TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

XWLEMI SCHE'LANG'EN LIFE STORIES CONSTITUTE AN INDIGENOUS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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XWLEMI SCHE'LANG'EN:
LIFE STORIES CONSTITUTE AN INDIGENOUS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qwi'qwes, Cindy Cultee

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Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

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Acknowledgement

Hy'sxwqe (thank you) to my family, for their support and encouragement: to my husband, for without his belief in me, his gift of time, and patience this research would not have been completed. I engaged in this work for my children and grandchildren who were my inspiration, as they will carry this knowledge with them and share it with the next generation. This work also became important for the families of the knowledge holders we are now living without. I hope the families find some comfort in the stories documented within this research.

Thank you to my professors: Dr. Patricia Maringi G. Johnston-Ak and Dr. Margaret Maaka for their insight and wisdom with transforming experiences into a path for revealing knowledge. I am especially fortunate to have such exceptional Indigenous women to guide this work.

I hold up my hands to the Lummi Elders and our language speakers for I know they are our most valuable resource. The knowledge shared within this thesis draws on ancestral knowledge as shared by the knowledge holders Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, Schay-ucks, Xwi'ti mits Hy'oltse, Tsi'lixw, Chexanexwh, Xw-La-Leq'w, and Che leah ten Swetan. It is because of the commitment of these research participants and other supporters who found it in their hearts to share their knowledge, skills, contributions, and guidance that I was able to connect to our Indigenous Xwlemi ways of knowing, our natural laws, homeland, and our traditional language to bring this research to the community. Hy'sxwqe

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my children, grandchildren, and all Xwlemi descendants

Abstract

Embodied within traditional and personal stories are specific Tribal values and beliefs, which contribute to unique ways of knowing and doing. Traditional oral methods of storytelling support Indigenous knowledges and are the methods employed by Indigenous peoples to perpetuate sustain and maintain traditional knowledge. With a focus on the Lummi Tribe of Pacific Northwest Washington and their traditional Sche'lang'en method of knowledge exchange, this thesis examines the narratives and practices associated with the preservation of knowledge interactions.

Drawing on Indigenous research methodologies, this thesis brings together a tripartite of oral methods to capture data, give voice to the participants, and permits the research to be influenced by the context. Lummi ways of knowing and doing are explored through the stories of Elders which provide evidence to argue the validity of oralcy as a means for knowledge transmission. Reflection is emphasized as a part of a traditional learning process that encourages thinking about what is learned in relation to what is known, reinforcing the importance of relationality to a traditional Lummi learning process.

As a result of this focus Indigenous methodologies are investigated to reinforce a Lummi methodology referred to as Sche'lang'en. This research methodology framework provides a structure to address research from a foundation created by traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge. The framework guides the methods for gathering data, analysis of the information, and the procedures for gifting the findings to the community. The outcomes are research that when conducted by and with Lummi Tribal members reveals knowledge relevant to Lummi Nation.

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CHAPTER ONE

Che Shesh Whel Wheleq Sen

I am a survivor of the flood

Long ago there was a man who had a vision. He told the people he had seen a big flood coming and that they needed to build two canoes and bind them together with cedar rope. These canoes would be filled with food and covered with a woven cattail mat to protect it from filling with water.

When the flood came and the water began to rise, the children were put into the two canoes. The land went under water and the canoes drifted for a long time.

As the waters receded the canoes split apart and landed each on a different island. This is how Xwlemi began.

Upon landing the children were hungry. They knew how to gather food from within the water and the land. As time passed they grew into strong young adults and paired off. Couples moved to where their favorite foods were and they started families.

The eldest child now a man decided to invite all the survivors back to the main village for a feast and to talk. At this gathering he told all the people to remember where they come from. "We are the Lhaq'temish people, the survivors of the flood." Our people must know where they come from so they will know that we are all related (Lummi, 2010).

This creation story is an abbreviated version of *Che Shesh Whe Wheleq Sen*, a traditional Xwlemi (Lummi) creation story that has been told and passed down from generation to generation. It contains knowledge of the events that led to the journey of Xwlemi ancestors and their subsequent residence in the Pacific Northwest territory, known contemporarily as Washington State, U.S.A. It reminds us of how fragile the connections we have with each other can be as our paths take us to different locations. It tells of our intimate relationship with the environment and the importance of gaining the knowledge necessary to

survive and thrive. In this story it was the survivors who first traveled and journeyed between islands to discover sustenance in locations that would become Lummi villages and traditional gathering grounds.

In Xwlemi tradition this story teaches the importance of each person knowing their heritage. That heritage helps to establish and maintain relationships with individual families and the other Tribes within the territory who are also *Che Shesh Whe Wheleq* descendants.

The Xwlemi community reliance on oral traditions draw on various types of stories to gain and share personal, traditional, and other forms of knowledge. The passing of knowledge by story through the generations keeps the heritage circle and the relationships alive.

1.0 Introducing the Research

Much like the creation story that begins this research, my own story is one of a journey of experience and discovery. Through my life experiences I grow and discover from those connected to me and within my environment. My story is of a Lummi family residing on the Lummi reservation, a mile from the northern boundary which borders the city of Ferndale. Located in the Pacific Northwest of Washington State, Ferndale is a community that has a long history of prejudice against Lummi, which negatively impacts their interactions with Lummi members.

My father is a Lummi Tribal member and my mother is non-Native, although, she has devoted much of her life and career to the Lummi community. In our family, she has been the primary caregiver, guide, and disciplinarian for her children. Together my parents raised nine children.

The story I share here is of how my family has been impacted by assimilation. My parents are devoted to Catholicism, as it was instilled by my late paternal grandmother's family. My father's mother (a Lummi member) was faithful to the Catholic Church, and not known to practice Lummi culture or speak the language. As a child, I was aware of my grandmother's commitment to the Catholic teachings, a commitment that was evident in her children as their families filled much of the church each Sunday.

Attending the weekly service at the Catholic Church (which is located on the reservation) was the only association I remember with the people of the Lummi community. Our family's attendance in church was essential to my parents as we never missed Sunday mass, even if we were out of town. Our Catholic Church is the oldest Catholic Church in Whatcom County and is where I went to catechism and received all of the sacraments. I remember learning the Catholic prayer, *Our Father* in traditional dance and the regalia my mom made for us to perform for the congregation.

When I was young, my father told a story of growing up with his mom on the banks of the Nooksack River, a river that borders the eastern side of the Lummi reservation. At this time in his life he made a living as a fisherman, fishing for salmon on the river. At the time of this story he and his mother lived by the river in a shack that had walls through which the daylight would shine. My father's story is a prelude to mine. It is a story of endurance and dreaming of a better life for his family.

Family is important to my father. He committed himself to my mother during a time when mixed-race relationships were socially unacceptable. Despite the potential consequences of their relationship, they married and raised a family. My father was determined to afford a better life for his family than he had experienced. This determination

fueled him to provide for the family and create a loving home. He also made sure we had access to education so we would not need to fish for a living. To realize his dream of a better life, my father held a full-time job while he built our family home.

My mother recalls when she and my father began planning the construction of our family home. The story she told began with the warnings of my father's mother, who cautioned that, *They* would not allow him to build a house! *They*, I assume, were the governing society (those who settled the territory and enforced the rules), for the social order was that Tribal people were to conform to what was expected of them. My father, although dedicated to the project, took some convincing at times. My mother encouraged and helped him to believe that he was just as capable of building a house as any non-Native. He labored on our house every day after returning from his job, digging the basement by hand, laying the foundation, and hammering each nail of the structure. Every extra penny he earned went to pay for materials. My father, with my mother at his side, possessed the knowledge to gather and organize tools and resources, he had the endurance to overcome challenges, and the skills to construct a three-story home.

My late grandmother was very much part of our family when I was a child. I have vivid memories of her visits and of visiting her home. I remember her as a talented storyteller who was accomplished in the arts of spinning wool, knitting, and beadwork. My mother shared that at one time she asked my grandmother to teach her grandchildren Xwlemi Chosen (Lummi language), but she declined this request. Remember, I have also been told she was not known for participating in cultural activities or for speaking the language. I surmise that

this is connected to her experiences growing up in the generation that endured boarding school[1] and harsh punishment for speaking the language.

In my family of nine children, I grew up third in line, with an older brother, sisters on either side of me, and five younger brothers, until high school when we learned of a biological brother who was adopted before my mother came of age. As previously noted, in the late 1950s mixed-race relationships were ostracized, so when my mom found herself pregnant and not married her parents sent her away to girls' school (boarding school for wily girls) to have her baby. There, she was forced to put her child up for adoption. When my parents' first son joined the family, we became ten children (seven brothers and three sisters) bringing the family together yet putting into question experiences as a result of birth order as well as experiences of colonization.

My dad's immediate family of 12 children also consisted of seven sons. This is important because his genealogical line is within the *House of the Seven Sons* or the house of Ste tee thlum. This is an honorable lineage originating in Clallam where Ste tee thlum was the Chief and his young son, his successor, married the princess of Nenimo and fathered seven sons. My dad's ancestry is with the sixth son of young Ste tee thlum and he carried on this honorable line with his seven sons.

Our family home is located a distance off the main road that runs the length of the reservation. It is built on family trust property. When I was young, there was only one other home on the long gravel driveway that lead from the main road to our house. The rural location of our residence secluded us. This seclusion permitted my parents to instill in their

[1] Indian boarding schools began as missionary schools run by Catholic priests until the federal government took over. The children of the treaty Tribes were removed from their homes and relocated to boarding schools for extended timeframes for industrial training and religious education in an effort to extinguish Indian culture (Wallace, 1995).

children the family values of hard work, education, and faith. Our seclusion also meant we were sheltered from the Lummi community. As a result, I have few memories of interacting with and learning about my Tribe, its stories, its history, and its teachings.

The life my dad envisioned for his family included his dream of working with horses, so our family home became a ranch to breed, raise, train, and sell horses. The work on the farm became our chores and each summer we worked together to bring in enough hay from the fields to fill the barn. Through these activities the values of hard work and working together were taught.

Education was a family value, emphasized by the expectation to attend and excel in school. This was also modeled through my mother's long-time employment at educational institutions and her own achievements in higher education. Like most of the children from the community, my siblings and I attended public school. Throughout my secondary school experience, I had feelings of being inferior because I was Indian, because of where I lived, and because learning did not come easy to me. Learning was easier for my brother and sisters closest in age to me. Their ability to excel in school seemed to come without effort, while I studied hours upon hours and still would sometimes miss the mark.

The early educational achievements of my siblings influenced my high school experience. I remember the teachers had higher expectations for me than other Lummi students. They would question who I was related to and say, "Oh, you are from that *Jefferson* family" and they would smile or nod in approval because my family had previously proven themselves to be worthy by excelling academically.

Our seclusion from the Lummi community was evident throughout my school experiences. One memory in particular that stands out happened during junior high, when I

would walk down the halls, I remember being afraid of the girls from Lummi because when they walked by me, they would taunt and push their friends into me. One day the leader of these girls confronted me while I was outside during the lunch hour. I was afraid, but I stood up to her, she pushed me, so I pushed her back. We both were sent to the principal's office. After that day I don't remember being bullied again by the Lummi girls.

Another memory I have from junior high is connected to my mom arranging beading lessons for me with a lady who lived down the road from us. One of the projects I made was a pair of earrings with beaded feathers. I wore these earrings to school. As I walked up to my locker where my friend stood waiting to greet me, she looked at me in my earrings and said, "You are not Indian, are you?" I felt like I had been slapped in the face. As I reflect on this time I realize this was a significant point for me in my development of self-confidence. This combined with earlier reflections represent my struggle with belonging within both the Native and Non-Native communities.

I went on to high school where I worked hard to fit in and keep up with my siblings. I was enrolled in courses for U.S. and Russian History and Spanish language. In U.S. History there was one paragraph in the course book about Native Americans and I remember how I sat up in my seat and answered questions when we covered that page. I did not have other knowledge of Tribal history, so did not know at that time what was left out of the history lesson. I also remember my feelings changed as the history teacher's tone changed while teaching that lesson. Later I found out this teacher was a fisherman during the summer and had strong opinions about Lummi and their inherent fishing rights. My high school also offered a class to support Lummi students that taught introductory Lummi language, but I was never encouraged to take it, which further separated me from my Lummi peers. I went

on to complete high school with a confirmed feeling of inferiority and struggling to know how I fit within my world.

It was not until after high school that I began to grow and develop self-confidence. Since that time I have come to realize what I learned while enduring my formative years. Because of those experiences I am equipped with the strength to overcome personal and professional challenges, and by applying myself to my studies I developed the knowledge and skills to learn and achieve anything I set my mind to (something I heard my dad say as I was growing up). I was the first of my siblings to earn a post-secondary degree and went on to help many of them achieve the mark that I had previously conquered.

My secondary education began at the Northwest Indian College (NWIC)[2], seven years after I graduated from high school. College was a completely different academic experience. I tackled some of the same courses I took in high school and excelled. I found that I loved the learning process and began to embrace knowledge about Lummi and Native American history. It was during this time in my life that I discovered how much knowledge I lacked about my heritage as well as the expectations others had for what I should know. While engaging in dialog with colleagues, they would talk about common experiences they had growing up, sports events they participated in, gatherings they attended, and teachings they drew on. My lived experience was significantly different from my peers'.

Having limited interactions with the community and limited opportunity to access Tribal teachings and knowledge influenced the way I thought about myself as a Tribal person and has required dedication as an adult to develop Tribal knowledge. This endeavor began while I was a student at the NWIC and later by securing employment with an inter-Tribal

[2] Northwest Indian College is a Tribal college chartered by Lummi Nation. The college has satellite campuses on many reservation communities within Washington and Idaho States.

organization that served seven of the Northwest Tribes. These experiences provided learning opportunities through interactions with the community and Tribal members I had not experienced before. After several years I changed careers to work for the NWIC, where I organized cultural and educational activities for students. Through my career I have created a place for myself in the community and have developed knowledge that influences my Tribal identity.

When I reflect on my upbringing I, like *Che Shesh Whe Wheleq*, found myself prepared for the world that my parents envisioned. When the time came, I left my parents' home and drifted for a while until I found myself in a new place. Here I drew on my knowledge, skills, and values to guide my life, but soon realized, as I interacted with and observed my new environment, that this new place was not the world for which my parents prepared me. I learned that in order to prosper in this place, new knowledge would be required. As a result, I began a quest to acquire the information that I was lacking. Just as the *Che Shesh Whe Wheleq* had to learn through interactions and observations of their new environment, I took advantage of the learning opportunities that surrounded me.

On my quest for information, I learned that mine is not a unique story of assimilation; others occupied and had occupied the space I found myself in. As Tribal members returned home from boarding schools and matured to be adult parents and grandparents, many protected their children from the punishments that they experienced for practicing their language and culture by not teaching them. As a result, several Tribal members of my generation and older have been on their own journey to seek Tribal and family knowledge. I have experienced hearing the pain and fear in our Elders' voices, or in their silence, when

they are asked to share their family teachings or lessons of Tribal knowledge, as if they think that they do not possess information to share.

As a member of the Tribe, a lifetime resident, and employee of community organizations for more than a quarter of a century, I have come to terms with the fact that I have had limited exposure to Tribal knowledge. It is because of my narrow experience with Lummi that my desire to focus my research within the Lummi Nation (as an opportunity to generate knowledge that will contribute to the development of a solid personal knowledge foundation) has occurred. Learning about Lummi is learning about myself. I seek to know our Tribal history and experiences that influence the unique way Lummi interacts with the world. I want to know the Lummi creation stories, my family stories, and knowledge of the traditional homelands of our ancestors. This is knowledge that can be shared with my children and grandchildren.

This research is a journey of discovery that began when I made the decision to learn and know about myself. As a Lhaq'temish descendant (the people of the sea), I associate my experience with being on an island (like the *Che Shesh Whe Wheleq*) with limited resources. On this island, I came to understand my experiences of assimilation as a result of colonization. I understand that my parents prepared me for the world they knew, a world that had demonstrated to them that it was in my best interest to fit in with the dominant society. As a result, I possess the skills to survive and prosper outside of the Lummi reservation. However, I have spent the majority of my adult life building the knowledge and skills needed to be able to successfully[3] live within my Tribal community.

[3] Success within Lummi is measured by the knowledge and skills an individual has, including knowledge of inherent rights, family lineage, cultural practices, hunting, harvest, and gathering practices (Hillaire, 2013; Stern, 1969; Suttles, 1954).

I continue my journey (just as the *Che Shesh Whe Wheleq* story began) with a vision. A vision that encourages preparations to equip Lummi children with the knowledge and supplies needed within their canoes to survive into the future as Lummi. I tell a story of how I built on the vision of my parents that prepared me with the skills, knowledge, and values which I carry within my canoe. It is information that creates a footing from which to learn and discover new knowledge. I carry it with me on this quest for further knowledge, with awareness that just as a canoe journey requires preparation, so too do I need to prepare for my research journey. This is where my story continues. This thesis captures my passage as I acquire the skills and gather the resources and materials required to prepare for and execute my research. It also captures the development and outcomes of that research journey, which are meant to benefit Lummi members when planning to engage with our community for service or inquiry for knowledge development.

1.1 Research Context

This research takes place within the Lummi Nation, a Tribe located on the Pacific Northwest Coast (see Figure 1). As indicated earlier by the *Che Shesh Whe Wheleq* story, Lummi are descendants of the Lhaq'temish people who make up the original 44 people that resided in the territory of the San Juan Islands. As descendants of the Lhaq'temish, Lummi ancestors referred to themselves as Xwlol o mish. Xwlol o mish is derived from the word Xwa'la'mus which means to look or face each other. Over time Xwa'la'mus changed to Xwlol o mish which was later condensed to Xwlemi.

Wayne Suttles (1954), known for his ethnographic field work with the Straits people, tells another story of how Xwlemi became Lummi:

> *One tradition tells that the First Man dropped from the sky at the north-eastern end of San Juan Island and became the ancestor of the Klalakamish people*[4]*. Another tells that when the Klalakamish had become nearly extinct, the last man of them gave his house to a man that already owned a house that stood on Flat Point on Lopez Island; the latter, now having two houses but not enough space to line them up, put the new one at a right angle to the old one making an L-shaped structure. This L-shaped house was called x'le'mi (Lummi). This house was later moved to Gooseberry Point on what is now the Lummi reservation* (p.51).

Together these stories provide a clue as to how the people became Xwlemi. Xwlemi became anglicized after contact with non-Natives and came to be pronounced Lummi[5]. This was a situation typical of colonization when the colonizers re-named the landscape (Smith, 1999) for their own political gain.

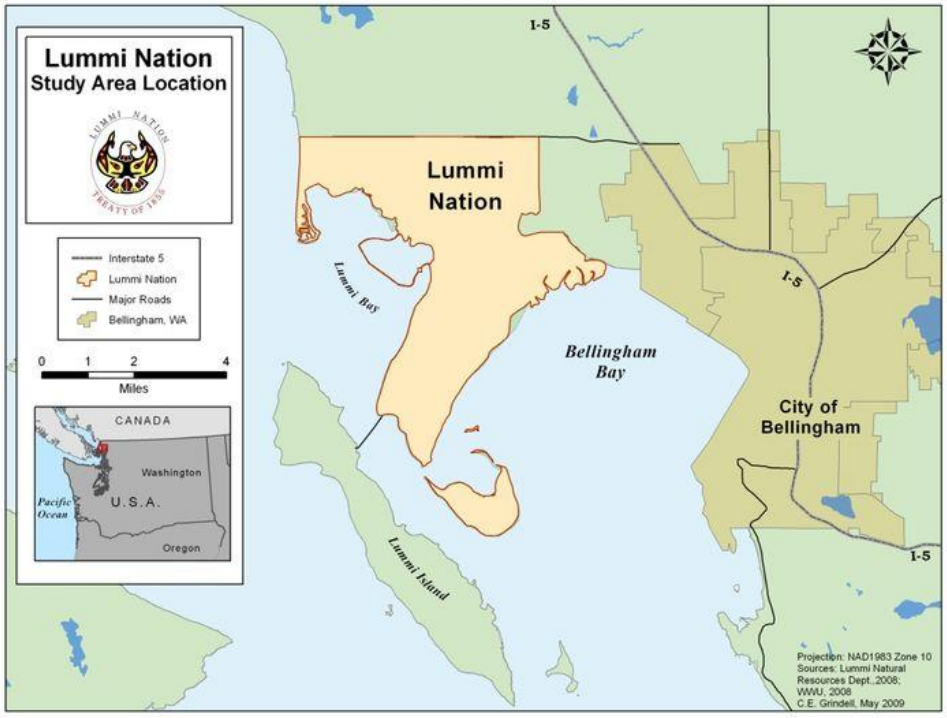

Figure 1. Lummi Nation Reservation (Nativenewsonline.net)

[4] The people of San Juan were called Klalakamish (Suttles, 1954, p. 52).

[5] The use of the Tribe's traditional language, Xwlemi Chosen, connects this research to the ancestors. I will use both Lummi and Xwlemi when referring to the Tribal Nation and the members depending on the historical timeframe of reference. Xwlemi will be used when discussing prior to the arrival of the settlers and Lummi is used for after.

I came to this research as a result of my work experience with Lummi organizations, particularly my role in program assessment with the NWIC. While working in this role I became familiar with the Indigenous Evaluation Framework (IEF), developed by Joan LaFrance and Richard Nichols (2009) with members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, an organization established by Tribal Colleges. The IEF highlights the importance of grounding program evaluation within the Tribe's unique ways of knowing through the use of metaphor, so that it contributes specifically to the community's unique story. Connecting evaluation to a metaphor specific to the Tribal community grounds the evaluation process in the Tribe's ways of knowing (LaFrance & Nichols, 2009). Through this work I began to contemplate the importance of articulating Xwlemi ways of knowing. By developing an evaluation process grounded in the Xwlemi way of viewing the world, assessment would connect the stories told through the evaluation to the ancestors and would explicitly serve Lummi people.

With a desire to discover Xwlemi ways of knowing, I began to search for literature and information that would expand my knowledge of Lummi history and heritage. I was immediately challenged by how little is published or available about the Tribe that could inform my thinking. What I did find was written by archeologists and people from outside the community, not from a Tribal member's perspective.

During this time of searching for Tribal knowledge, an Xwlemi Chosen oksale (teacher) handed me a book, which I automatically tried to open to inspect. The oksale watched me with a smile. The book would not open because it was a piece of cedar board carved and fashioned to look like a book with the title, *Xwlemi Oral Traditions* burned into it. Instantly I connected with the analogy of this book as I felt it was a symbol of my limited

experience with the teachings of the Tribe, represented as *no access*. The incident was to resonate and influence my thinking for years to come.

(a) Value of Oral Traditions

I have come to understand the Lummi community holds Tribal knowledge close (even sacred) and places a high value on the oral traditions of the ancestors. Consequently, the Lummi cultural leaders, in their desire to maintain the traditional oral practices, do not support the written recordings of oral histories or teachings and instead, rely on the traditional methods of knowledge transfer through memory[6] (Lummi oral traditions will be addressed within chapter four).

The practices associated with passing on knowledge within an oral community then are vital, the same practices that colonizers targeted in an effort to destroy Lummi knowledge and culture to enforce assimilation. Indigenous[7] communities internationally share historical experiences of assimilation. Assimilation practices included efforts to convert to Christianity, relocation to other lands, the outlaw of traditional practices, the removal of the children, and various boarding school experiences. These incidences (and more) contributed to the aspiration to protect Tribal knowledge, to safeguard the teachings from being exploited, and the capacity to preserve important knowledge. The protective responses of Tribal members regarding the methods used to share their specific knowledge were

[6] This is reinforced by stories shared by some of the cultural leaders who told of experiences of Elder's response when interviews are recorded and their insistence that their stories or teachings are not to be written down. The leaders specifically told of how Elders reacted during recorded interviews. When one Elder stopped in the middle of the interview, looked at the interviewer and said something like, "If you really want to know the story you will need to turn that off (the recording)." The purpose of this story was to emphasize that when our Elders are interviewed, they will share edited, maybe more acceptable versions, of their stories. It is also shared for guidance as it stresses the value placed on the oral traditions of the ancestors.

[7] Within this thesis the term Indigenous will refer to peoples that reside in original or usual and accustom territories, unless they were relocated, where they existed as a sovereign people (Smith, 2005, p. 86).

something I would learn about as I progressed through this research. Practices regarding how, when, and with whom knowledge is shared is embedded in the Lummi need to safeguard the teachings, consequently the important lesson of the *closed book*. This insight together with the recognition of my limited access to Tribal knowledge (and interest in identifying Lummi ways of knowing) contributes to my area of inquiry to understand how Lummi ways of knowing are passed on within an oral community.

(b) Practice of Reflection

While considering Tribal members' commitment to oral knowledge transfer (as it relates to my ability to articulate Xwlemi ways of knowing) reflection emerged as a vital learning tool for me. Through reflection I came to the resolve that the main character of the Tribe's story is a community that protects Tribal knowledge through upholding the traditions of the ancestors associated with knowledge transfer. Access to community knowledge would be through the hearts and the minds of specific Tribal members. Māori scholar Linda Tuhwai Smith (1999) argues that Indigenous[8] people ask a whole range of questions and have criteria that differ from mainstream researchers, including carefully considering who they might talk to. Lummi knowledge holders typically do not refuse to share but would consider what they share depending on who they are sharing with and for what purpose. As a relative and member of the community with knowledge of the protocols for requesting information, they would consider sharing community and family knowledge with me however, certain information would be restricted. For example, as I do not participate in sacred cultural ceremonies, it is not likely information about such ceremonies would be shared. These insights influenced the research design, methods, and implementation of this research,

[8] Indigenous is capitalized within this thesis as a representation of the same privilege as Western or English.

because time to reflect on what I know combined with what I learn or experience, contributes to knowledge development just as I imagine reflection was used by the ancestors to generate the knowledge that was essential to sustaining their lives.

1.2 The Passing Down of Knowledge

Knowledge that is captured within the hearts and minds of Tribal members is addressed by scholar and member of the Sto:lo Nation, Jo-ann Archibald (2008), in relation to learning from Elders' life stories. She quotes Leilani Holms, who says knowledge of the heart is passed within close relationships, while knowledge passed over the generations that originates with the ancestors is blood knowledge (p. 47). Both types of knowledge are held in the hearts and minds or are embedded in the memory of the people. When drawing on the memories of the people, there are risks of revealing variations within the knowledge. This became apparent over the years as I witnessed Lummi members disagree about cultural practices and language. For example, the definition of Sche'lang'en, an Xwlemi word that, in the simplest translation, means *way of life*. Over the years, I have witnessed individuals accuse others of not knowing the meaning of Sche'lang'en, although, even with the controversy, Sche'lang'en is a word commonly used within the community and by tribal members. Sche'lang'en, is used in the Tribe's business organization's mission statement, as the name of the organization's cultural department, and to name a unique Tribal community housing complex.

This piqued my interest and desire to understand Xwlemi Sche'lang'en, an interest that was further inspired by Lummi tribal member Pauline Hillaire (2013) who speaks to Sche'lang'en and the importance as a people to preserve, protect, and teach our Sche'lang'en culture (p. 128). Despite the disagreements the maintenance of Sche'lang'en is essential, for

if we are complacent about passing on our teachings, we risk a fate like the salmon, (which have sustained our people since the beginning of time but whose numbers have declined) and life as we know it will disappear (James, 2014). Sche'lang'en became an overarching theme of this research because it contributes to distinguishing Lummi from others. It is further anticipated that by capturing knowledge specific to Lummi ways of life, Tribal knowledge, history, teachings, and family knowledge, will be obtained, while establishing alignment with ways of knowing. With this in mind, combined with a desire to respect the oral traditions, the premise of this thesis is that through stories of Sche'lang'en, a Lummi way of knowing and the passing down of this knowledge is identifiable. The articulation of Lummi ways of knowing will benefit the Nation by connecting the story told by this research with the wisdom of the ancestors.

1.3 Research Rationale and Aim

As I indicated previously, the motivation for this research is in response to my professional interest in identifying Lummi ways of knowing to assist with program evaluation for the Tribe, and my personal desire to acquire general Tribal history and family knowledge. It is further motivated by an interest in building understanding about Sche'lang'en (way of life) in a way that respects the value placed on the oral traditions for knowledge transmission. These interests contribute to how I initially began inquiry into Lummi ways of knowing and researching indicators of how that specific knowledge is passed on within an oral community.

To address the research objective, areas of inquiry were identified to inform my thinking, including the development of an understanding about Indigenous ways of knowing that would further distinguish alignment between ways of knowing and Sche'lang'en. I took

a broad look at Indigenous knowledge as well as specific Lummi knowledge and history. I then performed an overview of Indigenous oral traditions with a focused look at the use of story for knowledge transmission.

As I set out on this research journey (to gather resources and knowledge that would aid my voyage) I soon realized that the research had a life of its own. Through the development of increased understanding of Indigenous ways of knowing, Indigenous research design, and conversations with my supervisors, (Professor Margret Maaka and Professor Patricia Johnston), a new destination became apparent: one that lay beyond where I had envisioned this research might lead. The research I had begun to design had a foundation of Tribal knowledge, respect for the Tribal teachings, and intention that the knowledge revealed would benefit the community. These are foundational components of Indigenous research methodologies (Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2010; Smith, 1999), raising the question, would a distinct Lummi methodology emerge from this research?

The new vision for the potential destination of my research journey required some time for reflection, to consider the route I was on, the proposed aim, and my preparedness for the research. In time, I committed to the new objective of gathering evidence to resolve whether the development of an Indigenous research methodology rooted in Lummi knowledge could be established. To achieve this goal, I would continue my research journey with the assumption that Lummi Tribal members would connect traditional and cultural knowledge to Sche'lang'en, for most of what is known has been learned through living (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). Therefore, inquiry through stories of Sche'lang'en would provide the opportunity to hear life experiences and cultural lessons which contain unique Tribal ways of viewing and interacting with the world. This information would provide

reinforcement for the foundation of Lummi knowledge necessary to inform an Indigenous research framework.

Indigenous research is an approach to knowledge that affirms Tribal identity (Smith, 2012). On my quest to develop understanding around the meaning of Sche'lang'en, with and for Lummi, it was anticipated that Sche'lang'en and Tribal identity would be linked. This prediction is based on my own experience with gaining knowledge and experience in the community, as a result of my employment and other activities that contributed to my initial development of Tribal identity. It is also anticipated because identity is connected to knowing who you are and where you come from, and this information is embedded in cultural experiences and teachings. So, as a result of gaining broad Tribal knowledge through stories of Sche'lang'en, the cultivation of Tribal identity would be influenced.

Expanding my knowledge of Sche'lang'en and my increased understanding of the importance of passing on this knowledge to the development of Tribal identity strengthens my interest in recognizing the methods for transmitting Lummi ways of knowing. While there are various techniques for oral knowledge transfer, storytelling permeates this research process. Stories as narrative provide an opportunity to gather broad information from which to draw on to find meaning. By documenting this journey to reveal the knowledge desired, evidence will be produced that will contribute to establishing a research methodology specific to Xwlemi ways of knowing and doing.

1.4 Research Questions

The aim of this research is to gain knowledge specifically about Sche'lang'en, how it aligns with ways of knowing, and its preservation. Techniques that respect the oral traditions of the Lummi Nation will be utilized. In so doing, evidence is produced to indicate

establishment of an Indigenous research methodology. This research is guided by four questions:

(a) Research Question One: What is the Tradition of Sche'lang'en?

It is not clear when I first learned of the Xwlemi word Sche'lang'en, but one of my first recollections of a discussion about the meaning of Sche'lang'en was when I and one of my daughters were employed with the Northwest Indian College.

My daughter was responsible for the development of marketing materials for college events, and for a particular event, the word Sche'lang'en was within the solicitation. While finalizing the draft of the document, a review committee was gathered and one of the committee members proclaimed that Sche'lang'en could not be used because there was not agreement within the community about what it meant. After this experience it seemed the use of the word Sche'lang'en occurred more frequently within the community. The Tribe's business organization adopted a mission to preserve, promote, and protect Sche'lang'en, which brought members of the community forward to debate the meaning.

At about the same time that the Tribe's business organization adopted their mission of Sche'lang'en, my husband served the community on the Tribal council. The new mission motivated past leaders and community members to go before the council and speak to the intention of their mission. The council was told in various ways that, they did not know what Sche'lang'en was. Despite this, my husband volunteered to lead the Sche'lang'an initiative that would advance the Tribe's work toward mission fulfillment. As part of this effort, a Sche'lang'en work group[9] was formed and I was invited to join their discussions.

[9] The various goals of the group spanned from lobbying Congress for the restoration of treaty rights to hosting events intended to strengthen families.

As a part of the Sche'lang'en work group I learned the community had engaged in Sche'lang'en conversations for more than 25 years. This is also when I learned that the Tribal Code of Laws contains a definition of Sche'lang'en, which increased my interest in understanding the meaning, because if there is a Tribal definition of Sche'lang'en (and the members of the community still question whether the meaning is understood) I wanted to be confident in my understanding of the word.

(b) Research Question Two: What is the Relationship Between Sche'lang'en and Tribal Identity?

During the process of developing knowledge about the tradition of Sche'lang'en, general Tribal and family knowledge was acquired. This is knowledge that encourages identity development because it reinforces understandings of the place you are from and family connections. This is a question that is important to Indigenous people and the development of an Indigenous research methodology because as Smith (2012) argues, to conduct Indigenous research an intimate connection with the community of interest is essential.

This question speaks to understanding how knowledge pertaining to specific ways of life contributes to Tribal identity, although, I can only elaborate on my personal identity development. As I have previously outlined, the process of conducting research within the Tribal community is a personal journey of discovery. Throughout the course of this journey (beginning with the articulation of my story) I identify a destination and a purpose for my quest for Lummi knowledge. As a result, my personal story and my distinctive relationship as a Lummi woman, daughter, mother, grandmother, and relative emerges more fully as I progress through this research.

(c) Research Question Three: How does the Tradition of Sche'lang'en Serve as a Vehicle for the Perpetuation of Lummi Ways of Knowing and Doing?

This investigation of the perpetuation of Lummi ways of knowing is important as it builds on the understanding of Sche'lang'en and the impacts on Tribal identity. The gathering of information about Sche'lang'en provides specific knowledge of Lummi ways of life, which may be translated into the life activities or how Lummi members live establishing living as doing. The doing is a way of maintaining ways of life and begins to craft a basis for how ways of life aligns with ways of knowing and doing.

This question is important to investigate because it provides evidence that within a primarily oral community, ways of knowing are passed on. It is through the combination of life activities and traditional oral methods of communication that knowledge is transferred. Lummi (like other Indigenous communities) pass their vital knowledge from generation to generation through methods of oral knowledge transfer. The process of perpetuating knowledge preserves specific ways of knowing which contributes to sustaining a way of life. The Tribes' specific ways of knowing are essential to the survival of their peoples, for their ways of knowing contain their knowledge, teachings, and history, which in oral communities have been preserved through their way of life for generations (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005).

The investigation into the tradition of Sche'lang'en will provide signs for how Lummi ways of life perpetuate ways of knowing. This question is relevant because the transmission of this knowledge is important to the preservation of specific ways of knowing or the unique worldview of the people. Without this knowledge, Lummi as a unique people will cease to exist.

(d) Research Question Four: Does Sche'lang'en Constitute an Indigenous Research Methodology?

The research questions are informed by the desire to develop general knowledge and comprehend the unique Lummi ways of knowing (LaFrance & Nichols, 2009). The final question guiding this study focuses on the culmination of the research and the process to provide evidence that Sche'lang'en constitutes an Indigenous research methodology. The teachings of Tribal Elders utilize oral methods of knowledge to develop understanding about Sche'lang'en that is grounded in Lummi culture and tradition. This research is identified by, engaged with, and intends to make a positive difference for Lummi. These are three of the aspects of research that Smith (2012) says constitutes an Indigenous research methodology.

1.5 Outline of Chapters

This thesis has three themes that run concurrently through the document. The first is traditional knowledge that I use to ground this thesis in Lummi ways of knowing and doing. The second is built on traditional knowledge specific to Sche'lang'en, exploring its alignment with ways of knowing, and its preservation, while utilizing traditional oral methods (hereafter referred to as *oral knowledge*) of the Nation to establish support for an Indigenous research methodology. The third is my own journey as I discover my Lummi identity which is linked, driven, and defined by traditional knowledge.

Chapter One: *Che Shesh Whel Wheleq Sen*, sets the stage for the framework of the journey to gather resources, build knowledge, and find meaning in the research process. This chapter has introduced the inquiry, vision, and motivation behind the investigation of Xwlemi Sche'lang'en by way of story, and established support for an Indigenous research methodology. It provides an introduction to the research design with an emphasis on

traditional knowledge, followed by establishing interest for the research questions guiding the work.

Chapter Two: Methodology & Methods describes the Indigenous methodologies and methods that influence this research design. It considers the contributions of qualitative methodologies and introduces the Sche'lang'en methodological framework that underpins this research. Integral to the framework are oral methods and protocols employed to learn in the way of our ancestors. The chapter concludes with the preparations taken for executing this collaborative research.

