is an imperative when developing a localized critical theory. These Coyote (Sek’lep in Secwepemcts’in and Sen’klip in Nsyilxcen) stories relate directly to my first research question, as stated in the section “Research Purpose and Research Questions: Giving Voice to the Stories and the Land” in the Introduction (Chapter 1).

How do Secwepemc and Syilx systems of knowledge contribute to developing a localized theory for visually sovereign narratives in relation to how elements are constructed for Fourth World Cinema55? What role do cultural protocols play in choosing the elements of the films?

The whole chapter answers the question and illustrates how Secwepemc and Syilx knowledge(s) are at the core and indeed is the foundation for developing a critical localized theory for determining film elements of visual storytelling and visual sovereignty56.

It is important to examine how the Sek’lep (Coyote) story applies to countering the generic pan-Indian image of Indigenous peoples because I am utilizing the work of other Indigenous Nations in this doctoral project. I use this Coyote story to illustrate how I perceive the uniqueness of each Nation. In this time of strong resurgence in all Indigenous cultures globally I believe it is crucial that Indigenous Nations demonstrate the principle of respect embedded in our cultural protocols surrounding our diplomacy, that is, how we interrelate with each other so that non-Indigenous people can see that it is not just academic rhetoric. It is about embodying the principles in our actions.

That said I use this Coyote story to illustrate what I mean. I see Grizzly Bear, Salmon (Fish-Oil-Man), Beaver Man and Kingfisher Man as representing the other Indigenous Nations that the Secwepemc and Syilx co-exist with on the Turtle Island. All

55 I use Barry Barclay’s coined term “Fourth Cinema” throughout the dissertation to include any visual storytelling/filmmaking that has Indigenous peoples in the key creative roles, thus being the creative intelligence behind the film.

56 I address this in chapter six, Fourth World Cinema: Indigenous Visual Storytelling and Visual Sovereignty.
these characters in the Sek'lep/Coyote story share the land and extend *respect* and *reciprocity* to each other by feasting each other in their home environments. They uphold their individual *responsibilities* in their role as part of the Creation thus showing *interrelatedness* in their world. It is essential to discuss these fundamental principles because they are a major part of my chain of reasoning in this work. Respect, reciprocity, responsibility and interrelatedness are four of the seven Indigenous Storywork principles developed by Archibald and which provides the context of this doctoral work (Archibald, 2008, p. 33). I am not “copying” Archibald’s Stó:lō Coast Salish principles; instead I am illustrating that the Secwepemc-Syilx share some of the same values that uphold these principles. The philosophy and attitude about land and stories share some similarities, but the local, regional contexts provide the distinctiveness and application of each Nation.

Within that context, I clarify my utilization of Young Leon’s (2015) models of engagement with the land and stories. I am not “copying” her Anishinabe-Cree way of doing; but I am drawing on her work because of the similarity of process to the Secwepemc-Syilx way of knowing and doing (Armstrong, 2009; Billy, 2009; Cohen, 2010; Michel, 2012; Sam, 2013). By using her two models, “Mobilizing Indigenous Land-Based Framework” (Young Leon, 2015, p. 87) and “Cedar Pedagogical Pathways” (p. 56), I assert that Secwepemc and Syilx also engage most of the major components she identifies, which is “research, preparation, protocols, reflection and application” (p. 87). Certainly, her teaching and learning process “Cedar Pedagogical Pathways” that is rooted in “prayer, performance, languages, genealogy, dreams, songs, ancestors and ceremonies and that considers the collective aspects of land, orality, culture, community and ethics” (p. 56) is very similar to Secwepemc and Syilx ways of teaching and learning.

These shared principles illustrate the similarities of the Indigenous people within the landscape in what is known as Canada; however, when delving into each
Indigenous culture it becomes apparent that there is a uniqueness to each one, thus creating a diversity of Indigenous cultures that is the very opposite to pan-Indigeneity.

4.8. A Proposed Critical Localized Secwepemc and Syilx Principle

Clearly, the regenerative principle that Armstrong formulates in her Syilx environmental ethics model, which has a deep commitment to perpetuating all life forms on the land, has been a guiding principle to Indigenous leadership over time. Although this may not be articulated in words, this obligation to a continuance of life is reflected in the social, political, cultural and spiritual actions by Indigenous peoples in what is now known as British Columbia. Armstrong’s (2009) Syilx regenerative principle is one of the central tenets to my proposed critical localized Sewepemc and Syilx theory. The Secwepemc guiding principle, also critical to regenerating life on the land, is what Ignace has named “reciprocal accountability” where there is answerability to each other as individuals, as individuals to the family, as families to the community and as a community to the Secwepemc Nation. The principle of reciprocal accountability extends to other Indigenous Nations and to other life forms on the land, such as the land, trees, plants, waters, minerals, the four-legged animals, the winged ones and including the smallest insect. (Ignace, personal communication, May 2014).

A deeper level of reciprocal accountability is articulated by Kathryn Michel (2012), Secwepemc founder of the Chief Atahm Immersion School in the Adams Lake community when she speaks of the Secwepemc word *k’welktktnéws* in Secwepemcstin,

which she says, speaks of the value of interrelatedness that “characterize[s] a
connectedness to all things in the natural world” (pp. 44-47). Moreover, I believe this
Secwepemc word/concept is encoded in the notion of “reciprocal accountability” to all
living beings on the land. Another Secwepemc word that instills “reciprocal
accountability” is the word, *knucwestuts*. that Michel states is the concept of how one
contributes to the family/community/Nation in taking action as an individual within
the collective. In this way, each individual takes responsibility for their/our own self-
development in becoming a valuable member of the community (p. 48).

To me, the meaning at the core of this word is the essence of what it means to
assume a personal responsibility to be a sovereign, autonomous person who
determines his or her own pathway, including what you choose to contribute to the
community and Nation. One is responsible for his or her self-development and to
strength their gifts (best skills and knowledge) so they may contribute to a stronger
family/community/Nation. Embedded in the meaning of this word is the
understanding that “you must always come prepared for work, to share your strengths
and never to be a burden to anyone” (Michel, 2012, p. 81).

However with the complex layers of destruction of our cultures and language(s)
through the process of colonialism this way of understanding has become skewed in
that our current environment is one that supports the stance of every man/woman
working only for themselves to get as much money as possible to gather more material
goods (Michel, 2012, p. 81). In a sustained stable environment balancing the fine line
between personal (individual) responsibilities, collective participation and sound
economic decisions is a challenging task at best. It is a daunting undertaking in today’s
Indigenous world that is countering the generations of settler policies that undermine
the social, political, spiritual, and economic stability of Indigenous peoples and Nations.

Considering the confusion of values in today’s Indigenous/Secwepemc-Syilx
world that struggles to protect their cultures and languages while at the same time
struggling to survive economically within the dominant capitalist system, I put forward a critical localized Secwepemc-Syilx way of knowing, being, thinking doing and listening to be a part of re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying our ancestral lands. Thus using this localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory as a way of writing yourself into the story and becoming an active participant in the collective of the community and Nation, working towards continuing all life forms so that our cultures may survive.

Visually I see the localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory like a strand of DNA which is often referred to as the building block of life and which is also reflected in the meaning in the language for the Syilx people. Cohen (2010) states, “The word for our people or ourselves is Sqilxw, which in a literal translation means the dream in a spiral. We recognize our individual lives as the continuance of human dreams, coming to reality in a spiraling way” (p. 4). With that meaning held deeply in my collective ancestral memories, I put forward my critical localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory as a part of perpetuating life on the land.

The visual representation of a spiral holds the four principles that constitute the Secwepemc-Syilx localized theory I developed to situate who we are as a people on our lands. One of the outer strands is the Secwepemc reciprocal accountability principle (Ignace, 2014), which signifies the outer frame of the continuous spiral and the other outer strand is the Syilx regenerative principle (Armstrong, 2009). Linking threads holds the two strands of the spiral together, two of which are the Secwepemc concepts of k’welktknews (interrelatedness) and knucwestsuts (personal responsibility) (Michel, 2012). These two principles that link the two strands of the spiral are only two of many Secwepemc concepts within philosophies. This localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory can function as a guide for visual storytellers/filmmakers. Within this way of knowing and doing, it is necessary to take personal responsibility for how we interpret our cultural stories when transmitting contemporary Secwepemc-Syilx knowledge as visual narratives. In the dissemination of our visual stories into the larger world, we need to seriously consider who benefits from these stories and as visual storytellers are
we protecting our cultural knowledge? Are we being accountable to ourselves as individuals who are a part of the collective (family, community and Nation)?

In the following Chapter 5 I discuss the conversations/stories and experiences of the diverse group of cultural knowledge keepers to share their worldviews. In addition, I juxtapose Archibald’s (2008) seven Indigenous storywork principles alongside what the knowledge keepers shared, to see whether or not her principles apply in the represented Indigenous cultures.
Chapter 5.

Knowledge Keepers: Conversations, Stories and Experiences

5.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter returns to the metaphor I initiated in the Introduction, that is, *Cucw-la7 Gathering Knowledge* represented in Figure 1 in my Introduction chapter, which is the spirit of my Secwepemc/Splatsin name flying all over Turtle Island to have conversations with the Indigenous knowledge keepers and the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers. In completing the journeys to different Indigenous territories, I, Cucw-la7 bring home what I saw, heard and experienced in Chapter 5 with the knowledge keepers and in Chapter 6 with the visual storytellers/filmmakers. This chapter has two intentions. First, I bring forward some of the shared knowledge, stories, conversations and experiences gathered from the knowledge keepers. Secondly, I juxtapose the principles of Archibald’s Indigenous storywork (2008) process with the knowledge shared by the caretakers of knowledge. By doing this, I observe similarities and differences in Indigenous philosophies when discussing cultural stories, cultural protocols, and relationship to land.

5.2. Analysis/Interpretation of Shared Knowledge

It is incumbent upon me to acknowledge that my approach is not within the purview of the “conventional analysis of research” where “Analysis involves reducing a whole to the sum of its parts in order to explain a phenomenon” (Kovach, 2009, p. 130). Rather, I locate the knowledge gathered at the interface of Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge where there is a “fundamental divergence” (p. 130) in the ways of knowing in the area of analysis and interpretation that I am referring to here. It is critical for me to be responsible as a researcher and explain that I am not
presenting Euro-Western knowledge system as one monolithic way of knowing. I am aware that there is a plurality in the ways of knowing that exist in Euro-Western philosophies; however, it is the dominant ideology embedded within the institution of the academy that I am referring to throughout this dissertation.

Within that context, instead of presenting the cultural information, experiences, and stories shared as data or findings, I use the term “shared stories/conversations/experiences” to encompass my way of knowing and doing in completing this work. Although the use of English words is different, the end result is the same in that I am presenting new information to the academy in a way that assists the reader to bring meaning and understanding to the information in the “shared stories/conversations/experiences.” Further, this way of doing is more culturally congruent and consistent with an Indigenous paradigm. I feel it shows respect for the knowledge shared by the individual knowledge keepers and answers to a level of accountability that is embedded in the responsibility I carry, which is beyond the ethical requirements of the academy.

I am one of the Indigenous researchers that Kovach says has a predilection to use story form to make meaning of the gathered knowledge. She states:

The presentation of story in research is an increasingly common method of presenting finding[s]. Interpreting meaning from stories that do not fragment or decontextualize the knowledge they hold is more challenging. In response, some Indigenous researchers have incorporated a mixed-method approach that offers both interpretative meaning-making and some form of thematic analysis.

The interpretative aspect of qualitative research is less of a conundrum than thematic analysis because tribal knowledge systems value the interpretative and subjective. The process of interpreting and making meaning within Indigenous inquiry is equally systematic, though less linear. For Indigenous researchers, there is a propensity to present findings in story form. (Kovach, 2009, p. 131)
In my process of interpretation and search for meaning I purposefully engaged the auditory, visual, tactile and intuitive senses. I listened to the recordings a number of times; whenever I was on a road trip, I plugged my iPhone into the USB connection of my car radio. The auditory engagement was primary for me because each time I listened, I could hear and feel the rhythm of the recorded voices. In my deep listening, I was transported back to the setting of when and where we were sharing stories. I would re-live the synergy of the storytelling experience. I also read the transcripts over and over to be sure I grasped the full meanings of the stories or experiences that were shared. In my visual engagement with text I came to realize that I needed a hard copy of the transcript, rather than an electronic version. It was more effective for me to be able to physically touch the transcripts; it was more visceral to me. Reading an electronic version is not the same. When I reflected on what I had heard and read after each auditory, visual and tactile engagement, I believe I was responding to what Haida storyteller extraordinaire Woody Morrison describes:

We do not insert ourselves between the story and our audience—we keep our voices quiet, we don’t use, or overuse adjectives, we use vocal inflections. It’s like singing a song; I have to get the right rhythm so I can pull you in. An organic transfer of knowledge. Your heart and my heart are beating together! (personal communication, September 2014)

I contend that Morrison is describing the process that encompasses the synergy principle that Archibald identifies in her Indigenous storywork process. I believe there is an exchange of life force energies that infuse the exchange between the story, the storyteller and the listener in that “space between the words” of which Ignace speaks (Ignace, 2008, p. 13). I articulated my understanding of this cathartic coming together of alive energies in my methodology discussions in Chapter 3 “Synergy and Interrelatedness: Active Listening with Three Ears.” I agree with Archibald (2008) when she says the story has the power to heal the emotions and the spirit in the synergistic exchange of energies that occurs in Indigenous storytelling (p. 100). However, storyteller Morrison clarified for me what he means about this synergistic exchange; he says:
Rather than refer to this as ‘healing’, the organic transfer of knowledge is bringing us into harmony with our Universe. All of life is a song. When I ‘get my song’, I have been given a way of ‘seeing’ the harmony of the Universe. Sort of like Double-Dutch rope jumping, you have to see the rhythm before you can enter without chaos. (Morrison, W., personal communication, May 2016)

The textual engagement of the transcripts provided another way of experiencing synergy because in the reflection time I was able to digest, feel and re-experience the stories while I was reading. I engaged all my senses. I reached out for my sense of place in the story. I read with “three ears.” I put myself in the story by consciously focusing on the life force energies of the story and the storyteller that is in the space. I have never been taught a process of listening to story but I have intuitively learned by engaging in a mindful observing and have learned that achieving a place of stillness is beneficial in reaching out to the energies present. Woody Morrison, however has been taught and he explains,

What was so magic to me was when the old men started training me, I would come in a room the old man would say, Ḵ’aawhlaa gunaa. Sit down Dear Boy, Áagii danghl ḵindaangsaaang, I’m going to show you something, Danghl Giihlgii, prepare yourself. So, I would sit down and relax myself and sat down and I would lace my fingers together and put them across my chest so I could feel my heart beat and I could feel my respiration. And, I put my head down and I would close my eyes and clean my mind, sort of like you have a beaker of silty water and it’s got to settle. You don’t want to leave anything inside there to adulterate what you are going to put in there next. I would clean my mind. It took a long time to learn how to do those things. And, then when I was ready, I would say, Díi Giihlgii I’m prepared and this person would start talking. Our language is so precise and so descriptive, it’s like I went inside that person, I experienced everything he was talking about. I wasn’t memorizing words, I was experiencing all of it and that is what a movie represented to me. I experienced it, I’m right there. I’m one of the players on that screen. And, so when it was my turn to tell it, I would tell it in the first person because I had experienced it. (Morrison, W., personal communication, September 2014)

Although Morrison’s process of reflection is unique to him as a learner who speaks the language, I believe that as a researcher on this project, I experienced a
semblance of his process. As Kovach (2009) explains, “The inward reflection of the researcher is not a new component of research, but arguably it takes up more space in methodology for those following a tribal paradigm because of the value placed upon this type of knowing” (p. 49). In this chapter, I take up more physical space in the formatting of the shared knowledge/conversations/experiences; that is, I use lengthy quotes thus taking up more physical space. I do this for two reasons. One, I am mindful to maintain the context of their storytelling so that I do not dilute the meaning of their words. Secondly, this choice is made to uphold an aspect of orality while maintaining the sensibility of the conversational method, which is challenging to do in the written academic form. Extending respect to the oral storytelling tradition is congruent with my Indigenous paradigm. This approach involves a “dialogic participation that holds a deep purpose of sharing story as a means to assist others” (Kovach, 2010, p. 40) in their comprehension of the concepts discussed, which are embedded in some of the statements. My presenting the cultural information in this way conveys a deep respect I carry for the knowledge being shared and I answer to a level of accountability that I feel towards the individuals who shared stories with me. For me it is a way of using the knowledge/information “in an honourable way” (Campbell, M. personal communication, September 2013).

With these clarifications of my interpretive and analysis process, I also need to explain how I use Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous storywork process as my guideline for building on and discussing the cultural knowledge/shared stories to make meaning of the conversations I had with the knowledge keepers. Specifically, I look for how the seven principles Archibald identifies, that is, respect, reverence, responsibility, reciprocity, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy (p. 33) manifest in my discussions with the knowledge holders. In the writing format, I bold each principle when it is discussed, any Indigenous words that the knowledge keepers use in the conversations and I also bold the surname of the knowledge keepers in Table 1.
Table 1 below identifies the men and women with whom I had conversations. I have given their English name, their Indigenous name and Clan in some instances, the Nation they belong to, their age, whether or not they are a language speaker and where they are physically located. I include some of the roles they enact in their day-to-day lives. I have included one non-Indigenous keeper of knowledge, Dr. Marianne Ignace. She speaks Secwepemctsin and has worked with the old people and storytellers of the Secwepemc Nation for almost 30 years. She is married to Kukpi (Chief) Ron Ignace of the Skeetchestn community and was adopted into Secwepemc way and given the name Stsek’ulecw. In addition, Marianne Ignace has been engaged with the Haida Nation since the mid-1970s and was adopted into the Haida Yahgu’laanaas Clan and given the name Gulkihlgad in 1979. (Ignace, M., personal communication, February 2016). With the age factor, five of the knowledge keepers are in their 70s, six are in their 60s and one is in his 30s.

5.3. Diversity in Indigenous Representation: Cultural Knowledge Keepers

Table 1. Cultural Knowledge Keepers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Language/Age/Gender</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAMPBELL, Mariaa</td>
<td>Cree, Michif, Saulteaux and English Female, Age 78 Gabriel’s Crossing and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan</td>
<td>Knowledge Keeper, Storyteller, Writer, Visual Storyteller Series TV Producer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRISTIAN, Wenecwtsin (Wayne) Secwepemc and Syilx Nations</td>
<td>English Speaker (learning Secwepemctsin) Male, Age 62 Splatsin Community, Secwepemc Territories</td>
<td>Kukpi (Chief) of Splatsin; Chair of Secwepemc Nation Tribal Council Child Advocate Title and Rights Activist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DELISLE, Lynn</td>
<td>English Speaker Female, Age 64 Kahnawake, Mohawk Territories</td>
<td>Child Care Advocate, Educator, Gallery Owner, Mother, Grandmother and Great Grandmother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>Language/Age/Gender</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGNACE, Ron</td>
<td>Stsmél’cqen Secwepemc Nation</td>
<td>Language Speaker Male, Age 70</td>
<td>Skeetchestn Community, Secwepemc Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skeetchestn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGNACE, Marianne</td>
<td>Plattdutsch (geopolitically</td>
<td>Language Speaker Female, Age 61 Married into</td>
<td>Skeetchestn Community, Secwepemc Territories</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Germany)</td>
<td>Skeetchestn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stsek’ulecw (Secwepemc) &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gulkhihgad Haida Yahgu’laanaas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JULES, Mona</td>
<td>Secwepemc Nation Simpcw</td>
<td>Language Speaker/Teacher Female, Age 74</td>
<td>Married into Simpcw community (from Skeetchestn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Secwepemc Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARACLE, Lee</td>
<td>Stó:lo Nation, Tsleil-wau-tuhl</td>
<td>English Speaker Female, Age 66</td>
<td>Lives on Anishinabe &amp; Iroquois territories in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td>Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Secwepemc Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTOUR, Ross</td>
<td>Wahtskenerwerakon Mohawk</td>
<td>English Speaker Male, Age 62</td>
<td>Kahnawake, Mohawk Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORRISON, Woodrow</td>
<td>Káawan Sangáa (Brings-a-Special-Day) Ts’e1’Álaanas (Two Headed Eagle), Kun Náay (Whale House) Haida Nation</td>
<td>Language Speaker Male, Age 74</td>
<td>Lives in Vancouver, Coast Salish Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYERS, Mike</td>
<td>Segwalise of the Onondowagah</td>
<td>Rudimentary Language Speaker Male, Age 66</td>
<td>Married into Leech Lake Anishinabe community in Minnesota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Seneca Nation, the Great Hill People) Hotyhunee (Wolf Clan) Iroquois Confederacy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Language/Age/Gender</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTON, Laura</td>
<td>Mohawk Nation–Iroquois Confederacy</td>
<td>English Speaker Female, Age 73</td>
<td>Kahnawake, Mohawk Territories</td>
<td>Knowledge Keeper Matron of Longhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOMAS, Kenthen</td>
<td>Secwepemc</td>
<td>English Speaker Male, Age 30+</td>
<td>Secwepemc Salmon Arm Community</td>
<td>Storyteller/Story Keeper, Performer, Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILLIAMS, Rosalind</td>
<td>Secwepemc–Splatsin</td>
<td>English speaker, Learning the Language Female, Age 66</td>
<td>Lives off reserve in Armstrong, BC–close to Splatsin</td>
<td>Keeper of Stories Language Advocate &amp; Teacher, Writer &amp; Director of Theatre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A Maria Campbell is a Cultural Knowledge Keeper and a Visual Storyteller/Filmmaker (Table 2), therefore, she has been included in both groups.*

A point of clarification, I use the term “cultural knowledge keeper” for the purposes of this study; however, it is important to point out that some of the individuals were not comfortable with the term but they acquiesced to my usage of these words. I was told by two of the language speakers that they do not have a word for this term in their languages (Campbell, 2013; Morrison, 2014). As the researcher, I apply the term to include individuals, regardless of age, who are working towards a continuous process of sustaining and perpetuating life for our Nations, within our cultures no matter what field they are a part of, that is, community-based social/economic development (health), political office, the arts, and education. There are 13 knowledge keepers in total.

This group of knowledge keepers represents the diversity of Indigenous philosophies and knowledge systems of the visual storytellers/filmmakers. As I explained in my methodology Chapter 3, I established an Advisory Council in case I needed assistance with how I interpreted cultural knowledge from my peer visual storytellers/filmmakers, which is consistent with an Indigenous paradigm. Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis), Mike Myers (Seneca), Mona Jules (Secwepemc) and Rosalind Williams (Secwepemc) agreed to be on the Advisory Council. I believe this way of doing is a respectful approach to more accurately present different Indigenous worldviews.
and to explore any commonalities in their treatment of their cultural stories, their use of cultural protocols and to understand how they locate themselves on their homeland.

Although I am certain each reader of this dissertation has an English understanding of the words that represent the principles, it is difficult to assign a definition from an Indigenous perspective. In true storyteller fashion, Archibald tells a story when she is discussing the principles of her storywork process. The reader comes to understand the meaning, which is rooted in the actions taken by a character and in the development of the story. Thus it is difficult to condense the meanings to a few words representing a noun or a verb. For instance, the word interrelated is defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary\textsuperscript{59} to mean, “having a mutual or reciprocal relation”; however, this does not capture the expansive meaning of this word from an Indigenous worldview, to be discussed in the following section.

5.4. Shared Knowledge(s)

5.4.1. Indigenous Worldviews

Throughout the writing of this dissertation I have consistently pointed to the differences in thinking, knowing, doing, acting and listening between Indigenous and Euro-Western thought when the two interface in the discourse and in lived experiences. As well, I have repeatedly stated that this doctoral research is centered primarily in Indigenous systems of knowledge; therefore, it is valuable to clarify that this choice of paradigm means using Indigenous methodologies/methods. It is also important to point out that at the core of the Indigenous paradigm are culturally specific Indigenous belief systems, which are embedded in the concepts of the respective Indigenous languages. I align my thinking with Kovach when she states:

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{59} http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/interrelated retrieved April 4, 2016.}
I have come to believe that a significant site of struggle for Indigenous researchers will be at the level of epistemology because Indigenous epistemologies challenge the very core of knowledge production and purpose. While this is not a matter of one worldview over another, how we make room to privilege both, while also bridging the epistemic differences, is not going to be easy. (Kovach, 2009, p. 29)

Certainly, putting Indigenous worldviews forward as the primary lens is not an exercise for the faint of heart but it is a critical aspect of bringing some understanding to many of the tensions that Indigenous people have in their daily lives, including any scholastic endeavors. Rosalind Williams, knowledge keeper from my home community of Splatsin explains what the Elders were teaching her in the 1970s. She says, “It was educating me around the pitfalls of [the] foreign mind; and how that wrong-thinking, that way of thinking, that lack of thinking, has been so detrimental and how it’s done so much harm to us” (Williams, R., personal communication, January 2014). Loss of language is one of the shared ‘harms’ that has been perpetrated to Indigenous peoples and cultures and that many overlook in terms of how critical the language is in expressing “[…] divergent worldviews” because “Like inward knowing, language is so powerful because it reminds us who we are; it is deeply entwined with personal and cultural identity” (Kovach, 2009, p. 59). Morrison, a Haida language speaker and teacher explains how different worldviews are directly related to the languages they speak. He states:

Each language creates and conveys a worldview that is different from all other worldviews. In Europe there is a commonality of worldviews because many of their languages owe their genesis to Latin and, the earlier influences of Greek. Here in North America we had approximately 500 distinctly different languages; hence, all learned the languages of their neighbors. Then communication does not become ‘misunderstood’. (Morrison, W., personal communication, May 2016)

Kovach is speaking of the power of our Indigenous languages while Haida language speaker and teacher Morrison explains a strategy that Indigenous cultures used to avoid misinterpretations of each other’s cultural knowledge(s). Kukpi-Chief Wenecwtsin Christian is talking about how we use the English language in
contemporary times and the power that can have in what we convey inside our communities. He says:

So when people talk colonization, I say it’s not colonization it’s actual cultural and legislative genocide that’s taken place. The more we understand that the more we can ... the young people that are learning the stuff and they say, hey, wait a minute I am participating in that environment by doing this stuff what do I need to do differently? And so I think we have got to start changing the language because it’s not colonization it’s genocide and that’s why we are where we’re at. And I think we’re starting to turn it around, but we [have] got to change the language. That’s the problem with the sama7 [white people] or [the] English language it can [take over ...] we catch onto something and we just, you know, it sort of becomes a catch phrase. All it does is paraphrase it in a way that white people will understand. (Christian, W., personal communication, April 2014)

Nonetheless, the centuries of colonial interruptions that Indigenous people have endured have resulted in people being at different stages of their personal, collective and institutional decolonizing processes in reclaiming their/our cultural identities. Consequently, a realization of the sense of urgency surrounding the fact that many of our Indigenous languages are on the verge of extinction is dependent on where an individual or community is at in understanding the “cultural and legislated genocide” that Christian identifies (Christian, W., personal communication, April 2014). Thus learning or re-learning our languages becomes a primary goal when re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying our place on the land.

From this point, I bring forward parts of the conversations I had with the diverse group of knowledge keepers who I believe are very critical teachers at this juncture in history because they bring some understanding to the significance of our Indigenous worldviews. They carry knowledge that has direct implications to the survival of our cultures. Each knowledge keeper speaks to their specific Indigenous worldview, how they treat their cultural stories, how those stories teach us how to relate to the land and how to coexist with the seen and unseen beings on the land. One important point that Dr. Marianne Ignace made was that, “one lesson that I think that any researcher of
cultural knowledge...to get is that, you can’t ignore the living knowledge keepers and human beings, who have their own personal connections to this, let alone, they may have knowledge that you never thought existed about this” (Ignace, M., personal communication, May 2014). On that note, I turn to some of the “living knowledge keepers” I had conversation with for this study.

For the Secwepemc worldview, I turn to Dr. Ron Ignace who is Kukpi (Chief) of his community, a scholar and a storyteller. He was fortunate to hear the stories from his extended family, that is, his great grandparents, grandparents, parents and aunts and uncles (2008, p. vi). His 2008 PhD dissertation titled Our Stories Are Our Corner Posts: Secwepemc Stories and Historical Consciousness triangulates Euro-Western scientific data to affirm the information in our oral stories/histories. In essence, he illustrates how our stories are the maps of our territories.

... as I explained it, our histories are different, like Western history is menial, it is just looking straight forward – dead reckoning if you will! And nothing else matters but with Indigenous history and knowledge, it is a lot different and that is what I call, I call it a SPIRAL. You know the spiral, it has the semblance of being a circle but the circle is a dead end in and of itself, but if it’s a spiral, you’re always moving, you’re developing. You’re changing because if you look at ... Not looking down through a monocle—it’s 3D and so we have a different view of the world. This is why—all of the things that Einstein and Freud so-called discovered, heck we were born knowing that in the beginning of time. I saw that our knowledge is parochial, national, international—OUR KNOWLEDGE WAS OF THE UNIVERSE! That universal knowledge, since the beginning of time ...If you look at our stories, I looked at, [I] watched that on TV, Knowledge Network on String Theory, you can be at different places at the same time. If you look at our stories, there are different worlds, different universes that our people [talked about]... (Emphasis added; Ignace, R., personal communication, May 2014).

I was very excited when I read Ignace’s statement of how he relates our “Indigenous history and knowledge” to the image of a spiral because it affirmed the visual representation of my localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory as a spiral of a DNA strand.
I was equally animated when I heard Mona Jules speak of how our worldview tells us who our grandmothers are in the community and in the Nation. At age 74 and the mother of eight children, Mona Jules is a grandmother to many and a great, great, great grandmother to some. She is a highly-respected Secwepemc knowledge keeper and language teacher from Simpcw, one of the 17 communities of the Secwepemc Nation. Her explanation of some of the complexity of our **interrelationships** in our extended families provides some understanding into why the sense of community is so strong. She states:

> Because of our customs in our family, we have extended family and the Secwepemc are very fortunate, we were surrounded by [our] grandmothers because your grandmother is different than other cultures’ grandmothers. In Secwepemc culture, your grandmother’s sisters and also her first cousins are also your grandmothers, all of them. So we knew that in the community. (Jules, M., personal communication, April 2014)

One man, **Woody Morrison**\(^{60}\) is a multi-dimensional Haida who undoubtedly reaped the benefits of his extended family and Clan started his cultural training at the very young age of three. He holds a Doctorate of Law, is a respected storyteller, a Language Teacher and has worked in the film industry as a cultural consultant and as a Set Dresser on feature films\(^{61}\). He is 74 years old. In the following statements, he presents the Haida perspective on time:

> Yeah, it’s alive, it’s always moving, now doesn’t exist, the moment you say it, it’s gone. And, then our perception of time is different, the past is in front of me, I can see it. When I tell a story and I say **Awáahl G̱agwíi** it doesn’t mean a looooonng time ago, it means, it’s way over there. I can see it. The future is behind me, I can’t see it, I’m in a River of Time, the future is coming from behind and when it comes into view, I have to deal with it right then because it will never be there again. If you are in a river, once in awhile, something comes down and swings down

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\(^{60}\) To hear some of his story in his own words, go to: [https://vimeo.com/71304938](https://vimeo.com/71304938) retrieved March 8, 2016.

\(^{61}\) Some of the films he worked on are: White Fang 2, Man of the House, Free Willy 2, The Crow, The X Files TV series (personal communication, September 2014).
and whacks you in the face, well, if I do like the Western world says, “put it behind me” it’s a traumatic experience, I put it behind me and it hits me in the face again. So, I have to learn how to let it go, watch how it fits into my history and it’s the Tide Watcher.

The Tide Watcher sits from what we call Adíits’ii, the upland away from the beach—Cháaw Saallí it’s the part of the beach that is covered by the tide by the ocean. So the Tide Water, sits above that high land, that water land, with eyes closed—the eyes open, the tide is high and it begins to have—things begin to appear from under the water, as each thing appears, it’s an opportunity and it has to be taken right at that moment, it will never be there again. This person is watching this tide, it gets to a certain point, where the Tide Watcher with his eyes closed, it goes into the dream time, the balance is restored, the eyes open and it begins again. The things I saw appear again, they are never the same, no two times are they ever the same. Once in awhile, things will be moved but that’s because an earthquake or some physical thing will cause things to change, we can’t change physical history, only physical things can. Earthquakes, floods—so I watch this tide, cycle after cycle, every 5 cycles is 26,000 years. I only go back about 15 cycles, that’s the only part that I remember, 78,000 years and after awhile it gets to where I can anticipate what is going to happen. I can’t predict but I can anticipate based on what I have been watching for so many cycles and this is passed, this I would pass on to the next one. That is what those old men were doing to me. They were passing on this knowledge, remember the future—remember the future, because if it happened, it’s going to happen again. So pay attention—human history we can change, we can change by the choices we make right at this moment but we can’t predict the future because it has not yet happened—from many possible futures, depending on if I decide to blow my nose, maybe something else will happen over here but because I didn’t take that paper, it’s going to be used for something else. There are so many possible futures. (Morrison, W., personal communication, September 2014)

Woody Morrison’s description of how Haida people and more specifically how he as a Tide Watcher sees and perceives time brings a small window of understanding as to how expansive the Haida world is; that is, how his people see themselves in relation to the vastness of the universe and in a time-period that is unfathomable.

Another keeper of cultural knowledge, Mike Myers of the Seneca Nation who sits with the Wolf Clan and was raised by his “other Mothers” and his “older other Mothers,”
who he explains in the Euro-Western understanding would be his Aunties and Grandmothers. It is important to point out that these concepts are translations of Seneca words into English and from Myers’ Seneca perspective. He has served as a Land Rights Committee representative for the Iroquois Confederacy since 1984. Because of his role as Coordinator for the 1977 UN/NGO conference on Indigenous nations and peoples of the Americas Myers was asked to sit as an Elder in the 2013 reunion of the First Delegates held in Geneva to commemorate the 1977 conference. Each of the First Delegates holds this honoured position. He continues to work with many communities to indigenize their internal processes and to develop sustainable community-based Indigenous economic, social, and political programs.

Myers, Seneca knowledge keeper, brings a deeper understanding to a term that is frequently used in Indigenous settings, that is, the words “All My Relations,” which most people summarize as meaning that we are related to all things, not just human beings. Myers speaks of a specificity of relationship from his knowledge base that expands this clichéd way of explaining this concept. He brings a much more profound meaning to Archibald’s principle of interrelatedness as he explains how his worldview situates him in the universe and who his relatives are in the unseen universe.

...in terms of our family tree then, on our mother’s side, Etinoha, the earth itself is our mother, our Aksodaha, our grandmother on our mother’s side is Sky Woman,[...] she became moon. Our grandfather on our mother’s side is still back in the Sky World and is still the Caretaker of the Tree of Life. Now, on our father’s side our grandmother on our father’s side is Ocean. Our grandfather on our father’s side is Thunder. That’s why we call them our grandfathers. And our three uncles are the other three winds, south, east and north winds are our uncles, but our father is west wind. But interestingly enough our cousins on that side are tornado and cyclone and dust devils and hurricanes, those are all our relatives, those are our cousins. And so when we look at this powerful family that we come from it tells us that we were sent here to be powerful people because we come from this powerful lineage. We were sent here and with the expectation of doing great things because everybody in our family has done great things. We may never ever do things as great as creating a world, but the expectation is that we’re to do great things, good
things, positive things that are going to contribute to the sustenance of life forever in this place.

...what was [going on] at the time before she [Sky Woman] fell from the Sky World to here, what was going on up there, and the creation of the universe, the coming of the universe, this being, this entity that exist[s] at the centre of the universe as the first creative force. And I think one of the important differences in our spiritual understanding is that there is not a singular creative force. There are several creative forces. And for us humans the most powerful creative forces starts with the Sky Woman and her daughter so it is the start of the matriarchy—the female origins of who we are as a people. When we look at her transformation, when she fell from the Sky World, they say that in the course of her transformation from spirit to physical is mapped in what is called the Milky Way. Now, we call that the Sky Road. That when our time here in the physical realm is over that’s the road we travel on back to our Grandmother’s Land where she came from.

Another big thing, I believe in is that we are sent to be part of that clan, the particular woman that we are allowed to enter this world through has made it possible for us to be here and we call her Ganoha, you know we call her mother [...]. But all of her sisters, all of our female relatives [...] on our mother’s side of the clan, that word—those words translate to “my other mothers.” So while this woman made it possible for you to get here she is not your only mother. And then there’s my older other mothers who would be grandmas, and they’re all grandmas. We really don’t have that concept of aunt and uncle and all that like in English. And so I’m born to the clan I’m not born to the nuclear family.

And that is one of the greatest problems we have going on right now in our communities is people get their shorts all in a knot about their nuclear families and forget these nuclear families made it possible for you to get here, but you are not their exclusive property. What you do belong to is that clan first. Second, you belong to the specific land that you were sent to be born in. I wasn’t sent to the desert, I wasn’t sent to the mountains; I was sent to the coastal woodlands along the southern shores of the Great Lakes to be a part of those lands. So this greater Wolf family that resides on the southern shores of the Great Lakes of the Seneca Nation that’s the ones that I joined. And so I’m born to that land. And then the Nation level of who I am to be, I was sent to be Onondowaga, I was sent to be [with] the Western Doorkeepers [of the Iroquois Confederacy]. (Myers, M., personal communication, February 2014).
From his Iroquoian perspective, Mike Myers recognizes his maternal and paternal grandparents as the moon, the Caretaker of the Tree of Life who still lives in the Sky world, the Ocean and the Thunder. What he does not explicitly state is that they are all entities with living energies. Euro-Western way of knowing reduces the Indigenous perspective to the concept of anthropomorphism, that is, giving human characteristics to non-human things, which is a good example of “divergent worldviews” (Kovach, 2009, p. 39), which is observed in the statements of all the knowledge keepers thus far.

