

***Skwxwú7mesh Nách'en Xwech'shí7 t'l'a***  
***Nexwnínew iy Snewíyelh***

**Squamish Praxis the interspace of**  
**Upbringing and the Teachings**

by

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## Abstract

In Canada, First Nations languages are in a grave state of decline. *Skwxwú7mesh* (Squamish) is a critically endangered language. In Circle, a form of knowledge gathering that has been adapted for this research, co-participants take up the two notions of *nexwnínew̓* and *snew̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings). The premise in the research is that *Skwxwú7mesh* people are engaged in a socialization process, which has at the crux an intergenerational pedagogy of *Skwxwú7mesh* language, culture, and knowledge re-generation enculturated through family relations in formal and informal ways manifest in their *nexwnínew̓* and *snew̓íyelh*. Based upon the cultural practice *Utsám̓ Chiyáxw* (Called to Witness) protocol co-participants become the Witnesses called to “put words to the floor”. This study uses an emergent *Skwxwú7mesh* theory called *Nch’u7mút* (united as one) that privileges the *Swa7ám̓* (Ancestors) epistemological and ontological knowledge systems. Four principles *wanáxw̓s* (respect), *smenálhwiit* (dignity), *áyatway* (kindness), and *chénchenstwaywit* (support for one another) shape the theory. *Xay Sts’its’áp’* (Sacred Work) is a *Skwxwú7mesh* *chiyáxw* (protocol) that frames this dissertation. I use the term *Work* italicized and capitalized to symbolize respect for the ceremony of research. The findings offer the reader, the co-participant’s critical insights into the *Skwxwú7mesh* moral universe and the connection of language to land.

**Keywords:** *Skwxwú7mesh* identity; language re-generation; Coast Salish

## Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the Squamish People and the Ancestors

*Ta Na Wa Nexwníw ta a Ímats iy ta Skwxwú7mesh Méñmen* (Teachings for Your Grandchildren, Language Authority)

My beloved *Chi7cht* (Father) *Kátmeltexw Siyám*, Russell Alfred Jacobs

*Kwes Meñ Chá7wtenaat iy Siyámiya and Xwixwaylut iy Snítelwet-amats*

My daughters Damara and Marion for their unconditional love

††††

For being my 'Anchor' in Life

I dedicate this *Work* in loving memory to my *Chésha7 kwes wenlh tinená7t* (late mother) *Selíwiya-t*, Marion Edna Jacobs née (Guss)

*Si7l-t* (late Grandparents) *Siyámiya-t iy Siyám Xa7áwten-t* — Jenny, and Moses Guss

*Kwitelut-t iy Kakeltn-t Siyám* — Lena, and Alfred Jacobs

*Si7l-t* (late Grand Uncle and Auntie) *Qal-las-al-ton Siyám* — Chester, and Eva Thomas

*Sayxw Sxáaltxw-t Siyám*, Late Chief, Grand Uncle Louie Miranda, PhD

*Sáta7-t* (late Aunt) *Xwa`lastanot-t*, Ruth and *Sísi7-t* (late Uncle) *Yáxlhem-t*, Ted Seward Sr., and *Sxwchésha7* (late Wife of Uncle) Jackie Seward

*Kwiyáwít na nañ huyá7* (Late Elder's Group Members)

*Kwis wenlh n Ekw'í7tl iy Siyám*, (Late Leaders of the Squamish Nation)

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*Kxwu7lh* (*Canoe Family*), *Skwxwú7mesh Nexws7ú7xwim̓* (Squamish carvers), First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC) Board, FNEC Language Sub-Committee, FNES Language Advanced Degree Group, and the First Nations Congress Language Standing Committee, Assembly of First Nations Chiefs Committee on Languages, SFU MEd. & EdD Cohorts, and the UBC Linguistic Grad students.

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## Glossary

<i>Skw̓xwú7mesh Sníchim</i> (Skwah-hoe-mish Snay-cheem)	This means Squamish language
<i>Skw̓xwú7mesh-ulh Temíxw</i> (Skwah-hoe-mish Tum-ay-ghw)	All of the Squamish People's Land
<i>Skw̓xwú7mesh Sníchim — Xwelíten Sníchim</i> <i>Skexwts</i> (Skwah-hoe-mish Snay-cheem — Hwah-la-tin Snay-cheem Ska-ghw-ts)	Squamish- English Dictionary
<i>Nexwnínew̓</i> (Nu-ghw-na-no)	Have the upbringing; well brought up.
<i>Snew̓íyelh</i> (Sno-way-ath)	Advice or Knowledge
<i>Sts'its'áp'</i> (Tsay-Tsop)	The Work
<i>Xéñx̓en</i> (Gh-hun-hun)	Telling your family tree, genealogy
<i>Xaays</i> (Kh-eyes)	Transformers
<i>Syets</i> (Seh-yeh-its)	True story, true (realistic), news
<i>Xaays Xay</i> (Gh-eyes)	Age of Transformers, Supernatural Transformers in age of legends
<i>Sxwex̓wiyárh̓</i> (Seh-gh-weh-way-yah-m)	The Ancient Time
<i>Nexws7usáylh</i> (Neh-wh-s-owe-sigh-eh-th)	Language Teacher
<i>Wanáxws</i> (Won-ow-ghws)	Respect
<i>Méh̓men</i> (Mun- mun)	Children
<i>Stélmexw</i> (Stall-moo-ghw)	Human Being
<i>Wa Chexw Wanaxwsténam'ut</i> (Wah Choo-ghw Won- ow-ghws-ton-ah-moat)	Self-respect
<i>Xay</i> (Kh-eye)	Special, sacred

<i>Chen kw'en mantúmi-yap</i> (Chin kwon mon-toe-me-yop)	I am grateful to you all
<i>Ta7ah</i>	Grandmother
<i>Xwmélch'sten Etsimxw skwul nexws7usáyelh</i> (Whum-mull-cheh-stin Neh-wh-s-owe-sigh-eh-th)	Capilano Littlest Ones School Teachers
<i>Siyám</i> (See-yum)	Chief, highly honoured person
<i>Xwmélch'sten</i> (Whum-mull-cheh-stin)	Capilano
<i>Kxwúsem</i> (K-ugh-woah-some)	A Gathering
<i>Kw'ayáylhm</i> (Kwhy-eye-thlem)	Purification Ceremony
<i>Mílha7</i> (May-thla)	Indian Winter Dance
<i>Naháylhem</i> (Na-high-thlem)	A Naming
<i>P'ínewas hémten txwhik</i> (Pay-no-us Hum-tin Tewgh-hay-k)	Getting Married Under the Blankets
<i>Kw'achmixwalh</i> (Kwatch-may-ghw-eye-th)	Show Pictures (Memorial)
<i>Tl '7áshen</i> (Tla-ah-shin)	A Celebration
<i>Nch'ú7mut</i> (In-choh-moat)	In unity as one
<i>Swa7ám</i> (S-wah-ah-m)	Ancestors
<i>Chi7cht</i> (Chay-cheh-t)	Parents
<i>Ekw'í7tel</i> (Eh-quay-tull)	Siblings
<i>Si7l</i> (Say-ull)	Grandparents, Great Auntie or Uncle
<i>welh7áyñexw</i> (Weh-th-eye-neh-wh)	Life spirit
<i>Xexe7énak</i> (Gh-gh-enuk)	Creator

## Prologue

When Indigenous peoples become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, and people participate on different terms (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 193)

I begin by addressing you in the language gifted to the *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* (Squamish people) by the *Xexe7énaḵ* (Creator). *Áyas chap ta néwyap, Siiyám, iyáwit welh wanáxwswit, Síiyuxwa7chet, i7xw ta Síiyay, i7xw ta S7eḵw'í7tl iy ta Méhmenchet* (Peace to all you respected Chiefs, Elders, Friends, and Relatives, and our Children). *Skwxú7mesh-ulh temíxw kwélhi tiná7 Snítelwet kweshámin snas* (my ancestral name Snítelwet, comes from the Squamish People's land). The elders teach us that when we speak our own language we speak from the heart, and the ancestors come to stand with you. I *See-am-ee-aw* (my Snuneymuxw ancestral name) greet you in Island *Hul'qu'umi'num'* language of the *Snuneymuxw* people, 'iich 'uw'uy' 'ul'? (How are you?=Welcome).

*Skwxwú7mesh* and Island *Hul'qu'umi'num'* are two distinct languages from the Coast Salish family; a linguistic term applied to related languages that begin in southern British Columbia, Vancouver Island, down the Coast of Washington State to North Oregon (Beck, 2000, Tulalip Nation, Appendix A). Importantly, the Coast Salish family share an ancient history that holds connections to kinship ties, tangible and intangible prerogatives.

The *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh temíxw* (Squamish people's land) extends from *Stelkáya* (also known as Roberts Creek), down to *Élksen* (also known as Point Grey), over the whole of the Burrard Inlet, up through *Atl'ká7tsem* (also known as Howe Sound), and up along the *Skwxwú7mesh Staḵw* (Squamish River) and the *Ch'iyáḵmesh Staḵw* (Cheakamus River) (Appendix B). *Snuneymuxw* lands span the estuaries to the Eastern shores of south-central Vancouver Island.

My personal *syets* (story) begins with a declaration; I situate ‘self’ in *Skwxwú7mesh* and *Snuneymuxw* ways of being in this complex physical world and spiritual realm. The journey to identify with Coast Salish languages began as a child. Two events resonate in my memory, the first was listening to my *Ta7ah* (Grandmother) and Grand Auntie Eva happily conversing in the Island *Hul’qu’umi’num’*. The second is the image of my father forbidden as a child, to speak the *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* (Squamish language). There are many degrees of speak suffice to say my parents upbringing and teachings held their elders knowledge as ‘the example’ to nurture their own *Skwxwú7mesh* identity.

My father’s main teachers spoke *Skwxwú7mesh* to him because it was their first language. Dad from the time he was six years old to fifteen attended the Sechelt Indian residential school. He was separated his family, community, language, and ways of living in the world. My Dad is a first-generation Indian residential school survivor; he does not speak *Skwxwú7mesh*, despite having two parents who were highly proficient. Dad has carried a deep hurt because he went to Indian residential school, and lost his language. Dad resolved to follow his late father, paternal grandfather, and great-grandfathers’ example to protect our ways of being, and their work ethic. Dad worked 38 years as a Head Foreman for Western Stevedoring, some years with members from the old Indian gangs, who only spoke in *Skwxwú7mesh*. Dad respected the men who modeled *nexwnínew̓ iy snew̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) in their everyday life and *Work*.

Mother grew up in the village of *Eslha7áñ*, spent time with her late maternal uncle and auntie in *Snuneymuxw*, and with her mother and siblings in the summer berry camps. Mother had seven siblings. Mother lost her father when she was five years old. She did not go to Indian residential school, but became a day scholar at St. Paul’s Indian Day School. Mother was the school bus driver for twenty-eight years for the Capilano Little Ones School; she knew many generations of Squamish children and helped them out with kind words, a hug, and love.

My parents have ancestral ties to *Kw’émkw’em* (Defense Island), *Xwáy̓xway* (Lumberman’s Arch), *Seńákw* (False Creek), *Eslha7áñ* (Mission Indian Reserve #1),



*Ch'iyákmesh* (Cheakamus), *St'á7mes*, *Xwmélch'sten* (Capilano Indian Reserve #5), and *Snuneymuxw* (Nanaimo). Both parents hold many prerogatives and come from a custom of artists, canoe builders, dancers, fishers, hunters, leaders, peacemakers, singers, and weavers. Both parents' descent lines carry inherited rights to tangible and intangible properties such as ancestral names, *Sxwáyxwey* (ceremonial masks), and songs. The rights transfer by bilateral kinship descent, *Skwxwú7mesh* and *Snuneymuxw* prerogatives like *Xéñxen* (family genealogies). Parents, maternal and paternal grandparents' collective experiences, going back six generations, inform my identity. *Skwxwú7mesh* and *Snuneymuxw* kinship and affinal ties are determined by a set of five generations for my siblings and me.