Chapter Three: Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Doing, provides a review of the literature to cultivate understanding of traditional knowledge and the alignment of the tradition of Sche'lang'en with Indigenous ways of knowing and doing. Oral traditions are investigated for their contributions to the perpetuation of knowledge and the transmission of ways of knowing to provide a foundation from which Indigenous knowledge is constructed. It is argued that ways of knowing are unique to the original territory of the people and are transmitted through lessons that can be traced back to the beginning of time (Suttles, 1954). Consequently, traditional knowledge is essential to the survival of Indigenous peoples and is linked to the way Indigenous peoples identify themselves. Increased understanding of traditional knowledge and oral knowledge transfer informs aspects of Indigenous research, thereby endorsing the discussion of Indigenous research methodologies as they relate to Xwlemi Sche'lang'en.

Chapter Four: Lhaq'temish: The People of the Sea, considers further development of a context of the Lummi Nation, touching on the Coast Salish history as it relates to assembling an historical background. This presentation of material takes into consideration

that the vast majority of the accessible information about Lummi has been written by non-Native researchers who have visited the community and transcribed their interpretations from a Western context. When reflecting on these documents each researcher (from outside the community) presented the material to inform the academy; this work is missing the importance of Tribal practices and knowledge regarding the perpetuation of Lummi ways of knowing for the members. Through this investigation of Tribal history and teachings, awareness of the underlying epistemologies of the Lummi people begins to be developed, including the beliefs that inform how as a people the world is interpreted and how to make sense of experiences (Hart, 2010). This knowledge survived as a result of the continued practice of cultural activities and the maintenance of inter-Tribal relational bonds that support the protection of Tribal sovereignty and the advancement of Tribal self-determination.

Chapter Five: The Research Stories comprise the research reflections as approved by the research participants. The knowledge holders have a lifetime of knowledge and experience within Lummi territory and are held with high regard by the community. Their personal stories are captured and shared utilizing traditional methods of oralcy for passing down knowledge.

Chapter Six: Discussion of Findings offers an analysis of the findings that emerged from the participants' stories of Sche'lang'en and a collaborative process for finding meaning. The research information is examined within themes composed of topics, concepts, and experiences that respond to each research question. Key ideas raised within the literature are brought forward to stimulate the discussion of Xwlemi Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous research methodology.

Chapter Seven: Concluding Comments presents further reflection on the findings with discussion around the implications of this research for the community and all my relations. The potential application of the Sche'lang'en research framework as a significant contribution to Indigenous research is considered, as well as the importance of oral dissemination of the findings. Presentation of this Sche'lang'en research methodology within and beyond the community permits it to inform future research for and with Lummi Nation.

1.6 Reflection

The creation story opening this thesis brings to the forefront the importance of storytelling to the perpetuation of knowledge. It is a story with embedded messages and from the condensed version presented, a Lummi member could recreate the full story developing all of the lessons within. This story is reflective of my research story, wherein the course of preparing for the research, the gathering of information, and consideration of personal experiences to understand the tradition of Sche'lang'en, knowledge is revealed. In this way it conveys how research aligns with a traditional learning structure that considers new information, by taking time to reflect on what is known, as a process to reveal knowledge.

Within this chapter the focus and motivation behind the investigation of Xwlemi Sche'lang'en, is introduced constructing a basis for how Sche'lang'en and the Elders commitment to oral teachings constitutes an Indigenous methodology. This story sets the stage for capturing the research journey that builds on my experiences to discover knowledge and skills that will contribute to conducting research within Lummi Nation. It is a journey guided by the questions supporting the aim of the research, with identified points of navigation, where resources are gathered to explore traditional Indigenous knowledge and develop deeper understanding around establishing an Indigenous research methodology.

The next chapter supports the vision for this research by exploring specific Indigenous research methodologies and methods that contribute to the methodology underpinning this research. This chapter is second because it introduces the connection between information of Sche'lang'en knowledge and Lummi ancestors. This is information which influences chapters three and four where connections are drawn between traditional knowledge and aspects of Sche'lang'en. Within the following chapter the focus is on Indigenous methodologies, oral methods, and protocols associated with engaging with Lummi knowledge holders. Developing knowledge to influence the development of a research framework grounded in traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge.

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY & METHODS

Indian people were always concerned about educating their children. Learn about mother nature. Learn what mother earth has created such as different kinds of medicine. Things that grow out in the woods. The wild cherry bark is important. The inner lining of the hemlock bark was a healing to our people. The wild rose leaves are good for boils on the arms. We learned through a vision that a certain plant was good for healing. We were told by a spirit to go out and get certain types of leaves. A spirt comes from mother nature. (Nugent, 1999, p. 87)[10]

Agatha Charles McCluskey tells of her grandfather, a spiritualist. In the evenings about four o'clock he'd sit everyone down. "We are going to get visitors," he said. We could not see it because we are not spiritualists. "He sees some people come in. He names every person that comes in there. What they're doing and how they look and what they're carrying – and they're all sitting down. He says that all the spirits wake up about four o'clock in the afternoon. You dare not go to the graveyard after four because they might run into you. You get sick if they run into you or push you." (Nugent, 1999, p. 78)[11]

2.0 Introduction

As noted in chapter one, the desire to understand Lummi ways of knowing inspired this research journey. I have had opportunities to work with Indigenous knowledge frameworks connected to a Lummi worldview illustrated by traditional metaphors like a

[10] Isadore Tome shares the importance of passing on teachings and how they are received through visions possible as a result of a spiritual connection to Mother Nature.

[11] Stories found within *Lummi Elders Speak*, by Ann Nugent (1999) that share life experiences and knowledge of Lummi Elders born as early as 1886, reflecting ways of knowing and the beliefs taught during this time period. It is knowledge that is not questioned, as it has been passed from generation to generation, tested and retested, reflected upon to influence the peoples thinking about experiences. These are stories of Sche'lang'en that contribute to understanding the values and beliefs that continue to guide the lives of Lummi people.

longhouse design, (http://www.nwic.edu/assessment) which is grounded in the ancestors' vision and supported by pillars of Indigenousness and sovereignty. It is these Indigenous methodologies and ways of thinking about the world that have influenced my thoughts about research and its place within a specific cultural context and ways of knowing.

This phase of my research journey cultivates an understanding of Indigenous research frameworks as they are positioned within Indigenous research methodologies and based in an Indigenous community's philosophy and their traditional knowledge. Methodologies are sometimes illustrated by a metaphor[12], like the previously mentioned longhouse design of the Northwest Indian College (p. 39) and the basket methodologies of Chehalis scholars Marla Conwell (2017) and Mary Dupuis (2018) that considers the various strands of a woven basket representing the aspects of traditional knowledge influencing their Indigenous research. Important to those examples, is specific traditional knowledge, which informs the research design, the cultural protocols, and methods implemented throughout the research process while maintaining a focus with a distinct Tribal lens. Positioning the research framework upon a community's specific ways of knowing assures that the people at the heart of the research will have a voice thus increasing the likelihood that the research will benefit the people for whom it is intended (Kovach, 2009). The argument follows that to conduct research within Lummi, a concentrated focus on Lummi knowledge is vital because Lummi traditional knowledge embodies Lummi ways of knowing.

This chapter outlines a research methodology rooted in Lummi ways of knowing and doing. It considers the contributions of qualitative methodologies and methods (that resonate

[12] Metaphor for speaking about research methodology is becoming more common amongst Indigenous peoples, Kovach (2009) relates metaphors to a conceptual research framework as it is a visual representation of the specific worldview.

with my commitment to respect the traditional knowledge and teachings of Lummi Nation) then develops and outlines the methodology that underpins this research. The context as well as the focus of this research is based on Indigenous theory and the utilization of identifiably qualitative research strategies. The pairing of qualitative research with Indigenous theory enables the research to connect with the people, permitting it to take on a life of its own, and is specific to the research context as it is influenced by the participants.

While this research was undertaken with traditional oral methodologies and methods in mind, the participants' involvement in this research further enhanced the methods for undertaking the research, as the shared research process afforded many opportunities for participant input. Subsequently, the participants' perspectives help to shape the specific Sche'lang'en methodology and methods, which this chapter outlines.

Additionally, the implementation of a qualitative research approach is congruent with how Indigenous people realize knowledge over time which results in methodologies and methods that embrace knowledge creation as a process of knowledge building (Leavy, 2011; Young, 2005). While there are various qualitative strategies to draw from, this research focuses on the more common methods of interviews and narrative inquiry through the use of stories, journaling, and reflection: approaches that are consistent with Lummi oral traditions and ways of doing.

A qualitative research methodology also provides systematic ways to interpret information patterns that considers the biases brought to the research by the researcher. Communication Professors Adams, Jones and Ellis (2015, p. 8) and Johnston (1998) state that it is not possible to separate the weaving of our lives from our research and the participants. Kathryn Blee, (as cited in Adams, Jones, & Ellis, 2015) argues that there are

"myriad [ways] in which our personal lives and emotions are intertwined with who, what, and how we study" (p. 11) as an important consideration in research, a point that Conwell (2017) also argues. Indigenous researchers have been including their views, beliefs, and cultures in their research simply as a result of their presence, bringing their knowledge and experience to all phases of the research. Declaring one's position in the research is not bias: it is honesty about the researchers' position, so in keeping with that platform outlined by many Indigenous researchers (see Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999; Johnston, 1998; Pihama, 2010) the next section positions my place within this research.

2.1 Locating Myself in this Research

Engaging in Indigenous research means that we are clear about our interests and involvement in the research landscape. As noted previously, my life and work experiences inspired my interest in Lummi traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge and its contribution to knowledge retention and creation. My personal story continues to evolve, with reflection on experiences and knowledge gained (knowledge I lacked) of Lummi history, culture, and territory, which influences my thinking. With this increased knowledge, I realized a new appreciation for the knowledge I possessed at the outset of this journey. Although my experience was different from others within the community, as a member and resident of Lummi, I have a lifetime of experiences with cultural practices, teachings, language, and the territory creating a solid foundation to build upon.

For example, I have a footing in Xwlemi language, because as a youth I attended language classes with my siblings and Xwlemi words became a part of our home life. As mentioned in chapter one, my mother often arranged opportunities to gain cultural knowledge with our language, beading classes, and cultural dance. When my mother learned

cultural teachings, she shared and applied them within our home. One time in particular my mother was wearing a necklace with an owl pendent, I commented on its beauty and without hesitation she took it off and gifted it to me stating that she was told in Lummi when someone compliments you on something you possess, you gift the object to them. This was a lesson that taught Lummi values of generosity, respect, and care for the people over possessions, tenets that I utilized throughout this research.

Although I am not a member of any of the cultural groups that require initiation, I have some experience with them. My relationships drew me to other cultural activities like war canoe racing. Race events are held throughout the Coast Salish territory. As race crews worked together to prepare for and travel to the races, bonds developed that evolved as we took care of one another. The relationships continued to grow as we helped each other fulfill cultural obligations. For instance, crew members provided guidance and cultural support during my daughter's important transitional stages of growth and development as teachings received were shared with me and my daughters to guide us through particular stages of life.

It is through relationships that protected culture and teachings are accessed. Maintaining relationships and generating the opportunity for new relationships within the community requires an ability to be accountable to people. I have dedicated the majority of my career to supporting community members' achievement of their educational and career goals, creating a place for myself in the community. It is from this place that the people recognize and trust my commitment and accountability to Lummi and the well-being of our members.

An important experience for my personal development and my learning process occurred late in life when my parents and our family's Elders gifted me with an ancestral

name. My Christian name was given to me at birth, but an ancestral name is often given later in life. Receiving an ancestral name is an honor that comes with responsibility, for it forms a direct connection with the ancestors and their inherent rights to the land, the water, and all the resources. When I received my ancestral name, the ceremony included teachings from Tribal Elders about how to act and instructions to go forward in life and serve the community with my name.

I did not realize it then, but these experiences contained lessons that were to become integral to the development and implementation of this research. From the canoe crew, for example, I learned to be prepared, to move as one in relationship to others and the environment just as our ancestors lived as one with all living things within their territory. I further learned that the cultivation of relationships is vital because if one facet of a relationship is not well, the whole relationship suffers. My personal experiences provide a context from a position as an insider connected to my ancestors, the territory, and people. This insider knowledge elevated my responsibility to design an appropriate research framework (one that noted understanding of Tribal protocols and teachings) to guide how information is gathered, analyzed, and presented (Conwell, 2017). The unwritten expectations conveyed through the teachings influenced all phases of this research (but specifically with the research design) for traditional knowledge is vital to an Indigenous research methodology as it informs the research design providing footing to steady the focus on a cultural lens (Conwell, 2017; Dupuis, 2018).

2.2 Indigenous Methodologies

The theoretical concepts of methodologies originate from specific principles. Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2008) defines methodology as how knowledge is

gained with its foundation in how we think and know. This positions research methodologies from a particular epistemology or worldview. The research methodologies founded on the ways of knowing of the academy, draw on a Western worldview that supports only *one way of knowing*. This view asserts that facts equal meaning and conclusions are deduced logically from facts (Adams, 2013).

However, research focused solely on *intellectual* ways of knowing disregards all other facets of the research. Indigenous views, for example, support meaning as an emergent process that reveals itself over time and cannot be compressed to mere facts (Adams, 2013). With that in mind, this research draws on Indigenous views that are based on multiple ways of knowing, a position that Western researchers (working outside an Indigenous context) fail to consider. For instance, the knowledge and experience of the researcher and the critical information contained within unspoken exchanges are understood by a researcher from inside the community, but predominantly missed by outsiders who do not have the code to interpret the cultural cues (Dupuis, 2018).

As Wilson (2008) argues, Indigenous research must be different from Western research because it is positioned from different ways of knowing, otherwise it would create philosophical challenges for Indigenous scholars and replicate the colonizing gaze. Plans Cree scholar Margaret Kovach (2009) points out that the challenge with identifying an approach to research is identifying one that is accountable and honors the Tribal worldview (a worldview that is specific to the place of their ancestors). Indigenous ways of knowing are often intangible yet are at the center of knowledge creation and people's relationship with that knowledge. It is the unique position of Indigenous ways of knowing that sets Indigenous research apart.

To frame this research within an Indigenous methodology the next sections examine the relationship of Indigenous ways of knowing to research as well as ways of knowing in connection to beliefs, knowledge, and language. Setting the context for this research is an important aspect of undertaking it. This research explores the benefits of an insider perspective and the importance of Tribal protocols for Indigenous research to set the framework for understanding the contribution of traditional Lummi knowledge for an Indigenous methodology.

(a) Indigenous Ways of Knowing

Comanche educator Linda Warner (2005) describes Indigenous ways of knowing as a contextualized concept of knowing that enhances our understanding of life specific to place. Ways of knowing are drawn on as a means to interpret new experiences (Wilson, 2008). They are embedded within Indigenous knowledge, language, and culture, therefore it is through these practices that ways of knowing are reinforced. Grounding research in traditional Indigenous knowledge will reinforce what is known or contribute to new knowledge development. This thesis research is an example of that process.

Drawing on Indigenous knowledge for the development of new understanding connects the information to a broader context of knowing which influences thoughts or ideas and guides behaviors (Leavy, 2011). Ways of knowing are a way of being, forming the basis for what is believed and impacting thoughts about reality (Wilson, 2008). The interpretation of information, therefore, includes values and beliefs from previous generations, which are continually brought forward to inform and influence current experiences and information.

Indigenous methodologies draw from this knowledge and the ways of knowing found within it as a guide to research. Emphasizing traditional knowledge in the research design

situates the Indigenous methodologies firmly in the philosophy of the people. Elements of Indigenous methodologies are described by Smith (2012) as beliefs, behaviors, and protocols that are overtly part of the research process and are to be reflected on throughout the research and presented within the final results in a way that is meaningful to the participants (p. 16).

(b) Indigenous Research

Indigenous knowledge based in a particular community's context is vital to Indigenous research as it is in this knowledge that research paradigms are rooted, which impact how information is examined. Held within Indigenous knowledge is ancestral ways of knowing that have been passed from the previous generations by way of language, culture, and activities as a guide to life. Indigenous researchers internationally are responding by taking what is applicable from various Indigenous theories and developing research frameworks as tools for analyzing information that draws on their own traditional Indigenous knowledge.

Sche'lang'en methodology (examined in this chapter) for example, looks to Indigenous methodologies to support this research and considers other aspects of traditional knowledge. For instance, rooting Indigenous research in traditional knowledge creates footing that takes into consideration the unique philosophy, history, and culture of a community as a foundation from which an Indigenous research methodology or theory can be envisioned. The ground-breaking Indigenous research concept of Kaupapa Māori Theory[13] for example, is distinctive to the specific territory, firmly based in Māori

[13] Published by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) as a decolonizing methodology. Following the path plotted by Smith by other transformative methodologies which privilege Indigenous language, knowledge, and culture have been established allowing Indigenous communities to reflect on the world utilizing tools defined from unique and specific ways of knowing (Smith, 2005 p. 87).

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Kaupapa Māori theory (discussed further in section 2.3) evolved from a group of Māori scholars who were seeking something radically different for Māori. They had a desire to reclaim knowledge and the right to know for Māori, through the utilization of knowledge that could be traced to the beginning of time. This is an approach to knowledge and knowledge creation that affirms Māori identity, a way to engage Māori in meaningful research that infuses Māori worldviews in all aspects of the research resulting in research that makes a positive difference for Māori. While Kaupapa Māori is rooted in te reo Māori[14], it also aligns with Western critical theory, yet is still distinctly seen as Māori (Smith, 2012). It is a theory structured with the strengths of the community, so it has the potential to benefit the community.

Shawn Wilson (2008) also speaks to Indigenous research from a perspective of relationality with research that was implemented with Canadian First Nations and Australian Aboriginal scholars. The ceremony of research (revealed through the research) emphasizes the relational nature of Indigenous research asserting that the relationship factor is critical to an Indigenous approach to research. The relationality of Indigenous research requires accountability to the relationships as revealed in the axiology and methodologies. This

[14] As a research framework Kaupapa Māori is grounded in Māori worldviews and ways of knowing which influences what is within, upon and outside the research framework. It is how the research is conducted, the way it is analyzed and reported.

research paradigm is described as the philosophy behind the visible culture of Indigenous communities that supports the way in which Indigenous research is performed (Wilson, 2013).

Relational accountability is an overarching theme of Wilson's (2008) research framework, based on the concept that relationships with one another and the natural world are what make Indigenous people distinctive. When the researcher is accountable to relationships, the research has the ability to create change. By putting the knowledge produced into action, change is generated along with the power to improve the community of focus, for in the absence of action, knowledge is just information.

The power of Indigenous methodologies is addressed by Margaret Kovach (2009) as an obligation to *speak up* which enables Indigenous research to make a political statement. Kovach approaches Indigenous methodologies from a Plains Cree and Saulteaux perspective, focusing on the overlap of Indigenous knowledge and research as voiced by various Indigenous scholars. It is an emergent approach that emphasizes methods of story and narrative, observation, and protocols to develop a Tribally centered framework.

With the Plains Cree knowledges and ways of knowing at the center of the Indigenous methodology, Kovach (2009) emphasizes the importance for Indigenous research to have a decolonizing aim, to enact cultural protocols both in preparation for and while gathering knowledge, to use a Tribal lens while finding meaning, and to *give back* to satisfy the reciprocal nature of Indigenous research (p. 45). It is a framework meant to support Indigenous theories built on an epistemological foundation, relational to the place and person that informs the Indigenous methodology. The framework supports a substantive theory that

is built upon the unique Indigenous knowledge that is the heartbeat pulsing within the landscape and the situation of the researcher.

Bagele Chilisa (2012) speaks to Indigenous research methodologies from a perspective grounded in the philosophies, histories, and cultures of Botswana Africa and the Bantu people. In relation to theory, it is Chilisa's desire to have theories rooted in African worldviews, with diverse representation to support research from various places allowing the people an opportunity to recognize who they are in the research. This inspired an investigation of research designs inclusive of other ways of knowing to empower Indigenous communities of Africa.

Supported by a philosophy of a collective existence that centers on the importance of relationships from birth to the afterlife, Chilisa (2012) discusses Indigenous methodologies as informed by an Indigenous research paradigm. By identifying philosophical norms to support the methodology for research that is relevant to the community, context specific, and dependent on local knowledge, a research process can give voice to the oppressed.

The Indigenous research methodology presented by Chilisa (2016) is integrated with Western theory yet is founded predominantly on Indigenous knowledge to envision other ways of doing research. There is diverse thinking around mixing Indigenous and Western methodologies. Smith (2012) says that Indigenous researchers will often utilize a mix of Indigenous practices with existing Western methodologies as a result of being trained by the Western academy.

Wilson's (2008) position, however, is that Indigenous methodologies cannot be mixed with dominant ones, as they are based on different epistemologies leading him to take a less constrictive, yet challenging, approach to research by letting a theory develop or

emerge through the research process. Hart (2010) supports charting a new path rather than following an established Western process and stresses the importance of conducting research consistent with Indigenous worldviews, otherwise, we risk validating the dominate perspective.

Kovach (2009) explores both approaches, developing support for combining methods to define Indigenous methodologies that are unique to the particular Tribal community, an undertaking completed recently by Chehalis Tribal member Marla Conwell (2018). She implemented a Chehalis basket methodology that incorporated Chehalis ways of knowing into a language revitalization model. Conwell (2018) argues that in terms of language revitalization, the solution must be Chehalis designed and implemented, because like Chehalis baskets, they draw from specific cultural knowledge and practices unique to her community.

(c) Lummi Practices

The examination of Indigenous methodologies inspired me to reflect on the values, beliefs, and practices of the Lummi community. The ways individuals interact (like on the canoe) reveals care for one another and the importance of relationships. We value and take responsibility for family and believe in the practice of being generous with one another.

Looking within Xwlemi (Lummi) Chosen (Language) as an example, reveals Lummi history with research strategies as there are several words in the language that describe the research process. The Xwlemi Chosen word telnoget, means to know or understand, totest, means to learn, wo'ech means to wonder, guess or suppose and x'chit is knowledge or to have knowledge (Lummi Dictionary, 2001). It is from a place of wo'ech that I developed questions from which I began to totest with individuals who possess x'chit in an effort to

develop greater telnoget. Examining Xwlemi Chosen is one window into Lummi ways of knowing. Traditional knowledge and my experiences within the community further contribute to my understanding Lummi beliefs and ways of viewing the world that inform my research methodology and methods.

(d) Insider View

Developing a research approach from a specific Indigenous methodological framework (that honors and utilizes cultural elements for the research) shows respect for the beliefs and ethical standards of a community. Norwegian ethnographer Jelena Porsanger (2004) emphasizes the importance of research from an Indigenous perspective to be situated clearly in line with the Indigenous researchers' worldview, referred to as an *insider view*.

An insider has a view from a place of experience as part of the community, which lends itself to understand the unique Indigenous experience. This is important for insight into Indigenous methodologies. Wilson (2013) states that a methodology is connected to place or context and emphasizes that the context of the learning experience is as important as what is contained within, for the context is directly related to and influences the content of Indigenous knowledge.

A metaphor of an island is utilized here to explain the importance of Indigenous methodologies. The visible part of the island is described as the observable culture and the underwater part of the island (the invisible part of the island) as the part that upholds the visible culture (Wilson, 2013). So, beneath Lummi cultural activities is the support for the practices; where the philosophy and beliefs exist (described as elements that influence people's behaviors and what sustains their culture), like the under part of the island, is invisible. We learn about that invisible part growing up as Lummi. However, the point is that

the beliefs and philosophies influence our culture, just as they influence Indigenous methodologies. When speaking of Indigenous methodologies Wilson (2013) notes, a paradigm is developed from Indigenous knowledge and the embedded philosophies (Kovach, 2009).

An insider perspective is therefore vital throughout the development and implementation of Indigenous research. Insiders possess the codes to decipher content from a place of shared experiences and accountability for the knowledge (Dupuis, 2018), which is central to research that impacts the community of interest.

(e) Emphasis on Tribal Protocols

The importance of the research and who it will benefit is discussed by Botswana scholar Bagele Chilisa (2012) as decisions Indigenous researchers make that are significant to determining methodology, research design, analysis, and the presentation of results. Several other Indigenous authors promote the development of Indigenous methodologies specific to their community's unique ways of knowing, for research rooted in their cultural knowledge, and emphasize the importance of following Tribal protocols throughout the research journey (Posanger, 2004; Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008).

Chilisa (2012) takes a stand that Tribal protocols are ethics and argues for the participant's ability to have some control with the research process. Wilson (2008) discusses protocols as etiquettes performed to strengthen relationships. Kovach (2009) draws on Wilson and Smith (1999) to inform her position on Indigenous methodologies and protocols, a position founded on Indigenous epistemologies being relational to the land and the interdependence of relationships within the territory. Indigenous methodologies are presented as the way Indigenous research is approached with the key component being that

Indigenous methodologies are grounded in an Indigenous philosophy, which derives from an Indigenous paradigm (Kovach, 2013). This situates Indigenous knowledge as a key component of Indigenous methodologies with an emphasis on the importance of following Tribal protocols in preparation for and throughout each phase of the research journey. The importance of following specific protocols is stressed when story and talking circles are utilized as research methods. (Research methods will be expanded on later within this chapter.)

As an example, Indigenous communities transfer knowledge and experiences with various methods of oral traditions and techniques of storytelling (like oral histories or life stories). When used in research, oral methods can capture the essence of each participant's story (Smith, 2012). "Margaret Kovach argues that stories are connected to knowing, that the story is both method and meaning, and is a central feature of Indigenous research and knowledge methodologies" (Smith, 2012, p. 146).

This is a good example of how Indigenous researchers have moved beyond the visible culture to recognize the philosophies and beliefs of their communities for research that is informed by their thinking to guide their practice. These concepts are drawn on to develop this research as they resonate with my desire to honor Lummi teachings. Designing a research methodology from this position draws on Lummi knowledge, teachings and protocols that are purposeful and relevant for this research (Kovach, 2009; LaFrance, 2012; Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008).

Developing a specific Sche'lang'en Indigenous methodology requires seeing how other Indigenous theorists, academics, and researchers have created their own culturally bound methodologies. Porsanger (2004), Wilson (2008), Chilisa (2012), and Conwell (2017)

are some that I have already referred to. One well known Indigenous methodology that helped to shape my thinking (examined in the next section) is Kaupapa Māori Theory. Unique to Māori of New Zealand, Kaupapa Māori Theory has presented some principles and aspects that other Indigenous researchers have drawn from.

2.3 Kaupapa Māori Theory

The relevance of Kaupapa Māori approaches is the affirmation of Māori identity, which is grounded in Māori ways, beliefs, and values (Pihama, 2010). Integral to the operation of Kaupapa Māori are language and cultural practices which encompass forms of Māori knowledge (Smith, 2012). Māori scholar Leonie Pihama (2010) emphasizes the perspective that Kaupapa Māori theory provides a framework that is fluid and an evolving tool with the potential to aid in the transformation of Māori communities by engaging the community in the research and utilizing the research results. This is an important consideration for those engaging in Indigenous research, points that I considered and wove into my own research journey.

Kaupapa Māori theory is a comprehensive position that covers each research aspect from developing the question through to how it benefits the community. Graham Smith (2012) clarifies the intersection of Kaupapa Māori theory with the research process by identifying four main points of Kaupapa Māori theory: as grounded in being Māori; connected to the identity and history of the people who occupy the territory; takes for granted the authority of Māori knowledge, language, and culture, and; is concerned with the collective autonomy, sovereignty, and cultural aspirations of Māori (p. 187). The structures of Kaupapa Māori theory are intended to assure that the researcher is accountable to their ancestors and community therefore, cultural integrity is maintained when analyzing Māori

information (Pihama, 2010). This way of thinking is influencing those engaging in their community research (see Conwell, 2017, Dupuis, 2018).

Smith (2012) speaks further of ethical integrity from a Māori space and the importance of ongoing reflection on ethics, emphasizing that the closer the researcher is to the participants, the more conscious they must be of making purposeful decisions. Within a Kaupapa Māori framework, ethics are discussed in connection with protocols as guidance for approaching the research. Protocols further provide guidelines for respecting relationships with research participants and the environment from the onset of the research, as researchers consider their position of involvement with all the participants. Attention to protocols strengthens relationships with research participants for, "to have something to share gives dignity to the giver" while acts of reciprocity gives dignity to the receiver (Smith, 2012, p. 110).

A key point I gained from Kaupapa Māori theory is that engaging the participants with each stage of the research process is important, a point that I followed when undertaking this research. The participants know and can reflect on their lives, could articulate questions, identify priorities, and possess the skills to enhance the research. Research participants involved through a Kaupapa Māori research framework recognize that the researcher is not all knowing (Smith, 1999) for the participants hold knowledge as well.

2.4 Conversational Theory

This research is committed to being ground in Lummi knowledge, language, and culture, research that is conducted by a Lummi member and influenced by the community and is research that will benefit Lummi. Other research methodologies (and methods) have

further provided components for consideration toward developing Sche'lang'en methodology.

Conversational methodologies for example, support traditional oral methods for gathering and analyzing data. Just as oral traditions are practiced to transfer Indigenous knowledge, conversational theories are a language oriented system of learning through a process of conversations (Boyd, 2003; Scott, 2001). Life stories as a strategy for creating knowledge is encompassed by conversational methods and is relevant to Indigenous research methodologies and practices. Conversational methodologies also align with critical theory, which considers the researcher's influence on the subject as a result of their interactions with the participants. This contributes to a structure that supports the sharing of oral histories and the dynamics of the interdependent relationships created between the researcher and the participant a relationship that was integral for this research.

In discussing conversational methodologies, Kovach (2010) outlines Plains Cree ways of knowing to develop a research concept based on specific Tribal knowledge, which situates her research within an Indigenous paradigm. The acknowledgment of her specific Tribal affiliation links the research to place. Kovach (2010) argues that her conversational methodology is an Indigenous methodology as it is attentive to relationships, has purpose, includes use of Tribal protocol, is informal and flexible, is a collaborative exchange, and is reflective (p. 43).

Thomas King (2003) a Cherokee descendent and Canadian professor of literature employs story to examine how the stories that are told to us as well as those we tell ourselves shape our reality. Personal life stories are woven with traditional stories and historical accounts to convey the multiple uses for story. King (2003) argues, that the American history

stories we are taught tells us a skewed story of the experience of Indigenous people with the colonist, for the colonial story is founded on the objective of gaining power, assimilation, and eradication (p. 128-136).

Stories told from an Indigenous perspective can re-orient us by reconciling the oppressive experience with the colonist and reveal a new understanding of our reality. Indigenous stories whether creation stories or oral histories tell of interconnectedness and shared resources. They are stories with the power to heal, influence hope, and instill pride. There are multiple reasons stories are shared. I have used oral narration of story to validate the ancestors. In doing so, I honor their resistance, resilience, and strength to withstand acts of colonization (King, 2003).

Conversational methodologies support Lummi commitment to oral traditions and a non-structured process for data collection that combines story, dialogue, and reflection (Kovach, 2009, p. 51). Story as a methodology for example, permits a breadth of knowledge to be shared from which a depth of knowing can be revealed. *Talk story*, is a term used by Hawaiians for informal conversations (Kahakalua, 2004) that allow people to share their thoughts, personal narratives, and knowledge (McMullin, Bone, Pang, & McEligot, 2010). Pūrākau (a traditional Māori way to narrate) is another form of story-talk that contains philosophical constructs and cultural codes (Lee, 2009). Conversations (for this research) are informal sessions that allow the participant to share personal stories as their stories are specific to the context and lead to discoveries, some immediate and others that may be exposed through the reflective process of Indigenous research, often in the form of journaling (Kovach, 2009). Conversations and storying became an integral method in this research.

2.5 Sche'lang'en Methodology

What I have drawn from thus far in terms of Indigenous methodologies are ways of knowing and doing that are congruent with a Lummi research methodology. I arrive at this point with clarity about my research design and what I bring with me (as outlined in previous sections). Lummi and traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge are transmitted through cultural activities and traditional oral practices, it is knowledge that originates with our voice and continues to be transmitted through our people. (Sche'lang'en will be discussed further in chapters three and four.) By perpetuating traditional knowledge specific to place, the people's unique Tribal identity is sustained just like in Kaupapa Māori theory, Indigenous identity is intertwined with Indigenous knowledge and connected to place.

It is this way of operating that I refer to as Sche'lang'en methodology and it incorporates several aspects. For example, my identity as a Lummi woman is represented by a lifetime of personal experiences within my community. The gathering of historical and cultural information about Lummi has been important to envision a research methodology that could result in meaningful research, a research methodology grounded in Xwlemi traditional knowledge, rooted in Xwlemi philosophy and the teachings of our old people

(a) Xwlemi

Xwlemi, as Lummi scholar Lexie Tom (2018) states, is knowledge of the *old people* (that does not belong to us) for traditional knowledge belongs to the ancestors, as it was gifted to them at the time of creation. Traditional knowledge is preserved within the origin stories, the language, and the people. This we refer to as Xwlemi knowledge as it originates before contact. When shared, it brings the philosophy of the ancestors, their respect for the interconnectivity and value of all living things to the people (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012).

We are told that to learn we must listen to the stories of our Elders. When Elders share knowledge, it means they care about you (Tom, 2018, p. 51). The Elders therefore, control access to Xwlemi traditional knowledge and they (like the Elders before them) safeguard the knowledge from misuse or misinterpretation by speaking it only with those they trust to be responsible with the information. In this way storytelling protects and maintains our knowledge (Lee, 2009). This commitment to oral traditions, storytelling, and the auditory transmission of information as a primary method for maintaining Xwlemi knowledge is the guiding principles for this research and a necessary aspect of Sche'lang'en methodology.

(b) Listening, Remembering, & Oralcy

What I can add to the discussions about Indigenous methodologies is also the significance for the role of oralcy, listening, and remembering, as features of knowledge transmission, the protection of knowledge, and as key aspects of Sche'lang'en. Lummi has a strong foundation in oral traditions and the sharing of stories is important to the cultural learning structure. Elders say that as youth, they spent their evenings listening to stories that were told and retold over time to assure the knowledge was transmitted (Nugent, 1999). Both listening and remembering are important when accessing knowledge with Lummi Elders. They do not share from a book. Our Elders share the teachings passed on to them that they recall from their memory and insist that what they say will be remembered the same way.

Oralcy, listening, and remembering should not be underestimated as a research philosophy and as a research method. Colonization considers oralcy an inferior form of knowledge transfer and that the written account is more valid. What my research clearly demonstrated, however, is that this is not the case. That tripartite of oralcy, listening, and

remembering resulted in some rules for engagement that the Elders adhere to when storying, rules that also applied to me (discussed more fully in the next section). The sophistication of oralcy, listening, and remembering needs to be stated. To listen, to remember, and then to speak is an extraordinary skill set that requires the engagement with a vast amount of information intentionally handed down from generation to generation so that the knowledge survives.

What the tripartite further taught me was that knowledge is shared in a way that invokes the senses and is captured within the hearts and the minds of the receiver (Wilson, 2008). Elders acknowledge that they recall memories from long ago when they experience the same smell or emotion as was present during the lesson. This was important for preparing my mind to remember the Elders' stories, being aware of the context and connecting to our shared experiences was key to remembering their stories.

(c) Respect for the Elders

My desire to listen to the Elders and engage my heart and mind, exhibits respect for the knowledge holder and my commitment to be accountable for the knowledge shared, another aspect of Sche'lang'en and Indigenous research (Wilson, 2008). Displays of respect for my people and our teachings are important to generate access to Lummi knowledge and a key requirement if I wanted to engage in this research. That meant adhering to the traditional ways of knowledge transfer through the practices associated with oralcy. Furthermore, there are cultural expectations for engaging in community work that emulate respect for the culture, the people, and the place. For example, one story my husband tells is an illustration of Lummi teachings related to protocols of respect and care for each other. He shared that when he went duck hunting, he often brought the rewards of his hunt to his great

aunt, and she in return would gift him with a pair of wool socks or a wool hat. This interaction exhibits specific protocols for taking care of our Elders, attention to a reciprocal relationship that is expected as a living aspect of our culture.

Being attentive to the specific protocols throughout all the interactions with the knowledge holders demonstrates honor and esteem for their assistance (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 2012). Not doing so, literally means no access for those who do not know, because drawing on Lummi protocols enacts Lummi beliefs. Specific Lummi protocols have guided our interactions, the way we treat each other, and our cultural practices for generations, the practice of which is emphasized throughout the research methods.

2.6 Methods

As noted in the previous section, oral tradition has been the basic form of Lummi communication from time immemorial (Lummi, 2008, p. 4). The traditions of oralcy and the specific skills utilized during oral narration guided the methods used for this research. The research questions regarding the tradition of Sche'lang'en (the relationship between Sche'lang'en and Tribal identity) and how the tradition of Sche'lang'en serves as a vehicle to perpetuate Lummi ways of knowing and doing, are investigated through practices of oralcy.