To restate what the four keepers of knowledge have revealed from their respective cultures, Kukpi Ron Ignace of the Secwepemc Nation speaks of the expansive point-of-view of seeing and knowing within a sphere where “our knowledge was [is] of the universe,” that is, not just a physical existence on the earth plane that measures history in a linear way but one that encompasses the cosmos. Mona Jules, Secwepemc language teacher explains our familial relationships within community that gives an expanded idea of the extended family beyond the structures of a nuclear family.

Morrison discusses how Haida think of cycles of time that incorporates 26,000 to 78,000 years and how parallel universes are occurring at the same time, which means there are numerous possible futures. A very complex way of knowing, thinking and seeing that is beyond comprehension for many people. Ignace affirms Morrison’s way of knowing when he talks about how our stories are of other worlds, other universes. In addition, Ignace speaks of how seeing the Public Broadcasting Station (PBS) program that discussed String Theory confirmed his Secwepemc worldview. Myers elaborates his Seneca genealogy that includes family-like relationships with the seen and unseen beings in an expansive world, way past our physical reality on the earth. He accentuates the importance of the role of women in his Iroquoian society. All four knowledge keepers convey an expansive, in-depth and complex meaning to the concept

62 The Elegant Universe is available to view at the PBS website: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/physics/elegant-universe.html
of **interrelatedness** from an Indigenous point-of-view on the macrocosmic level. I have referred to Archibald’s (2008) storywork principle of **interrelatedness** as the relationship between the storyteller, the story and the listener in a physical encounter and between the storyteller, the story as written text and the reader as a distant reader/observer of words (pp. 32-33), which is the microcosmic level of **interrelatedness**. While Morrison and Myers speak of **interrelatedness** on a macrocosmic level.

These specific Indigenous philosophies, that are, Secwepemc, Haida, and Seneca perspectives point to a variety of minor and major differences between their cultural perspectives and some Euro-Western understandings of temporal space, time and **interrelatedness**. Vine Deloria Jr.’s book, *God Is Red*63 (1973) examines the differences in a comprehensive comparison of what he terms tribal religions and Christianity, which implies two monolithic bodies of knowledge sitting side by side. He states:

> Both religions can be said to agree on the role and activity of a creator. Outside of that specific thing, there would appear to be little that the two views share. Tribal religions appear to be thereafter confronted with the question of the **interrelationship** of all things. Christians see creation as the beginning event of a linear time sequence in which a divine plan is worked out, the conclusion of the sequence being an act of destruction bringing the world to an end. (Deloria, V. Jr., 1973, p. 91)

Some 40 years have passed since Deloria, Jr. delivered his thorough examination of differences between two ways of knowing, which in the 1970s was ground-breaking scholarship. Since that time Indigenous scholars have expanded the conceptual ways of explaining their philosophical differences and their culturally specific, land/place-based knowledge. More recently, Indigenous scholarship has moved into the realm of action

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63 As I discussed in the Introduction chapter, Vine Deloria, Jr. is one of the Indigenous scholars who had a major impact on my personal decolonizing process. He was a prolific writer and has published numerous books. His book, *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969) was the first book I encountered that discussed differences in thinking between Indigenous and Settler peoples. I use *God Is Red* (1973) because it addresses the spiritual/theological differences between Indigenous thought and Euro-Western thought.
and transformation by illustrating concrete examples grounded in their specific Indigenous ways of knowing and doing that speak to some of the differences between their worldviews and the Euro-Western worldview. (Archibald, 2008; Armstrong, 2009; Billy, 2009; Cohen, 2012; Ignace, 2008; Michel 2012; Sam 2013; Simpson, 2008, 2012; Young Leon, 2015). Invariably this approach leads to a very specific way of knowing that is related directly to a specific land base. Each Indigenous culture is unique because their body of cultural stories provides them with their principles of how to live on the land. This more comprehensive understanding includes the spiritual aspects of the multi-dimensional relationships that illustrate layers of relating beyond the physical reality. The next section speaks to how some Indigenous ways of knowing and seeing govern the profound relationship to the land that the cultural knowledge holds for most Indigenous people.

5.5. The Knowledge Keepers and Relationship to Land

Land is a prominent theme throughout this work and in my introduction, Chapter 1, I state that part of the research purpose is to “give voice to the stories and the land.” Further, I state, “Land is ... a critical part of this work because it is integral to our place-based cultural stories,” which is why it is essential to hear from the knowledge keepers and their understandings of the linkages between the land and the stories. For instance, for most Indigenous peoples there are landmarks on our territories that signify how our stories are physical manifestations of and viable proof of the content of our stories64. Many Indigenous Nations consider these as substantial expressions of our connections to the land and are indeed considered sacred. For non-Indigenous peoples, it seems that these significant markers are merely tourist attractions to photograph. These features on our ancestral territories are our oral

64 Ajax Mine is proposing an open pit mine at the site where one of the Secwepemc oral stories (the Trout Children) occurred. The Secwepemc Nation, local settler communities and environmentalists are opposed to this development. Retrieved May 5, 2016. Information at: http://sierraclub.bc.ca/residential-neighbourhood-no-place-open-pit-mine
stories physically written into the land. There are words/phrases in the Secwepemc language, which describe what our old people wanted us to remember and learn about our place on the land. As Kukpi Ignace explains:

My ancestors called rock-paintings or pictographs stsq‘ey — saying, "yiri7 re stsq‘eys" — "it’s written." "Yiri7 restsq‘eyems le q’7es te kw’selktens." "this is the writing/how it was marked by our long ago relatives." Thus, "tsq’iyulecw means to "mark the land" in the way our ancestors marked the landscape with their deeds, gave names to places, and thus claimed the land as Secwepemculecw. (Ignace, 2008, p.91-92)

Secwepemc knowledge keeper and language teacher, Mona Jules, age 75 remembers a story from her childhood. She says:

I heard that story from my grandmother, years and years ago. It was a Medicine man who could make stone people and there are markers all over Secwepemculuw, the Secwepemc land, about these. And a lot of it has been blasted away by highways over in Cache Creek there was some highway marker that was like a stone head. You see those all along, towards Jasper but these were right down close to the land. These big rocks, where they were in the forms of heads and men and women. There were 3 women and a head of a guy who had a contest and he pushed his head through a rock to show that he was the most powerful Medicine man and so, storytelling really is telling stories about the culture—people in their traditional trainings also were forming into stone, at the end of the old people’s life. And, during the time of the Transformers when they were pushing their heads through stones, they had proof of those. They knew exactly where these rocks were—where they left the stories behind.

Up in Dog Creek, there is a big Coyote that is up in the side of the road, it’s like a clay bank but it’s in the shape of Coyote that never ever goes away. It may be rock but somebody was saying it’s been there forever, Coyote howling. (Jules, M., personal communication, April 2014)

Coyote howls to the spirit of Secwepemc and Syilx peoples when we are away from our homelands, which I believe is the strong internal pull that we feel and is difficult to describe. We just have to go home. On other Indigenous lands, it is Wesakechak for the Crees, Raven for West Coast Salish Nations, Nanabush for the Anishinabes or Glooskap for the Mik’maq on the East Coast that calls out to the spirits of
their peoples. In these times, many Indigenous peoples live away from their homelands, which for the most part is an economic necessity. However, no matter how long and how far away people are from their ancestral homelands, we/they travel home to rejuvenate our spirits. As Mohawk visual artist and gallery owner, Ross Montour explains,

I lived away from Kahnawake as a result of moving down there [New York] for like 35 years, 40. I returned to Kahnawake when I was in my 40s. I'm now 59. I think it was 48 or 49, ...it's such a long journey. But no matter where I ever lived if people ask you where are you from? I always said Kahnawake. I never said Thunder Bay. I never said New York. I never said La Macaza. I never said Cornwall...I didn't even say Akwesasne and I lived in Akwesasne for a while when I was first married... I went to school in New York. I studied art so I'm an artist. And then so I struggled with that path for many years. (Montour, R., personal communication, October 2013)

Many Indigenous peoples share Montour's experience of living away from their homeland. There is a very strong pull to return to the place that is home to the blood and bones of your ancestors. This state of mind and state of being is difficult to explain and/or difficult to accept by people from other cultures that have settled on our lands.

Ross Montour challenged my use of the words ‘visual sovereignty’ for this project. He asked me, “Why would you use the word sovereignty? It is an imperialist term!” In further discussions, Montour speaks of how our relationship to the land could affect our artistic sensibilities thus determining our autonomous choices in any artistic expression. He states:

And so when you use sovereignty say to express something, it doesn't begin to express our understanding of the land and our place in the land and our rootedness to the land. It just doesn't. You're talking there about something, which says that a king from France could say that this week I grant this scenery to either the Jesuits, based on their interpretation, or to [the] Mohawks. But who is he to give us land that was already under our protection or [that] we are responsible for? (Montour, R., personal communication, October 2013)
Montour’s perspective about the land and his relationship to it as a Mohawk artist brings some understanding to what Woody Morrison explains with respect to the distinctiveness of each Indigenous Nation. From the Haida worldview, Morrison provides insights into how they see the lands they are born to and just how multifaceted the relationships are between the Haida, the land, and the beings they co-exist with on the land.

...we were told that as each...people came into being, we were put on a land that looks like us and given a language that sounds like that land, it describes that land and all the beings of that place. And, also we are given a ceremony that enabled us to maintain the balance between all of ourselves because we can’t treat all of those relations any different. And, the worst thing I can do is to feel sorry for my food—that deer when I go hunting, I don’t name what I am hunting for because I say I’m going to go deer hunting, I’m saying that animal doesn’t have a say in this relationship. So, instead, I say I’m going to go take a look around, if it presents itself, I either accept the gift or I give that one back and so, those are the ways in which when we tell the story of the man who became a bear, or the bear became a human. People like to think about shape shifting. Well, the way I was taught or the way I understand it is that when the bears go home, they walk in the house and they take off that suit and they look just like us. So when I..., a mask dancer when we put on that mask we become that thing, we are not imitating, we become that thing, so it isn’t so much a magical shape shifting—it’s how we see each other, how we see ourselves. (Morrison, personal communication, September 2014)

The stories we tell each other and how we see ourselves as Indigenous peoples certainly goes far beyond the normalized colonial narratives, which paints a horrific picture of insurmountable social, political and economic conditions, promulgated by successive settler governments that perpetuated “cultural and legislated genocide” (Christian, W., personal communication, April 2014) on our Nations. Most certainly, the Indigenous stories that exist outside the colonial stories are ones told by generations of our knowledge keepers and storytellers who tell us how our cultural stories hold infinite wisdom as to how we are to relate to the land, each other and the unseen beings. These distinct Indigenous stories that tell of the vibrant and resilient qualities
of our peoples are a critical aspect of this study. Our Indigenous stories hold experiences within our cultures that are not the same as the master colonial narrative, which have been normalized in contemporary North American society.

Maria Campbell, renowned author, activist, storyteller, television series producer and knowledge keeper explains some of her Cree-Métis stories that occurred outside of the colonial narrative. She tells of the longevity of her relationship to the land where she was raised. She lives at Gabriel’s Crossing for part of the year, which she sees as her homeland. “It’s important to me because my great grandmother was raised here and I was very close to her all my life. I mean she was one of the biggest influences in my life” (Campbell, M., personal communication, 2013). Campbell speaks to how she perceives our relationship to the land from her Cree-Métis point-of-view. I believe that what she describes is a level of relationship that most Indigenous peoples feel but have difficulty articulating.

...the land doesn’t speak out loud. ...the environment doesn’t speak out loud. It talks to you in other kinds of ways.

And that’s what’s important. Sometime[s] we get so caught up in reclaiming culture and being cultural that we become—we’re closed to everything except the sound of our own voices and the sound of our own voices are usually influenced by the church and the conversions that our people [have endured] and [the] colonialism that our people have come through.

But the land never lies to you. The environment doesn’t lie to you.

And so there’s a whole other language that sometime isn’t spoken that you have between you and the connection to the land.

And you don't have to own the land. You don’t even have to speak the language to have that connection with the land. (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013)

Maria Campbell, now 78 speaks four languages, that is, Cree, Michif, Saulteaux, and English. In her younger years, she lived predominantly in urban centers and was
away from the land and her stories. I asked her “Now through all that, how did you remember the stories that your great grandmother taught you?” Her response:

I don’t know. I guess from a cultural place I would say that when you’re given those things and you go into ceremony that something happens in that ceremony that rekindles those things, or whatever. It’s like a fire that’s dying and then you go into ceremony and...you blow it a little bit and you’ve got a fire. It gets lit up again. And I never let those things go...that was how I ended up getting off drugs and off the street was...those stories. Although I couldn’t have articulated it at the time. (Campbell, M. Personal communication, September 2013)

What Maria Campbell is pointing to is what I believe is beyond the physical relationship to the land in that it encompasses the spiritual relationship that Indigenous peoples have to the land. Further, she opens the conversation about the role of ceremonies in strengthening that relationship and how deeply connected the individual spirit is to the land. The land speaks a whole other language that we can access if we are mindful of the energies that reach out to us. Lynn Delisle, Mohawk grandmother, mother and educator agrees with Maria Campbell. She says that even though she was raised Catholic and does not speak the language she believes she can still “get the cultural knowledge” from her ancestors. Delisle feels that we hold the knowledge within our genetics and that the languages are alive and if we pay attention, we can still absorb the meanings because of the blood that runs through our veins and the dynamic energies that are exchanged when we interact with the land and the stories (Delisle, L., personal communication, October 2013).

A prime example of someone who does not speak the language but can access the energies of the land and the stories is Kenthen Thomas. He is a Secwepemc storyteller with some Syilx in his genealogy. Thomas has dedicated at least half of his life to learn the craft of storytelling. He started by first learning performance in theatre and he was passed the torch of performing Coyote from Richard Kenoras, who he calls the “Master Coyote.” Thomas started his learning path in cultural stories in his late teen years and he is now in his 30s and will complete his Bachelor of Education at the
University of British Columbia in July 2016. (Thomas, K., personal communication, August 2014)

At the beginning of his performing career, Thomas intuitively engaged the Secwepemc learning process. He states, “While I was watching her [the woman who started his theatre performance training] collect these stories, I was learning the proper protocols to ask to use these stories.” Once he learned the protocols, he explains how he learned the story:

I don’t know how to explain it but when I heard a story, when someone tells me a story—when someone sits down with me and decides that they want to give me a story and say that you can use this. I don’t even, for the most part, I don’t even need a pen and a paper, just hear it and while they are telling it to me, I can see it being—I can see it in motion, I can actually see the animals inside of my head and how we would act and react with each other and how they would talk and interact with each other, the animal people. And, I’d see funny things happening, I could see dangerous things happening. I could see so many things happening and by the time they are done the story, it seems like it is stuck in my head.

It’s like a little movie inside my head... then I just have to remember a little bit and I would start telling it. I’ll start telling the story ever so slowly and all of a sudden I’ll start to find the rhythm of it and I will be like, there it is, there it is, it’s in my head and then BOOM, I’ll tell the whole story. (Thomas, K., personal communication, August 2014)

Thomas’s description of how he learns the story is a specific example of how he is able to access the collective memory that Armstrong discusses. The scholar that Armstrong is quoting speaks of story and “associative networks as an orality-conscious aid” and speaks of “a movie created in the head” (Rubin cited in Armstrong, 2009, pp. 106-107), which is what I believe Thomas is describing. In Chapter 4, I stated that I see this as a shared movie in many heads.

When I sat with Kenthen Thomas, I witnessed the energy of the story in him as he was talking about his performances of Sk’lep (Secwepemc) or Senklep (Syilx). To
repeat an overused phrase, I felt the hair on my neck tingle and I felt a shift in the energy in the room. In his own words:

I can’t even [explain], it’s just with passion, I just feel it come alive in me.

I always do an opening HOWL—like I go [makes howling sound]. I always feel conscious of the crowd for the first few minutes and I introduce myself as Coyote, I’m Sklep, I’m Sen’kleep sometimes even. I’ll start talking, I will start getting into the stories, ever so slowly but then there comes a moment where it’s just like awareness shuts off and...

... there are times when the crowd, to me is just a blur. And, all I can see is just 5 to 6 feet of stage in front of me. I can feel the lights hitting me but I can’t see the audience. I can’t even hear them laugh. All I can see is me telling the story and I can see Bear standing there, I can see the forest, I can feel the wind, I can hear the birds singing in the bush, it just feels like I am there in the story. It is just a surrealness...it’s hard for me to explain that. You know that, I guess being in a zone. When I’m on stage, I get to that point and it’s just a beautiful euphoric feeling. (Thomas, K., personal communication, August 2014)

Thomas’s description of his performance process of the Coyote stories is an excellent instance that illustrates Archibald’s synergy principle of Indigenous storywork because he merges his life-force (soomik) (Ignace & Ignace, May 2014) with the energy of the story while he is sharing with his audience. He has travelled throughout Secwepemc and Syilx communities and many elders have acknowledged that he has a gift for storytelling, including his well-known grandmother Dr. Mary Thomas. However, the responsibility of what that means within the culture, weighs heavily on him. He says:

I used to think of storytelling, performing the stories I should say as entertaining not only for other people but also for myself and then there came a point when people started telling me that that was great, that was fun but there would always be that silence for a second and then we would go, ‘geez that’s a lot of responsibility to carry’ and, I would be like, what do you mean? I didn’t understand what they meant. And, it wasn’t until I started realizing that at the same time that I was entertaining, that I was also educating. Not only was I educating but I was also representing the whole culture and I guess it just dawned on me that the immense responsibility that it takes to be I am still reluctant to call myself
a storyteller. I just don’t know if I am worthy of that title. (Thomas, K., personal communication, August 2014)

Although Kenthen Thomas in his humbleness does not see himself as a storyteller, much less as a knowledge keeper, I believe he is both. He has travelled within Secwepemc and Syilx territories to perform and learn the stories and now he is determined to develop and enhance his teaching skills to ensure the continuance of the culture as well as pass on his performance and storyteller knowledge to the next generation. The keys to the story knowledge that Thomas will pass on tacitly tie the stories and the land together.

5.6. Land and Stories Are Integral to Each Other

5.6.1. The Stories

Lee Maracle is another multi-dimensional person who is accomplished in many different disciplines. She is a prolific author, public intellectual, activist, actor, and scholar who lives on Anishinabe and Iroquois territories in what is now known as Toronto. She travels home at least twice a year to reconnect and rejuvenate on her homeland, which is the unceded Stólō territories located within the geo-political boundaries of British Columbia. Maracle did not go to residential school nor did the cultural teachers of her extended family. She does not speak the language but she understands the concepts in the language (Maracle, personal communication, November 2013). In my conversation with her, Lee Maracle made an important distinction about the role of story that I believe is factual for other Indigenous people. She states:

I have always [been] told that we worked with story and we’re not storytellers. I really resent that term. We work with story. First of all, stories are key to oratorical knowledge. It’s only a key it’s not our knowledge. I have heard people say that it’s our knowledge, it’s not. It’s the key to the knowledge. And there’s all kinds of knowledge in keys. Somebody will tell you a version of a story and it just sounds slightly
different than that one, but if you pay attention this one is the political knowledge and this one is the sociological knowledge. Or this one is the medical knowledge or this one is the horticultural knowledge or this one is the animal knowledge. You know, it depends on who’s telling the story, what the work that needs to be done is [...] and what the purpose of it is and then you get the key. And then you’re to think about the oratory that goes with it. Well, part of the problem we’re having now is that a lot of the kids don’t have the oratory that goes with it and some—even the old folks don’t have it and so our knowledge has atrophied. I don’t say it’s lost though because you don’t lose knowledge. (Maracle, personal communication, November 2013)

I believe the distinctions that Lee Maracle makes are important because she addresses how Indigenous peoples relate to their cultural stories in that they are living energies that we interrelate with by working with them. We are to engage with the story as an active participant. Another critical feature that she characterizes is that the stories are the “keys” to Indigenous knowledge(s) rather than being the knowledge itself. That is, the specific story and the person holding the knowledge may hold different “keys” to access different types of knowledge(s), which can be land, animal, medicine/plant, gardening, political, or sociological knowledge; therefore, each knowledge keeper/storyteller would hold an expertise in one or more areas. Maracle and Archibald are from the Coast Salish Stó:lō people and are discussing different aspects of Indigenous knowledge in that Maracle is clarifying the understanding of how to access the information in the story and Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous storywork is a process of how to work with story.

Another storyteller, Woody Morrison of the Haida Nation ties the stories to ceremony, which in turn connects them to the land and the waters. He speaks of the stories as energies that are alive when he says:

...those stories they talk about how we are supposed to treat them, it tells us the ceremony. If you do a certain ceremony, like the fish you take and you put the bones, fins and tail back in the water. The spirit of those are going to go and tell the others, these humans are good to us, go visit them and so they will keep coming to us because we treat them that way. That’s how we are supposed to treat them.
When I lived up in the Yukon, moose bones they were taken out and put under a tree, so that nothing could step on them. Water things like Beaver, Muskrat and Fish they were put back in the water with a prayer for more to come. And, so we treated them the same way we treat any other relative and it is even with something like a woven hat, when I start weaving I put a story in it, I put my story into this so that when I complete, I’ve put a soul into it, so now I have to breathe life into it, I have to dance it, I have to sing it and now it is alive. I have to treat it like a small child, I have to be gentle with it, I have to protect it, I have to love it and care for it. And, if I do decide to relinquish it, like maybe I am giving away my daughter, the only way to keep something, you get to keep only that which you give away. If I give away your cell phone, I say it’s my cell phone, I give it away, [and] if I live to be 150 years it will always look [like] that, it will never get old, it will never get broken, it will never get lost. So I get to keep it and so when my daughter goes, I keep a picture so this is how we get to keep only that which we give away. We keep it inside of us. (Morrison, W., personal communication, September 2014)

Both Maracle and Morrison are pointing to how our worldview informs how we are to treat stories and how they affirm our ways of knowing and being in the world; therefore, reaching an understanding of how our Indigenous knowledge is relevant in our everyday lives and “not just for research purposes” (Kovach, 2009, p. 120). This is a critical point because this addresses not just the relevance of Indigenous knowledge but it points to the finer point of how the concept of an Indigenous worldview is specific to each place-based Indigenous culture. However, when Indigenous worldview is discussed it tends to be placed under the overarching umbrella of Indigenous knowledge, which is problematic because the worldview is culturally specific to each Indigenous Nation and is what shapes the fundamental principles of each knowledge base. Indigenous worldview is in essence a way of life, specific to each Indigenous culture; therefore, brings meaning to our contemporary lives, the embodied principles infuse our every thought and action.

Archibald points out, “If the reader wants to gain an understanding of the oral tradition, [read: Indigenous knowledge] she/he cannot be a passive observer or armchair reader” (Archibald, 2008, p. 31). In other words, we cannot just read about it,
we have to become an active part of it. Maria Campbell, Cree-Métis knowledge holder agrees with Archibald when she states:

...us re-living those things in our stories that teach our kids. Stories don’t teach anybody anything if you’re just sitting there listening to the stories.

There has to be an action, there has to be a movement that happens—that goes with it.

You can’t bring people and set them around my kitchen table, okay, Maria, tell us a story—you know. So I can tell you a story for two weeks and then you go home and nothing comes out of that.

But if we can cook food together, if we can laugh together, if we can go shopping together, if we can do things together—and we’re sharing and there’s an action and a movement that everybody can observe. You know, it’s holistic...you need all of those things—otherwise the story is dead. (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013)

Both Archibald and Campbell agree that Indigenous ways of knowing, seeing, hearing, teaching and learning in the world means we have to be a part of the story; we cannot be passive participants. Maria Campbell explains what engaging with story energies means to her.

It’s reciprocity. It goes in and it has to come back out. It goes in takes your power and gives it back out. And not even necessarily what you choose to learn from it. Sometime it just comes in because...whether you like it or not—Because that’s what your spirit needed –

Yeah, they are, they’re alive, but they’re only alive because we’re alive. You know, if we die, they die.

There is a strong movement in Secwepemc territory to not let the stories die, which I believe is a central component of each generation’s pursuit of reclaiming cultural knowledge(s) to re-Indigenize, re-inscribe and re-story our ancestral lands. What I believe Maria Campbell is getting at, is that in our pursuit of regaining/relearning the keys to knowledge from the stories, we cannot control what we learn from the synergistic engagement with the story. We as learners have to pay
attention and allow the story to lead us through whatever teaching is given and we have to learn the protocols of how to engage with them in a respectful manner.

### 5.6.2. Cultural Protocols Are Encoded in the Stories

As Archibald (2008) explains there is a depth and complexity of relationship between the person asking for the knowledge and the person who holds the knowledge (pp. 37-38) and that “There are strict cultural protocols and rules about behavior whether one is a guest, a hosting family/community or speaker” (p. 71). Armstrong (2009) gives a specific example when she discusses a Syilx Nation gathering for storytellers. She states:

A living elder and storyteller, Andrew Joseph Sr. recently spoke at a public captikʷɬ session at En’owkin Centre in February of 2007. In his introductory talk in the language, which was interpreted for the audience, he reiterated the general Syilx storytelling custom to preface the telling with the information that he preferred to tell animal captikʷɬ, rather than coyote captikʷɬ. He explained that this was both because of being a public occasion as well as to suit his personal role in the community. The occasion was a formal community gathering convened Nation-wide to feature Syilx storytellers. His personal role in the Syilx territory is as a traditional holder of Syilx knowledge related to the land rather than as a leader concerned with social interaction. The example illustrates the way captikʷɬ are usually selected to match the conventions of Syilx social protocols. The Syilx protocols for storytelling are practiced as custom to observe the purpose of (a) formal or public gatherings; (b) informal social occasions; (c) informal family centered gatherings; and (d) for individuals or select audience situations. (pp. 91-92)

Mona Jules, Secwepemc language teacher also speaks of cultural protocols. She says:

There is always a protocol for every little thing and with storytelling when you want to hear more, you would say, there is a little saying you would repeat, if you wanted the storyteller to keep on and they would tell stories and tell stories whether it was 12 o’clock or 1 in the morning and they would keep telling stories until they stopped hearing this comment. Then when that last person fell asleep or stopped responding, then they would go to bed.
There is no translation for that, that I could think of “eee-ay”—it’s like keep it coming, keep it coming, story after story, so when that is not heard anymore, then that’s when they stopped. So they had rules around storytelling like everything else. (Jules, M., personal communication, April 2014)

Each Indigenous culture has specific protocols for how we are to connect with the stories. Maria Campbell discusses some of the complex and layered relationship between the person asking and the person holding the knowledge. I believe Campbell is describing in the following statements the depth and complexity of Archibald’s principle of **reciprocity**.

...the most important one which governs all of the protocols and that’s **reciprocity**, that you never take anything—without giving something back.

You know, and that when you want something, whether it’s from the storyteller, from the healers, from the land, whatever; you offer, you offer and you ask...there always has to be a give and take.

...and the **reciprocity** can be anything. You know, for me the most important thing is my elders; you know the people who teach me, I look after for the rest of my life. As long as they’re alive; I’m their servant, I look after them, I take care of them, I’m **responsible** for them.

...it's a **relationship** and that relationship, it's a kinship. You're developing a kinship. You're coming to me. You've made me an offering and you want this information, but that means that you have a **responsibility** to me –

So it’s really important. That’s what I mean by...when you asked the first question about knowledge keeper and what that means, that’s a **responsibility** it’s not just that you're keeping knowledge. It's making sure that it’s passed on and that the people you're giving it to are going to use it in an honourable way.

...regardless of where they are. You know, the stuff that I tell you about my own culture, it’s not your culture, you come from a whole different place —but there are things that we have in common. There are similarities that work and we need those things. We desperately need them. (Campbell, M. personal communication, September 2013)
The land, cultural stories and their protocols are intimately connected for most Indigenous people; though the cultures share commonalities/similarities, it is necessary to repeat and emphasize what Maria Campbell is speaking to in the above quote. That is, that each Indigenous culture has its own cultural stories, protocols, and relate to a specific land base, which is their ancestral territory.

The domain of cultural stories is governed by multifaceted principles, which are given to the people through their place-based culturally specific stories and are being challenged by current technology that is ever changing and ever evolving with formats changing frequently. In the 21st Century, we live in a technology driven world where our children and youth are very proficient in the new technologies. Cultural protocols of stories, songs and ceremonies are in a realm that can be perplexing for them because many of them do not speak the language and do not understand the significance of their cultural stories. In addition, there are many adults who are not schooled in their language and culture because of the compounded effects of the colonial onslaught that have brought Indigenous cultures to the verge of extinction. The genocidal policies and practices of colonial governments that affected generations of Indigenous peoples in the loss of language and culture is Canada’s removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities to be placed in residential

65 In Indigenous cultures, songs, designs and other “cultural information” are owned by individuals and families; however, their ownership is not based in the Euro-Western understanding(s) of ownership. The ownership/stewardship of these songs, designs or ceremonies are passed on to people through their ancestral lineage(s) or given to them through dream. In 1994, a Caucasian woman from Vancouver (Sazacha Red Sky) entered “The Prayer Song” in the Best Aboriginal Song category at the Canadian Juno competition. Leonard George (son of Chief Dan George), along with many cultural activists objected to, and decried her recording of the song as “her property.” They accused her of the theft of the George Family intellectual property rights (collective rights) because the song originates in the George family. Leonard George publicly stated they had not “given” her the song. The George family has “given” the song for use by Indigenous peoples and implicit in that gifting (cultural understanding) is that there are NO PROFITS to be made by anyone.

66 I did have discussions with some of the knowledge keepers about song and ceremony protocols because it is an area that can be troublesome. I will not include any of that information here because the focus is cultural protocols of stories.
schools from the late 1800s to the last one closing in 1996. The next wave of assimilationist policies is when Indigenous children were placed in white foster homes in what is called the 1960s Scoop\textsuperscript{67}, which further exacerbated the disconnection from language and culture. Nonetheless, with each decade, more and more Indigenous peoples are returning to and reclaiming their own culturally specific practices and there is a groundswell of youth who are very aware of what the loss of language and culture means to them and their children. They are determined to use their expertise of the technology to ensure the survival of their cultures; however, in the initial interactions between what some call the “old ways” there are inevitable skirmishes that need to clarify where technologies can be used, or not.

5.6.3. Technology: Social Media/Facebook

Laura Norton is 74 years old and is a matriarch in one of the Longhouses at Kahnawake in Mohawk territories. She sits with the Bear Clan. Kahnawake is a progressive community, which is a respected leader by many other Indigenous communities across Turtle Island and across the global Indigenous world. The Mohawks at Kahnawake are very strong in their stance on political sovereignty. They have a population of approximately 8,000 people and they have a sophisticated communications network in their community, that is, they have their own television station, radio station and newspaper. The television programming includes the Mohawk language and some of their cultural knowledge. They broadcast internally to their own people.

In our lengthy discussion, Laura Norton talked about young people, cultural protocols, songs\textsuperscript{68} and technology. She said, “I’m worried about them exploiting our

\textsuperscript{67} I discuss this phenomenon in the Introduction (Chapter 1).

\textsuperscript{68} We did talk about Iroquoian singing societies that make distinctions between ceremonial songs, other traditional songs and social songs, which also have specific cultural protocols that apply to them. However, that conversation is not included here but it is important to bring attention to this facet of Iroquoian culture.
culture and not knowing that they are exploiting our culture” and she gave me two examples of what she was concerned about.

And I said, ‘just tell them that that’s not the protocol and if you want to know the protocol come see somebody and they’ll tell you what the protocol is. It’s not Facebook. And this stuff is not, any of our stuff we do not put on Facebook. You know, [...] it's not to be done’.

We had to tell some young girls at the last festival to turn their iPads off. And they said, ‘why?’ ...one of the younger women that sits in a Clan Mother position [...] she said, because we don’t have cameras or Facebook in this house. And if you want to have it you can go if you want to, you don’t have to stay. But not here. Because your mind is supposed to be...altogether in all those words as the tobacco burning is going on. Well, she [the young girl] said, ‘I wanted to copy down the words.’ She [the Clan Mother] says, ‘You’re not copying down anything. We don't allow that, period.’ And she [the young girl] got a little miffy, but she put it down. And she [the Clan Mother] said, ‘If I see you pick it up again, I am going to take it—I am going to send you home.’ (Norton, L., personal communication, October 2013)

This scenario is most likely occurring in many of our Indigenous Nations when the older people meet the younger generations in the realm of how do we protect our cultural knowledge yet use the technology so that we may benefit from them? This is occurring in many non-Indigenous settings as well, that is, in classrooms, at concerts, and on television screens where Indigenous cultural producers experience tensions when working in a non-Indigenous setting. This is a contemporary challenge because the digital technologies are so pervasive in our screen-focused world where Indigenous ceremonies are broadcast on YouTube channels. The unique twist for Indigenous cultures is that copyright ownership of intellectual property is not an individual but a collective ownership of cultural knowledge that is for the benefit of the whole Nation, not just one person or one community.

In my territories, the older generations are focused on how to make sure our young people are learning the cultural information by using the technology in beneficial ways. For instance, Drs. Marianne and Ron Ignace are involved in projects where
language apps are being developed in how to reach and teach the youth through the technology (Ignace & Ignace, personal communication, May 2014). In addition, my home community of Splatsin has a history of collaborating with a non-Indigenous theatre group performing some of our contemporary and traditional stories while at the same time utilizing technology to disseminate the cultural information. I am certain that the Secwepemc Nation is not the only one utilizing technology to ensure the perpetuation of the culture; however, clear and concise procedures need to be developed so that the grey area of intellectual property rights of each Nation is protected for future generations, without losing the benefits of technology. All of the knowledge keepers supported the notion of using technology to enhance our teaching and learning process and this issue will be addressed more in-depth in the following Chapter 6, which examines the conversations with the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers and how protection of cultural knowledge relates to Indigenous production practices.

5.7. Conclusion

At the beginning, I explained there is a dual purpose to this chapter. The first is to introduce new cultural information to the academy from different Indigenous worldviews through the shared stories, conversations and experiences of the diverse group of knowledge keepers in relation to land, cultural stories, and cultural protocols. These conversations show the uniqueness of each culture and provide a glimpse into the differences between Indigenous systems of knowledge and Euro-Western systems of knowledge. The second intention of the chapter is to juxtapose Archibald’s Indigenous Storywork principles (respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy) with the content of the conversations I had with the knowledge keepers. By putting this shared knowledge side-by-side, I search for affirmations and/or tensions between what the knowledge keepers say and the meanings of Archibald’s principles.
Clearly, story, land and cultural protocols are central to the Cree-Métis, Haida, Mohawk, Secwepemc, Seneca and Stólō Coast Salish knowledge keepers in this study. It is apparent that the different Indigenous cultures share some similarities in their cosmologies in that story places them on their ancestral homelands and the **interrelatedness** principle is primary because it accentuates the building of relationships on all levels. **Interrelatedness** is a major part of the expansive Indigenous worldviews, which I state is the macrocosmic view of the principles, while Archibald’s use of the principle is the microcosmic application.

The three principles, **reciprocity, responsibility and holism** are included in the discussions with Cree-Métis knowledge holder Maria Campbell when she discussed land, stories and cultural protocols, which along with the principle of **interrelatedness** are implicit within the conversation. However, the other principles of **synergy, respect, and reverence** are not so clearly stated. For example, Kenthen Thomas, Secwepemc storyteller, performer and educator does not use the word **synergy** in our conversation. Nevertheless, he illustrates the principle of **synergy** when he discusses how he tells and performs the Coyote stories. I witnessed and became a part of the **synergy** of the story enlivening Thomas as he became animated during our conversation while he shared some of his storytelling experiences.

This principle of **synergy** is what I have called an exchange of energies between storyteller, story, and the spirit (soomik) of the learner/listener and which Archibald (2008) says has the “power to heal the emotions and the spirit” (p. 100). However, storyteller, language speaker and teacher Morrison states, “rather than refer to this as healing;” he calls this “an organic transfer of knowledge” (Morrison, W., personal communication, May 2016) thus being the only time in all the conversations that one of the knowledge keepers may appear to challenge one of Archibald’s statements. Although in Euro-Western discourse this may be perceived as a tension, for my Indigenous/Secwepemc-Syilx way of knowing, Morrison is adding to and clarifying Archibald’s meaning of the English word synergy. That is Morrison may be referring to
the deeper sense of the word, in that what happens during the “healing” is the “organic transfer of knowledge.” This is a prime example of where the English language needs to be clarified.

The other two principles respect and reverence are embedded in the discussions in what I believe my story editor at the broadcaster referred to when she said my stories had too much ‘assumed knowledge.’ At the time, I had no idea what she meant; however, in the intervening years, I have come to gain some insights into the finer nuances of Indigenous visual storytelling and how the content of the story affects non-Indigenous audiences. Thus, these two principles are difficult to articulate because they infuse the whole story and are deeply buried in the knowledge that is shared. The issue of assumed knowledge and the difficulty of speaking about Indigenous concepts in the English language or how they are conveyed in visual narratives is one that may cause misinterpretations when they are not obvious in the actions of the story.

Maria Campbell’s discussion about protocols is a prime example of how difficult it is to reduce one word that is reciprocity to a noun or verb definition because in Indigenous ways of knowing other principles such as respect, reverence and responsibility are intertwined within how meaning is given to this term because they are all central to relationship building. From the Indigenous perspective, some of us know intuitively that these principles are deeply embedded in the layers of the story, which brings a clearer understanding to the meaning of the story. To add another layer of complexity, the principle of reverence, which I believe is the cornerstone for all the principles of storywork and the Indigenous way of knowing because it speaks to the spiritual aspects of Indigenous knowledge. As Archibald (2008) states, “The cycle of reciprocity and reverence towards the spiritual are important dynamics of

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69 I was functioning under production stress and had little time to deconstruct knowledge production and audience relationship. In my graduate studies, I have formulated some ideas surrounding the issue that require further development. I discuss this in chapter six, Fourth World Cinema: Indigenous Visual Storytelling & Visual Sovereignty.
storywork” (p. 48), which I believe identifies an exchange in Archibald’s use of the word “dynamics”; therefore, these principles cannot be perceived as a stand-alone noun or verb.