I am the eldest child born to *Kátmeltexw Siyám' iy Seliwiya-t* (Russell and the late Marion Jacobs née Guss). I have two brothers and one sister. My sister, *Swahish*, my younger brother, *K-wol-thlee-lum*, our families, and myself have lived most of our lives in *Eslha7áñ*, which is called North Vancouver, and *Xwmélch'sten*, also known as Capilano in West Vancouver. My older brother, *Kátmeltexw* and his family make their home in *Wíwk'em*, also called Brackendale, in the Squamish municipality.

Given Dad's *Skwxwú7mesh* language loss, he was firm his children would speak proper English. The dualities of my vernacular provoked unkind accusations from my peers that I was trying to sound *White*. I am a second-generation survivor of Indian residential school. My older brother and I attended the St. Paul's Indian Residential Catholic day school located in *Eslhá7an* until grade 5 and 2 respectively then we went to public school. My brother and I attended public school two years prior to the closure of Federal Indian day schools and mass integration into public schools in British Columbia.

The *Indian Act* prohibited Indians from attending public school because it was for White children. The *Indian Act* is a Canadian Federal Statute, an assimilation policy, whose function is to terminate the cultural, social, economic, and political distinctiveness of Aboriginal Peoples of Canada by taking them into Canadian life. Official documents and writings use names "Aboriginal", "Indian", "First Nations", "Indigenous", or "Native" for *Skwxwú7mesh* people. In 1981, I married an African-Native American; and became *White* by Canadian law under the *Indian Act* identity legislation provisions. I lost my

rights to Squamish citizenship, to ancestral lands, and interment at *Eslhá7an*. This was not the case with *Skwxwú7mesh* men when they married non-*Skwxwú7mesh* women. Their wives and their children gained 100% status as *Indians*. In 1985, the Federal Government amended the *Indian Act*, resulting in my re-instatement as an *Indian*. However, my daughters acquired second-class citizenship status, and by the Federal and *Skwxwú7mesh* Membership laws became known as section 6.2's. Canadian identity legislation and *Skwxwú7mesh* membership laws continue to perpetuate these inequities between the genders.

My daughters are third-generation Indian residential school survivors, but are from the generation where a 'formal education' choice existed. Like me, they do not have proficiency in the *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim*; however, they carry knowledge about their *stélmexw* (human being) responsibilities. We are humbled to be *Skwxwú7mesh* with a distinct language and culture. Intergenerational residential school trauma and racism in Canadian society are at the root of lateral violence within the *Skwxwú7mesh* community. I am cognizant that some *Skwxwú7mesh* people have been alienated from family, and do not have the upbringing or the teachings; this is a challenge encountered in *Skwxwú7mesh* language and culture regeneration.

My late elders, *K'atxwmeltxw Siyáǎm-t*, (Chief Squamish Jacob), *T'naxwtn-t Siyáǎm*, Chief Isaac Jacobs, *Siyámiya-t*, (Jennie Guss née Thomas), *Siyáǎm Sxáaltxw-t*, (Dr. Louie Miranda), *Kwitelut-t*, (Lena Jacobs née Band) teachings influence and inform my contributions to *Skwxwú7mesh* language and culture re-generation. My elders' narratives shape my personal truth in my life journey. All of them respected cultural practitioners who resisted from many locations to protect our *Skwxwú7mesh* and *Snuneymuxw* ways of being.

I am a First Nations educator and, for the past three decades, I have worked in the field of education. I am a language activist through education. I choose to do a professional Education Doctorate degree to privilege my work experience. As I acknowledge in this *Work*, my elders taught me to understand *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings); however, I do not profess to know everything.

I use the term *Work* italicized and capitalized to symbolize respect for the ceremony of research. *Wanáxw̓s* (Respect) for *Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh* and *Snuneymuxw* ways of being are the foundation of the dissertation. The sentiment is captured in *Kwitelut-t* words, “*Na tél'nexwaswit ta sníchimswit ta stáwnswit kwis nes Stélmexw*” (In learning the language the children have a good feeling about being human beings) (Jacobs, D. 1998).

I adopt Dubois' postulation on 'dual consciousness' that, “I live with these two selves, and I frankly have no interest in killing either of them” (Dillard, 1986, p. 282). For me, my identity encompasses *Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh* and *Snuneymuxw* birthright and Canadian citizenship. I am mindful of merging multiple social identities because they are not interdependent. I am a *Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh slhánaʔi7* (Squamish woman) and that infuses my lived experiences.

My quality of life choices and positionalities co-create the interactions between 'self' and others. Culture as I know it is not moribund but continues to evolve preserving the integrity of the *Síiyuxwa iy Swa7ám̓* (Elders' and Ancestors') ways of being. I locate my 'self', as an object of my reflexive consciousness, by lineage, and place within *Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh* lands. I have been taught by my elders the protocols and rites of *Xay Sts'its'áp'* (Sacred Work). I have a responsibility to care for family knowledge and inherited prerogatives.

In this dissertation journey, I underwent personal and professional growth in my relationships. What I infer is that the Nation must be whole; however there has been an accelerated fragmentation of *Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh* values. This is not a new development, but one that has been growing over the last decade. Over the past four years, my life has been unsettled, due to family illness, loss of family elders and dear friends, and community lateral violence. I took sojourns to grieve and reflect on the magnitude of the *Work* and the co-participant's value of the notions *nexwnínew̓* and *snew̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings). It was necessary to do self-care before I began to weave together this *Work*, which takes in the experiences, tensions, and liberation of one's 'self'.

During this time, the public and private moments afforded new insights to *nexwníneŵ* and *sneŵíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings); mainly that the two notions are inseparable, because they connect all things and all domains. Broadening my spatial frame of reference beyond the visible to the root of love, and respect for one's 'self' was an important reflection. These moments spoken and unspoken sustain a belief; we must take joy in our journey, and live life for those who are alive.

Symbolically, my family has 'welcomed' you and they have set the table, as you would see today in a *Skwxwú7mesh* formal cultural ceremony. "Setting the table" is *Skwxwú7mesh* code for feeding the People before the *Work* commences. One's 'self' has been introduced. In the *Skwxwú7mesh* way, the Speaker is the voice for the family doing the *Work*. After the meal, the Speaker(s) are 'covered with a blanket' to let the People know he is speaking for the Family. A blanket is wrapped around the Speaker's left shoulder covering the heart to his right side in respect, honor, and for his protection. The women ensure the *Work* is done observing all protocols. For posterity, the Speaker must abide by the rigour and protocols of Ceremony. The Speaker informs the People the host family is grateful, that the guests have answered the call *Uut Tl'a7áshn* (Invitation to a Potlatch) to witness this *Work*. The Speaker calls Witnesses, and announces to the guests, what they will hear, see, and witness is what the family has in mind for the *Work*. There is rigour to the Ceremony and the Helpers prepare the floor for the *Work*. In the traditional *Work*, a common custom characterizes the announcement of critical details four times during Ceremony; I keep with this practice in the dissertation. Now you know who I am I can relate to you in a respectful manner and come from a good place.

**Poem 1. *Tl'a7ashen ta nexwníw-chet***  
**Celebrating Our Teachings that make us who we are**  
Source: Snítelwet, 2010

Self-analysis illuminates my many shifting subjectivities of the negotiated and situationally contingent nature of my life history

This testimony is rooted in *Skwxwú7mesh* value structures that take up the multiple positionalities of my situated identities

Interwoven as a child, a daughter, a granddaughter, a wife, a mother, an artist, an educator, a language advocate, and a lifelong learner

The separate experiences of my Parents, Grandparents going back five generations have shaped my identity and affinal ties to know who we are in our World.

**Figure 1. Ch'iyákmesh Stakw (Cheakamus River)**

Source: Snítelwet, 2010



*Es7á7uts chet kwis yewíntschet ta s7ulh welh timá-chet | t ti ɛsín ti siyátshn*  
(We can understand our world in our own way, it is alive)

## Preface

“I offer my hand ...Let me find my talk, so I can teach you about me” (Ryga, G. 1970, p. 47). In this journey of dialogue, we construct a relationship as active listeners. We do this to maintain mutual respect for each other’s practices, and to provide a space to conceptualize the *Skwxwú7mesh* co-participant’s beliefs and their narratives. We meet in dialogue not by choice. We meet in an environment shaped by the political, social, and economic landscape. It is a meeting of oppressed and oppressor over the power, resources, and knowledge of the oppressed. “Dialogue must address the issues of equity” (Romney, 2005). I understand Romney to be saying that dialogue engages the heart, as well as the mind. Dialogue presupposes an individual is open to modify deeply held convictions, so one may address issues of equity to succeed in self-endeavours to cast off the ‘mental shackles’ (Kirkness, 1998).

A ‘space of engagement’, is a place where Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars connect in dialogue to establish mutual, evolving relationships of understanding and connectedness. In dialogue, we take up dominant social relationships, re-define practices, and re-verse ideologies to make space and sustain Indigenous voice. Red pedagogy asks Indigenous people to examine education in community, and “that we take seriously the notion that knowing ourselves as revolutionary agents is more than an act of understanding who we are in these spaces of engagement” (Grande, 2008, p. 234). In this *Work*, as enacted by the Coast Salish people of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia since time immemorial; a space is prepared where one can begin that crossing to meet at the intellectual border as allies.

I locate as an Indigenous scholar at the confluence of worldviews to support the re-positioning of *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge. My life-long language activism results from exploring the transformative element around what it means to me to be Squamish and managing this with reflexivity and accountability to the Ancestors and the Nation. By witnessing this *Work* you take on a cultural border crossing to the ‘space of engagement’, to find commonality with the *Skwxwú7mesh People* on the significance of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language.

**Poem 2.      *Xwníw̃ntumulh* (An expression of the teachings of our upbringing)**  
Source: *Snitelwet*, 2013

*Chen tél'nexw*  
*Ha7lh skwálens-chet*  
*Nilh n siyáŷ̃ Tiwa*  
*Nilh ta élhtach-chet wa usúntumulhaswit*  
*En ha7lh a skwálens*

*I7*  
*I chet wa iyáŷ̃shim ta Ménmenchet wa Xwníw̃ntumulh*  
*Nilh ta élhtach-chet wa usúntumulhaswit*  
*I7*  
*Nilh n élhtach iyáwit*

I have found something out  
Your heart is good  
You are my friend  
Our parents have taught us something  
We are waiting for the children to express the teachings  
Your heart is very good  
Yes  
Our parents are still teaching us  
These are our parents

**Figure 2.** *En Sch'á7mikw iy En Ts'ép'iyíkw* (Father's great grandparents)  
*Tsiyaliya Mary iy Kátmetexw Siyám'* (Chief Squamish Jacob)  
Source: Jacobs' Family Collection





**Figure 3.** *Elht'ách ta Kátmetexw Siyám* (Father's grandparents)  
**Maggie Burns, Tnaxwtn-t Siyám** (Isaac Jacobs)  
Source: Jacobs' Family Collection



**Figure 4.** *Elht'ách ta Kátmetexw Siyám* (Father's parents)  
**Kwitelut-t iy Kakeltn-t Siyám** (Lena, and Alfred Jacobs)  
Source: Jacobs' Family Collection



**Figure 5.**

***Elht'ách ta Seliwiya-t (Mother's mother)***

Note: *Siyámiya-t iy Xa7áwten-t Siyám'* (Jenny and Moses Guss) (no photo)

Source: Jacobs' Family Collection



**Figure 6.** *Kátmeltexw Siyám iy Seliwiya-t* (Russell and the late Marion Jacobs)  
(My parents)  
Source: Jacobs' Family Collection



**Figure 7.** *Nch'áyuwam Kátmetxw Siyám iy Seliwiya-t*  
(Descendants of Russell and Marion Jacobs) (née Guss) left to right:  
*Swahish* (Sherrie Jacobs), *K-wol-thlee-lum* (John Jacobs)  
*K'atxwmeltxw* (Russell Jacobs Jr.), and *Snítelwet* (Deborah Jacobs)  
Source: Jacobs' Family Collection



**Figure 8.** *Nch'áyuwam Snítelwet*, Descendants of Deborah Jacobs left to right — *Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, *Xwixwaylut iy Snítelwet-amats* (Damara Jacobs-Morris and Marion Jacobs-Adderley)  
Source: Jacobs' Family Collection



## Chapter 1. Introduction

*Í7xwixwat na tél'nexw kwis nes tl'i7 kwis ns7éynitm ti aay xwniwchet. Smenálhwit, Áyatway, Chénchenstwaywit. Cháchshaynewas kwis wa níchim timá 'es iyím ta swálwswit kwi héi syelánm. Haw'et máynexw íymen ashánes eyáym, ta snewú7swit, tewlám swát at.*

*We are aware of how hard it was to guard, to hand down our sacred teachings — their dignity, their care, and support of one another. In speaking, we share their courage and their strength for the coming years. In their laughter and their tears, we do not forget who we are. (Vanessa Campbell, 2000)*

Before I begin, I want to state clearly that I am a First Nations educator, and for the past thirty years, I have worked for the *Skw̓xwú7mesh* Nation as the Department Head for Education. I am a language activist through education. I choose to do the professional Education Doctorate degree to privilege my work experience. I want to share some of my thinking that sits behind the dissertation title — *Skw̓xwú7mesh Nách'en Xwech'shí7 tl'a Nexwnínew̓ iy Snew̓íyelh* Squamish Praxis the interspace of Upbringing and the Teachings. I view praxis as those acts that may change the *Skw̓xwú7mesh* world, inform the people, and commit them to action to re-vitalize the *Skw̓xwú7mesh* language and culture. The analogy I use for the interspace of *nexwnínew̓ and snew̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) is to look at knowledge in intervals of time. The premise in this dissertation is that *Skw̓xwú7mesh* people are engaged in a socialization process, at the crux of an intergenerational pedagogy of *Skw̓xwú7mesh* language, culture, and knowledge re-generation enculturated through extended family relations in formal and informal ways (personal communication with Graham Smith, 2013).