Conversational and other Indigenous methods are in line with how reality is shaped by culture and values. They support the informal and flexible sharing of narrative or story, as well as align with Indigenous (and Lummi) ways of creating and sharing knowledge (Kovach, 2010). These ways consider the researcher's influence on the outcome (by their presence), how they observe, and how their experiences inform the perceptions, a position

essential to this research process that engaged orally with participants to gather data and interpret the information shared to address the research questions.

Chilisa (2012) in quoting Gonzalez (2000) emphasizes the importance of drawing on multiple perspectives for a broader picture as "each and every experience within a culture is an example of the whole culture" (p. 184). I draw on participants who represent various facets of the community to broaden the perspective of my research. In terms of methods for gathering data, I use an open-ended question, which is supplemented with specific prepared questions, and the use of clarifying questions as needed. This approach required engaged active listening, documenting participant's quotes for messages that stood out, reliance on my observation skills, and time for reflection to consider the experiences I was bringing to the research (Adonis, 2013).

Applying conversational strategies to engage in unstructured dialog about Sche'lang'en, provides information (from within the participants' Sche'lang'en stories) influenced by Lummi ways of knowing (Smith, 2012). The topic of Sche'lang'en is expansive, consequently there was a level of uncertainty for the volume of data that would be presented. Yet I was certain the life stories would provide the material to unlock the unique view of the participants because of the relationship between their life experiences and ways of knowing.

As discussed by Kovach, (2009) the importance of active listening and responding to stories is a way of showing understanding (p. 125) that Smith, refers to as listening before you speak (1999). For example, the expectation of Lummi Elders is that when they share their knowledge you are to listen. Oralcy requires listeners to listen intently to the stories shared in order to remember the points that capture their stories, through the skill of

remembering. This meant that for this research no notes would be taken during the research conversations.

Conversations are referred to as visits for this research, as they are informal sessions that allow the participant to share personal stories. Engaging with the participants' through story provides a lens to view their experiences through (Wilson, 2008, p. 17). Following each visit, I engaged in journaling to capture the testimony of the participants, personal reflections, and my observations. Thus, drawing on my interactions of oralcy, listening, and then remembering.

The individuals invited to participate in this research are relations: they were selected for what they could bring to the research (rather than through random selection). Choosing participants with whom I have a previous relationship amplifies the importance of being accountable to the relationships through acts of respect, reciprocity, and responsibility to the information shared (Wilson, 2008). I conveyed the focus of the research in advance with the intended participants in so doing allowing them an opportunity to prepare for my visit.

Ethical standards and protocols were important when preparing for and engaging in the research within Lummi and even more important because the research participants are related to me (Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 2012). Important cultural protocols were followed at each stage of the research process to exhibit respect for the relationship, the knowledge shared, and the time of the participants as follows.

(a) Oral Tradition as a Method

Visiting with knowledge holders as a strategy of inquiry is in alignment with Lummi Tribal values for maintaining oral history. The unstructured method of gathering personal life stories is reliant on active listening skills and protocols for engagement. When preparing

to visit with participants, it was important to be available for as long as each visit might take. Our late Aunt Fran taught the importance of being on time and not worrying about how much time the work may take. The timeframe for the visits was unpredictable because of the nature of the open-ended topic and because each visit began with the protocol of identifying family or catching up on relations and current events (this interaction alone could potentially hijack the discussion). Wilson (2008) refers to this as beginning a conversation with *small talk,* described as a way to build relationships (p. 99).

The sharing of family relations or lineage is a similar way Indigenous peoples practice oral traditions, along with other historical practices of knowledge creation through acts of oral narratives and conversations. Storytelling is a technique utilized universally by Indigenous peoples to share knowledge and communicate how they understand experiences (LaFrance, Nichols, & Kirkhart, 2012). Lummi has a strong foundation built upon the oral traditions gifted by Xa'el (Changer, Creator) (Lummi, 2008, p.4), which brought me to identify oralcy as a research methodology, since Lummi members would be comfortable with this approach.

The oral sharing of history and life stories has been instrumental to the transfer of historical knowledge within Lummi families and the community. The participants' comfort with this approach increased my access to knowledge. This required attentiveness to the participants as they shared their knowledge and stories, and the ability to connect details to shared experiences or memories, internalizing the information (Wilson, 2008) which was fundamental to capturing the essence of the individuals' stories. As introduced previously, this memory technique was instrumental to my capacity to recall the story during the journaling process. As many other Indigenous researchers engage, this research also

presented journaled transcripts to the participants for review and approval. The approval process provided an opportunity for the participants to verify that I heard what they said, to make corrections, and provide additional input when necessary.

(b) Reflection as a Method

Reflection is discussed within Kaupapa Māori and conversational methodologies as essential to the research process. Reflection emerged early in my research journey as I reflected on areas of investigation that influenced this research. I realized that by drawing on what is known combined with reflection on current experiences, is the way knowledge has been created since the beginning of time. This insight influences the research design, methods, and the implementation of this research.

Taking the time to reflect was instrumental throughout the research process. I relate the phases of research to a butter clam shell; when looking at the clam, two half shells are connected by a hinge joint. This joint opens and closes the shell, which is essential to sustaining the life of the clam. Visible from the hinge joint, circular lines or concentric rings are apparent, and each of the rings represent the phases of the research process and the hinge joint represents the importance of reflection to the vitality of the process.

Figure 2. Reflection process for creating or reclaiming knowledge (Illustration by Sxe'y eqs elitsa, 2018).

The first ring represents developing the research questions which includes a process for engaging the community. The second ring symbolizes the literature review, which cultivates an understanding and the connection of the research questions to the current knowledge and is important to the preparation for engaging in Indigenous research. The third ring begins the research design, drawing on traditional Lummi knowledge, protocols, and the importance of respecting cultural practices. Protocols are vital to this research and are reflected on throughout the research process (Smith, 2012), especially as the data collection phase is entered. Taking time to reflect between each participant, as well as ongoing reflection, was vital to the analysis and discovery process. Finally, the procedures for giving the knowledge back to the people in a meaningful way requires reflection to ensure the process significantly acknowledges the participants and the community.

However, it is important to note that even though research is written as linear, that is not the process of research. Research is a circular process that begins and concludes with time to reflect (see Figure 2). Anishinabe scholar Mary Young (2005) speaks to the importance of reflection because taking the time to reflect provides time to make breakthroughs in our thinking which can create shifts and changes to the research. Time to reflect on what I know, combined with what I learn or experience, contributes to my knowledge development; I imagine reflection was used by the ancestors to generate the knowledge that has been essential to sustaining our ways of life.

2.7 Preparing for Research

In preparation for the research phase of this journey, I reflected on the important protocols to remain mindful of when engaging with Elders and respected leaders. I incessantly contemplated the specific community expectations that would need to be met in order to move forward. Did I possess the knowledge and skills that would be required for undertaking this research?

As a result of my internal questions, I took considerable time to reflect and prepare for the research phase. My reflection was on the teachings I had acquired, what I knew was needed to prepare, and how I might respond to questions or comments. With teachings and protocols in mind, a token of appreciation was prepared in advance as an acknowledgement of the participants' time and the knowledge they shared. This could be considered a hy'sxwqe (thank you), but in Lummi ways, it exhibits respect for a reciprocal relationship. Other protocols reflected upon in preparation for the first visits took into consideration the importance of meeting at the convenience of the participant and for being punctual as an act of recognizing the significance of the participant's time.

To honor the expectations of oralcy, my ability to capture the information shared within my heart and mind would require practice. Essential to my capability was the fundamental ability to listen, commit what was heard to memory, and recall to repeat what was told. The ability to become comfortable and confident with the skills required for telling and receiving information through story would be necessary. Historically these skills are refined over time as part of a child's development. In this technological time, my memory skills were less developed then they would have been in an earlier time period. This would be a challenge. From the moment I began to consider utilizing the oral methods for research, I focused on developing listening, memory, and recall skills to assist with this research process.

During everyday interactions, I would challenge myself to remember details of conversations. When people learned of my interest in Sche'lang'en they were often inspired to share stories. This helped me practice my recall skills and over time I learned it was easier to remember when I could connect information to previous knowledge or experiences, like a memory code connecting information to distinct features of other memories (Hamacher, 2016). I realized that frequently the stories shared were linked to specific locations as part of the story itself or as context triggering a memory or lesson from long ago.

Employing oral methods for under-taking this research is a significant aspect of Indigenous ways of living and returns to the ways that colonization disrupted with the introduction of the written word. The colonizer's introduction of the written word, together with their emphasis of oral as inferior and unreliable is one that this research challenges. Oral traditions are as valid a method for gathering information about the past as written statements (Vansina, 2009).

(a) Clear Intentions

Interacting with community members to learn about oral methods of storing, sharing, and receiving information strengthened my relationships and prepared me for conducting this research. It became evident that in this contemporary time as in the past, the teachings around the sharing of knowledge fluctuates from family to family, as does the response for how strictly the oral traditions of the ancestors are practiced and maintained. An individual response to sharing may be motivated by a desire to protect Tribal or family knowledge, a calculated way to control how and when knowledge is shared, or simply a learned reaction to safeguard teachings from being exploited. This is a reasonable reaction to all that has been taken from the Tribes by Western society. Wherever an individual's reaction stems from, there was no question in my mind of the importance to respect the sacrifices of the families and the ancestors by upholding the traditional methods of knowledge transfer through oralcy. The same experiences that motivate the safeguarding of knowledge would influence the individual response to a request to participate in this research. With this insight, I resolved that acting with integrity, kindness, and with a response that was respectful of my family, my research invitation would be met with approval.

I kept these experiences and reflections in mind as I prepared to set off on my journey to gain knowledge and teachings from within my community. I remained steadfast in my commitment to respect the unique Lummi experiences, knowledge, and important protocols for requesting information. Through implementing research from a framework supported by Lummi knowledge, the research is permitted to serve Lummi, by providing information significant to Lummi sovereignty.

As I envisioned this research strategy, I paused to reflect on my observation in the Lummi Library, on the NWIC campus, where there was a small section that housed literature pertaining to Lummi Nation. The majority of the literature was written about the Lummi Tribe and Lummi people by individuals who are not Lummi but xwenitem (white person or non-Indian). The information written by Lummi members makes up a variety of children's projects and Tribal legends. This realization caused me to be apprehensive about conducting and documenting research in my own community (the requirement of this thesis) when Tribal members do not write about our Tribe. This realization reinforces that techniques of oralcy would be key.

Drawing on a structure focused on oralcy to address my apprehension and fulfill the thesis requirement I reflected on the teachings for passing on knowledge and reflected on the importance of distinguishing what is mine to share and what is not. It would be my responsibility to be accountable for the information throughout the collection, reflection, and discovery processes, as well as during the presentation of this research. Dupuis (2018) noted that her community instructed her not to pass on information about religion. Similarly, information that is governed by the rules of oralcy is not recorded in this thesis.

(b) Envisioning the Research

When contemplating possible approaches, I visited with cultural mentors and advisors about the potential process. We discussed knowledge keepers and access to various levels of knowledge, such as public knowledge and restricted knowledge. There is historical knowledge that we are taught not to speak about. I believe this to mean, it is important knowledge to maintain but is not to be gossiped about or may not be yours to share. It was important that the participants trust that I would not share knowledge that was not mine to

share. This influenced my research design, implementation, and the process for finding meaning.

The oral methods for gathering and documenting the data provides the participants an opportunity to agree with or correct what is shared as part of this research. They are encouraged to continue to share their knowledge and skills during the data analysis and the process for identifying meaning in the data. Through the collaborative structure of this research, accountability for the information shared was assured while also restricting my influence on the outcomes.

2.8 Reflection

This chapter outlined the Sche'lang'en methodology and methods guiding this research. It discussed the Indigenous methodologies which informed my thinking and supported my interest in generating knowledge as my ancestors did. Positioning this research upon Xwlemi Sche'lang'en knowledge and the embedded philosophy of our old people. It is from this position that information is gathered and analyzed ensuring the potential to impact the community.

Grounding this research upon Sche'lang'en knowledge informs the methods implemented aligning them with Lummi culture, values and ways of sharing knowledge. A tripartite of methods were introduced which includes learning from Elders life stories as a strategy that is important to a cultural learning structure (Wilson, 2008) and combines dialog with listening and remembering. My relationship with the participants was discussed elevating the importance of following protocols for respect, reciprocity, and responsibility for the knowledge shared. Protocols are integral to this methodology framework and were practiced at each phase of the research.

Consistent with other Indigenous research methodologies, this research approach engaged the participants throughout the research process through visits to learn and the process for confirming that I heard what they shared. Reflection was instrumental all through the course of the research but specifically to recall the stories shared during the journaling process. Executing this research with the tripartite of oral methods combined with documenting my reflections returns the creation of knowledge and understanding to our ancestral ways of knowing.

With the Sche'lang'en methodology framework in mind the next phase of this journey examines the literature, exploring the research questions through a review of the literature to cultivate understanding for Sche'lang'en and how the research questions connect to the current knowledge. Connections are drawn between Indigenous ways of knowing, traditional Indigenous knowledge, traditional oral knowledge transfer, and the development of Tribal identity. The development of knowledge and understanding in these areas reinforces the foundation to support an Indigenous research methodological framework.

CHAPTER THREE
INDIGENOUS WAYS OF KNOWING AND DOING

Land in the Sky

This is a story of two brothers, the older one gifted with the skills of a medicine man. Together the brothers accept a challenge delivered by a vision, and prepare to travel into the sky by crafting a slender chain of arrows on which to climb. Upon arrival into the sky land, Mother Earth appears with directions and a gift for their quest. She tells the brothers to, "Remember, on the trail should you see any weapon your old people might have used, pick it up and keep it. It may save you from the Moon Man" (p. 166). The brothers set out with the older, medicine man leading to keep them on course, allowing the younger brother to be in tune with their surroundings. The first artifact the young brother finds is an arrowhead, then a spear point, and later as they come to the end of their journey a harpoon head, and a damaged war club. They save the objects believing in Mother Earth's advice about their importance.[15]

This chapter examines the literature to ascertain ways of knowing in relation to Indigenous knowledge, language, and culture. To prepare for connecting traditional knowledge and ways of knowing to Sche'lang'en, this chapter begins with fundamental Sche'lang'en knowledge. In preparation for storytelling as a primary research method there is a focus throughout the chapter on Indigenous oral traditions and specifically story as means to transmit traditional knowledge and unique ways of knowing.

[15] This story, told by Pauline Hillaire (2013), tells of the two brothers defeating the Moon Man, by utilizing distinctive tools, their medicine, the gifts from Mother Earth, and the artifacts they found along the path as they journeyed. Because they defeat of the Moon Man they were accepted as equals and granted the great power to heal and care for Lummi people.

3.0 The Tradition of Sche'lang'en

The Xwlemi word Sche'lang'en is defined as way of life. The Lummi Code of Laws for Cultural Resources Preservation (2008), describes Sche'lang'en as, "Our beliefs, spirituality, language, how we live, everyday activities, attitudes toward each other, our togetherness, our system of education, our values passed down in legends, storytelling and our respect for the deceased" (Title 40, p. 2).

Xwlemi Sche'lang'en contains aspects of what distinguishes the uniqueness of Lummi people. Lummi people draw on the teachings of Sche'lang'en (the values and beliefs contained within the teachings) as a guide to life. Lummi values, for example, are particularly evident during the important work of families during times of passing. The cultural practices performed to take care of the deceased (as well as the individual efforts while putting a loved one to rest) exhibit the respect for the deceased and the responsibility taken for family and one-another from the first breath and as necessary, beyond the last breath (Suttles, 1954). Each generation learns the roles and responsibilities associated with taking care of one-another from their families.

Lessons of traditional Sche'lang'en are passed down from generation to generation through various cultural practices which include systems of oral traditions, hunting and gathering activities, family life, and more. Through living life the lessons of Sche'lang'en are preserved. This is vital for to preserve, protect, and teach Sche'lang'en (Hillaire, 2013, p. 128) contributes to the survival of the people and it is through the teachings that the Tribe's unique ways of knowing are passed down.

Suttles (1954) discusses Lummi ways of knowing and how it is influenced by our relationship with the specific territory. The experiences within the territory have informed

how Lummi came to know what is known and the knowledge contained within the tradition of Sche'lang'en. Therefore, it is within the specific Lummi knowledge and teachings of Sche'lang'en that our ways of knowing can be found, which in oral communities is preserved through their way of life.

As introduced in chapter two, ways of knowing are the context for explaining what is believed with direct connection to Indigenous values (LaFrance & Nichols, 2009, p. 6). Further review of the literature reveals that several other authors describe ways of knowing as alternative ways individuals know what they know about themselves and the environment that are not questioned, but are drawn on to influence how a person makes sense of their experiences (Hart, 2010; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 2005). For example, Indigenous ways of knowing in research (like epistemologies as referred to in a Western context) are rooted in how the world is viewed, which is the foundation for all knowledge construction (LaFrance, 2009; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 2005). It is the influence of a person's ways of knowing on the interpretation of information or experiences and the significance of ways of knowing as a foundation for knowledge creation that necessitates further examination. Smith (2005) for example, has examined worldviews and ways of knowing in relation to colonized minorities who have (despite the efforts of assimilation) been able to maintain some of their ways of knowing, being, and relating to the world (p. 87). The practice of undermining Indigenous worldviews has historically been a tool for colonization. As Indigenous concepts of the world were seen as conflicting with Western views (Hart, 2010; Smith, 2012) which resulted in the instigation of practices (like language, prohibition in schools, society, etc.) as a means to replace Indigenous languages with Western ones. Language in particular transmitted the

cultural aspects and knowledge of a group so to hasten assimilation the language was targeted. As a result, colonization has negatively impacted Indigenous ways of knowing.

Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (Smith, 2012) discusses the Western system as the rules for ranking societies outside of the dominant society. Hall argues that the complexity of the Western classification system guarantees that by applying the rules governing the structure it ensures that when new knowledge is realized, the Western interests prevail as dominant (p. 49). Indigenous researchers are expanding knowledge about Indigenous ways of knowing by reclaiming and challenging the Western system.

Cree professor Michael Hart (2010) speaks to ways of knowing as directly connected to worldviews that embody the beliefs individuals draw on when making sense of the world. This view is explained by Indigenous scholar Wilson (2008), who describes what is believed about reality as the ontological beliefs and how beliefs impact thinking, or the way experiences make sense as epistemology (p. 33). The connections between thinking and knowing are presented as relational, for they work together and cannot be separated. By this way of thinking, worldviews are inseparable from ways of knowing.

The next section expands on this understanding of ways of knowing in relation to connections of territory and Indigenous cultures. There is a focus on Indigenous language as language embodies, so is a means to transmit ways of knowing. Cultural activities are also introduced as another form of oral knowledge transfer.

3.1 Indigenous Ways of Knowing

As outlined in chapter two, Indigenous ways of knowing are embedded within language and culture. This knowledge is gained through life activities and the relationships individuals and groups have with their land, waterways, mountains, forests, and each other.

(a) Territory and Environments

The connection to the environment makes Indigenous ways of knowing and understanding the world different from a non-Indigenous view. Young (2005) argues that a common Indigenous worldview is that all things have a life force and a spirit, exhibited through a deeply connected relationship to the traditional territory and an interconnected relationship with all things within the territory. Native educator and Yuchi Tribal member Daniel Wildcat (2001) speaks of the Indigenous connection to Mother Earth and how historically Native Americans view themselves and their survival in direct relation to the environment influencing their ways of knowing and sense of place (p. 32). Similarly, Northern Tutchone and Tlingit scholar Todd Ormiston (2010) references Hawaiian Elders' perspective of the land having a voice and that their ways of knowing and their values come from Mother Earth. It is a connection that includes a role of guardianship; whereas, non-Indigenous perspectives tend to see the earth in terms of ownership. Increased awareness of the surrounding natural world as a result of intimate interactions with the environment contributes to a sense of place and the corresponding Indigenous knowledge.

There is a unique relationship between Indigenous knowledge and the environment that has been tested and retested through ongoing interactions, observation, and reflection. Scholars Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) as allies for Native education argue that it is the continuous retesting that contributes to the validity of unique Indigenous knowledge (p. 11) setting it apart from Western knowledge systems. There are limitations when observing from a place of knowing within the original territory as Hart (2010) emphasizes that over time (as a result of life experiences and interactions) are altered. This thinking is addressed by Smith, (2005) as she agrees that an individual's ways of knowing may change, but only slightly,

over time. Therefore, ways of knowing remains a consistent guide for life, drawn on to understand experiences, for how to relate and act toward each other, and the ways culture is practiced.

The Inuit are an example of an Indigenous group having a guiding relationship with the natural world as historically their survival has depended on their ability to navigate by the landscape and the sky. Their exceptional ability to navigate, and their skills for predicting the weather, have been passed down from generation to generation. In 2009, a group of Inuit Elders reported several changes they had witnessed in their environment, the sun appeared higher, while the sunset had shifted, and the stars and moon appeared in different locations. The stars and moon are vital to their navigation during the long dark days of winter, so their altered position caused the daily activities of the Inuit to be altered (Dagan, 2015).

The Elders resolved that what they were adapting to were changes in the environmental climate. Following the Inuit Elders report, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) reported that during the year 2000 the earth began tilting on its axis at the rate of seven inches a year (www.nasa.gov/resources/edu) affirming the Elders' experience.

(b) Indigenous Cultures and Language

Indigenous ways of knowing shape a sense of place, which is linked to Indigenous cultures. Cultural practices, like language, embody, and transmit, specific Indigenous ways of knowing. As a result, values and beliefs are better understood when communicated with traditional language. Young (2005) references Māori ways of knowing as being rooted in the language connecting their loss of land to a loss of language (p. 174). Young (2005) argues that there is a vast difference in the depth of understanding Māori ways of knowing when

obtained through the language versus learning the ways of knowing without knowledge of the language. In translating from Māori to English, the entire meaning cannot be captured, and as a result, knowledge is lost or changed.

Māori scholar Graham Smith (1997) agrees that Māori ways of knowing are evident within the language. An example is the Māori word ako, which means to teach or learn, because the teacher and the learner can be interchangeable depending on who is in possession of the knowledge. Smith (1997) states that this occurs in other languages as well. (In Xwlemi language the same word is used for *river* and the *Milky Way* indicating a correlation between the two.)

Indigenous languages highlight the complexities of Indigenous ways of knowing, which are further complicated by cultural nuances, as ways of knowing are intangible, only revealed within teachings, and when practiced during life activities. Smith (2012) attributes the practice of storytelling as one way of sharing and preserving the unique ways of knowing and being of Indigenous people. Through stories, unique lessons and guidance are transmitted. (Ways of knowing in relation to the transmission will be discussed later within this chapter.)

Indigenous ways of knowing are also apparent within specific life activities. The Lummi cultural code for example speaks to cultural practice as the intangible aspect of Sche'lang'en, which can have tangible aspects when exercised (Title 40, p. 2). Examples are the subsistence activities or crafts which rely on connections with the environment, values, and beliefs when gathering provisions for sustenance or supplies for the creation of textiles. Cultural practice are passed on by the sharing of cultural teachings during various life and family activities with specific reference to language and oral traditions, particularly sharing

through story. When culture is exercised, knowledge, teaching, and Indigenous ways of knowing are transmitted.

Cultural knowledge can be applied with oral performance, through actions, the visual and performing arts, or a combination (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). The sharing of teachings through oral traditions is informed by the values and the point of view of the individuals involved (Sarris, 2001). Teachings convey the values and beliefs that guided the previous generations to the next generations. Smith (1997) discusses the transmission of values and beliefs by way of Māori oral traditions, as a means by which Māori have historically passed on knowledge, experiences, and values through the generations. The practice of traditional oral knowledge transmission is supported by shared values and require the application of specific skills to share, access, and understand knowledge.

3.2 Indigenous Oral Traditions

Traditional oral knowledge is commonly used to pass on unique lessons and guidance. Vansina (1961) argues that oral traditions are a reliable method for accessing history. Based on examining the oral traditions of Kuba, Rundi, and Rwanda (during the mid to late 1950s), he argues that oral traditions were the primary method used to share history and knowledge for those groups. Vansina (1961) characterizes oral traditions as information conveyed verbally, spoken or sung, as historical accounts shared from person to person (p. 19). "*Oral traditions exclusively consist of hearsay accounts, that is, testimonies that narrate an event which has not been witnessed and remembered by the informant himself, but which he has learnt about through hearsay*" (Vansina, 1961, p. 20).

Vansina (1985) expands his definition to include accounts shared that encompass internal experiences like visions and dreams, experiences which he states are common in oral

communities and may contain messages intended for the individual who experiences the vision, or may be a message intended for the whole community (p. 7). The *Land in the Sky* story (introducing this chapter) and the *Che Shesh Whel Wheleq, Survivor of the Flood* story (shared at the beginning of chapter one) both contain messages within the vision as a prediction of what was to come.

Archibald (2008) reiterates that oral traditions are conveyed in speech or song and contain lessons and teachings, although she speaks of oral traditions as Elders sharing wisdom gained through life experiences, education, and reflection. Sharing personal life stories are vehicles for passing oral traditions from generation to generation, for stories pass "teachings, medicines, and practices" to assist the collective (Kovach, 2009 p. 95). Sociology professor Leavy (2011) argues that the sharing of accounts or events that the informant participated in or witnessed are oral histories.

In discussing the different ideas around oral traditions, Vanisna (1985) points out that such traditions encompass processes and products for the manifestation of oral traditions. "*The products are oral messages based on previous oral messages, at least a generation old and the process is the transmission of such messages by word of mouth over time until the disappearance of the message*" (p. 3). Oral traditions then, are the product of a report by one person to another, which provides information and a point of view about a specific event or fact from a time prior to the informant's life. Legends, myths, tales, and fables are included as they provide a viewpoint from a specific time in the past.

In drawing on her knowledge of Lummi stories, Hillaire (2012) describes the continuum that spans between legends and fables by relating stores and myths as an ancient way of "expressing and evoking patterns of meaning" that help us make sense of experiences

(p. 103). Tales for example often provide information about natural phenomena, different from fables, which provide instructions for what is right and wrong, whereas, legends contain cultural details and history (p. 104). Myths are presented in relation to legends, as they both incorporate symbolisms, although myths are distinguished as conveying a past prior to ordinary history and are understood to impart important beliefs and values. The capacity to comprehend important messages within legends and myths requires codes found within the language and culture (Hillaire, 2012, p. 108). It is important to acknowledge however, that this discussion is comprised of English terms used by the settler and others to rename Indigenous ways of knowing, and Indigenous knowledge is marginalized by reducing Indigenous accounts to fairytales and untruths.

The ability to understand messages shared by way of oral traditions evolves throughout life. Angela Wilson (1998) discusses learning from her grandmother and how youth are taught from a young age to be good listeners while a message is shared, because "the ability to remember is an acquired skill" (p. 29). Therefore, learning to listen is introduced early, during the formative years and is later expanded on with the practice of reciting stories as a way to promote the process of oral traditions. Development of these skills is important throughout life, for as Archibald (2008) states, Elder status is achieved through the sharing of knowledge and insight (p. 3). The process of sharing oral accounts instills important knowledge as well as the skills to pass it on.

Transmitting knowledge and experiences (whether internal or external) is shared from person to person, being told and retold. There is a distinction between external accounts of oral traditions, like life experiences and eye-witness accounts or rumors (Vansina, 1985). Archibald (2008) suggests that identifying Elders or persons who are committed to living a

good life, to share lessons, teachings, and experiences assures the legitimacy of the accounts shared, because a person who lives a wholesome, respectful, and spiritual life will share cultural lessons of merit (p.13).

The traditional oral process is the mechanism for sharing experiences (Leavy, 2011). The product realized through the practice of oral traditions are the lessons contained in the message (Vansina, 1985). It is the experiences remembered that becomes the knowledge to be taught. Therefore, an experience in oral communities (whether internal or external) is shared as accounts of merit and in the event they do not fade away, the experience becomes knowledge of the past that will continue to be shared by way of traditional oral methods. It is through the oral sharing of knowledge that the people's ways of knowing are transmitted. To further understand the specific techniques for the oral knowledge transfer of teachings, experiences, and historical accounts, various methods are explored in the next section.

(a) Traditional Oral Techniques

There are several techniques for transmitting oral knowledge, that include story, song, dance, art, poem, prayer, and ceremony (Vansina, 1961). Although, initially Vansina (1985) argued that art is a separate form of oral traditions (because at one time art in the form of pictographs was a way to transcribe historical accounts), he later distinguishes art as an oral tradition (for various customary mediums of artwork frequently depicts knowledge). Although art has been associated with writing in the early years of documenting events, currently it is commonly categorized separate from written documentation.

Hillaire (2013) presents story pole art (or totem poles as referred to in modern times) as a medium to communicate events, stories, and teachings that invoke insight and strength. Story poles express a detailed narrative through the carved and painted symbols as a record

of important teachings. The knowledge revealed by the carver through the visual features of the story pole documents the culture and history of the place for others to interpret.

Suttles (1954) states that, “Indian history is not written; (sic) therefore it can only be exemplified by oral tradition or by dramatization” (p. 80). The cultural performances of teachings like the performance of song and dance are examples of the dramatization of traditionally oral methods of communication utilized to pass knowledge. Hillaire (2013) states that, “for every song there is a story, for every story there is a dance, and for every dance there is a special movement” (p. *xlix*). She further describes the sharing of stories through songs and dances as teachings and that when transmitted in this fashion are seen “as gifts to be recorded only in our memories” (Hillaire, 2013, p. *li*).

Creating a memory held within the heart and mind, only to be accessed orally is a cultural teaching as many cultural or ceremonial dances (even if performed in public) are not to be otherwise recorded in any way. Teachings go beyond the dance itself, for instance when an individual or family dances the participants wear special attire called regalia to communicate a message. The regalia of a dancer communicates with the audience who they are, the family they are from, and if they are related to Tribal leaders (Hillaire, 2013, p. 14).

Similarly, Akas Chielotam (2012) discusses African dance as a cultural practice that reveals the particular community values and cultural identity. He argues that in Indigenous community’s dance is considered a vital form of communication that provides insight about the people. The Anyamelum community (located south of Nigeria) is discussed as an example, for the families within this community are committed to the responsibility of passing on their knowledge to their children. The traditional soldier masquerade dance is described as an example of a dance that maintains the origin of the Anyamelum people as it

can be traced back to their ancestors (p. 71). Each aspect of the dance illustrates a message, for instance the clothes are created to distinguish each dancer's fiscal status and each dancer's make-up conveys emphasis of the warrior message communicated through the dance. The story told through this dance is an historical war story of the status earned during the early days of colonization.

(b) Oral Language Traditions

The sharing of knowledge by way of carving, song, and dance communicates history, culture, and community values. Other ways this knowledge may be transferred includes verbal techniques of ceremony, prayer and story (Vansina, 1961).

Ormiston (2012) refers to ceremonies as an illustration of the practice of oral traditions, for ceremonies, like those performed within Coast Salish Longhouses, could be traced back a thousand years with connections from one family or community to another. In the same way, Tlingit[16] customs show how oral traditions are a process of ancestral knowledge transfer that brings forward spirituality and philosophical beliefs (Ormiston, 2012, p. 4). Several Tribes and Indigenous groups like the Coast Salish, Tlingit, and Māori, similarly practice oral traditions by genealogical recitation of the family from which they come, as a means of preserving historical order of events, so the Elders are able to connect an individual with a family and identify his or her place in the community (Archibald, 2008; Ormiston, 2012; Smith G. H., 1997).

The reciting of genealogy, historical events, and customary verbal testimony often requires the ability to recite messages verbatim. The uses of songs, poems or works of art are sometimes used as a memory aid strategy when knowledge must be memorized. Poetry as

[16] Tlingit are original people of the Pacific Northwest Coast of Alaska and British Columbia, Canada.

spoken word is musical in its presentation, thereby adding to the strength of the strategy (Hillaire, 2013). Artistic objects like the carved sticks or quipura, used in Peru, Polynesia, and Kuba (Vansina, 1961, p. 37) can be used as mnemonic devises (as can the landscape) to assist with the expertise of knowledge maintenance conveyed through oral narration. Archibald (2008) mentions the use of talking sticks to indicate that a speaker *has the floor*. The carved designs on a talking stick will often depict the family or community history.

The strategies used to assist with the proficiency of memorization often require special skills that may be taught over time, beginning early in life. It may be that only certain points must be memorized and shared within a teaching, so would require a less precise method to share the knowledge. As an example, when knowledge is shared to make a specific point or to teach a certain lesson, the information may be communicated in the individual's own way. When lessons contain messages that may be flexible, the informant is free to add to the account to make the desired point, or in some cases omit parts of the lesson, if determined necessary by the storyteller. This is one way story is used for conveying information, for a storyteller may use the basic content and characteristics to communicate a message from their point of view and in their own way. Likewise, the recipients who receive the story brings their own experiences and ways of knowing to how they perceive or understand the message.

(c) Oral Narration Through Story

Storytelling is a universal way Indigenous people share knowledge and their understanding of experiences (LaFrance, Nichols, & Kirkhart 2012). Archibald (2008) says that "storytelling plays a key role in the oral tradition" (p. 147). This position is supported by Hillaire (2013) who believes that the oral tradition of storytelling is an ancient and

universal activity employed since long before colonization to share the sensory experience of an event (p. 102).

Customarily, the knowledge and experiences shared within a story contains the unique ways of knowing, specific to the particular Indigenous group. The practice of traditional oral narration through story is one way of transforming what is known into what is taught (Sandelowski, 1991, p. 162). Indigenous groups have numerous teachings that are transmitted through the telling of stories. Some (as introduced earlier) are myths which include stories of creation like this example from the *Songish*, a Coast Salish Tribe:

> *In the beginning the world was quite different from what it is today. The First People lived then. They looked like us but were called Deer, Raven, Mink, wolf, and such names, and they also could use the forms that we now associate with those names. There were also then many dangerous beings. Then a powerful being came through the world and transformed things. He transformed the dangerous beings into rocks and other natural features, and he transformed Deer, Raven, and the others into their present forms – to be food for or to help the Second People. The Second People appeared. They were the Indians. To them the transformer taught the essential arts of life, to a few of the first Men of these Second People he taught secret words and songs giving supernatural power, and to all he taught that power might be obtained from nature – from animals, plants, and natural objects – by bathing, fasting, and removing from oneself all human faint. The Transformer then went away and came back no more. (Suttles 1954, p. 33)*

Creation stories also convey distinct Indigenous knowledge from a particular way of knowing. In this way creation stories provide a place based perspective reliant on specific ways of viewing the world as a context to inform the way the listener begins to reason, understand, or learn from the story. Ultimately, the passing of ways of knowing and the sense of place relies on the oral tradition of teaching history and culture (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008).

Stories employed for teaching may be transmitted in many forms like the creation story above, and as stated previously, through legends, tales, or fables. Legends will convey

history through the use of symbols and mythological themes, while tales or fables may provide a lesson but are usually more for enjoyment (Hillaire, 2013, p. 7). Like the *Bungling Host*, a Skokomish folktale as told in 1926;

> *Bluejay was talking to an old fellow in a crowd. The old fellow was Bear. He invited Bluejay to visit him. "I'll give you a good meal," he said. "All right, I'll come," Bluejay said.*
>
> *Bear cooked some fish and got a clam shell to hold the grease. Then he held his hands over the fire; the fat ran into the dish. When the fish were done, he dripped them in the grease. "This is fine food," Bluejay said. He ate and ate and ate. When he was leaving, he invited Bear to visit him. "All right, I'll come," Bear said. "Come early in the morning," Bluejay added. "All right, I'll be there," Bear said.*
>
> *Bear went to Bluejay's house. Bluejay began to cook, thinking he would do the same as Bear. He held his hands over the fire but they cracked open. Today one can still see where Bluejay's hands are cracked open. (Adamson, 2009, p. 368)*

Through these stories, unique lessons and guidance are transmitted, sometimes to correct inappropriate or undesirable behavior (Archibald, 2008; Smith L. T., 2005). In the story of bear and bluejay, there are several lessons of distinctive and individual behaviors to be learned. For instance, lessons of reciprocity and warnings to consider potential consequences before copying others are embedded within the story.

When a story is shared for the purpose of teaching, it will often contain multiple lessons, the first is usually most obvious while others may surface over time with continued thought or reflection (Archibald, 2008). This concept is supported by Miwok-Pomo storyteller Greg Sarris (2001) who states that stories of significance have life. There may be immediate lessons as well as deeper lessons that are less obvious and possibly contained in the unspoken context and are lessons realized later (p. 144). The universal use of stories and their ability to employ the senses to influence the interpretation of a message is vital for preserving Indigenous knowledge. Connecting a story to the senses enhances the ability to

commit the information to memory and to later access the memory through a sensory experience.