I believe that all the principles, that is, respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy are embedded in all the stories from the lands each knowledge keeper was born to in that each unique Indigenous culture is given customary laws of how to coexist with each other, with the foods, the medicines, the animals, the ones that swim, the ones that fly and even the insects that the lands and the waters. In Chapter 4’s section “Critical Land-Based Theories: Story as Theoretical Anchor,” I discuss how Simpson (2014) speaks of her Nishnaabeg cultural story is the theoretical anchor (p. 7), which demonstrate the tying together of Archibald’s principles to our land/place-based practices. The stories give us the names of the physical places on the land. As Archibald (2008) states:

Along with the stories, the Elders gave important teachings, such as the protection of plants, through their talks with the children. Place-name stories show that the names not only have meanings but are also associated with practices and values, such as the spiritual connection to a particular mountain. (p. 73)

The spiritual connection that Archibald speaks of holds a deep meaning for Indigenous peoples that is affirmed by Maria Campbell when she says, “...so there’s a whole other language that sometimes isn’t spoken that you have between you and the connection to the land” (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013). It is this unspoken language that is difficult to articulate in an academic context because it is the language of spirit and includes the unseen beings on the land that Indigenous peoples acknowledge as a presence on the land. Euro-Western scholarly practices tend to categorize Indigenous spirituality as religion, which it is not. Indigenous spirituality is not a dogma to practice in a set aside religious space; it is a way of life with land related knowledge embodied in every thought, word and action in day-to-day activities. I recognize that Christian fundamentalists, devout Jews who go to synagogue daily and
Muslims who pray 5 times a day wherever they are would undoubtedly say that their spiritual practice also infuses every thought, word, and action in their daily activities. However, what I am pointing to that is unique to Indigenous spirituality is the spirit connection to the land and to the stories. I believe it is this spirit connection that is the impetus of generations of Indigenous peoples, including the Secwepemc and Syilx that motivates consistent actions to ‘re-Indigenize, re-inscribe and re-story’ our ancestral homelands.

Spirituality may be the most contentious issue that sits between the Indigenous and Euro-Western systems of knowledge. The reductionist approach of Western knowledge “... is generally the memorization of facts and a narrow set of specialized concepts and rules” (Brayboy & Castagno, 2008, p. 952), while Indigenous knowledge is holistic and relational. Grande (2000, p. 354) and Smith (1999, p. 74) point to the issue of spirituality being the “central crisis” beyond the “crisis in capitalism and neoliberalism’s version of democracy” (Denzin et al., 2008, p. 13) which is why mainstream media cannot report effectively on, or truthfully represent Indigenous issues because capitalism and liberal democracy are deeply entrenched in Euro-Western values while Indigenous land issues are deeply embedded in values that put the spiritual relationship with the land before any monetary gains.

Two Religious Studies scholars, Harvey and Thompson (2005) make some inroads to understanding the spiritual crisis by looking at the connection of Indigenous peoples to the land in the book Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations, which they co-edited. They explore the complexities of what homelands means to Indigenous peoples in the following statement.

... the trauma of dislocation and disenfranchisement requires more rather than less engagement with the realities of diasporas and with discourses of home, home-coming, or ‘going home’. Indigeneity could be defined as ‘belonging in a place’, but many Indigenous peoples demonstrate that a better definition is ‘belonging to a place, though they may or may not live in it. Certainly, there are aspects of people’s cultures that cannot be
performed or experienced anywhere but at a particular spring or
mountain or river or tree. Distance from such places, or their destruction,
must destroy the practice. Destruction may not, however result in the de-
storying of a tradition (p. 10)

It is essential to understand that the ‘de-storying’ of Indigenous lands continues in
contemporary times; however, with the cultural renaissance and resurgence (Archibald,
2008, p. 59; Corntassel, 2012) that is occurring throughout Turtle Island, there is a
concerted effort in the communities to reconnect the people to the stories that tell them
who they are and what responsibilities they have to the lands they live on.

Up to this point, I have continually linked land to story and have alluded to a
spiritual relationship. In this chapter I begin developing the discussion to include the
spiritual connection to the land. I believe that through the shared
stories/conversations/experiences of the knowledge keepers I expand the application
of the operating principles in Archibald’s Indigenous storywork process into a much
larger domain of discussion. While I met the two stated intentions that I outlined at the
beginning of the chapter, I believe through some of the discussion with the knowledge
keepers who discussed their specific Indigenous worldviews that the dialogue moves
into a realm, which encompasses the spiritual dimensions that includes the world of the
unseen beings. This means that Archibald’s operating principles are also applicable in
the larger domain of Indigenous cosmologies that exist in living cultures. In the final
section of this chapter, I show where Secwepemc peoples are embodying the
Indigenous storywork principles by re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying our
ancestral lands.
5.7.1. Still Writing on the Land: Re-Indigenizing, Re-Inscribing and Re-Storying Secwepemc and Syilx Stories

Current Secwepemc leadership of the Nation are tirelessly working to provide forums for the people to learn the meanings of the stories and how they connect to the land. For instance, the Storytelling sessions of June/July 2012 and the Storytelling and the Law sessions of April 2014, which I discuss in the experiential story at the end of this chapter. These are prime examples of “re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying” the land, giving the communities the opportunity to learn the Coyote stories. Another example is a “Secwepemc Sense of Place” project that is designing a Google map with the place-names throughout the land of the Secwepemc Nation, which is intended to, “repopulate the landscape with Indigenous knowledge of place” that will also be “... a very powerful tool and we learn so much too about sense of landscape and about just the way the land is named” (Ignace, M., personal communication, May 2014).

My brother, Wenecwtsin Christian, the Kukpi-Chief of my home community Splatsin and is also co-chair of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council is very involved in “re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying” out homelands. He has been involved in our communities for the past 40 years. In 1977 at the age of 23 he was the youngest Chief at that time. He has witnessed and been a part of many evolutions of our social, political and economic developments while being mentored by highly respected Secwepemc leader George Manuel. Along with Kukpi Ron Ignace and other Kukpis
(Chiefs) in the Secwepemc Nation, Christian is currently bringing the stories of the land back to the communities through the Storytelling sessions. He says:

So I think in the stories, [...] and there are stories that have different purposes. And as we’re doing this storytelling series it’s really about awakening our people to the fact that we have laws and the laws are embedded in the language, in the Secwepemctsin and it’s embedded in the land. You know, yiri7 re stsq’eyems, it’s written on the land. And so that’s the importance of how those stories, [...] come to life because they still do exist. (Christian, W., personal communication, April 2014)

Undoubtedly, the shared stories, conversations and experiences of all the knowledge keepers that I met with provide critical cultural information which shows just how our Indigenous stories from the land still do exist! Each of these cultural knowledge holders are important resources to each of their Nations in the “re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying” of their respective ancestral lands.

The stories continue to breathe life into our communities. In June and July 2012 I became a part of re-Indigenizing, re-inscribing and re-storying our lands when I attended Secwepemc Storytelling Sessions on the Land in three of our communities, Splatsin, Skeetchestn and Soda Creek.

When Splatsin (my home community) hosted we gathered the people in our traditional pithouse with a fire burning in the middle. It is located in an area we know as Clcahl Splulkw. They were full-day sessions. We started the day with a prayer. Then the Storytellers from Splatsin shared some of our stories, followed by stories from the other communities. After our lunch break, we broke into groups and acted out the stories with each other. There was lots of laughter. On the second day, we came together in the morning for more discussions about the stories, and then in the afternoon we travelled to the physical locations of where some of the stories took place.

I was completely engaged and what I mean is that all aspects of my humanness (emotionally, physically, spiritually and intellectually) were present. I felt a synergy of my senses, which seemed to be in a state of ‘high alert’. I cannot describe in words, what I felt when we went to
see Coyote’s Canoe and Coyote Rock—both landmarks are within driving distance of Splatsin. When we visited Skeetchestn and Soda Creek, we followed the same format. When we visited the physical locations, I would stand quietly and take in the full view of the landmark. Then I would close my eyes and reach out energetically with every fibre of my being and I would introduce myself with my Secwepemc and Syilx names. I felt an energy exchange, as if the Spirit of that place acknowledged me!

In April 2014 I attended Storytelling and the Law sessions in Adams Lake, Splatsin and Skeetchestn. My daughter who is a lawyer drove up with me from Vancouver to be a part of the sessions and to hear the stories.

What these experiences mean to me is that we are still writing our experiences on the land while at the same time affirming our sense of place on the land. What these experiences mean to me is that we are still writing our experiences on the land while at the same time affirming our sense of place on the land. We are making stories in our collective consciousness to tell to our grandchildren and those yet to come. For me, bearing witness at these place-based Storytelling sessions, ceremonies and other events and activities is being an active part of the ongoing story that is being written on my ancestral homeland.

In October 2014, I attended a re-affirming of the Fish Lake Accord, which is an agreement between the Secwepemc and Syilx peoples that was made before settler populations encroached on our lands. Community members and Chiefs of both Nations were present to witness this historical event. There was a horse gifting/giving ceremony at this gathering, which I know is a very highly respected ceremony of both the Secwepemc and Syilx.

We are horse peoples.
Chapter 6.

Fourth World Cinema: Land, Story and Cultural Protocols

6.1. Chapter Overview

In this chapter I examine the applied critical concepts of the mainstream film discourse (Columpar, 2010; Knopft, 2009; Marks, 2000, 2002, 2004; Monk, 2001) and how they connect to the work of the filmmakers in this study. My second research question from Chapter 1 is the guide for the discussion. The question is:

What are the Indigenous visual storytelling styles and elements that determine the cultural congruency of the films/videos of Fourth World Cinema? What does cultural congruency mean to their production (what can or cannot be filmed), performativity (where they can be screened) and how they are used for teaching/learning?

I begin by identifying intergenerational filmmakers who are detailed in Chapter 6, followed by a brief discussion of Hollywood’s portrayal of Indigenous peoples in the storylines of two blockbuster films. The Indigenous filmmakers are major players in creating stories for the international and national screen cultures of Fourth World Cinema (Barclay, 1990, 2003, 2003a). Recognizing the filmmakers, who are indigenizing film production practices and the filmmaking environment that they create provides the context for the discussion on culturally congruent film elements. The theoretical construct of cultural congruency is discussed in Chapter 7.

In this chapter, I focus on Indigenous relationship to land, story, and cultural protocols. To do that, I delve into mainstream film discourse to examine closely Indigenous geographical location and political identity. Then I put those findings alongside how the Secwepemc and Syilx look at place-based identities and relationality to environment (Armstrong, 2009; Ignace, 2008; Michel, 2012; Sam, 2013). In that discussion, I include the work of other Indigenous scholars who have formulated the
notion of visual sovereignty (Rickard, 1995; 2011) and expanded the discussion (Raheja, 2007, 2010; Tsinhnahjinnie, 2008). The final sections revealed what the participants shared and how those ideas relate to their film production practices.

6.2. Indigenous Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers in this Study

To be consistent in the analysis of the gathered information, I follow the same approach as I did with the knowledge keepers in Chapter 5. That is, I use the terms “shared stories/conversations/experiences,” instead of “research data,” to exemplify an Indigenous method. To reiterate, even though I use different English words, the end result is that I am bringing new information to the academy in that this study is documenting peer-to-peer conversations that the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers had with me, a fellow visual storyteller, all within the expansive cosmologies of the diverse Nations they represent. It is critical to point out that this is not an aesthetic analysis of the content of the visual stories/films made by this diverse group, but rather a dialogue about Indigenous visual narrative production. I use the same format as with the knowledge keepers, in that the quotes of the visual storytellers are lengthy and single spaced to avoid de-contextualizing the intent of their words. I bold the name of each visual storyteller at the beginning of each quote to circumvent any confusion.

Table 2 below identifies the four male and 13 female visual storytellers/filmmakers who shared stories, conversations and experiences with me. The majority reside within the geo-political boundaries of what is known as Canada. One Inuit man, Zacharias Kunuk, lives in his home territories of Nunavut, and one Hopi man, Victor Masayesva, Jr., lives south of the 49th parallel on his Hopi ancestral lands. I elected to put Masayesva, Jr. in this study because he has been involved in visual representation of Indigenous peoples since the 1960s and mainstream film discourse uses his statement on Indigenous accountability and Indigenous aesthetics (visual sovereignty), which are central to my theorizing. The four columns of Table 2 provide each individual’s name,
their Nation, their physical location, age, gender and whether or not they speak their Indigenous language. Moreover, I identify whether or not they attended film school, and I elucidate some of the other roles they enact within their respective communities. I bold the surname of each visual storyteller in the table.

This multi-generational study includes individuals in their 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, 60s, 70s and one individual in her 80s. In total, there are 17 individuals: four men and 13 women. One group stands outside of the filmmakers, who I identify as The Winnipeg Women Collective (Fontaine, McNab and Stout) who collected intergenerational stories of residential school survivors. This collective is included as an example of a community-based group telling contemporary oral histories for community purposes rather than for professional purposes.

Table 2. Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nation/Location</th>
<th>Language/Age/Gender</th>
<th>Film School</th>
<th>Roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marjorie BEAUCAGE</td>
<td>Métis Duck Lake, Saskatchewan</td>
<td>Bilingual French and English Female, Age 70</td>
<td>Film school at Ryerson in Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>Instrumental in setting up Aboriginal Film &amp; Video Alliance at Banff (1992); Produces, directs &amp; writes in vulnerable communities (HIV/AIDS, sex trade workers, homeless, youth) Elder in Two Spirit community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin Lee BURTON</td>
<td>Swampy Cree from God’s Lake Narrows, Manitoba Winnipeg, Manitoba</td>
<td>Speaks Cree &amp; English Male, Age 36</td>
<td>Graduate of Independent Indigenous Digital Filmmaking Program at Capilano University, Vancouver, BC</td>
<td>Writes and directs documentaries; has worked in other genres; Activism in Two Spirit Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria CAMPBELLa</td>
<td>Cree-Métis Gabriel’s Crossing, and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan</td>
<td>Speaks, Cree, Michif, English and Saulteaux Female, Age 77</td>
<td>Did not attend film school, self-taught</td>
<td>Knowledge Keeper, Writer, Director, Educator, Directed and Produced television series; One of the participants of the NFB’s first program for Aboriginal People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Language/Age /Gender</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tracey Tekahentahkhwa</td>
<td>DEER</td>
<td>Kahnawake Mohawk Lives in Montreal, PQ</td>
<td>Speaks English, Understands French and Mohawk languages Female, Age 38</td>
<td>Liberal Arts Program, including some Film Studies, Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danis GOULET</td>
<td>Cree-Métis</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>Speaks English, Female, Age 38</td>
<td>No formal film school training; Two month intensive at Film Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raohserahawi</td>
<td>HEMLOCK</td>
<td>Bear Clan, Mohawk Kahnawake, Mohawk Territories</td>
<td>Speaks English Understands Mohawk Male, Age 23</td>
<td>Syracuse University, College of Visual &amp; Performing Arts, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoe Leigh HOPKINS</td>
<td>Heiltsuk/Mohawk</td>
<td>Six Nations Reserve Iroquois Territories</td>
<td>Speaks Mohawk and English Female, Age 42</td>
<td>Film School at Ryerson University in Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa JACKSON</td>
<td>Anishinabe</td>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>Speaks English, Female, Age 39</td>
<td>Simon Fraser University Film Program &amp; currently in MA Film Studies at York University in Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacharias KUNUK</td>
<td>Inuit</td>
<td>Igloolik, Nunavut Territory</td>
<td>Speaks English, Fluent Inuktitut Speaker, Male, Age 57</td>
<td>Self-Taught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doreen MANUEL</td>
<td>Secwepemc/Ktun’axa</td>
<td>Vancouver, BC</td>
<td>Speaks English Female, Age 55</td>
<td>MA UBC Film Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Nation Location</td>
<td>Language/Age /Gender</td>
<td>Film School</td>
<td>Roles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victor MASAYESVA, Jr.</td>
<td>Water Coyote Clan, Hopi</td>
<td>Speaks English, Fluent in Hopi language Male, Age 65</td>
<td>No formal film school training; Degree in English; Started with Text representation, then to visual representation (Photography, video and film)</td>
<td>Writer/director &amp; Producer; Media artist; Guest scholar; Many articles about his work; Indigenous accountability Indigenous aesthetics/visual sovereignty concepts attributed to him; Involved in Water Issues; Cultural knowledge keeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelley NIRO</td>
<td>Mohawk/Six Nations Brantford, Ontario</td>
<td>Speaks English Female Age 62</td>
<td>No formal film school training; self-taught</td>
<td>Started working in photography in 20s, in visual arts in 30s and in film making in 40s; Many articles written about her work; Has worked in long form drama and documentary;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alanis OBOMSAWIN</td>
<td>Abenaki/Odanak Community Montreal, Quebec</td>
<td>Bilingual, French &amp; English; understands her original Abenaki language Female, Age 84</td>
<td>No formal film school training; self-taught on the job</td>
<td>Started as a singer in 1960; At NFB for 49 years, only Indigenous staff; as of Nov 2016, she has directed 49 films with the NFB; belongs to the Order of Canada and has numerous awards, the most recent is the 2016 Technicolor Clyde Gilmour Award. Her art work in engraving and print making has been exhibited in Canada and Europe;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loretta TODD</td>
<td>Cree-Métis Vancouver, BC</td>
<td>Speaks English Female Age Undisclosed</td>
<td>SFU Film School</td>
<td>Interest in film started in childhood; Storyteller, imagemaker, activist and important thinker/theorist; has challenged conventional film practices throughout her career;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fontaine, Lorena</td>
<td>Anishinabe/Cree Wolf Clan</td>
<td>Speaks English Female, Age 45</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fontaine is Assistant Professor in Indigenous Studies at University of Winnipeg; she is a Doctoral candidate; a legal scholar; has been involved in many projects involving the residential school survivors as researcher and consultant; holds BA of Laws and Masters of Laws;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Language/Age /Gender</td>
<td>Film School</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC NAB, Wendy</td>
<td>Cree/Saulteaux;</td>
<td>Gordon's First Nation, Treaty 4</td>
<td>Speaks English Female, Age 45</td>
<td>10 years experience working on Residential School issues and working with post-secondary students, faculty and staff; BA in Conflict Resolution Studies; certificate in Aboriginal Focusing-Oriented therapy and Complex Trauma; Currently the Coordinator for Partners for Engagement &amp; Knowledge Exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STOUT, Roberta</td>
<td>Plains Cree, Kehewin First Nation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Speaks English Female, Age 43</td>
<td>Stout holds an MA from SFU (Latin American Studies/Dept. of Sociology &amp; Anthropology; Research Associate, Lead Researcher/Writer on many projects and Policy Analyst and Project Coordinator positions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Maria Campbell is a Visual Storyteller/Filmmaker and a Cultural Knowledge Keeper (Table 1), therefore, she has been included in both groups.

The following sections situate the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers in the global and national screen cultures; however, to fully understand the environment that they create within, it is necessary to briefly discuss the environment that is still dominated by a globalized Hollywood.

### 6.3. Shifting Hollywood Portrayal of Indigenous People from Colonial Times to the 21st Century

In a world where Hollywood has been decentralized (Mills, 2009) to some extent, the mainstream film culture still continues to use tired old storylines that are “reductive and simplistic” paradigms created by settler societies (Columpar, 2010, p. xv), which perpetuate historical stereotypes and demean Indigenous peoples and cultures. Examples of this are the two blockbuster movies *Dances with Wolves* (1990) and *Avatar* (2009). One is set in a first contact scenario and the other in a futuristic time; nonetheless the usual story of ‘good settlers’ lusting for the land versus the ‘bad
Indians’ preventing progress on the land continues. In both these scenarios the ever-present white hero rescues the Indians, thus relegating Indigenous males to the sidelines. The glaring subtext of Indigenous males being neutralized by the white hero infers that our men cannot be leaders. This insinuation is downright offensive to Indigenous people, especially to the males in our families, communities and Nations. The underlying meaning of the storyline actions is that the Indians are preventing progress, and a conflict surrounding the lands and resources of Indigenous peoples inevitably ensues. The portrayal that represents the Indigenous people standing up for the land and resources as protestors, thereby preventing progress, continues today. Sometimes we/they are even referred to as terrorists. From an Indigenous perspective, we are not protestors or terrorists; we are upholding our spiritual responsibilities as protectors and stewards of the land including the seen and unseen beings we coexist with on those lands.

It is unfortunate that the collective consciousness of the general public has internalized the plotlines of these fictionalized blockbuster films, which continue in the 21st Century. Hence, the frequent use of the protestors label by the mainstream media. bell hooks (2009) made the following statement, however, it is still applicable in today’s world because of the pervasive presence of screens in our daily lives.

Whether we like it or not, cinema assumes a pedagogical role in the lives of many people. It may not be the intent of a filmmaker to teach audiences anything, but that does not mean that lessons are not learned... I began to realize that my students learned more about race, sex, and class from movies than from all the theoretical literature I was urging them to read. Movies not only provide a narrative for specific discourses of race, sex, and class, they provide a shared experience, a common starting point from which diverse audiences can dialogue about these charged issues. (pp. 2-3)

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70 http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view/756/662
Her message is timeless, as is evident in the summer/fall of 2016 at Standing Rock\(^{71}\) in Sioux territory, because the “charged issues” of “race, sex, and class” are ever-present in the Indigenous land and resources environmental battle.

Thankfully, the latest epic film *Revenant* (2015) from a globalized Hollywood appears to have shifted away from the overused script of the ‘good settlers’ versus ‘bad Indians’ storyline. The Director Alejandro Gonzalez Iñárritu presents a story that is somewhat different from the usual romanticized Euro-Western version of encountering Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island. He has Indigenous and Settler peoples meeting on a more realistic ground in 1823 as European fur trappers seek to find their way through Indigenous territories that are unknown to them. I suggest that his positionality as a Director who is a Mexican national gives him a different perspective, because he does not have the same conscious or sub-conscious investment in the lands and resources of Turtle Island as a white settler director based in North America. As well, he extended respect to Indigenous peoples and cultures by paying attention to the cultural consultant who advised him. Gonzalez Iñárritu implemented some of the spiritual practices of Indigenous cultures\(^{72}\) on the movie set. To clarify, he did not film any of the spiritual activities for the film; he respectfully made space for these practices to occur on the set of the film to support the well-being of Indigenous actors and crew during production.

*Revenant* (2015) is categorized as a drama/thriller and is a graphic portrayal of survival on terrain that is unfamiliar to the colonizer/settler trappers. European trapper Hugh Glass is the central protagonist, played by Leonardo DiCaprio. He is the father of a mixed-race boy who is killed by one of the trappers on his expedition, which

\(^{71}\) A BBC reporter covers the largest gathering of Indigenous Nations in over 100 years. Groups from as far away as Hawai’i stand together in solidarity to protect their lands and waters from corporate interests, see [http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37249617](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37249617)

sets the revenge plot in motion. Although the Indigenous mother of the boy does not speak throughout the movie, at least she is not portrayed as a romantic Indian Princess. Furthermore, Indigenous men are humanized through a character played by local Vancouver actor Duane Howard (Nuu-chah-nulth) who is a father searching for his kidnapped daughter. The film won many accolades in Hollywood: It took awards for Best Film, Best Director and Best Actor at the 2016 Golden Globes. At the 2016 Academy Awards, the film took the Best Cinematography Award. Gonzales Iñárritu won the Best Director Award and DiCaprio won his first Best Actor Award.

*Revenant* is a part of the 21st Century globalized screen culture, an environment that is still grappling with how to represent Indigenous peoples; nonetheless director Gonzalez Iñárritu has shifted beyond the usual colonial first contact storyline. This shift, albeit miniscule movement, away from the usual storylines of first contact of Indigenous and Settler peoples moves beyond the “dominant versus marginal cinema” (Columpar, 2010, p. xv). It represents creative possibilities for the directors of Fourth World Cinema.

### 6.4. Fourth World Cinema: Indigenizing Film Production Practices in the 21st Century

In 1974 George Manuel, a Secwepemc political and social activist whose regional and national work rippled outwards to the global sphere, first introduced the concept of the “Fourth World,” which situated Indigenous communities/Nations outside the modern nation-state (Manuel & Posluns, 1974). More than three decades later, Maori filmmaker Barry Barclay agreed with Manuel when he stated:

Indigenous cultures are outside the national orthodoxy. They are outside the national outlook. They are outside spiritually, for sure. And almost everywhere on the planet, Indigenous Peoples, some 300 million of them in total, according to the statisticians — are outside materially also. They are outside the national outlook *by definition*, for Indigenous cultures are ancient remnant cultures persisting within the modern nation state.
Meantime, almost every square meter of the landmass of the planet and much of the oceans as well is under the governance of one modern nation state or other, 193 of them in total, I learned from the TV recently. Their national outlook is modern. First, Second and Third cinema[s] are all Cinemas of the Modern Nation State. From the Indigenous place of standing, these are all invader Cinemas. (Barclay, 2003, pp. 6-7)

Barclay elaborates what he means by “invader Cinemas” when he states: “First Cinema being American Cinema [Hollywood], Second Cinema [is] Art House Cinema; and Third Cinema [is] the cinema of the so-called Third World” (p. 1). The latter category came into existence when Nations of the ‘so-called Third World’ gained their political independence and started producing visual narratives from their unique perspectives.

With 40 years’ experience in film production, Barclay is recognized as a major force in the Indigenous film world; sadly, he passed into the spirit world on February 19, 2008 at the early age of 63. Like George Manuel’s Secwepemc worldview, Barclay’s (2003, 2003a) strong philosophical Maori stance reached across the world and touched many Indigenous communities. He coined the term “Fourth Cinema,” thus creating a specific category for Indigenous film to exist alongside the normalized understanding of cinemas in global film discourse. Most importantly, he also introduced an Indigenous way of looking (the “gaze” in film-speak). Barclay (2003) articulated a critical difference between the settler colonial camera and the Indigenous camera when he said:

The First Cinema Camera sits firmly on the deck of the ship. It sits there by definition. The Camera Ashore, the Fourth Cinema Camera, is the one held by the people for whom ‘ashore’ is their ancestral home. ‘Ashore’ for Indigenous people is not usually an island. Not literally. Rather, it is an island within a modern nation state. We need to be crystal clear about this. (p. 9)
Barclay was the first Indigenous person to attend the Cannes Film Festival with his feature film Ngati in 1987. He threw the first stone into the metaphorical pond, which inspired waves of decolonized visual texts that span all the genres. The visionary Barclay stated in 2003:

It seems likely that some Indigenous film artists will be interested in shaping films that sit with confidence within the First, Second and Third cinema framework. While not closing the door on that option, others may seek to rework the ancient core values to shape a growing Indigenous Cinema outside the national orthodoxy. I hope that, in the not too distant future, some practitioner or academic will be able to stand in a lecture room like this and begin a talk on Fourth Cinema, which begins at this very point, rather than ends on it. (Barclay, 2003, p. 11)

Although Barclay does not use Manuel’s term, Fourth World, as an Indigenous film theorist, I am bringing together the two terms, Fourth World and Fourth Cinema to affirm that the work of Indigenous filmmakers are a part of Fourth World Cinema that sits “outside the national orthodoxy.” In Barclay’s inclusive statement above, I interpret this as addressing the diversity of perspectives of Indigenous film artists. However, it is his notion of “…rework[ing] the ancient core values” that informs this study, because embedded in his words is an understanding that cultural knowledge infuses production practices of some Indigenous filmmakers. Even though the men and women I had conversations with may not consciously speak of their film production practices in this way, I strongly believe that their Indigenous worldview and cultural perspectives are implicit in their visual narratives.

In a 2003 lecture in Hawai‘i Barclay speculated, “on what phases other Indigenous peoples and their funders might go through in the evolution of Fourth Cinema” (2003a, p. 15). His conjectures were based on the Maori experience in Aotearoa (New Zealand). He explained his personal development as a filmmaker and

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73 In 1988, Nils Gaup Sami filmmaker’s work, Ofelas/The Pathfinder (1987) was nominated at the 60th Academy Awards for Best Foreign Language Film.
how he arrived at these assumptions. His suppositions on three stages of development in Indigenous Cinema are:

...there’s a First Film phenomenon: a one-off Indigenous film being funded by the Establishment, perhaps partly out of guilt, perhaps partly out of a desire for novelty, and perhaps also out of a benign sense of goodwill and camaraderie.

...there’s then a Phase Two, when the Indigenous filmmaker seeks to work at a more deeply Indigenous level, taking the Establishment funder along with him. This will almost certainly have to be done within the confines of the traditions and practices and words of First, Second or Third Cinema.

Next [Phase 3], I might speculate, as projects become more deeply Indigenous, there will be a backlash. Indigenous filmmaking in the hands of Indigenous People’s themselves, will be closed down. Why this might occur is probably deserving [of] a discussion round — even a literature! — of it’s own. (Barclay, 2003, p. 15)

It is important to point out that the Maori experience cannot be compared in a parallel sense to the Indigenous experience on Turtle Island because of the facts surrounding language. My understanding is that the Maori are a homogenous population with a monolingual culture, with dialects specific to particular regions and that the dialects of the Maori language developed as migrations of Indigenous populations from other Islands arrived. Further, the Maori language became “an official language of New Zealand under the Maori Language Act [in] 1987”. While in Canada, there are multiplicities of Indigenous languages and Statistics Canada reported in 2011, that there are over 60 Indigenous languages, which can be classified into 12 distinct language families. Nonetheless, what is common to both Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island and in Aotearoa (New Zealand) are a shared colonial history and some Indigenous knowledge commonalities in worldviews that relate to land, cultural stories and protocols.

74 http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-language-week/history-of-the-maori-language
Indigenous groups on both these territories must contend with the colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial policies and practices that impact the creative work of Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers in today’s world. Given the primary linguistic differences, I believe in Canada, we are in the second phase that Barclay identified above, in that Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers are working at a deeper Indigenous level but still within the conventions and standards of Euro-Western production standards. However, I assert that there are some Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers such as Marjorie Beaucage, Maria Campbell, Zacharias Kunuk, Victor Masayesva, Jr., and Alanis Obomsawin who are already in Phase 3 in that they are very grounded and centered in the ways of their Indigenous cultural knowledge. As is often the case, there is no black and white to any issue. For these filmmakers who are already working at a “more deeply Indigenous” level, often times that makes it difficult for them to access production funding. However, Kunuk and Obomsawin work at a deeply engaged Indigenous level and maintain their Indigenous gaze and still access financial support. I believe this is because of the international recognition that Zacharias and Alanis have achieved. Canada cannot afford to be embarrassed by not supporting them.

In today’s environment, where hundreds of years of colonial damage has interrupted intergenerational transmission of story knowledge in Indigenous cultures and where “We don’t sit at the feet of Elders anymore” (Zoe Leigh Hopkins, personal communication, November 14, 2013), I strongly believe that some Indigenous filmmakers have been indigenizing production practices all along. These filmmakers answer the German film theorist Knopf’s (2009) question of “…whether or not there is a definite Indigenous film practice…” (p. xiii). Most of the participant filmmakers are loath to engage in any theoretical discussion. When I tell them about Knopf’s book, Decolonizing the Lens of Power: Indigenous Films in North America and some of the discussion therein, they look at me blankly. They do not have the luxury of time to consider whether or not their productions are a part of decolonized visual texts because of the demands of their production schedules. They are simply in the ‘act of doing’
filmmaking to get Indigenous stories, from their culturally specific points-of-view, out to the larger Indigenous and non-Indigenous worlds.

In my theorizing, I see this is as the act of transforming decolonization from a noun to a verb. They/we are enacting and embodying our cultural knowledge in our everyday practices. As the Grand Dame of Indigenous Cinema Alanis Obomsawin stated, “At the end of the line, we are doing it. That is what is important, no matter what they say or write or whatever. We just have to keep on working. Keep on walking and doing it” (Obomsawin, A., personal communication, October 23, 2013). I daresay that most of the other visual storytellers agree with Obomsawin’s statement.

I am certain that the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers play a significant role in recovering and maintaining the critical content of our cultural stories by developing innovative ways and means through their use of technology. I would be remiss in not acknowledging that there is a certain irony between using technologies to preserve our ancient traditional oral stories, that provide an avenue for generations of Indigenous peoples to access and learn this cultural knowledge, which was usually passed on through intergenerational interactions. This paradox creates a conundrum on how to uphold the cultural protocols required by our communities and Nations, which I discuss extensively in the knowledge keeper Chapter 5, section “Technology: Social Media/Facebook.” It is apparent that not everyone has learned the cultural protocols necessary to be respectful to the communities and their stories.

It is this challenge that I believe Barclay is addressing when he says that not everyone will choose to use his or her production skills to protect cultural knowledge. However, I strongly believe that when we are consciously engaged in our own personal decolonizing process, then our awareness of just how important our cultural knowledge is becomes painfully apparent. Therefore, no matter where one is on their decolonizing journey, I am confident that every Indigenous visual storyteller participating in the global, national and regional screen cultures are still educating audiences, both
Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Though, I am not as assured that every one of those visual storytellers/filmmakers is consciously engaged in a personal decolonizing process and is aware of the relational qualities of land, story and cultural protocols.

Nevertheless, before any meaningful recovery/revitalization strategies can be discussed, the current state of Indigenous cultural stories needs to be acknowledged. When I asked Mona Jules, Secwepemc knowledge keeper, “How many of us know the stories anymore?” She said:

Not very many... the people nowadays, they're struggling with the language. And, they can't seem to get enough in the language to understand the stories. In the past storytelling was a teaching method, it would teach you the consequences of some activities and if you didn’t do things a certain way, there were consequences. (Jules, M., personal communication, April 2014)

In addition, Mike Myers, Seneca knowledge keeper, made an astute observation when we discussed the complexities of the multiple layers of our cultural losses, which include how our ceremonies and the stories that hold cultural teachings are treated in these contemporary times. He says:

So now we got [a situation] where parents are using our medicine beings as a threat, saying...if you don’t behave the Hadu:is are going to come and take you or the Hagisah or the little people... And I thought, wow. No, no, no. These are not threats. These are all our helpers. These are all the ones who support us in our existence so they're not threats. (Myers, M., Personal communication, February 2014)

These are only two examples of the insidious effects of the centuries of hegemonic oppression, which perpetuated a massive cultural genocide on Indigenous communities. Mona Jules speaks of the need for language revitalization in learning our cultural stories, and Mike Myers is pointing to how we need to correct our internal misunderstandings because we are passing on the wrong information to our children. These two knowledge keepers provide insights into a very complex blanket of issues that we need to address in our communities.
In the fast-paced contemporary global world where each new generation of technology creates more sophisticated personal devices and where artificial intelligence is positioned to be a game-changer\textsuperscript{76} it is difficult to maintain any control of the screens to which our children are exposed. Screens are pulsing with new information on our hand-held devices, in classrooms, in every room of our homes, and at every turn on the streets of our urban centers; this is the environment that filmmakers encounter when working to tell Indigenous stories. Our visual storytellers/filmmakers are a significant part of our communities because they are at the forefront of the cultural resurgence that re-Indigenizes, re-inscribes and re-storys our lands and indeed our education practices to ensure that a sustainable life continues within our diverse cultures and ancestral lands. Their films have penetrated the international sphere as is evident by the thousands of digital stories being presented and disseminated on YouTube via the World Wide Web. Indigenous films being submitted from Fourth World Cinema in film festivals all around the globe continues to grow. From this point, it is important to look at how mainstream film theorists speak of Indigenous film work in the context of transnational, intercultural and decolonized cinema, which is examined closely in the next section.

6.5. Fourth World Cinema in the International Sphere

6.5.1. Transnational, Intercultural and Decolonized Cinema: Geographical Location and Political Identity

In Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media (2013), Shohat and Stam’s interdisciplinary approach addresses white privilege, which begins to dismantle some of the normalized theoretical frameworks in the international media world. They propose reconceptualizing media pedagogy and call for a more meaningful and profound change of the status quo by decolonizing the global discussion. The authors

look at the mythologies created by the Eurocentric view, the impact of colonialism, race and racism, how Third World Cinema has been and continues to be influenced by the normalized Euro-Western assumptions of power. The Fourth World and Indigenous media, the post-colonial and the hybrid are also discussed within the same context. Shohat and Stam (2013) formulate a “polycentric multi-culturalism” (pp. 13-48) that challenges the encoded language of how multiculturalism or so-called diversity is generally approached, that is, by minimizing the deeper issues of race and power relations thus maintaining the conversation in a superficial realm that assumes the superiority of whiteness. This radical approach to multiculturalism significantly alters the theoretical frameworks of analysis, when they state:

The notion of polycentrism in our view globalizes multiculturalism. It envisions a restructuring of intercommunal relations within and beyond the nation-state according to the internal imperatives of diverse communities. With a polycentric vision, the world has many dynamic cultural locations, many possible vantage points. The emphasis in “polycentrism,” for us is not on spatial or primary points of origin but on fields of power, energy, and struggle. The “poly,” for us, does not refer to a finite list of centers of power but rather introduces a systematic principle of differentiation, relationality, and linkage. No single community or part of the world, whatever its economic or political power, should be epistemologically privileged. (Shohat & Stam, 2013, p. 48)

The privileging of the Euro-Western system of knowledge started at a time when imperialists traversed the globe exercising their military power to claim the land and resources of Indigenous nations. This occurred eons before multi-culturalism was conceived. Film theorist Columpar (2010) identifies “The Cinema of Aboriginality as a Transnational Phenomenon” (pp. 1-5) that started in a time when cinema was a part of expanding and merging imperialist empires, which promoted the Eurocentric view by writing a history that refused to acknowledge the existence of the peoples and cultures they were colonizing. Along with the imperialist expansionism, a transnational movement of people, films, and equipment across the boundaries of nation-states was taking place. Columpar says that depending upon how the former colonies of the British
Empire (Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand) set up their nation-states determines how they treat Indigenous peoples in the world of cinema (pp. 2-3). That is, they/we are either completely removed from the production process, thus invisible in the scenes, or we are presented in the normalized ‘first contact scenario’ storyline where we are erroneously set up to appear as if we are creating conflict because of our prior relationship to the ancestral lands that they/we occupy (pp. 18-21). I discuss this phenomenon in the section above “Shifting Hollywood Portrayal of Indigenous Peoples from Colonial Times to the 21st Century.”