There are seven *Skw̓xwú7mesh* first speakers of the language (Campbell, 2014). "*Skw̓xwú7mesh* will not survive as the Nation's first language, yet it is a crucial voice of the community" (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011, p. 357). One can only

learn the *Skwxwú7mesh* language, *nexwnínew̓*, and *snew̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) in the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* (Squamish Nation).

As it relates to the purpose of this inquiry, I use *sxwexwiǰám̓* (ancient stories) lens to study the *Skwxwú7mesh* people's relationship with the land and to their *Xéńxen* (family genealogy) because *Skwxwú7mesh* ancestral names have an attachment to the land. The mountain *Nch'kaǰ̓* is a sacred site; home of the Thunderbird and the setting for a *Skwxwú7mesh* origin story. *Nch'kaǰ̓* known to others as Mt. Garibaldi is a volcanic mountain, a solid mass of obsidian and rich ochre. Embedded metaphorically in the sacred rock are repositories that hold the Ancestors' knowledge, as *Xaays* (Transformers) hold *chiǰáxw* (protocol/ laws). *Sxwexwiǰám̓* (ancient stories) are foundational to the elders' *syets* (real stories) of the *Skwxwú7mesh* origin, history, place, and social change because they embed *Skwxwú7mesh* ways of being and knowing that are germane to all domains. The purpose of this inquiry has two documenting streams of the co-participants' *syetsém* (information) on first their notions of *nexwnínew̓ iy new̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings); and secondly how they make space for *nexwnínew̓ iy new̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) in their work and practice.

The research findings come from the co-participants narratives of their lived experiences. Dilthey (1985) proposes in its most basic form,

A lived experience does not confront me as something perceived or represented; it is not given to me, but the reality of lived experience is there-for-me because I have a reflexive awareness of it because I possess it immediately as belonging to me in some sense. Only in thought does it become objective. (Cited in Morris-Jacobs & Seymour, 2014).

The reader, who actively listens and engages in the dialogue of the co-participants sharing of their lived experiences, appreciates the sharing of a consciousness. It is a dialogic encounter designed to augment ones' understanding of another's experience. The purpose of narrative in ones' learning and development of self-confidence has been demonstrated in a large body of scholarship (Jacobs-Morris. & Seymour, 2014). In the act of hearing and sharing narrative, one learns their place in the world, the *Skwxwú7mesh* values and the act becomes an important means for one's transition from nascent concepts of self, to becoming self-actualized.

I have symbolically structured the five chapters on the ceremony of *Xay Sts'its'áp* (Sacred Work). The ancient protocol “*Utsám̄ Chiŷáxw*” (Calling of Witnesses) is central to this *Work* because it entrenches *Skwxwú7mesh* history, the politic of location, and the voices of the co-participants and their lived experiences. The use of the word ‘sacred’ grounds one’s ‘self’ in the *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* world. The elders say the soul would not know the *Skwxwú7mesh* way of life without the sacred. This research is important because it may help *Skwxwú7mesh* collective efforts to protect and sustain our knowledge, language and culture, spirituality, and place. This dissertation is “not the answer, but it is an answer” (personal communication with Graham Smith, 2014).

Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) focuses on assessing language endangerment, and the role of intergenerational transmission in the maintenance of a language.

**Table 1. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Degree of Language Endangerment**

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted >> not included in the Atlas
Vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
Definitely endangered	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
Critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
Extinct	there are no speakers left (included in the Atlas if presumably extinct since the 1950s)

Note: Reprinted from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Interactive Atlas, retrieved from <http://www.United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization — endangered-languages/atlas-of-endangered-languages>

Fishman theorizes a child who does not learn the language from their parents; will likely not transmit the language to their children. In Fishman’s (1991) model, each domain has



a group, a location, and a context. For example, the *Skwxwú7mesh* people (group) gather at the Longhouse (location) to witness the *Work* (context).

The Squamish Longhouse was the center of Squamish government, and the spiritual focal point ... of the passing of laws, the giving of ancestral names, and spiritual dancing reinforcing the value systems upon which Squamish society has defined itself for centuries. (Mathias & Yabsley, 1986, p. 5)

The social norms of Squamish language use began to erode upon contact with the settlers. English has become the language of ceremony diminishing the relevance of a domain where traditionally only *Skwxwú7mesh* language was used. Despite this shift, in current times Speakers now use different languages from the Coast Salish language family in the Longhouse to convey to the people what is taking place on ‘the floor’.

Fishman’s model is helpful to highlight the efforts of the *Skwxwú7mesh* people on language shift and the Longhouse, as a site of resistance. The Speakers emphasize the social and political contexts of knowledge in memory and within ceremony. This shift makes space for traditional *Skwxwú7mesh* discourse convention to be the framework for the creation of new knowledge. Discourses are conceptualized as multi-dimensional, interactive processes where the boundaries between life and language become more connected. According to the Enduring Voices project every 14 days a language dies.

By 2100, more than half of 7,000 languages spoken on Earth — many of them not yet recorded — may disappear, taking with them a wealth of knowledge about history, culture, the natural environment, and the human brain. (National Geographic, 2012)

In Canada, First Nations languages are in a critical state of decline; of the 53 First Nation languages 50 are critically endangered or facing extinction (Assembly of First Nations, 2007a, p. 4). This rate of language decline is unprecedented, resultant from globalization, and social change (Kandler et al., 2010.) *Tuhiwai*, a Maori scholar postulates this unequal power relationship is, “the globalization of knowledge and western culture constantly reaffirming the West’s view of itself, as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbitrator of what counts as knowledge, and the source of ‘civilized’ knowledge” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 53). The transmission of *Skwxwú7mesh* language falls outside the discourses of power, because Canadian culture defines the dominant

discourse. This unequal power relation should by default negate and consign to extinction *Skwxwú7mesh* ways of being embedded in the language; yet it has not.

Graham Smith defines characteristics of Indigenous theory, “as being located within a culturally contextual site, born of an organic process involving community... the product of a theorist who understands cultural epistemic foundations of an Indigenous worldview and is focussed on change” (G. H. Smith, 2005, p. 10). I became conscious that I had to center myself within the *Work* and define “what do I mean by *Skwxwú7mesh* theory”. Reflecting on the magnitude of this obligation was transformative. I had to immerse myself in the purpose of the *Work*, and understand what it means to be *Skwxwú7mesh Stélmexw* (a Squamish human being). I looked at Indigenous and Western theorists. I looked at Indigenous research paradigms only to rediscover what I know to be true, knowledge collectively belongs to the world I am part of, and the world where I can interpret, and contextualize this knowledge.

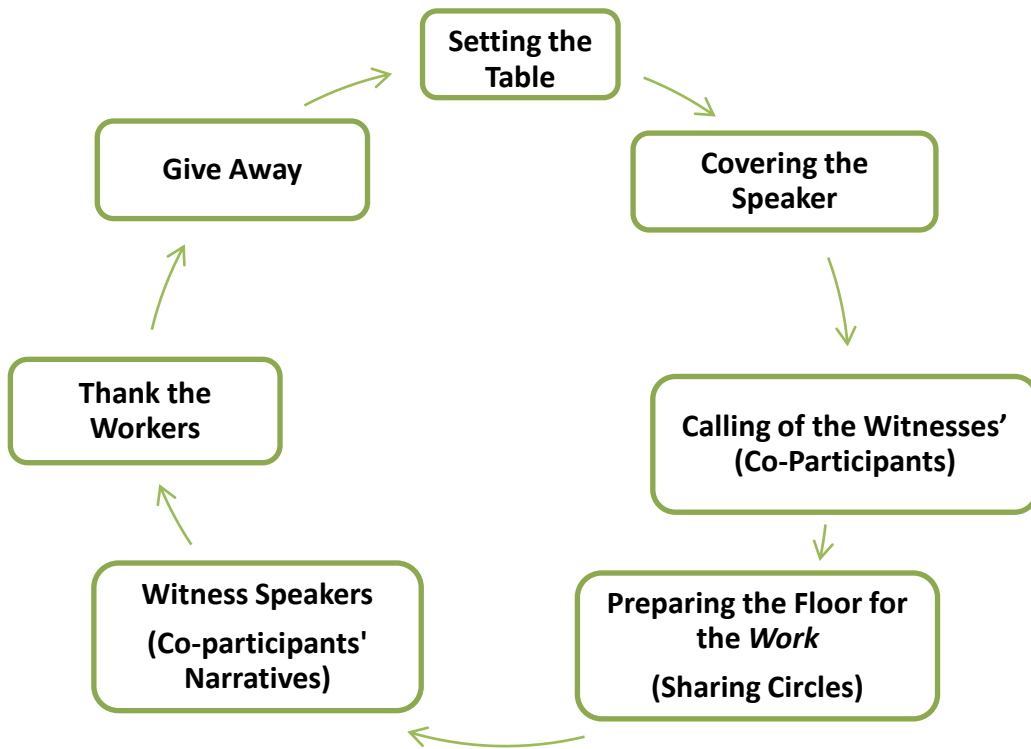
The context of *Skwxwú7mesh* epistemology, the nature of *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge is unique and I had to think about it creatively and take a stance on the theory that begins with *Xay Sts'its'áp'* (Sacred Work). I thought deeply about *Skwxwú7mesh* epistemology and ontology. Introspection took me full circle, to the spoken teachings of *Skwxwú7mesh Siíyuxwa7chet* (Elders) and all that the *Swa7árn* (Ancestors) had protected for the *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* (all the Squamish people). Interwoven in these strands is the knowledge that the land supports the *Skwxwú7mesh* people and the people support the land (Appendixes 2).

The *Nch'ú7mut* (united as one) theory emerged and draws on the ancient *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge system of *Xay Sts'its'áp'* (Sacred Work). The characterization of the theory has four tenets — *chéñchenstway* (support one another), *wanáxw̓s* (respect), *smenálhwit* (dignity), and *áyatway* (kindness). I was taught to value these *Skwxwú7mesh* behaviours and ways of being. These tenets shape *Nch'ú7mut* (united as one) as a theory, which I address more in-depth in Chapter 3.3. I also employ methodological arts based tools of creative writing and photographs to inform the research, and to add new *Skwxwú7mesh* pedagogical resources.

## 1.1. What is *Xay Sts'its'áp'* — Sacred Work?

There are many categories of practices, rituals, and ceremonies in the *Skwxwú7mesh* world. Ceremony, interchanges with *Work* so I outline four sets of ceremonies based on the teachings I received from family elders on my mother's side. This piece offers the reader with a point of reference, not a detailed account of *Xay Sts'its'áp'* (Sacred Work).