The proficiency for effectively conveying a message containing a sensory experience of an event requires a shared context and values of the people involved. In this way stories have life and when a story is told in the natural context it will more accurately convey the original message. Life experience stories may be shared in context to pass on lessons learned, as a guide, or to answer questions (Hillaire, 2013). For instance, Archibald (2008) tells of an Elder who shared a life experience story of when he was a teen, left alone on an island (for an extended period of time) as punishment for crimes he committed. The purpose of sharing this story was to provide the young audience guidance by conveying the many lessons learned while on the island, some realized immediately, and others recognized later. The Elder shared that while on the island he learned about self-care and self-reflection. Later in life he realized that as a result of the experience, he had developed skills for effectively identifying and acknowledging a problem, in order to confront, and work through it (p. 113-14).

Story is a vital technique for passing down information containing unique cultural values, beliefs, lessons, and understandings. To achieve this information transfer, Indigenous groups have created effective learning opportunities utilizing oral methods to pass on their ancient ways of knowing and unique perspectives of the world (Benham & Mann, 2003). Lessons are often transmitted both verbally and non-verbally by combining story with techniques of observation, intentional participation, and demonstration (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Young, 2005). Non-verbal ways of teaching may be observed during cultural ceremony or events but are most commonly revealed through the people's way of

life. Sharing knowledge is an important practice, with oral traditions having served to preserve Indigenous communities' ways of knowing, being, and relating to the world for decades through their ways of doing (Archibald, 2008; Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Vansina, 1985).

Any single or combination of the various methods outlined in this section, may be drawn upon to pass on knowledge within a traditionally oral community or family (Benham & Mann, 2003; Ormiston, 2012). The ways Indigenous peoples practice their oral culture (or ways of doing) transmit their ways of knowing that are directly connected to and shaped by their specific context or sense of place (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). Specific ways of knowing and doing like the tradition of Sche'lang'en encompass life activities, cultural practices, language, and how knowledge is passed down to the next generation. The process of sharing various forms of stories as a practice is a vital technique for transmitting ways of knowing and doing through traditional knowledge and teachings.

3.3 The Relationship Between Traditional Knowledge and Tribal Identity

Experiences are shared to convey lessons, as a guide to life, and perpetuate ways of knowing and traditional knowledge. It is through this knowledge and these experiences that identities are established. Hillaire (2012) states, *"Our stories, personal and shared, are essential to our constituting and expressing our identities. Stories help us to understand and to lead our lives, to share our lives with others, and to an extent, to create the journey that our lives become"* (p. 103).

Here Tribal identity is investigated, building from an awareness of Sche'lang'en as ways of knowing which transmits knowledge through living and is combined with the oral narration of stories. This cultivates an understanding of the influence traditional knowledge

has on identity development. The Lummi Cultural Code of Laws says, *"[Xwlemi] people's cultural practices, customs, beliefs that are rooted in our collective history and is important for maintaining our unique traditional and cultural identity. These are inherent properties passed down from time immemorial by ancestors… given to them by Xa'alhs for our use and protection… to be passed on for future generations."* (Title 40, 2008, p. 2)

Tribal identity is a complex topic for Indigenous groups internationally. Hall (2000) states that what constitutes identity are influenced by numerous interests, politics, histories, and events which help to shape and define identity within a specific context. Māori professor Patricia Johnston (1998) discusses the complexity of identity as the consequence of the multiple social identity's individuals experience with contributing factors that change over time. As a result, identity is continually negotiated in response to the impacts of the social context.

There are many angles from which to investigate Tribal identity and its development. This inquiry is not intended to answer who can identify as Tribal or Indigenous but investigates how cultural experiences contribute to the development of an Indigenous identity. In the United States and Canada, the government sets legal boundaries on who can legally be identified as Indian, Aboriginal, Native American or First Nations with a degree of blood quantum (Robertson, 2013). Internationally Tribal identification is not always connected to blood quantum but may be determined in accordance with the people's unique customs and traditions (United Nations Declaration, 2008). This examination of Tribal identity will not be a discussion of blood quantum, which historically had an effect on personal identification because many Tribes still maintain documentation of blood quantum

as a membership requirement. Discussions relating to identity are outlined and discussed in the next section.

(a) Tribal Identity

When the Europeans arrived, to settle the new territory, the First Peoples of the land were labeled as Indian, Tribes, Native, and were relocated, commonly away from their traditional territory, eventually being legally required to prove their Tribal or Indigenous membership (Robertson, 2013). Contemporarily, Tribes often continue to maintain varying degrees of blood quantum (a requirement of the colonizer) combined with documentation of ancestry for membership, as defined within Tribal constitutions. For the most part, Tribal constitutions still retain elements of the *boiler-plate* or sample constitution provided by the federal government after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 33). Other Indigenous groups (as previously indicated) require various combinations of documentation through ancestral lineage, links to the traditional territory, self-identity, and community support, among others.

However, traditional means of Indigenous identity (like ways of knowing) is what Hall (1990) refers to as place based or context specific, because it is directly connected to the place of the ancestors. For example, by the tracing of family lineage, connections are made to the territory, the community, and to greater group identities. Individual groups within the community may enact varying membership requirements of shared language, history, cultural practices, and beliefs (Robertson, 2013; Tall Bear, 2001) further connecting identity to the community as a collective.

Certain group memberships may be additionally linked to traditional affiliation, a spiritual association, or extended family who hold special knowledge or who practice

specific ceremony together, providing some power or status (Suttles, 1954). Power may also be granted within the Tribal group as the result of an individual's extended participation in traditional practices, the adoption of cultural norms, and the use of the Native language (Greenland, 1984; Tall Bear, 2001). The issue of power bestowed on an individual based on symbols of ethnicity is argued by Tall Bear (2001) as contributing to the advancement of racial stereotypes because it can be interpreted as supporting a determination of who is the most *authentic Indian*. When Tribes adopt the settlers' idea about what attributes constitutes a *real Indian* they internally perpetuate Indigenous people's historic experience of discrimination based on recognizable attributes and support practices of authenticating Tribal identity, thereby assisting the colonizer's assimilation process (Tall Bear, 2001).

(b) Individual Identity

For generations Indigenous people have experienced multiple tactics of assimilation or termination from government sanctioned genocide, to systematically othering Indigenous people, relocating them to reservations,[17] attacking their way of life with boarding schools and Christianity, and creating dependency (Robertson, 2013). Assimilation practices within boarding schools succeeded in eradicating much of the traditional political systems, family structures, communal and migratory subsistence relationships, and the spiritual practices of Native peoples resulting in internalized racism, self-doubt, and questions about self-identity (Robertson 2013, p. 153). Young (2005) speaks of boarding schools and the shame instilled in the children who attended for being Indian (p. 45) because they were condemned for the way they looked, speaking their Native language, and practicing their culture. The boarding

[17] Indian reservations are land areas set aside with recognized federal boundaries specifically for Indians (Parker, 2013; Wilkinson, 2004).

schools' negative influence on the children's identity had an intergenerational impact that continues to reverberate within the Indigenous population.

Pihama (2016) addresses identity by looking beyond race to gender, sexuality, and intersectionality because individual identity may intersect with other identities (Garroutte, 2003). Johnston (1998) refers to this as the fluidity and politics of identity, because individual self-identification is influenced by the different ways individuals identify themselves. Young (2005) states an individual will self-identify based on various factors and characteristics like physical traits shared with a parent, the way the dominant community views them, even the community they are most comfortable within. Feelings of comfort when in a community is an internal response driving identity choice, while choosing based on recognizable characteristics or how society determines identity is an external response to self-identification (Young, 2005).

The external or recognizable appearance of an individual contributes to racial stereotyping and prejudice, which negatively influences Indigenous identity. Indigenous people, in North America for example have experienced, "Over 235 years of federal Indian policy [that has] systematically racialized Indians as inferior, incapable, and uncivilized" resulting in legitimized racism (Robertson, 2013, p. 156). This systematic racism creates barriers and disadvantages for Indigenous people as they are judged by their appearance; although, an individual's external presentation goes beyond the personal physical characteristics to include attire, how they carry themselves, and their actions. (As mentioned in the previous section, this includes participation in cultural practices and customs as well as speaking the language are external identifiers.) Johnston (1998) discusses external symbols of identity as constructs that the dominant society draws on to determine identity.

By identifying common characteristics that are different from the dominant group the focus on difference takes on a negative premise (p. 53).

Hauraki Greenland (1984) describes Māori political movements to regain pride for their identity during the early 1970s when in an effort to regain power, Māori turned the table on racism using identity as a political weapon by focusing on the oppressive ways of pakeha[18]. Activism as a social process disseminates ideas of the political group as those of the mass membership, even when there is disagreement within the group. Consequently, symbols of ethnicity or stereotypes presented by the activist groups were targeted by pakeha. In turn, Māori activists attacked pakeha stereotypes (competitiveness, exploitive nature, value of material success) to highlight Māori kinship bond to the land, an inherent connection critical to Māori identity. Embracing external symbols of being Māori was part of the political focus to revive and secure Māori identity through a self-determined Māori cultural consciousness. That resulted in a shift toward ethnicity and Māori identity, as people of the land (p. 96) influencing a resurgence of Māori culture, reconnection with the land, revival of the language, traditions, and knowledge.

A focus on positive aspects of Tribal identity contributes to preserving a distinct identity. Quenchua scholar and educator Sandy Grande (2004) describes positive attributes as a commitment to sovereignty, treaty rights, membership, and Tribal orientation. Affiliation within a Tribal community or reservation impacts self-identity as a result of a connection to the land, the resources, and the struggle to maintain inherent rights, while living within the borders of America, yet resisting absorption into white mainstream society. This is accomplished by resisting the legitimized racial standards of society and their

[18] Defined by G. H. Smith (1997) as non- Māori New Zealanders (p. 496).

definition of Indian-ness put in place to divide Natives, which subsequently undermines Tribal self-determination and self-identity (Grande, 2004).

In response to the dominant society focus on marginalizing the cultural representation of Indian-ness, Indigenous groups are reinvesting in our culture and ways of knowing and bringing focus to our interdependence with the environment and each other. We are continuing to guide our communities through living and the performance of cultural activities to transmit ways of knowing to the next generation while also persisting with the political struggle of Tribal identity toward the future sustainability of the group. Indigenous groups are bringing the past forward for a future that privileges tradition and culture as a means to strengthen Indigenous sovereignty (Grande, 2004).

(c) Community Perspectives

Sovereignty and Tribal identity are interdependent upon family, and the surroundings further contributing to a sense of place. Māori cultural practices and myths reveal an emotional link to the land (Greenland, 1984, p. 89). Within the knowledge specific to the original territory, understanding of Māori values and deep sense of community is realized (Hall, 1990). Skokomish educator Chixapkaid (2012) argues for the importance of knowing the people and place you come from for, "*The consequence of not knowing [where you come from] is to drift and have no emotional foundation upon which to create, cultivate, and appreciate a shared identity within a community*" (p. 128). As noted in section 3.0, Lummi calls this Sche'lang'en, for it is a way of life that when taught and nurtured provides a place to grow from, like a carver who with practice develops the ability to record the shared history within their carved pieces (Chixapkaid, 2012). Participation in traditions and cultural activities are an expression of identity linked to the collective.

The *Land in the Sky* story (opening this chapter) further addresses the importance of caring for the collective, a shared value of Indigenous groups that is exhibited within cultural activities and through social interactions. Community displays of culture create a visual identity that serves the members, perpetuating knowledge to prepare future generations for carrying out the historical work of the ancestors who struggled to retain their integrity and advance self-determination (Greenland, 1984). The development of a shared Tribal identity instills shared cultural norms, customs, and knowledge distinct to the community, often accessible only with specific connections within the community. A shared identity further inspires individual expression of identity that contributes to community efforts to maintain security of inherent rights.

3.4 Traditional Knowledge Perpetuates Ways of Knowing and Doing

The sharing of traditional knowledge through oral traditions invokes insight into the history, rights, culture, and teachings of people. These insights embody the distinct values, beliefs, and unique sense of place that contribute to ways of knowing. Beliefs and values are deeply connected to the environment and life experiences shaping the culture of people. Culture is transmitted through teachings, practice, and life activities, the performance of or the technique for which is often combined with oral traditions, as noted previously. Indigenous groups, for example, will have a variety of stories that convey knowledge of historical events, personal experiences, or lessons told during specific activities or within certain contexts as a guide to life. The action of transmitting ways of knowing and doing through cultural practices, teachings, and story is a way of passing on and stimulating the preservation of vital Indigenous knowledge.

The insights embodied within traditional Indigenous knowledge communicates a perspective based in unique ways of knowing. These perspectives and the assumption of their existence affect the delivery and how messages are received, which is additionally impacted by the common values and beliefs of the people within a community. When ways of knowing are applied to information, the interpretation of a message is influenced in turn influencing the knowledge. To maintain knowledge, it is vital to pass on shared perspectives and interpretations, as discussed in the next section.

(a) Knowledge Preservation

As this research takes place with a Tribal community, I am concerned specifically with traditional Indigenous knowledge. The preservation of Indigenous knowledge is critical to the ability of a people to survive and thrive, as highlighted in the *Che Shesh Whel Wheleq* story (opening chapter one). The children survived because they were taught necessary lessons to draw upon as their canoes came to rest on the land. The perpetuation and preservation of Indigenous knowledge is essential to the continuation of an Indigenous life lived with a sense of place, values, and the beliefs of ancestors. This knowledge distinguishes Indigenous people from others.

Indigenous knowledge encompasses cultural norms, laws, facts, and skills. It is knowledge specific to Indigenous groups who are culturally distinct and born in, or were the first inhabitants of their territory (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Corntassel & Hopkins Primeau, 1995). Indigenous knowledge is ancient, spiritual, local, holistic, and transmitted orally (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Hart, 2010). Based on this definition, Indigenous knowledge is vital information from before European contact (Battiste & Henderson, 2000)

and encompasses all aspects of an individual's experience, so it cannot be separated from the place and the people who hold it.

As indicated previously, Indigenous knowledge is acquired from experiences with the original territory of the people, connecting traditional Indigenous knowledge to all things that live on the land and within the atmosphere (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Hart, 2010). It is knowledge that over years of experiences within the natural world has been validated by continual testing (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001) and is a place based way of revealing information which can be described as a lived way of intellectually developing understanding based on a relationship with the environment. Those lived ways influence the cultural practices and the history which sustains the people of the territory (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). Embedded within this historical knowledge and the cultural teachings is the Indigenous people's relationship to the natural world that makes them unique (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Hart, 2010).

Smith (2005) further discusses Indigenous knowledge as a distinct knowledge and belief system preserved by Indigenous peoples despite having witnessed and experienced colonialism. Indigenous knowledge belongs to the people who have the responsibility to pass on their knowledge for the benefit of the group (Smith, 1997, p. 177). Sharing knowledge continues to influence the cultural practices of the people, the way individuals relate and care for each other, and how they interact with the environment. Thus, Indigenous knowledge is holistic, ancient knowledge having been acquired from nature or gifted by the Great Spirit to the First Peoples. It is knowledge deeply rooted in spirituality,[19] the language, culture and the people's deep connection to their place of origin (Suttles, 1954).

[19] Young (2005) describes spirituality as the connection and communication with the ancestors.

(b) Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Some traditional Indigenous knowledge may be commonly recognized throughout Indigenous populations while other knowledge is specific to certain communities. Community knowledge may be open and accessible, or private knowledge maintained within specific groups, contributing to the social structure of the community. Ultimately, Indigenous knowledge is held and controlled by the people, often transmitted by story as a way to share the life force of the knowledge so it may continue to influence the people's cultural practices and interactions.

Ormiston (2012) contends that knowledge held by Indigenous communities is integrated in all aspects of their knowledge system and cannot be separated or generalized without risking misinterpretation. Bryan Brayboy (2012), Professor of Indigenous Education, agrees that while common Indigenous knowledge may be shared throughout Indigenous populations, some components are more localized and specific to certain territories, communities and families. Consequently, when Indigenous communities have a shared territory they will have similar knowledge and practices.

Local community and family knowledge is grounded by shared experiences, philosophies, traditions, and the social interactions of the people. It is knowledge that has been carefully perpetuated and preserved by the people. Although, knowledge may be shared within a community knowledge system, certain other knowledge may only be shared within a family or in a special group setting.

(c) Access to Indigenous Knowledge

As noted previously, traditional Indigenous knowledge may be private knowledge or open knowledge. The former may be considered the property of a specific group for whom

it affords some status, the latter may be public knowledge that is shared openly without restrictions. Ultimately, it is the act of sharing that perpetuates knowledge and lends to its preservation. Indigenous groups as a whole embrace their knowledge, yet contrary to Western views about knowledge, not all knowledge was accessible to all (Smith, 1999).

For instance, a community ceremony or powwow will be more public, while spiritual practices and special ceremonies remain private. Within Coast Salish Tribes, special, often gifted, knowledge is distinguished as private knowledge to be protected. The levels of access to knowledge and the restricted nature of oral traditions further contribute to the "social structure of the people who preserve it" (Vansina, 1961, p. 7). Historically within oral communities' knowledge would afford individuals and families power. For example, knowledge of traditional medicines, or the ability to perform healings to care for others (like the brothers in *Land in the Sky* story), have value because this knowledge is useful and desired by others.

However, some special knowledge may have been restricted because the inherent power of the knowledge was such that if misused it would be unintentionally harmful. In this instance, it would be restricted in an effort to protect individuals from harm (Smith, 1997). Therefore, knowledge held commonly among the people is often greatly protected knowledge only practiced privately in ceremony or during healing, therefore accessible only to a select few.

Over the course of time, Indigenous communities and families have been motivated to safeguard knowledge, moving from protecting special or gifted knowledge that was considered valuable *social capital* (and therefore contributed to the family status) to protecting all knowledge. For many Indigenous groups it was the colonization experience

that required a reaction of protection to safeguard knowledge and practices by only sharing in private. As the years have passed, some knowledge has become more visible by being shared regularly, making it openly accessible to others (Suttles, 1954; Ormiston, 2012).

In protection of specific family knowledge, only certain individuals will be chosen to receive particular knowledge. In this case, often the family's Elders determine which members will receive the special knowledge (Archibald, 2008; Hillaire, 2013). Consequently, it is not uncommon to find that each family may possess slightly different knowledge, while the community preserves the shared ancestral knowledge. It is important to perpetuate both family and community knowledge with all the components it encompasses, for together it provides guidance and insights for the community to sustain life linked to an ancestral sense of place.

Sarris (2001) speaks to the way stories provide insights to a sense of place for the individuals involved. The oral process of storytelling with the unspoken exchanges of the speaker and the listener reveals how those involved view the world. It is further emphasized that each individual's ways of knowing affect how they process and sort out what is heard, for the interpretations of what is heard are connected consciously and unconsciously "to our cultural and personal histories and the situation of our hearing" (Sarris, 2001 p. 146). Thus, to influence what is heard, Indigenous knowledge and histories are primarily shared through story in controlled settings.

The importance of the context, created by the setting and exchanges of the participants, is articulated by Archibald (2008) who argues that it is the interactions of the participants that accentuate the story. Maintaining the practice of traditional oral methods of knowledge transfer is vital to maintaining context: there are limitations when capturing an

oral story as a written text because the written word does not capture the life force of the story.

Removing the context from a traditional oral story risks restricting the knowledge conveyed through the story because without the setting and the interaction of the teller and the receiver, the message is changed. Other risks occur when a story is not told verbatim each time. It can be expected that over time the story will be revised as it is shared. Each time the story is told, the storyteller may emphasize particular details in an effort to make a point or may make adaptations for added interest. Furthermore, it is possible that with the passage of time the meaning of a message or the lesson intended by the story will be distorted by the recipient's interpretation, or by a change in context. This is a risk particularly when an individual from outside the community is involved. Vansina (1961) describes *outsiders* in relation to a foreigner who enters a community with a different background, interested in specific topics, and interprets experiences from their own (different) cultural lens, while the *insider* shares knowledge and experiences with the community.

Dupuis (2018) speaks directly to a cultural lens for interpretation that outsiders do not possess. In drawing on Bernstein's (1965) code theory, she argues that insiders from a group work with an elaborate code that can only be acquired if you belong to that group. Outsiders however, work with a restricted code using their own cultural filters to interpret information, which means in the case of her own Tribal histories, the information was misinterpreted and misrepresented.

An individual's view of the world influences what they hold to be true about the environment, impacting the interpretation of a message. Commonly, an insider has a shared worldview with the people and community, so will have commonality in the way they

interpret the world, the values they apply to information, as well as ideas that will differ from others outside the community (Vansina, 1985, p. 124). Therefore, an *insiders* shared experience with the knowledge and setting will impact the delivery of a message as well as the interpretation.

Shared Indigenous knowledge and all the components it encompasses is vital to the community of origin as well as the society in general for it provides credibility, guidance, and insights for new perspectives (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). Perspectives expand with the ability to consider specific Indigenous ways of knowing (Michie, 1999) embedded within traditional knowledge. The accessibility of this information is enhanced when Indigenous knowledge is shared orally with non-verbal exchanges and is amplified by context.

(d) Evolution of Knowledge

The disappearance of oral messages has been referenced, as has the belief that Indigenous knowledge may change or evolve over time with new experiences, testing, and reflection when applied to the changing world (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Vansina, 1985). Additional risks for change transpire as a result of Indigenous knowledge being maintained within the hearts and minds of the community members to be shared primarily through oral tradition and demonstration. Knowledge preservation through these methods risks the disappearance of the teachings with the sudden loss of a knowledge keeper or the limited ability to protect knowledge from the influence of today's society.

Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) argue that traditional knowledge, when practiced in the present day, changes as slight nuances occur from exposure to non-Indigenous ways of thinking and values influencing the way the world is interpreted. Vansina (1985) states that traditions of the past shared in the present, must be recognized as knowledge representing

both the past and the present. By this way of thinking, accounts of the past shared in the present become present day knowledge as changes occur to adapt to the contemporary needs of the individual, family, or community.

(e) Advancement of Indigenous Knowledge

Indigenous communities strive to maintain their knowledge and advance their Tribal sovereignty and self-determination (Wilkinson, 2004). This, Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) argue, is dependent on the ability of the communities' specific Indigenous knowledge to address the needs of the people. Tribal sovereignty is defined as a Tribe's right to reside in their customary place, self-govern, protect the rights of their members, and the right to protect and revitalize their culture and language (d'Errico, 2000; Wiessner, 2008). In this context the manifestation of sovereignty will vary between Indigenous groups, for each Tribe determines what is best for their members. These decisions will be influenced by the experiences, needs, and circumstance of the Tribe. Integral to the advancement of sovereignty and self-determination is the active perpetuation and preservation of Tribal history, language, and culture.

Preserving the Tribe's knowledge and unique ways of knowing and being is an exercise in self-determination (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). The advancement of self-determination is facilitated through the active practice of the Tribe's ways of knowing and doing over the generations, while protecting it from misuse and exploitation (Ormiston, 2012). Perpetuating traditional knowledge within the community, its families, and groups protects it from outsider interpretation or inference.

Self-determination relies on a Tribe's ability communicate their knowledge and ways of knowing, to influence the current and future generations understanding of experiences or

information. This relationship between distinct traditional knowledge to the development of knowledge is key, because the ability to draw on traditional information enhances new knowledge (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). Research is one process for developing knowledge, and by grounding this information in the Tribe's ways of knowing and doing, it assures the stories of today, and those yet to come, can be traced back to the ancestors.

3.5 Reflection

Through the review of the literature, knowledge was gathered to understand how She'lang'en encompasses traditional knowledge, everyday activities, language, how we teach, and our oral practices, including storytelling. Embedded within She'lang'en knowledge is our ways of knowing which embodies our beliefs, values, and respect for one another. It is a mechanism for transmitting traditional knowledge and ways of knowing.

Traditional She'lang'en embodies the knowledge, language, culture, and beliefs of previous Xwlemi generations: it is a lens to understand experiences within specific Xwlemi territory since the beginning of time. Like Indigenous knowledge, She'lang'en contributes to the transmission of traditional and cultural information. It is unique knowledge that informs cultural practices and teachings which convey philosophical assumptions of our place of origin. For example like the Bantu philosophy, She'lang'en teaches the importance of caring for one another from birth to beyond the last breath of life (Chilisa, 2016; Suttles, 1954).

The literature advanced the idea that cultural knowledge embodies the philosophy and history of a community and most importantly as it is knowledge that is not questioned, therefore it is knowledge that can be taken for granted by Indigenous research (Chilisa 2016; Smith, 2012). She'lang'en and the cultural knowledge of our community then provides a

foundation for research as it is knowledge unique to the place and the people (Kovach, 2010). This reinforces that research guided by traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge can contribute to meaningful knowledge creation.

This chapter argued for oral narration and storytelling as a valid method for transmitting traditional knowledge and ways of knowing. Story is one way Sche'lang'en knowledge is maintained. Elders especially utilize personal life stories or stories that share personal experiences to pass on knowledge (Wilson, 2008, p. 98). Stories provide opportunities to speak freely connecting the past with present experiences as a guide for the future, linking the landscape with the occupants, and the people with the story (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2012).

As this phase of my research journey comes to a close and I reflect on the knowledge gained pertaining to Indigenous knowledge, its influence on Tribal identity, and contribution to Indigenous research. I realize the literature does not adequately provide a context for the Lummi community, although Indigenous authors have shown that knowledge and learning is context specific (G.H. Smith, 1997; Johnston, 1998). This research gives rise to another context specific example, Sche'lang'en, which will contribute to broadening the Indigenous knowledge archive and contribute to the literature. For a discussion of Indigenous research methodologies specific to the tradition of Sche'lang'en it is important to further develop a context to understand Lummi people and the community.

The next chapter captures the segment of my research and learning journey navigating toward further development of Lummi knowledge associated with Sche'lang'en, by investigating Tribal history, teachings, and traditional oral practices. This investigation serves to develop a context for understanding the impacts of colonization and the assimilation

tactics imposed on my people, affecting our knowledge, and the way our culture is practiced. By developing traditional Lummi knowledge, a foundation within traditional knowledge is strengthened to inform the research that follows, research grounded in Sche'lang'en.

CHAPTER FOUR
LHAQ'TEMISH: THE PEOPLE OF THE SEA

In the beginning two brothers were placed on the earth. They first landed in the vicinity of Somane[20] (the northern territory of the Fraser River, Canada). They traveled from there in search of the salmon. The older brother stopped at Melaxat (on the Sannitch Penninsula, Canada), while the younger, Swetan, continued on to the San Jan Island, where he made a home. To both brothers, Xa'eles (the Transformer), gave important gifts; the salmon, the reef net, the spear, suin[21], and fire (Stern, 1939).

4.0 Introduction

This chapter explores a historical overview of Lummi experiences prior to contact and into the early years of post-contact. This is followed by a review of literature focused on Lummi and the Pacific North Coast Salish Tribes (which are often addressed as a collective) on topics specific to this research including cultural practices, teachings, and oral traditions as practiced for knowledge preservation. The insight gained of the knowledge maintained and passed on influences this research.

However, a warning. As noted, the reality is that the knowledge I want to discover within the, *Xwlemi Oral Traditions* is information that is not written down: the knowledge is held within the memories of our Tribal members. The vast majority of the accessible information about Lummi, is written by non-Native researchers who have visited Lummi and transcribed their interpretations of the information. These authors provide historical accounts informed by distinctly different worldviews and experiences from which they interpret the

[20] Somane is likely the northern territory of the Fraser River and Melaxat is believed to refer to the Saanitch village as indicated by the modern town of Malaht (Morris, 1990, p. 4). Swetan is the first man of Lummi and his home was the village site in Garrison Bay on the San Juan Island, WA.
[21] Suin is described as a distinct type of magic (Stern, 1939).

information. Researchers from outside the community often miss the complexity and importance of Tribal practices and their specific ways of knowing and being (for the intention of their research is to inform outsiders rather than current and future Tribal members). Patricia Williams (1991) indicates that researchers from the outside do not have the *keys* to unlock the intricate combination locks, so they lack access to the messages contained within. Marla Conwell (2017) and Mary Dupuis (2018) make the same argument in their doctoral thesis when they speak to Chehalis knowledge and history. Conwell (2017) and Dupuis (2018) both argue that non-Chehalis consistently get information wrong because they were driven by other interests and did not possess the cultural knowledge to interpret what they saw. I hold the same view, so within this chapter, I draw from the literature information that aligns with our Elders views relating to our history in particular.

4.1 Traditional Territory and Historical Overview

Historically Xwlemi occupied territory that extended in all directions without limitation (from the current Lummi Nation reservation) including the interior of the Straits of Georgia and Juan de Fuca in the Gulf and in the San Juan Islands. (See Figure 3)

Xwlemi origin stories (as demonstrated in chapter one) tell of how, as a people, we came to live in this territory and of our relationship to the land, air, sea and the life that inhabits it. One of our origin stories tells us that the western red cedar tree was the first to be created, followed by one human and the skwdilech (for healing). The salmon originated with the creation of the river. All are important to the survival of our people: the cedar is used to build homes, to carve canoes for traveling, for clothes, for cooking and storage, fish traps, and more (Nugent, 1999); the skwdilech is a means of spiritual communication and healing that represents our people's reliance on the spirit for survival; the salmon are vital for our

people's survival, as well as to our cultural identification, for as a people we identify ourselves as salmon people. We have been dependent on the salmon to survive since the beginning of time, and the salmon are equally dependent on the original territory of the Straits Salish people. One Lummi saying is that, "as long as the salmon return each year, Lummi people will survive, because their traditional ways will survive." This knowledge speaks to the original territory, the traditional ways of survival, as well as our people's spirituality and these are ways of life that have been shared orally for generations.

Figure 3. Traditional Xwlemi Territory adapted from Suttles (1951) Territory of the Straits Salish Tribes (www.surveyhistory.ca).

The stories Lummi Elders tell are of families taking care of each other. Our family structure supported the way we lived, in multi-family homes, dependent on each other for survival. Marriages were arranged by parents to affirm alliances with other villages, and traditions were passed within these families. We lived in harmony with each other and the environment, for the land, water, and air influenced all aspects of our unique reality (Nugent, 1999).

Our peoples' care and dependence on each other was evident during the hunting and gathering months when Xwlemi families, with other families of the Salish Straits, would journey and temporarily settle near the various food sources. Anthropology professor Daniel Boxberger (2000) tells that the seasonal relocation of the Coast Salish Tribes and their regular interactions with each other, made it difficult to distinguish to what degree the Tribes were autonomous from each other. It is believed that as the seasons to hunt and gather came to a close, the people would return home to permanent longhouses for the long winter months. Scholar David Tremaine (1975) states however, that some families may not have returned to their former winter village because they would sometimes remain with the families they had aligned with.

These alliances with others were necessary for survival as it took many people working together to successfully hunt, gather, and preserve resources. There were specific times of year when sustenance activities took place in relation to the seasons and our people worked hard together to attain all that their families and the village needed. As a result of this collective approach to work, Xwlemi people had a communal way of looking at property as belonging to the extended family. The families worked together which made the yields of

their work kinship property (Stein, 2000). This was true when gathering and preserving nourishment for the winter as well as other undertakings like the building of homes.

The First People of this territory lived in longhouses that provided residence for ten families or more. To erect these houses took the participation and strength of the whole village. Each house had a leader who sometimes, when very influential, led more than one home. The residents of each home were usually related in some way and as marriages were arranged with other Tribes, family homes represented multiple Tribes (Suttles, 1954).

When the time came for families to relocate for sustenance activities, temporary homes would be erected, and new united settlements were formed. Single houses or groups of houses created villages which could be found from one end of the great Salish territory to the other. Within the Salish Straits 19 villages, with a total of 26 houses, existed at the time of the Treaty[22] (Nugent, 1980). The residents of these homes, within the villages, were distinctive family groups with shared values and beliefs and similar cultural practices (Suttles, 1954, p. 29).

Boxberger (2000) discusses the Straits Salish Tribes and their interdependence on one another, as what was witnessed during first European contact. That is when the people of the Salish Straits were given the designation of 'Tribe', an English term assigned to villages found in close proximity to each other, with a shared form of speech, and similar beliefs and practices (Stein, 2000). Before European contact and the relocation to reservations, the families traveled depending on the season and marriages were arranged to link families, strengthening relationships with others making it even more difficult to identify distinctly separate groups.

[22] The Point Elliot Treaty was signed in 1855. See section (b).

The people of this time are often described as spiritual people because of the way they worked in harmony with each other and with the environment. Xwlemi families lived by traditional laws which regulated their harvests to merely the resources required to survive and thrive. They gave thanks for what Mother Nature provided and did not waste any of what was gathered in an effort to assure the maintenance of resources for our future. For example, when gathering camas bulbs, the bulbs were cleaned at the bed to ensure reseeding and when harvesting clams, locations were rotated to allow ample time for beds to be replenished (Beck, 1955).

Similarly, the Xwlemi way to catch salmon with a reef net allows for some of the salmon to escape and continue on to their spawning grounds to sustain the salmon runs. Reef net fishing, (knowledge received by Swetan) is an elaborate system of fishing that requires two canoes with nets between them, set in the path of the salmon as they migrate towards the river to spawn. This style of fishing is dependent on a team of men to successfully catch fish, as well as others to preserve the salmon (Stein, 2000). Standing Rock Sioux scholar and activist Vine Deloria Jr. (1977) writes that reef net fishing requires an inner sense about the salmon, the water, the nets, the current, and the fishermen's ability to work the net. Because of the complexity of this way of fishing, "successful reef netters were considered to be possessed with a supernatural ability and religious powers over the salmon" (p. 14).

At this time in Lummi history it was common for individuals to have special powers or abilities says Isadore Tom, a Lummi Elder who shares that, "Indian people went outside to receive the spirit." He indicated that a person would live alone in the woods until a spirit came with instructions for a gift to be received (Nugent, 1999, p. 89). This spirit gift would be your way of life, a way of life guided by the spirit.

Another way spiritual life was apparent was with Xwlemi dedication to honor and giving thanks for the sustenance provided by each harvest. Xwlemi people treated all that was provided to them as a gift from the Great Spirit and for this gift, thanks would be given (Beck, 1955). Annually, the first salmon of the season would be celebrated and honored with a community feast to acknowledge the great sacrifice of the salmon. This ceremony acknowledges the dependence on a relationship with the salmon for the survival of our people.

Other celebrations took place as Xwlemi people returned to their permanent longhouses occupied by extended families for the long winter months. This marked the season for celebrations and the gathering of our people. Families would host potlatch gatherings where stories, songs and dances would be shared. These activities ensured the transmission of specific knowledge, instilled cultural traditions, and strengthened connections.

At the time of first contact the people of the Salish Straits were well organized and dependent on each other. If there was a house to be built, or food to be harvested, all village members would show up to lend a hand. People worked from early spring until fall to prepare for the winter. Everyone contributed to the work that provided food to eat, clothes to wear, and shelter. Our people labored together throughout the traditional homelands. The land and sea supplied everything needed.

(a) Early Contact

The first recorded contact with the Coast Salish territory by European travelers was during the early 1790s (although there are other recorded expeditions, in 1774, 1782 and 1788). The earlier voyages are believed to have explored territories to either side of the Salish

Straits without making contact with the people of the Straits (Boxberger, 2000; Suttles, 1954). Captain George Vancouver arrived in 1792 and traveled through the north end of the San Juan Islands (Deloria, 1977; Suttles, 1954). Deloria (1977) tells of Captain George Vancouver's third expedition as the time when he began to assign English names to landmarks of the area including Vancouver Island, Bellingham Bay, the Puget Sound, and Mt. Baker. Although the First People of the area maintain their own names for these places, such as Whulge (Puget Sound) and Komo Kwelshan (Mt. Baker) (Lummi Dictionary, 2001).

By the early 1800s, trade had become well established in the area and the ways of the First People began to transform. Deloria (1977) for example, speaks to how Straits Salish peoples' way of life adapted with the arrival of the traders and the encroachment of the settlers, such that in the early 1800s harvesting for trade slowly became a way to survive. Consequently, new skills would be required for trade activities including a way to communicate. A trade language known as Chinook Jargon developed, which consisted of about 300 words. During the 1820s, traders taught Natives the skills for tanning animal hides using smoke (Deloria, 1977). This knowledge became useful for continued trade as well as for clothing and other textiles. Evidence of trading Pacific Northwest goods can be found as far away as Alaska, Montana, and North Dakota.

With trade came other professions. It is estimated that the first contact with Christianity was in the early 1840s when missionaries arrived with an objective to assist the government in transforming Natives through any means necessary to secure control over them (Deloria, 1977). Christian missionaries easily related to the spirituality of Native people, which contributed to the development of relationships, despite the fact that they enforced the rules of the government such as the outlaw of traditional practices, forbidding

the use of Xwlemi language and the removal of ceremonial regalia, among other laws and policies.

By Treaty time, the missionaries and priests had cultivated well established roles within Native communities. Christianity had become an influential force, which would have a significant role in guiding the transformation of the Tribes. By 1857 there was a constant influence aimed at converting all Natives to a Christian way of life and away from their own spiritual and cultural identity.

(b) Treaty Time

The Indian Treaty Act of 1850 launched a new relationship between the U.S. government and the Tribes, as treaties became formal agreements between the parties, utilized to obtain the rights to the land occupied by Natives and relocate them to reservations (Deloria, 1977). The government promised monetary payment as well as other services in exchange for the Tribes' cooperation.