Another film theorist, Laura Marks, in the year 2000 introduced the notion of an intercultural cinema where she judiciously includes “First Nations makers” as part of the “global flow of immigration, exile and diaspora” whose works she says “…comes from the new cultural formations of Western metropolitan centers” (p. 1). Although, I believe Marks mistakenly categorized Indigenous filmmakers in this group, what is of interest to me is how she is grappling with the issues of geographical location and political identity in so-called multicultural societies. Marks writes 13 years before Shohat and Stam (2013) introduce the concept of “polycentrism,” a new way of looking at how different cultures can co-exist in a globalized world. In Marks’ (2000) discussion, she makes an important intervention when she says that the works produced for intercultural cinema are “experimental styles that attempt to represent the experience of living between two or more cultural regimes of knowledge.” She says:

> Intercultural films and videos offer a variety of ways of knowing and representing the world...Formal experimentation is thus not incidental but integral to these works. Intercultural cinema draws from many cultural traditions, many ways of representing memory and experience, and synthesizes them with contemporary Western cinematic practices. (p. 1)

Thus, what is noteworthy for this study is Marks’ analysis that gives recognition to different systems of knowledge that are working with Euro-Western film standards.
European film theorist Kerstin Knopf (2009) from Germany situates an interdisciplinary comprehensive analysis of dense materials in the colonial, neocolonial and post-colonial discourses. She formulates what she speaks of as the decolonized filmmaking of Indigenous filmmakers of Turtle Island. However, when Knopf speaks of Fourth World film, she acknowledges George Manuel and Barry Barclay in footnotes, which minimizes the influence of these two Indigenous thinkers in the Fourth World. This conceptual underestimation is problematic because the concepts of the Fourth World and Fourth Cinema are central to any meaningful discussion of Indigenous visual production practices; it taints any substantive theoretical discussion. However, this statement of Knopf’s is useful here because she is questioning exactly what I am addressing in my discussion.

The book asks whether or not there is a definite Indigenous film practice and whether filmmakers tend to dissociate their work from dominant classical filmmaking, adapt to it, or create new film forms and styles by merging with and consciously violating classical film conventions...As there is no framework yet for the analysis of Indigenous films, there is also no specific Indigenous film terminology with which to refer to the tools, techniques, rules, and distribution channels involved. (p. xiii)

All of the above referenced film theorists discuss issues that are of concern to Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers in the global film discourse and their analysis and discussion provide the framework for a discussion of Indigenous films in a national context.

6.6. Fourth World Cinema in the National Sphere

In Canadian film studies, Indigenous/Aboriginal Cinema is thought of and talked about outside of the National Cinema (Columpar, 2010, p. xvi); however, film critic Katherine Monk (2001) includes Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki) and Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit) when discussing Canadian films and filmmakers. Although she published her book, Weird Sex and Snowshoes and Other Canadian Film Phenomenon in 2001, I believe the content is still pertinent today because it illustrates how Indigenous peoples and
their films are treated and also shows how they/we are located in perceptions of the Settler mindset.

Monk (2001) is a well-known and respected film critic, located in Vancouver. Her book has 10 themes, 20 biographies of Canadian filmmakers and 100 reviews of significant Canadian films (p. 7). Most importantly, her film analyses are done within the context of the expansive and vast Canadian landscape, which is ironic given the focus of my study on land and stories. Monk consistently uses the land as metaphor in her film critiques; however, she does not directly discuss the colonizing of the homelands of the diverse original peoples. Her approach to colonization is amusing to say the least: “…somewhere in the depths of the colonized Canadian psyche—colonized not by our European ancestors, but by American popular culture…” (p. 3). Monk’s analysis is done with a tongue-in-cheek sarcastic humor. She says:

We’re all children of a dysfunctional family. Born together in the wilderness when two European cultures squatted in dense underbrush and gave birth to fledgling colonies on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Canada’s twin identities have been at each other since the day they were born. For more than 200 years, they’ve been threatening to break up—not realizing that while you can leave the house, change your name and cut off all ties, you can never escape your own twin. He’s always there—an amniotic consciousness to remind us of our other half. No wonder we’re a bit screwed up. We deny we’re even related. Neglect begets neglect. Abuse breeds abuse. Ignorance spawns ignorance and so we have developed this bizarre love-hate relationship with our own reflection as it’s communicated through our cultural industries.

In decades past, this bipolar condition was called “the Canadian identity crisis.” Today, it’s called everything from “the unity question” to “Western alienation” to “The Ministry of Canadian Heritage.” No matter what you call it, the underlying message remains the same: we are broken; we need to be fixed…. (p. 4)

The “Canadian identity crisis” Monk (2001) speaks of does not directly address where Indigenous filmmakers fit into the Canadian identity. Nevertheless, she clarifies some of her thoughts in a chapter titled, “First Takes: Our Home and Native Land.” Monk examines the central myths of what she thinks form the Aboriginal perspective,
the portrayals and projected images of First Nations’ peoples in non-Native films and how Indigenous/Aboriginal filmmakers represent themselves (pp. 45-62). She does refer to some of the complexities of situating Indigenous film and television work within the Canadian screen culture and cultural industries. Monk states:

While all of them deal with the Aboriginal experience and contain plenty of Canadian content, not one of them could be called a purely Canadian Aboriginal motion picture. They are all international co-productions, collaborations with non-Aboriginals or, in the case of Smoke Signals, an American independent film. I could disqualify them from the discussion in this chapter on principle, but that would make for a sorely ignorant take on the Aboriginal experience in North America. After all, as we saw in the previous chapter, we are a country that believes in pluralism, and First Nations cultures play a large part in our mosaic. (pp. 52-53)

Monk does not claim to be a film theorist; however, she is a recognized and respected film critic. Her point-of-view is important because she represents Canadian popular culture, which holds the attitudes and approaches to Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers and how they/we are perceived in this highly lauded multicultural society and which inevitably spills over into the global film discourse.

6.7. Global Film Discourse: Deterritorialization and Indigeneity

The earlier discussion of Shohat and Stam’s concept of polycentrism that rethinks the power dynamics of the globalized culture changes how Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers are situated within the global screen culture because it makes space for an Indigenous place-based identity that relates to our ancestral territories. Columpar’s (2010) astute observations that surround the issues of land and political identity for Indigenous people in Canada are refreshing. She says her intent is to “carv[e] out a space” and that she is “making an intervention in a national cinema discourse that assumes a unified nation-state or homogenous film culture” (p. 17). Further, she states:
Parallel histories of both colonial relations and postcolonial discourse as well as a common cinematic vocabulary due to certain Eurocentric generic precedents with widespread circulation (for example, ethnographic film and the Western) have created a situation in which even the most provincial of film productions partakes of representational conventions that have currency throughout the Anglophone world (and potentially beyond). In recent years transnational flows within film culture have only intensified—hence, the emergence of transnational cinema/studies—and the result has been the consolidation and continued development of a cinema of Aboriginality that lies at the local, and global, the national and the transnational. (p. 24)

Columpar’s analysis and perceptive comments provide insights into the politics of identity and of geographical location, which are both of particular interest to this study because she looks at how those issues are disseminated in the global and national film discourse. I seek to further understand how that affects Indigenous place-based identities that are integral to cultural stories and ancestral territories.

In her analysis, Columpar (2010) identifies two themes that arise over and over again in film discourse: loss of homeland and deterritorization from home countries. She says deterritorialization is not treated as a temporary state to overcome but is talked about as a permanent loss or removal from land (pp. 5-11). The analyses surrounding home and homeland in the global film discourse directly affect my critical theorizing because it appears that Indigenous filmmakers are erased from the discussion. Columpar’s discussion of Hamid Naficy’s (2001) An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking reveals the conceptual steps taken to reason away the existence of the original peoples. She examines how Naficy locates the diasporic filmmakers from various groups, that is, political exiles, refugees, or simply immigrant families looking to relocate to the promised land, which of course is usually on the ancestral territories of Indigenous peoples. Naficy’s argument is that their political identities and physical locations affect how they construct the content of their films; therefore, giving their stories a different voice than that which “…communicates in the manner considered to be standard and normative in Western society” (Columpar, 2010,
While Naficy is calling into question the domination of Eurocentric production practice, he does not address his treatment of Indigenous peoples.

It is Columpar’s (2010) incisive observation of Naficy’s complex analysis of dense intersecting issues, which is of central importance to this chapter. She states:

Given this broad focus, Naficy’s project encompasses an extremely wide range of filmmakers, including those who have been displaced due to exile, diasporic movement, and immigration. Moreover, many of the filmmakers he discusses hail, at least originally, from former European colonies and confront, through the material they produce and/or their role behind the camera, the ethnographic legacy as well as assumptions regarding racial difference that prevail therein. Yet there is one group of filmmakers that falls outside of his analytical purview; those Aboriginal peoples whose deterritorialization follows from their “staying put,” to borrow Avtar Brah’s phrase, rather than taking flight. While Naficy’s decision to delimit his project is certainly understandable given the sprawling nature of his subject, this omission is quite striking. Insofar as “the dispossession of territory is the hallmark of aboriginal minorities,” to quote David Pearson, one could argue that Aboriginal peoples are exemplars of the deterritorialization that Naficy cites as criterion for accented speech. (p. 7)

Within this context, the notion of what home means in terms of land, which is central to Naficy’s analysis is a prime example of the erasure of Indigenous peoples in the global film discourse. His discussion is focused on hyphenated identities, such as Palestinian-Canadian or Irish-Canadian (diasporic populations, exiled individuals, refugees and immigrants) thus rendering Indigenous filmmakers invisible in his analysis. From my Secwepemc-Syilx (Indigenous) perspective, this is problematic because no matter what their status, or what diaspora population they identify with, the fact remains that they all fall within the Settler population. We, as Indigenous people, do not belong in the same category as the diasporic populations, which is a reality that mainstream theorists typically refuse to acknowledge.

Columpar (2010) goes on to say, “Given this dual interest in mobility and the destabilization of identity, ...it is no surprise that Aboriginal identity proves an
unpopular topic of conversation” (p. 9). She speaks of George Manuel’s Fourth World as a “strategic concept” that situates Indigenous peoples within the international domain and is a unifying “political identity” for Indigenous peoples on a global level (p. 12). Her statement of how “...some individuals have insisted on redefining the Fourth World so as to exclude any reference to a privileged relationship to the land, be it spiritual or proprietary in nature...” is very insightful and a critically important observation. Further she states:

...the Fourth World is most readily associated with an international movement on behalf of Aboriginal rights that has remained firmly rooted in a land-based discourse, as demonstrated by the term under which most self-defined Fourth World individuals and collectives currently organize: Indigeneity or Indigenism. Granted, the precise meaning of these labels has also been the subject of extensive discussion and debate, with constituencies disagreeing most frequently over the level of self-consciousness and/or political engagement they suppose, but the common denominator to all the definitions proffered is an acknowledgement of those relations descent that tie certain communities to the original inhabitants of a given land. (pp. 12-13)

What is most stimulating about Columpar’s (2010) discussion on Manuel’s Fourth World is that she understands the place-based, relational and reciprocal qualities for Indigenous people and how that has a universal application in a global Indigenous world (p. 11). Within this exciting development of Columpar’s intellectual intervention, Fourth World Cinema finds its place within the global screen culture. Within this framework, I am able to develop critical Indigenous communications and film theories, affirmed by other Indigenous scholars, such as Martin Nakata, Torres Strait Islander who put forward the concept of the “cultural interface” as a space where Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars can meet without the usual “cultural clash or cultural dissonance” (Nakata, 2002, p. 285). He states:

I have called the intersection of the Western and Indigenous domains, the Cultural Interface, and theoretically I have been inclined to begin there and have argued for embedding the underlying principles of reform in this space. This is because I see the Cultural Interface as the place where we live, and learn, the place that conditions our lives [...] and more to the
point the place where we are active agents in our own lives [...]. For Indigenous peoples our context, remote or urban is already circumscribed by the discursive space of the Cultural Interface. (p. 285)

I adopt Nakata’s space of cultural interface because as an Indigenous critical thinker, I have the power to determine my own theoretical pathway through the global and national film discourses. This space is where Euro-Western film theory and Indigenous critical theory meet on even ground to explore how we represent ourselves and our visual storytelling/film production practices in the discussions. Within that setting, I return to some of my analysis in my theory (Chapter 4), which elaborates how Secwepemc and Syilx peoples relate to their/our lands and the stories that are integral to Indigenous ways of knowing.

6.8. Indigenous Place on the Land and Identity

I was on a panel at Simon Fraser University during my Masters work. I don’t remember the name of the gathering or which department it was but I do remember a young man coming up to me at the end and he asked me, “Where do you get the authority in your voice”? No doubt I answered with some glib answer like “from the Creator” but what I really wanted to say is, “From the land because my placenta is buried in my ancestral homeland and my belly button was put in the trees!”

Kukpi Ignace (2009) elaborates how Secwepemc ways of knowing the land holds our histories by virtue of the place-based stories that are named by the land/water activities that occurred at particular geographical locations (pp. 188-189). In addition, Sam’s (2013) analysis of the globalization discourse provides a counter-narrative from an Indigenous/Syilx perspective (pp. 6-8) that speaks to how Indigenous land and story are integral to customary laws of the people that existed before colonial contact. Ignace and Sam firmly place the Secwepemc and Syilx on their/our ancestral lands where their/our people have lived for thousands of years.
Moreover, Armstrong’s (2009) two Syilx models, that is, the environmental ethics model that gives rights to every life form on the land and her model of Indigeneity as a social paradigm, rather than an ethnic identity, reinforces Ignace and Sam’s autonomous positioning on the land. Armstrong says, Indigeneity as a social paradigm is a way of interacting with the land to gain wisdom and knowledge so that life may continue to perpetuate itself in a continuous cycle of regeneration (p. 1). Armstrong’s two models speak to the specifics in the Syilx language and how Syilx peoples’ identity is literally tied to perpetuating life on the land, not just human life, but all life forms.

In Chapter 4, I state, “Along with other Indigenous scholars, Armstrong (2009) and Sam’s (2013) critical Syilx theories bring an intellectual intervention to the commonly accepted concepts of Indigeneity and deterritorialization in the globalization discourse” and which delivers an Indigenous perspective to place-based identities on the land. On this foundation, within an Indigenous paradigm, I bring that same conversation to the global film discourse and assert an intervention in how Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers are politically identified and geographically located. In the mainstream film discourse, Indigenous peoples are mistakenly lumped into pan-Indian ways of understanding political identity, which skews the Indigenous ways of understanding place-based identities. The external political bodies that name us as First Nations, Aboriginal, Inuit, Métis, on or off-reserve, or urban is a stance that does not recognize the diversity of all Indigenous Nations within the geo-political borders of the nation-state of Canada. I maintain that each Indigenous Nation has a culturally specific identity that they name within their own language, culture and customary practices of the specific place/land that holds the stories, and the blood and bones of their/our people. Most theorists misunderstand the relational characteristic that Indigenous peoples have with their ancestral lands. It is within this context that I add to and expand the conversation of visual sovereignty in visual production practices.

Three Indigenous women scholars Jolene Rickard (Tuscarora), Michelle Raheja (Seneca) and Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie (Seminole-Muscogee-Navajo) have grappled with the complex nuances in the discussion on Indigenous sovereignty that provides the framework for the concept of visual sovereignty. I extend this conversation to include culturally specific Indigenous production practices based in our cultural knowledge systems that hold principles of operating in how we know, think, see, act, do, and listen (epistemologies) that infuses our teaching and learning processes.

Hopi filmmaker Victor Masayesva, Jr. has been quoted extensively on the stance he took at a 1991 conference. He said that the difference between Indian and white filmmakers is that Indigenous filmmakers carry different levels of accountability, that is, on personal, family/clan and a tribal/Nation levels. Further, Masayesva, Jr. asserted that we have an Indigenous aesthetic that “…begins in the sacred” (Leuthold, 1998, p. 1). To understand the deeper meanings of what Masayesva, Jr. was talking about, I conducted a phone interview with him to ask about this often referred to quote. In our conversation, I learned from the “spaces between the words” (Ignace, 2008, p. 13) that what he is saying is that the relationship we have to our culture(s) and the responsibilities we carry for our land, our families/clans, our communities and our tribes/Nations are enacted and embodied in part through the cyclical ceremonies we conduct throughout the year to perpetuate all life on the land. Embedded within the complexities of how all those things interrelate is the concept of culturally specific aesthetics, thus the performativity of visual sovereignty (Masayesva, V., personal communication, April 7, 2015). With this understanding, I delve further into this discussion of visual sovereignty, by examining the approach of Rickard, Raheja and Tsinhnahjinnie on the subject, with the intention of adding to the complexities and expanding the conversation of visual sovereignty.
In 1995, Jolene Rickard was the first scholar/artist/curator to move the concept of visual sovereignty from an abstract term to one that moved outside the complicated political/legal domain to an expressive act in the artistic realm (Ginsburg, 2016, p. 583). This was a significant intervention in the artistic expressions of the Indigenous arts community that is equally complex. Rickard stated, “Sovereignty is the border that shifts Indigenous experience from a victimized stance to a strategic one. The recognition of this puts brains in our heads, and muscle on our bones” (1995, p. 51). She goes on to say that sovereignty and power are integral to each other and acknowledges that Vine Deloria, Jr. put this Indigenous thinking forward in 1970, “…primarily with a view to perpetuating the existence of the group” (Rickard, 1995, p. 51). Then in 2002, Rickard was invited to be a guest curator at the Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in New York. As a curator of art Rickard encountered resistance to her stance of Haudenosaunee/Tuscarora/Indigenous sovereignty and she was forced to make concessions. About this experience she states:

In response to the rejection of the use of the term sovereignty at NMAI, as a decolonizing strategy I argued that any colonial-settler nation can define the terms of Indigenous sovereignty within its own legal system, but that does not mean that Indigenous nations must accept those interpretations. The use of the concept of sovereignty by Indigenous civilizations is about self-defined renewal and resistance. A compromise position was reached. A modest display on a quote from Mohawk scholar Taiake Alfred, which illustrated the language of self-determination instead of sovereignty, framed some of the installations for the permanent contemporary gallery. (Rickard, 2011, p. 467)

To be clear, this is my interpretation and my intention is not to undermine or subvert any of Rickard’s scholastic work surrounding this term. I believe Rickard was caught in a place that many artists experience, that is, the domain of dual accountabilities. As a Tuscarora woman artist/curator, I assume she feels accountability to her people, her Nation and to her own integrity as an artist. In this instance, she had the added accountability to the institution that invited her to curate an exhibit in their building. In my opinion, Rickard was not able to fully embody a Tuscarora/“Indigenous standpoint”
that Nakata theorizes is a point-of-view that is concerned with the validity and coherence of Indigenous knowledge and that recognizes the historical specificity of Indigenous experience (Nakata, 2007, p. 215). Nor was Rickard able to exercise autonomous agency in the “cultural interface” Nakata (2002) formulated (p. 285) as discussed above. I suggest she was forced to accommodate the colonizer’s prescribed narrative. Therefore, she was not able to exercise her self-directed actions as an Iroquoian scholar and artist, thus minimizing her ability to fully embody and enact visual sovereignty in her art practice.

Another Iroquoian scholar, Michelle Raheja (2007) unpacks some of the overlapping complexities of the term ‘visual sovereignty’ that are discussed in the legal, political and social sciences. To manage the intricacies of the discussion, she states:

I suggest a reading practice for thinking about the space between resistance and compliance wherein indigenous filmmakers and actors revisit, contribute to, borrow from, critique, and reconfigure ethnographic film conventions, at the same time operating within and stretching the boundaries created by these conventions. Terming this approach “visual sovereignty.” I demonstrate how this strategy offers up not only the possibility of engaging and deconstructing white-generated representations of indigenous people, but more broadly and importantly how it intervenes in larger discussions of Native American sovereignty by locating and advocating for indigenous cultural and political power both within and outside of Western legal jurisprudence. (p. 1161)

Raheja’s strategy to create a space “between resistance and compliance” is similar to how I utilize Nakata’s Indigenous Standpoint and the cultural interface space to exercise some semblance of autonomous theorizing. Raheja specifically discusses visual sovereignty and how it is related to the production of visual narratives in Indigenous film and video. She states:

The visual, particularly film, video, and new media is a germinal and exciting site for exploring how sovereignty is a creative act of self-representation that has the potential to both undermine stereotypes of indigenous peoples and to strengthen what Robert Warrior has called the “intellectual health” of communities in the wake of genocide and
colonialism. This is a strategy indigenous filmmakers have engaged in since at least the 1960s, when North American indigenous filmmakers began producing television, film, and video projects, to the present with the explosion of hundreds of exciting films by indigenous filmmakers whose work runs the gamut from short experimental videos to activist documentaries to full-length feature films. (p. 1161)

With Raheja’s approach and my application of Nakata’s Indigenous Standpoint and the cultural interface, I extend the spectrum of visual production to include the work of Indigenous still photographers because they are also creating stories through visual imagery. Tsinhnahjinnie (2006) discusses some of the parameters of still photography, which I contend are relevant to the moving images in the production of film and video. She states:

The photographers in this catalogue [Diversity and Dialogue, 2007] have similar stories and images. They have strong memories given to them by their ancestors, and personal memories of community and family. I believe that this is the difference between a connected Indigenous photographer and a non-Indigenous Western photographer (and a non-connected Indigenous photographer). Connection to the sacred, connection to community, connection to land, connection to visions of strength, and a steadfast vision of continuance. The vision makers in this catalogue have taken on the honorable and weighty responsibility of continuance. (p. x)

Tsinhnahjinnie’s (2006) expression of Indigenous connection to the land is important because of how strong “personal memories of community and family” determine the aesthetics and guide the visual production of photographers. I assert that this same reasoning applies to visual storytellers/filmmakers as well. I interpret her comments to mean that a non-connected Indigenous photographer is really no different than a non-Indigenous Western photographer.

There are many reasons for the loss of Indigenous peoples’ connection to their homelands because of the “legislated genocide” (Christian, W., personal communication, April 2014) and the “cultural genocide” (Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 1) that Canada perpetrated on the original peoples.
Some may be the children of individuals who were forced to enfranchise in order to serve in the Canadian military during WWI and WWII. Some may be children of those who were forced to give up their ‘status’ as Indian people so they could attend university, or they could be survivors of residential school, or survivors of the 60s scoop, or they were given up for adoption. Because of the legislated and cultural genocide practices, many Indigenous peoples lived in urban settings, rather than on their homelands, which resulted in a skewed understanding of Indigenous identity, which many individuals, families, and communities are now seeking to reclaim.

6.9. Indigenous Filmmakers: Place-Based Identities, Land and Diasporas

Throughout this dissertation, I have included experiential stories of my personal decolonizing process in reclaiming my identity, which is based in Secwepemc-Syilx culturally specific ways of knowing on the land, as my placenta and belly button short story shows. This is only one example of the cultural knowledge that govern my way of interrelating with all life forms on my ancestral homeland. From that background, I contend that most of the visual storytellers/filmmakers who shared stories, conversations and experiences with me are also in process of clarifying their Indigenous identities, whether that is a conscious choice, or a subconscious act.

Some of the older ones who are in their 50s, 60s, 70s, and 80s have a longer life experience with relating to the colonial mindset of the settler culture. Alanis Obomsawin talked about her life experiences as a basis for how she listens to the families and communities with whom she works. She says, “Because of my life and my own experience, and I know that many of our people have gone through a similar life”. I asked her about the younger ones who do not know the history of what was involved to set up the arts funding programs. Alanis said:
I know, they don’t... That’s all right too. We fought to make the changes. So we can’t complain. We made the changes. One person is talking like this, they don’t know this, they don’t know that—well, it’s their life and they are feeling something else. It’s another time and I find it very interesting. There’s a lot of wonderful things happening everywhere. There’s lots of artists. Visual art in all its forms, and ahhhh I think its really rich. (Obomsawin, A., personal communication, October 23, 2013)

Maria Campbell shared some of her life experiences. She and her siblings were separated when they were children and finding them was a painful; yet joyful part of her journey. Maria told me how the teachings of her grandmothers pulled her back to her people, her community and her land (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013).

Over time, Marjorie Beaucage has told me the circuitous route of her personal journey that brought her back to her Métis culture and how that connects her to community and the land. Zacharias Kunuk was very forthcoming with how the church played such a critical role in his people being told they were to forget their cultural teachings and instead follow the instructions of the Christian bible. He explained how his film and video productions is a tool to relearn his Inuit culture (Kunuk, Z. personal communication, February 8, 2015). Victor Masayesva, Jr. told me of how he was a part of an education program that took him away from his people at a very young age. Even though he was thousands of miles away from his village he maintained his Hopi culture and his connection to the land through his daily running practice (Masayesva, Jr. V., personal communication, July 2012). Throughout all the stories I listened to, I was touched by the resilient nature of everyone. Even though during the course of all of our lives, whether it was residential school or white foster homes, or sexual, physical and spiritual abuse, we all somehow returned to our families, our communities and the land. I know that prayer and ceremony played a large role for some of us in putting the Indian back in the child thus regaining our Indigenous worldviews and cultural knowledge so that we/they maintain and continue to renew our relationship to land.
Today, I can say with confidence that they/we are all firmly embedded in knowing their/our place on their/our respective ancestral lands.

I also believe that all the participants embody the principle of self-determination and that their cultural knowledge informs their visual production practices. As a point of clarification, in Chapter 3 Methodology I stated that I aligned my thinking with Graham Hingangaroa Smith’s (1997) Kaupapa Maori model and adapted his assumptions to my Secwepemc-Syilx point-of-view. That means that I take for granted that my Secwepemc and Syilx ways of knowing are valid and legitimate and that the issues of language and culture are critical to the continuance of life on my lands. In addition, I extend the same assumptions to the visual storytellers/filmmakers who participated in this study. The following section reveals how they/we relate to land.

As an intergenerational survivor of residential schools and a survivor of the 60s scoop that placed me thousands of miles away from my homeland, I returned to my family, community and Nations in 1995. I worked with a matriarch from the Syilx Nation who is now deceased. She directed me in my Syilx cultural education by guiding me through spiritual processes, which reconnected me in a very real and personal way to the beings on my ancestral territories. She suggested I put up a Feast & Giveaway where I could announce myself back on the land. I took 5 years to prepare for this ceremony where I was given a Syilx name, Kwash Kay. Even though one of my brothers said, “We don’t do that stuff here,” most of my siblings and their children helped to make this a very special day. My youngest brother pit cooked salmon on a very hot day in July 2000. Another brother hunted so that we would have meat to feed the people. My daughter and her husband drove up from Vancouver. One friend from Saskatchewan came to witness and record this life-changing event. It is impossible to describe what this ceremony did for my sense of belonging to my family, community, and the land. I live on Coast Salish territories now but I go home frequently. In the spring and summer, I go home to pick berries and go camping with my family. It is necessary for me to renew my relationship with my homeland on a continuous basis. I feel spiritually nurtured and reinvigorated when I am on my own ancestral lands.

I asked each of the visual storytellers about their connections to their ancestral homelands.
[Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki)] The territory is all of New England, and part of the Maritimes, here in Canada and the southern part of Quebec. It was a very large territory. And, as you know there were many groups, all belonging to the same mother tongue, Abenaki. And with different names, like the Mikmaq people are part of the same group. Maliseet and the Penobscot, all that is the same people. (Obomsawin, A., personal communication, October 23, 2013)

[Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit)] I’m very Canadian, sometimes when I am out of the country and I come back to Canada…it feels like home, anywhere, if I am in Vancouver, if I’m in Ottawa, or Montreal—it’s like home to me but my REAL HOME is up here, this is my real home—this area...[Discussing how land relates to his stories] And even sometimes I try to go to the land where the story happened. I want to see it...sometimes I imagine sitting [in] the old sod houses where they used to live, like 500 years ago. I try to imagine, what was the noise like, what were the people feeling? Were there dogs just walking around? And, I try to create that....even though we are in the modern age, it’s still the same climate, it’s minus 40 out there, there’s still few people, a few hunters dog teaming, like the old way. But I think we are at the age where we are about to lose the knowledge, we are trying to capture it before we lose it.

(Zacharias discussing his film Exile in which he documents the forced re-location of 12 Inuit families) So they had to learn into that system, their bodies were not used to eating seals and walruses from that high part of the land because that has a different [ecology] system. The animals are different. They have a different food. These northern Quebec people, in the spring, in the summer and in the fall, they would go and pick berries, different kinds of berries and up there—THERE WAS NOTHING! It was just rock, and of course they went through a very hard time but they managed, they managed to go by the broken promises... And, the most heart-breaking story that I have heard, that this woman wanted to see her sister, in northern Quebec, she’s really in the high Arctic...she said, when I die, I will see her. That was heartbreaking to me. (Emphasis added; Kunuk, Z., personal communication, January 28, 2015)

[Loretta Todd (Cree-Métis)] (Loretta lives in Vancouver on Coast Salish territories) I always felt, okay, this is not my homeland. This is somebody else’s homeland. I’m a visitor...And what is my relationship in this land [...] I saw myself as a support, I saw myself as being there just to serve the people or serve organizations [...] I can have a relationship to the land and to these values, but this is not my land. And I was very conscious of that. And so I always saw myself as being of service (Todd, L., personal communication, March 18, 2014)
[Danis Goulet (Cree-Métis)] (Discussing her production Wapawekka (2010), shot near LaRonge, Saskatchewan near where she was born) I think it was the land that was informing many choices I was making as a Director. The pacing came from that...And, the observational aesthetic, which were all based on that place. (Goulet, D., personal communication, November 19, 2013)

[Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Mohawk) (Zoe is Mohawk-Heiltsuk was born in Bella Bella, grew up in Ottawa, has lived in Vancouver and now lives at Six Nations in Ontario). I was born there [Bella Bella]. We stayed there maybe 2 weeks after I was born because at the time my parents lived in Vancouver. My mom went home to have me. My connection is through my birth, my Mom’s family being from there. I have a deep spiritual connection to the place. I want to be buried there. I know that I feel it. I feel my spirit disturbed when something bad happens there, or when there’s a death. My spirit is connected to that place... so even though I never lived there, there is something about who I am is like tied to that place, to that land and those people.  

(About sense of belonging) ...because I grew up in the city and I come from these two places, there’s this feeling within me that I don’t really belong anywhere. So that comes out in my work too, that there’s this sense of loss, there’s this.... the main characters are always having to deal with, some sort of like a giant missing thing in their life. One of their parents is missing, or they have a love that is lost, they have a love that is unrequited there. They are just sort of floating around in their little world and...I feel like I’m in the middle of the 2 Row wampum. It’s like, we are taught that we can live alongside the mainstream culture, and live our own way. I feel like I can flip flop back and forth... I know that wherever I am, I’m always the person that has come home. I’m not the person that grew up there. Wherever I am, I’m put in this other box... I’m the person who doesn’t know everything that is going on... Or the person who goes to all these crazy places, it’s like Cuba and then Berlin or whatever. Where is Zoe now? ...it’s just what makes me who I am... Here I am putting down some roots [on Six Nations]. I am starting to feel at home here. I have learned my language, that’s done a lot for feeling like I live here now and that I can say that I am from here. (Hopkins, Zoe L., personal communication, November 14, 2013)

[Kevin Lee Burton (Swampy Cree)] Home is where I am...at some point in time I’ve thought of God’s Lake as my true home, which it is. It’s my ancestral home. That’s where my families...have been living for as long as I know. And, in terms of connection too. It means a lot of different things and I think it’s very specific to different scenarios. You know... if I’m talking in the context of my sexuality home is a totally different thing
from what home is in terms of language...there is something different about it...when I am flying home, I am going home I can feel like I passed through the threshold into the homeland... that’s the kind of safety net that I know that I am getting close and I know that I am in it. I think a lot of it is spiritual and I think a lot of it is ancestral. (Burton, K., personal communication, February 26, 2014)

From these diverse Indigenous perspectives (Abenaki, Cree, Inuit, Cree-Métis, and Mohawk-Heiltsuk), five out of the six live in urban centers but each one speaks of a connection to ancestral lands, that is a particular geographical location where their families continue to live. In the larger group, six of the filmmakers live in their home territories; the other 11 live in urban centers. What is important to note is that in my first conversation with each one, when I asked them to introduce themselves, they did not start by identifying themselves as Aboriginal, Indigenous, or First Nations, the identities imposed by external forces. They started by introducing their Nation and by locating themselves to a particular region; some told me the Clans they belong to and some told me the responsibilities they carry. Indigenous ways of self-identifying are directly related to the land of their/our ancestors and stands outside the imposed identities and most certainly outside the concept of Indigeneity as ethnic identity. This gives a deeper awareness of why Columpar’s (2010) point that “Aboriginal identity proves an unpopular topic of conversation” (p. 9) in global film discourse is critical to understanding the concept of deterritorialization from an Indigenous perspective.

The two themes identified by Columpar that appear over and over again in the film discourse are the loss of homeland and deterritorialization from home countries; which becomes very complex when analyzing Indigenous peoples’ losses and removal from ancestral territories because we are not a part of the Settler societies who are political exiles, or refugees fleeing from untenable circumstances on their homeland, or merely emigrating to this land to have a better life. We are stand-alone Indigenous Nations, with very specific histories, tied to very particular sectors of land. Sometimes those lands overlap with other Indigenous Nations, and sometimes we were forced to relocate to other parts of the land because of external political forces or natural
occurrences on the land. We travelled throughout our lands, depending on what season it was or what foods were available and ready for harvest. Therefore, we did not stay in one location and we certainly did not live within the boundaries of concentration camp-like conditions, as we are forced to do in these times. So, what does this mean to our contemporary movements on the land? What does this mean to the fact that up to 56% of our population in Canada resides in urban centers according to the 2011 census\textsuperscript{77}. Does that mean we lose our identities that are related specifically to our ancestral lands when we move to the city for economic or other reasons? What do the Indigenous diasporic communities of the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century mean to our relationships to our homelands?

Clearly, this opens the discussion to another layer of complexity for Indigenous identities because in these times we are a very mobile population. Indeed, some argue that we have always moved around the continent. The book \textit{Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations} (2005) is a part of a burgeoning discourse that addresses some of the issues surrounding the movements of Indigenous populations. Along with the co-editors, various Indigenous contributors share their perspectives and experiences to connect the dots surrounding the issues of Indigeneity as identity, Indigenous spirituality and Indigenous relationship to the land. In their introduction, they demonstrate a respect for and acknowledge Indigenous specific ways of knowing, they state:

\begin{quote}
Honouring the sovereignty of indigenous peoples over their own thoughts, desires, cosmologies, cultures and religions, and respecting their freedom to evolve modes of engagement with colonialism and modernity, these chapters ponder the placing of the concept of indigeneity next to that of diaspora. (Harvey & Thompson, 2005, p. 3)
\end{quote}

As an Indigenous researcher, I am exercising my freedom to speak of “modes of engagement” outside the usual colonial and modernity discourse. The unique approach of this text in connecting Indigeneity to Indigenous spirituality and recognizing Indigenous cosmologies in the discussion of diasporas is rare. However, it is Harvey

\textsuperscript{77} \url{https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014265/1369225120949}
and Thompson's (2005) statement of Indigenous diasporas as a “de-storying of traditions” (p. 10), linking story to land, which is of principal importance to this study because of the criticality of these elements to “Re-Indigenizing, Re-Inscribing and Re-Storying” of our homelands. In the next section, I discuss the role of stories and storytelling with the participants.

6.10. Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers and Story

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was a huge push in Indian country to reclaim the telling of our stories because mainstream writers were exercising their white privilege and assuming the right to tell our stories for us. I lived in Toronto at the time and my home was a meeting place for important Indigenous thinkers to gather. At the time, I was working on my undergraduate degree at the University of Toronto. I am fortunate to have been mentored by some of the women who were at the forefront of this literary battle. My mentors include Jeannette Armstrong, Maria Campbell, and Lee Maracle. I went to meetings with them and coordinated/organized events to discuss the issues. I was the first Coordinator of the 1993 Beyond Survival: The Waking Dreamer Ends the Silence gathering, hosted by The Museum of Civilization, the En’owkin Centre and The Canadian Native Arts Foundation which brought global and national Indigenous interdisciplinary artists together to discuss and strategize around critical issues in the arts. I left my coordinator role to assume the responsibility of Chair of the Ontario Film Review Board but I stayed on the Board of Directors for Beyond Survival. I attended the controversial 1994 Writing Thru Race conference in Vancouver, where writers of colour stood together against the privilege of whiteness, which was prevalent in the publishing industry at the time. This cumulative experience is the perspective I bring to my conversations with the Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers.

[María Campbell (Cree-Métis)] (Discussing the Euro-Western literary story arc of beginning, middle and end. Then moving to cultural stories) ...there’s no such thing as closure for us. Everything just keeps going...It just keeps going, there’s no beginning and no end...I think we’re still telling stories the same way...like nothing ever stays the same, nothing is ever...like this summer is not like last summer. The light is not like it was half an hour ago. Everything is constantly changing in life...in our culture,
at least from those stories, just the way the stories are, the story doesn't stop and wait until you understand it, it keeps going, so why are we stopping to try and make people understand. When it's time for them to understand they'll understand and in the meantime it's none of our business...the stories are there and they're waiting to be told. In fact, they just about drive you crazy they're at your door banging all the time. And our people are ready to share those and our people are ready to hear them. They're hungry to hear them.