**Figure 9** *Xay Sts'its'áp'* (Sacred Work)  
Source: *Snítelwet*, Deborah Jacobs, 2015



Our People, the Coast Salish People, were taught to pass on the teachings of our elders through storytelling. We were trained to connect with the energies of the Universe. The Creator told us, this is how you will be as human beings. You will not let the future generations forget where they came from. How they got here. Who made them? How to speak to their bodies? The soul introduces itself to the new body it is going to be in, and then this body introduces the soul to the next

generation. That is why we must never forget what our ancestors tell us: Never forget where you came from. (E. White, 2008)

In the *Skwxwú7mesh* language, three words speak to Spirit. The words are *wa lh'áynexw* (soul), *Kw'elh7áynexw* (spirit), and *s7áynexw* (life). White's (2008) teachings support a cyclical set of relations, in that the soul reminds one's 'self' that we must always know where we come from because everyone has responsibilities. Family elders believe, "*Sacred Work* takes on its own life and reminds us who and where we come from" (Personal communication with *Ta7ah*, 1978). I was greatly influenced by my late *Tá7ah*; she was born with an innate kindness and tenacity to keep the ways of our people in our minds and hearts. *Tá7ah* helped families, as she had been taught by her elders and did *Work* with the *shá7yu* (spirit). This *Work* respects *spirit*, customary tangible and intangible family properties, and protocols; and endeavours not to speak to private or sacred knowledge owned by a family, as part of their birthright.

### **1.1.1. Ceremonies**

Over their lifetime, in contemporary times, a Family may host at least six ceremonies that comprise the cultural institution and economic system of the *Skwxwú7mesh* and Coast Salish First Nations. In the ceremony, cultural artifacts such as the *Sxwáyxwey* ceremonial mask may be used.

#### ***Tl'7áshen* (Celebration)**

The most prestigious ceremony is the *Tl'7áshen* (Celebration). The Family shower the People with their kindness and generosity. Neighbouring tribes attend, so the *Tl'7áshen* was typically held in the summer; but now may happen all year round. The Family may receive returns on goods and finances that they gave to other families hosting similar events.

#### ***Kxwúsem* (A Gathering)**

*Kxwúsem* (A Gathering) is a feast to celebrate and share a meal from a hunt, or from a catch of fish. The People remember the generosity of the Family.

### ***Kw'ayáylhm* (Purification)**

A ceremony known as *Kw'ayáylhm* (Purification) is held whenever the Family wished to uphold their honour because of a shameful occurrence in the family like hurt feelings between families; to 'wash away' the stain of having low status, or from a traumatic event, such as the drowning of a child. The host family gives food and gifts to the guests, which are never to be returned. The event demonstrates that the family knows how to act in a way appropriate to their status.

### ***Mílha7* (Winter Dance), *Naháylhem* (Naming), *Kw'achmixwalh* (Showing of a Picture or Memorial), *Pínewas hèmten txwhik* (Getting Married)**

An important event may take place during a ceremony in the longhouse, which is called *Mílha7* (Indian Winter Dance), or in contemporary times in a hall. The family invites people from the community and from neighbouring tribes to witness the *Work*. These ceremonies are called *Naháylhem* (a Naming), which is a ceremony that verifies kinship ties, roles, and family responsibilities. *Kw'achmixwalh* is a Memorial, where you show the picture of the loved one who has left this World. One pays their respect and remembers the life of the one who has left. A *Pínewas hèmten txwhik* ceremony (Getting Married under the blankets) is a marriage ceremony in which family relationships are set and joined together. An example is a canoe family marriage; the special helpers spread the blankets around the House and down to the water. The couple in the course of the ceremony is *eseṁkwu* (wrapped together) in a blanket symbolically as one.

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

The literature review takes up Indigenous scholars' work on ways of being and language re-generation. "The term Indigenous carries political implications, and is being reclaimed by First Peoples of the world. Indigenous references the global context of First Peoples' epistemologies, ways of knowing, knowledge systems, and lived experiences" (Wilson, 2008, p. 15). The review focuses on Indigenous scholars who metaphorically wear the highest symbolic authority of the *skwemá'yakin* (mixed dog and mountain goat hair blanket). The *skwemá'yakin* blanket is valued by the *Skwxwú7mesh* and Coast Salish people, due to the degree of knowledge and difficulty in obtaining the materials necessary to make this traditional garment.

The literature review has four thematic strands: 1) Setting the Table, 2) Gathering Power, 3) Strength to Finish, 4) From Healing to Transformation. 'Setting the Table' is an important tradition where the host family and their guests share a meal and across the generations transfer knowledge, discuss history, and make history. 'Gathering Power' begins with *Skwxwú7mesh* Indian residential school survivors healing from group historical trauma. 'Strength to Finish' evokes the ancestors and elders beliefs and gives voice to a critical view of *Skwxwú7mesh* origin, history, place, and social change. From 'Healing to Transformation', *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* is recognized as the language of *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* that requires protection. In this *Work*, *Skwxwú7mesh* language re-generation and sustainment of *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge systems may help with the efforts to transform the people and the community.

In the philosophical sense, the literature review is an invitation to engage in *wanáxw's* (respect). The review is a testimonial that shares Indigenous scholars' *Work* and positionalities on language. It is my personal testimonial of spiritual equilibrium and location on language activism, and the investigation for ancient and new knowledge.

*Skwxwú7mesh Swa7ám* (Ancestors), *iy* (and) *Síyuxwa7chet* (Elders) oral sources are referenced. Anthropologists documented some *Skwxwú7mesh* elders' teachings, words, legends, and sentences (Boas, 1886; Hill-Tout, 1978; Barnett, 1938). Aert Kuipers, the notable Dutch linguist, working with Chief Isaac Jacobs, and his wife, Lizzie, and Alec Peters and his wife Mary, wrote the first comprehensive *Skwxwú7mesh* grammar (Kuipers, 1967). He then worked exclusively with Chief Louie Miranda, publishing a second volume consisting of grammar, texts, and dictionary (Kuipers, 1969).

*Skwxwú7mesh* elder speakers worked with consultants from the BC Language project to document the *Skwxwú7mesh* language (Bouchard & Kennedy, 1968). The consultants and Chief Miranda developed the writing system that Squamish Nation Council adopted circa 1980 (Bouchard & Kennedy, 1980). Much of Chief Miranda's life works form the written collections on the *Skwxwú7mesh language*. The *Skwxwú7mesh Stélmexw iy Síyuxwa7chet* (Squamish People and Elders) audio and visual recordings and documents held in the *Skwxwú7mesh* Education Department Digitalized Archival Collections are critical sources that inform this *Work*, such as the *Lifecycle* (Miranda, 1960). An invaluable source of information is the research on *Skwxwú7mesh* lands and resources, the arts, identity legislation, lands, leadership, linguistics, and cultural and language re-generation done by contemporary *Skwxwú7mesh* scholars, Vanessa Campbell, Dr. Peter Jacobs, Damara Jacobs-Morris, Theresa Nahanee, Dr. Rudy Reimer, Kirsten Baker-Williams, Tracy Williams, the late Richard Band, and Chief Joe Mathias. Their research is invaluable to informing this *Work* from a distinctive *Skwxwú7mesh* perspective that honours the ancestors and elders' knowledge.

## **2.1. *Skwxwú7mesh* Sxwexwi7ám (Ancient Stories)**

Oral genres express spiritual beliefs, encode moral and social values, preserve knowledge of history and culture, and provide frameworks for understanding how to live in accordance with ecological environments. Orality is the interrelation between the mind, body, and environment that features animals, the elements in nature as animate beings as "an embodied and emplaced form of knowledge (Van Toorn, 2004, p. 25)

Jo-Ann Archibald has a respect for storytelling. Her research work with my own family elders and her Sto: Lo, people inform my understanding of how important it is to maintain the continuum of storytelling. I respect how she holds the elders in the highest esteem in her heart, soul, and mind. Archibald's (2008) seven storytelling principles of respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity, holism, inter-relatedness and synergy are benchmarks for the *Work* I have undertaken for the *Skwxwú7mesh*. *Skwxwú7mesh* *sxwexwiǵám* (ancient stories) are important because they are the oral form of *Skwxwú7mesh* epistemology.

The *sxwexwiǵám* (ancient stories) chronicle *Xaays* (The Transformers') journeys on *Skwxwú7mesh temíxw* (Squamish land) to make all right in the Universe. *Xaays* holds *Skwxwú7mesh* ontology. The *sxwexwiǵám* (ancient story) connects the reader to *Skwxwú7mesh* origins and land traditions. This is one of many *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* (all the Squamish people's) ancient stories, '*The Flood*', which takes place on *Nch'kaǵ Smant* (dirty place) the most prominent peak in the region.

*Na7 tkwi kwekwíñ*, (In the long ago), when the *Skwxwú7mesh* were first created, they were given three special helpers. These were *Sxw7úmten* (the Indian Doctor), *Kwtsi7ts* (the Ritualist), and *Esyéw* (the Prophet or Seer)... in the early days, the Old People gave the younger ones advice on how to live and behave, how to be humble and kind, and to help anyone who was in trouble or need. They shared and everyone was happy... time passed, the People forgot the old ways. They did not listen to the good advice... One day a Prophet stood up in front of the People and said, "My friends, I have been told to warn you. Your way of life is not right. You do not help one another, as the People did when first created. I am warning you, you must change your ways." The people did not change their ways. (Sxáaltxw-t Siyam-t, Miranda, 1985)

The Squamish tied their canoes at *Nch'kaǵ Smant* (dirty place) during the *Flood* (Matthews, 1955). The glacial waters of the *Ch'iyákmesh* River flowed off the western slopes of *Nch'kaǵ Smant* (dirty place) accounting for the peaks name (Bouchard & Kennedy, 1968, pp. 369-373, Reimer, 2011, p. 82). After '*The Flood*', a young man was exploring the recently exposed land. Thunderbird, a special messenger of the Creator came to help him. The Thunderbird gave him a wife, a fish trap, and a chisel. The young man and his wife were able to find their way in the area and repopulate the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* (Squamish Nation).



The Prophet may be viewed as a metaphor for healing ‘cognitive imperialism’, which is a concept that builds on imperialist knowledge and assumptions that are reflected in the “privileging of Euro-Anglo colonial languages, discourses, knowledge, practices, cultural origins and protocols that creates othering” (Battiste,1986). The function of the Prophet suggests that in order to live a good life *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* must become critical learners and healers in a wounded space.

**Figure 10.** *Nch'kaŷ Smant (dirty place)*  
Source: Deborah Jacobs' (photographer)

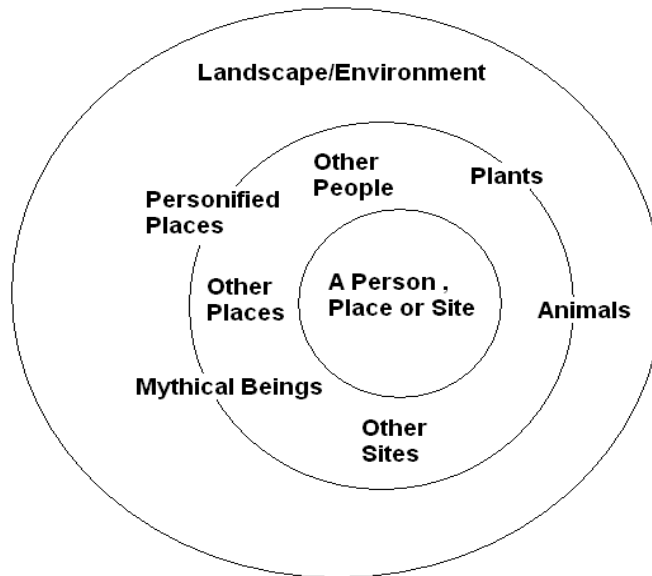


The relationship between the two notions *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) and the origin narrative — *Skwxwú7mesh Flood* — connect the land and inform collective memory to create history. *Skwxwú7mesh* history has anchors to sites located throughout *Skwxwú7mesh* lands. The place names and ancestral names are extraordinarily significant in *Skwxwú7mesh* epistemology. Hall (1990) describes this concept of cultural identity as a connection to the land because “a history that undergoes transformation is subject to continuous play of history, culture, and power” (p. 225). Specific places in *Skwxwú7mesh* lands play roles that are more prominent at different times in history, but all places are vital to understanding the history and cultural values.