Treaties in the Northwest Territory were signed as early as 1851, although Governor Isaac Stevens arrived in the Pacific Northwest territory in 1853 as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Washington Territory. In 1854 he was appointed to negotiate peace treaties on behalf of the U.S. government (Deloria, 1977). With a treaty template in hand (to be followed with all treaties between the U.S. and the Tribes), Stevens would identify reservation boundaries, promise educational services, annuity goods, and continued access to usual and accustomed places for hunting, and gathering activities, as well as other promises. Uniquely, Treaties with the Pacific Northwest Coast Tribes also promised access to usual and accustomed fishing sites (Deloria, 1977). Stevens wasted no time organizing meetings with the Tribes. With the assistance of an interpreter who spoke Chinook Jargon

(the trade language), the first Treaty was signed with the Puget Sound Tribes, the Medicine Creek Treaty was signed at the end of 1854. In a matter of days the Mukilteo Treaty (also referred to as the Point Elliot Treaty) of 1855 was signed, followed by the Point No Point Treaty and the Treaty of Neah Bay. The final treaty of this time period (negotiated with the Pacific Northwest coastal Tribes) was the Quinault Treaty signed during the middle of 1855. Although not all Tribes signed a treaty, in a few short months Governor Stevens successfully secured five peace treaties within the State. (Deloria, 1977)

The Point Elliot Treaty of 1855 is the Treaty Xwlemi representatives placed their mark on, along with representatives from more than 20 other Tribal groups. Three reservations were established within the Point Elliot Treaty including the Lummi reservation which permanently located Xwlemi at their customary winter village site. Deloria (1977) states that the "most important feature of this treaty was that it was a valiant effort to get all the Indians of the area together on the three reservations established under the treaty" (p. 45). Relocation is significant because people were required to move from the 19 villages located throughout the territory of their ancestors.

In 1854, a year before the signing of the Point Elliot Treaty, it is estimated that Xwlemi had 450 Tribal members, 250 Semiahmoo, 150 Samish, 450 Nooksack, totaling 1,300 for the area (Suttles, 1954). Some Tribes not present at the Treaty signing were the Nooksack and Samish Tribes, yet they were still expected to relocate to one of the three identified reservations.

Treaties were intended to limit Indian territories to free up the majority of the territory for settlement without resistance. They promised access to usual and accustomed areas for hunting and gathering activities, to enable the Natives to continue to survive as their

ancestors had since the beginning of time. Although, soon the homesteading activities of the settlers would restrict the gathering activities of the Tribes people and the Europeans would begin to push Xwlemi people off our traditional village grounds and away from our usual and accustomed hunting and gathering places (Tremaine, 1975). Ultimately, the signing of the Peace Treaty would result in a permanently altered way of living for Xwlemi people.

(c) Post Treaty

Prior to the arrival of the settlers, Xwlemi people occupied an extensive geographic territory. As migratory people, they traveled seasonally to gather resources then returned home to longhouses for the winter months, when gatherings and celebrations were hosted. The current Lummi reservation is the place the government assigned the Tribe when they signed the Point Elliott Treaty in 1855 (Stern, 1969). Lummi Nation is the most northwestern Coast Salish Tribe in the United States, located on the shoreline about 20 miles south of the Canadian Border (see Figure 4). The current location is just a fraction of the original Tribal territory.

Lummi Elders tell pre-treaty stories of how our people sustained themselves. As indicated previously, everything was cultivated together, as extended families took care of one another (augmented by alliances with other villages) and practiced traditions within families. Our families are interconnected and could depend on each other to not only survive, but to thrive. This commitment to family and life's ways were targeted during the early days of settlement, separating families and encouraging dependence on the government for survival (Nugent, 1999).

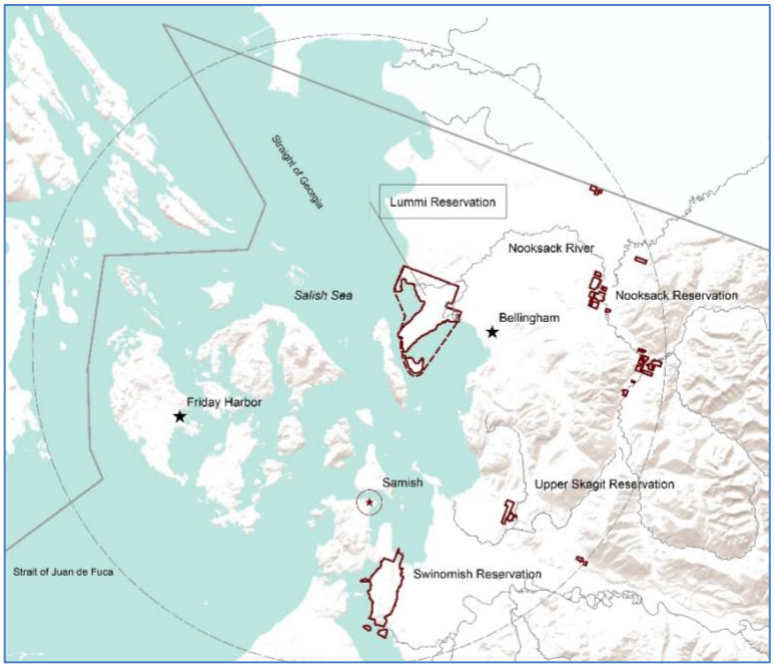

Figure 4. Location of Lummi Reservation (Map by Sylvie Arques, 2018).

For example, following the signing of the Treaty, it took some time for people to relocate to the reservations. Leaving their homelands meant abandonment of ceremonial sites and burial places of loved ones, which would result in the separation of the social continuum that sustained them. There were several ways the government encouraged relocation, like the distribution of annuities, land, and educational opportunities at identified reservations. Although this enticed some, there still remained settlements outside reservation boundaries.

Agent Fitzhugh's (1857) governmental report, tells of the Tribes within the territory and their locations in relation to the Lummi reservation, including the Nooksack who resided at the base of Mount Baker, the Samish who moved between the Islands, the Semiahmoo of the north, and the Lake Tribes to the east. Fitzhugh (1857) comments that the Tribes people were superstitious because they believed that upon death they would return to animal and

bird form. He also notes that the country was well adapted to support the lives of the Indians with abundant fish, shellfish, and vegetation.

As agreed in the Treaty, the government eventually distributed goods and annuities at the Lummi reservation. Annuities consisted of basic necessities like clothes, shoes, blankets and food as well as simple farm tools. The distribution of these items at the reservation encouraged members from other Tribal villages to travel to Lummi, although Suttles (1954) states that he doubted these people permanently relocated. Here is an excerpt of a life story that is an example of how families came from all directions to settle at Lummi.

Aurelia Celestine-Balch shares of her family leaving Jamestown by canoe to visit family at Lummi. They arrived in 1887 when there were still land allocations, so they found a place to settle (Squol Quol, 1973). Aurelia's story is a good example of the people's way of life following the treaty. It was her family connection that brought her to Lummi. She tells of how she maintained the ability to speak Lummi as well as Clallem, the language of her parents, even though she attended boarding schools where the children were not allowed to speak Tribal languages. She recalls how the children were mistreated and were pressured to assimilate, for they were told that only what the church taught was good. Following her school years, Aurelia tells of the marriage her parents arranged for her as a way to strengthen her connection to the Lummi community. A final point she shares is of her experience with the special powers of a person. This story is of a time in her life when she prayed to be brave and the way this prayer was answered one night by a woman who brought her colored powder to eat. She recalls that following her consumption of this powder she was never afraid again.

This story refers to the division of reservation land which was the result of the General Allotment Act of 1887. Reservations were divided into individual plots that were

assigned to the adults. Once assigned a plot, people were taught to farm the land. Families were to reside on the land, clear, and cultivate it. Our families were expected to harvest crops without consideration for past ways of life. At this time the population of Lummi is recorded as 275 by Buckley, a Tulalip Agent (Suttles, 1954).

The Tulalip reservation is where the closest boarding school to Lummi was located. The facility provided access to education per an agreement the government made within the Treaty which was fulfilled by way of boarding schools. The children were forced to attend school. This required Lummi children to leave their homes and families and endure the harsh cultural changes of the boarding school environment. The goal of the schools was assimilation into greater society to "break up the collective identity" (Marker, 1995, p. 76). The Tulalip School was run by a Catholic priest and nuns who were oriented toward the elimination of all that was Indian, which (as I refer to in the introduction) manifested in many ways including that our children were not allowed to speak Xwlemi language or practice our culture and traditions. If caught speaking in Xwlemi language, the consequence was severe punishment. This was a common practice of assimilation that many Indigenous people experienced.

Despite the attack on culture within the schools and the enforcement of the laws against practicing Tribal traditions, the Catholic priests made good progress with building relationships in Lummi. In 1861, the St. Joachim church was built within the main Village of the reservation, a church still standing today. Suttles (1954) states that, "The majority of Lummis had accepted Catholicism as superior to the Native system of beliefs" (p. 67). Like many Indigenous groups, the conversion to Christianity was a significant part of the overall objective to transform the ways of life of the First people of the territory.

The lives of the Straits Coast Salish people continued to be altered, from working together to survive with the environment, to survival with the aid of the government, bound within the land that was assigned to them. There was an expectation to clear and cultivate the land rather than to partake in the traditional harvest activities. The progress of Native people's transformation would be tracked by agents assigned to oversee the area. The government agents reported annually on the advancements made in areas like the harvest yields on each farm, the conditions of the Tribal family homes, progress with reading, and other ways of living like the settlers. Assimilation of the Native people progressed as a well-planned objective.

Before long Lummi people, in an effort to make progress in the settler's ways, were well known for our ability to work hard. Yet the agents in charge soon realized that despite their encouragement to farm the land, the Tribe's people still spent much of their time fishing. Only when we did not prosper by fishing would we survive by other means such as farming (Boas, 1966; Deloria, 1977). This resulted in Lummi fishermen being charged or jailed if caught fishing; although we were not easily persuaded to change, the Lummi way of life continued to be altered (Boxberger, 2000).

4.2 Transformation of Lummi

Previous to the arrival of settlers, Xwlemi people occupied the mainland from Point Whitehorn to Chuckanut Bay and much of the San Juan Islands, including the largest island Orcas, and Shaw, Lopez, and San Juan Islands. A critical result of the Point Elliot Treaty and the agreement to relocate to the reservations is the division of the continuous area of the Xwlemi People. The villages outside the reservation boundary were eventually occupied by settlers. These new residents blocked access to the lands and waters which hold cultural

significance as they provide the resources to sustain them, relate to the origin stories, and hold the history of Xwlemi people.

The life of Xwlemi people prior to the settlers' arrival eventually ended as a result of the Treaty and the General Allotment Act. The extended families were separated by individual plots of land, and a number of other Tribal families from around Puget Sound settled on the Lummi reservation (Boxberger, 2000; Nugent, 1999). Xwlemi cultural knowledge was put at further risk when the government made it illegal to practice our traditions and speak our traditional language. With laws against dancing and singing, the government (with the aid of the priests) confiscated all the masks and blankets used for dancing as well as our ritual objects. This forced Tribal members to conform and assimilate or practice in secret and risk punishment. Consequently, the teachings and art went underground, and in 1914 Indian dances were declared obsolete (Suttles, 1954, p. 80). Xwlemi culture and traditions appeared to vanish and our family system was in danger of collapse.

The lives of Xwlemi people continued to transform as the Europeans settled around them. Tribal members eventually did not help each other as they once did, families became distant, dependence on the government for survival developed, and children received education at Christian-based boarding schools. A Catholic church occupied the main village and with depleted traditional resources and limited access to practice traditional harvest activities, it seemed that Lummi people began to have trouble separating non-Indian values from traditional values (Marker, 1995). Marker (1995) as a non-Lummi researcher, further describes modern Lummi culture as a fusion of early patterns that have been adapted to the non-Native society and economy. However, despite the colonizers attempt at assimilation,

Xwlemi values would remain distinctly different from those that settled around and within our reservation, which contributes to our survival as a people.

4.3 Lummi Stories and Teachings

The lives of Indians continued to be changed. Lummi were forcibly removed from the path of the settlers during the Removal Era and were further targeted with Allotment and Assimilation of the Dawes Act[23], Washington Statehood, and other social policies meant to assimilate Indians. In 1917, Lummi was permitted to begin practicing cultural songs and dances. Although, it is not until 1928, following the Merriam Report[24] and the Indian Reorganization Act[25] (which enabled the freedom of religion on reservations), that things begin to improve for Tribes. Still, the 1953 Termination Policy and the 1956 Relocation Act targeted Tribes again with relocation to urban areas away from their territory and families for vocational training (Wilkins, 2011), re-asserting controls to ensure Natives remained vulnerable. Despite the actions of the government, Lummi culture was maintained (Deloria, 1977).

(a) Sche'lang'en

The Treaty and relocation of Lummi people to the reservation, resulted in the separation of families, and restricted access to traditional territories for hunting and gathering. This had a significant impact on Xwlemi ways of life. As a result of many

[23] The General Allotment Act of 1887 is referred to as the Dawes Act, allotment parcels of up 160 acres allocated to Tribal family heads altered the communal Tribal property through individual ownership a means of assimilating Tribal people into greater society. Where land allocation was applied a loss of 90 million acres of Indian lands was realized (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 10).

[24] A reported that publicized the need for increased funding on reservations for health care and education, recommended the end of allotment, and encouraged Tribal self-government (Wilkinson, 2004).

[25] In response to the Meriam Report the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 put a halt to the allotment of Indian lands (Parker, 2013 U.P.) and directed legislation to improve Tribal conditions.

assimilation tactics (outlined in the previous sections) imposed from the outside, the methods by which our people survived were altered. Upon observation of Lummi people, Marker (1995) declared that it seemed cultures and traditions of many families became difficult to distinguish from the non-native ways.

What remains is Lummi descendants of Lhaq'temish people, surviving in harmony with the environment and with each other. As noted, previous to the Treaties, Lummi families practiced a specific sustenance way of life: a traditional lifestyle, in harmony with our original territory hunting, fishing and gathering then preserving the harvests for sustenance throughout the long winter months. People's engagement in village gatherings was an opportunity to strengthen relationships and partake in traditional oral methods of sharing. Knowledge specific to these ways of life are conveyed during daily activities and by way of traditional stories and teachings that reveal common values and beliefs.

Lummi tribal member Pauline Hillaire (2013) offers insight into an understanding of Lummi ways of life with her presentation of "Sche'lang'en, a way of life, how it must be preserved, protected, and taught" (p. 128). Sche'lang'en is how Lummi came to know what is known and how that way of knowing is preserved. Hillaire (2013) discusses Sche'lang'en as Lummi culture and argues that it is a culture which has been negatively impacted by colonization, yet it still survives.

For example, innate principles of the importance of the seasonal harvests to the well-being of Lummi people are taught, although the salmon remain the most important resource. The respect for the salmon is evident within traditional stories, artwork, and Tribal ceremonies. Nugent (1979) says, "The symbolic acts, attitudes of respect, and concern for the well-being of the salmon reflected a wider conception of the interdependence and

relatedness of all living things which was a dominant feature of native worldview" (p. 6). Lummi ways of seeing the world are rooted in a philosophy of equal value and respect for all living things. Our respect for creation stems from a bond to the environment. As our ways of life are culturally and historically linked to the landscape and the dynamics of life, lived within the territory we have occupied since the beginning of time.

Lummi people's intimate relationships with all living things is said to be unchanged since the settlers first began to occupy the Coast Salish territory (Marker, 1995). As revealed by the care and responsibility we display with one another, the time taken to give thanks for all living things, and the demonstration of respect and care for the land and its resources, these intimate relationships remain essentially unchanged from those of our ancestors. Our access to water and the security of salmon spawning sites are essential, as are the traditional locations for ceremony and customary activities. The forests are important for the gathering of plants and minerals, ceremonial rituals, the gathering of materials for, and the storage of regalia, and for sacred sites. As stewards entrusted to take care of the land, we harvest what is needed and share with others because each person, including the future generations, has the natural right to the territories' abundance. These are the natural rights and laws of Xa'els (the Changer or Creator) that have been passed from generation to generation to maintain our ancestor's ways of knowing and doing.

The ways of knowing and doing are perpetuated through Sche'lang'en and preserve Lummi worldviews. Ways of viewing the world are identified within Suttles (1954) discussions concerning Lummi members' attitudes or beliefs toward illness and death as potentially being the result of supernatural causes, connected to the ancestors, or the consequences of another person's hostility. Social anthropologist Bernhard Stern (1969)

further identifies a belief that illness can be caused by the separation of a person's soul from their body, requiring the work of a medicine man for the person to regain health. Lummi views are additionally apparent during the important work of families at times of passing, in the practices carried out to take care of the deceased as well as each of the individuals that offer their help while putting a loved one to rest. This is a time when the value of family and care for each other is most apparent, as responsibility is taken for one another from the first breath and as necessary, beyond the last breath.

Hillaire (2013) shares the values of wood carvers, taught by her late father, as patience, respect, and generosity, among others. She states that it is acts of generosity that work against the greed that threatens the world today (p. 129). Lummi are well known for our generous nature. It is a value that can be traced back to when one of the first Lummi village homes was gifted by the last descendent of Swetan (Stern, 1969).

Lummi teachings, history, values, and beliefs, like that of other Indigenous communities, are preserved through cultural practices, ways of life, and by traditional oral methods. These include teachings that are connected to the traditional territory and contain values that our people continue to draw on as a guide to life. The perpetuation of Sche'lang'en is essential to maintaining life as it has been known by generations past, for if complacent about passing down the knowledge and teachings, like the salmon, life as we know it will decline (James, 2014).

(b) Language and Culture

Previous to the Treaties, life activities of Lummi families were a means to sustain the people. Information would be intentionally shared through oral traditions, from person to person, within families, or at gatherings. Stories are one way to preserve important family,

historical, and cultural knowledge. Stories hold knowledge shaped by connections with past events and the physical space that the event and the individuals involved occupied. Distinct cultural knowledge, language, traditional activities, values, and beliefs separate Lummi people from others. Our knowledge and ways of life are directly connected to the vast original territory of our ancestors, as it is knowledge acquired through observation of the environment and by way of guidance or lessons received from Xa'els (the Changer or Creator).

Many origin stories refer to lessons received from Xa'els. The stories are specific to the territory, its landmarks, the animals, and how they came to reside together. As an example, there is a story that tells of the mountains within the original territory, Komo Kwelshan and Mt. Rainier who were married and had children, the Twin Sisters. This mountain story gives the mountains spirits and human characteristics. Komo Kwelshan goes on to take a second wife, Spieden Island, and has another child, Sucia Island. The story tells that Komo Kwelsan had the Nexw'tsaq Stolo (Nooksack River) dug by the clawed animals, so his wife could travel to visit her family within the San Juan Islands.

Lummi stories, such as this one, demonstrate the teachings and the belief that all things are living, have a spirit, and are dependent on each other for survival. While other stories teach that all things are connected, have value, and are respected equally. While the story of Aa'as Xe'Xie, (for one to see connection between all things) teaches that all things are connected, have value, and are respected equally.

Aa'asxe'xie is a story of the big dipper passed down by the people who lived at Che'lhTen'em (Point Roberts area). There exists a detailed account within Lummi oral tradition of the ancestral lands, the creation, and origin of Xa'els who came to change the

Indian world. The Changer left markings upon a granite rock that make the Aa'asxe'xie. The imprints on this rock and the Big Dipper above are referenced to teach Lummi children ancestral lessons (Johnnie, 2019).

Traditionally, Elders of the family carry the responsibility for teaching the next generation origin stories, history, and family knowledge. This way of perpetuating knowledge has survived because of the brave families that believed in the vital importance of preserving their knowledge, and shared the stories and teachings despite the risk of severe consequences, while others, out of fear abandoned the cultural practices and language choosing instead to speak English, which became the language used with their children (Nugent, 1999). Soon the ability to communicate in traditional Xwlemi language was almost lost. This affected our children's ability to communicate with their grandparents, who were responsible for passing important knowledge. Additionally, without our Native dialect the full meaning of the knowledge embedded within the language became restricted. The English language cannot fully define Lummi words as it is a descriptive language that contains the common values. For instance, the word, 'sales' is used for 'hands' and 'sale' for 'heart' conceivably revealing the conviction that a persons' heart and hands are connected. So, it is taught that one has to have a good heart when working with your hands (like when you are cooking), otherwise the outcome may be detrimental.

Knowledge acquired within a family includes traditional lessons for survival like how and where to hunt, fish, and gather, as well as, spiritual, ceremonial, or possibly special knowledge for healing (Suttles, 1954, p. 34). Special knowledge can be referred to as acquired knowledge that is received directly from the spirits, to grant the power to cleanse,

protect, or empower others (Hillaire, 2013; Stern, 1969). This knowledge is private, affording status to the holder of the knowledge, so must be kept within the family.

Traditionally within the Lummi community, wealth is defined by how much you have to give. It is the knowledge of rituals, teachings, songs and dances connected to guardian spirits, and spiritual power that historically provided wealth (Hillaire, 2013). Other special knowledge passed down through the family could include inherent rights, such as names, rights to fishing and gathering locations, or family songs and dances among many others. Stern (1969) provides some insight about various Tribal dances like the ceremonial mask dance that is accompanied by singers and drumming and the spirit dances. He stresses the importance of the drummers and the importance of attire to the spiritual power of the dancers; he describes the game of sla-hal and the power of the gambling songs that accompany the players. It is said that the individuals who participate in each of these cultural activities possess some special knowledge, either received directly from the spirit or passed down within families.

The active sharing of knowledge is evident within Lummi families like that of Hillaire (2013), who heard stories throughout her life told by her father, mother, and Elders of the family. Archibald (2008) reiterates how within Coast Salish Tribes it is the responsibility of the grandparents or the parents to share stories. The Hillaire family (as shared in *A Totem Pole History*, 2013) is an example of how history is taught through the oral tradition of storytelling for she shares the stories her father told while he was carving. She speaks of family stories as transmitted through the arts of story poles, songs, and dance.

Story poles are commonly referred to as totem poles, by the settlers, and are visible examples of the use of oral traditions to share Indigenous knowledge. Story poles are free

standing poles, carved and painted with a number of figures (Hillaire, 2013). The carving of story poles is one way Hillaire's father would share important cultural history and family teachings in an effort to preserve the tradition and knowledge for the next generation (Hillaire, 2013, p. 54). His work is publicly displayed and contributed to a shift in the sharing of Tribal knowledge with non-natives. Providing opportunity to access messages portrayed on the poles was a deliberate act intended to foster understanding and relationships with the non-natives.

The telling of stories has a significant role in the oral traditions for it perpetuates specific knowledge and ways of knowing by sharing lessons, messages, or teachings that may have originated with creation. Lummi Elders share how they would sit nightly and listen to stories told by a parent or a visiting relative as this is how they were taught. The children were not allowed to run around in the evening: they were kept still and quiet with stories. Some of the stories were tales that told of animals and usually had a moral about how to act, how to treat others, and the kind of people to be cautious of. An example of such teaching can be found in the story about the friendly seal that will mimic a person and play as long as the people will engage. The seal is known for snatching the children that play with them. The moral of the story is to be cautious of people that are too friendly because they may take you in the wrong direction (Nugent, 1999, p. 104).

Stories are vital for the preservation of knowledge and the survival of Tribal communities. The salmon stories shared by way of songs, narration, and artwork of the Pacific Northwest Tribes are a good example of how knowledge and traditions are preserved through story (Ormiston, 2012; Battiste & Henderson, 2000). As Lummi align themselves with the salmon, it is the preservation of the salmon knowledge and the attention to the

management of their habitat that contributes to the survival of Lummi as a people. This is place based knowledge, not to be separated from the people who hold it, for it is rooted in the original territory, spirituality, and culture. The perpetuation and preservation of this knowledge affords Lummi the opportunity to maintain life with a sense of place, values, and beliefs of the ancestors.

4.4 Lummi Advances Toward Self-Determination

The ability of families to work together is what Lummi Nation is built upon. Tribal leader Sam Cagey (1985) explains the traditional family governance of the people. He shares that families were led by the grandparents who gave direction to the rest of the family. Each person in the family had a role in the well-being of the collective, so members worked together to maintain the family unit.

This family governance model evolved with the development of a Tribal government such that elected officials now lead and take responsibility for the community. In 1948 the first Lummi Constitution was approved, and it was modified in 1970 to include an elected Tribal council to govern the Tribal community (Deloria, 1977). Now the Tribal government oversees our Tribe's obligations which include managing the health and well-being of Tribal families. It is a government that has worked to distinguish Lummi as a progressive Tribal community, having emerged victorious in multiple legal battles over inherent fishing rights and other Treaty rights. Noteworthy are the *U.S. v. Washington* cases, commonly referred to as the Boldt Decision, as the cases were presided over by Judge George Boldt. The Tribes' continuous struggle for recognition of our sovereignty and self-determination recently resulted in victory against a proposed coal terminal at an ancestral site and usual and accustomed fishing location.

Prior to the Boldt Decision, the fishing rights of the Tribes of the Puget Sound were under attack by Washington State and local, non-native fishermen. Fishermen came from all around the world and outnumbered Tribal fishermen; as a result, the resources were depleting. In fact, in 1934 reef nets (described earlier) were determined to be traps, so were outlawed and when this ruling was reversed, non-natives took over Lummi traditional reef net sites (Nugent, 1979). The Tribe's battle with the State over fishing rights was led by Billy Frank Jr. of Nisqually (Heffernan, 2012; Parker, 2013). When the *U.S. v. Washington* case finally went to trial, Lummi was one of many Tribes that testified (it is a case that would affect fishing rights of many Tribes). The final ruling secured the original rights of the Tribes and reestablished the Lummi Island reef net site as a usual and accustomed fishing location (although this ruling has not changed the reality of the site's non-native occupants). Most notably, the ruling of Judge Boldt interpreted the Treaty phrase, "The right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations," to mean, "Indian's in common with all citizens of the territory" (Heffernan, 2012, p. 131). Which was further defined as Indians, as well as the non-native fishermen, have the right to catch equal 50% shares of the available resource. Finally, a ruling was made in regard to the fisheries management and the Tribe's right to self-regulate and be co-managers of the resource with an identified framework for fisheries management, initially chaired by Billy Frank Jr. It is an inter-Tribal framework that continues to serve the Tribes and their fishermen.

The advancements of fisheries management is just one example of the Tribe's movements toward self-governance. The Self-Determination Era began in 1961, although the self-determination movement for Tribes began after the Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. At this time, Tribes organized the Trail of Self-

Determination caravan that began in Washington State and ended in Washington D.C. "to show the government what they were doing to the Indian people" (Heffernan, 2012, p. 155). The Self-Determination Act was amended in 1988, 1991, and again in 1994, as self-determination evolved from Tribal self-administration to Tribal self-rule (Wilkins, 2011). The Lummi Tribe was one of the first of seven Tribes to engage in self-governance, transferring program administration from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Tribe. This permitted Lummi to advance toward the future in an independent manner because we could determine what services our members needed and the most effective way to deliver them (Wilkinson, 2001).

As previously mentioned, the elected Lummi Council continues to protect the treaty rights, they look out for the well-being of our community, and work for what is in the best interests of our members. In 2012 the Council led the Tribe in taking a stand against a proposed coal terminal at Cherry Point, a usual and accustomed area of Lummi. On May 9, 2016 the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers officially rejected a permit for the coal terminal and ruled the terminal would infringe on the fishing rights thus upholding the protection of the usual and accustomed area that is protected by the Treaty (Bellingham Herald, 2016). This victorious ruling once again secures the original sovereign rights[26] of Lummi, so our members are able to continue the cultural practices this area supports.

(a) Cultural Way of Life

Lummi members continue to maintain a cultural life, as fishermen and leaders, with spiritual practices and cultural activities, which requires determination, respect for each other, and the ability of our members to work cooperatively together. Deloria (1977) tells of

[26] Sovereignty is the inherent right not extinguished by Treaty or other legislation (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 31).

a cultural revitalization in Lummi during the 1970s with the return of the First Salmon Ceremony, traditional Tribal arts, and a new dedication to teaching language and cultural values. He stresses how vital this was for the Tribe to remain a distinct people.

Lummi member Jewel James (2014) shares a story of when the salmon runs that Lummi people had depended on declined and, Tribal members responded by making a trip to visit the Fraser River, in British Columbia, Canada. Here they were reminded of the Salmon Woman story and the ceremony to honor her children. This experience inspired the revitalization of the First Salmon Ceremony, an annual ceremony that reveals the relationship of our people to the salmon (Boxberger, 2000; Deloria, 1977). *The ceremony is held when the first sockeye salmon of the season is caught, then prepared, and shared with all the people. After each person partakes in the feast, the remains of the fish are gathered and returned to the sea so that the salmon could return to the Salmon Woman to share the respect and gratitude that was shown, and the salmon children would return once again to sacrifice themselves for Lummi.* This is a ceremony that passes down the tradition of respect for the salmon and our unique relationship with the salmon as taught by our ancestors.

Hillaire (2016) tells of traditional songs and dances that are practiced, some for celebration that are shared publicly, while others for ceremony that may only be displayed within the secret society, as they are private cultural property. There are song and dance groups for both celebration and for ceremony. There is a growing phenomenon within the Tribe of children participating in song and dance groups. They are encouraged to participate; such groups are supported by the Tribal school (with cultural curriculum that expands annually) and by the growing annual inter-Tribal traveling Canoe Journey. The children of this generation are growing up with increased opportunity to learn traditional songs and

dances as well as Xwlemi Chosen (Lummi language). They are representing our community in various settings, at a variety of events and activities within the community and beyond.

Similarly, there are increased opportunities for community members (young and old) to learn Xwlemi Chosen. The language is introduced in pre-school and is continued throughout the Tribal educational institutions. Additionally, the Lummi Sche'lang'en department sponsors classes for the children attending public school, providing a teacher for elementary and high schools, as well as sessions for community members. It is a growing program of committed Chosen oksale (language teachers).

Another cultural activity that has been maintained for members to enjoy is traditional war canoe races. Distinctively different from Canoe Journey, war canoe racing involves crews who race in traditional cedar dugout canoes. There are multiple crews spanning ages: from the youth to adults, who participate as long as physically capable, some until they are Elders. Inter-Tribal races are held between canoe crews representing Tribes from throughout the Coast Salish territory. This is just one way the inter-village cultural ties and the social continuum have been maintained (Suttles, 1987).

The above-mentioned cultural activities, as well as many more, contribute to the preservation and revitalization of the cultural ways of life Lummi members are experiencing today. With the guidance of Elders and cultural leaders, Lummi continues to perpetuate our Sche'lang'en, learning and practicing the culture together. Learning is supported by the Tribes' educational institutions that teach history, language, songs and dances, as well as other vital Tribal knowledge. As a result, Lummi members have increased opportunity to develop an identity rooted in the culture that can continue to be passed on to the next generations.

4.5 Reflection

This historical overview of the Lummi experience highlights events before contact and in the early years of post-contact that impact the perpetuation of ancestral knowledge for our members today. The assimilation tactics and the governmental role, especially following the Treaty of Point Elliot, in the elimination of all that made Lummi distinct are reflected upon. This includes building knowledge and understanding of the original territory, how it informs traditional knowledge and cultural practices that are traditionally transmitted by oral narration practices.

The laws and policies that followed the Treaty forced the peoples to move within the boundary of the Lummi reservation, restricting access to the territory's resources and traditional ways of life. The rules were enforced with the influential aid of Christian missionaries that worked with the government toward their goal of assimilation. Education had a fundamental role in the assimilation process as one of the social policies aimed at destroying all that symbolized Indians. The establishment of boarding schools required children to abandon their homes, languages, attire, spiritual practices, and other traditions putting at risk the traditional ways of life (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 10).With the execution of each strategy, the family structure and collective way of caring for one another was targeted. Yet what remains are a spiritual people who value one another, are generous, work cooperatively together, and respect the environment and the resources.

As presented in this chapter, the land and waters of our original territory are culturally significant because of the resources accessed within, and also because of the relation to our origin stories and history. These are teachings that survived to guide the lives of Lummi people, having been passed through the generations within the culture and ways of life of the

families and various cultural groups. It is because of the brave families from within the different knowledge systems that our people maintain a hold on our language, history and culture. Our people hold vital knowledge acquired by ancestors that continues to be passed down within families, during community gatherings, and ceremonies to preserve our Xwlemi way of life.

The information within this chapter establishes the context for Lummi ways of viewing the world, with the values, and beliefs that ground our people and continue to guide our lives. This knowledge along with the understanding of Indigenous research methodologies and methods developed in the previous chapters prepares me for the next phase of this research journey for in the ways of the ancestors, all things are connected. Therefore, by drawing on past experiences and knowledge, as a guide forward, the work toward the perpetuation of the tradition of Sche'lang'en support the development of the Sche'lang'en research framework introduced in chapter two.

With increased knowledge, the research procedures, ethics, and protocols prepared and personally ready to listen, and be respectful, I set off to undertake my research. The next chapter describes the execution of this research, initiated from the Sche'lang'en framework that guide my interactions with the knowledge holders, the data, and my community. The research information is presented for examination and consideration. This is important because as with storytelling the opportunity to reflect on the meaning is significant to translating the message correctly.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE RESEARCH STORIES

Skeloqst lived in a village in the San Juan Islands. His brother married a girl from a village where the Lummi community now sits. The couple had a disagreement and the wife ended up leaving that marriage and returning home to her village. The husband missed his wife, so he travelled to her village to try to win her back. While talking to his wife on the beach of that village, his brother-in-law killed him. When Skeloqst heard the news, he avenged his brother's death by taking over the village.[27]

5.0 The Research Context

As outlined in chapter two, this research is guided by traditional oral methods for teaching and learning as a means to access the knowledge of Sche'lang'en through my Elders. The knowledge holders invited to participate are relations, beginning with the eldest living family member (who was also the eldest Tribal member). They were selected based on criteria that first and foremost required membership within the Lummi Tribe, then family lineage, and finally selection extended out to other close relations. All participants were required to have lifelong experience within Lummi territory.

The decision to work with family influenced the setting for data collection and analysis because our existing relationship made it comfortable to encourage each individual to select the location of our visits, the stories shared, and how the stories are represented. A total of seven Lummi members participated in this research. Three participants chose to meet in their place of employment, while four preferred meeting in their homes. I gathered their

[27] A synopsis of a creation story shared by Lexie Tom (2018) to tell how Lummi people came to the territory.

personal stories while maintaining the Lummi value of oralcy as a practice for transmitting and receiving knowledge.

As noted in previous chapters, I envisioned the stories would reveal a context for the meaning of Sche'lang'en, a relationship between Sche'lang'en and Tribal identity, and how Sche'lang'en perpetuates Lummi ways of knowing and doing that inform both the Sche'lang'en methodology and practice.

(a) My Research Protocols

My first contact with each informant was to request participation. I delivered the paperwork associated with my research ethics for review, described my research process, and explained my interest in Sche'lang'en. Delivering the paperwork in advance alerted participants of the research focus and provided them an opportunity for reflection on what they might want to share (Kovach, 2009).

Upon their agreement to participate, appointments were made for a first visit. This visit began with protocols to extend respect and appreciation for the individual and to respectfully recognize their willingness to share their stories with me. We acknowledged our family connections and chatted about current activities as we settled into our visit. The participants were prompted to share stories of Sche'lang'en, although, one participant requested that questions be asked as prompts beginning and during our visit. The interview questions prepared inquired about stories of Sche'lang'en they wished to share, if they remembered hearing stories of Sche'lang'en, and if they believed the current generation is learning our Sche'lang'en.

The oral method for capturing the participant's stories created trust in the process because this was a way of knowledge sharing with which they were familiar. As a result, all

except the eldest participant told stories for almost two hours. (I met with the eldest participant several times for shorter visits.) As the participants shared their testimonies, I stayed committed to the oral process of knowledge transfer, absorbing their stories with the intent to journal them later. As the visits seemed to be wrapping up, I extended my gratitude and discussed the next steps.

Immediately following each visit, I made notes to utilize as a reference for later when I assembled my journal reflections of the information shared by the participants. I wanted to ensure I had as accurate as possible notes because the information would later be distributed for checking and approval by the participants. To prepare the data, I drew on my memory by reflecting on the visit, envisioning myself within the context, as part of the life of the story, remembering the exchanges and senses invoked as a means to draw upon the points shared during our visit (Archibald, 2008 & Sarris 2001). Written reflections were completed in stages of writing, reflection, and more writing. This phase of the research process took between three to seven days for each participant depending on the scope of the visit. I found that reflection for journaling was a calming experience as I put myself back within the context of the visit.

After drafting my reflections of the first visit (a synopsis of the stories shared), I contacted the participants to arrange a time to present them with my research material for their review and approval. During this visit, when there were corrections required, I made notations to ensure the changes were completed precisely as requested. Four of the participants approved their reflections without edits, while the other three participants required clarifying comments and edits before giving their approval of my collection of their stories.