And in Native storytelling, in our storytelling tradition that's very much a part of the way we tell stories. Stories are not...you don't just tell stories anyplace or anytime. Stories have a place, they have a time, and the opportunity arises when they have to be told...Just because they're winter stories doesn't mean you tell them. You tell them because something has happened and that story has to be told. And the story doesn't spell anything out to you, sometime...somebody else is listening and they don't need it...it just sounds like nonsense to them...But you need it so it doesn't sound like nonsense to you. It's changed the course of your life. And this is where I think a lot of people have difficulty with our stories is they want to find all of those meanings....

And I think that our painters, our artists, you know, whether they're filmmakers, in theatre, the people that are really true to that tradition you see that in their work. And, you know, there might only be one or two people that you'll help in a roomful of people that are observing the play or watching the film, but...those two people are the most important people for that story...at that particular moment. (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 10, 2013)

[Marjorie Beaucage (Métis)] ...a good storyteller will adapt his story to the audience they’re speaking to and make room in the story for the people that are there to learn what they have to learn and to take from the story what they need. And you never get a story the first time around, the whole thing, and you don’t remember it all, but you remember the parts you need and sometimes you remember it later what was said because you need it at that moment. So it’s a living thing it’s not a fixed thing...you can’t freeze a story in time... because then... it’s dead...Yeah, it's a living thing...

(Discussing the Aboriginal Film & Video Alliance that she was instrumental in setting up in 1992) ...that’s what we were working with, oral storytelling principles, applying them to the new media and the new forms for today. And that's...what was exciting about the Alliance is that we were trying to work with that and try to uncover what those were and how they translated into today...
Well, see in Canada...if you look at what happens...in Canadian cinema what they still support more than anything is people like auteur films, like Atom Egoyan and Sarah Pollock, those people who make auteur films, that's what they like...it's an individual who makes a story. It's not an individual that's part of a community who makes a story. It's like the individual [point-of-view] ...It's not anything about community or giving back...but in larger context...no artist in Canada is held accountable by their community as much as we are. And when you started making films...it was like... all of a sudden you're representing everybody...but they don't have that responsibility, they don't have that accountability in the same way. Because it's a different worldview and an artist is an individual...in our community a storyteller, an artist place is a revered place, with specific roles for different kinds of stories, old teaching stories, ceremonial, historical, tall tales, all kinds...in terms of going outside and bringing it back and showing it in a new way or whatever...our artists understand that.... (Beaucage, M., personal communication, September 13, 2013)

[Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Mohawk)] (Discussing how her relationship to the land informs the scripts of her stories) First of all, having that connection to both a place and a people makes it almost impossible to write about anything else. My characters are always set in one of those places, or the story is set in one of those places. Having the deep knowledge of what that place is and who those people are, that I am tied to those things. (Hopkins, Zoe L., personal communication, November 14, 2013)

[Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit)] ...today my grandchildren [are] playing [with the] ipod, they will never see stories like—promise husbands and promise wives that they will never know. I try to record these and sometimes I have them acted out and filming is the best tool that I found. When we are making re-enactments the costumes have to be right, I am very lucky to have elders that can still stitch the traditional way of our region; every region has different style of clothing. Even up in the Arctic, you go from the east to the west, the clothing changes and you can even come up here—you can tell by the traditional clothes, you know their traditional dialects, their language. So just by looking at the women’s mounting on how they carry babies on their back how its made, if its made from the east or the west, it's different, so that is what I watch out for...my region is called Ammituq region. They have [a particular] style of clothing, I try to use that, I try to get it right. (I asked if each region has its own stories?) Yes they do. That story that we filmed, Atanarjuat, even in Greenland they know this story. So they might have their own version.
We have our own version; we say it happened here—we try to find where it happened. (Kunuk, Z., personal communication, January 28, 2015)

[Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit)] (In my second conversation with Zacharias, I asked him how many of his people know their cultural stories and songs) ...

...I will tell you a little story on that. Back in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, Christianity was big in my community and when we were growing up in a small town, and our priest was telling us not to do all these because in the Bible it says you have to turn away from your own way of life and become new and he interpreted that as you have to leave your culture to pick up new. So we didn’t have to tell stories, or we didn’t even have to sing our traditional songs anymore to become new but then as time went by now we know that’s wrong. But now, we are starting to track it back, we need those stories, we need those songs...we learned from these stories and songs because our Inuit stories and songs are in riddles, if you don’t know how to read them, you don’t know. I didn’t know until I started working in film, at the editing table, going back and forth on these same songs—I wonder what do they mean, what are they saying? And, they are in riddles. I find them in riddles and it tells a story. They never say animals’ names because that is the culture, we don’t say the animals’ names but we can refer to them. And, it seems like we are learning all over again.

(Kunuk, Z., personal communication, February 8, 2015)

[Loretta Todd (Cree-Métis)] I have always...gravitated to visual, just visual storytelling. ...even when I first went back to school... that was the same idea I was trying to find innovative ways of looking at telling stories. (Discussing her film The Learning Path, 1991) ...I didn’t think of it as documentary, I didn’t think of it as experimental, I didn’t think of it as anything like that. I just saw it as storytelling. And it’s funny because the way the film is received it was very polarizing. There was some people who dismissed it because they said it wasn’t documentary...and then other people who said it’s not...really experimental either and so it was kind of in this limbo. (Todd, L., personal communication, March 18, 2014)

[Doreen Manuel (Ktun’axa/Secwepemc] (Doreen is the Coordinator/Instructor at the Indigenous Independent Digital Filmmaking Program at Capilano University. I asked what were noticeable themes of the stories that the students create) ...there’s like pain and suffering, its like there’s a lot of stories about alcohol abuse. And, there are stories of surviving it, triumphing. Suicide or “what if OKA broke out?” What if OKA really broke out and there was war between us? It’s all the social conditions of our people that’s the stories they tell...they don’t get to that (the land) in the 2 years of our program, maybe that’s a third- or fourth-year subject. They don’t really get there and I’ve noticed
... the absence of environmental films. (Manuel, D., personal communication October 9, 2014)

[Kevin Lee Burton (Swampy Cree)] I ask, “Do you know your Wesakejak stories?” No, not so much...they're not familiar to me. They were never told [to me] as a kid...quite frankly I don't find them that interesting; at least the ones that I have come to know. I have this kind of aversion to these stories just because they’re—for the most part they’re dumbed down for kids—tell me the legitimate stuff. And even from an early childhood... I was skeptical of those stories just because I know that they were...watered down. (Burton, K., personal communication, February 26, 2014)

[Raohserahawi Hemlock (Mohawk)] (This young Mohawk man is my youngest filmmaker. I asked him when did he decide to be a filmmaker?) ...the moment I decided was in the film class, but before that...because what I liked the most as a kid was cartoons. Then when I seen the Japanese, their anime stuff. That really caught my imagination so I start making up my own stories for myself. I remember being in the bathtub and making the bubbles and like, all right, over here is these people and over here is these people. I just made a big story like that. And for years I just had the story keep going then the more I got older the more I started putting like the actual story, like just random kind of like fight scenes in my head.

(He is in his third year of film school. I asked him what he has learned in film theory so far) ... so you’re making a story, you’re supposed to have one guy and everyone is supposed to be reflectors, each character is just there to reflect a certain trait of the main person. Like if one person is really nice, but at the same time is a coward then the main character is supposed to, you're supposed to look at him and see the main character pretty much. Just everything is for the main character, it is supposed to revolve around this one guy...every single story I have when I think about it, like story-story, there’s multiple characters...It's everyone in the story starts off one way and ends [in another] way... it's about more than one person whenever I think of a story. (Hemlock, R., personal communication, October 22, 2013)

From these conversations about story, I am not surprised to discover that their storytelling styles do not surround one individual character but involve a community of characters. Maria Campbell and Marjorie Beaucage’s contributions emphasize the traditional stories, while Zacharias Kunuk speaks of how Christianity affected the Inuit people’s intergenerational transmission of story and song knowledge. When he is
talking about how “costumes have to be right” because each region has their own symbols and designs, I interpret this as referring to what I have named “cultural congruency,” which I will discuss more in-depth in Chapter 7. In my second conversation with Zacharias, he spoke extensively about how making productions of his people were a way for him to learn his cultural knowledge. I told him I had done the same thing; this makes me wonder how many of us are using our production skills as tools of learning our own cultures?

Kevin Burton, a Cree language speaker shared with me how he used production tools to learn about how his language fit into the Coast Salish landscape in Vancouver, which I found fascinating. Because Kevin is a language speaker, I was surprised at his assessment of his traditional Wesakejak stories. I assumed his access to language would provide him with deeper insights into his traditional stories. I ponder if his attitude is an indication of his youthfulness or a reflection of the dastardly effects of colonialism? I am not surprised at Raohserahawi Hemlock’s natural gravitation to Indigenous storytelling style because he understands his language and was born into a family who are active in their traditional longhouse, so he is steeped in his Mohawk/Iroquoian knowledge, including how to conduct himself within the cultural protocols of his people.

6.11. Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers and Cultural Protocols

One story that I did with a family from the Syilx Nation is one that is particularly significant to me. They were organizing a Memorial Feast & Giveaway for one of their sons who had passed into the spirit world in the year previous. I asked the parents if I could film this cultural ceremony. They were hesitant and said I would have to ask the whole family. They have eight children. Originally the parents were the only ones who were in favor of the filming; all the children were against any filming of this very personal, intimate ceremony of memorializing their son, brother and uncle. I had six or seven meetings with the whole family and each time, one or two of the siblings would agree. At these meetings, I was instructed on what could or could not be filmed. Finally, everyone agreed that I could film mainly because their parents
wanted to do it. They also allowed me to film a Memorial Rodeo, which was a part of the celebration of life ceremony. Years later, I visited with Smukaxen and she said, “You know I was one of the ones who didn’t want you there with your camera—now I am so happy that we did that because every year we look at that video and we feel lucky to have it.”

(S. Pierre, personal communication; used with permission)

During my production years at Vision TV, I had numerous experiences of engaging cultural protocols in many different Indigenous communities. It is from these experiences in the field that I initiate my conversations with the visual storytellers.

[Marjorie Beaucage (Métis)] ...the Queen and the royal family, like they have boundaries...And even the media has boundaries around what's news and what's not....we have no boundaries or guidelines. That’s what I mean we’re trying to work towards guidelines...that made sense to us...and that we would practice...it's called cultural protocol... I mean applied to film...there are things that you just don’t do. But with the internet and all of that, that’s all gone...in a lot of ways. (Beaucage, M., personal communication, September 13, 2013)

[Loretta Todd (Cree-Métis)] ...one of the things we have...all have access to even if we don’t have all our traditional stories and we’re not fluent in our language is we have protocol. And protocol has a purpose and serves a purpose and comes from knowledge and comes from...generations and generations of working out how do we best communicate with one another... some people argue that protocol sometimes can go too far ... they use it to shut people down. But that was never its intention...I always saw it as witnessing, I always saw it as a way of equalizing—[a way of] bringing everybody into the circle. ...I’ve always thought, okay, how then can I use protocol in terms of my practices...like crew and ...trying to ensure that I am doing things in a good way. And then how can I incorporate protocol into my aesthetic. And so to me one of the things we can do as filmmakers is we can draw on those practices...so protocol is a way of protecting yourself, right, because then everybody knows what their role is...and even if you don’t there’s enough space within there...if it’s done properly that a person can be made to feel good...feel welcome. So that was one of the places I started from. (Todd, L., personal communication, March 18, 2014)

[Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Mohawk)] ...working on a film that is set in my community—production and pre-production are very different than if I was working somewhere where I didn’t know anybody...it takes longer but it is just different. There’s so much more to do...There are
community and cultural protocols that you have to follow—making sure you don’t step on any toes and this real strong desire to do it right and to please people and to make people happy. [I asked for specifics of what she meant]

...well like you can’t just do whatever the hell you want on somebody’s territory. Everybody has to know, everybody has to say it’s okay. There’s this whole thing of getting permission for everything...and that’s a multi-level permission. You need to get band council permission, and hereditary council permission and then depending on where you are shooting, permission of the people who live there and the families around them and stuff. Probably, a 3- or 4-tiered levels of permissions to go and do something. Then, like just being respectful, there’s this concept of being respectful of where you are like—unlike shooting somewhere else, like in the city, you might not worry so much if it got dirty, or there’s garbage or whatever. Other than that, you might have to pay a fine if you didn’t clean up your act afterwards. But when you are shooting in someone’s home, in their territory, it’s like extra special care...in every aspect of it. And, making sure, for me, there’s more attention, in the pre-production phase of making sure that you have crossed all your t’s and dotted all your I’s; making sure that everybody is okay with what you are doing. Because the last thing you want to do is piss people off. (Hopkins, Zoe L., personal communication, November 2013)

[Danis Goulet (Cree-Métis)]...we (she and her parents) talked about how some people [may take issue with how she enlived Cree characters in the city of Toronto where her film Wakening was the first Indigenous film to open the Toronto International Film Festival in 201279]...there is an idea that you only tell these stories in the winter...it was realizing in some people’s eyes, it may be seen as not appropriate that it could be seen to be bold, especially in some cases you are not to say Weetigo’s name because it calls Weetigo80 into the world in a sense. But...I was looking at it from a different perspective, from the perspective of Cree revitalization within a colonized state and under that when things are so bad, it becomes necessary. So, that’s my take on the whole thing. And so it may be contentious to some people but it was the creative risk I had to take...it was great to be there on opening night. My parents came out and

79 http://www.nsi-canada.ca/2015/01/wakening/
80 I sent my chapter 6 to all the Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers for their feedback on how I used their words and on October 26, 2016 via an email, Danis Goulet requested that I change “Windigo” to “Weetigo” because this is the regional specific way this trickster character is referred to northern Saskatchewan.
you know, it just felt like in some ways an infiltration, you know
(laughs)... (Goulet, D., personal communication, November 2013)

Clearly, each one of these visual storytellers/filmmakers is keenly aware of
cultural protocols. These are only some of the things they/we need to consider when
working within our communities. I appreciate Loretta Todd’s comment, “...[we] all
have access to [protocols] even if we don’t have all our traditional stories and we’re not
fluent in our language...” Because as Elder Mona Jules, Secwepemc Knowledge Keeper
stated not many of us speak our language(s) and very few of us have had the
opportunity to hear our cultural stories. Further, Elder Mike Myers, Seneca Knowledge
Keeper, maintains that we have some internal work to do within our communities to
correct misinformation that has been passed on to younger generations through
generations of colonial damage that our communities have endured. I assert that
cultural protocols are learning points to begin educating ourselves in our own
knowledge systems and a first step to understanding and accessing our stories and to
comprehend the role of land and our relationships as individuals, families, and
communities.

6.12. Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter I state that I utilize my second research question
(storytelling styles and film elements) as the monitoring factor to look at three aspects
of Indigenous culture that influence Indigenous production practices, that is: land,
story, and cultural protocols. As Archibald (2008) points out, there are numerous levels
of cultural protocols when engaged in community, that is there are storytelling
protocols (pp. 71, 150), longhouse protocols for speaking (pp. 16, 63-46), protocols for
research (pp. 37-38, 62, 144); and even protocols for getting permission to enter
another cultural territory (p. 144), which nowadays is acknowledged in meetings and
cultural gatherings. It is these protocols that I often refer to as our ways of diplomacy
where we show respect to each other, with other Nations, with the seen and unseen
beings on the land, and most importantly, it is how those protocols embedded in our Indigenous ways of knowing teach us how to connect to the land.

It is that connection to land that is primary to a continuance of Indigenous cultures on their/our ancestral lands. I observe the emergence of a common thread in this research, which is directly related to the perpetuation of life on the land. The visual filmmakers’ perspectives resonate strongly with Indigenous scholars’ perspectives (Armstrong, 2009; Billy, 2009; Cohen, 2010, Coulthard, 2014; Ignace, 2008, Michel, 2012; Simpson, 2008, 2014; Sam, 2013; Young Leon, 2015). In Rickard’s (1995) description of what sovereignty and power means to her, she repeats and affirms what Vine Deloria, Jr. stated in 1970, “…primarily with a view to perpetuating the existence of the group” (p. 51). In addition, Armstrong’s (2009) Indigeneity as a social paradigm model puts forward a way of interacting/interrelating with the land to gain wisdom and knowledge that perpetuates a cycle of continuance of life on the land (p. 1). Plus, Tsinhnahjinnie (2006) states that the still photographers “have taken on the honorable and weighty responsibility of continuance” (p. x), which to me means that when we surround ourselves with visual images of our land and other iconography, they are a constant reminder of the spirit of the land and our ancestors.

Further, even though Masayesva, Jr. does not speak directly to sustaining life on the land, his clarification of what he means by the performativity of visual sovereignty and culturally specific Indigenous aesthetics is in Indigenous peoples upholding their/our responsibilities to the land through ceremony, which are the performativity actions of perpetuating life. Also, Young Leon’s model, Mobilizing Indigenous Land-Based Framework (see Figure 3), illustrates the operating principles and actions required for Cree-Anishinabe peoples to maintain life on the land. I strongly believe that the operating principles that Young Leon illustrates as the “roots” of the tree, that is, respect, relationship, responsibility, reciprocity, and relevance, are the values shared by most Indigenous philosophies when it comes to land, story, and cultural protocols.
Therefore, the localized Secwepemc-Syilx critical theory I developed in Chapter 4, which resembles the DNA spiral, is also a model of continuing life on the land.

To reiterate, the two outer strands are reciprocal accountability (Secwepemc) and the regenerative principle (Syilx) that are tied together with two Secwepemc concepts of interrelatedness (k’weltkténéws) and personal responsibility (knucwestsuts). What I am saying is that if we take responsibility for how we account for our personal actions in being a part of family, community and Nation then we are being a positive force in renewing our lives on the land. Thus when I speak of re-Indigenizing, re-Inscribing and re-Storying our traditional lands I am asserting that it takes collective action to realize our continuance on the land and visual narrative production is an important part of those actions.

In this time when over 50% of our populations are living in the city, the participant visual storytellers/filmmakers have illustrated that no matter what age they are, where they are geographically located, what their personal family histories are, where they are at in their personal decolonizing processes, they still self identify through their genealogical linkages, which is place-based and strongly binds them to their ancestral homelands. Zacharias Kunuk’s explanation of how he uses his production skills to learn his cultural knowledge while at the same time preserving it for his grandchildren is poignant because many of us are doing the same thing. He makes another critical point when he discusses Indigenous ways of teaching and learning:

Mainly, in our culture, I mean before school we are watching and learning all the time...and when video technology came it was the perfect tool that we need to teach, when we observe and learn, that is perfect, because the camera does that, it observes. (Kunuk, Z., personal communication, January 28, 2015)

I am confident that his statement echoes across all our territories. We are still teaching and learning by observing and now we are preserving the knowledge for our future
generations, an important part of our knowledge production. This shows that story, land, and cultural protocols can be learned through technology and is significant to ensuring the continuance of our cultures on the land.

In Chapter 7, I will focus on film as knowledge production that includes cultural congruency and how that determines the elements (aesthetics) of their/our production practices, the performativity (where they can be screened) and how it affects our teaching and learning processes.
Chapter 7.

Indigenous Films and Culturally Congruent Aesthetics

7.1. An Inner Knowing: Extending Respect and Taking Responsibility as a Visiting Visual Storyteller to Another Indigenous Territory

When I worked for Vision TV, I was learning the craft as I was making the productions. I worked intuitively as I made my aesthetic choices. One story I did with the hereditary women Chiefs of the Gitxsan Nation after the Delgamuukw legal decision, a significant win for Indigenous peoples surrounding issues of land and oral stories, is particularly memorable.

This precedent setting legal case meant that the Euro-Western jurisprudence recognized the oral stories of the Gitxsan and Wet’suwet’en peoples, that is giving the same status as written evidence. I had lengthy pre-production meetings with one of the Chiefs to learn the do’s and don’ts for their Nation, which Chief was responsible for what knowledge, what gifts would be appropriate, and which significant geographical markers I could film. I spoke on camera with one of the women Chiefs explaining each character of a totem pole that placed them on the land for at least 10,000 years. I asked the women to record a song from their territory that I could use as background sound. In my collecting of B-roll (additional visuals), I made sure to include wide shots and close-ups of the beautiful Fireweed plants that were blooming everywhere because this was the Clan for one of the women Chiefs. It was important to capture the intimate relationship between the people and the land, to record songs, colors and images that are congruent with who the Gitxsan are on their homeland. It was important to me that I represent them in a coherent way. I tell this story to illustrate what I call the cultural congruency of Gitxsan aesthetics in the visual construction of a film or video. That is, the film elements selected are consistent with the culture that is being represented.

For the full text of the legal decision, go to the website of Supreme Court Judgments: https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/1569/index.do
7.2. Chapter Overview

In this chapter I first review the social and political movements that gave shape to an Indigenous arts sector, which includes Fourth World Cinema in Canada. These actions transformed policies and programs and opened doors for access to opportunities for Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers in the television, film, and media arts industry. The discussion then shifts to looking at films/videos as a form of knowledge production based on Hopi/Indigenous ways of understanding knowledge. The various categories of knowledge(s) named have appending cultural protocols on how that information is shared, which has a direct impact on how Indigenous filmmakers use them in their visual narratives. This means there are internal accountabilities on how knowledge is shared. However, there are also accountabilities outside the cultural norms that also affect how cultural knowledge is treated. Within this context, I examine how the internal and external accountabilities affect the production practices of the filmmakers. Following that discussion, I look at the issue of race and how it influences the artist’s personal integrity, including how they choose the aesthetics of their visual narratives.

Next, the discussion moves to the cultural congruency and aesthetic choices of Indigenous production, and what influences how Indigenous filmmakers choose aesthetics in their/our production practices. Throughout the chapter, I intersperse comments from the participant filmmakers alongside the issue being discussed and provide an analysis of the comments. To conclude, I briefly look at the work of community-based storytelling and explore whether or not this way of recording contemporary histories is different than the creative works of Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers who construct stories for professional reasons.
7.3. Indigenous Arts in Canada: Transforming the Space

Up until the 1990s, the Canadian arts world did not include Indigenous peoples, except for window dressing programs like the “Indian Film Crew,” part of the National Film Board’s Challenge for Change program, started in 1968. The marginalization of Indigenous peoples in the mainstream arts world continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. However, in Indian country there were quiet rumblings that led to significant changes in the 1990s. This decade was momentous for what I call modern-day Indian Wars: The 1990 Oka Crisis (Mohawk territory, PQ); the 1994 armed uprising by the Zapatistas in Chiapas Mexico; the 1995 Gustafsen Lake Standoff (Secwepemc territory, BC); and the 1995 Ipperwash occupation (Anishinabe territory, Ontario). Three of the resistance political actions were armed (Oka, Chiapas, Gustafsen Lake), one was not (Ipperwash), and they all centered on land rights issues. These social/political movements are noteworthy to include in the analysis because I assert that they shifted communications/media and cultural policies. Policy makers saw that the status quo was no longer acceptable, in that Indigenous people would no longer be silenced and ignored.

The Indigenous film and television industry in Canada started in Inuit territories, with Native Northern Broadcasting instituting communications and media policies and practices in the 1970s. The Inuit have played a considerable role in the forward movement of national and global changes in the communications and media/film sector for Indigenous peoples in Canada. Thus, it is not a surprise that the first Indigenous filmmaker from Canada to be recognized at the Cannes Film Festival would be Zacharias Kunuk with his film Atanarujuat (2001) because his community Igloolik spearheaded the strong political action to block programming from the South. The issue was that there were no images or sounds that reflected Inuit life.
In the book, *Transference, Tradition, Technology: Exploring Visual & Digital Culture* (Kunuk & Puhipau, 2005), one chapter is a conversation between Zacharias Kunuk and a Hawaiian filmmaker. Zacharias said:

We had voted to keep television out of the community in the mid-1970s. We didn’t want it because there were no Inuktitut programs. It was all in English. …our elders were afraid of the impact it would have if there were nothing in our language on the TV. So we kept TV out for a number of years. (p. 46)

As a result, the Inuit were major players in lobbying for the licensing of Aboriginal People’s Television Network (APTN). Abraham Tagalik worked tirelessly with Indigenous groups in the South to achieve this goal. On February 22, 1999, APTN was licensed to broadcast nationally, a first in the global Indigenous media/communications world. “Canada’s aboriginal broadcasting system is, to date, the most advanced such system in the world” (Roth, 2005, p. 10). Thus Indigenous artistic expressions in the film and communications/media exploded during the 1990s.

During this same time-period, in parallel moves, Indigenous communities started collecting their own images for their own purposes in the 1970s. Then in the late 1980s the Indigenous writers in the south reclaimed the right to tell their/our own stories, because up to this point some non-Indigenous Canadian writers were appropriating Indigenous stories. The cultural appropriation issue was a hotbed of political actions: The feminist community was challenged by Lee Maracle (Stólō Coast Salish) in 1988 to “move over” so that the Indigenous women writers had a space to write their/our stories (Greenhill & Tye, 1997). A formal request was made by writer Lenore Keeshig-Tobias (Anishinabe) to non-Indigenous writers at the Writers Union of Canada 1989 Annual General Meeting to stop appropriating writers of color stories (Tator, 1998). A historical and revolutionary “Writing Thru Race” national conference

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82 [http://www.writersunion.ca/content/history](http://www.writersunion.ca/content/history)
took place in 1994, spearheaded by Dr. Roy Miki, where writers of color allied to stand up to the systemic institutionalized racism in the Writers Union.

While the Indigenous writers were making ground-breaking changes in the literary world, interdisciplinary artists were creating some radical moves of their own. An organization that was a catalyst for some of the major changes was the Aboriginal Film and Video Alliance, born out of a gathering in Alberta in 1991. Marjorie Beaucage was the main organizer of the newly formed organization. She recounts:

I remember being tasked as the "Runner" at our first Gathering at Banff [in 1991]. We had just made the partnership with [the] Banff [Centre for the Arts] and the Elders Council and Steering Committee suggested meeting Canada Council and all the provincial Arts Councils to open doors there as well. There were no Indigenous programs in any of them. So off I went to Ottawa [in 1993] where I asked for a meeting with all the [program] officers together. It seems they had never done this before. There I sat in the board room with 24 people. I briefly presented our newly formed Alliance and [the] purpose [of the organization]....I humbly asked for their help... there’s only one of me and all of you so let us put our heads together to create space for Indigenous artists. Shortly after that meeting, an Indigenous Secretariat was created at the Council and Leanne Martin was hired. Her first phone call was to me. I gave her my artist database and... I remember visiting her about a year later when I went to Ottawa to follow up on the drumbeats to drumbytes event we had at Banff. The Métis National Communications Bulletin Board was being set up and we wanted artists to be involved in it. She had a little cubbyhole office and there was one black woman recently hired sharing it with her. (Beaucage, M., personal communication, January 3, 2017)

Soon after trailblazer Marjorie Beaucage met with the Canada Council for the Arts they set up the Aboriginal Arts Secretariat, which administered a program called the Aboriginal People’s Collaborative Exchange (Schryer, C., personal communication, January 2017). In the provincial arts councils, British Columbia took a leadership role. In 1990, BC initiated a provincial Crown corporation named the First Peoples’ Cultural Council to administer the First Peoples’ Heritage, Language and Cultural Program,
which over the years formed a strong partnership with the BC Arts Council\textsuperscript{84}. In 1993 the BC Arts Council started the Indigenous-specific Aboriginal Arts Development Awards Program, which serves emerging, mid-career and established interdisciplinary artists from BC and other Indigenous artists from other regions who live in BC\textsuperscript{85}. I have served on Adjudication Juries for the Canada Council for the Arts and for the First Peoples’ Cultural Council/BC Arts Council.

The National Film Board (NFB), an arms length government agency, started the “Indian Film Crew” that emerged in 1968 as a part a Challenge for Change program. This crew was trained in many aspects of filmmaking and they started making films from an Aboriginal/Indigenous point-of-view, as opposed to films being made “about them” by non-Indigenous filmmakers\textsuperscript{86}. It would be over two decades before another program was instituted. In June 1991, the NFB established Studio One, a place where only Aboriginal/Indigenous filmmakers would make films. Unfortunately, the Studio would only last until March 1996, which is indicative of how Indigenous, and other culturally specific programs are managed; they are put in place and when the public attention has diminished, the program is discontinued. Early closure circumvents consistent opportunities to create Indigenous films with culturally specific aesthetics. In Beaucage’s vimeo account, she has a video that looks back at the forming of the Aboriginal Film and Video Alliance. In that video, Loretta Todd states that the reason she believes the NFB discontinued Studio One is that if they provided a Studio for the Indians, then they would have to provide one for the Chinese and every other immigrant group\textsuperscript{87}.

Some of the older visual storytellers—Alanis Obomsawin, Maria Campbell, Marjorie Beaucage and Loretta Todd—were involved at the front lines of making

\textsuperscript{84} http://www.bcartscouncil.ca/artists/aboriginal.htm
\textsuperscript{85} http://www.bcartscouncil.ca/documents/publicationforms/pdfs/AADA_V1_22Oct.pdf
\textsuperscript{86} https://www.nfb.ca/playlists/gil-cardinal/aboriginal-voice-national-film-board
\textsuperscript{87} https://vimeo.com/194791310 link to Marjorie Beaucage vimeo.
change while others worked behind the scenes. The younger generations would reap the benefits of the unwavering dedication of the older generations to set up Aboriginal programs for multi-disciplinary Indigenous artists. One individual who has benefited from the strong political stances that the Indigenous writers and film and video makers made in the 1980s and 1990s is Zoe Leigh Hopkins. She says:

When I first started acting. I never auditioned for an Aboriginal production and now there are so many people doing it and so with the advent of APTN—this industry has grown, we have one now whereas there wasn’t one really to speak of [before]. The calibre of the work has gone way, way up ...And, the fact that anybody can make something now, like more people are making stuff. But just because you have made something doesn’t mean anything. Like you have to, people are earning their stripes and working at it really hard—for years and years and years. You can’t just make something and expect it to sell here and be screened here and there...Well, the industry is big enough now that the people who are working in good ways, are the ones who are going to keep on going. If you are working in a good way and you are making good stuff, then you are going to keep going. But there’s enough people now, if you are not doing those things, you are going to drown. (Hopkins, Zoe L., personal communication, November 2013)

Hopkins is one of the movers and shakers of the younger generation, along with Kevin Lee Burton, Tracey Deer, Danis Goulet, and Lisa Jackson. However, they are seemingly unaware of the fact that at one time there was no consistent Indigenous specific arts program. In many ways, they take for granted the opportunities they have to participate in contemporary filmmaking that allows them to travel globally with their films. I see this as an inter-generational reality. The older ones opened the doors and kept them open, or kicked the doors down, so that the next generation could have these opportunities.

7.4. Films as Indigenous Knowledge Production

The term Indigenous knowledge is contentious in many environments. The controversy is about what is the actual term to use. Indigenous knowledge has become
the umbrella term, which includes traditional Indigenous knowledge and is sometimes referred to as local knowledge, traditional environmental or ecological knowledge, and/or Indigenous technical knowledge (Nakata, 2002, p. 283). More recently, Indigenous knowledge has gained recognition within academic institutions and within many disciplines of study. I propose that Indigenous visual storytelling/filmmaking is a form of contemporary Indigenous knowledge production.

Indigenous Storywork is a cornerstone for many Indigenous cultures. As Lee Maracle says, “stories are keys to oratorical knowledge...I have heard people say that it’s our knowledge. It’s not. It’s the key to the knowledge” (Maracle, L, personal communication, November 2013). Nevertheless, what cannot be disputed is that oral stories are central to Indigenous cultures, and within the stories told in distinct languages are many facets of knowledge(s) that are specific to each culture. In these contemporary times, Indigenous cultural stories are being adapted to the visual screen culture that dominates our lives and some cultural producers rely on Indigenous knowledge to guide respectful and responsible actions in how the stories are treated.

One person who has been at the forefront of ensuring respectful treatment of Indigenous stories/Indigenous knowledge is Hopi filmmaker; Victor Masayesva, Jr., who has been involved in Indigenous visual representation since 1965. He is a major player in the dialogue because of the strong stances he has taken surrounding the question of whether or not Indigenous aesthetics exist. Masayesva, Jr. started as a writer then moved into the realm of visual representation through photography, then gradually moved to film and video production. He is a Hopi language speaker and an active participant in Hopi cultural activities through his farming/planting and cyclical kiva ceremonies. Victor would not call himself a knowledge keeper but, from what I observed in his home village of Hotevilla, he is very serious about upholding his family and Clan responsibilities and central to that is passing on Hopi knowledge to his nephews. Therefore, I consider him both a knowledge keeper and a valuable filmmaker in this study. There are many academic articles by non-Indigenous scholars analyzing
his film work and his public statements; while at the same time, Indigenous scholars are inspired by his strong political stance and often build on his conceptual work.

In the following section, Masayesva, Jr. describes the different types of knowledge(s) that exist within his Hopi culture and he touches on how that impacts the films he produces and directs, thus including his Hopi aesthetics. Although this is a specific Hopi perspective, I assert that most Indigenous cultures would have similar concepts in their language and culturally specific systems of knowledge(s).

7.4.1. Types of Knowledge(s)

[Victor Masayesva, Jr.] ...I had explained that for me, growing up here at Hopi, there are...categories of knowledge or information. The first one is Pasiwni, a life plan that has already been determined and...it’s set by, we could say by the Creator... at the beginning... And, there’s Navoti, it’s like history, it’s when we left the beginning and we started to move and gained knowledge by moving about. [And the third] that’s Tutavo is... like instruction, almost like laws. Now [the fourth] Yewah knowledge, specific to songmaking and [the fifth] tuvutsi refers to Coyote and stories to entertain, is our fiction, our storytelling.... (Masayesva, Jr. personal communication, April 7, 2015)

In my discussion with Masayesva, Jr. it is the last category tuvutsi, which refers to “Coyote stories and stories to entertain,” which are the basis for any fictionalized films he produces/directs. This can be thought of as “creative non-fiction,” a relatively new genre in the literary and film discourses. Yet, there is another critical category that he identifies in what he calls “earned knowledge.” To clarify, he says:

...what I am saying is, I am aware of the distinctions here, I am also part of the “fictionalization”...I’m not the only one, I know my brother does it, many people do it, they relay information from ceremonies...that they actually haven’t [attended] and don’t participate but they use that and cobble that together and I have said this before... it’s not knowledge that you have earned.

He clarifies further:
...there are people there [at ceremonies] who are like scavengers...I am just being blunt about it but there are people who just cobble together the latest and the greatest, ... and they advance their careers from that. And, so that is why I said, you should be clear about where you are coming from whether it’s the old knowledge or what you have made of it...
(Masayesva, Jr., V. personal communication, April 7, 2015)

These two ways of gathering knowledge that Masayesva, Jr. discusses, that is, “earned” or “cobbled together” provide a different way of looking at knowledge production that could lead to problematic ways of disseminating knowledge. When he was speaking of people who are scavengers his comments were directed at Indigenous and non-Indigenous “New Agers” or spiritual tourists who attend ceremonies throughout Indian country and appropriate from this culture, then that culture, then another culture, and finally claim it as their own without ever acknowledging the source of the knowledge. This is why he makes the distinction between “the old knowledge or what you have made of it.” Plus, his point-of-view emphasizes just how critical it is in any public or academic discourse, to locate who you are, and where you physically come from, as well as where you are coming from in a philosophical sense. This manner of locating who you are and where you come from is a feature of Indigenous ways of knowing that is common practice in community. Recently, this positioning of self has moved into Indigenous academic discourse, which I consider a part of moving away from the umbrella terms of First Nations, Native peoples, or Indigenous peoples that supports a pan-Indian approach.

Marjorie Beaucage and I discussed another way of cobbling together knowledge that bypasses the steps of earning the right to use it. We discussed a controversial story that aired nationally on August 14, 2013. The 3-part mini series was produced by Shaneen Robinson (Cree-Gitxsan) for APTN News who filmed Sundance ceremonies that she claimed she was given “unfettered access to”\(^88\). Apparently, Robinson “belongs

\(^{88}\) [http://aptn.ca/news/2013/08/14/the-sun-dance-ceremony](http://aptn.ca/news/2013/08/14/the-sun-dance-ceremony)
to a Sundance and Sweat Lodge family\textsuperscript{89} which is surprising, but given that she is 28 and Beaucage is 70 years old may explain the difference in thinking about the do’s and don’ts of filming ceremonies. Beaucage points to how filming ceremonies may create a false sense of learning Indigenous knowledge. She says:

...so you can watch a ceremony you don’t have to go and suffer...you don’t have to understand or be part of, you just can watch it, right? ...we talk about movements like Idle No More...spirit and drum and bringing people together and developing equal relationships and undoing a lot of the colonial mind, then the only way that that happens is not by showing it on a film, it’s by experiencing it organically. (Beaucage, M., personal communication, 2013)

I interpret Beaucage to mean that we have to be a part of the story as it is happening, not be a vicarious observer of culture, thinking that one can learn the substantive teachings of ceremonies by just watching. Although we did not specifically discuss the pedagogical process of being an active party to the events, I know that teaching and learning is implicitly embedded in the Indigenous pedagogical approach. This point is similar to what Archibald (2008) says about cultural stories in that you cannot just read about it, you have to become an active part of the story (p. 31), thus becoming a part of the production of living organic story knowledge.