*Skwxwú7mesh* scientific and natural world understandings and political and legal ideas form the foundation of social community. The re-claiming and re-naming of Squamish place expands knowledge of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language. In the Coast Salish world, our knowledge is place-based and relational (Bouchard & Kennedy, 1968, Reimer, 2011, Jacobs, P. 2012). Reimer’s (2011) research describes *Skwxwú7mesh* time and place, culture, history, and the paleoenvironments. Three historically significant periods are identified by Reimer: *Syets*, (True story, 3000–6800), *Xaays Xay*, (Age of Transformation, 7000–10000) *Sxwexwiǰám*, (Time of Chaos) (p. 47). *Xaays* (the Transformers) are phenomena that have epistemological roots, which bind *Sxwexwiǰám* to *Syets* (mythical time to true time).

Since *Sxwexwiǰám*, *Skwxwú7mesh* lands and waters have been occupied or used exclusively by the *Skwxwú7mesh*. The *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* oral tradition explains place and their relationship to land in the universe, which the ancestors guarded the rights and privileges for the future generations. By remembering the past through direct experience, oral history, and archaeology, we may revisit our history in a cyclical sense; these acts of remembrance are the ways we come to observe and know things. Unlike a Western scientific worldview, which teaches the past through written sources, our history is the *temíxw* — the landscape (Reimer, 2011, p. 22). I agree with the postulation that Reimer (2011) makes that we do not separate culture from nature but that we are from the land and we are from each other, as he exemplifies in Figure 11.

**Figure 11. *Skwxwú7mesh* Worldview**  
 Source: Reimer, 2011 — used with permission



Squamish Nation Chief and Council (1993) passed the Squamish Nation Assertion of Aboriginal Title. It illustrates the links of past with present, and family ties to the land.

The Squamish Nation has existed and prospered within our traditional territory since time immemorial. We are the Coast Salish people. Our language is the Squamish language. Our society is, and always has been, organized and sophisticated with complex laws and rules governing all forms of social relations, economic rights and relations with other First Nations. We have never ceded or surrendered title to our lands, rights to our resources or the power to make decisions within our territory.

Our traditional territory is located in the Lower Mainland region of British Columbia. Prior to and following the arrival of the Europeans in the late 1700's, the lands and waters we used and occupied either exclusively, or jointly with our First Nation neighbours, were as follows: from Point Grey on the South to Robert's Creek on the west. Then north along the height of land to the Elaho River waterways including all the islands in Howe Sound and the entire Squamish Valley and Howe Sound drainages. Then southeast to the confluence of the Soo, and Green Rivers north from Whistler; then south along the height of land to the Port Moody area including the entire Mamquam River and Indian Arm drainages; and then west along the height of land to Point Grey.

Our historical links to these lands and waters are numerous. *Skwxwú7mesh* place names exist throughout the territory. In many instances, a location has particular meaning to the people because oral traditions exist to describe that place in the *Skwxwú7mesh* universe and in our relationship to the land. In addition, the land bears witness to the settlements, resource sites, and spiritual and ritual places of our ancestors, including villages, hunting camps, cedar bark gathering areas, rock quarries, and clam processing camps, pictographs, and cemeteries. Some of these village sites date back 3000 years ([www.squamish.net](http://www.squamish.net)).

Battiste (2002) found that the base for Indigenous knowledge comes from the land. This finding resonates within *Skwxwú7mesh* ancestral names as they come from the land, and the history comes from the land. *Naxaxalhts'í* (Sonny McHalsie) a *Sto:lo* elder states,

I was talking earlier about our connection to the world, for example, about the root of words like words *Téméxw* and *Xwélméxw* and how they're connected to the earth. How it's important that the trees in which our ancestors were buried had branches that were connected to the ground. There's a sense that I have that when we're buried we go back to the earth. (Cited from Miller, 2007, p. 110)

It is the same for the *Skwxwú7mesh*, we know who we are, and we come from the *Xay Temíxw* (Sacred Land).

Indigenous people's epistemology is derived from the immediate ecology; peoples experiences, perceptions, thoughts, and memory, including experiences shared with others; and from the spiritual world discovered in dreams, visions, inspirations, and signs interpreted with the guidance of healers or elders (Battiste, 2002). Indigenous scholars argue that discourses on First Nations language, identity, and 'self' come from an advantaged rather than a disadvantaged position (Atleo, 2004). First Nations language literature attributes the loss of language to Indian residential schools and colonization; and, while this is the basis, First Nations are endeavouring to "stem the tides of language loss" (First Nations Education Steering Committee, 2015).

The use of 'self' is not an over-indulgence or personifying everything, as opposed to unpacking how knowledge about 'self' is structured and produced. It does imply that knowledge and 'self' has in some way been influenced from within existing social contexts, structures and environments over time and should not be overlooked. (Whitinui, 2013)

Like Whitiui, Kovach supports the use of first person voice to “honour the experiential while engaging the theoretical” (Kovach, 2009, p. 22). Jardey’s (2009) study on Coast Salish traditional childcare values shows support for the principle of referencing ‘self’ knowledge, as exemplified by White, “Never forget who told you, never forget to mention who told you, never forget to mention who told them” (White & Archibald, 1992, p. 40). This is compatible with a knowledge system that tells one’s ‘self’ that I interpret the world from the place of lived experience. Their philosophical praxis complements the belief that Indigenous people privilege their beliefs and traditions take up theoretical frameworks using the medium of the storytelling. Our relations with the elders’ and ancestors are formal, linking Indigenous scholarship and ways of being.

This *Work* is in part, a ‘claiming project’ described by Maori scholar Tuhiwai as “the acts of reclaiming, reformulating and reconstituting Indigenous cultures and language [requiring] the mounting of an ambitious research programme, one that is strategic in its purpose and activities” (L. T. Smith, 1999, pp. 142–143). This *Work* is also an emancipatory project with two intentions, the first to construct and reveal the moral and theoretical inadequacies of colonialism, and secondly, to define culturalism as a theory that holds culture as its central foundation (Battiste, 2005).

## 2.2. *Skwxwú7mesh* Place in the Universe

Respect is a concept that binds the community together. It is also a collective value. *Wanáxw̓s* translates best as ‘to show respect’. This respect is shown to each other as human beings, to the land and to oneself. It is a way of speaking that is inherent in the language. (Baker-Williams, 2006)

The fundamental concepts that cultivate human agency with the *Work* are the rigour of Ceremony and *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge that holds the power for the co-participants to transform one’s ‘self’.

The Coast Salish people have suffered a loss of intrinsic ties to each other and consequently the Moral Universe because of displacement, depopulation, and colonial domination. The Coast Salish Moral Universe is manifest in personal packets of cultural knowledge because Coast Salish individuals bring a wealth of insider knowledge on interactions

within the Moral Universe, which they preserve in cultural knowledge repositories inaccessible to others. (Siddiqui, 2012)

“... [T]he late, Chief Miranda, [in the *Skwxwú7mesh* language], wrote pages of stories, legends, documented ancestral names, and history, as well as pedagogical material” (Moseley, 2007, p. 83). In the *Skwxwú7mesh* worldview, ancestral names, place names, and location have a sacred meaning, to explain *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* (all Squamish peoples’) place in the universe.

*Skwxwú7mesh* philosophy is a set of principles core to ways of being that are manifest in *Skwxwú7mesh* practices. *Skwxwú7mesh* philosophy reflects the holistic connection the People have within their relationship to the world, both physical and spiritual. Each entity holds the same position as the other. *Skwxwú7mesh* philosophy is *Nch’ú7mut* (one united) supported by a framework of *wanáxw̓s* (respect), *smenálhwit* (dignity), *áyatway* (kindness), and *chénchenstwaywít* (support for one another), which I take up more in-depth in Chapter 3.

Acquisition of knowledge was oral before the written language. Margaret Kovach (2005) quotes Oglala Lakota activist, Russell Means, “I detest writing. The process itself epitomizes the European concept of ‘legitimate’ thinking; what is written has an importance that has denied the importance of the spoken... and the relations” (p. 19). I recognize that the Indigenous leaders are underscoring the importance of oral history and our relationship with the land. On a cautionary note, I am also mindful of the risk of losing meaning in my transcription of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language spoken in the co-participant’s narratives.

### **2.2.1. *Skwxwú7mesh* Identity and Ones ‘Self’**

According to Whitinui, “who you are” denotes your social identity and your cultural location; and “where you come from”, indicates your place identity (Whitinui, 2013). Reflected in my positionalities are *kwshámin snas* (ancestral names). The ancestral names hold maternal and paternal prerogatives, tangible and intangible properties, and bind identity to *Skwxwú7mesh* and *Snuneymuxw* place in the Universe. This is reflective in Dorothy Kennedy’s (2000, 2007) research on the construction of

kinship ties in the Coast Salish network. Her insights are important in that a *Skwxwú7mesh* person needs a combination of an ancestral name, residence in a home community, and an investment of labour to play a part in the broad Coast Salish social sphere.

Historically the *Skwxwú7mesh* people were an egalitarian society; however, I acknowledge the fluidity of *Skwxwú7mesh* identity and the changes that have occurred over time. *Skwxwú7mesh* socialization is a process by which a person acquires behaviour, values, language, and cultural cues embedded in one's *nexwnínew̓* and *snew̓iyelh* (upbringing and the teachings).

Driskill's (2004) research focuses on erotics as a site of decolonization; the work speaks to healing our sexualities as sovereign First Nations people. This requires one to examine the practice of homophobia, sexism, sexual assault, and transphobia as overt acts of colonization that have and continue to influence personal and national identity. Driskill (2004) takes up the term 'sovereign erotic' in this reconstruction of identity as "metaphors for relationships between Native people and nations and the non-native nations, values, and understandings that occupy and exist within our traditional lands" (p. 62). The collective struggle is to construct an identity from a colonized sexuality, where Indigenous people have internalized the sexual values of the dominant culture.

Brant (1994) supports "the importance of two spirited engagement in a process of healing ...much of the self-hatred we carry around is centuries old. This self-hatred is coiled within itself; we often cannot distinguish the racism from the homophobia from the sexism" (p. 63). Two-spirited is not a pan-Native term synonymous with 'gay' or 'lesbian' but is more about gender identity and gender expression that does not splinter off sexuality from race, or gender from culture. The term was created specifically to hold, not diminish, or erase, complexities (Driskill, 2004). Two-spirited people are creating literature that reflects *Sovereign Erotic* and take part in the decolonization process to heal "the wounded bodies of ourselves, our lands, and our planets" (p. 61). It is important to be inclusive in looking at our *Skwxwú7mesh* identity and all narratives.

Miranda (1960) sequentially orders this in a three-stage process from birth to teenage years (puberty), adulthood, and departure from this World. He later calls this the “Life Cycle of the Squamish People” (Miranda, 1960).

The life of a Squamish Indian boy from birth to teenager and into manhood, and until he departs from this world...we are... taught by our Mothers, Fathers, Grandparents, and our older Relations. We are given the same advice both girls and boys. (*Síyám Sxáaltxw-t*, Miranda, 1960)

In Ryan’s (1973) research work on “Squamish socialization”, she also details three stages of socialization for Squamish: stage one begins at birth, the second stage begins when a child enters school, and lastly, dependant on the completion of stages 1 & 2, the third stage begins in late childhood or early adulthood.

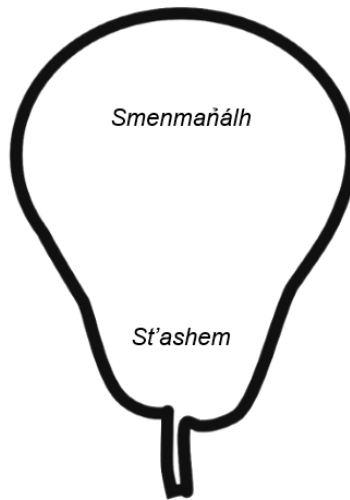
This piece provides a cursory description of the function of class in the maintenance of the status of *Smenmañálh* (high-class person, respected one) and *St’ashem* (not worthy, low-class person). The *Skwxwú7mesh Nch’áyuwam* (of one *Skwxwú7mesh* head) has roots in all sides of one’s *Xéñxen* (recount of one’s descent) from both mother and father. The *Skwxwú7mesh Nch’áyuwam* is a “class based system that resembles an inverted pear with two descent group” (Suttles, 1987, p. 6). The *Smenmañálh* grouping takes up the largest part of the pear and the *St’ashem* the smaller part of the pear.