Often the participants were moved to share additional stories. As the participant completed their review, our visit transitioned to exchanges of current life activities. In wrapping up I made plans to present the edited document to them and expressed gratitude for their time and continued participation.

The primary data collection stage of the research concluded with the approval of my written reflections of our visits and a discussion of disclosures of confidentiality. Each of the participants gave permission to use their testimony as written. In respect for my relationship with the knowledge holders and to uphold my responsibility for their stories, I indicated that I would keep in contact about my research progress.

Here the research reflections representing the participant's visits are shared in order of age, beginning with the eldest member. Each section is a reflection of the protocols practiced in preparation for the research, the context, the interactions with the participants, and the stories. I am mindful that the recounting of those stories here in this chapter is undertaken in a way that adheres to the principles for protecting Lummi knowledge in that traditional knowledge is not always revealed as a means to protect that knowledge. This is in accordance with the wishes of the participants. Being clear where the knowledge comes from is essential to Indigenous research as the authority of the information is connected to the teller (Wilson, 2008). The participants are referred to in this chapter by their hereditary names to respect their connection to the ancestral place and knowledge. The first level of participants represents the Elders, constituting two generations of family. The second level of participants represents the third generation of their family lineage (individuals not yet Elders within the community). By focusing this research on family relatives, a structure was created to reveal how knowledge has been perpetuated within family.

5.1 The Participants and Their Stories

The individual knowledge holders interviewed are held with high regard by the community for their accomplishments and/or their contributions to the Lummi Nation. Their stories appear in the following order: 1. Quatalamo Wha-hapkin is the Elder and 2. Schay-ucks is her sibling; then 3. Tsi'lixw is their cousin; 4. Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse is a descendant of Quatalamo Wha-hapkin; 5. Chexanexwh is cousin to Tsi'lixw; then 6. Xw-La-Leq'w is the son of Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse and grandson of Quatalamo Wha-hapkin; and, 7. Che leah ten is the nephew of Chexanexwh.

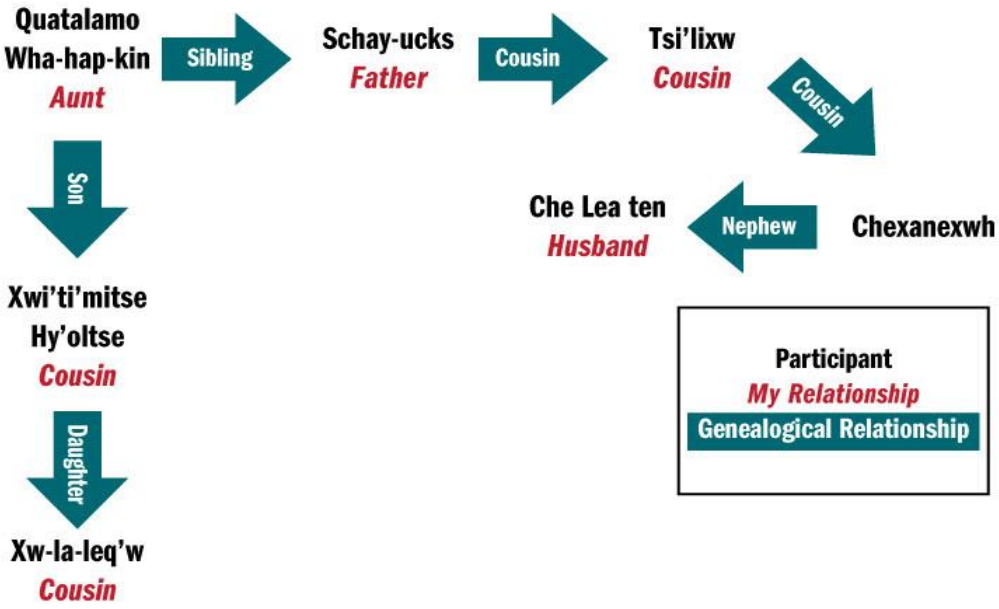

Figure 5: Genealogical relationships of research participants.

1. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin

Quatalamo Wah-hap-kin was born in 1918. A descendent of Angelo Jefferson and Helena (Lane) Jefferson, she is my father's sister and my Auntie. She has a large extended family with numerous great-great grandchildren, so she is mostly known as *Granny*. This is how she refers to herself when standing at community events to pass her teachings or during her annual Bible camp she held for our youth. She is a teacher at heart and loved passing on her knowledge, sharing her stories, her family lineage, and her passion for prayer. She took every opportunity to celebrate the Lord, with her favorite gospel songs, filling huge rooms with the strength of her voice.

To capture the stories of Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin required several visits over a period of time, both because of her age and her health whereby she experienced good days and bad days and often her bad days resulted in a stay in the hospital.

We met at her home, which she shares with Te-am-iah, her youngest daughter and caretaker (as this is the way of Indigenous peoples). Te-am-iah was present and participated during our visits; she is familiar with the stories of Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, so she frequently helped her with telling them.

In respect of her knowledge and time with me, our visits began with a greeting and a presentation of a hy'sxwqe. One time she requested that I place my token of appreciation upon her alter. Her alter is a small table in the main part of the house where candles, a cross, and Christian statues were displayed, representing her commitment to prayer. Te-am-iah showed me to her alter and shared that two of the statues that stood on it were over 100 years old. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin found them within the family home on Portage (an Island that

connects with Lummi at low tide) that was abandoned as families slowly moved to allotted land on the reservation mainland.

As we settled into our visit, Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin shared about her wish to host a family gathering. She thought this was important because our families are not teaching the Sche'lang'en, because they are not teaching our children who their family is and how they are connected. She would like to host a meal, hire a speaker (protocols for hosting a gathering) and have people get up and introduce themselves and how they are related. Later, she talked about Sche'lang'en as family, history and cultural practices.

During our visits, Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin often shared her teachings and that she was raised with Christian beliefs. Her family, like many Lummi families, accepted Christianity and the teaching of missionaries that came with the settlers and then were placed in the community to manage the assimilation tactics of colonization. She herself experienced when the white man called us heathens. She said this was because the ways we practiced were not *Godly*. She looked sad when she spoke of the laws (like the Dawes Act that forced assimilation) which prevented our old people from practicing their songs. (For practicing culture was contrary to indoctrination of colonial practices, so there would be severe consequences.) She shared that as a spiritual person she came to believe what we practice is just as spiritual as practicing Christianity, because what we practice is from the Spirit (guidance received directly from a higher power to our people).

She spoke of her and her late husband's visits with the Elders to help them sing their spirit songs: as a result, she knew all of their songs, even though Christianity forbade this. The Elders used to have songs like her Grandfather's family song, a song she called a

traveling song (songs used for various reasons by the family and family relations when visiting other families or communities).

This song was gifted to her one night through a dream. Her story is that she was stirred from her sleep to see her Grandfather Sk-eks, who was looking at her motioning, what she thought to be in a welcoming way (she motioned with her hands holding them forward with palms up, moving them up and down). She received this song with a message that was twofold, she was to teach it to family, and she was to make sure they used the song. As she told this story she pointed to the corner of the room where her vision appeared. (This is an example of one way individuals receive gifts of knowledge from the Spirit world that assures family and cultural practices are maintained.)

Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin sang our family song to me with her daughter accompanying her with a hand drum, until Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin asked for the drum to play it. Toward the end of the song, Te-am-iah retrieved the drum and finished the song together. As they sang, the grandchildren of Te-am-iah watched their great-grandmother and they carefully made the same hand motions as she did. It was beautiful and touching to witness the passing on of family teachings through song.

The stories shared revealed how Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin learned from her parents, grandparents, and other Elders within the community. The lessons taught originated with the Spirits and her grandparents maintained that knowledge. It was important to her that I understand the difference between knowledge that comes from the Spirits and knowledge that come from a person. In the context of her stories I believe she wanted me to understand that when a person receives a gift from the Spirit world it is special or private knowledge

meant to be protected, shared only within families. In contrast, an individual's knowledge comes from what they have been taught and their experience in this world.

One of her stories told about when she fell ill for more than a year. Then one day, two spiritual workers (sometimes referred to as medicine men or Indian doctors because of the healing medicine they are gifted with) came to her (without an invitation or an announcement), walking up the drive to the house and performed their healing work on her.

Te-am-iah helped her mom tell this story. When Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin brought the topic up, Te-am-iah started the story and Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin shared for a bit then Te-am-iah finished it. Te-am-iah indicated that she was telling it the same way that she heard her mom tell it. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin said that is the way healing work was done. The healers received a message (like a vision) and responded by making their way over to help.

Other stories shared were about her life on the river and the abundance of salmon, living on a farm, and when she lived near Grandfather Sk-eks. As the oldest female grandchild, Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin would finish her chores and it was her responsibility take care of her grandparents (because this is the way families have taken care of each other for generations). As a result, she was close to her grandparents and said that it is because of this relationship that she was gifted her grandfather's song.

Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin told of living with her mom on the river and their fishing experiences. She reminisced about being given a boat and a net to fish for salmon in the Nooksack River. She would make a set by the big bridge then drift down the river. When she got close to a log jam, she would pull in her net to get around it and set out again. She remembered catching more fish then she could pick out of the net, making about $90 a set. She said, "In those days that was a lot of money."

Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin talked about how people used to visit each other. She remembered that families used to have simple picnics when the kids would play all day in the barn and in the hay. I grew up on a farm, so could visualize her in the barn playing and helping her father move hay to feed the animals. She described a pulley system attached to a pony used to pick up the hay and move it to different locations outside the barn to feed the animals.

The storytelling continued with other stories about traveling with her mom when she would do work in the community like at the school. She described her mom as a parent leader for the school, comparing her role to a PTA (Parent Teacher Association) person. This reminded her of being one of the first students at the Lummi Day School (the first Lummi schoolhouse). She remembered how there were two classrooms with small school desks and she attended in the room in the back of the school. She talked about the importance of Lummi getting a school so the children would not have to be sent away for school. She remembered being taken by horse and buggy to Puyallup (in Tacoma, WA) for school when she was very young and stories of her dad and uncles being taken to Idaho and Montana to boarding school.

Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin spoke fondly of her horse and buggy memories, for they traveled near and far by buggy. She shared a short story about riding in the back of a horse-drawn wagon with one of her sisters; she thought her brothers must have been there too, but all she could remember was her sister. On this trip they were going to Canada. Back then she said they did not pay attention to the Canadian/United States border. They loaded themselves on the wagon and traveled, she thought to Mission, BC. She did not know how long it took

or why they were going that day, but it was a long trip to Canada (Mission is an hour traveling by car).

The time I shared with Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin was a gift. We visited more than other participants (as the eldest community member her stories are vital to remember for, they tell of family history and the cultural teachings of the old ones). Often her health prevented her from visiting for long. We met each time in her room, within her home. She often referenced personal articles within the space like pictures, her drum, and artwork as she shared. Her stories highlighted care for family and our community, territory and resources, and our culture.

2. Schay-ucks

Schay-ucks is my father, born in 1937. A descendent of Thomas Jefferson (Sk-eks) from whom he shares an ancestral name. His parents are the late Francis Jefferson and Helena (Lane) Jefferson and Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin is his sister. He is the seventh son and the youngest of twelve children. He is a determined man who challenged systems to provide for his family, not accepting the fate intended by the settlers.

As a close relation, gifting during our visit was not necessary. Respect and appreciation were displayed through my attention to and admiration for our relationship. He is the eldest male of his family, which culturally comes with responsibility for the children of his siblings. Family and faith anchors Schay-ucks; these are exhibited by his dedication to work his whole life to meet the needs of his family and his presence in church every Sunday. He has lived most of his life on the Lummi reservation where he is known for his work ethic and ability to determine his own destiny by building his dream horse ranch on his family property. Our visits took place at our family ranch (located near the northern boundary of the

reservation) where I took the time to chat and share warm banana bread as we prepared for our conversation.

Schay-ucks shared stories he learned from his family and other Tribal Elders of "a time when the reservation was as big as all of Whatcom County, spanning to the other side of the mountain and into Skagit County." He spoke of Sk-eks, his Grandpa, when he walked away from a Tribal ceremony because he believed he did not need to be involved in the ceremony to be Indian. He remembered Grandpa saying that, "anyone could look at him and see he was Indian."

He told a story he heard from his mom about a serpent in Hales Passage (located in Rosario Strait toward the Strait of Juan de Fuca), when it surfaced the head and three humps could be seen. He told of the families who once lived on the family property (the same property we occupied during this visit, property allotted to the family's ancestors) and motioned in the direction as he shared. He remembered the large houses with big barns.

Ours was a community that worked hard together to achieve what they had. In one story, Schay-ucks talked fondly about getting to work the horses. In this story, I could hear the joy that handling horses brought him. Horses helped with the farm work and in this story the chore was putting hay away in Uncle's barn. He told of how they worked the hay so it would dry. When dry they piled the hay 3-4 feet high before picking it up, and it would get up to 6 feet high on the trailer. He explained about rigging a pulley with a big fork on one end and a horse on the other, to unload the hay in the barn.

There were many stories that included the community coming together to help each other. They often came together for social gatherings, as well as for ceremony. Schay-ucks witnessed one particular ceremony performed by a medicine man whose work on a

supernatural force that day influenced his belief in Spirits and a man's power over them. He thought we do not have medicine people like we used to or the spiritual presence we once had.

After a brief pause, Schay-ucks began to talk of his life in the old Lummi village (on the Nooksack River) where he grew up. His mom built a house at the river. I have heard stories of his living at the river before (as shared within my introduction). This story connected to the others and explained how the river home was built with green wood, so when the wood dried it created gaps between the boards. This story progressed to when he was presented with the opportunity to work at a lumber mill and negotiated payment with shingles, which he used to fix his mom's river home.

Half or more of our community lived in the village on the river. When Schay-ucks was young, the River provided for the people, therefore he had many stories of fishing. He learned how to fish when he was about eight years old, hardly big enough to row his boat, so he struggled to pull the net and salmon into the boat. He remembered catching salmon as big as he was. The fish were so plentiful then; he remembers his Grandma Portage (his nickname for her) had a silver salmon jump right into her boat and that in one set of his net he could catch enough fish to fill his boat. He spoke of the condition of the river, of always having a fishing pole in the water, and explained how while on the water fishing, everyone helped parents keep an eye on the kids as they played on the riverbank.

While reminiscing about being on the river, Schay-ucks described some of what he witnessed with the environment and the condition of the river. He remembered the river being deep and fast and that during the winter it would freeze, so he could walk across the ice. One summer night, while fishing in his skiff, he witnessed what he called the sky falling

(the sky was full of shooting stars) and another night, an electric storm that was so bright he could see the length of his net.

Many of Schay-ucks stories were about being on or around the river. Although I learned that during his early teenage years, Schay-ucks was taught by an Elder to fish on a purse seiner (the net off the seiner is deep and set out so when pulled creates a purse to catch the fish). He shared of his first season on a seiner when the cook had an allergic reaction, so he volunteered to take his place. He had never been a cook before but believed he could cook because he had watched his mom cook and knew the men would instruct him. He finished that fishing season cooking for the crew while still performing his other crew duties.

Point Francis (off the southern point of the Lummi reservation, referred to as Portage by locals) was an important location of many of Schay-ucks stories. He talked of the houses and their placement, the people that lived in them, and the lives of the people. There were horses and other livestock there. He shared one story about his Grandma as a young girl making her way to the Point and seeing someone riding a horse around the house. When she arrived, she inquired about who was riding and was told that nobody had been on the horse. So they went to check the horse and found it had *devil's mane*. They responded by triple tying the horse only to find it later untied with devil's mane again (when a horse's mane has woven handles at the base of the neck, such that it is difficult to distinguish where they start and end).

Schay-ucks talked a bit about the food he ate when he was young like apples that his Grandma dried over the wood stove and dried horse clam necks (steamers and butter clams were also harvested). He went on to tell of when the fishing season began to slow down, his dad would instruct him to gather his belongings and the next day they would be off to the

east of the mountains or to one of the southern islands to gather hops, berries, peaches, or other crops. This is the time when our skills required for traditional gathering activities began to be transferred for farm field labor.

The location of our visit inspired Schay-ucks to share memories of the surrounding area, family experiences, and personal stories. His are stories that connect him to his relations and community. They represent a time period when the youth were helpful with all activities. This was evident by his stories of helping his mom, assisting Elders, and checking on community members. They are stories about the way he lived as part of a community, doing what was necessary to accomplish what needed to be done.

When we met to review my reflections of our visit, because of Schay-ucks limited sight, my mom assisted with the approval. She was inspired to share some commentary and perspective about the stories, and before I left, Schay-ucks thought it was important to add his thoughts about the Boldt Decision.[28] He remembered that people were happy when that decision was made (that the Tribes would share equally the fish resource with non-Tribal fisherman) In his opinion, before the Boldt Decision, we could fish whenever we wanted and with the court decision, we gave up half of the fish and could not fish as desired. This is an example of the changes Schay-ucks has witnessed as the result of colonization and the settler's advances on all the borders of the reservation. As his descendant, it is important that I am accountable and responsible for how and when his stories are shared, for they are stories that will forever belong to his children and his children's children.

[28] *U.S. vs Washington* federal court case over fishing rights, commonly referred to as the Boldt Decision as Judge Boldt presided over the case (Deloria, 1977).

3. Tsi'lixw

Si'am Tsi'lixw, is a descendent of Norbert James Sr. (Tsi'li'xw) who became the Chief of Lummi in 1968. The parents of Tsi'lixw are Norbert James Jr. and Frances (Lane) James. Born in 1944, Tsi'lixw is my father's cousin on his late mother's side and cousin to Chexanexwh on his late father's side. He was honored in 2010 by the Lummi community as a Si'am and a surviving Hereditary Chief. His position in the community comes with great responsibility which he takes seriously, responding in a good way to requests to share cultural teachings and participate in community events.

As a hereditary chief Tsi'lixw is a highly honored person among Lummi, the Coast Salish Tribes, and beyond. He is a well-known cedar weaver and language teacher who is generous with his cultural knowledge. He is soft spoken when he speaks, yet still is able to convey the importance of the knowledge he shares. When he speaks, he passes on his teachings of respect for our Elders, family, extended family and community.

One lesson Tsi'lixw teaches is the importance of being ready and to start on time, so it was important when preparing for my visit to plan for arriving on time. As I entered his home, Tsi'lixw was weaving a small cedar basket. I offered him a token of appreciation, he thanked me and we chatted for a bit. As we began to get to the topic at hand, Tsi'lixw said, "So, ask me anything." Because he was weaving, I decided to recap a previous conversation (one that I often reflect on) of when I first spoke with him about my interest in understanding Lummi ways of knowing. At that time, he shared a story about when he learned to split cedar bark (part of the procedure for preparing bark for weaving). He sat outside with the bark and asked to know how to split the bark and his hands were guided in the right motions. This story inspired him to share about his Great Aunt, who shared with him her weaving

techniques when he was a young man. He drove her to the places she needed to go, to gather sweet grass, cedar and cherry bark. Each time he drove for his Great Aunt, she would have an applesauce walnut cake for him. (As he said *applesauce,* he looked toward the homemade applesauce I gifted him.) One day, she decided he needed to know how to weave a basket, and although she was protective of her weaving skills (because it was her livelihood), she shared her techniques with him.

As a young man, Tsi'lixw did not know he would be doing what he does today (as a master weaver), but one day he remembered having the skill to weave and started practicing. When he wanted to know how to do something, he would ask for guidance (like before when learning to split the bark). He shared that his teacher is experience and that if you want something you just need to ask (to be guided).

Throughout the visit, Tsi'lixw reminisced about growing up in the Lummi St'o'lo Village (the Lummi village on the Nooksack river) and the families that lived there. It was an abundant time and the community survived together. He shared examples of the young men gathering sea urchins for the community and enough Dungeness crab to fill a bathtub which was used to steam the crab. The crab was cooked in the center of the village and when it was ready, he would alert the community and they would feast together. He had multiple stories of helping to take care of Elders, like going to pick salmon berry sprouts and bringing his harvest back for the Elder women who lived at the river. Some of the fondest memories Tsi'lixw has are of the times his family and the community worked together to provide what they needed to survive.

It was a different time then, Tsi'lixw says, the environment has changed, it does not rain or get as cold as it used to (the weather is mild in comparison). He shared a memory of

going fishing with his dad, on a night when it was so cold that he was bundled in three layers of clothes. That night on the river, his dad dipped his net and caught five dog salmon that quickly froze to the bottom of the boat after being removed from the net.

"Those were poor times," he said, but even though they did not have all the basic living conveniences, they did not know they were poor because they took care of each other. Tsi'lixw said they did not know they were poor until President Kennedy told them they were. They always had what they needed. He spoke of all the fish and the old way they prepared it; salted or smoked in a smoke house (a small structure where the fish would be hung and cured with smoke). Even during the late winter, when resources were scarce, they were nourished because his dad was an accomplished duck hunter. He said that after the duck was plucked, it was his job to sear it over the fire until the fat dripped from it. He would take the duck to the building used for smoking fish and sear it there. Though he remembers his grandmother searing duck in the wood stove in her kitchen and could recall the smell from the fat dripping on the fire. After the duck was seared, his mom would clean it. She had a way of removing the insides while leaving the duck whole, and others, he said, would cut open the duck to clean it. This story portrays the joint effort for preparing or preserving food to provide for a family; everyone had a role.

Some of what Tsi'lixw shared, he learned from the Elders during an oral history project he completed several years ago (as a young man). He knew it was important to capture the life experience and knowledge of the Elders, so he recorded an interview with each of them. Some of what he learned through this project was that often the Elders would not share their boarding school experiences. They did not share candidly when they were recorded and many did not teach their children the Tribal language and practices. This is

because of the fear that was instilled in them at the boarding schools. (It is a version of this story shard with me previously that inspired my research methods.)

This story prompted Tsi'lixw, to talk about his own school experience. He struggled in the local public high school. One reason was because in the eleventh grade he had both a history and a government class, one taught by a father and the other by his son. The teachers were prejudiced and what they taught was contradictory to what Tsi'lixw had been taught by his family, leading him to eventually drop out. Then one day while he was at home, a Bureau of Indian Affairs agent (an agency of the federal government originally responsible for the management of services for Native American Tribes) came to visit and told him he had to be in school. Consequently, Tsi'lixw was sent to boarding school in Santa Fe, NM, making him the last person of his generation to be sent away to boarding school.

After about an hour, Tsi'lixw indicated he was ready for another question, so I asked if he thought the current generation is learning about Sche'lang'en. He answered that they are not learning enough, for there is not a curriculum, and the Tribe only has a couple of qualified teachers who teach, each from different strengths. He emphasized the importance of teaching the Lummi language, making the point that it is a distinct language with a distinct dialect that is different than the dialects of other neighboring Tribes. (This is important because other Coast Salish Tribes speak similar dialects of the same language, so there is often scrutiny over the applied dialect.)

True to his passion for the language, throughout this visit, Tsi'lixw used Xwlemi Chosen (Lummi language), when he spoke of our Lummi School and the cultural program offered for the students and again when sharing about his work at community gatherings. He

said he speaks in the language because the peoples' spirits understand what he says in the language (and he often does not translate what he says in the language).

He went on to share about his values, stating that his are old values for the importance of taking care of and being a part of the community. Although, he said family is the most important, so be there for your family. His mother instilled the importance of taking care of the community and reaching out to them in times of need. She modeled this by visiting community members in the hospital and Tsi'lixw gave an example of community members being there when his mother passed away. They stayed with him from the first day until the day the work was done. Over the years he has returned the gesture of the people that stood beside him by taking the time to stand by each individual during their time of need, for it is important to return the kindness. (This is an important lesson about taking care of one another and of reciprocity.)

As we began to wrap up our visit, Tsi'lixw said my inquiry about Sche'lang'en is a big question. He encouraged me to reflect on my life, to be prepared, to not spend too much time at home, and to be part of the community. Then he shared a bit about himself as a teacher. He is generous with his knowledge and community members often go to him for help and for teachings. He shared that his teaching strategy is to teach the individuals different lessons and skills, for one day the individuals with his knowledge will need each other. To me this meant that a time would come when we would need to come together to have all the pieces of knowledge, so maintaining our connections within the community is vital.

When I met with Tsi'lixw to review my reflections of our visit, he commented on my ability to remember his stories. He went over his edits and we chatted for a bit about strategies

for learning Xwlemi Chosen. I am grateful for the time Tsi'lixw spent with me sharing his historical knowledge and am thankful to have him as an oksale.

4. Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse

Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse is a descendent of Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin and the late Swa-las. Her grandparents are the late Angelo Jefferson and Helena (Lane) Jefferson. She was born in 1945 and is a mother, grandmother, longtime employee of Lummi with the Tribal Headstart program, and is immersed in a cultural life. It is a lifestyle which comes with great responsibility as she is often called upon by families and the community for cultural work, teachings, and guidance.

Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse and like her mother, is a teacher at heart. The majority of her career has been spent teaching both the children and young adults. She surrounds herself with family and has a way of treating each individual as uniquely valuable. Her way with people and commitment to our culture has earned her respect throughout the Coast Salish territory. She travels near and far to participant in various cultural gatherings, like cultural ceremonies and sla-hal tournaments (a traditional team guessing game).

When I arrived for our visit, I gave Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse some homemade applesauce as a hy'sxwqe for her willingness to share her time and knowledge. Most of my visits with her took place in her place of employment. This setting was comfortable and reflective of her person. She referenced pictures and favorite figurines during our visit. She lives a cultural life (committed to our cultural practices) that requires specific obligations during the timeframe of our first visits, so this topic is where our visit began. The dialog about her recent undertakings brought Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse to reflect on her upcoming anniversary of when she entered this cultural way of life. She shared about when she came

to her cultural life, the Elders who were her teachers, as well as some of the learning process. Her teachers treated her with respect but had clear expectations of her to listen when they spoke and to carry out any of their directives. She reflected that at that time, as a young girl, she did not think she was listening to the lessons but that she has retained and continues to utilize the knowledge shared by her late teachers. (This summary of the story was approved, although it is connected to knowledge which is not typically talked about. What is important in this story is the way memories of lessons are stored for recall later in life.)

When Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse' was young, teachings could come from anyone in the community for it was understood that anyone could correct a child when necessary. She referred to the use of story as a teaching method and how with stories it is important to "read between the lines" for stories require reflection to connect the story shared with the lesson intended. Stories were not always the method for teaching or correcting. Back then, Elders spoke in a stern or harsh voice when addressing concerns or correcting behaviors. Their tone was not to be mean but was used to command attention and the youth knew to sit quietly and listen.

Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse's parents were also committed to teaching her. She shared memories of her parent's travels to visit others and that she was brought along to learn. When they arrived at their destination, she would help prepare a meal, and after eating, the adults would retire into another room. It was her responsibility to clean the kitchen while the adults talked, joked, and laughed until eventually they got to the reason for the visit and the matters needing to be addressed. (Business is often taken care of after the protocols of a meal and activities that strengthen the relationships.)

This memory shifted the conversation for Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse, she began to share about her family activities when she was growing up. Her dad often cared for her and her siblings and the siblings cared for each other. We talked about the foods prepared and the comfort and joy the meals generated (food brings people together). She remembered how little the families had then, but how rich they felt. Even how proud they felt when they dressed in their button up shirts and dresses (Each person had one outfit for special occasions, sometimes referred to as their *Sunday best*).

Gazing upon the pictures on the wall, some of which provided a glimpse of the time she had been reflecting on, her attention was drawn to a picture of a family dressed in traditional attire (paddle shirts and feather headdresses). This picture represented a time that came before Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse was born. As she shared about the family pictured, she wondered how it would be to live during that time (of early colonization), to live as our ancestors lived, to know how they thought, and what they observed. She thought of the humility of our ancestors, their spirituality, and all they sacrificed for us to have what we have today. It is important to remember the sacrifices of our ancestors and their forethought when negotiating the treaty. If not for their commitment to the next eight generations, we would not have the inherent rights we uphold today.

As our visit began to come to a close, Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse explained, *Sche'lang'en* is how we live, everything we do from the time we get up to the time we go to bed. It is how we are family, how we take care of each other, and take care of the children. Every family's Sche'lang'en is different, for they live life in their own way, so teach Sche'lang'en in their own way. She added that Sche'lang'en is also the way we pray and give thanks, for it is important to give thanks every day. She spoke of God and her faith in him, just as the old

people believed, for even though they did not have Christianity, giving thanks was important to them and they prayed in their own way.

With this, Xwi'ti'mitse Hy'oltse felt she had shared all that was intended for this visit. She acknowledged that at the beginning she hadn't known what she was going to share but her stories came and concluded in the same way. As our visits progressed, our dialog became more interactive and more like a conversation between friends. Our increased comfort with each other led to sharing more personal experiences within our community and the acknowledgement of her place in it: a place with the Elders and cultural leaders that she was unsure she deserved. To me, this is exactly why she is held up with esteem. She exemplifies who we are taught to be humble, honest, and always available to serve our community.

5. Chexanexwh

Chexanexwh is the descendent of Francis Kinley and Mary (James) Kinley. His grandparents are George Kinley and Mae (Plaster) Kinley and Clara Lear and Norbert James Sr. Born in 1946, Chexanexwh is cousin to Tsi'lixw on his mother's side and is uncle to Che leah ten. He has a lifetime of experience protecting and exercising our inherent rights as fishermen and years of experience working on behalf of the Lummi Nation, as well as with other Tribal communities to protect treaty rights.

Chexanexwh is an Army Veteran who is dedicated to his family and the community. He built his career as a commercial fisherman and a dedicated advocate for Indian Country. Tribal communities throughout North America have benefited from his aptitude for forward thinking. As a long time Lummi Indian Business Council member and past Tribal chairman, he is widely known as a true visionary, who exemplified dedication to advance the work of

the Tribes throughout the nation, which included Tribal Fishing Rights, Economic Development, the evolution of Tribal Self-Governance and much more. His dedication to a better life sometimes took him away from his home at Lummi, but he was always close enough to fly home whenever necessary for commercial fish openings, to help his relatives, or to serve our community on one of the many boards with which he was involved.

Chexanexwh loves to be on the water, as he comes from a long line of fishers connecting him to the waters of the Salish Sea. His most recent work has been to revitalize reef net fishing, bringing it to this modern era with high tech aluminum pontoons in the place of wooden canoes and cameras to monitor and document the fishery. He brought his reef net gear to a traditional Lummi reef net site modeling his ability to look back to who we are and where we came from to help save the salmon. As a people, we engineered reef net fishing and he believes that practicing reef netting with the children brings our family and people full circle in fishing and culture.

Chexanexwh and I met at his home overlooking the water. He had just arrived from a meeting with one of the Tribal business committees, so we talked for a bit about the topics of the meeting and about our families. I gifted him with a token of my gratitude for his willingness to take time to share with me.

Much of the knowledge Chexanexwh shared was gained from his years of experience working in various leadership positions for the Tribe. These positions provided countless opportunities to interact with and learn from the Tribe's Elders and cultural leaders. As he shared his story, respect for our Elders and those who carry the Tribe's knowledge and language was evident. Throughout our visit, he reflected on the relationships he developed and the importance of making time to visit and interact with one another. A clear picture was

painted of his ability to set aside his own agenda to be present with the Elders and other visitors.

During our visit, Chexanexwh also reflected on the community's journey and the resilience of the Nation, for as dedicated as the federal government has been to the termination of American Indians (replacing our way of life with Christian practices and forcing us away from a community perspective), the Lummi Nation has been just as committed to survival. He spoke of Lummi's resistance in relation to the tools of termination, like the boarding schools, the impact on our ancestors, and consequently our current Lummi families. Lummi is committed to determining their own destiny through consistent efforts to revitalize the use of our language and the practice of culture and traditions.

Many Tribal members returned from boarding school and did not teach the language or cultural practices to their children. The families that did practice, he thought, taught and practiced variations of the same or similar teaching. Chexanexwh shared stories as examples of how Lummi members were bold enough to try new approaches to help heal our community from their boarding school traumas. One story was of a member of his family who took it upon himself to capture stories of the Elders in an effort to document the language speakers in the community and the impacts of boarding schools (a story also shared by Tsi'lixw). Another community member had a different perspective and worked to open, what he calls, a "reverse residential school" as way of creating family for children, to provide a home for them to develop the skills and knowledge that their parents were not teaching as a result of boarding school trauma.

The actions taken to revive the cultural teachings and heal our community are examples Chexanexwh gave to portray Lummi's tenacity, a theme that developed over our

visits. Lummis, he said, are like the salmon, they are resilient. We fight for the survival of the salmon just as we are fighting for the survival of our way of life. He said, “The salmon, like Lummi, have survived against all odds.” We continue to be here, determined to make headway for the next generation (just as our ancestors planned for the next eight generations) to have a better tomorrow for our children.

Chexanexwh shared that he is blessed to come from a big family, close to the Elders. His grandparents, parents, aunts, and uncles were the authority. With their authority came an obligation to teach the children and correct them as they saw fit. In the same way, the Elders could correct the parents as needed, creating accountability to each other. Although he remembers his family not having much, they always had food on the table, worked hard together, and could count on each other. He was raised to believe that anything he did was a reflection on the family, remembering that there was always work to be done and a way for everyone to contribute to the work. He reflected on his dad fishing and logging, his mom fishing on the river with other ladies, and briefly about the community coming together to help one another, like for barn raisings (a collective effort to build a barn for an individual).

One of the personal experiences Chexanexwh shared was that as he has gotten older he noticed sometimes he struggles with articulating his thoughts or feelings. Over time he has come to believe that it is because there are not English words to describe what is on his mind (as he was thinking in the language of the old people, Xwlemi Chosen). The Lummi language (Xwlemi Chosen) is a value based, complicated language, and there are not English words to define or express some of the Xwlemi words. He spoke of Sche’lang’en being in the language, so it is most likely that only through the language, the Lummi way of life will be unveiled.

The final story Chexanexwh shared was another example of his support of efforts to help the community. This story took place when he worked for the Tribe and helped with the summer youth program. A small group of troubled teens were specially placed with a cultural teacher. The teens spent the summer learning about their family lineage and how to conduct themselves in various community settings. At the end of the summer, the youth hosted a lunch, to which Larry was invited. The youth greeted each guest at the door, escorted them to their seat, and served them lunch as a way to demonstrate what they had learned. This program transformed the youth, Chexanexwh said that he could tell they had pride for who they are, where they come from, and a greater sense of place.

Over our visits, Chexanexwh gifted me with some of his experiences and the knowledge he acquired throughout his years of experience within our community. His wife, Tah mahs was present during our follow-up visits and joined our conversations as we settled in to complete the approval process. As we went through the document, we talked about the importance of reflection for Chexanexwh shared how he reflects on life's journey, or sometimes the Tribe's journey, as a way of tracking time, looking to understand or see where we are. This was apparent during our visits, as Chexanexwh shared his experiences and his teachings as they helped him understand and respond to events of today (his work with the reef net is a prime example). In this way his stories are living illustrations of how reflection contributes to knowledge development.

It took a couple of visits for Chexanexwh to approve the reflections of our visit. The comments made were to clarify my understanding of the connections he made between history, knowledge, and experiences to derive insight. This became clear as our visits came to a close and Chenanexwh shared with me his thoughts about the community values

changing, as a result, he thought, we respond to people and their actions from a different value set (like Tribal assistance programs vs. work programs). He said understanding values is important (family and hard work are some of the values Chexanexwh was raised with) for our values guide us in everything we do and how we respond as individuals and as a community. This way of thinking was modeled over the course of our visits.

Second Level of Participants

6. Xw-La-Leq'w

Xw-La-Leq'w, is a direct descendent of Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse and grandson of Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin. He was born in 1964 and lives a cultural life, contributing his knowledge to the community as an employee of the Tribes' cultural department. As a long time staff of the cultural department he often collaborates on projects to preserve and protect our cultural resources. He can be counted on to serve the community as needed during cultural gatherings and can often be found opening events or gatherings within the community and beyond drumming and singing cultural songs accompanied by family. It is a way of life that was taught to him through family experiences, a way of life he is committed to passing on to his children and community members in the same way.

Our visit took place in the Sche'lang'en department of the Lummi Indian Business Council. The office we met in contained some posters locating traditional reef net sites. These inspired him to share that our Great-Great Grandfather Sk-eks owned multiple reef net sites at Point Roberts (the most northern point of Washington State accessed only by boat or through the Canadian Border) and within the San Juan Islands. We exchanged comments about the tragedy of losing Lummi-owned reef net sites. One of the traditional reef net sites off the western shore of Lummi Island was taken over by a group of non-Tribal people when

the Lummi owners went to serve in the war. This prompted him to share that he did not pass down to his children the skills for commercial fishing and that they sometimes wish they had the experience to join our Lummi fishing fleet.

Xw-La-Leq'w went on to share memories of his grandparents. He remembered stories his grandma shared about growing up on Point Francis and her travels out to the San Juan Islands to gather food. One story was of her climbing steep rock cliffs to gather seagull eggs. Another story was about the fish being so plentiful in the Nooksack River that his Great Grandma regularly caught fish from the cedar dock in front of her house. He thought to live in that time of abundance would have really been something to witness.