Up to this point, the discussion has been about filming spiritual ceremonies; however, there are other issues that arise in the performativity of our film work. Timekeepers are individuals from different Indigenous Nations within the Western Hemisphere who are periodically coming together over the next 12 years to examine moon, sun and earth cycles that will impact the survival of humanity on the planet (Masayesva, Jr., V. personal communication, April 2015). Because I am aware of this Timekeeper project that both Woody Morrison, Haida knowledge keeper and Victor Masayesva, Jr., knowledge keeper and filmmaker, are participating in, I asked them some important questions. I asked, “Is it time for Indigenous people to share the secret

\textsuperscript{89} http://www.naho.ca/rolemodel/role-model-profiles/2008-2/2008-shaneen-robinson
knowledge that is normally kept only for our people and our communities? Is it time to share with diverse audiences through film production, given the state of humanity at this point in world history? Both Morrison and Masayesva, Jr. say it is time to start sharing some cultural secrets that, up to now, Indigenous people have fiercely protected from the exploitation of outsiders (Masayesva, V., personal communication, April 7, 2015) (Morrison, W., personal communication, March 2014). Masayesva, Jr. said:

...we [the other Indigenous people who are a part of the Timekeeper Project with he and Woody Morrison] are committed to starting the sharing process. Most of us...are] from communities who are pretty private...I was kind of disappointed, one person in particular showed up, from the New Age community in Sedona. They have been really hard on our community...it made me start thinking about sharing and these are the people that come in line first, the people that you don't want, that have been harmful to our communities. (Masayesva, Jr., V., personal communication, April 2015)

With these added considerations of what knowledge is to be used in the fictionalizing of our cultural stories, it is important to look at some of the internal and external accountabilities within which Indigenous filmmakers work. I reiterate that my approach is that we/they are using the tools of technology in the making of our films, thus we are a part of contemporary knowledge production.

**7.5. Accountabilities in Production: Internal/External**

**7.5.1. Internal Accountabilities**

In my discussion with Marjorie Beaucage about Canadian cinema, she said, “...no artist in Canada is held accountable by their communities as much as we are” (Beaucage, M., personal communication, Sept 2013), which is affirmed by Victor Masayesva, Jr. when he says:

A Native filmmaker has... the accountability built into him. The white man doesn't have that. That's the single big distinction. Accountability as an individual, as a clan, as a tribal [member and], as a family member. That's
where we're at as Indian filmmakers. (Masayesva cited in Leuthold, 1998, p. 1)

It is important to point out that the accountability that Beaucage and Masayesva, Jr. are discussing refers to an internal level of answerability to our own communities, clans, and families. This is different from what bell hooks (2009) discusses in the chapter “Artistic Integrity: Race and Accountability” (pp. 86-95) of her book, *Reel to Real*. To illustrate the differences, Kunuk, Hopkins, and Niro explain what accountability means to them. I asked, “Who do you feel accountable to?”

[Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit)] My elders, always they have to be screened by elders, ...and their comments are the most important comments to me, doing it right or not...(Kunuk, Z., personal communication, January 28, 2015)

[Shelley Niro (Mohawk)] I really feel accountable to my family, my immediate family because I don’t want to embarrass them. I don’t want them to be in a position where they have to defend me... accountability, it’s a tricky question. Like I say I let script readers read it and I pass it through people who I trust ...if they say, this has to be changed, I’ll think about it, that can easily be done, something can be reinterpreted in a way that it doesn’t put a check mark on their brain. But really, I find that people don’t say, you can’t do this... (Niro, S., personal communication, November 2013)

[Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Mohawk] My responsibility I feel is always to the story and like if it finds an audience, great. But I think that I am lucky that I am not so successful where I have to worry about target audience, or target market. You know worry about it making money (laughter). Until that point, I just pump it out. Make it however long it needs to be...if its 14 minutes and 39 seconds and 18 frames long. Nobody is going to put that on TV. They want it to be a certain length or whatever. I am not concerned about any of that stuff...I think it’s about telling a truth that belongs to that story without worrying about who I feel accountable to. And, sometimes that takes more courage than I actually have.... (Hopkins, Zoe L., personal communication, November 2013)

Although Hopkins said she feels “accountable” to the story first, she acknowledged her answerability to the communities she works within and discussed cultural protocols in Chapter 6. These comments give some insight into how some of the participants in this
study treat accountability and responsibility, which reflects the different levels of accountability that Masayesva, Jr. is talking about in his statement.

Tracey Deer, documentary maker and fictionalized TV series producer/director has challenged her Kahnawake community by revealing some insider information that some people do not want the general public to see. She was under intense scrutiny by her home community when she made two documentaries, *Mohawk Girls* (Deer, 2005) and *Club Native* (Deer, 2008) that focused on the contentious issues of Mohawk identity, who could be on their membership list and who had the right to live in within the boundaries of their reservation.

To an outsider journalist or observer, this may be perceived as “The Indians are fighting amongst themselves.” However, there are historical facts that are deeply embedded in the issues. The external political force that imposed an Indian Act governance structure in all Indigenous communities in Canada in the 1920s bestows official status as an Indian, which means you are a member to a specific community. There is one exception and that is if you have status but your Band no longer exists, then you are put on a general list, which exists within each province. This colonial manner of governance is based on a patriarchal model. The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy is a traditional governance structure that includes the Mohawk Nation. The Haudenosaunee bestow membership to a Clan and Nation through the matrilineal lineage of an individual. The core issue is who determines the membership of the community, the traditional governance system or the Indian Act governance structure.

The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy is well-known and respected in the global Indigenous world for their strong stance on sovereignty. Sara Roque documents one instance in her 2009 documentary *Six Miles Deep*\(^90\). This film includes footage of a physical encounter between the police forces of the colonial government and the Mohawks in the 1920s. In that time-period Indians were put in jail for not adhering to

\(^90\) [https://www.nfb.ca/film/six_miles_deep](https://www.nfb.ca/film/six_miles_deep) an NFB film that can be viewed online at this link.
the policies and procedures of the Indian Act. In the documentary, Roque shows the Clan Mothers continuing to honour their traditional ways of knowing and doing, which means following the cultural knowledge of the Iroquois.

This is the social and political environment within which Tracey Deer lives and works. Now her TV series, also called Mohawk Girls (2010-2016) fictionalizes the experiences of 30-plus women in Kahnawake, has also raised some eyebrows. When the series was in development, I asked her, “What is the series about?” and she said, “Sex in the City, Mohawk style.” When the first episode aired, I sent her a congratulatory email and she asked me for feedback about the series and I said, “it's difficult to really compare your community of 8,000 people which has its own TV station to my little community of 800 people that still has dial up Internet.” But I was wrong, because a woman in my family who knows I am working with Tracey Deer told me to ask her “why does she talk about sex so much?” I emailed Tracey and asked her the question. She responded by saying that she and her co-creator Cynthia Knight are determined to authentically represent Mohawk women in the 30-something age category, which includes sexual activity! (Deer, T., personal communication, January 2017).

Further, one of her peers asked her about why she does stories from her home community because it can be so troublesome and heartbreaking at times. Tracey’s response:

...I said because I can...I feel like there is so much work that needs to be done and if I'm not saying something, if I'm not trying to activate a discussion, then I am just as guilty of the apathy of letting it pass. I happen to have a vehicle to generate discussion, so I am going to try, so that's my contribution to maybe the betterment of our people. It may not work, but it's what I have to give... (Deer, T., personal communication, January 2015)

Tracey and I had an in-depth conversation about the concepts “Burden of Representation” and the “Cinema of Duty” and I asked her if she felt that her work was a
burden or a duty and who did she feel accountable to, her community or the larger Canadian public? Her response:

...I am challenging our own people. And, I think leaders need to be challenged. I hope that because it is based on honesty and truth that they can respect it, they don’t have to be happy about it. (Deer, T., personal communication, January 2015)

Clearly, working within the social and political environments of our communities is complicated because it is fraught with layers of complex issues when it comes to accountabilities. Tracey Deer and her peers are creating contemporary story knowledge as a part of our current realities. They are recording our histories from an Indigenous perspective, thus adding to the production of Indigenous knowledge while at the same time clarifying what being accountable internally to our communities and Nations mean. Indigenous filmmakers also have external accountabilities that have a major impact on how they create that knowledge.

7.5.2. External Accountabilities: Funders

When seeking to produce her Indigenous Kung Fu 2014 television series, Loretta Todd encountered the following line of questioning from potential funders.

I made Skye & Chang, which is martial arts sci-fi—it was fighting and I pitched it at some pitch thing and they said, "Why is it so angry"? They said, "They’re fighting all the time." I said, "Because it’s martial arts, because I am working in a genre, and you know I’m playing with the genre...so you can’t win. (Todd, L., personal communication, March 2014)

Years before, Todd created this contemporary television series; Maori filmmaker Barry Barclay lends his voice to the politics of an Indigenous person making a Kung Fu film.

I have a dream. I want to make a Maori Kung Fu movie. I think a proposal to make an exciting Maori Kung Fu would create hostility in almost every quarter. Maori and Pakeha, liberal and conservative—and that is exactly why one part of me wants to do it. Before the arrival of the musket, the
Maori world had a rich tradition in the martial arts. For instance, the use of the taiha (a traditional fighting staff) was every bit as scientific as the things Bruce Lee wielded. Taiaha training was tough and each move had its name. How good it would be if kids could go down to the video parlour and get out a film called *The Taiaha Kid* instead of a Kung Fu movie from Hong Kong...I fear the script of *The Taiaha Kid* might be too impious for some of the assessors. It would not be a worthy Maori film. It would not reflect real Maori values. (Barclay, B., 1990, p. 21)

Although Todd and Barclay are only two voices, I speculate that other Indigenous filmmakers face similar encounters when wanting to show an aspect of their culture that mainstream funders and audiences are not accustomed to seeing. Shelley Niro, Mohawk filmmaker whose works are deeply entrenched in Iroquoian aesthetics brings further insight into how distributors and funders have the power to influence where and how our films are disseminated. Although distributor/funder power is a force that all independent producers (women, other cultural minority groups, physically and mentally challenged peoples) have to deal with, Niro is speaking specifically to her experience as a Mohawk/Indigenous filmmaker.

I did *Kissed by Lightning* (2009) and I tried to send it to a distributor and he said it was “too culturally significant” to distribute. It was too Iroquois, too Haudenosaunee because of the story. He didn’t think that people would be interested...you know the mainstream. And, I thought that doesn’t really make sense to me, you know. I can see films, read books, of any culture—and if it’s done well-enough you can understand it. If there are things you don’t understand, then you say, I’m going to go check it out and sometimes, you do. That makes it more interesting. I think Canada is kinda racist that way because they want a specific kind of Indian...I don’t think they got it in *Kissed by Lightning*. Not only that, without a distributor you can’t really go for the funding and that is the hardest thing is trying to find a distributor for feature films, or Native-based work, unless you have drunk Indians. (Niro, S., personal communication, November 2013)

The other visual storytellers/filmmakers have had a spectrum of experiences with funders. Although Alanis Obomsawin is in a unique situation because she is a long-term employee of the NFB, she still has to fight for funding within the organization for her productions. I speculate that her fight has become easier as she has become a very
senior international Indigenous star. But she keeps an eye on the overall media and film policies and recognizes that “There is a lot of access that we didn’t have before” (Obomsawin, A., personal communication, October 2013). Zoe Hopkins affirms Obomsawin’s statement when she says, “…when I first started there was nothing and now there is a fund in every art council and... within Telefilm and NFB as well” (Hopkins, Z. personal communication, November 2013).

Zacharias Kunuk explained the difficulties he and his producing partner Norm Cohn had negotiating the in’s and out’s of funding with Telefilm/Canadian Media Fund during the time they were putting the budget together for Atanarjuat (2001). Zacharias makes an important point when he says, “…we all have to fight for money. It’s Canada...if you want to get recognized in Canada, you have to get out of Canada [first] to get recognized”91 (Kunuk, Z., personal communication, January 28, 2015).

Victor Masayesva, Jr. brought up a thought-provoking dilemma from his experiences. He felt that he had lost funding opportunities because people he identified as “pan-Indians,” that is, individuals who were not connected to their own cultures and lands, were assessing him and his projects (personal communication, July 2012). This goes back to the discussion in Chapter 6, “Visual Sovereignty of Indigenous Cultural Production,” where photographer Tsinhnahjinnie makes a clear distinction between a photographer who is connected to their land base and their community and one who is not. She says they are no different than a non-Indigenous photographer (Tsinhnahjinnie, 2006, p. x). Plus this reinforces the comments bell hooks (2009) makes, that over and above race, the way a filmmaker thinks is critical if they have knowingly or unknowingly internalized white supremacist ideologies. This point is

discussed further in next section “What’s Race Got to Do with the Ecology of Aesthetics and Artistic Integrity.”

Many of the participant filmmakers discussed the disparity of how film funding is disseminated in Canada amongst the English, French and “Other” film communities. In my discussion with Shelley Niro about Telefilm cutting the Featuring Aboriginal Stories Project Program and how the Indigenous Cultural Producers Association responded. She says:

I think their argument was that they [Telefilm] wanted to see Aboriginal films become mainstream. And, not stay within that Aboriginal bubble but one of the things Barbara Hager and that group [Indigenous Producers in Canada] were trying to say, was that...the French get a big chunk of the money, the English definitely get a big chunk of the money and the Aboriginal is around 3% of the population of the country so we should at least get 3%, which I don’t know how many millions, not too many millions either. But we should get 3% of that money and Telefilm is saying, “No, you’re not.” (Niro, S., personal communication, November 2013)

Of course the funding formula is problematic for all groups because you can make the argument that women should get 50% of the funding based on population but then they do not represent a so-called founding Nation (English or French) nor are they part of any of the original Indigenous Nations. It appears that the primary criterion for the dissemination of dollars is that if you are in the category of the white male demographic, you have a better chance than anyone else who are relegated to the margins

Niro sums up the funding situation when she says, “...it’s the economy of art. You need money to make art” (Niro, S., personal communication, November 2013). Danis Goulet brings a deeper understanding of how funders perceive Indigenous cultural producers when she shared:

I was once in a meeting with a funder and I said, based on the research we have been doing, Aboriginal representation within the funding body is
really important and it will definitely lead to more Aboriginal successes. This person was like, “well, we can’t be the United Nations...you always feel like you’re canoeing upstream. (Goulet, D., personal communication, November 2013)

Undoubtedly each one of these visual storytellers/filmmakers deserves a chapter of their own; nevertheless, this summary reveals some of the complexities of the political funding environment that Indigenous filmmakers encounter. I concur with hooks (2009) when she says, “Although this struggle is most often seen solely in a negative light, it enhances artistic integrity when it serves to help the artist clarify vision and purpose” (p. 87). Hopi filmmaker, Masayesva, Jr. was clarifying his Hopi/Indigenous gaze when he said, “...there is such a thing as an Indian aesthetic and it begins in the sacred” (Masayesva cited in Leuthold 1998, p. 1). In Chapter 6, I discuss the finer nuances of what Masayesva, Jr. meant when he said that our aesthetics begin in the sacred, that is, they are linked to how we perform our responsibilities and relationships to the land through the actions we embody and enact, including the actions we take to select the elements of our film/video productions.

In the above discussion, distinct differences in internal (community) and external (funders) accountabilities were identified. Within these tensions, it is necessary to include a discussion about the complexities that the race issue reveals because it definitely plays a role in how the larger society perceives Indigenous filmmaking communities. Many people do not like to open the dialogue surrounding race because it can be an unpleasant conversation, and some people delude themselves into thinking racism does not exist. However, the reality is that for people with dark skin color, we encounter racialized issues on a daily basis. When I asked Kevin Lee Burton what were some of the challenges he has overcome while working in the industry, I was surprised by his candid answer.

...if I were to think about...having had to overcome a challenge it would have been white privilege because I have also experienced it...like I am very white-looking and...charismatic and I'm friendly...I pass [as a white person].... So my white privilege has gotten me a lot of things and through
a lot of doors and...into a lot of projects and into the minds of people....
(Burton, K. personal Communication, February 2014)

Burton opens the door to an intriguing topic that I have not heard discussed openly in
Indigenous circles; however, I will not delve into the implications of the white privilege
of some Indigenous people because it is a serious topic that needs a whole book to
deconstruct. What Burton’s comments suggest is that racial issues do exist, whether
people are ready to discuss them or not.

7.6. What’s Race Got to Do with the Ecology of Aesthetics and
Artistic Integrity?

bell hooks, preeminent black scholar, has never shied away from discussing the
hard issues surrounding race. She is widely recognized for her critiques of films made
by black filmmakers and for her outstanding contributions to the film discourse,
especially for filmmakers of color. Twenty years ago when her book Reel to Real was
first published, she was saying that seeing, doing and creating images from a
decolonized point-of-view was not enough (hooks, 1996).

...there must also be a new aesthetics of looking taught to audiences so
that such work can be appreciated. The process by which any of us alter
the way we look at images is political. Until everyone can acknowledge
that white supremacist aesthetics shape creativity in ways that disallow
and discourage the production by any group of images that break with
this aesthetic, audiences can falsely assume that images are politically
neutral. In actuality unspoken restrictions govern the ways white artists
produce images as much as they do other groups. Yet these restrictions
can easily not be named when they are simply passively accepted. Or
when conflicts about the politics of race and representation occur behind
closed doors. (p. 91)

Furthermore, hooks (2009) makes another strong, yet absolutely necessary
observation in any meaningful conversation about aesthetic choices, and how our
cultures and peoples are represented. She brings up the essentializing discussion that
German film theorist Knopf (2009) defines as: “This burden [of representation], which
many pioneer Indigenous filmmakers will be familiar with harbors the danger of succumbing to essentializing and moralizing tendencies. [Indigenous] Filmmakers have not always succeeded in warding off such tendencies” (p. 60). hooks (2009) calls this “...the racial burden of representation” (p. 90) and she makes a very critical point about this term essentializing that white scholars so easily apply to filmmakers of color. She states:

> While white critics will often praise black artists for not focusing on blackness, they do not urge white artists to cease their obsessional focus on whiteness. The critique of racial essentialism must work both ways. Just as it is important for us to see blackness from multiple standpoints—imaged by filmmakers who are not black—it’s equally important that white and other nonblack experiences be imaged by black filmmakers. (p. 90)

Within the context of a double standard when it comes to the question of essentializing, the following deliberations focus on the notion of aesthetic accountability within the same assumptions. bell hooks (2009) puts forward Brakhage’s concept of “aesthetic ecology” that speaks to how an artist balances their aesthetic choices, with their social and political concerns. The major thrust of this concept is that if artists allow their social and political ideologies to overpower the narrative then the filmmaker’s true artistic vision is being compromised.

Conversely, hooks (2009) asserts that when black filmmakers are surrounded by “a white supremacist culture” and when the images that are constructed continue to perpetuate that hierarchy of race, that black filmmakers feel duty-bound to create images that resist the status quo (p. 88). In other words, how does a filmmaker of color include their social/political realities; yet maintain a personal artistic vision? From my Indigenous perspective, it appears that Brakhage’s approach is diminishing the social and political truths in the personal creative process. The personal is political, a phrase popularized by the feminist community in the 1970s, and almost a cliché in these times.
For Indigenous and other filmmakers of color, our personal everyday reality means that we deal with the issue of race at every turn. This is a certainty that many people feel uncomfortable with because we are forced to acknowledge the power dynamics that surround us. Whiteness is privileged in the social and political world of Canada’s arts sector. This is a dialogue that many avoid. However, if any societal or political transformations are to occur in the representation of images by filmmakers/artists of color, the foundational issue of race needs to be put on the table for discussion because this issue impacts aesthetic choices.

7.7. The Politics of Aesthetic Accountability

Aesthetics is a multifaceted subject that has numerous understandings. However, it is the notion of beauty that is most commonly applied and is usually associated with the so-called high arts of Euro-Western-based culture. As in other disciplines, Euro-Western knowledge is considered the norm and dominates the general studies of aesthetics. That means artists of color deal with ethno-aesthetics or the “aesthetics of primitive art” (Leuthold, 1998, pp. 2-3). The numerous difficulties in Euro-Western aesthetic studies will not be investigated here because the subject matter is beyond the scope of this study, and getting mired in deconstructing Euro-Western aesthetic theories would take up textual space that is needed for the Indigenous visual storytellers. What is significant from an Indigenous perspective is that language is central to the aesthetic question. Doreen Jensen, Gitxsan artist and curator of art says, “We don’t have a word in our language for ‘art’ because art was all around us” (Jensen, D., 1997/1998, p. 292). Many Indigenous language speakers agree with Jensen. Maria Campbell, knowledge keeper and filmmaker spoke of how language influenced the choices she made in her productions;

...I had to consider things like language and landscape... if I’m going out to shoot this, I am going to be in this territory and I am going to be using footage from this for something further down [the road], now is that going to work [aesthetically]? ...I’d be...shooting all day and then I’d be
editing all night...I had to do the final edit...I was the only one that spoke the language. (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013)

Jeannette Armstrong, Syilx language speaker explains the deeper meanings of language and how it connects to land.

Syilx Okanagan captikʷɬ is a distinct oral artistry utilizing a layering of meanings from within a Syilx Okanagan Indigenous context that must be read through a literary framework cognizant of Syilx Okanagan oral memory device and structure. Syilx Okanagan captikʷɬ device and structure articulates and mimics the Syilx Okanagan tmxʷulaxʷ or land animated by tmixʷ—the land’s life forms, referred to as —relatives, embodying the dynamics of the interrelationship between the flora and fauna of the Okanagan land. captikʷɬ expresses and demonstrates a concept of tmixʷ which translates better as life-force. The concept extends to the Syilx Okanagan understanding of the land as the tmxʷulaxʷ, which translates better as a life-force-place, rather than of land as location or ecology type. The tmixʷ are understood to be many strands, which are continuously being bound with each other to form one strong thread coiling year after year always creating a living future. (Armstrong, 2009, pp. 2-3)

Although Campbell does not use the film discourse language of aesthetics from a Euro-Western perspective, I knew that from her Cree/Métis way of seeing and knowing, that she was referring to how she made her choices for her visual footage. She was being respectful of the people whose territory she was capturing on film. Furthermore, her strong feeling that she had to do the editing because she was the only language speaker is very important, because if you do not understand the concepts in the language, how can you give meaning to the layers of images and sounds in constructing the visual narrative? I quote Armstrong to emphasize that point about language, because if you do not understand the concepts that are implicit within the language, how can you give meaning to how they are aesthetically used? That is, if you do not understand that the land has a life-force (translated as spirit), then how can you be respectful towards that place, the people whose land you are on, or the other “relatives” who also live on that land? How do we articulate in our visual narratives what Masayesva, Jr. asserts, that our aesthetics begin in the sacred?
My point here is central to our storytelling traditions, including the responsibilities of visual storytellers/filmmakers to work with dedication towards ensuring that the way we construct our stories is culturally congruent with how Indigenous peoples make meaning with stories. With the skills of the film and video technology mastered, I truly believe that even though many of us do not speak the language, that we innately understand the story if the layers of soundscapes and visuals are selected in such a way that speak to the genetic memories we carry in our blood, then our ability to make meaning of the story is not lost. As Archibald (2008) says:

Even though the latter [television, video and digital technology] may allow for use of visual images and the sounds of the storyteller, the same questions that confront the relationship between orality and literacy apply. How can the story be portrayed so that it’s power to make one think, feel, and reflect on one’s actions is not lost? Can the cultural context be sufficiently developed so that the listener/viewer can make story meaning? (p. 81)

I strongly agree with visionary Maori filmmaker Barry Barclay when he says that the technology can be adapted to suit our Indigenous storytelling practices, without sacrificing the quality of the film in honouring the people and the culture (Barclay, 1990, pp. 10-13). However, the director has to educate the crew of the cultural protocols being used in the production and aesthetic choices have to be consistent with the culture being represented and that includes language, images and sounds. Participant filmmakers Burton, Goulet and Hopkins discuss the role of language and its role in constructing visual and sound scapes. Doreen Manuel and Lisa Jackson’s comments refer to the role of dreams and how they are the impetus for some of our productions.

7.7.1. **Aesthetics: Indigenous Language and Sounds**

[Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Mohawk)] …I wanted to make a documentary about that [the language school her father Brian Maracle has set up at Six Nations] but in learning the language, there are things
that are inherent in the language that made me realize that it is a much bigger story. So I want to make a documentary that has this school in it but also it will be more about language itself because there are things about it that I now know why we think so much differently than the rest of mainstream culture. It’s because that process of thinking is formed by our language and that’s still in our DNA.

English is a language of objects and Mohawk is a language of relationship. And, that just gives you the worldview that you know just shows you how different we are, and the way we think because we think first of all people, rather than about things...that just blew my mind, you know thinking about being materialistic versus being socialistic and in Mohawk it is very difficult to say bad thing...Last year I could feel the areas in my brain where those language pathways are. I’m a fortunate person, I have a gift for languages... picking up this language, as hard as it is to learn a whole new thing, this system of logic, learning all these pieces, learning this comes easily to me and it’s just really, really hard for others. My brain likes it. It works for me but I could FEEL THOSE PATHWAYS THAT WERE ALREADY CARVED there! I could feel them getting DEEPER AND WIDER. And, I could literally feel the PHYSICS OF MY BRAIN WORKING. And, I recently had a dream where the people in my dream were speaking in Mohawk and I was like so HAPPY, I woke up... I was excited, I’m dreaming in Mohawk. (Emphasis added; Hopkins, Zoe L., personal communication, January 2013)

I had a similar experience. When I lived in Toronto, I took Odawa language lessons for 6 weeks. I wanted to learn the language of the people on whose lands I was living. In that time, I started dreaming in the Odawa language. It was an exciting and insightful experience, given that it was not my original language.

[Danis Goulet (Cree-Métis)] ...basically I got word that they [Toronto International Film Festival] weren’t going to allow me to speak in Cree because it was one of those other things, it was a question of accessibility for the audience. And, if the Weetigo spoke in Cree—there are such great lines of dialogue, I just want to hear them in English...I think of it as unpleasant because I was really angry about where the person was coming from. The theme of the film is cultural revitalization and Cree has to be there. And, so my Producer called me about 10 days before shooting and said, ‘I am so sorry but so and so executive says we can’t include Cree in the film’. I emailed him back and said, ‘I am really sorry but I won’t have it any other way...I said I should have told you this sooner because this is a non-negotiable point for me...within the hour I was talking to that person and I just felt that this person was coming from
the idea that somehow my political reason for wanting to include Cree in the film was trumping the quality or the creative product that would result. In the end they said, ‘well, okay I guess you are the filmmaker and we will trust you but it is a risk’. And, then to have it be the one that was chosen to open was just amazing because it was vindication. I was really fully willing to walk away at that point. I felt that strongly about it and also like that person was participating in the silencing of Indigenous language. No, no, no. This will not fly. If Jabba the Hutt in Star Wars can speak in subtitles, my Weetigo is going to speak in subtitles too! (Goulet, D., personal communication, November 2013)

[Kevin Burton (Swampy Cree)] About Nikamowin (2007) production, So then it became [...] the thing that was really important and motivated that, the Nikamowin to be that, to become a deconstruction of the Cree language—and a reconstruction in terms of a soundscape of melody, of that, is because what was happening. [and] what I was analyzing about the conversations I was having with these people.... (Burton, K. personal Communication, February 2014)

Each one of these filmmakers speak to important points that illustrate the complexity of Indigenous language and even though we did not discuss language as a part of the aesthetics of our productions, their comments verify that language most definitely is an aesthetic of the soundscape.

Kevin Burton’s (2007) experience with Larry Grant, Elder from the Musqueam community was fascinating. He made a short documentary, Writing the Land in which he asked the Elder for some of the place-names in the hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ language of the Musqueam people, and then he translated it to Cree. Kevin is a Cree language speaker. He told me he had a huge light bulb moment when he completed this production because he realized that the language is tied to the place it comes from because when he tried to apply the Cree language in Coast Salish territories of the Musqueam/Tsleil-waututh/Squamish, his Cree language felt very disembodied and displaced. Kevin said, “I felt displaced in Vancouver.” Further his comments above about how his other 2007 Nikamowin production, which was based in his Cree home territory, was about the deconstruction and reconstruction of his language, which provided the melodies of his soundscape. In other words, Kevin was bringing the sounds of his language and his
land to his production (Burton, K., personal communication, February 2014). This is a profound realization in terms of how language is absolutely a foundation of Indigenous aesthetics.

Zoe Leigh Hopkins talked to me about how learning her Mohawk language has greatly influenced many aspects of her life. When she realized how important learning her language was, Zoe withdrew from the many requests she had from the industry to participate in various productions. She chose to dedicate the years needed to become fluent in the language. Her comments above are critical to understanding how language affects our Indigenous worldviews and how it illustrates the differences in ideologies with the mainstream culture. Language is a major feature of strengthening who we are as Indigenous peoples. Zoe talked about dreaming in Mohawk and how that affirmed her belief that the language is in our DNA.

Danis Goulet’s (2013) film Wakening had its premiere screening at the opening gala of the Toronto International Film Festival. Her father Keith is a Cree language speaker. About language, she says:

I am not a language speaker; I can only speak a little Cree. I involve my dad in all of my projects—he is not just essential for translation but he also helps me to unpack Cree concepts and how they might relate to my projects. Sometimes I just record him talking about certain concepts and words that help me think/work things through. (Goulet, D., personal communication, January 2017)

Both her parents are educators. Danis grew up in LaRonge, in northern Saskatchewan. She travelled extensively to explore the world and visited England, France, Ireland, Africa, India, and Egypt. When she returned to Canada, Danis started working in the film and television industry. In a very short period of time, she undertook a significant role in the imagineNative Film Festival in Toronto, and it was under her leadership that the organization developed and grew into a global

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92 https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/tiff/2013/09/02/tiff_2013_elgin_and_winter_garden_theatres_get_a_starring_role_in_scifi_short.html
phenomenon. I have no doubt that her world travels had considerable influence on how she delivered imagineNative to the world stage. In her comments Danis was steadfastly making her personal and political choice of not giving in to the intimidation of the executive at the Toronto International Film Festival when they asked her to present her film in English and remove the subtitles of the Cree language. Danis did not separate her social/political reality from her personal point-of-view in the film, which the theorist Brakhage (and others) suggest is what filmmakers should be expected to do.

Manuel and Jackson speak about how dreams or waking dreams, that are sometimes called visions, are a part of their visual narrative constructs. I discussed this as an “inner knowing” and an Indigenous method in my methodology chapter. Many Indigenous peoples do not like to share their dreams because we are taught at a very young age not to talk about them to outsiders, not even to our own family members. Still some of us do talk about our dreams and I contend that this can be an appropriate teaching moment.

During my production years at Vision TV, I was living in Penticton, BC and one of the students from the En’owkin Centre took me aside one day and said, “You have to come for tea. I had a dream and you were in it.” I stopped by and when she was telling me her dream, I had a waking dream experience where numerous visuals were dumped into my head. It took me 3 years to work up the courage to ask her if I could make a visual story about her dream. She said, “yes” and my production, Grandmother Story was born.

[Doreen Manuel (Ktun’axa/Secwepemc)] I dream a lot. I have since I was young. My mother also had dreams and she interpreted them… I knew that dream was something and I knew part of it came from my own history but I knew part of it was something, the babies were trying to say something and I knew that too. And, I didn’t know what. I had that dream 3 years before I made the film [Freedom Babies (2014)] and I didn’t know what to do with it. My first thought was you need to make a film and I didn’t even know how to do that… I have a dream journal… And, I have had songs come to me in my dreams…. (Manuel, D. personal communication, October 2014)
[Lisa Jackson (Anishinabe)] Anyway, those two [her productions Snare and Savage] just came to me in a POP... I knew that they were very ambitious to carry out but I had the vision or whatever...I didn’t think them up. I mean I did but literally Snare, I sat there and it took about 10 minutes. I remember I was sitting on my bed and I... pictured the whole thing. I joke about this but for me the thing exists the moment I have that and then I just say to myself, “Don’t screw it up” (laughter). Put it on the screen the way you saw it...Those two in particular, just really were like that.... (Jackson, L., personal communication, November 9, 2013)

Alanis Obomsawin is a visual storyteller who has consistently put forward the Indigenous voice in her productions. I have screened most of her productions and the most notable feature is that Alanis does not speak for the people; she constructs the visual narrative in such a way that is completely respectful to the people or community with whom she is working. She is the only Indigenous NFB employee who started working for the agency in 1967. At the time she started, her career path was as a singer/performing artist, focusing on educating Indigenous children about their/our histories. Then she was invited to join the NFB although she did not have any filmmaking experience.

Now at the age of 84, with an illustrious career of 49 years with the backing of Canada’s premier film agency, she has directed over 40 documentaries, an amazing feat for any filmmaker. However, her time at the NFB has not been without difficulties, “It was very, very hard...It was really a world of men filmmakers...I had a lot of problems. I never realized that was because I was a woman...I was thinking it was because I’m Indian.” It is perhaps worth noting that the Women’s unit, Studio D, went the way of the Indian unit; it was shut down. However, Alanis was persistent and tenacious in keeping her own vision as her inner strength to finish whatever film she started because she was intent on continuing to use her films as educational tools. Ever gracious, she says, “...the Film Board is a great place, it has a great mandate and it’s not the board that is making it difficult for you. It is individuals...people who have power...” (Obomsawin, A., personal communication, October 23, 2013). As Maria Campbell said to me, “Alanis is brave and fierce. I’m grateful to the NFB that she has been there as long as she has
because she has documented so many things that would otherwise be lost.” (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013).

Alanis is our guiding star continually moving, yet shining light on the path for everyone to follow. At the time of our conversation, she had five films that were in various stages of production. When I asked Alanis howshe chose her aesthetics, she said:

They tell me, the people who you are talking to, if you really listen, you know that they have certain ways of thinking and of behaving and of receiving. They have their [own] mind; they have their own spirit. It’s what you have to listen to.

Because of my life and my own experience, and I know that many of our people have gone through a similar life, the main thing for me is still the WORD—to listen to make sure that is at the front—the voice of the people. For me, I don’t want to hear a million people telling us how we feel. I want to hear from our own. That is the basis of everything I do. (Obomsawin, A., personal communication, February 2014)

From the time I spent with the Grand Dame of Indigenous Cinema, she affirmed three critical things: Firstly, that our films/videos are important teaching tools; secondly, how important it is to let the people speak for themselves; and thirdly, if you are respectful and listen carefully with three ears they will tell you what film elements to select for your aesthetics. Commendably, Alanis Obomsawin (2003) has used her powerful position well. She has kept the door open and shared her knowledge and experience with other Indigenous filmmakers, so that we may all be a part of the Fourth World Cinema that Barclay called, “…a myriad cinema—a cinema of dreams, of daring, of love, of piety, of healing, of forward vision” (p. 16). The cinema these storytellers invite us to embodies Indigenous aesthetics, appeals to Indigenous sensibilities of beauty, and has soundscapes that are heard by the third ear of the heart (Archibald, 2008, p. 76). How do Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers choose culturally congruent film aesthetics?
7.8. Indigenous Production:
Cultural Congruency and Aesthetic Choices

It is not likely that every Indigenous visual storyteller/filmmaker will have the same depth of knowing within their culture that Masayesva, Jr. illustrates unless they are language speakers and a consistent participant in renewal ceremonies with the land. However, every visual storyteller/filmmaker is concerned with “artistic integrity,” which for Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers includes cultural integrity. What I mean by this term, ‘cultural integrity’ is that the filmmaker is taking responsibility by engaging appropriate cultural protocols and respectful actions while being mindful of the different levels of accountabilities to the individual, family, or community being filmed.

Throughout this dissertation, I have talked about the interrelatedness of Indigenous cultural stories and ancestral lands, and how that relates to our place-based identities, which are the foundation for how some Indigenous scholars conceive of visual sovereignty. From this point-of-view, I assert that this positioning informs our abilities to create visually sovereign images in our Indigenous production practices. The lands that we are born to and the story knowledge our ancestors have passed down generationally, give us our language, our names, our songs, our colors, and our images. In the above section, "Aesthetics: Indigenous Language and Sounds," I discuss more specifically how critical the language is to selecting the aesthetics (sounds, images and colors) for our films. Although, I did not discuss colors in that section, I contend that the colors also come from the lands because they are very specific to place.

From a perspective that considers all these details as part of the aesthetics of any Indigenous film production, it is prudent to pay attention to how mainstream film discourse looks at these details. In mainstream film-speak, mise-en-scene is explained as the following:
...everything that appears in a frame. Sets, locations, actors, props, costumes, light, and shadow are all part of mise-en-scene...[It] can be realistic or abstract, purely background or an interpretive element...is contributed to by a variety of talents on the film crew—production designers, make-up artists, set builders, cinematographers, actors—everything on screen in a film has been deliberately included at an artist's direction and for a purpose.  

It is also judicious to pay attention to what Euro-Western theorist Steven Leuthold (1998) says within his study of Indigenous aesthetics.

Linking ethics, religion, or politics and aesthetics reveals how value systems are embedded in our physical and emotional relationships to the world in which we live. Aesthetic experience is bodily, sensory; it is not just abstract and theoretical. Our value systems are rooted in our experience of the world. (p. 6)

This point about how value systems are embedded in physical and emotional relationships and are beyond the abstractions of theory is critical. However, beyond those two realms, I assert that Indigenous cultural values are an intrinsic part of our holistic Indigenous ways of knowing, seeing, doing, acting, listening and learning. I see Leuthold’s recognition of only two realms of physical and emotional to be limiting because they represent only the body and the heart. Indigenous ways of knowing include the heart, body, mind and spirit, so the spiritual and intellectual realms need to be a part of the construction of an Indigenous aesthetic. Our ontologies, epistemologies and pedagogies are what give meaning to what Euro-Western theorists call art, including our visual storytelling/filmmaking.