Thom’s work supports this premise. A *Smañálh* (high-class person, respected one) is one who knows their history, has the ability to trace ownership rights, affinal access privileges to productive resource sites, and holds “customary rights to intangible property such as private knowledge, ritual and ceremonial property, and house property such as songs” (Thom, 2005, p. 85). Conversely, a *St’ashem* (not worthy, low-class) person is one who has lost or forgotten their history. This is an important distinction because it emphasizes the historical process of change within the Nation. While the *Skwxwú7mesh* social structure is unlike the hierarchical pyramid of the European upper classes, Mathews (1955) employed classifications such as “nobility”, “commoners”, or “slaves” in his archival work. There is mobility for those that are *Smenmañálh* (high-class, well-respected people) by marriage, for example a *smañálh* (high-class, well-respected person) is born into *Sxwáyxwey*, it is a women’s spiritual inheritance. The



lineage in *Sxwáyxwey* descends from the transformed First people through both female and male lines of the *Sxwáyxwey* family. Not all *Smenmañálh* are born into the *Sxwáyxwey* society. Men who are not born into *Sxwáyxwey* may dance on behalf of their wives, and a woman that has children with her *Sxwáyxwey* mate may be involved, as long as her affinal relatives are alive.

**Figure 12.** *Skwxwú7mesh Nch'áyuwam (Families descending from one head)*  
 Source: Adapted from Suttles, 1966.



*Sxwáyxwey* is used for five cleansing and blessing ceremonies: *Naháylhem* (Naming), *Kw'achmixwalh* (Showing of a Picture), *Pínewas hémten txwhík* (Marriage under the blanket), *Tsetsíxw* (Blessing of a young girl reaching puberty), and *Skemsíñ* (a Funeral). The late leader *Tch'umun-t Síyám* (Chief Joe Mathias) said, "In our world those who belong to the *Sxwáyxwey*, (Sacred Mask) walk the closest with the *Xexe7énaḱ* (Creator)" (personal conversation with *Seamia*, Ruth Nahanee, September 2016). The specific teachings also known as proprietary knowledge belong to the 'secret' *Sxwáyxwey* Society families. *Sxw7úmten* (Indian Doctor), *Kwtsi7ts* (Ritualist), and *Esyú7* (Prophets) hold a special status and likewise have proprietary knowledge that respect the spirituality of the ceremonies and their responsibilities.

Within the class of *Smenmañálh* (high-class, well-respected people), there are stratified individuals who have limited range of access to customary rights and intangible property, such as *Hahá7lh stélmexw* (good people). Baker-Williams (2006) evidence in

her research work confirms that a *smañálh* person is both high-class and well respected. Ryan (1973) found:

In a specific usage, good [people] implies that the individual meets the criteria attached to the role he or she is playing. ... A good Squamish woman is one who respects the elderly, meets kin obligations ... It also implies certain personal characteristics such as generosity and kindness, honesty and hard work. ... A good Squamish man met similar criteria placed upon male behaviour. (p. 35)

A *Smenmañálh* (high-class, well-respected) family who belonged to *Sxwáyxwey* (Sacred Mask Society) adopted Ryan and her daughters. Their status in the community changed to *hahá7lh stélmexw* (good people) because they were not born to *Sxwáyxwey*. The other class of people called *St'ashem* (not worthy, low class) are stratified, a person who has lost or forgotten their history, or in the long ago was an enslaved person. Given the focus of the research, I will not discuss the classifications in further detail.

In contemporary times, the discourses of power continue to legitimate Canadian society's expropriation of First Nations lands and resources. Canadian society sought to destroy First Nations identity, language, and knowledge by killing the Indian in the child in Indian residential schools (Battiste, 2007, St. Denis, 2007). The categories of citizenship in the *Indian Act*, such as Section 12(1) (b) of the *Indian Act* have material, cultural, and psychological effects on First Nations women. Identity legislation in Canada is extensive and unconscionable.

The women, on marriage, [to a non-Indian] must leave her parent's home on the reserve. She may not own property on the reserve and must dispose of any property she does hold. She may be prevented from inheriting property left to her. She cannot take any further part in band business. Her children are not recognized as Indian, and therefore denied access to cultural and social amenities of the Indian community. And most punitive of all, she may be prevented from returning to live with her family on the reserve, even if she is in dire need, very ill, a widow, divorced or separated. Finally, her body may not be buried on the reserve with her [ancestors]. (Jamieson, 1978)

The identity legislation referred to in the previous quote, targeted the removal of First Nations women, and their children's identity (*Indian Act, 1876*, Jamieson, 1978, Lawrence, 2004). The *Indian Act 1876* membership provisions and subsequent

amendments shape Canadian law of who belongs and who does not belong to a First Nation. The *Indian Act of 1876* created a mythology of White settler innocence to hide inequalities and oppress Indian people (Mackey, 2002, p. 26). The *Indian Act of 1876* also created a hierarchical society with male gender power that prioritized men's identity. Indigenous identity became an ascribed construction, a product of the historical and social relations of 'cognitive imperialism', patriarchy, and white supremacy (Battiste, 1998, Ng, 1993). Indigenous identity is political, resultant from understanding the contemporary and historical collective experience.

In both Canada and United States, bodies of law defining and controlling *Indianness* have distorted and disrupted older Indigenous ways of identifying the 'self' in relation not only to collective identity but also to the land (Lawrence, 2010). Indigenous Nations' identities undergo constant reconstruction as a Canadian product of imposed historical and social relations of cognitive imperialism, patriarchy, identity politics, and privilege (Battiste, 2000, Lawrence, 2010). Indigenous people identify themselves in relation to their Ancestors, and to their connection with the land (Battiste, 2000, L.T. Smith, 1999, Thom, 2005). Indigenous identity influences the re-generation of language from both a personal location of resistance, and collective site of Indigenous healing.

Today, *S̓kw̓x̓wú7mesh* identity is a construction due to the effects of historical and social relations with the colonizers. It is cognitive imperialism, a form of manipulation used by the colonizers to reject other knowledge systems and values in support of their own. First Nations' identity is marginalized and violated in society, while a mainstream Canada identity is favored, normalized, and privileged (St. Denis, 2007).

The processes of ideology and practices of racialization legitimize mainstream social institutions, such as public education whereby a student must learn in English or French. In contrast, provincial policy allots *S̓kw̓x̓wú7mesh* language 40–80 minutes of class time per week. Ng (1995) asserts,

That while classroom process is important, it is equally important for the critical teacher to assume the responsibility of directing students to examine how students of inequality have emerged and developed history and to point out the ways in which different forms of inequality and routine have become part of our collective consciousness. (p. 150)

Critical literacy is an essential component, as it applies to the physical and mental expression of *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* culture. Critical literacies explore the issues of power and promote transformative change for the *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh*. There are internal challenges and tensions, which deter the community from fully taking up critical discourses on identity. An assumption is that *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh-ulh* language and culture allows one to explore and challenge the power relationships by examining the elements of historical, political, and social contexts that are involved.

St. Denis (2007) speaks to the slippery slope of cultural revitalization as the means to address the effects of colonization. As Ng (1995) notes, we need to confront our own contradictions and build collaborations with others to take up the inequities, which have been denied by the process of the Indian residential school system. Canada has denied *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh-ulh* (all the Squamish people) their language and cultural integrity by outlawing the practices and maintaining the legitimacy of one language, one culture, and one frame of reference. The privileged in Canada define this as inclusive, ideal, and normative. Therefore, it is essential that *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* re-generate culture with the language because the two are inextricably interwoven.

Holland et al. (1998) use the term 'positional identity' to locate the way in which people comprehend and enact their positions in the worlds in which they live (p. 127–128). Identity legislation placed constraints upon *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* people, which adversely affected their positional identity and their ability to speak their language and practice the culture. The meaning of our 'self' and the site is in the interrelationship of how the *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* co-participants tell their stories in their voice. This builds on the theory that identities develop in and through social practice; *Skw̓x̓wú7mesh* in a pro-active manner must address Indian residential school effects on families and the subsequent alienation of individuals by Identity legislation policies in order to reconstruct the Nation and institutions.

### **2.3. Setting the Table**

I remember my husband's grandfather. In the summertime we used to go and stay there [in his longhouse at *St'á7mes*] ... He was talking all about

*xwnixw'*, the upbringing, how you must live, what you must do, how you must treat your wife, how you must treat your husband, all of those things, how you must treat your friends, always show them respect,. . . . You have to show respect, all your life. And people, the people are watching how you are, and then they respect you for all the good things you do. (Baker-Williams, 2006, p. 77)

My late paternal grandmother's first language was *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim*. Her use of *xwnixw'* speaks to the process of receiving the 'good upbringing' from Dad's great-grandpa, *Kátmeltexw-t Siyám* (Chief Squamish Jacob). The conversations would have been in the *Skwxwú7mesh* language given it was their first language.

When I go visit my grandmother, whenever I happen to see her, I'll speak Squamish. It's kind of like meeting someone, getting to know them again, like my grandmother, who I've known all my life, but speaking Squamish to her is like getting to know a side of her that just doesn't come out the same way as English, eh. (Peter Jacobs in Baker-Williams, 2006, p. 93)

Our language is complex and unique as illustrated in Peter Jacobs's, reflection of his relationship with our grandmother in his earlier quote. The literature reveals that the collective healing of the community is essential to language re-generation and to the act of rebuilding First Nations institutions using our ways of being and knowing (Lawrence, 2004, Brave Heart, 2008).

Language is our unique relationship to the Creator, our values, attitudes, beliefs, and fundamental notions of what is truth. Our Languages are the cornerstone of who we are as a People. Without our Languages, our cultures cannot survive. (Assembly of First Nations Language Secretariat, 1990)

Alfred (1999), calls for "the Indigenous peoples of North America to move beyond their 500-year history of pain, loss, and colonization, and move forward to the reality of self-determination" (p. 1). While self-determination is integral to First Nations survival, the community must address the results of 'historical trauma' such as lateral violence. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart led the way in the study of intergenerational trauma and the effects. She defines 'historical trauma' as "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations, including the life span, which emanates from massive group trauma [such as Indian residential schools]" (Brave Heart, 2008). I address the concept of group trauma more in-depth in section 2.4.

### 2.3.1. Colonial Policy

Canada's history of colonization and oppression of Indigenous languages played and continues to play a pivotal role in the decline of *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* (Squamish language). Citizenship is a major site of struggle for Indigenous people. One of the first colonial policies that encoded the relationship between First Nations and Great Britain was the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*. The second set of policies was the *Indian Act* of which there were five that dealt with lands and endeavoured on the part of the Canadian settler society, to civilize and enfranchise Indians, to manage their lands (Jacobs, 2010).

The *Indian Act* policies emerged from a specific social and political context. In the 1700's, the discovery of people in the lands now referred to as the Americas was problematic to the Europeans and necessitated an explanation which was found in a functional interpretation for European Christians as 'monogenetic' defined as "stemming from monogenesis, the origin of diverse kinds of people by descent from a single individual or kind" (www.Merriam-Webster.com). With this interpretation, the colonizers accorded human status to Indians, as exemplified in the writings of Xavier de Charlevoix, a French Jesuit enlightenment scholar who believed that, "Indians were human, and therefore potentially as rational and moral as Europeans; they could be improved through education" (Trigger, 1986, p. 316–317). The *Indian Act of 1876* created a hierarchy within First Nations society, which prioritized First Nations men's identity, over First Nations women.

Federal Indian policy such as the *Indian Act* created the conditions for disrupting *Skwxwú7mesh* identity and language (D. Jacobs, 2010). I address identity legislation more in-depth in Chapter 2.4.

Mathias and Yabsley (1991) found, "Early federal and provincial legislation, examined as a whole, exhibits a clear pattern founded on a conscious intent to eliminate Indians and "Indianness" from Canadian society" (p. 35). The *Beaudoin & Dobbie 1992 Federal government report on Canadian identity* refers to two constitutional documents, "the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* and the *Quebec Act of 1774* [as] cornerstones of early Canadian life" (Mackey, 2002, p. 23). The *Royal Proclamation of 1763* and the *Quebec Act of 1774* helped to stabilize the British Crown's relations between the First Nations

and with the French colony to preserve the colonial project, a socially transformative endeavour that is localized, politicized, and partial (Mackey, 2002).