After a short pause, Xw-La-Leq'w said that when thinking about my research (after he received the Information Sheet and Consent Form) he reflected on the commitment of his family, to teach their family songs (songs that belong to the family) to the next generation. The family songs have been passed down from great grandparents, to grandparents, to parents. This is how they teach their kids, not just the family songs but respect for self, family, the land, and the resources, for that is what his Grandpa taught.

As a result of the youth singing with the adults his young nephew already writes songs. He said songs come to his nephew and as he sings them his dad helps to develop the songs into fitting styles like sla-hal (a traditional guessing game) or prayer songs. I had the privilege of witnessing the nephew he spoke of lead a prayer song at a birthday celebration for Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, giving me a context for the story he shared.

When asked how he thought this current generation was learning Sche'lang'en, Xw-La-Leq'w responded "In the school." He felt the school was not the ideal place for our Sche'lang'en to be taught because he hoped the families would teach their children; although,

by offering the opportunity to learn in school allows the kids to learn when they might not otherwise have the chance. On the other hand, the school teaches only one way of life, while our families all practice the culture and traditions differently. His example was the different cultural activities families participate in whether it be canoe pulling, with the longhouse, in sla-hal games, or other activities. There are also variations of lessons taught within different cultural activities like the various canoe families or canoe activities. For instance, war canoe racing and traveling on Canoe Journey require different levels of commitment and knowledge of the water ways.

It used to be that kids were taught by any Elder in close proximity to them. Xw-La-Leq'w remembers when Elders corrected children's behavior and that they didn't always use the nicest methods to demonstrate the need to change one's behavior. He shared a story told by his mom when she didn't think her grandparents liked her because of the way they spoke to her, but it was just their way of communicating. They were stern or harsh when they passed on the teachings and that is just the way it was. Now-a-days, he says the youth get offended if they are talked to harshly.

Xw-La-Leq'w reminisced about his childhood playing in the woods and his time fishing on his dad's boat. The times were tough back then and he had to work hard to help provide for himself. He remembered one year he was in charge of fishing his dad's gillnetter (gillnetting is when the net is set out vertically from the boat in a straight line) but the boat broke down and they couldn't afford to fix it. He later had to fish a skiff (a small, open, flat-bottom boat) to earn money before leaving to Chemawa Indian School, a modern boarding school in Oregon to which some Lummi families still sent their teens.

In wrapping up our visit, we talked about the family song (introduced by Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin), the desire of Quatalamo Wha-hop-kin for the family to learn it, and the importance of teaching it in the oral way. I thanked Xw-La-Leq'w for his stories and his continued role as a cultural leader in our community with a token of my appreciation.

When I returned my reflections to Xw-La-Leq'w for approval, he accepted them as written. He appreciated the visit and made a comment about not having much to offer. Like his mother, he is humble about his contribution to the preservation of his family knowledge, teaching our culture, and passing on values for family and respect for ourselves and others.

7. Che leah ten

Che leah ten is the descendent of Clifford Cultee and Jean (Kinley) Cultee. His grandparents are Francis Kinley and Mary (James) Kinley. He was born in 1966 and has spent his lifetime exercising his inherent fishing rights as a fisherman, crabber, commercial diver, as well as other harvesting activities associated with the Salish Sea. Che leah ten lost his father when he was a young boy, so his grandparents and uncles helped to raise him, teaching him the value of family, hard work, and the skills to be a fisherman.

Che leah ten is related to Chexanexwh, who helped to raise and guide him with family values, drawing from knowledge gained over his lifetime of experiences commercial fishing and working with Tribes. Che leah ten worked with his family and for Chexanexwh on his fishing vessel at a time when the resources were plentiful. As a condition of securing a spot on the crew, Chexanexwh insisted that Che leah ten graduate high school. The income Che leah ten earned fishing helped to support his widowed mother and himself, so he rose to the challenge. His career as a fisherman continues to provide for him and his own household.

Family is important to Che leah ten, it is a value that has kept him close to home, resulting in a lifetime of experiences on or near Lummi and his family. His family is respected for their dedication to practicing and protecting the fish resource. When he realized the impact the depletion of fish would have, Che leah ten began retraining as a commercial diver among other educational ventures. Eventually his passion for resource management moved him in this direction.

Mid-career Che leah ten stepped into a leadership role with the Tribal fish commission (responsible for fisheries management) and later was elected to our Tribal council. To live up to his responsibility to the community, he turned to past Tribal leaders and cultural mentors for guidance, including Chexanexwh and Tsi'lixw. Guided by leaders and drawing on the lessons learned from his late grandfather, Che leah ten became well known for his passion for the community and standing his ground against outside agencies in the interest of Tribal self-determination. For example, he launched the community stand against a coal export terminal that would violate Lummi treaty rights making it clear that Lummi treaty rights were not for sale. From this platform, the leaders following him were eventually victorious in stopping the coal terminal.

Che leah ten and I share a close relationship, as a result he often shares thoughts, experiences and memories with me. For this visit, he invited me to join him on his boat for our conversation. Upon launching the boat, he asked me what my research questions were. I responded by sharing my interest in Sche'lang'en stories. He thought for a minute and then began reminiscing about his family and his experiences growing up. As we traveled among the San Juan Islands personal stories and reflections were shared.

Che leah ten grew up fishing with his Grandpa and uncles. They mostly fished on purse seiners, but when he was young, he also fished with his mom in a skiff. He remembers working alongside his family on and off the boat, at his grandfather's home (a farm located on the reservation) where there was always work to be done, like putting hay away during the summer His family taught him how to complete each task, although Che leah ten says, he would sometimes figure out his own way.

The family took care of each other. Che leah ten told of the kids playing together all day. When they got hungry, they would eat fruits and vegetables from the garden and drink water from the hose. In the evenings, the extended family would gather at one of their homes to play cards while the kids continued to entertain themselves. He remembered his aunts and uncles would sometimes take a niece or nephew home to provide care when needed (if the parents were having a hard time). He said in those days there weren't all the rules and regulations governing who could take care of children, so they just made sure the children in the family were taken care of.

Che leah ten remembered that often stories of Sasquatch (Big Foot) would be told during family gatherings. He also heard Sasquatch stories when he fished with his mom on the river. The fishermen told stories of Sasquatch as well, he was known for pulling on people's nets in the river to take their fish and throwing stones in the water. Because of these stories he would dream about Sasquatch which scared him.

As a young man Che leah ten often shared his dreams with an aunt or uncle. When he got older he began to dream of family that had passed away. He called a relative to talk about the significance of these dreams. Sometimes he called an Elder and respected healer

(medicine man) to talk about his dreams and was told that he was experiencing visions. Although, Che leah ten says, he is uncertain of the difference between dreams and visions.

Our visit continued with thoughts about the different harvest activities and the importance of learning to be prepared. His grandfather stressed the importance of taking care of the fishing gear, so it would be ready for the next time it was needed. He thought his mom was the same way with her tools and equipment, like fish sticks (used for our traditional style of barbeque salmon), which she stored nearby even though they were not often used. Although he remembered salmon and beef from his grandfather's farm was primarily what his family ate.

Che leah ten reflected on the fishing seasons, sharing that King salmon were harvested during the summer and in the fall, they fished for Silvers and Chum salmon. Following the salmon fishery, he remembers canning salmon to preserve for the winter. He recalls fishing for herring at Cherry Point (a traditional village and fishing location north of the reservation) in the spring. He was still a young boy the last year the herring were commercially harvested there, before the habitat was impacted, resulting in a decline of herring.

After the decline of the herring, Che leah ten remembers that he accompanied his grandfather in search of edible kelp. On the kelp could be found herring roe, for which his grandfather thought there might be a new market. Searching in a small skiff, they found the right kind of kelp and built a 'net pen' system to fish it, which entailed searching the beaches for logs for the frame. Che leah ten remembers that his grandfather taught him how to retrieve logs from the beach using a technique learned as a logger. He worked on this project with his grandfather, even when the rest of the crew had the weekend off. Che leah ten learned

many life lessons for problem solving and perseverance on this adventure with his grandfather.

Many of the stories Che leah ten shared were about his grandfather, fishing with him, and the lessons he was taught. His grandfather began each morning considering the weather, as he planned his day. He taught him the importance of taking care of the fishing gear, keeping your hands busy, and that fishermen must always have a knife in their pocket. Che leah ten laughed as he told that he often forgot his knife when he was young so his grandfather tied one to his belt loop to make sure he would have it when it was needed. His grandpa used to say, "What kind of fisherman are you? Without a knife, you are just a farmer." (This is humorous because his grandfather lived on a farm).

Our visit began to wrap up as Che leah ten began his work on the boat. He was picking up crab pots that day as the crab opening was predicted to close soon. Visiting in this setting was a challenge. I had to work harder to hear because of the boat motor in the background and although I focused harder on the stories, journaling was a task because of the extended period of time between our visit and arriving home. It was important to Che leah ten to visit in this context as he felt grounded and closer to who he is. It is where he leaned to be the fisherman he is today, practicing the teachings that were handed down to him from the Elders in his family.

While Che leah ten read my reflections, he remembered that when he was a teenager there was a boat named Sche'lang'en and he thought that at first people had a hard time pronouncing the name. He wondered if this was about the time the word *Sche'lang'en* was reintroduced to the community. He talked a bit about how the community had different ideas

about what Sche'lang'en meant, but he thought maybe it was a tool to utilize as a guide for life.

5.2 Reflection

The process utilized for documenting the participants' stories was an appropriate research method because oralcy, remembering, and recalling, respects Lummi values of an oral history. Data collection through stories (while not a new method for Indigenous ways of knowing and doing) in this research reiterated the opportunity to capture candid life experiences that reveal a depth of knowledge.

Initially, upon completing my visits with the research participants, my thoughts were of gratitude and an awareness of the similarities of our families in their commitment to instill ideals and values to prepare each generation for life within and outside of Lummi. The message is clear that the participants remain committed to our culture, armed with skills for problem solving to aid them in accomplishing any task necessary to be successful living in a unique Lummi way.

What also became apparent to me was the huge responsibility placed on 'my shoulders' to safeguard this knowledge. My relations entrusted their knowledge to me. This is a responsibility I take seriously. They trusted me to convey their stories in a way that cultivates respect for their experiences and our community. I also have a responsibility to communicate an interpretation of their accounts in a way which could be shared in a public context (protecting some of the cultural details).

Being responsible for the knowledge shared with me reflects accountability to my relationships with the participants. Over the course of our visits, and through the reciprocal process of the transmission of knowledge, accountability to each other was created, resulting

in strengthened relationships (to be described in the next chapter). As I move into the analysis of the participant's stories, I will continue to look to my relations to assure accountability and responsibility to their message.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS

Bear – One of the primary teachings of the bear is fear. Taking the meaning of fear and putting it into positive terms, we find that it is merely a way to begin an understanding.

Blackfish – He was sent to our people as a reminder that we not only have a physical self with its need for nourishment and growth but also a spiritual self with needs that are comparable.

Thunderbird – He is a teacher that is sent to enlighten us with the teachings that are necessary for the time in which we exist.

Sandpiper – They present a teaching of unity through understanding which is exemplified by their flight. They fly and turn as one because they understand each other.

The Seahtlhuk pole presents a teaching that shows a way to develop a pattern of understanding. We have a beginning, an awakening to purpose, an enlightening, and a unity that binds the entire teaching into one entity. Seahtlhuk 10/18/73 (Squol Quol, December 1973).

6.0 Introduction

Story poles, like the Seahtlhuk pole are one way Pacific Northwest Tribes portray traditional knowledge. Although story poles (also referred to as totem poles) are not traditionally Xwlemi, they were adopted long ago as a means of sharing our knowledge. When reciting the knowledge or story illustrated on a story pole the interpretation begins from the bottom and progresses up as to advance in time from the beginning forward (Hillarie, 2013, p. 116).

This chapter represents the last leg of this research journey. It is the reflection segment of the research, one of reviewing, analyzing, and then discussing the research information gained from the participants. The totem opening this chapter relates with this phase of the research beginning with the bear, at the base of the pole. The bear's message is to invoke insight by discovering patterns within information. The bear supports the blackfish which signifies how new insights nourish a desire to learn, and the thunderbird reminds us to share new insights for advancement forward. (The sandpiper teachings, of cultivating unity around the research findings will be addressed within chapter seven.)

This chapter draws from the information in previous chapters to interpret, understand, and expand on both ways of knowing and doing which are integral to Indigenous ways (that this thesis has explored and practiced). The participant's stories are analyzed to identify themes composed of topics, concepts, and experiences that respond to each of the research questions, listed below. During the course of the analysis, key ideas raised from the literature (identified within chapter three and chapter four) are also discussed in relation to the research material.

(a) Remembering the Context

The premise of this research was that through stories of Sche'lang'en, a Lummi way of knowing and the passing down of this knowledge would be identifiable. The research set out to discover how the participants' stories contained cultural knowledge and family teachings that illustrated how their life activities bring forward the values and beliefs from which the world has been viewed for generations. Their stories provided evidence of the importance of capturing personal life stories necessary for the perpetuation of cultural knowledge, unique lessons, and ways of knowing and doing. (Smith, 1999). As an example,

Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse referred to the use of story as a teaching method and that it is important to "read between the lines," for stories require reflection to connect the story told with the lesson intended. I included the participants in the discussion of the data, and in doing so, it allowed them to influence and verify meaning, as they continued to bring their wisdom, experiences, and reflection to the conversation: it is a process that generates greater understanding by awakening the significance of Sche'lang'en and the depth of knowledge within.

In this chapter the data is examined and organized into themes that addressed the following research questions:

1. What is the tradition of Sche'lang'en?
2. What is the relationship between Sche'lang'en and Tribal identity?
3. How does the tradition of Sche'lang'en serve as a vehicle for the perpetuation of Lummi ways of knowing and doing?
4. Does Sche'lang'en constitute an Indigenous research methodology?

While there were any number of questions I could have chosen, I chose the first three because of my personal experience with Lummi traditional knowledge (introduced in chapter one) and desire to gain knowledge specifically about Sche'lang'en and its preservation. The research design addressed the questions sequentially, and the last question (4) was in the beginning stages, a query relating to whether or not Sche'lang'en was an Indigenous methodology. The research explored that possibility by engaging with Indigenous literature and by also asking the participants what their thoughts were on Sche'lang'en.

However, what has happened as a result of that line of questioning was a discovery that went beyond the initial question, Does Sche'lang'en constitute an Indigenous research

methodology? What I mean by beyond, is that Sche'lang'en ways of knowing and doing came to influence every aspect of this research: the research design, the practices, the protocols, the engagement with Elders, their participation throughout every aspect of the research design (in terms of shaping questions, analyzing content), the interpretations, the reflections – all of these aspects have been embedded in Sche'lang'en (as I have argued throughout this thesis) which has drawn from culture, language, and teachings (addressed by questions 1-3). This is not something I envisioned at the beginning of this research because I did not know what I did not know, and what has resulted is a thesis deeply embedded with Sche'lang'en, Lummi ways of knowing and doing.

This outcome (on reflection) has thus skewed my sequential order of answering the questions, because question four has in fact become the primary question and focus of this research: it is addressed throughout all the chapters within this thesis. The first three questions provide some of the insights (evidence) as to how Sche'lang'en methodology operates (as do the arguments advanced throughout all the chapters). Because of that situation, I have addressed question four in this chapter first. After all, just like the totem pole at the beginning of this chapter, the base is the foundation from which all else is supported, and so it is that question four is the base for this thesis: it sets the foundation for all else that follows. Each of the following sections begins with a paragraph describing the organization of each part, before leading into the full analysis.

6.1. Question 4: Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous Research Methodology

As noted, traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge informs each aspect of this research framework. Presenting this methodology in a way that is meaningful to our community, resulted in the illustration of a traditional house post design. Historically house posts were

used to notify others of the way the occupants of the house relate, understand, or respond to experiences. Situated within the center of the house post framework is the process for gathering, discovery, and giving the knowledge revealed by the research back to the community. This location enables access to the specific knowledge of the framework as necessary to conduct respectful and meaningful research for and with my community.

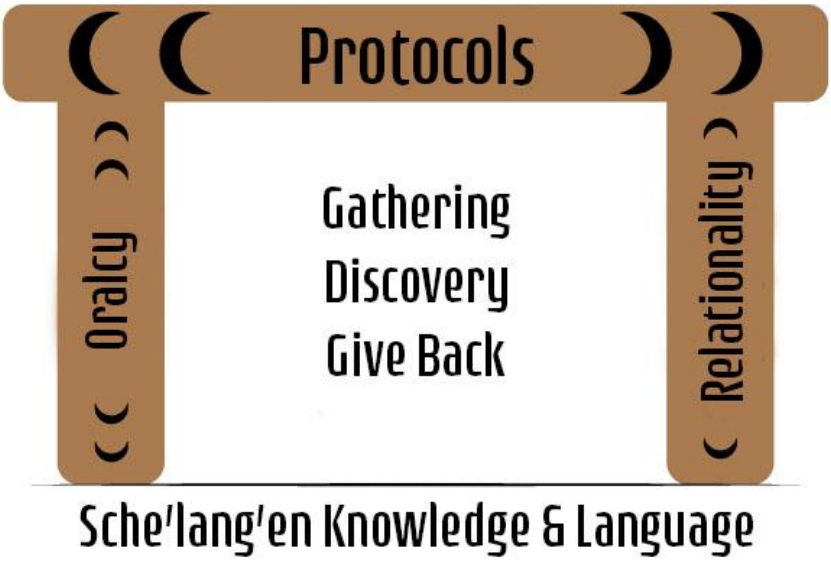

Figure 6. Sche'lang'en Research Methodology Framework

The above visual representation of the theoretical research framework positions the research clearly within a Lummi worldview that privileges Sche'lang'en as a way of knowing and doing. It is a way of knowing that respects the direct experiences of the people, which when combined, form a unique relationship with the environment (Smith, 2012).

Conducting research from this framework informed the research preparations, interactions with participants, location selections, ethical decisions, the gathering of materials, presentation of findings, and the procedures for giving back ensuring that integrity for Lummi culture is maintained. Because the Sche'lang'en methodology framework is grounded in traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge and language, this provided a stable footing for Sche'lang'en principles of oralcy and relationality to uphold cultural protocols for guidance throughout the research process especially in terms of knowledge sharing.

Sche'lang'en (like Indigenous research methodologies) is grounded in the unique worldview of a specific community and the way that worldview is connected to identity, influenced by the history and territory of the people, and takes for granted the authority of the knowledge, language, and culture (Smith, 2012). Thus, by sharing Sche'lang'en knowledge, the participants demonstrated how their world has been viewed for generations, how Sche'lang'en influences identity, and how it shapes the ways experiences are interpreted, as outlined in the following sections.

(a) Learning from Elders

As noted previously, this research originated from a personal and professional interest in understanding Lummi ways of knowing through traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge. Sche'lang'en is learning from our Elders, so I discussed my topic of inquiry with cultural leaders. Engaging my community in the research process, seeking their knowledge to influence the research, is essential to Indigenous research (Smith, 2010; Pihama, 2010) and to Sche'lang'en.

The cultural leaders shared stories and information which influenced the development of the research methods and potential participants. This process of determining

sxwen-ang-set-ti'e (how shall I do it?) was instrumental to gaining approval for the research by the Culture Commission, a group of Elders sanctioned by LIBC that is representative of our Lummi families. The approval of the Culture Commission was a requirement of the NWIC Institutional Review Board. By drawing on Sche'lang'en cultural practices of turning to our Elders for knowledge and guidance, community support began to be established.

The Elders participating in the research continued to contribute their knowledge during each phase of the research process. For example, when identifying themes within the stories, I was challenged because several of the topics related to multiple themes. This is not surprising as it is emphasized throughout the origin stories that everything is connected. This was reinforced during the visits, when analysis of the themes identified within the participants' stories were discussed. Schay-ucks recognized the connections between the themes. Chexanexwh reflected on the values revealed within the themes and how they transcend, thus relating this to how religious values transcend differences between denominations. When considering the themes, it was important to reflect on both the interconnectivity revealed between the themes and the participants intended message.

(b) Oral Methods

Driven by the Elders' knowledge and guidance, oral techniques of story, and the skills required for learning through story were identified as the primary research methods. Visiting one-on-one with the knowledge holders, I listened as they shared their personal narration of events, experiences, and what they learned from their Elders. For example, Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin learned the importance of taking care of the family and community from accompanying her mother as she cared for others; Tsi'lixw learned skills for cedar weaving from his aunt and Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse described learning from her Elders. The respect they

showed her was paired with their expectation that she listens to their lessons. (Although she did not think she was listening, she still draws on this knowledge today.) The shared stories imparted their wisdom, which was gained by reflecting on the knowledge taught to them in relation to their life experience (Archibald, 2008).

The structure of the learning process was dependent on listening to the Elders' stories. Much of what the participants shared, they learned by listening, through observation, and through practice. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin shared about practicing singing the Elders' songs with them, and her grandson, Xw-La_Leq'w, told of a family commitment to pass on knowledge and family songs. Tsi'lixw described the process of preparing duck, a process in which everyone in the family had a role.

An aspect of Sche'lang'en revealed through the research process is that when teaching, the teacher will check in periodically to make sure a lesson is being learned. As I listened to the participants, for example, they periodically checked in with me to determine my comprehension of their stories. Tsi'lixw checked in to allow me an opportunity to demonstrate my understanding of Sche'lang'en, just as Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse stopped, when we were visiting about the connection of Sche'lang'en with Tribal identity, to ask my thoughts about the relationship.

Interestingly the participants' stories conveyed their ability to draw on what they knew to develop new knowledge or to problem solve. Sckay-ucks told of figuring out how to cook for a fishing crew and also talked about rigging a pulley system for moving hay. Similarly, Che leah ten told of his grandfather figuring out how to retrieve logs off the beach using skills he learned as a logger. These are lessons that display how knowledge is transmitted through life experiences.

The oral transmission of Sche'lang'en knowledge often happens during life activities. The method of sharing stories, in a specific context, is Sche'lang'en. Storying is reciprocal, for what the listener hears is as important as what is conveyed within the context and the unspoken exchanges experienced during the story (Wilson, 2008). As the participants shared, reference was made to pictures and objects within the setting. The location for my visit with Xw-La-Leq'w led to the sharing of family knowledge about reef net fishing and a fishing theme continued throughout the conversation. Likewise, visiting on the boat with Che leah ten prompted him to share various stories of fishing, the different fishing harvests, and lessons learned through fishing with his family. When I arrived at the home of Tsi'lixw for our first visit, he was weaving cedar and shared of learning the skills for weaving. During a later visit, he told a story related to the wool blanket he was weaving (that hung on a loom behind him) and showed a video that shared his knowledge of weaving and the importance of passing this knowledge on. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin often referred to the specific corner of the room we visited within, where the vision of her grandfather appeared and gifted her with the family song. The context of the visits provided emphasis to points within the participants' stories and instilled a sensory experience supportive of the message (Sarris, 2011).

The story Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin told of the vision of her late grandfather, and a story Schay-ucks shared of the manipulation of a spirit force, both communicate their beliefs in a supernatural ability. The spirit was also discussed in terms of faith, revealing how Sche'lang'en embodies our beliefs and values. Che leah ten, like Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, spoke of his dreams, relating them to visions of relatives from the other side. Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse connected her spirituality to that of the ancestors who gave thanks for everything

provided to them by the environment. When sharing about values, Tsi'lixw shared a lesson of reciprocity taught by the *old ones* who used detailed records to keep track of the help or comfort they received from others to ensure they returned the kindness; Chexanexwh emphasized the importance of values, as they guide everything we do and how we respond to people. These are beliefs that help to sustain the culture and contribute to the distinctiveness of Lummi people.

The ability of the listener to draw on shared beliefs is essential to interpret the information with consideration for the nuances created by the oral process. Being able to connect the participants' stories to shared experiences enhanced my ability to commit their memories to mine, making them available to me to be accessed later. During the verification process, a majority of the participants indicated I captured their stories by approving my written reflections without edits. Tsi'lixw made some edits to word choice, which included revisions to clarify a story that as written, may have alluded to protected knowledge. Chexanexwh made edits and comments to clarify my understanding of the insight within a couple of stories; Che leah ten corrected an omission within the written reflections. I found remembering was more of a challenge when I was unfamiliar with the setting or with the subject of the story (although, my capacity to recall developed with each interaction, thereby improving my ability to capture the stories within the reflections). Tsi'lixw even commented that I have a good memory and would make a good storyteller.

Drawing on the Sche'lang'en principle of oralcy to inform the research methods of story, listening, and recall, reinforced both our interdependent relationship and our relationality. Kovach (2012) addresses the relational aspect of research as a relational web encompassing the metaphysical and pragmatic aspects of Indigenous research. The

relationship web demonstrates how relationship is incorporated with everything (p. 57). The focus of this research on oralcy reinforces a time-immemorial learning structure reliant on interactions with others and the environment. This collaborative process of learning continued with the process for finding meaning, maintaining a commitment to a cultural learning structure, and accountability to the participants and their stories.

Chexanexwh addressed relationality and accountability to one another when he shared about his family. He was thankful for having a big family and being close to the Elders. He was raised to believe that anything he did was a reflection on the family. In his family, his grandparents, parents, aunts, and uncles, were the authority and with their authority came an obligation to teach the children and correct them as they saw fit. In the same way, the Elders could correct the parents as needed, creating accountability to each other.

One way accountability was demonstrated (in relation to oralcy) was in the distinct response by the participants with the procedures for obtaining consent forms. The forms were delivered with the information sheet to give each person time for careful review and reflection. When visits commenced, only one person returned the forms. The others referenced the forms and gave oral consent. Verbal agreements were appropriate because Sche'lang'en is oral and is how we relate to one another. I interpret this verbal response as a sign of trust in our relationship and confidence that I would be accountable to that relationship.

(c) The Practice of Cultural Protocols

Performing the appropriate protocols demonstrates Sche'lang'en values of respect and reciprocity, thus rooting the research in the philosophy of our people (Kovach, 2009;

Smith, 2012). Cultural protocols guided how I engaged with the participants throughout this research process, especially interactions to acknowledge and care for our relationships. In respect of the family relationships, personal relations were utilized to initially connect with some research participants (Wilson, 2008). For example, to arrange visits with Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, I coordinated with Te-am-iah (her daughter) and Che leah ten assisted with reaching out to the participants of close relation to him.

As previously noted, being accountable to relationships as a Sche'lang'en principle is important. This research process reinforced our relationality which was further enhanced by the display of expected cultural protocols. As an example, when I contacted the participants to schedule our visits, they initiated some control over the research process (Chilisa, 2012) by determining the meeting schedule. This influenced the timing of visits because sometimes when I contacted a participant, they would suggest meeting on the same day, requiring an immediate response on my part. In reflection, I am curious if the response would be the same to an outsider or was the promptness of their response unique because of our connection and existing relationships?

The practice of cultural protocols influenced the process for finding meaning, because Sche'lang'en is how we relate, understand, and interpret information. As a result of paying attention to expected protocols, by the time we began the process for finding meaning in the data, my visits with the participants evolved (from the participants role of sharing and my role of listening) to visits with more interactive conversations. The visits for analysis of the data were more like conversations between friends. When I began visiting with Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, it was evident that she cared about our family connection. She frequently talked of sharing family knowledge and cultural practices like the family song.

Her memory is fading, so I reintroduced myself with each visit and early in the research process she began to respond to me with familiarity.

To honor a request made by Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, Xw-La-Leq'w and I gathered the family and asked Schay-ucks to bring his guitar. I arrived with geoduck chowder and went with a gift to introduce myself as usual. This time she responded, "of course I know you" with a loving embrace. By the end of the research process, she joked with me and even made risqué personal comments elevating humor as part of our visits.

In contrast, Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse was comfortable from the beginning, sharing personal cultural experiences of when she received teachings from Elders and from her family. When we visited about the data analysis she shared the interviewer role by asking my thoughts. By the conclusion of the analysis process, Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse voiced personal reflections about her respected role in our community.

Although a relationship was still being navigated with Chexanexwh, we connected as we identified our similar experiences, which contributed to our conversations evolving from a community focus to a personal level. Finally, my intimate relationships with Schay-ucks and Che leah ten were further strengthened as I learned more about their history and experiences that contribute to who they are. In reflection of our strengthened relationships as a result of our research collaboration (Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2010), I realize that the strengthening of relationships goes beyond those with the participants to include the people close to them. I experienced a shift in relationship with Te-am-iah and her grandchildren, my mother, and the wife of Chexanexwh.

The transformation of relationships is the result of Sche'lang'en protocols guiding every aspect of this research process. Maintaining the oral practices and drawing on

protocols, the data was presented to each participant for their thoughts and input. Te-am-iah assisted with this phase of the research, taking time to review the research document. She asked clarifying questions about the themes. In consideration of the limited sight of some of the participants (and to show respect), the documents were delivered in advance to provide extra time for review. During these visits, the participants acknowledged the themes and made statements of approval, as well as comments of encouragement to write from my heart and trust in my ability to do a good job with communicating the findings (Tsi'lixw).

With trust comes responsibility and accountability, a Sche'lang'en principle revealed in the participants entrusting their stories to me. The participants trusted in the oral process of sharing with family. Their trust was secured with my attention to appropriate protocols. As we engaged in the reciprocal method of learning, through story, listening, and recall, we created shared knowledge.

Johnston (2004) argues that with shared knowledge comes power, it is important to take responsibility for that knowledge, for "from responsibility comes wisdom" (p. 16). Wisdom is when knowledge is put into practice. Sche'lang'en includes the action of putting knowledge into practice, the opportunity to use the knowledge brought to light by this research is the result of being accountable to the stories shared. To be accountable with the knowledge is to honor the voice of the participants, to be thoughtful about what is shared, and to give the knowledge back to the community. The procedures for o provided the participants the opportunity for ownership of the findings at each phase of the research. The final step was to present the findings in a meaningful way, which further drew on the protocols for acknowledging the contributions of the participants, while generating support for unity around a story that will matter to our community (Smith, 2012).

The following sections (addressing questions one through three) are examples of how knowledge is disseminated, including accountabilities and responsibilities associated with the knowledge. The value of question one through question three is both the reinforcement of knowledge and the process of the interactions as Sche'lang'en.

6.2 Question 1: The Tradition of Sche'lang'en

In preparation for analyzing the information from the participants' interviews, I identified topics that their stories addressed, and these were then organized into groups of similar topics, creating themes. Color coded charts were produced to display the themes within each of the participants' stories to aid with the individual discussions concerning the meaning of Sche'lang'en. Engaging the participants in the process for finding meaning of Sche'lang'en created opportunity to reflect on the data in a way that considers varying perspectives and creates results that describe a shared understanding (Chilisa, 2012; Leavy, 2011). As noted previously, the themes discussed with the participants are further explored in relation to the literature to verify alignment between Sche'lang'en and Indigenous ways of knowing and doing (as introduced in chapter one).

One way in which Sche'lang'en is defined (see chapter three) is as our way of life (Lummi Code of Laws, 2008). Participants' stories repeatedly demonstrated a common understanding about Lummi ways of life with several primary themes emerging around family, culture, life, and knowledge.

Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin for example, spoke of the importance of family and how families should look after each other, work hard together, and the importance of family gathering. She was interested in hosting a family gathering as a means to share knowledge because she believed that families are not teaching their children who their family is and how

they are connected. This is an example of a Sche'lang'en principle; the importance of gathering not only for purposes of being family, but to facilitate the necessary purpose of teaching to pass along knowledge integral to the survival, development, and advancement of family ways of knowing and doing.

Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin's sibling Schay-ucks, also spoke about the importance of families in terms of helping his mom mend her fishing net, the walls of her house on the river, and he explained how, while fishing, parents did not need to worry about the children playing on the river bank because while the people fishing moved along the river they would keep an eye on the kids. These stories connect Sche'lang'en to the environment of the river and transmit Schay-ucks attitude and values (Leavy, 2011) for taking care of others in the family and the community.

Participants spoke of family and community in the same way, using the same words for care and for helping one another. They told of working together to survive together and included learning from their Elders and their responsibility to teach the children. Sckay-ucks stories are an example; he also told of the community taking care of one another, and how he checked on the Elders. Similarly, Chexanexwh said the community came together to help one another and he shared of learning from the community Elders, in the same way he learned from his family.

Several of the participants shared about cultural teachings and practices. Tsi'lixw told of transporting his aunt to gather supplies required for basket weaving, like cedar and cherry bark. He reminisced about the various harvests (of crab, sea urchins, and sprouts) and how he engaged with the community as they existed together. Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse reflected on the cultural attire of the ancestors and the pride invoked by wearing regalia or other

specific attire. These stories reveal insight into the importance of culture and cultural activities to the lives of the participants.

The significance of cultural practices and teachings is reinforced by the stories shared that are connected to the language. Xwlemi Chosen is addressed and demonstrated by the participants. For example, each time Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin sang the family song with her daughter, Xwlemi Chosen was demonstrated; without the language, the song would fail to relate culturally. Tsi'lixw shared that he speaks in the language when in cultural settings because the community members' spirits understand the language. Chexanexwh also believes his spirit is connected to the language as he sometimes cannot identify English words that communicate his thoughts. These stories emphasize that our language is a part of us, is transmitted through cultural practices, and embodies our ways of knowing.

Sche'lang'en knowledge expresses Lummi culture, a fact revealed by the participants' references to culture as our way, our language, and our ceremonial activities. Some cultural practices rely on spirit, an ability gifted to Xwlemi at the beginning of time (Nugent, 1999). Several participants shared stories related to spirit and cultural medicines. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin and Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse both shared of cultural and spiritual practices as knowledge passed on within families, often within life activities. The participants demonstrated this by the context of their stories. Stories were shared that related to the context of our visit as well as in relation to the context created by our visit. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin and Schay-ucks both shared stories related to the setting of our visit indicating the location of their memory. When I brought Tsi'lixw applesauce, it inspired him to share about the teachings learned from his aunt and her applesauce cake. His cedar weaving moved him to share about learning to split cedar bark by asking for guidance, indicating that

Sche'lang'en is a way of interacting with the environment. The Elders' stories reveal an intimate relationship with the environment, linking Sche'lang'en as ways of knowing to the territory (Ormiston, 2010).

The identified stories reinforce Sche'lang'en knowledge as our culture, language, life activities, and how we relate to each other and our environment. They are stories that tell of responsibility to family and community, the importance of the Elders, of respect, spirituality, hard work, and generosity. These are values and beliefs embedded within Sche'lang'en. A couple of the participants explicitly addressed their values. As noted previously, Tsi'lixw said his values are old values and shared about community members being there for him in his time of need (after the loss of his mother) and the importance of returning the kindness as an example of his value for others and reciprocity. Chexanexwh referenced the importance of understanding values because our values guide us in everything we do including how we respond as individuals and as a community. By practicing and teaching Sche'lang'en, the values of the people are passed on.

This analysis of the participants' stories confirms the alignment of Sche'lang'en with Indigenous ways of knowing and doing. The participants spoke of their lives in the village, on Point Francis, on the river, on the water, fishing, and referred to the vastness of the territory they traveled within. Tewa educator Gregory Cajete (1994) maintains that Indigenous knowledge comes from a relationship with the territory. The connection of the participants' stories to the traditional territory is significant to the cultural practices, which are inherent property and important to maintaining a unique cultural identity (Title 40, 2008, p. 2).

6.3 Question 2: The Relationship Between Sche'lang'en and Tribal Identity

To establish a relationship between Tribal identity and Sche'lang'en, I examined the research material for how the participants identified themselves and their concepts of identity. This information was combined with the participants' response to a follow-up question that specifically captured their thoughts on the relationship between Sche'lang'en and Tribal identity. The information pertaining to Tribal identity in connection to Sche'lang'en is examined in relation to the literature to endorse the importance of a shared identity with the community of interest when engaging in Indigenous research.

Identity, like ways of knowing, is context specific, connecting identity to place (Hall, 1990). This is exhibited by the participants' stories that connect them to the territory (as referenced previously). Within their stories, they also express what they believe about themselves. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin identified herself as responsible, a spiritual person, and the eldest daughter. Tsi'lixw talked of being an oksale, Chexanexwh connected his identity to being of the Salmon people, and Che leah ten self-identified as a fisherman.

Tribal identity is influenced by various factors connected to family or is determined as the result of recognizable characteristics (Young, 2005), or external indicators that contribute to identity (Tall Bear, 2001). For example, Schay-ucks shared his grandfather's belief that anyone could look at him and tell he was Indian. Other external identifiers that contribute to identity include activities that express identity like cultural practices and the use of language. All the research participants spoke of their involvement in traditional activities like fishing, ceremony, and culture. Chexanexwh shared a story of a small group of teens who transformed after learning about their family lineage and the ways to conduct

themselves in various community settings. Following their lessons, they carried themselves with pride for who they are, where they come from, and with a greater sense of place.

Knowing where you come from is knowing your ancestors and that lineage connects identity to an association within the community. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin spoke of teaching family genealogy and ways of participating in or helping the community, while Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltsa and Tsi'lixw reinforced this with specific reference to cultural responsibility to teach the community. On the other hand, Xw-La-Leq'w shared that pride and respect of self is instilled within the process of teaching culture and cultural practices.