Since the international success of Zacharias Kunuk and Norm Cohn’s (2001) film Atanarjuat, their film production practices have been put under the microscope and scrutinized extensively by Indigenous and non-Indigenous film theorists and visual anthropologists alike. The synergy of Kunuk and Cohn’s strategic long-term partnership of 17 years is described by one interviewer as one where they “…work off

each other. Emotional psychic, spiritual—they share rhythms that are difficult to pinpoint, fascinating to see”94. Cynthia Fuchs, director of Film & Media Studies and Associate Professor of English, film & Video Studies, African and African American Studies at George Mason University, conducted an interview and published it with the PUSH International Performing Arts Festival in 2002. Upon reading the article, the special relationship of the two men becomes apparent. Cohn demonstrates a clear understanding of values within the Inuit culture when he says:

Well, we all bring a load of experience. There are hardly any videomakers on earth older than I am, because older than I am, video didn’t exist. That goes back 32 years for me. Zacharias had the first video camera in the Arctic, and he goes back 21 years. Apak95 goes back even further, because he was part of this weird national training program in the 1970s. So we bring 70 years of video making experience to the digital film moment, and that’s a lot of know-how. You apply that to a fabulous story, along with hardware, how video is different from film, bringing Inuit values to the process of filmmaking. But there’s no Martin Scorsese. That’s a socially inappropriate concept: the auteur96 cannot exist in Inuit culture. (Fuchs, C., 2002)

Cohn’s point, “the auteur cannot exist in Inuit culture,” is antithetical to the Euro-Western way of creating films that revolves around the artistic vision of one individual. It is clear that most Euro-Western filmmaking practices are the same as their way of telling stories, because they privilege the individual hero/protagonist over the collective body of people. The tensions between Euro-Western and Indigenous thought comes to the surface again because in Indigenous ways of knowing the community is privileged over the individual. As Marjorie Beaucage remarks, “...in Canadian cinema what they still support more than anything is people [who make] ... auteur films, like Atom Egoyan and Sarah Polley, those people who make “auteur” films, that’s what they like” (Beaucage, M., personal communication, September 2013). In my conversation

94 http://www.popmatters.com/feature/kunuk-zacharias
96 Film term often referring to the Director whose creative influence on a film is so great as to be considered its author, http://www.dictionary.com/browse/auteur
with Loretta Todd about her production practices, she reinforces the importance of community over one person, “You're always trying to kind of build community. And I always see making films as a way of building community, both the community that engages in—with the film but also the people who work on the film” (Todd, L., personal communication, March 2014).

Another important Indigenous visual storyteller/filmmaker is Doreen Manuel. She is central to teaching cultural values at the Indigenous Digital Filmmaking program at Capilano University where she ensures that the students learn how culture is an imperative to our filmmaking practices. But she had to be smart about it, because there was a certain amount of resistance to what some people think of as “healing circles.” Doreen had explained to me that when she was working in the community in helping to build life skills, so-called “healing circles” was a major part of that movement. Her young students did not want any part of dealing with intimate life issues in a public way. Manuel states:

It has to be a circle but also at that time, it was the beginning of FN [First Nations] people not wanting circles, “I didn’t come here to heal, I didn’t come here to learn all that stuff!” So you veil it again, you veil the circle in...different concepts. You call it certain things but it is not a healing circle because an academic course is not where you have healing circles. So, they asked me if I could develop something like that and I had already been developing so many programs with so many other places, so I said sure. So that is when I developed the personal professional development course and it is really only 10 classes over an entire school year but that is all they need. It brings a cohesion and cultural values into the classroom and it was only a couple of years after that the bigger program, the Motion Picture Arts Program at Capilano University came and asked me if they could take my concepts and develop a similar class for the non-Aboriginals. I said, “sure.” (Manuel, D., personal communication, April 2014)

Every one of the participant visual storytellers/filmmakers are awe inspiring in their different involvements within the Indigenous film industry; however, it is Raohseraha:wi Hemlock, the youngest participant, who made my heart smile. This
young man started thinking about storytelling when he was 8 years old and he taught himself how to use video technology to tell stories that are outside the usual stereotypes. Raohseraha:wi is not a language speaker but he understands his Mohawk language. He told me he follows what is going on in the Longhouse ceremonies that are conducted in the language. What amazed me was the wisdom of the choices that this 20-year-old young man was already making around his filmmaking practices. He said he was cautious in what he included in his stories because he did not want to put in any information that may be taken out of context, which could lead to misunderstandings of his culture. When we were discussing what he had learned in some of the classes he took in preparation for university, he explained one class where he felt constrained.

...my portfolio class it's kind of where I just got frustrated because they're trying to like teach you to look at it a certain way kind of thing. They'll show you a picture and it's [they had shown the class a photo of a man on a cross, which was leaning against a car] ... it's a whole class around being critical thinking....it is kind of like I can do that already...I'm at the point where I want to try and take the critical thinking and express it. Because I have like a guy who's crucified on a car and they say, well, how does this make you feel, and it was like I don't care. (Hemlock, R, Personal Communication, October 2013)

Raohseraha:wi told me he did not care because he is not a Christian, therefore this image did not have any meaning for him. Thus, from these Indigenous perspectives, from the youngest at 20 and the oldest at 84 it seems that it is obvious that culture plays a significant role in their creative processes. Therefore, it follows that our Indigenous knowledge(s) from our respective cultures informs our Indigenous filmmaking practices. This process of engagement, based in the cultural values, which are given to us through the cultural stories based in the place specific Indigenous knowledge(s) reflects what I mean by the term cultural congruency.

Therefore, Zacharias Kunuk and Norm Cohn’s (2001) community-based production process is considered normal from an Indigenous perspective. However, their work has been analyzed and endlessly scrutinized by non-Indigenous theorists
who do not fully comprehend the breadth and depth of the wisdom of the Indigenous knowledge that informs our production practices. Well-known Visual/cultural anthropologist Faye Ginsburg has written many articles about the complexities of Indigenous identity and media production in relation to our cultures. She notes:

Rather, for many Aboriginal producers, the quality of work is judged by its capacity to embody, sustain, and even revive or create certain social relations, although the social bases for coming to this may be very different for remote and urban people. For the sake of discussion I will call this orientation *embedded aesthetics*, to draw attention to a system of evaluation that refuses a separation of textual production and circulate from broader arenas of social relations. (Ginsburg, F., 1994, p. 368)

To me, what Ginsburg is talking about here is that we as Aboriginal/Indigenous cultural producers privilege our cultural knowledge systems by including our whole community (social relations), which has the embedded aesthetics to which she refers. This is what I consider the application of our cultural knowledge thus shaping the aesthetics in our film/video productions.

In one of my conversations with Zacharias, he explained how Christianity had affected the Inuit intergenerational transmission of story and song knowledge. I could hear the pain in his voice. But when I asked him about how he chose which films to make, I could feel the energy in his voice perk up. He repeated the phrase, “the costumes have to be right” a number of times in his speaking about his films and his process. Zacharias explained that each region has its own symbols and designs, he says:

...you can tell by the traditional clothes, you know their traditional dialects, their language. So just by looking at the women’s mounting on how they carry babies on their back how it’s made, if it’s made from the east or the west, it’s different, so that is what I watch out for...My region is called Ammituq region. They have [a particular] style of clothing, I...use that, I try to get it right. (Kunuk, Z. personal communication, January 2015)

Although, Zacharias and I did not use film-speak, which means we did not use the term aesthetics, I know that he is talking about is what film discourse calls aesthetics, that is,
the colors, the designs and the images of his work. To use another film term in looking at Kunuk and Cohn’s productions that they create with their Inuit community, they are the optimum Indigenous practitioners of an Inuit/Indigenous mise-en-scene because every aspect of their production practice involves Inuit community members. As stated in one of their proposals for funding:

   This artwork will employ sixty local people as writers, actors, crew, seamstresses, prop makers and set builders to recreate, act, and film our authentic life of the past. Our movie will train ten crew members in technical skills like makeup, continuity, sound recording and set design towards building a future Nunavut film industry. (Kunuk cited in Ginsburg, 2003, p. 828)

Kunuk and Cohn and their production team’s approach are the epitome of what I have named the “cultural congruency” of Indigenous film aesthetics. The Indigenous film community owes a lot to Zacharias Kunuk, Norm Cohn and the Inuit people for their tenacity and for being fierce and brave in their leadership.

We also owe Hopi filmmaker Victor Masayesva, Jr. for having the audacity to stand up and say that we do have an Indian aesthetic and it begins in the sacred! I am privileged to be a part of the family and community of Indigenous filmmakers who are at the leading edge of showing the world the cultural congruency of our Indigenous aesthetics in our visual stories.

I chose to include this next section as an example of how community is using the digital video technology to briefly illustrate how our storytelling is thought of inside our communities: stories that are recorded for our own historical knowledge and not for professional broadcast purposes, nor are they created as films to be disseminated at film festivals. This group of professional Indigenous women, Lorena Fontaine, Wendy McNab and Roberta Stout came together out of a desire to learn the experiences of their

97 Biographical information for Norm Cohn at: https://www.isuma.tv/isuma-productions/norman-cohn

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mothers in the residential school and to understand the impact of these experiences in their mother-daughter relationships.

7.9. Community-Based Visual Storytellers: Living His/Her Stories

Lorena, Wendy and Roberta came together to bring community voices to the screen who had not been heard from before. Through her job, Roberta put together a proposal to “...look at one question, residential schools and Aboriginal women, but the inter-generational effects...so what was it like to be parented by a mother who went to residential school?” (Stout, R., personal communication, February 25, 2014). They see their group as a “digital family,” a term coined by Wendy McNab. I met these women when we co-presented on panel at an international Visual Culture conference at UBC in 2011 that focused on Visual Research as a Collaborative and Participatory Practice. I was interested in how they approached visual storytelling, which is why I asked them to be a part of this study. The following section includes some of the comments they shared about their process and their way of telling stories.

7.9.1. Winnipeg Women Collective

[Wendy McNab (Cree/Saulteaux)] ...I see the digital storytelling process or technique, whatever you want to call it, as a way of...reclaiming community, of reclaiming family...and re-creating that for today. Because, of course, we’re not...we can never go back to those old-old-old ways like where ...we lived on the land in a certain way. We just live on this land...in a different way...So that’s the other thing that’s really unique about [this process] is that...the researched participant or the researched and the researcher have come together and then the researchers [become a part of] ...the researched [who] are now the researchers. (McNab, W., personal communication, February 25, 2014)

[Lorena Fontaine (Anishinabe/Cree)] ...so Roberta had it set up so we had two Aboriginal women who were cultural support workers and we...
had coffee, we had tons of food there. As soon as we walked in...then the cultural support workers they had a smudge and a drum and so they said a prayer, they sang a song...It wasn’t a formal sharing circle...Everybody just started sharing different experiences...so we were aware that we were being recorded. And then the whole process of sharing...was so that we would be able to locate a story that we would eventually tell...but it was so much more than that. And then after that...they showed us digital storytelling processes...how to develop a digital story...we were being researched, but Roberta was also giving us a tool to learn how to do digital stories. And none of us had that experience before...it got technical after that. So it was like really emotional in the beginning and then it was technical because we had to become these little mini filmmakers. And none of us had really known what was involved so they took us through the steps and then we had to go and write a 1-page script based on whatever experience we were going to tell...then we had to start...finding pictures that would...attach to our stories. And again, even going through photos you’re reliving memories...then we started putting together digital stories...So we were creating this safety net I think right from the start by being supportive of each other and being honest and then having them take care of all our needs, like our emotional, physical.... (Fontaine, L., personal communication, February 25, 2014)

[Roberta Stout (Plains Cree)] ...I think through this project what we’ve been thinking through a lot is wouldn’t it have been nice to have talked to our grandmothers and to have known their stories. That’s why we’re bringing the mothers together because we want to know their stories because we don’t ask them. (Stout, R., personal communication, February 25, 2014)

[Lorena Fontaine (Anishinabe/Cree)] ...the most significant thing for me ... is that we broke silence because before that none of us had ever talked about these things and I think maybe we didn’t know how. At least for me, it was probably a bit [of] fear, I didn’t trust anybody...I had no place to do it and I didn’t want to be analyzed or looked at or picked apart. It was just...the perfect setting to do it because I had other women...they already knew my story...and if they didn’t they acknowledged it as being important and valid...what other kind of setting could you do that in?...In our communities, people don’t talk about the legacy of the residential schools. They’ll talk about it, more about... screw the government, look at all the damage they have done, but we barely talk about what it’s done to our families and our relationships.

And I think those are really hard conversations to have with our families. But with the extended family we have created we can talk about it all the time now. And so I think part of the reason why we have been able
to...our family has grown is because we have created sort of a space for that...those hard conversations to happen and then be supportive of each other. And that once you start that relationship it's never-ending. It just keeps growing like every time we meet.

[Wendy McNab (Cree/Saulteaux)]...we had presented...to the Commissioners at TRC [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] and they said that this was something really important that we should take it on the road and share it because it's not being done...we are collecting these stories...the storytellers themselves have said, "We want to tell a story, I have a story," and we still hear that to this day...I have a story to tell and I'd like to be a part of this. So it's completely driven by the storytellers themselves, even...the documents we have or the toolkit we're making, like everything is driven by not just us but the other digital storytellers...and then the future digital storytellers.

[Roberta Stout (Plains Cree)]...I think that's the beauty of film is that you can see an image and if it's not an image...that you directly know...like, images, smells, like anything that has to do...with your senses there's something so much more tangible...Yeah. And it's like body memories and... like, smell can take you back 20 years ago, right...And so images, visuals—and that's the whole point of a digital story is your putting a story with visuals it's not a blank screen. ...part of the reason that we did this work and continue doing it is because for so long non-aboriginal people have been...speaking for us...what I was seeing is that psychologists were starting to write articles on the intergenerational... [effects of]...residential schools...it was all about...post-traumatic stress disorder. They were medicalizing it. And I thought, good grief, now they're going to start this other kind of syndrome.

[Roberta Stout (Plains Cree)]...that's everything about [these] videos, what we share as Indigenous people. We're not sharing it to be fluffy...they're stories, real stories...this is completely you and this makes you vulnerable... And I don't know that...every director of a film is that emotionally connected. It might just be for...Hollywood or the glory, right? But I think what we try to do is we're using this medium as a way to write a new history to say this is how we see history, this is the way we see our present. (Stout, R., personal communication, February 25, 2014).

There are a number of things that impressed me with their process. The first thing is how protective they were of each other and of the other people who joined them in sharing this sometimes hidden, often painful information about our families and our communities. They were very careful to protect the vulnerabilities of those
who chose to speak on camera with the love and care that you would extend to a family member. A critical aspect of their process that resonated with me is how they came together as “family” and as a “community” in an innate way, not a in a predefined way. This way of coming together is natural to our Indigenous way of being. They exercised agency in how they set up their form of digital storytelling and empowered each other and all who joined the circle as community-based storytellers. Although, it was a research project, it did not “feel” like a research project; they collapsed the wall between the researcher and the researched. Their approach is very similar to how Indigenous film production practices engage, because our crews and all those involved in the production become “family.” Our “community” is extended through the very nature of how we conduct ourselves as we come together to tell our visual stories.

7.10. Conclusion

In many ways, this chapter is the culmination of the whole dissertation because the land, integral to all our cultures, has finally been given a voice. What I mean is that the spirit that emanates from the land shows us the images, the colors and the sounds that are to be a part of our visual storytelling. In oral storytelling fashion, I started this chapter with an experiential story to illustrate what I mean when speaking of the cultural congruency of our Indigenous film aesthetics. Then I proceeded to guide the discussion through the context of how Indigenous cultural producers, that is, artists from multi-disciplines exercised a sovereign, autonomous agency to create an Indigenous space in the national arts sector. In looking at film as a part of Indigenous knowledge production it was necessary to examine how Indigenous peoples look at knowledge itself. Masayesva, Jr.’s articulation of the distinctions made in his Hopi language served as the template of just how comprehensive and multifaceted the concept of knowledge is within one Indigenous culture.

The different types of knowledge(s) that Masayesva, Jr. describes provides a glimpse into understanding the finer nuances of the internal and external
accountabilities that Indigenous filmmakers have to contend with in their creative journeys. Undoubtedly the participants must balance the accountabilities they feel towards their families and communities with their own personal artistic expressions. Tracey Deer’s documentary making experience illustrated the complexity of how we can use our filmmaking skills to expose some of the difficult issues within our communities but there is an emotional cost to taking that stand. The added accountability to funding bodies complicates the creative process even further because many decision-makers are not aware of the cultural values that inform the making of our films. We have to be innovative and strategic in writing our funding proposals so that we can maintain the cultural congruency of our aesthetics. As Niro pointed out, we have to make our words “sing” in how we present our projects because it is a very competitive environment. And, as Hopkins pointed out, in the current conditions, it is no longer acceptable to make mediocre work.

In addition to the responsibilities of maintaining personal and cultural integrity, it was also essential to touch on the hard issue of race and the role it plays in the political dimension. Racially-based decisions have a direct impact on how Indigenous visual storytellers choose the aesthetics for their films yet remain true to themselves and the culture they are representing. In my use of bell hooks, I set up the theoretical framework that examines the privilege of whiteness and the double standard in the discourse when examining the concept of essentialism. This unpopular topic of white privilege has to be unmasked; otherwise a meaningful dialogue about the cultural congruency of Indigenous aesthetics (language, sounds, colors and images) could not be formulated.
Chapter 8.

What Eggs Did Cucw-la7 Lay?

8.1. Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I begin by reviewing the central research questions of the study and provide an analysis of the knowledge gathered (findings) from the participant knowledge keepers and visual storytellers/filmmakers. Plus, I examine how the stories, conversations and experiences relate to the theoretical constructs I added to, extended, and developed in this study. I return to the metaphor of my Secwepemc name Cucw-la7. She flies to destinations throughout Turtle Island to gather knowledge. From her journeys, she puts forward the “eggs she has laid” (see Figure 6) in the form of contributions to knowledge production in various areas of study: (a) Indigenous critical theories, (b) Globalization and Indigenous Place-Based Identity, (c) Indigenous film studies/Fourth World Cinema, and (d) Indigenous methodologies. Cucw-la7 returns home to an environment of Truth and Reconciliation in Canada to look at the implications and the limitations of the information gathered to the areas of study, including the field of education. Then Cucw-la7 considers what are the future destinations she can fly to by outlining some ideas for the possibilities of future research projects. The thesis concludes with some reflections on how this research has impacted my personal reconciliation process.

8.2. Cucw-la7 Gathering Knowledge:
   More than a Metaphor

8.2.1. Research Questions

When I started this research, I approached it much like I do when I am organizing a film/video production. Each production I work on starts with questions
that are seeking answers; the central question that is fundamental to this work is how does culture inform Indigenous production practices? I looked specifically at how Secwepemc-Syilx systems of knowledge contribute to developing a localized theory for visually sovereign narratives in relation to how the elements are constructed for Fourth World Cinema, including an examination of what role do cultural protocols play in the production of films? The second major question surrounds the issue of what I named cultural congruency. To bring clarity to the term, I ask how Indigenous visual storytelling styles and aesthetic choices reflect the culture of the Indigenous person or community being represented in the film/video? How does cultural congruency influence the production of films, that is, what can or cannot be filmed, where they can be screened and how can they be used for teaching and learning? I put forward the notion of visual narratives/films/videos as a form of Indigenous knowledge production.

8.2.2. Knowledge Gathered (Findings): Knowledge Keepers

At the beginning of gathering this knowledge, I state two purposes for the work. The first was to introduce new knowledge to the academy and the second was to explore whether or not there are similarities or tensions with what the 13 knowledge keepers shared and the Indigenous storywork principles, respect, reciprocity, responsibility, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy that Archibald (2008) identified. The first outstanding similarity of the common knowledge shared is the expansiveness of the different Indigenous worldviews. To fully grasp the worldviews, one must understand the important role of language and how the principle of interrelatedness permeates every aspect of the cultural knowledge(s) shared. The second commonality of the knowledge keepers is the seamless connection between story, land, and identity, which are all linked to specific territories. Woody Morrison (Haida) made a critical point when he described how each Indigenous group is placed on land that looks like them and given a language that sounds like that land. Therefore, each group of Indigenous peoples has a culturally specific knowledge that is specific to
their ancestral homelands and from where their genealogies are derived (Morrison, W., personal communication, September 2014).

All the knowledge keepers contributed different understandings to various concepts; I summarize some of the important findings from my conversations with them that are pertinent to this study. Woody Morrison (Haida), Mike Myers (Seneca) and Kukpi Ron Ignace (Secwepemc) knowledge keepers, illustrated how expansive Indigenous worldviews are. They moved Indigenous ways of seeing and knowing beyond a physical reality on the earth into a much larger domain. The concept of interrelatedness moved into the world of unseen beings that are characters in some of our cultural/Creation stories. The notion of time and space was discussed by Morrison from his Haida understanding as a member of a Tide Watcher society, which expanded cycles of time from years into thousands of years (Morrison, personal communication, September 2014).

Family and community are central to Indigenous peoples and Mona Jules (Secwepemc) explained some of the complexities of our family structures. The example she gave was how our grandmothers include the sisters and first cousins of our biological maternal and paternal grandmothers, which extends the size of our families’ way beyond the nuclear family of Euro-Western way of thinking.

Myers, Seneca knowledge keeper, shared a similar understanding from his matrilineal Iroquoian societal structure in that his “other Mothers” are the biological sisters of his mother, as well as his mother’s Clan sisters and his “older other Mothers” are his grandmother and her sisters. In discussing the concept of “All My Relations” Myers moved the concept of interrelationships into a profound place when he talked about the family tree of the Iroquois. He speaks of his matrilineal lineage as the earth being his mother, Sky Woman being his grandmother, and his grandfather as the Caretaker of the Tree of Life, who is still in the sky world upholding his role and responsibilities. On his patrilineal side, his grandmother is Ocean, his grandfather is
Thunder and three uncles are the south, east and north winds and his father is west wind. His cousins on the patrilineal side of his family are tornado, cyclone, dust devils and hurricane. Myers explains that coming from such a powerful family, there is an expectation for him to use his power for “...great things, good things, positive things that are going to contribute to the sustenance of life forever in this place.” Further, he says, “...I’m born to the Clan, I’m not born to a nuclear family” (Myers, M. personal communication, February 2014).

Shifting from the expansive worldviews shared, I turn to how Indigenous cultural knowledge informs the domains of land, story, cultural protocols, identity and spirituality, which are integral to Indigenous worldviews. Kukpi Ignace (2008; Secwepemc) spoke of how our stories are written on the land (pp. 21-92) and how those stories hold generations of historical knowledge for Secwepemc people (pp. 21-92). Mona Jules (Secwepemc) affirmed Ignace's statements when she shared stories that relate directly to some of the physical manifestations of those stories as landmarks that exist throughout Secwepemculecw, Secwepemc land (Jules, M., personal communication, April 2014).

Morrison pointed out how language is central to understanding differences in worldviews. However, it is not just philosophical differences that cause misinterpretations because the issue of writing or talking about Indigenous concepts in the English language also creates difficulties in transmitting the essence of the meanings of the concepts within the Indigenous language. A contemporary issue of language that Christian (Secwepemc-Syilx) observed is how Indigenous peoples fall into the trap of explaining ourselves to appease a colonial settler understanding in English, rather than speaking to whatever issue from an Indigenous perspective.

Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis) discussed one of the most difficult concepts of Indigenous ways of knowing and that is the spiritual relationship that Indigenous peoples have with the land. She says there is an unspoken language that connects us to
the land, even when we do not speak the language of our people. Campbell also explained that ceremonies facilitate cultural knowledge to return to those who have had the transmission of that information interrupted (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013).

Lynn Delisle (Mohawk) and Ross Montour (Mohawk) articulated the spiritual relationship that Campbell referred to, in different ways. Delisle said that even though she was raised Catholic, which severely interrupted her access to cultural knowledge, she firmly believes that she still accesses the knowledge because she holds the information in her genetics, in the blood that runs through her veins (Delisle, L., personal communication, October 2013). Montour talked about the strong internal pull to the land he was born to (Kahnawake), with which he felt a spiritual connection. That feeling was there even when he lived a significant distance away for considerable periods of time (Montour, R., personal communication, October 2013).

Kenthen Thomas (Secwepemc) is a prime example of what Montour and Delisle discuss because he does not speak the language and because of life circumstances he did not have access to the Sek'lep/Coyote stories. He took over half his life (he’s in his mid-30s now) in a home-schooling process to travel throughout Secwepemc and Syilx territories to observe and learn the stories and cultural protocols. Thomas’s perseverance, dedication, and determination resulted in being recognized as a “Master Coyote” storyteller by an older “Master Coyote” who publicly passed him the torch (Thomas, K., personal communication, August 2014). Secwepemc knowledge keepers Kukpi Ignace and Mona Jules in my conversations with them acknowledged Kenthen as a storyteller. He has definitely accessed the keys to Secwepemc cultural knowledge.

Lee Maracle (Stó:lo, Tsleil-wau-tuth) discussed how our cultural stories are the keys to accessing medicine, sociological, horticultural, animal and other knowledge(s) (Maracle, L., personal communication, November 2013), which gives insight into what Campbell (Cree-Métis) and Archibald (Coast Salish Stó:lo) mean about working with
story. Thus, once you access the key to whatever story knowledge you are seeking, it is critical to interact with it in an active way. The seeker of knowledge cannot just read or listen to the story, they/we need to do something with the story.

Morrison (Haida) talked about another way of working with the stories. He says Indigenous peoples are given stories that explain ceremonies on how to maintain a balanced reciprocal relationship with all the seen and unseen beings we co-exist with on the land. In linking the ceremonies to the land, animals, fishes, waters and other non-human beings, Morrison emphasized that everything is alive with spirit (Morrison, W., personal communication, September 2014).

Cultural protocols are embedded in the stories and “...there are protocols for every little thing” (Jules, M., personal communication, 2014) and Archibald (2008) confirms Mona Jules’s statement when she explains that there are specific cultural protocols and rules of behavior as a guest, as a host family/community or speaker in the Longhouse (pp. 37-38). Armstrong (2009) gives a specific Syilx example of just how strict the protocols are when stories are being shared in a cultural context. She explains that the protocols that govern depend upon the storyteller and his or her role in the community and what knowledge he or she carries, which “…illustrates the way captikʷl are usually selected to match the conventions of Syilx social protocols” (pp. 91-92). Thus in the domain of cultural protocols that is illustrated is the inherent nature of rootedness to the place/land base and the people specific to that place.

Laura Norton (Mohawk) talked about the role of cultural protocols in the technology driven world we live in. Her community of Kahnawake has a population of 8,000 and a communications infrastructure that not many Indigenous communities have (television station, a radio station and a newspaper). So when the young people who are incessantly on Facebook and other social media are told they cannot bring their personal handheld devices into the Longhouse because of Mohawk cultural protocols, they resist. The Clan Mothers are clear; you do not use your technology here
in this house (Norton, L., personal communication, October 2013). Yet on my home territories, two of the knowledge keepers are involved in using technology to teach the younger people the language and place-names (Ignace & Ignace, personal communication, May 2014). This reveals a conundrum that many Indigenous communities face: how do you use technology to teach the stories but still protect the cultural knowledge that belongs to the collective Nation?

Marianne Ignace (Plattdutsch) was my only non-Indigenous knowledge keeper and I was pleasantly surprised when she explained to me that in her culture, her family has stories that place them on the land for 800 years. She cautioned any researcher of cultural knowledge not to ignore living knowledge keepers who have direct experience of the knowledge being examined or who may carry information that the researcher has not even considered.

All of the knowledge keepers share cultural values that centralize story, land, cultural protocols, spirituality and identity; however due to space constraints, I use only the Cree-Métis, Haida, Mohawk, Secwepemc, Seneca and Stó:lō Coast Salish voices to illustrate my points. It is apparent that interrelatedness is a primary principle for all the Nations in all the domains. Reciprocity, holism, and, responsibility were explicitly stated in some of the conversations; however, the principles of synergy, respect, and reverence were more implicitly understood when talking about story, land, cultural protocols, spirituality and identity.

8.2.3. Knowledge Gathered (Findings):
Visual Storytellers/Filmmakers

The 17 diverse Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers come from various Indigenous Nations. To recapitulate they are: Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki/Odanak community), Lisa Jackson (Anishinabe), Lorena Fontaine (Anishinabe/Cree), Roberta
Stout (Plains Cree), Kevin Lee Burton (Swampy Cree), Maria Campbell, Danis Goulet and Loretta Todd, who are all Cree-Métis, Wendy McNab (Cree/Saulteaux), Marjorie Beaucage (Métis), Victor Masayesva, Jr. (Hopi, Hotevilla community), Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit, Igloolik community), Tracey Deer and Raohserahawi Hemlock who are both Kahnawake Mohawk, Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Six Nations Mohawk), Doreen Manuel (Ktun’axa/Secwepemc), and Shelly Niro (Six Nations Mohawk). Thirteen of them are engaged professionally as Indigenous filmmakers, Hemlock is a film student and Fontaine, McNab and Stout are community-based visual storytellers.

Although Deer, Hemlock, Hopkins and Niro are ostensibly from the same Mohawk Nation, I include their specific community because each one has a different location. Within the Cree Nation there are finer distinctions made by individuals who self identify as Swampy Cree, Plains Cree, and Cree-Métis. This factor of location is important because this study emphasizes land and place-based Indigenous identity. Twelve of the filmmakers live in urban centers and five live in their home communities. This is an intergenerational study with the youngest in his early 20s and the eldest is 84. There is at least one individual in each of the decades in-between, that is, in their 30s, 40s, 50s, 60s, and 70s. Notably, 13 women, in comparison to four men, dominate the gender representation.

This section of examining the knowledge gathered from the visual storytellers will focus on the concepts of story, land, cultural protocols, spirituality and identity. When I asked the participants to introduce themselves, they all identified with the physical land, regional locations of where their genealogy is derived. All named their Nation, some mentioned their Clans, some explained the responsibilities they carry in their communities and some explained who their parents and grandparents are and what communities they are from. No one called themselves Aboriginal, Indigenous,

99 Maria Campbell is in both groups because she is a knowledge keeper and a filmmaker.
Indian, or First Nations. Nor did they identify themselves as status or non-status or as off reserve or on-reserve Indians.

When I asked about their connections to their homelands, Alanis Obomsawin described an expansive land-base that includes the New England states (south of the 49th parallel), the Maritime provinces in Canada, and the southern region of Quebec. She explained that the Indigenous Nations within that territory, that is, Abenaki, Mikmaq, Maliseet and Penobscot all share the same language (Obomsawin, personal communication, October 2013). This understanding of territory certainly stands outside of the municipal, provincial, state and national boundaries imposed by colonial settler governments. I know that in my own homelands, the line drawn on a map that is known as the 49th parallel divides the Syilx Nation. We have family members who live south of the 49th. This line cuts through the territories of the Anishinabe, Mohawk and Coast Salish Nations as well. Another significant point that Obomsawin made is about how language determines the territory (Obomsawin, personal communication, October 2013). When I moved back to my home territories in 1995, I asked one of the knowledge keepers how far south do our ancestral lands go? He told me ‘to Wenatchee, as far as the language goes’. Thus, the integral qualities of land and language confirm what the knowledge keepers discussed.

Another aspect that Burton (Swampy Cree) and Hopkins (Heiltsuk/Mohawk) touched on is the spiritual connection they have to their ancestral homelands. Hopkins was born in Bella Bella, the community of her Heiltsuk mother but she has never lived there. She says she wants to be buried there. (Hopkins, Z., personal communication, November 2013). As I write this ponder whether or not her mother put her placenta into the land after her birth or if the Heiltsuk have a similar ceremony to connect the children to the land.

Burton speaks of his community of God’s lake as his “true home” because that is where his family has been for as long as he knows. Plus, when he is flying home, he can
“feel” when he has “passed through the threshold into the homeland.” This is the same feeling and experience that many Indigenous peoples share. He says, “Home is in our blood, in our connection to the land we are born to” and “I think a lot of it is spiritual and I think a lot of it is ancestral.” Burton makes some categorical distinctions when discussing connections, that is, he says that his connection to the land is different from the connection he feels around his sexuality and different from the connection he feels surrounding his Cree language (Burton, K., personal communication, February 2014).

Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki), Victor Masayesva, Jr. (Hopi) and Zacharias Kunuk (Inuit) discussed different aspects of Indigenous aesthetics. Kunuk shows what his Inuit aesthetics are in every aspect of his production process that includes his crew, his actors, his story, and brings them all together in a synergistic way within his cultural values. Masayesva, Jr. asserted years ago that Indigenous aesthetics began in the sacred and he clarified with me what he meant by his statement, which upholds the interrelatedness and synergy principles. A full explanation of his perspective is in the following section of contributions to knowledge. Obomsawin said she gleaned her aesthetics from the people whose story she was telling by listening carefully with three ears.

Loretta Todd (Cree-Métis) is an important critical thinker. She brought up her idea of aesthetics when she discussed her experience in film school and what theories they were teaching her. She said:

...we have a different philosophy, it’s not the Marxist philosophy. But in a way I...see that taking this philosophy and finding those tendrils, those threads, ...those lines, the form lines...the aesthetic of our lives that is embedded with our philosophy, embedded with our way of looking at the world, and weaving them into our cinema, so that...our people can revel in it. Our people can go...I feel myself moving in this sea, I can feel myself being immersed in this world....I feel safe in this world because I feel myself.... (Todd, L., personal communication, March 18, 2014)
Todd is the only one who spoke about Indigenous philosophies and the **expansiveness** of the Indigenous worldview and how Indigenous peoples have a personal relationship with the Universe. In our conversation, Todd touched on so many critical issues in her Indigenous production practice; it is not possible to encapsulate them in a few short paragraphs. One of the important cultural values that she talked about was how she “gives back” [read: reciprocity] to the community because she believes in a redistribution of wealth and provides opportunities to others in the community. Some of the younger filmmakers identified her as having an impact in their learning curve in the film and television industry.

Todd’s approach to filmmaking is one where she builds community-/family-like relationships on her film set and with the participants in her documentaries. And, when she is considering her film subject(s), Loretta says she is thinking about the screen but also what’s behind the screen, on either side of the screen and what’s in front of the screen. Another important factor in her practice is that she strives to “build trust” because she understands that she carries a great responsibility to the story and to the people whose story she is telling. In that building trust process, she aims to create a safe environment for everyone; therefore, she is selective about who works on her film projects. She does not have a written script that fills in the blanks with interviewees but does a lengthy consultation to find out how the people want to be represented because she feels a “visceral relationship” to the story and feels a deep level of **respect** for the people (Todd, L., personal communication, March 18, 2014).

Shelley Niro is another critical person in the development of Fourth World Cinema in Canada. Her films steeped in Mohawk aesthetics have influenced some of the younger filmmakers too. Danis Goulet screened Niro’s *Honey Moccasins* (1998), as a teenager and she said, “I was blown away by her film and it was just so new. It was completely ground-breaking...” (Goulet, D., personal communication, November 19, 2013). Niro explained that her parents were Born-Again Christians; however, her father was raised in the Longhouse and consistently brought the values of the Iroquoian
traditional teachings into her home. Throughout her development as a visual artist moving from photography, painting, and now to filmmaking Shelley says the traditional teachings influence her work.

In her film production practice, she involves the community on different levels, as actors, as crewmembers, and as script readers. We discussed the accountability we feel towards the community and the anxiety that causes for us. She was pleasantly surprised when over 200 people showed up on a New Year’s Eve to screen her film, *It Starts with a Whisper* (1993). One of the features I appreciate about Niro’s work is how she represents Indian women. I can see, hear, and feel my mother in the visual representations of her mother. When we were discussing how she got into making film, she said it was her childhood experience of not seeing herself, or her Mom or her Aunts on television or in films that was a major motivation in making this film. Although, Shelley did not speak explicitly about spirituality, she acknowledged how her Ancestors show up in her creative process, sometimes through her writing or in the performance of her characters.

Lisa Jackson (Anishinabe) has worked in what she calls personal and journalistic documentary, animation, traditional drama and music videos. In 2015 Jackson moved into docudrama series television. She directed an 8-part co-production for APTN/ZDF titled, *1491: The Untold Story of the Americas Before Columbus*. Lisa’s work has garnered much attention because she pushes beyond the boundaries of documentary and into creating new forms and unheard of stories from Indigenous peoples.

Jackson’s film *Savage (2009)*, a musical about residential school and students dancing and singing; evoked comments from a blogger who was accustomed to only seeing the victimization of residential school survivors. The blogger said to Lisa, “When the kids dance, she really messed up because it sort of seems like a bit funny” and Lisa responded with, “Yeah, it is supposed to seem a bit funny...people can be funny. I’m actually ...making a joke and it’s about their spirit and in laughing at it, it is showing that
the spirit can dance and sing” (Jackson, L., personal communication, March 26, 2014). Another one of her productions literally took my breath away and tears popped into my eyes as I finished watching the Director’s cut of Snare (Jackson, 2013). It is a hauntingly beautiful performance piece about Indigenous women and the violence perpetrated towards us in Canadian society. It is completely outside of the images that the signature phrase ‘Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women’ evokes in one’s imagination; yet, in the 3.5-minute short the audience realizes very quickly what the issue is, without any spoken words.

Although, Jackson does not talk about the depth of love she feels for the people, I feel that her films are imbued with a deepness of emotion that is not easily described in words. This quality is illustrated through a lengthy pre-production process she described to me; where she engaged with a community who hired her to make a film/video about their relationship to their land. She instituted a very respectful process to learn about the community and they showed their gratitude with many tears at the community screening. Originally, Jackson had set a 1-year plan for the documentary but it took almost 2 years. Currently, Lisa is working on her Master of Fine Arts at York University, and she says:

For my thesis, I’m doing a 3-part installation looking at the power of Indigenous language. The middle section has a video that has some similarity to Snare’s vibe. Actually, I likely won’t do the whole installation for my thesis as it’s too expensive, but will do something smaller and then pursue support for the full meal deal. I’m stoked. I think at least part of it could travel the country. (Jackson, personal communication, March 3, 2016)

I look forward to Lisa’s installation on language.