The *Royal Proclamation of 1763* recognizes First Nations as the original occupants of the land, with an inherent right to autonomy and self-government (Cardinal, 1991, Mathias & Yabsley, 1991). The *Quebec Act of 1774* established the legal provision for the French colony to become “a distinct society with institutions, laws, and culture, and created the policy approach to manage the cultural differences” (Mackey, 2002, p. 27). The two pieces of legislation recognize binary constructs of English and French; paradoxically, they also establish English as the dominant language and culture, in Canadian society, with the French language germane only to Quebec.

St. Denis (2007) theorizes that historical practices of racialization introduced the capitalist economy, Christianity, and European patriarchal society norms. However, Battiste & Youngblood Henderson (2000) find the *Canadian Constitution Act, 1982, section 35*, defines Aboriginal people as Indian, Métis, or Inuit and recognizes Aboriginal treaty rights. Section 35, guarantees First Nations the inherent right to language. *Skwxwú7mesh* people have always maintained that their culture, language, customs, and knowledge are an inherent right.

*Skwxwú7mesh* people must unlearn what the colonizers have taught them about ‘self’ and find their personal history (Freire, 2000, p. 126). Personal history engages and draws from the diversity of silenced voices to create innovations of education theory from discourses of difference (Boler, 2003). These exchanges of ideas negotiate a healing, as *Skwxwú7mesh* people process their responses to a history laden with the effects of colonization, such as language loss. Speakers and non-speakers of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language must collaborate to reconstruct the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* (Squamish Nation). There are answers to be found within our differences; because *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* (Squamish People) have a profound connection to the land they love, learn from, and have lived on since time immemorial.

### 2.3.2. Changes in Community

From the early 1830s to 1996, the dominant culture forced many First Nation children to attend residential schools in an attempt to assimilate them into their culture. Those children suffered abuses of the mind, body, emotions, and spirit. ([www.legacyofhope.ca/downloads/100-years-of-loss-booklet.pdf](http://www.legacyofhope.ca/downloads/100-years-of-loss-booklet.pdf))

The values that sustained *Skwxwú7mesh* children within their birth families have existed for thousands of years before the genesis of Indian residential schools, and the British Columbia government's Aboriginal Child-Welfare system. In the 1800's, the *Skwxwú7mesh* population went from 10,000 people to 200 families (Hill-Tout, 1978). This decline in *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* speakers reduced the wealth of knowledge about the spiritual and physical realms encoded in the language. The loss of elders, relatives, and the children is attributed to the colonizers' diseases, like influenza, which touched all *Skwxwú7mesh* Families (Hill-Tout, 1970).

"The church institutional practice of the Indian residential school experience was to educate Aboriginal people by removing the core of their identity [through] shaming and severe punishment for speaking their languages" (St Denis, 2007, p. 1072). The church removed *Skwxwú7mesh* children from their homes exacerbating the loss of *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim*. In addition, the state outlawed ceremonial practices such as *Sxwáyxwey* (Ceremonial Mask) and *Siwín* (Spiritual power) dancing from 1885–1951.

The arrival of white settlement and industry to the *Skwxwú7mesh* traditional territories had an influence on the *Skwxwú7mesh* economy. From 1860, the *Skwxwú7mesh* moved from a subsistence economy in a rich environment to a labour paid economy; however, they were severely restricted in their participation. By 1940, the *Skwxwú7mesh* were wealthy in comparison with other Canadian First Nations, with their own source revenues from leased lands and resources, but their economy was unstable (Roine, 1996). Federal and provincial restrictions on land and the removal of children from their homes were malicious actions by the church, state to extinguish *Skwxwú7mesh* identity and connection to collectively held traditional lands, and attribute to the unstable economy.



### 2.3.3. *Na li7tem ta sníchim* (Our Language was Put Away)

The extinction of each language results in the irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge. Each language is a unique expression of the human experience of the world. Thus, the knowledge of any single language may be the key to answering fundamental questions of the future. Every time a language dies, we have less evidence for understanding patterns in the structure and function of human language, human prehistory, and the maintenance of the world's diverse ecosystems. (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2003)

My father is reticent to talk about his Indian residential school experiences. I understand his silence as an expression of power-less-ness and an illustration of how the Indian residential school authorities shut down his dialogic processes. Simply, Squamish children lived away from home and could not speak their language; they did not know how to parent because they did not see parenting modeled. The late Chief, my *Sáta7* (Aunt), imparted that she grew up with her children (personal communication with Chief Lois Guss, 1989). Nonetheless, both siblings possess great love for their people and family.

Displacing a community's language and vernacular is equivalent to displacing its deepest systems of beliefs. Our sense of self, personality, ways of thinking, group identity, religious beliefs, and cultural rituals are tied to language. These qualities are difficult to assimilate away by the dominant society. (Crawford, 1996)

*Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* ceased to be the language of the home and the language for imparting teachings for most families (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2008). St. Denis (2007) characterizes this act as the 'slaying of First Nations languages', a vital consideration in understanding the language shifts in First Nations language re-generation *Work* and immersion education. Lee & Lutz (2005) explain that "historians point out that we do not start each new era with a clean slate; instead we stand on a bedrock of earlier forms of racial consciousness and practices of racial exclusion and inclusion" (p. 5). The example of dialogue across differences that Lee & Lutz (2005) give is similar to Armstrong, an *Okanagan* scholar's concept of en'owkin,

The holistic parameters of En'owkin demand our responsibility to everything we are connected to — the heart of sustainability. I have most often observed its workings as a governing process, because En'owkin was most visibly engaged during decision-making in my community. (Armstrong, 1999, p. 2)

The word En'owkin in the Okanagan language elicits the metaphorical image of liquid being absorbed drop by single drop through the head (mind). It refers to coming to understanding through a gentle process of integration (Armstrong, 1999). *En'owkin* means to focus on difference as a positive thing, to solicit difference and recognize its value. *En'owkin* offers that we embrace difference and human diversity as advantageous as bio-diversity; we build coalitions, and collaborate across differences to create a world beyond racism.

## 2.4. Gathering Power

We need to find a way to unpack the suitcase but it is difficult because in the past 500 years our ceremonial ways have been forbidden, our languages forbidden, our status revoked and our family relationship removed and placed in residential school. (Cardinal, 2004)

Across Canada, Indian residential school survivors united in the act of healing, exemplified by their collective participation with the recent Class Action suit on Indian Residential Schools, which culminated in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Many *Skwxwú7mesh* people are Indian residential school survivors healing from “group historical trauma” (Brave Heart, 2011, p. 283).

In the last two decades, *Skwxwú7mesh* people have been engaged in activities to aid healing Indian Residential School trauma effects. The impetus for healing came from individual community members and community groups and not from political leaders. Under the leadership of my former colleague, Gloria Wilson, elders and community members engaged in healing organized to influence others in the community to address Indian residential school issues. Crisis intervention had been the focus of the response to the legacy of Indian residential schools. The Squamish Nation created healing opportunities for the people in the form of counselling and referrals to treatment centers, support circles, and prevention activities such as *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* and

cultural teachings with children and their mothers. The need for long-term healing for individuals must include healing that includes community, politics, and economic disparity, and ensures the recovery of the *Skwxwú7mesh* spiritual and cultural foundation.

*Skwxw7úmesh* people always communicated with one another in a respectful manner in the community. *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* are taking on transformative work; however, the lateral violence — the shaming, withholding and manipulation of information, bullying, blaming, silencing, and gossiping — remains unchecked and has become normalized behaviour. An observation by elder *Kwetsímet* of some *Skwxw7úmesh* people is, “We walk the streets like stray dogs, and fight each other and don’t know that we’re almost brothers and sisters” (*Kwetsímet*, Nahanee, cited from Jacobs-Morris & Seymour, 2014, p. 14). *Kwetsímet* suggests that lateral violence behaviour is problematic in the community, but recognizing this is a positive step toward *Skwxw7úmesh* healing. (Brave Heart, 2008) found the solution to lateral violence must come from the community. My assumption is that *Skwxw7úmesh* knowledge continues to sustain our community through ways of being and our stories.

*Wa chexw wanaxwsténam’ut* (self-respect)... begins with taking care of yourself — that ability to do the best you can gives you the best chance to learn which gives you the experience and knowledge you need to make good choices for yourself and those around you. This does not mean you cannot make mistakes — making mistakes is a strong way of learning and knowing how to make choices.

With self-respect comes the knowledge of awareness of how to treat all others with respect. You are treated by others according to the way in which you behave to them. One of the teachings of the Elders was that when you watch and listen, take with you into your heart and mind only those things that you need. If you see and hear anger, jealousy and other hurtful ways leave that out of your heart but keep it in mind as a warning to be careful of yourself and others. (Campbell, 1997, p. 11)

The concepts conveyed by Campbell apply to *Skwxwú7mesh* healing. The movement has shifted from crisis-to-crisis response mode, to dealing with the root cause of historical trauma. This may assist *Skwxwú7mesh* people to address determinants of well-being such as income, social support, and the capacity of the people to participate meaningfully in shaping the future of their community. The Canadian Federal *Indian Act*

Identity legislation policies and Indian residential school have alienated *Skwxwú7mesh* people from their family and disconnected them from the land.

Researchers like St. Denis (2007) suggest that race is socially constructed and culturally represented. For example, Omi and Winant's (1993) racial formation theory links racial formation to the evolution of hegemony "the sociohistorical process, by which racial categories are created, destroyed, inhabited, and transformed" (p. 55). Confronting hegemony helps us in gaining an understanding propagated in neo-colonial policy that reproduced Indian residential school, lateral violence, and Identity legislation. The *Skwxwú7mesh* have been engaged in the last forty-years of 'unpacking the suitcase' (Cardinal, 2004).

#### **2.4.1. The Path**

The *sxwexwiyám̓* (ancient stories), are a way of teaching and sharing knowledge. We learn from the elders and ancestors the path to follow in honouring our responsibilities and exercising our rights. The sensitive research Baker-Williams (2006) undertook with first Speakers found *nexwniw̓*, *snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings), and *Xaays* (Transformers) construct the axis of *Skwxwú7mesh* worldview.

Stories go in circles. They do not go in straight lines. It helps if you listen in circles because there are stories inside and between stories, and finding your way through them is as easy and as hard as finding your way home. Part of finding is getting lost, and when you are lost, you start to open up and listen. (Tafoya, 1995, cited in Wilson, 2008)

Tafoya believes that, when speaking to others from another culture, it takes longer to describe the context, background, and meaning of a story than it does to tell the story. "...We are in between stories. The old one, the account of how we fit into it, is no longer effective. Yet, we have not learned the new story" (Berry, 1997, p. 4).

The way we think, shapes the language we speak. We think everything first in the ancient *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* (language, words) then translate to English. I asked myself how the ancestors would have thought on this matter, always with kindness be it formal or informal. This shapes the *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* I speak. As well, we think from our Spirit and our heart because our connection with the land is in our 'blood

memory' in past time, real time, and in future time (Weaver, 1997). The way we live shapes *Skwxwú7mesh* thought for example at the *Xwemélch'stn Etsímxw Skwul* (Capilano Littlest Ones School). The teachers' conduct the day using protocol, encouraging respect and love. Many distinguishing features of the children's thinking processes and their way of being are in the school mantra in Section 2.6.2.

Families endeavour to speak *Skwxwú7mesh* at home, in the community, at work, and in school. When the children leave the Nation school they may experience hurt as their non-Squamish teachers tell them in subtle ways they will not succeed if they speak a Squamish-English vernacular. The gift of language they have received from their parents, grandparents, and language teachers is not suitable at public school. It is an overt racist act; however, the language teachers continue to teach the children to think about their *nexwníneŵ* and *sneŵíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings). The student's code of conduct is *Wanáxw's stway, ch'áwatway, ta tkwayá7imen, chéñchenstway*. (We want you to be respectful to one another; we want you to help each other, to encourage each other, and to listen to each other.)

The metaphor of the in-between story reminds one of *Skwxwú7mesh* efforts to protect and sustain culture, civilization, knowledge, language, spirituality, and place.