When asked about the relationship between Sche'lang'en and Tribal identity, comments made by the participants' clarified the connections. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin answered by sharing stories of her initiation into cultural groups within the community. Tsi'lixw shared stories of ceremony and a video, *Beyond the Blanket: Preserving the Traditions of Lummi Weaving* (James, 2017, September 28) as a way to emphasize this relationship. Within the video he says, our identity is connected to learning skills, like weaving, to know "who we are as a people" and knowing who we are contributes to our success. On the video, Tsi'lixw states, "*carrying our traditional names of our ancestors gives us identity as to who we are*" (James, 2017, September 28). Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse emphasized that by teaching our language, we are passing to the children who they are. Che leah ten thought that Sche'lang'en builds strong individuals and a strong community because strong individuals strengthen families, and when the families are strong, so is the community. Xw-La-Leq'w responded by referencing Sche'lang'en as the way of life of our ancestors, which included traveling from village to village to hunt and gather.

A key consideration from the interviews was the importance of the revitalization of the language because it is within our language that Sche'lang'en is found. Several of the participants reflected on the Tribe's activities with teaching our youth culture and language. Tsi'lixw talked about the strengths the oksale bring to the cultural curriculum and Xw-La-Leq'w appreciated that the youth had an opportunity to learn language and culture at school. The Tribe's ability to revitalize culture, language, and knowledge is essential to instilling Tribal identity and bringing the past forward for a future that strengthens Tribal sovereignty and self-determination (Grande, 2004).

Chexanexwh says, the Lummi Nation has maintained a commitment to determining their own destiny despite the assimilation tactics which attacked Tribal identity (Robertson, 2013). He spoke of the governmental campaign to terminate American Indians. The impacts of the tools of termination reverberate throughout the participants' stories. A number of the participants told of boarding school traumas experienced as a result of members not being able to practice their culture or speak their language, and of the struggle to resist being absorbed by mainstream society.

Further, the comments made by the participants clarified that the experiences they shared impacted their identity development *because Sche'lang'en identifies who we are and where we come from* (Che leah ten). Sche'lang'en, as a way of knowing and doing, cannot be separated from Tribal identity (Schay-ucks). Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse said Sche'lang'en makes us who we are. Our cultural practices, beliefs, and traditions influence identity, so are vital to maintaining Tribal identity.

This exploration of the importance of identity by examining the participants' stories for an expression of Tribal identity (Hillaire, 2012) conveys their identity in connection with

shared knowledge and experiences. Experiences of Sche'lang'en are woven together creating the interconnectivity of our Tribal identity. A shared identity establishes a place within the community, which is essential to Indigenous research. Thus, there is a responsibility to pass on Sche'lang'en knowledge to the next generation to maintain who we are as Lummi people.

6.4 Question 3: The Tradition of Sche'lang'en as a Vehicle for the Perpetuation of Lummi Ways of Knowing and Doing

The data to address the transmission of Lummi ways of knowing and doing are again found within the reflections of the participants' stories, which contain Sche'lang'en knowledge, history, teachings, and family associations. The research materials were analyzed to identify indications of where or with whom the stories originated, to ascertain stories for their likenesses, as well as to identify different versions of the same story. The stories were then organized for comparison to each other permitting recognition of intergenerational transmission of shared experiences, philosophies, and cultural practices. This approach afforded opportunities to distinguish the perpetuation of knowledge, as it provides guidance and insight for new perspectives, which is vital to Indigenous research (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008).

The examination of the previous questions exhibits that Sche'lang'en exemplifies traditional knowledge, culture, language, and teachings that are connected to the territory and embodies ways of knowing and doing. Passing on traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge is important for identity development and a connection with our community. The transmission of traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge from generation to generation is revealed by comparing the participants' stories. Through this analysis, the importance of story for the perpetuation of Sche'lang'en knowledge, culture, and teachings is affirmed.

Many of the stories Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin shared were drawn from her personal experiences. She shared teachings that originated with her grandparents, parents, her husband, and the Spirits. In addition, she mentioned that she learned from Elders outside of her family, as did the other participants. The comparison of the participants' stories reveals that they all referenced their parents, grandparents, and Elders as teachers. The majority of the participants shared stories that originated with their parents and Tribal Elders, while half told stories that originated with their grandparents.

The participants' stories connect their knowledge to the territory. Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin shared stories of fishing on the river and the abundance of fish she would catch with one set of her net. Hers was like the story her brother, Schay-ucks, shared of the abundance of fish, remembering that as a young boy he caught a salmon in the river that was as big as he was. Schay-ucks cousin, Tsi'lixw, told of fishing with his dad on the river with a dip net, likewise Chexanexwh mentioned his parents fishing on the river. Che leah ten remembered helping his mom when she fished on the river. Both Schay-ucks and Xw-La-Leq'w told similar versions of a story about pole fishing at the river. Schay-ucks spoke of always having his own pole in the river in front of his mom's house, while Xw-La-Leq'w shared a story told by his grandmother of pole fishing off the cedar dock in front of her mom's house.

These stories transmit knowledge, skills, and insight into our history, our inherent fishing rights, and culture. Other stories were shared to provide insight about teachings and the importance of working together. For example, the farm story Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin told about playing in the barn and helping her father move hay. She described a pulley system with a big fork on one end used to pick up the hay and move it when feeding the animals. Schay-ucks also described moving hay and explained how they rigged a pulley system with

a big fork on one end and a horse on the other. Some stories about farm work were shared both by the first level of participants and the second, Chexanexwh mentioned putting hay away in the barn, just as his nephew Che leah ten said he helped his uncles with haying work.

The stories communicate Sche'lang'en as knowledge and teachings specific to Lummi that influence cultural practices and the way individuals interact. It is knowledge that is shared orally in specific context to accentuate the life force of the story. An example is, Che leah ten inviting me on his boat for our visit. In this setting, he shared about learning from his grandfather on his boat, about various kinds of kelp, and the skills and knowledge necessary for harvesting herring roe. This story came to life with adventure and challenge as Che leah ten told of teaching and learning grounded in shared experiences, philosophies, traditions, and an interdependent relationship.

Xwi'ti mitse Hy'oltse and her son Xw-La- Leq'w shared similar versions of a story expressing the way teachings could come from anyone in the community. Xwi'ti mise Hyoltse said the Elders spoke in a stern voice to command attention, and the youth knew to sit quietly and listen. Just as Xw-La-Leq'w remembers the stern way Elders corrected and taught children. He shared that his mom did not think her grandparents liked her because of the way they spoke to her, but it was just their way of communicating. These stories demonstrate the rights of Elders and techniques employed when passing on the teachings.

Stories are vital to the transmission of knowledge because within stories traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge is passed on bringing forward the values and beliefs critical to a shared understanding. The distinct knowledge conveyed by the participants' stories relies on a shared way of knowing to understand the knowledge contained within Sche'lang'en. Their personal stories convey an oral history of their wisdom gained through their life experiences,

education, and reflection (Archibald, 2008; Leavy, 2011). Wisdom they passed on by crafting opportunities to make specific points about Sche'lang'en, connecting sensory experiences and context to transform what is known into what is taught (Sandelowski, 1991).

Teaching was evident within the stories told across the generations. When discussing cultural practices, the second level of participants shared their family teachings and reiterated that the teachings varied within the communities' families. Fishing was discussed in a way that conveyed importance to the life of the participants and was recognized as vital information to be passed on. The stories upheld a sense of place as they connected to the same locations like Point Francis, the river, the islands, and reef net sites. When Che leah ten shared that his grandfather began each day considering the weather and the work to be accomplished, he felt that because of the knowledge shared with him, he could relate to the heritage stories of our traditional village and reef net sites. These are important locations to know as they connect us to the ancestors.

All of the participants shared stories of receiving teachings connected to the ancestors by way of prayer songs, dreams, and visions. As referenced previously, the eldest participant, Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin, received her family song in a dream. The youngest participant, Che leah ten, received messages within dreams and visions: messages that are discussed as guides for the family for care of one another and pass on our teachings. Within our Sche'lang'en teachings is knowledge from specific perspectives to guide our understanding of our distinct knowledge.

However, there were stories that varied slightly between the generations. Both the first and the second level of participants referred to foods, including traditional foods, harvesting, and the preservation of their harvests. The stories told by the second level of

participants also included traditional harvesting as well as fruits and vegetables that were accessible within the gardens and orchards introduced through colonization. There was also a shift in the statements regarding an abundance of resources. The first level of participants shared stories of feeling rich and the great quantity of fish they would catch while, the second group told of a decline in the resources. Xw-La-Leq'w remembered when his family realized the practice of salmon fishing would not support them anymore, so he and the others in his family sought employment. This could be connected to the story Schay-ucks told about the Boldt Decision impacting the salmon resource. Finally, as referenced previously, Che leah ten spoke of the last time he and his grandfather fished for herring before the decline of the resource.

Although there are changes within the environment, Sche'lang'en knowledge remains distinct and a consistent guide to life. The participants stories convey the transmission of Sche'lang'en through oral teachings from generation to generation within stories, observation, listening, interaction, and practice. The knowledge shared is deeply connected to our people, our language, and our traditional territory. This evidence verifies that Xwlemi ways of knowing and doing prevail as dominant and are within our cultural practices that embody the unique sense of place, values, and beliefs of the people. *"The tradition of Sche'lang'en is a tool to guide life and it is our responsibility to pass it on to the next generation"* (Che leah ten).

6.5 Sche'lang'en Constitutes a Research Methodology

This research is important because it demonstrates Sche'lang'en as a distinct approach to research based in the way Lummi knowledge has always been constructed, with a solid foundation secured by Lummi values that reinforces our concept of self and our

perspective of the world, as shaped by our position within it (Cline, 2018, p. 9). It is research linked to place and designed with consideration of Lummi philosophies, which support our visible Lummi culture, history, and language (Chilisa, 2016; Wilson, 2013). This knowledge is embodied within traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge providing the foundation for Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous research methodology.

The Sche'lang'en research framework is designed for research conducted by, with, and for Lummi. As noted earlier, it is conceptualized as traditional Lummi house posts, which historically communicated important information about the occupants of the home, their connection to the community, and how they relate or understand experiences. This is important to know before entering the home as it enables visitors to display appropriate respect for the occupants as they enter the home. Applying this framework to Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous research methodology, exhibited how each aspect of the structure guided the theory of methods chosen enabling the researcher to display appropriate respect during each interaction with the community.

Just as Indigenous research methodologies take for granted traditional knowledge, the house posts of this Sche'lang'en methodology framework were grounded in traditional Xwlemi Sche'lang'en which embodies the philosophy of the people, their knowledge, and language, providing stable footing for the support posts. As has been critiqued within this thesis, one post symbolizes oralcy to portray the important role of oral practices to a traditional Xwlemi mode of operation. Oral traditions have been utilized since the beginning of time to capture history and other significant knowledge (Vansina, 2009). For this research the tripartite of oralcy techniques are brought together to capture and enhance the analysis of the data.

Kovach (2012) argues that story and knowing are inseparable as stories are born from experiences within the natural world (p. 94). During our visits the research participants shared Sche'lang'en knowledge gained throughout their life from various individuals and through encounters with the environment. My ability to connect the stories shared with my worldview by connecting them to my experiences was integral to the tripartite of oralcy and situates this research within a collective memory (p. 97).

Story as method required that I be available when the knowledge holder was prepared to share (p. 99) and a reciprocal process of storing, which entailed the sharing of and listening to stories. The open-ended structure of my visits empowered the participants to share, while I safeguarded their voice and representation through the approval of transcripts. My ability to remember was vital to this research and required shared codes that I acquired through shared experiences that live within my memory. The investigation of Sche'lang'en as ways of knowing and doing through listening and remembering personal life stories was an appropriate research method because it was important to honor our ancestral ways of knowing and the community's commitment to oralcy.

Kovach (2012) addresses the challenges of honoring story as a method of inquiry, attributing it to the limited time it has been a part of the research landscape. Story has been responsible for maintaining knowledge and transmitting knowing since the beginning of time (p. 96). The tripartite of oral techniques can be traced back to Xwlemi ancestors. Like the stories contained within the previous chapters, the stories presented within chapter five, connect to the First People and the teachings that have been passed down through the generations as a guide to living a Lummi life. They are stories that address the importance of being prepared, emphasizing skills for gathering (for subsistence and for knowledge), the

way information analysis happened, and the application of knowledge and skills to benefit our people.

The ability to listen and remember have significant roles within the oralcy tripartite as they are skills that work in tandem together, seamlessly utilizing one to enhance the other. I relied on skills of listening and remembering to recall specific details of the participants' stories. The processing of the participants' oral narrative brought together this complex system of reflecting on what was heard to distinguish connections. The procedure for finding meaning continued with communicating the identified themes with the research participant's, listening as they contributed their thoughts, reflecting, and again repeating this process as meaning for our community was considered (an essential component of Indigenous research).

This traditional learning process is reliant on relationships represented within this research methodology as relationality, the second house post of the framework. Relationality represents our interconnected relationships with one another, our community, our ancestors, and all creation (Wilson, 2008). It is a relationship that is bound to place and the knowledge associated with the place (Kovach, 2012). Through relationships we have access to knowledge, and therefore, relationality underpins the selection of research participants, the way the research questions are asked, and how the information is protected. Displays of respect for the participants' and acknowledging our interdependent relationship created by this research, strengthened the structure of this Sche'lang'en methodology with Lummi practices of relationality.

The support posts of oralcy and relationality hold up a cross beam signifying the importance of Lummi customary protocols. Protocols are drawn upon to inform the

interactions with the participants throughout the research process. The performance of essential cultural protocols ensures the research is conducted in a respectable way.

The implementation of research from this Sche'lang'en methodology framework demonstrated how Sche'lang'en knowledge informed each aspect of this research. From within the framework of the house posts researchers are able to access Sche'lang'en knowledge, practices, and techniques as a guide to all research activities and for the process of giving the knowledge back to the people at the heart of the research. The research concludes when the knowledge is given back to the community, just as a give-a-way (honoring guests with a token of appreciation for their presence) completes important cultural work.

6.6 Reflection

Early in the research process, I realized that much of the literature is written in a Western context to be acceptable to the academy (Kovach, 2009; Ormsiton, 2012). Because of the important work of previous Indigenous scholars who have brought Indigenous knowledge history and experiences into the research conversations shaping the academy (Mucina, 2011, p. 6), I had the privilege of envisioning an Indigenous methodology framework that speaks specifically to Lummi, without regard to the translatability to non-Indigenous researchers.

This chapter presented my research material as discussed with the research participants during a collaborative process for developing understanding. Demonstrated within is a traditional Sche'lang'en learning structure of oralcy, listening, and recall. Reflection is emphasized as it is part of our traditional learning process and allows for

breakthroughs in understanding, revealing meaning that is beneficial to our community (Young, 2005).

Examining the tradition of She'lang'en brought to light She'lang'en knowledge grounded in Tribal teachings and within traditional She'lang'en teachings, knowledge, and practices, Lummi values and beliefs are exhibited. The participants' stories expanded the perspectives of the various aspects of She'lang'en bringing clarity to the nuances that create inter-connections with the knowledge. For example, a link is revealed between our togetherness and "attitudes toward each other" (Title 40, p. 2), through the way we gather together and maintain connections, treating others with respect for the individual and the collective. This relational thinking is compatible with our cultural practices, the way knowledge is passed on, and our care for Mother Earth, for each action is important to the whole.

The She'lang'en information strengthened the position of a sense of place, as She'lang'en embodies our traditional knowledge and practices that are directly connected to our traditional territory and the resources it provides for our people. The research participants emphasized the connection of knowledge to the territory through their reference to the environment for gathering and learning. As Tsi'lixw says, the environment is our teacher. We learn by observing our surroundings, what is heard, and other senses that contribute to our sense of place (question 1). This understanding of where we come from is intertwined with the development of a Tribal identity. Thus, She'lang'en cannot be separated from our identity.

The participants' stories highlighted the influence of their sense of place and their family lineage on instilling self-pride. This is knowledge Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin taught her

children, just as her father taught her. Now her grandson is committed to passing on the teachings that originated with his great-grandfather, to his children.

When asked specifically about the relationship between Sche'lang'en and Tribal identity the research participants emphasized cultural practices. They referenced participation in cultural groups, the importance of developing traditional skills and speaking the language, as well as the power of our traditional names to influence identity. G.H. Smith (2015) argues that identity is linked to language, knowledge and culture (p. 73). Marla D. Conwell (2017) says, language defines the distinct Chehalis people, and that identity is impacted by language revitalization (p. 152). Traditional names are in the language and are linked to our traditional knowledge, therefore they influence identity as a Tribal person, which strengthens the Tribal community.

Traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge is vital to distinguishing Lummi from others, so it must be sustained. Examination of the perpetuation of Sche'lang'en, through relatives' intergenerational stories revealed evidence of learning from listening (to Elders stories and instruction), through observation (of life activities), interaction (with others and the environment), and from practice (the action of doing). The same and similar stories were shared within the first and the second level of participants. Together the stories of fishing tell a collective story of a Lummi family's way of life; harvesting within the territory from the ancestral reef net sites, the practices of fishing upon the open water, stake-net fishing, and the various techniques practiced when river fishing. Participants learned by being aware of their environment and told of the changes experienced as their territory was settled and ships from all over the world visited our ancestral waters.

This is knowledge that, despite the colonial process and governmental practices which attacked Xwlemi Sche'lang'en has never been eliminated: it is alive within the community still. What came through the participants' stories is that the knowledge and teachings remain consistent guides because the community members have maintained the habits of mind. Our stories and knowledge are transmitted with oral methods combined with life activities perpetuating our ways of knowing and doing. It is knowledge passed on to our youth, as Xwlemi Chosen and Sche'lang'en as ways of knowing and doing are revitalized to guide their lives (an example of question 2).

What is notable from the visits is the way that knowledge transfer operated in forms other than just directly *face to face*. For example, as I recounted the first interview with Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin and her daughter, they were often telling the story at the same time, each contributing a sentence or a part of a story to me. This is a means by which the *assistant*, learns from the storyteller and it was fascinating to witness this form of interaction as a means for knowledge transfer, learning and teaching.

Through this research, an increased understanding of the tradition of Sche'lang'en, the impact on identity development, and the perpetuation of Sche'lang'en is established. As I embarked on this research journey, a Lummi Tribal member studying my Lummi community, the importance of being accountable to my people was vital. This was accomplished by way of a research framework that privileges the ways of knowing and doing of Xwlemi ancestors. The research framework maintains cultural integrity, as it is grounded in our community culture, knowledge, and language, with supports that reflect Lummi values of oralcy and relationality to hold up the customary protocols. The methodological framework informs the oral methods for accessing, verifying, and presenting the knowledge

gained by this research. This explains why much of the traditional Xwlemi knowledge is not shared in the findings. That knowledge is transmitted orally and in keeping with Sche'lang'en practices around protecting and guarding knowledge in both chapters five and six, I could report on findings and process, but not about the knowledge specifically. This created many challenges in writing up these sections, but I was mindful to not breach the trust of my Elders or to give away what I should not.

In the beginning of this research, like the initial reaction to a Bear (in the teaching represented by the story pole at the beginning of this chapter), I began my journey to gain understanding. Responding to a need (influenced by the Black fish) to grow intellectually, methods were employed for this research that engaged cultural leaders and community members in the planning, the drafting of questions, and the selection of participants. Methods for data collection are influenced by values of oralcy and our interdependent relationships for protection of the information shared. Throughout this research, important protocols were performed in respect of the participants and their knowledge. To ensure the research outcome honors the knowledge entrusted to me through the individual stories, the participants were drawn on at each stage of the research process. Thus, relationships were strengthened and the participants' perceptions are reflected within the research analysis, contributing to the ability of the findings to benefit our community.

This research tells a collective story of Sche'lang'en that connects with our ancestors, realized through the implementation of strategies that permitted Sche'lang'en to emerge with a distinct role in Indigenous research. The result is research that validates oralcy, affirms Tribal identity, and has the potential to advance the aspirations of Lummi people securing the cultural well-being of future generations.

The next chapter is the conclusion for this research and recommendations for the next steps. The creation stories shared throughout this research set the stage for my final reflection of Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous research methodology. The teachings of Seahtlhuk and the Sandpiper (as presented with the story pole opening this chapter) are further utilized to cultivate unity with the outcomes and my community.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Ne schaleche totest che tse sxwiam che sxānō his nilh tse sche'lang'en

My friends and relatives to learn from the story from long ago is our Sche'lang'en

Our ancestral Xwlemi Chosen exhibits Xwlemi ways and knowing. When we gather, our guests are welcomed in Xwelmi Chosen before English is spoken because the teaching is that by speaking our language we connect what we are doing with the ancestors. We are also told that when we speak in the language our ancestors join us so, when space appears to be vacant (like an open seat) it is because our ancestors are with us. When this protocol is followed the work we are undertaking will go well because our ancestors guide it (Smaki'ya, 2019). Throughout this research journey I have felt my ancestors with me. They brought me to this work and when I wanted to give up, they reminded me of our values of endurance and hard work. I believe they are with me now influencing these final reflections.

7.0 My Research Journey

I set out on this journey to discover information that would contribute to constructing a solid personal knowledge foundation of Lummi history, culture, and stories. I believed that this knowledge would enable me to successfully serve my community. As I look back and reflect on where I began, I remember the *Xwlemi Oral Traditions* book, handed to me by an oksale. Thinking about my first reaction to this book I realize I have a very different interpretation of my reality as a result of undertaking this research. When I embarked on this research journey, I believed that I had limited experience with tribal knowledge so, the Oral

Traditions book represented *no access*. Along the journey of this research I gained the knowledge I was looking for, but I also came to realize the knowledge I always had. This information combined with the writing of this thesis has influenced how I think about that symbolic book.

Because of my experience with this research I have come to realize the scope of experiences I had with Lummi culture and knowledge as I launched my canoe for this journey. This is knowledge I built upon through the literature and with the help of the research participants. The participants gifted me with oral accounts of their knowledge and experiences which I listened to intently, respecting their intellectual gift by remembering the important points and messages within their stories.

With continued reflection on my interactions with Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin I realize a deeper purpose for the information shared during our visits. She often spoke of participation in our various cultural groups, organizing opportunities to learn our family lineage, and sang our family song. During our last visits she emphasized her participation in cultural groups and her cultural teachings. I have come to appreciate the purpose of these interactions as Quatalamo Wha-hap-kin wanted to make sure I possessed all the knowledge necessary to be taken care of and to take care of my family. Through her stories of Sche'lang'en she offered her knowledge and experiences. By offering additional access to family connections, relationships, and important cultural practices, she was ensuring that I would be prepared with deeper knowledge of who I am, connected to where I come from.

With knowledge comes responsibility. It is my responsibility to be accountable to the participants by taking care of the information they entrusted me with, by holding it safely within my heart and mind, to be shared primarily by traditional methods of oralcy.

Understanding my accountability to this new knowledge changed what the symbolic Xwlemi book represents. I now carry within me, my own *Xwlemi Oral Traditions* book.

To fulfill the obligations of this research (while still being accountable to the knowledge of my relatives), it was important to present their information with respect for their stories and respect for their commitment to the community. To achieve this level of communication required that I set aside my concern of writing about community knowledge, in a community that does not put that information in writing. I instead focused on sharing what was mine to share and only shared what was approved by the knowledge holders.

7.1 Themes this Thesis Investigated

Three themes were identified, explored and developed within this thesis. The first question inquired about traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge, grounding this research in Lummi ways of knowing and doing. The second theme was the research, developed upon a foundation of traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge, which acknowledged the dependence on its preservation through the utilization of traditional oral knowledge and how these oral methods contributed to Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous research methodology. The third theme was my own journey of discovering my Lummi identity, driven by a desire to expand my Tribal knowledge.

In preparation for the research, the *Che Shesh Whel Wheleq* story (that opened chapter one) emphasized Lummi historical links to the research process as a traditional learning structure for gaining knowledge necessary to survive and thrive. Chapter one also introduced the rationale behind the research questions.

Chapter two explored specific Indigenous research methodologies and methods that were consistent with the oral traditions of Lummi Nation. The Indigenous researchers that

were referenced depicted Lummi ways of knowing and doing, connecting research to an Indigenous identity. The thesis argued that accountability to the knowledge of the people and the territory would maintain the cultural integrity of the research, which informed Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous research methodology.

The guiding principles of Sche'lang'en as an Indigenous research methodology emerged from respect for the knowledge, culture, language, and traditions of oral narration. These principles supported by Elders (who are keepers of traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge) were embedded within knowledge that was gifted to Lummi ancestors (as verified by Lummi creation stories). It was argued that the transmission of Sche'lang'en knowledge brings forward the philosophy of the ancestors to influence contemporary time.

These philosophies and the teachings of Lummi Elders guided the methods implemented for this research, which was conducted for Lummi and with Lummi knowledge holders. Traditional Lummi knowledge has been safeguarded within this research by sharing it with trusted individuals (usually family), through auditory methods of oralcy, which required skills for listening and remembering. These techniques constructed the tripartite of primary methods implemented for data collection and the collaborative reflection process employed with the participants. This practice permitted consideration of the participants' knowledge (acquired from lifelong experiences within Lummi territory) throughout the research process.

Information to navigate this research journey was gathered through an exploration of the literature. Chapter three developed understanding of the alignment of Sche'lang'en and ways of knowing and doing. A case was made for Sche'lang'en as a consistent guide for life that influenced the interpretation of experiences, the way we relate and act towards one

another, and the ways culture is practiced. Sche'lang'en was presented as our knowledge, language, culture and beliefs, with our ways of knowing and doing embedded within this traditional knowledge.

Our Sche'lang'en knowledge was gifted to our first people. The *Land and the Sky* story opening chapter three emphasized how knowledge may be gained. It also reinforced Lummi unique ways of knowing it is a story that encourages the acquisition of knowledge from those who came before us, and the utilization of that knowledge to care for our people.

Because traditional Sche'lang'en knowledge is connected to our first peoples and their sense of place it is linked to how they identified Xwlemi. The argument was made that the cultivation of traditional knowledge would influence identity development. Like the research participants, chapter three stressed the responsibility to pass on traditional knowledge for our future generations to maintain our cultural identity.

The investigation of tools utilized to transmit traditional knowledge reinforced storytelling as a research method. Storying was said to be common practice for Indigenous research. The use of stories connected with both the physical and spiritual dimensions of traditional knowledge, therefore, story (as chapter three argued) is a research method that connects Indigenous research to the inherent spirituality embedded within Indigenous knowledge, a spirituality that is linked to the ancestors and their original territory.

The access of ancestral knowledge is vital to Indigenous research. This was reinforced by the *Swetan* creation story that opened chapter four. Swetan received our traditional reef net knowledge from the creator. The information contained within this story continues to be relevant to our Sche'lang'en.

Chapter four argued that despite a history with colonialism, our traditional knowledge has remained protected within the hearts and the minds of the people. The maintenance of Lummi knowledge was demonstrated by an increased opportunity of Lummi members to learn Xwlemi Chosen, song, dance, and history. By passing on this knowledge, our unique philosophies of togetherness and reciprocity are transmitted improving our opportunities to maintain relational bonds in the interest of Tribal sovereignty and self-determination. That position has been important to Lummi commitment to self-governance, as an exercise of their right to determine how to meet the needs of their members, it is this commitment (to the advancement of Lummi sovereignty in a self-determined way) which is vital to the decolonization aspect of Indigenous research (Smith, 2012).

The presentation of the research data in chapters five and six was a collaboration with my relatives. Each of the participants stories were shared within chapter five with consideration for my responsibly to represent the substance of their stories while only sharing what was mine to share. This sometimes meant the omission of some knowledge that was shared during our visits because some knowledge was not available to share with outsiders. In addition, such knowledge must only be shared orally.

Included within the participants' information are specific references to protocols for requesting knowledge and respecting the knowledge holder. Through the practice of cultural protocols trust in the research process was created. Acts of responsibility exhibited for the knowledge shared reflected accountability for the knowledge and accountability to my relatives, strengthening our relationship (reflected upon further within the following sections).

The research findings discussed in chapter six demonstrated a traditional Sche'lang'en research framework informed by the tripartite of oralcy, listening, and remembering. Reflection was emphasized throughout the research as a part of a Lummi traditional learning process that generates knowledge discoveries based on our ways of knowing and doing.

7.2 Presentation of Findings to the Participants

To cultivate unity around these research findings this Sche'lang'en research framework was again drawn upon to present the knowledge revealed in a purposeful and relevant way. It was vital to convey my thought process as it connected the research design to Sche'lang'en ways of knowing and doing, a process of theorizing the practice of reflection employed for finding meaning from Lummi position in the world, just as our ancestors theorized to explain the world from their unique way of being and doing (Pihama, 2017). In a Western context theory becomes *mystified* knowledge that is accessible only to the *in-groups* (G.H. Smith, 1997, p. 456).

The knowledge revealed by this research was intended at one level for those involved in the research and so the findings were conveyed to the participants. The research participants' and family relations were gathered for a presentation of the discoveries. This final phase of the research was essential to this collaborative research process, because it was the final opportunity for the research participants to have influence on the findings and how the discoveries were presented.

The gathering began with the protocols around food, as I hosted the guests we reconnected with social interactions. The research story was told and the audience listened intently making motions of understanding and agreement. The presentation was followed by

audience comments, which addressed the connections between the findings and the Sche'lang'en stories shared. Noteworthy is, one individuals remark about being challenged with thinking of Sche'lang'en compartmentally, as this was different than what was taught, although the influence of the academy to dissect information was understood. Kovach (2012) discusses the intent of research to compartmentalize cultural practices to access the different aspects of knowing within an Indigenous context (p. 58), when Indigenous research epistemologies (like that found embedded with Sche'lang'en) are holistic. An additional commented was on the ease of following my presentation and understanding the connections. Ultimately, the research findings were absorbed with approval, thus, verifying the lessons learned and granting permission to share the findings with others. The presentation commenced with recognizing the knowledge holders that were present and honoring the memories of those who have since left us.

To build unity around this Sche'lang'en research methodology the findings must be disseminated orally in a culturally relevant way. Going forward the findings of this research will be disseminated in appropriate Lummi ways. For example, this knowledge will be shared within the community by presenting it in various settings, to the Elders of the Culture Commission, at the Northwest Indian College (NWIC), and to the leaders within Lummi Indian Business Council (LIBC). Lummi is a community with a long standing commitment to advancing their sovereignty and self-determination. This Sche'lang'en research methodology revealed knowledge specifically viewed from a Lummi perspective, setting it apart from Western research. Viewing research from this unique Lummi orientation increases the potential of research to connect to our Tribal members and the potential for research to be decolonizing because as theorist Frantz Fanon (1963) argues, the colonized

will become by reclaiming the ways that were condemned by the colonization experience. From this perspective, our Lummi ways of knowing were condemned by colonization. Reclaiming research for Lummi with the development of this Sche'lang'en methodology framework, which perpetuates Lummi ways of knowing and doing is a colonizing act of self-determination because regulation of our own research has the ability to empower the community through purposeful work.

This Sche'lang'en methodology is vital for guiding research that will benefit Lummi. The framework can similarly impact program evaluation because when grounding an assessment in Sche'lang'en knowledge, the information will be influenced by Lummi ways of knowing and doing, which alters how the information is processed. By referencing this Sche'lang'en framework as a guide to our important work Lummi cultural aspirations and Tribal sovereignty will be advanced.

7.3 Reflection

In closing, like the symbolic *Xwlemi Oral Traditions* book, the knowledge contained within this thesis belongs to Lummi, the people at the heart of this research. The findings are informed by the participants' experiences and their family knowledge. In final reflection, I am reminded of the importance to not reveal too much, because a person does not have to say much to really say it all (Tsi'lixw). Consequently, I hope that I have done justice for the participants stories and that this Sche'lang'en research methodology provides a place to continue the work of Lummi Nation, as Lummi maintains responsibility for advancing our sovereignty and self-determination by means that reflect the wisdom of our ancestors. The words of Lummi Elder, Joe Washington echo this message.

> *The young people have to listen and learn or take an example from the elders…they hold and carry the Wisdom that is important to the young peoples' lives. So let us as Indian people accept the Great Spirit as our guide and walk hand in hand in this life as a proud and respectful Indian People. This is our heritage and our way of life handed down from generation to generation. (Squol Quol, 1973, p.2)*

Kwel hoy'-s. Hy'sxwqe etse xwielaneng, etse ne sqwal. Ew' hoy' etie schay', xwensot-s tse ne sxwiam. U' ongest sen etie sxwiam, tl'e tse ne schaleche. Nilh hoy' tse ne schay'.

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NORTHWEST INDIAN COLLEGE
Xwlemi Elh>Tal>Nexw Squl

2522 Kwina Road, Bellingham, WA 98226-9217
Local: 360-676-2772 Toll free: 1-866-676-2772 FAX: 360-738-0136

Institutional Review Board (IRB) FWA 00003979

September 15, 2015

To: Cindy Cultee
Email: cindyc@lummi-nsn.gov
Project: Xwlemi Oral Traditions: Preserving a Way of Life
NWIC IRB Project Number: # 2015-08

Approval Date: 8/13/2015
Approval Expiration Date: 8/12/2016 (364 days after approval date)
Review Process: Expedited review
Approval Category: Final Approval
Risk Category: NOT greater than minimal risk

Dear Ms. Cultee:

The Northwest Indian College IRB reviewed responses to the conditions of your project Xwlemi *Oral Traditions: Preserving a Way of Life* on September September 15, 2015. Your research project is **APPROVED**.

DETAILS

The NWIC IRB answered the following questions for its review (see 45 CFR §46.111).

- Were 6 potential risks to participants minimized during researcher's interaction with them?
- Were 6 potential risks to participants minimized in the dissemination of results?
- Were 6 potential benefits to participants maximized throughout the research?
- Were minimized potential risks reasonable compared with maximized potential benefits?
- Was selection of participants equitable?
- Were privacy of participants and confidentiality of data maintained?
- If vulnerable populations participated, were their special protections included?
- Was the annual report to the IRB sufficient to monitor the project?
- Were the informed consent processes and documents appropriate?

The IRB considered each question for both individual and also tribe/community participants. The 6 potential risks and benefits were: physical; psychological; social; economic; legal; and dignitary (National Bioethics Advisory Commission; *Ethical and Policy Issues in Research Involving Human Participants: Volume I*. DHHS; Aug 2001: p.71).

Please submit the next NWIC IRB Renewal / Close-out Form at least six (6) weeks before the Approval Expiration Date noted above to request either Renewal, or alternately Close-out the protocol for NWIC IRB purposes.

A copy of your informed consent form, which has been approved and stamped by the IRB, must be given to each study participant. As you conduct your research, please remember that:

1. Participants are volunteers or are involved in regular educational programs; they thus are free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty.
2. Unless the NWIC IRB has approved a waiver for your project, you must fully inform participants by both written and oral explanation about the project; all participants must sign or approve electronically or verbally an informed consent form. (For minors / children, the parent or guardian must sign a permission form.)
3. You must protect the participants' confidentiality and their anonymity if your project includes that as well. The presentation of the data should not put them at risk of any negative consequences.

You must submit any proposed changes for IRB approval at least 6 weeks before you want to implement them Access to the data is specified and restricted by the researcher and the department. If any irregularities or unexpected events occur, please report those immediately to the IRB Office. You must report any problems or adverse events resulting from implementation of this protocol to the IRB.

Please submit to the NWIC IRB both a description of the development of any planned dissemination (poster presentation, publication, etc.), and also the dissemination itself, at least two weeks before the date of dissemination. The reason is that this IRB protects Tribes and Tribal-based institutions from potential stigmatization during the dissemination process. The IRB reviews and verifies that the dissemination process is followed in the research plan approved by the NWIC IRB.

Your research is important work and we look forward to observing your progress through the NWIC IRB annual reviews. Please contact the NWIC IRB at (360) 392-4224 or irb@nwic.edu if you have any questions.

Thank you,

Barbara Juarez

Barbara Juarez
NWIC IRB Co-Chair
(360) 392-4224
irb@nwic.edu

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

EC2015/01/0029
ECR2015/01/0029

07.08.15

Cindy L Cultee
3240 Robertson Road
Bellingham
Washington State 98226
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Tēna koe Cindy,

Re: Ethics Research Application EC2015/01/0029

At a meeting on 31st July 2015, the Ethics Research Committee of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi considered your application. I am pleased to advise that your submission has been approved pending your tribal approval.

You are advised to contact your supervisor and the Ethics Research Committee wishes you well in your research.

Yours Sincerely

Associate Professor Paul Kayes
Acting CHAIR

Private Bag 1006
Francis st
Whakatane 3158
Aotearoa

Waea / Telephone :(07) 307-1467
Waea Whakaahua / Fax :(07) 307-1475
Ipurangi / Email :ssc@wananga.ac.nz
PaeTukutuku/Website : www.wananga.ac.nz