I believe the critical bottom line question is, “Who is your audience?” The answer to that question reveals the intent of any visual production, that is, is this for entertainment, commercial, educational or cultural purposes? The answers to these questions reveal the intent of the visual production and set the trajectory of the
production process. The Director then selects his/her film elements, which include: how the camera is situated, choice of visuals, choice of sounds, and colors—all of which represent the aesthetics of the film. In addition, the production process is subjective in that the cultural knowledge held by the key roles of producer/director/writer would determine how cultural protocols are engaged in the production process of any visual storytelling. Furthermore, this opens the door to asking where is the producer/director/writer in their personal decolonization process? Since decolonizing is a very personal, intimate and deeply emotional and spiritual process, it is difficult to pass judgment on a peer visual storyteller. However this may be a consideration for the education of future visual storytellers. Thus, contemporary Indigenous visual storytelling at this time of decolonizing is complicated; however, the first step is to verify the intent and purpose of the film/visual project as well as having clarity on the targeted audience.

As I have stated elsewhere in this dissertation, each filmmaker deserves a chapter dedicated only to them and their work but because of space constraints it is not possible to manage an in-depth discussion about each visual storyteller/filmmaker’s creative process in their production practice.

Figure 6. Cucw-la7 with the eggs she laid
8.3. Contributions to Knowledge Production

This research is unique because it brings together a rare combination of theory and practice of Indigenous filmmaking. Plus, it is an insider conversation with a diverse group of Indigenous cultural knowledge keepers and an equally diverse group of Indigenous filmmakers with a Secwepemc-Syilx/Indigenous woman researcher who has professional experience in field production and theoretical understandings of dominant film theory. Thus, the documented conversations make important contributions to knowledge production by adding to or extending existing theories, and by developing a localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory.

8.3.1. Indigenous Critical Theories

From the shared stories, conversations and experiences with the 13 diverse Indigenous cultural knowledge keepers (Cree-Métis, Haida, Métis, Mohawk, Secwepemc, Secwepemc-Syilx, Seneca and Stó:lō Coast Salish—Tsleil-wau-tulth), I extended Archibald’s (2008) seven Indigenous storywork principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy through the expansive worldviews of the knowledge keepers. In particular, the principle of interrelatedness was elevated to a much larger domain, beyond the physical reality of earth to the world of seen and unseen beings in the universe. This is important because this way of knowing affirms the spiritual aspects of Indigenous ways of knowing.

When examining Archibald’s Indigenous storywork principles alongside the conversations I had with the knowledge keepers, I discovered how difficult it is to articulate the Indigenous meanings of these principles in a Euro-Western academic context. I found that the synergy principle is the most difficult to articulate because in
attempting to describe an Indigenous concept in the English language proves challenging. I speak of this concept as an “exchange of life force energies that infuse the exchange between the story, the storyteller and the listener in that “space between the words” that Kukpi Ignace (2008) discusses (p. 100), which encodes the understanding of spirit. In Secwepemc understanding, the life force is your “soomik” that is your personal spiritual power (Ignace & Ignace, May 2014). An unspoken understanding with all of the knowledge keepers is that the energies are alive because Indigenous peoples believe all things are infused with spirit.

With this understanding, the principle of reverence brings a much deeper meaning, which most academics and indeed most Euro-Western thinkers have difficulty accepting. I consider the domain of Indigenous spirituality critical to understanding Indigenous systems of knowledge, which is why I produced a counter-narrative to the universal principle of cosmopolitanism that projects a secular world that removes spirit from the dialogue. A cosmopolitan world is one that purports we are all human beings and we all bleed the same red blood; therefore, we should all embrace a monoculture. The subtext of that trajectory of thought is that all populations are to adopt and/or adapt to the dominating Euro-Western philosophies. This approach contradicts the uniqueness of each Indigenous culture and denies the existence of Indigenous people’s spirituality, which is implicit within our worldviews.

When discussing cultural protocols, as stated Maria Campbell speaks of the responsibility and reciprocity between a person seeking knowledge and the knowledge holder. First of all, the person asking is extending respect by offering a gift in return for the information they are looking for because there is an embedded cultural understanding that you do not take, without giving something back. She spoke about how this kind of exchange is about building relationship and acknowledging a kinship. A critical piece of knowledge that Campbell talked about is the responsibility of the knowledge holder in that it is not just about carrying that knowledge but there is also a responsibility to pass that knowledge to individuals who will treat what they receive
with respect. She says it’s about “…making sure that it’s passed on and that the people you’re giving it to are going to use it in an honourable way” (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013). This way of knowing and doing permeated my interactions with all of the knowledge keepers during the course of this study. For me as the person who was requesting knowledge, I felt the weight of this responsibility to all the knowledge keepers to conduct myself in a principled way that respected Indigenous way of doing.

When applying Archibald’s principles to make meaning of the conversations I had with the knowledge keepers, I see that the respect and holism principles are also difficult to explain in English and in a Euro-Western context because these concepts are implicit in Indigenous systems. The Indigenous holistic approach assumes the engagement of the heart, body, mind and spirit within the circle of a whole and healthy human being. The Medicine Wheel and the Circle of Life are only two symbolic expressions of the circle methodology that the holistic approach encompasses (Archibald, 2008, p. 11). My Microsoft Word thesaurus identifies the synonyms for respect as: admiration, deference, esteem, reverence and veneration, which are all English words that include different aspects of my Indigenous understanding of respect. Archibald (2008) describes a fuller and more thoughtful consideration of how Indigenous peoples see respect. She says:

I came to realize that respect must be an integral part of the relationship between the Elder and the researcher—respect for each other as human beings, respect for the power of cultural knowledge, and respect for cultural protocols that show one’s honour for the authority and expertise of the Elder teacher. The principle of respect includes trust and being culturally worthy. (p. 41)

In all of my conversations with the diverse group of knowledge keepers all of Archibald’s Indigenous storywork principles were a part of the shared stories even though they were not necessarily explicitly discussed.
8.3.2. Globalization and Indigenous Place-Based Identity

In the globalization discourse, I conducted an extensive investigation in the Chapter 4 (Theory) section “Globalization: At the Interface of Indigenous and Euro-Western Systems of Knowledge.” The focus was on cultural anthropologist Appadurai’s (1988, 1990, 1996) construct of the concept of de-territorialization. It was important to do a forensic examination of his theoretical framework because it has to do with land, which is a central theme throughout this dissertation. Land directly relates to the ancestral territories and place-based identities of Indigenous peoples.

The salient points of Appadurai’s (1988) erasure of Indigenous peoples in the discourse are: 1. He mistakenly states that Indigenous peoples are prisoners of “our mode of thought” [read: philosophies], which in his opinion is why we stay on our ancestral lands (p. 37). He surmises that “authentic” [read: pure-blooded] Indigenous peoples have probably never really existed because we have always been in contact with one group or another (p. 39). 2. He completes his erasure of Indigenous peoples by disconnecting the people and the culture from the land base (p. 45). Appadurai’s most offensive point about Indigenous peoples is that there are no firm cultural/territorial boundaries because of our genetic mixing through inter-marriages amongst Indigenous Nations and others. Appadurai’s work is a prime example of the diametrically opposed values of Indigenous peoples and settler populations who assume the superiority of Euro-Western thinking. The systematic step-by-step removal of Indigenous peoples from the discussion of how we are connected to our territories/land opened the door for my intervention in the discussions of Indigenous identity as Indigeneity, which is a term that has become commonplace in the globalization discourse.

From an Indigenous perspective, it is absolutely necessary to produce a counter-narrative to Appadurai’s (1988) erasure of Indigenous peoples from the land. To do that, I set my construct within the context of critical land-based theories developed by
other Indigenous scholars. Young Leon’s (2015) Cree-Anishnabe model establishes the groundwork for Indigenous land, stories and protocols. She elaborates five pathways for collective learning that encompasses layers of teaching and learning, which are rooted to the land through prayer, performance, languages, genealogy, dreams, songs, ancestors and ceremonies (p. 102).

In addition, Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson (2014) refines the theoretical framework by focusing on the story given to her people for how to collect maple sugar and she speaks of this “story as a theoretical anchor” from her Nishnaabeg intelligence/worldview (p. 7). Most importantly, in discussing how settler peoples have commercialized the process of collecting maple sugar she explains the industrialization of one of their land practices as a deterritorialization of the story that is, removing the spiritual connection of the story into the domain of capitalism (p. 9). Given Appadurai’s removal of Indigenous peoples and their connection to the land, Simpson adds an explanation of how our land practices are also disconnected from the land. Her explanation and analysis of Nishnaabeg connection of land and story is brilliant. Dene scholar, Glen Coulthard’s concept of grounded normativity is the next theoretical step, which affirms the relational qualities and ethical principles of our Indigenous ways of knowing that guide our land-based practices in how we interact with each other and all the other beings with whom we share the land.

Within the context of critical Indigenous land/place-based theories, I turn to Secwepemc-Syilx systems of knowledge to add to and expand this body of work by providing a culturally specific way of relating to the land. I apply Armstrong’s (2009) notion of Indigeneity as a social paradigm and utilize Sam’s (2013) Syilx/Indigenous analysis of the globalization discourse, which I assert is an intellectual intervention of the regularly used terms of Indigeneity and deterritorialization. These are the terms generally to refer to Indigenous identity and Indigenous relationship to land. By developing a localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory, I make a finer more nuanced application of Armstrong and Sam’s theories to add to and expand their intervention in
the globalization discourse. The localized theory I put forward provides the theoretical framework of a place-based Indigenous identity.

To do this, I used a Secwepemc Sek’lep/Coyote story to deconstruct the colonial white, settler approach to Indigenous identity and to defy the notions of pan-Indianism that many settler peoples, including scholars, are prone to apply to Indigenous people’s identities. The full explanation of the theoretical steps I undertook is in the Chapter 4 section “Developing a Critical Localized Secwepemc-Syilx Theory.” To express the final theoretical construct, I used the idea of the DNA strand to formulate my localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory. On one side of the strand is Armstrong’s (2009) Syilx regenerative principle; on the other side of the strand is Ignace’s (2014) Secwepemc principle of reciprocal accountability. Holding the two strands together are two Secwepemc concepts in Secwe pemcstin (the Secwepemc language). They are, *k’weltktnéws, which at its core meaning describes interrelatedness,* and *knucwestsuts,* speaks to taking personal responsibility in how you give back to your family/community/Nation through your individual actions to become a part of the collective. Thus, being a valued member who interrelates in healthy ways on all levels (Michel, 2012, p. 48). I see the ultimate purpose of this localized Secwepemc-Syilx theory is to perpetuate life on the land, including all life forms. When one is internalizing these principles and enacting them on the land, then Secwepemc-Syilx identity is reinforced and affirmed.

In these contemporary times, there are layers within the complexities of Indigenous identity. To provide insight into some of those layers, I use the life experience of one visual storyteller/filmmaker Zoe Leigh Hopkins (Heiltsuk and Mohawk) as an example. Zoe was born in Bella Bella, BC her mother’s home community. She has never lived there and grew up in Ottawa and Vancouver. Now, she lives in her Mohawk father’s home community of Six Nations. Hopkins has taken the time to learn the Mohawk language and is now fluent. In her education process, she was once fluent in French because she attended a French immersion school. Zoe also
went to film school at Ryerson. With her film work she travels the globe to attend international film festivals. The storylines of her work speak to a “sense of loss,” a “something is missing” feeling, which may be a part of the sense of belonging to homeland. Zoe describes herself as someone who jumps back and forth between the canoe (Iroquois) and the ship (Settlers) of the Two Row Wampum, an Iroquoian symbol of autonomy and sovereignty (Hopkins, personal communications, November 2013).

Hopkins’ life experience is only one example of how complicated it is to be Indigenous in Canada. I am certain that each visual storyteller/filmmaker has their own unique way of expressing this sense of loss of connection to land/place, culture and language even though they may not describe it as that. Every Indigenous person in this country feels the loss because the intergenerational transmission of knowledge has been severely interrupted in one way or another because of residential schools and other aspects of our shared colonial experience. The question is how does this affect our place-based identities, our sense of homeland and our sense of belonging to a culturally specific group? To explore how a land/place-based Indigenous identity affects Indigenous film production practices, I expanded the concept of visual sovereignty and developed the concept of cultural congruency in Indigenous Film/Fourth World Cinema studies, which are part of my major contributions to Indigenous knowledge production.

8.3.3. Fourth World Cinema: Indigenous Film Theory, Visual Sovereignty, Indigenous Aesthetics and Cultural Congruency

The conversations, shared stories and experiences I had with the 17 visual storytellers/filmmakers are outside the normalized colonial narrative which have historically hampered the perspective of Indigenous peoples being delivered to mainstream film discourse. This research delivers an Indigenous-to-Indigenous knowledge sharing within an Indigenous research paradigm rather than the normalized Indigenous filmmaker as object of study within a colonial framework.
Fourth World Cinema within the context of mainstream film discourse, I uncovered how film theorists erase Indigenous peoples in the dialogue.

Most film theorists do not know how to situate or conceptualize our political identities because of our prior existence on the land. Thus, Indigenous filmmakers are mistakenly categorized with diasporic populations (immigrants, refugees, politically exiled peoples) along with women and physically/mentally challenged peoples. Indigenous peoples have become a part of the marginalized groups, which is the normalized term for anyone who is not located in the privileged white male category. I discuss this extensively in Chapter 6, section “Global Film Discourse: Deterritorialization and Indigeneity.” Corinn Columpar is one film theorist who recognizes the place of Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers and she understands how our relationship to the land determines our Indigenous identity, which illustrates a deeper comprehension of where we are politically located in the discourse.

German film theorist, Kirstin Knopf (2009) dedicates a whole book, *Decolonizing the Lens of Power: Indigenous Films in North America* to searching for an answer to the question of “whether or not there is a definite Indigenous film practice.” Further, she states, “...there is no framework yet for the analysis of Indigenous films, there is no specific Indigenous film terminology with which to refer to the tools, techniques, rules, and distribution channels involved” (p. xiii). Notably, Knopf does not use Maori filmmaker Barry Barclay’s publications that outline some of the concerns she is addressing. However, it is important to point out that the focus of her book were the filmmakers of Turtle Island (the United States and Canada), within a decolonizing context. I see this geographical limitation as a weakness in her book because the international Indigenous film world includes significant contributions by the Maori and the Sami to the development of Fourth World Cinema. Barry Barclay (Maori) was the first Indigenous filmmaker to gain recognition at the Cannes Film Festival in 1987 and Nils Gaup (Sami) was the first Indigenous filmmaker to be nominated for an Oscar in Hollywood in the same year. After all, the decolonizing process is a global phenomenon.
My research project that I have named, “Gathering Knowledge: Indigenous Methodologies of Land/Place-Based Visual Storytelling/Filmmaking & Visual Sovereignty” is written to be a part of the global Indigenous filmmaking family. It is, in part, asserting that there is a specific Indigenous film practice, and it is developing Indigenous film terminology to refer specifically to our culturally specific production practices.

The following paragraphs briefly discuss the contributions I make to Indigenous knowledge production through my conceptual frameworks of Indigenous visual narrative/film production practices. I add to and expand the growing Indigenous film theory/Fourth World Cinema discourse. More specifically, I add to the existing Indigenous scholarship surrounding the concepts of visual sovereignty and Indigenous film aesthetics. Further, I introduce the concept of cultural congruency that I develop in relation to Indigenous film production practices.

It is difficult to discuss the notion of Indigenous aesthetics separate from the concept of visual sovereignty because they are interrelated concepts that embed our connection to the land. I discuss this extensively in Chapter 6 under the subheading Visual Sovereignty of Indigenous Cultural Production that focused on Fourth World Cinema in the international and national Spheres. There are two often-touted statements made by Victor Masayesva, Jr. (Hopi) in the dialogue. The first is that Indigenous filmmakers do have an aesthetic and “...it begins in the sacred” (cited in Leuthold, 1998, p. 1). The other is his assertion that Indigenous filmmakers have levels of accountability to their families, clans, communities and nations that the white filmmaker does not have.

When I spoke with Masayesva, Jr. in April 2015 to clarify what he meant by his statement that our aesthetics begin in the sacred, his answer was complicated. He basically said that our visual aesthetics are in the images of our day-to-day activities in how we relate to our ancestral lands while we are upholding our responsibilities
through the daily, monthly, or annual rituals/ceremonies we participate in to ensure a sustainable continuance of life on our ancestral lands. The sacredness part is in how we relate to the land because of the reciprocal relationship between the land and the people. Thus the images that are created when we interact with everything on the land, is where the culturally specific visual images begin and project our culturally specific aesthetics. Again, the principle of **interrelatedness** holds all those activities together, while they are occurring, thus the sovereign images are being performed in those day-to-day activities. Each Indigenous group, with their/our place-based identities relate directly to lands that hold our stories and our cultural knowledge(s) that inform how we conduct ourselves in all our relationships.

Another way to discuss Masayesva Jr.'s complex explanation is to think of it in filmmaking/visual storytelling terms. If we consider Archibald's **synergy** principle in the Indigenous storywork process and apply that same principle to the Indigenous visual storywork process then it would be the “organic transfer of knowledge” (Morrison, personal communication, May 2016) or the exchange of “alive” life force energies between the story being filmed, the filmmaker/visual storyteller, and those who are watching/observing (the audience). The visual images that are created in that synergistic interaction are the sacred aesthetics. Therefore, when Zacharias Kunuk makes production choices to use his knowledge holders/elders as seamstresses to make sure he is “doing things right,” what he is pointing to is that his Igloolik/Inuit have a particular style of clothing, with specific designs and images that relate to his specific region of Ammituq in Nunavut territories. He is ensuring that he is representing the aesthetics of his people (Kunuk, Z., personal communication, January 2015). Plus, I assert that Kunuk’s filming the day-to-day activities of his people and community reflects the visually sovereign images from his people and his land. He is an exceptional case in point who embodies what Masayesva, Jr. is conveying in his assertion of Indigenous aesthetics beginning in the sacred.
From this understanding of Indigenous aesthetics and the visual sovereignty of images, I developed the concept of cultural congruency in relation to how visual narratives are constructed in Indigenous production practices. In Chapter 7’s section “Indigenous Production: Cultural Congruency and Aesthetic Choices,” I said, “What I mean by this term, ‘cultural integrity’ is that the filmmaker is taking responsibility by engaging appropriate cultural protocols and respectful actions while being mindful of the different accountabilities to the individual, family, or community being filmed.”

Taking cultural integrity to the next step brings the process into the realm of what I mean by cultural congruency, which is how we make our aesthetic choices. And, when we make our selections we do so in a respectful way that represents the culture of the individual or community in a way that is meaningful for them. In other words, we choose language, images/designs, sounds/songs, and colors that come from their land.

In addition, I used Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous storywork principles of respect, reciprocity, responsibility, reverence, holism, synergy, and interrelatedness as a guideline to see if and how they were implemented in the production practices of the Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers. I expanded Archibald’s (2008) storywork process to introduce the notion of a visual storywork process. To clarify what I mean, I am not referring to seeing visual images of the story you are listening to in your minds eye as storyteller Ellen White described (Archibald, 2008, p. 134) but instead I sought out situations where they were used in production. This is different than how I extended Archibald’s principles when analyzing the conversations/stories with the knowledge keepers.

8.3.4. Indigenous Methodologies

The contribution that this research makes to Indigenous methodologies and methods begins in my choice to privilege an Indigenous paradigm and to honour Indigenous systems of knowledge(s) over Euro-Western systems of knowledge. I went over and above the requirements of the University of British Columbia’s Behavioral
Research Ethics Board (BREB) in many ways. For instance, I forwarded copies of the completed chapters to the knowledge keepers and visual storytellers/filmmakers to be sure they were comfortable with how I used the knowledge they shared with me. As I stated in my Methodology (Chapter 3), there were multiple levels of accountabilities because I was working with two groups from many different Indigenous nations. Plus, I was engaged with Splatsin, my Secwepemc home community.

The greatest contribution to Indigenous methodologies is that I developed specific concepts from an Indigenous way of knowing and doing that encompasses the layered relationship of land, story, and cultural protocols. The localized Secwepemc-Syilx/Indigenous theory I developed explains how our identities are intrinsically tied to the place we come from and where our people have lived for thousands of years. Furthermore, in the film production practices, by applying Indigenous methodologies, I illustrated how culture informs our work by developing the concept of cultural congruency, which honours the principles of Indigenous cultures and is culturally relevant.

This research and the contributions to knowledge production encapsulated in the above paragraphs will impact the following areas of study: Indigenous/First Nations Critical Studies; Cultural Studies; Indigenous Methodologies, Globalization, Indigenous Film/Fourth World Cinema, Indigenous Media and Communications Studies and Educational Studies.

8.4. What Are Cucw-la7’s Next Flight Destinations?

8.4.1. Future Research Projects

There are some stimulating ideas for future research projects that grew out of this work. In one of my conversations with Maria Campbell (Cree-Métis) we discussed what living in an urban setting does to our cultural behaviors and access to cultural
knowledge. Given that Statistics Canada\(^{100}\) estimates that 68% of urban Aboriginal people are “registered under the Indian Act” as “status Indians” and over 50% of Indigenous peoples are now living in urban centers, Maria Campbell raised a critical question, “How do we teach the third generation urban Indigenous people?” This project could explore Maria’s question (Campbell, M., personal communication, September 2013). Both of us had worked with young people in gangs and observed transformations in them when they experienced a sense of belonging to the community.

For many reasons, we form our own intertribal families who we are not related to biologically but we establish auntie, uncle, and granny relationships to replace our original families. It is the family and community relationship that we seek. This way of knowing and doing is a natural way to counter the generations of damage that has been wrought on our families and communities. Forming family-like relationships can be a first step to learning where your biological family is situated on Turtle Island, thus affirming your cultural identity. I strongly believe that it is not too late for people to learn. From my own experience, I know that we have access to our cultural knowledge through our ancestral connections, that is, through dreams, sitting with the waters, the land and by participating in ceremonies on our lands. If the spirits see and feel the sincerity of your/our desire to learn they will bless you with openings to the knowledge you need.

Thus a close examination of the Indigenous diaspora who self-identify as urban-based Indians and their families who live on reservation land would be a hotbed of experiences to explore in terms of how each group formulates their identity. Over the years, I have observed and experienced an internal tension from my own family and community because I live in the city and I know that I am not the only one. In my discussion with Kevin Burton, he identified “the dichotomy between urban Indians and

\(^{100}\) The Urban Aboriginal population at Statistics Canada website: 
rez Indians” as a super challenging issue that he is grappling with in his life (Burton, K., personal communication, February 2014).

Another possible research project surrounds the critical issue that language plays in our understanding of Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies. Kevin Burton’s deconstruction and reconstruction of language and how that relates to sounds of the land was a profound insight that he shared. He was talking about the spaces that cannot be described with words. The domain of sound is of particular interest to me because, when I produced and directed my independent film, “a spiritual land claim” (Christian, 2006), I constructed the visual story with very few words. Layers of images and layers of sounds dominated the storyline of the film/video. I wanted to tell the ugly story of colonization and its impact on my family and community without using a word sledgehammer that propels audiences to flip to the next channel, or walk out of the theatre. I was experimenting with the concept of silence; I wanted to see the audience’s reaction to the “spaces between the words” (Ignace, 2008, p. 100). This could be a 2-tiered project exploring language and sound.

Two other possible projects could focus on the internal and external accountabilities that were identified in Chapter 7, Accountabilities in Production: Internal/External could explore the two levels of cultural protocols required to engage with the communities and with external agencies. These two projects could be stand-alone projects or one project with a 2-level approach to examine both those domains. It is important to know whether or not our communities/Nations have mechanisms that guide how cultural protocols are enacted to protect cultural story knowledge. Are there existing guidelines on how the knowledge is treated so that the cultural stories are respected and not exploited by internal members, or external bodies that interface with Indigenous communities?

Finally, a research project could identify the best ways to incorporate the film and media work of Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers into entry-level teacher
training programs at the regional, national and international educational institutions. In realizing the important role of screen culture and how Indigenous cultural stories inherently incorporate teaching and learning processes, this project could examine ways to change the curricula. Indigenous visual narratives are natural pedagogical tools that could enrich the learning process for students and teachers alike.

8.5. Cucw-la7 Returns Home

8.5.1. What Is a True Reconciliation in Canada?

Truth and Reconciliation has become a loaded political phrase because it is an international phenomenon that calls colonizer countries to account for their treatment of the Indigenous populations. Australia’s Truth and Reconciliation process\textsuperscript{101} resulted in a National Sorry Day; however, it appears that there has not been significant change. As the National Post article\textsuperscript{102} notes, the then Australian Prime Minister John Howard refused to issue an apology in 1998. Following his years in office, he explained that he did not feel that the present generation should have to take responsibility for the actions of the previous generations. In addition, he says he does not believe that genocide was perpetrated on the Aborigine population. South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation\textsuperscript{103}, which was the most highly publicized, started in April 1996, 2 short years after white minority rule ended. The impact of this court-like social justice approach is still being assessed 20 years later. Canada is only one of many countries that have undertaken a Truth and Reconciliation process that has several different approaches.

\textsuperscript{101} http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/allan-levine-australia-received-its-painful-reconciliation-report-18-years-ago-there-hasnt-been-much-improvement
\textsuperscript{102} http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/allan-levine-australia-received-its-painful-reconciliation-report-18-years-ago-there-hasnt-been-much-improvement
In June 2008, the Prime Minister of Canada made a public apology and acknowledged part of the dark history it perpetrated on the original peoples through its “legislated genocide” (Christian, W., personal communication, April 2014), which set in motion a tenuous social and political environment of reconciliation in this country. Further, in 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada published its Final Report. The first page of the report speaks of the “cultural genocide” Canada enacted on Indigenous peoples. The Commissioners describe what they mean by this term as follows:

Cultural genocide is the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group. States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social institutions of the targeted group. Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and the objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed. And, most significantly to the issue at hand, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next. (TRC, 2015, p. 1)

I am hopeful that the national and regional engagement with Indigenous communities will move into a domain where more meaningful and transformed ways of relating to the original peoples will occur through substantive political change.

The completion of the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) is a second chance for the colonial governments to implement strategies that effect changes and actually make a difference to Indigenous peoples and communities. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)104, established after the 1990 Oka Crisis resulted in a 4,000-page final report in 1996 with 440 recommendations. Sadly, one of the original Commissioners from that public inquiry, Paul Chartrand105 brings the public’s attention to the fact that 20 years later, he is still waiting for change.

Improving relationships with the original Indigenous Nations of this country is at the core of both commissions. The TRC final report repeats many of the recommendations of the 1996 RCAP report, which were virtually ignored with very few of them implemented (TRC, 2015, p. 7).

The Final Report that the TRC (2015) presented has 94 Calls to Action in various areas, including Education and Media (pp. 319-337) with building good relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous settler peoples in Canada as a stated goal. One of the TRC’s choices was to implement a strategy to reach as many Canadians as possible, including personal storytelling and witnessing of residential school survivors in major cities across the country. Personal storytelling and witnessing are both methodologies based in Indigenous knowledge systems. Some non-Indigenous Canadians were called to be a witness of the proceedings of the TRC that started in June 2008 with a 5-year mandate. My understanding of being called to witness is that it is a public ceremony where individuals are selected to observe the work that is done and that individual carries the responsibility to be able to recount what they have witnessed. One of the critical pieces of the witnessing ceremony is to tell the people at home what you have experienced, much like being an oral historian of a particular event or being a walking newspaper passing on news what people need to know.

The TRC (2015) final report title page calls it, “Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future” and it states “To some people, reconciliation is the re-establishment of a conciliatory state” (p. 6) but most Indigenous peoples do not feel that this condition has ever existed between the original peoples and the settler populations in Canada. The report clarifies that its approach of reconciling the experiences of generations of Indigenous children in Canada’s residential schools is similar to a domestic violence scenario (p. 7). In this kind of situation, there is an abuser and a victim and the process of healing is to deal with past actions that have caused harm and to move towards a

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healthy and respectful way of relating. The personal storytelling and bearing witness to these accounts is only the first step to building a respectful relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

While the general Canadian population may have been deeply moved by the personal accounts they heard, it is useful to know that from an Indigenous perspective, reconciliation means more than just telling your personal experience and being witnessed in sharing intimate details of your life. When examined closely, these methodologies for Indigenous peoples are far deeper than just watching and listening. Nuu-chah-nulth scholar Chaw-win-is describes the process for her community:

...Chaw-win-is uses a “Quu’asa family way,” which is an Indigenous centered methodology presently used in Nuu-chah-nulth communities as a way of regenerating haa-huu-pah through relational accountability and truth-telling. This Quu’asa family way view haa-huupah as a layer of community governance and leadership that emphasizes the renewal of Indigenous roles and responsibilities to the land and community. Using a Quu’asa family way storytelling methodology allows us to draw linkages between themes of land, family, living histories, and acts of resistance, while offering an alternative narrative to state-centered reconciliation presented by the TRC. (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T’lakwadzi, 2009, p. 11)

I select this quote for two reasons: One, to illustrate that each Nation/Indigenous culture has specific ways of utilizing storytelling, which is just one example that illustrates the critical connection to land, family, living history and acts of resistance. Two, my cynical mind fears that many of the general populous of Canada may perceive the personal storytelling approach as just another way for Indigenous peoples to be victims; rather than understanding that for Indigenous peoples this is only one small step towards a true reconciliation. It is difficult to proceed in a way that will bring social, political and cultural transformations unless the differences between Indigenous and Euro-Western ways of knowledge are acknowledged.
8.6. Implications and Limitations of this Research

In the current conciliatory environment in Canada, it is important to know whether or not the agencies that interface with Indigenous communities are paying attention to the 94 Calls to Action of the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s Final Report. The 2015 report has policy implications for agencies such as Telefilm, the Canada Council for the Arts, provincial Arts Councils, the National Film Board, and APTN and other broadcasters, who disseminate funding to Indigenous filmmakers. A discussion about how these agencies engage cultural protocols with Indigenous communities needs attention to move towards addressing some of the funding disparities that Indigenous artists experience. An exciting development that seems to be moving towards reconciliation in the film and television industry for Indigenous filmmakers came from the Canada Media Fund press release dated January 23, 2017. The title of the press release “Supporting and developing the Indigenous screen-based industry in Canada” holds promise for Indigenous visual storytellers/filmmakers. Moreover, in the report Supporting & Developing the Indigenous Screen-based Media Industry in Canada: A Strategy (December 2016) prepared for the multi-stakeholders by consultant Marcia Nickerson (2016) says:

Considering the new federal government’s promises to forge a new nation-to-nation relationship with the Indigenous peoples and commitment to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples through adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the implementation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s (TRC) 94 Calls to Action, the timing for an Indigenous screen-based media strategy is impeccable. (p. 6)

The discussion on how cultural protocols are engaged with Indigenous communities started in the international realm in 2016 at the Toronto International film festival. There was a panel titled, “Pathways and Protocols—Collaborating with

108 http://mass.egzakt.com/t/ViewEmail/y/E5491DF43C580C5F/11B860FCBE9E3B864AB3169DA1FD82E9
Indigenous Communities.” It was streamed live on September 12, 2016\textsuperscript{109} and the website states:

In 2009, Screen Australia published a comprehensive guide titled Pathways & Protocols: A filmmakers guide to working with Indigenous people, culture and concepts by Terri Janke. Both NZ (New Zealand) and Screen Australia’s Indigenous Branch have been industry models for successfully bridging the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous film communities. In Canada, this process is just beginning…. \textsuperscript{110}

An exchange of ideas has started on the national level in Canada amongst multi-disciplinary Indigenous artists. In March 2014, there was a Cultural Protocol Forum hosted by the First Nations Cultural Council of BC at the En’owkin Centre in Penticton, BC. At the gathering, I was one of 70 interdisciplinary artists who were in attendance. I was on a panel titled, “Creators: Navigating Protocols as an Artist.” My presentation focused on Indigenous cultural protocols and filmmaking, and I emphasized how critical it was to know “which horse did you ride in on” and I put forward ideas of locating yourself in the academic, cultural and professional domains when engaged in our arts practices.

Both these organizations are instrumental in making change with agencies that disburse monies to Indigenous artists. The First People’s Cultural Council is an arms-length organization of the BC Arts Council, which was set up after Oka in 1990. This organization is critical to language revitalization in BC and for instituting programs that ensure cultures are maintained. The En’owkin Centre is an independent Indigenous arts organization located in Syilx territory that teaches interdisciplinary courses from an Indigenous perspective. It has been influential in the lives of many Indigenous artists from many Indigenous territories who have launched their careers after graduating from this institution. The report of the proceedings\textsuperscript{111} was published in April 2015 and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{109} \url{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LOaX4FdbhXU}
\item \textsuperscript{110} \url{http://nationtalk.ca/story/pathways-and-protocols-collaborating-with-indigenous-communities-dialogues-tiff-2016}
\item \textsuperscript{111} \url{http://www.fpcc.ca/about-us/Publications/Default.aspx}
\end{itemize}
the report states that they are developing a framework for Guiding Principles for Protocols and the Arts, which will be published in the near future.

I recently followed up with Cathi Charles Wherry, the Arts Program Manager at the First People's Cultural Council and she told me that their approach would be to bring together a working group of people already engaged in this work, and they have not had the resources (time and dollars) to develop the framework noted above. She stated:

I've found that since the TRC Report came out a switch has been flipped and there is a bit of a wave of motivation in mainstream organizations to better serve or at least interact with First Nations. So people are looking for advice, liaison, guidance....but we don’t have the additional staff or resources to help with this. When I say 'we' I don't just mean FPCC, but Indigenous people and organizations in general (Charles-Wherry, C., personal communication, January 22, 2017).

Clearly the dialogue is underway where the tensions between Indigenous communities and external bodies are being discussed. Two major issues that need to be included in this interchange are: (a) The specifics of the dual accountability that Indigenous cultural producers experience when working with broadcasters and funding agencies to produce stories from our communities, and (b) how Indigenous collective property rights contrasted with individual artist rights are treated by broadcasters and funding agencies who assert copyright ownership over Indigenous people’s stories.

Indigenous Intellectual property rights are an expansive topic, which cannot be discussed here because it deserves in-depth research and a whole book dedicated to the subject. On a global level, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) states the following in one of their communiqués:

The cultural and intellectual heritage of indigenous peoples comprises the traditional practices, knowledge and ways of life unique to a particular people. The guardians of an indigenous peoples’ cultural and intellectual property are determined by the customs, laws and practices
of the community, and can be individuals, a clan or the people, as a whole. The heritage of indigenous people includes:

language, art, music, dance, song and ceremony
agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge and practices
spirituality, sacred sites and ancestral human remains
documentation of the above

What are notably absent from this statement are Indigenous stories.

Furthermore, this research will have implications for the regional, national and international educational practices of Indigenous communities. In affirming how important our cultural stories are for the teaching and learning processes, one strategy could be implemented to look at how teacher education programs could use Indigenous visual stories/films in effective ways in the classroom. As Zacharias Kunuk astutely observed the methodology of learning in his culture as “watching and learning” and that film/video technology is the “perfect tool” because the camera observes, thus providing an avenue for the audience to watch and learn (Kunuk, Z., personal communication, January 2015). We have to be innovative and continually search for productive strategies to ensure the continuance of our future generations.

The singular limitation of this research is that the strength of my Secwepemc-Syilx/Indigenous perspective along with my choice to privilege Indigenous systems of knowledge within the theoretical framework of an Indigenous paradigm can also be its primary weakness. The reason I make that statement is because the policy makers and decision makers who interface with Indigenous cultural producers will not see the contents of this dissertation. In addition, even if they do access this research, how many of them are willing to learn about the numerous issues identified, and do something about it? Certainly, my impatience and my bias are obvious because it is very difficult to translate academic work into policy changes. Plus this research is the beginning of

further work for me, other Indigenous cultural producers and for some sympathetic settler allies in this area of *story, land, and cultural protocols.*

### 8.7. **Personal Reconciliation for Cucw-la7:**

**Reflections**

This research started for me when I was still working in production. I taught entry-level production at the former Native Education Center, now Native Education College, when I first moved to Vancouver in 2003. I remember being horrified when I saw my students of all ages mixing images from many different Indigenous cultures. I did not have the language for it back then, but now I know what disturbed me was the incongruent images being used in the edit suite. For instance, when a story was West Coast-based, people were using images from the southwestern United States, with songs from yet another Indigenous culture. What I discovered was that some of my students were third generation urban-based Indigenous people from all different parts of Canada. They were not connected to their culture, or their people. This was the story I shared with Maria Campbell when she asked her question of ‘How are we going to teach third generation urban-based Indians who have lost their connection?’ The other experience that put me on this journey of research was my experience out in the field, I knew I was doing things differently than my peers in Toronto, but again, I did not have the language for it at the time. Who has time to ponder intellectual questions when you are running from one deadline to the next? This dissertation is partially a response to those two experiences.

Researching and writing this dissertation has been an act of personal reconciliation of balancing my Indigenous cultural education with my Euro-Western academic education. It was critical for me to find ways to express my Secwepemc-Syilx knowledge and not be bullied by the dominating Euro-Western knowledge that permeates the very oppressive framework of a university setting. Furthermore, I had to balance my urban-based residency with not living in my home territories. It has been an
intense and deeply personal inner journey that has manifested in the physical production of these chapters.

This research work changed me in ways that I would not have predicted. When I was working on my theory chapter I was completely and utterly stuck and was on the verge of quitting. The word, “quitting” is not usually in my vocabulary. I was stuck in my own self-doubt about whether or not I even had the right to be writing about my Secwepemc-Syilx connection to the land, stories and cultural protocols. Even though, when I first returned to my homelands I put up a feast and giveaway to ‘announce myself back on the land’ with the guidance of a matriarch from the Syilx Nation. I was still anxious and feeling insecure. It was during this time that my great Uncle Joe came to me in a dream, which I recounted in my Introduction in Chapter 1. The instruction from his dream was, “You write this down and go over there and show those people!” I hope that I was a good great niece by following his instructions. I am waiting for Uncle Joe to visit me again in my dream world.
References


Filmography


Obomsawin, A. (Director/Producer). Clarke, A. (Executive Producer). (2106). We can’t make the same mistake twice. Canada: National Film Board of Canada.