[I]n every learning process, we metaphorically travel an internal and many times an external landscape. In travelling a pathway, we make stops, encounter, and overcome obstacles, recognize and interpret signs, seek answers, and follow the tracks of those entities that have something to teach us. We create ourselves anew. Path denotes a structure, way implies a process. (Cajete, 1994)

Cajete's term 'pathway' as a metaphor conveys how in the act of travelling, the way becomes the process to make meaning in *Skwxwú7mesh* life, which originates in our formal relationship with the elders and ancestors. The outside world is knocking at our mental and spiritual doorway, which moves us from this center (Cajete, 1994). However, the pathway also takes us back to our center.

The importance of learning and speaking the language differs for each generation of language speakers and language learners, fundamental values to the Squamish language and culture remain the same and are fundamental to the core of Squamish people. (Baker-Williams, 2006)

There are three *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* stages of learning: 1) *Ta7lt* — [you] learn something, study something, 2) *Tá7lnexw* — [you] have found out something, have learnt something, have understood something, and know something, 3) *Tełmíxws* — [you] make something known; or reveal something (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011). I reference the third level of learning, which speaks to the way we think about the sacred, and practice the sacred ways of being in our relations. Formal learning is rooted in our relationships with *Xaays* (the Transformers), and in the *Swa7ám̓* (Ancestors') knowledge.

The importance of historical events to heritage and identity are passed down through story from generation to generation, until cultural coding exists finally beyond conscious remembering, so deeply engrained and psychologically embedded that one can describe it as being “in the blood”. (Weaver, 1997, p. 7)

My father was nine years old when he received his *Kwshámin snas* (Ancestral name) in *T'naxwtn-t Siyám̓*, Chief Isaac Jacobs Shaker church. All who attended the *Naháyilhem* (Naming) Ceremony risked imprisonment, in accordance with Canadian law, which outlawed traditional practices from 1885-1951. His grandfather, *T'naxwtn-t Siyám̓*, was also the Minister, and provided him with *snewíyelh* (the teachings) in the language. Father's elders gave him *nexwínnew* (upbringing) by modeling behaviour and teaching him to 'be the example' for his future family and to the people. This event is historical and important to recall the memory of the family elder's, *T'naxwtn-t* resistance.

The *sxwexwiyám̓* (ancient story) of *Wa Áyasnewas chat ta Skwxwú7mesh iy ta Stekín* [Haida] (The Peace between the *Skwxwú7mesh* and the *Stekín*) illustrates how the *Ch'ich'iyúy* (the Twin Sister)'s upbringing, teachings, and private knowledge helped them to navigate their journey and bring peace to mortal enemies.

*Na7 tkwi kwekwíh*, in the long ago..., the *Skwxwú7mesh* had fierce mortal enemies but none so feared as the *Stekín*. A *Stekín* war party had traveled down the coast to deal a blow to them and steal their young women and children to enslave them, or to take the place of their own loved ones lost to other enemies, or to fatal illness.

There were young twin brothers, sons of a highly respected Chief among the *Stekín* war party. The war party had traveled out far in the open ocean. This was how they came to travel from their northern home in *Haida-Gwaii* to *Skwxwú7mesh* territory. The main war party left the twins

to guard the canoes however; the twins were not patient so they set off to look at the village. They moved off silently and with great care, until they came to a crest where they looked down upon the sleeping village. They moved down to the river and gave pause as two young women came into view. The young men watched, the young women go about their morning rituals before returning to their longhouse.

The twin brothers eyes met and in their unspoken way agreed the two young women would become their partners. You see, twins are very special, they are more sensitive, and intuitive than ordinary people. It was very close to the start of the raid but they had enough time to let the leader know that they had seen two young women, and show him their longhouse. The leader promised the two young women would not be harmed. The leader knew the twin brothers saw their future with the two *Skwxwú7mesh* women.

The *Stekín* took the village by surprise, killing many and taking captives, among them the two young women, who were turned over to the young men. On seeing the young women up close, the twin's were astonished to see that they were also twins!

In the *Stekín* village, the Sisters were treated with great respect. Under the care and protection of the Chief's family, they were married to the Chief's twin sons and so it was. The women carried themselves with dignity and respect for their adopted family and people. They were well known and liked by all. It was only when someone noticed that they [the Sisters] would go off, away from the other women. They cried and were very sad. Their husbands questioned them, to try to see how they could be of help.

The women told them that they were happy in their marriages; all of their husband's people treated them well. It was only that they missed their families and wished that their parents, relatives and the *Skwxwú7mesh* people could know their children. The young men went to their parents and the Chief to the other village leaders. Because of the fine example these twin women had shown it was decided that the *Stekín* would seek peace with the *Skwxwú7mesh*.

A messenger party was sent to the *Skwxwú7mesh* by the *Stekín* Chief, his sons and their wives desired peace. The *Skwxwú7mesh* people accepted. When the women had passed away in their old age, the Transformers changed them into the mountains we see everyday-, the mountains we call the Sisters, and in modern times, others call as the Lions. It is for all *Skwxwú7mesh* to remember the young women's example and the Peace with the *Stekin* that resulted. (Miranda, 1975)

**Figure 13** *Xwexwiǰám tl'a Ch'ich'iyúy* — The Twin Sisters Mountains  
Source: Snítelwet, 2010



Oral traditions are alternative knowledge systems and embody more than historical and cultural knowledge (Brayboy, 2008). The *Skw̓xwú7mesh* theory of being and relations are sustained in the notions of *wanáxw̓s* (respect), *smenálhwiit* (dignity), *áyatway* (kindness), and *chénchenstwaywit* (support for one another). Deloria (1973) believes that Knowers play a central role in First Nation communities; as beings with connections to other beings and with the *Spirits of the Ancestors* (my emphasis) they gain knowledge and understanding by participating in events and observing nature such as birds, animals, rivers and mountains. *Skw̓xwú7mesh* believe in a relationship with all realms of the living and spirit world, which supports and nurtures the *Skw̓xwú7mesh* ethic.



The United Nations at the international level (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2003) references Indigenous traditional knowledge (ITK) as foundational to sustainability of the environment and as an antidote to globalization. Indigenous knowledge is evident in the field of ecology and in other areas of science as elaborated upon by Barnhardt & Kawagley (2005). For example, they connect the empirical with the spiritual in their studies among diverse peoples, and they acknowledge that Indigenous peoples throughout the world have practiced a particular form of science that they have discovered by their own methods, thus enabling them to live sustainable lives.

#### **2.4.2. Public Policy in the Twenty-First Century**

Languages are a gift from the Creator, which carry with them unique and irreplaceable values and spiritual beliefs that allow speakers to relate with their ancestors and to take part in sacred ceremonies. It is our vision that the present generation recover and strengthen the ability to speak these sacred, living languages and pass them on so that the seventh and future generations will be fluent in them. As they belong to the original peoples of this country, First Nations languages must be revitalized, protected, and promoted as a fundamental element of Canadian heritage. (AFN. 2007)

“Aboriginal languages in Canada are among the most endangered in the world” (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2003, p. 23). The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) Chiefs declared a state of emergency on First Nations languages in 1998. As a response, the AFN Secretariat prepared the *National First Nations a Time to Listen and the Time to Act* (2000) which was adopted by the Chiefs-in-Assembly, July 2000. The *Aboriginal Peoples Survey* (1996–2001) reported that the total number of mother tongue speakers had declined from 23% to 9%. This further supports the state of emergency for First Nations language and contravenes the Universal Declaration of Linguist Rights, Article 8.1 that states, “All language communities have the right to organize their own resources so as to ensure the use of their language in all functions within society.”

There are fifty-two Indigenous languages in Canada and three may survive into the 21st century. British Columbia’s extensive linguistic diversity is home to eight of the

eleven Indigenous language families in Canada (Statistics Government of Canada, 2011).

The ability to speak our language helps us to understand who we are in relation to ourselves, our families, our communities and to Creation itself. Our languages connect us to our spirituality and ceremonies, which increase personal self-esteem, familiarize us with our culture, and bring about community healing. Revitalizing our language and culture is a way to healing and to reconnecting with the land. (Assembly of First Nations, 2007a)

In 2002, the Government of Canada made a commitment to Aboriginal languages and culture of \$ 172.5M over 11 years. In 2003, the Minister of Canada Heritage mandated the *Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures* to deliver its final report and recommendations in July 2005. Minister Oda announced that the allocation of \$160.M budget originally intended for First Nations languages was removed from the fiscal framework by the Conservative federal government (AFN Communiqué to First Nations, December 2006). First Nations reconfirmed and focused the National Strategy to the Government of Canada to honor and re-instate their original commitment.

Seventeen years after the Assembly of First Nations called for a state of emergency on language, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada delivered, on June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2015, their final report, and recommendations to all Canadians. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada called for significant resources to support First Nation survivors of Indian residential schools to recover from generations of horrific physical, sexual, emotional abuse at the hands of church and government workers, damaging virtually every Indigenous family in Canada. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada declared a Call to Action in order to address the legacy of residential school and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation. The Call to Action has twenty sections, with 94 recommendations. This thesis focuses on the Language and culture sections:

10. We call upon the federal government to draft new Aboriginal education legislation with the full participation and informed consent of Aboriginal peoples. The new legislation would include a commitment to sufficient funding and would incorporate the following principals:

- i. Providing sufficient funding to close identified educational achievement gaps within one generation.

- ii. Improving education attainment levels and success rates.
- iii. Developing culturally appropriate curricula.
- iv. Protecting the right to Aboriginal languages, including the teaching of Aboriginal languages as credit courses.
- v. Enabling parental and community accountability, responsibility, and control, similar to what parents enjoy in public school systems.
- vi. Enabling parents to fully participate in the education of their children.
- vii. Respecting and honouring Treaty relationships.

11. We call upon the federal government to provide adequate funding to end the backlog of First Nations students seeking a post-secondary education

12. We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to develop culturally appropriate early childhood education programs for Aboriginal families.

13. We call upon the federal government to acknowledge that Aboriginal rights include Aboriginal language rights.

14. We call upon the government to enact an Aboriginal Languages Act that incorporates the following principles:

- i. Aboriginal languages are a fundamental and valued element of Canadian culture and society, and there is an urgency to preserve them.
- ii. ii. Aboriginal language rights are reinforced by the Treaties.
- iii. iii. The federal government has a responsibility to provide sufficient funds for Aboriginal-language revitalization and preservation.
- iv. iv. The preservation, revitalization, and strengthening of Aboriginal languages and cultures are best managed by Aboriginal people and communities.
- v. v. Funding for Aboriginal language, initiatives must reflect the diversity of Aboriginal languages.

15. We call upon the federal government to appoint, in consultation with Aboriginal groups, an Aboriginal Languages Commissioner. The commissioner should help promote Aboriginal languages and report on the adequacy of federal funding of Aboriginal-languages initiatives.

16. We call upon post-secondary institutions to create university and college degree and diploma programs in Aboriginal languages.

17. We call upon all levels of government to enable residential school Survivors and their families to reclaim names changed by the residential school system by waiving administrative costs for a period of five years for the name-change process and the revision of official identity documents, such as birth certificates, passports, driver's licenses, health cards, status cards, and social insurance numbers

If the preservation of Aboriginal language and culture does not become a priority for governments and for Aboriginal communities, then what residential schools failed to accomplish will come about through a process of systemic neglect (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 202).

## **2.5. Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim Revitalization**

In the last 100 years, the Skwxwú7mesh People have worked to hold back language loss. Reimer, Skwxwú7mesh archeologist said,

The oldest site in Squamish territory, located in Howe Sound, is at least 9,000 years old. There were [arrowheads] and cutting tools on the site, as well as scrapers and a wide range of mammal and fish bones. We have archaeological evidence of [similar sites] throughout the territory. It shows continuous occupation. (Vi'nkin Lee, 2012)

The 200 years since settlement is a fraction of the 9,000-year history of the Skwxwú7mesh people. Within this window of time, the devastation of the ancient Skwxwú7mesh language and culture has been brutal.

The Squamish language classes began as an adult evening class mid-1960 at Stá7mes with Siyaxwáltn- t Siyárh, late Elder, Dominic Charlie. A few years later the late Sxaaltxw- t Siyárh, Chief Louis Miranda offered classes at what is now Eslha7áñ Learning Centre. The language efforts have historic anchors in the community. In 1975, the Squamish Nation membership endorsed the Squamish language vision and called for the instruction of Squamish language in the school and community-learning environments; a motion put forward by Tl'álsəmkiñ Siyárh, Chief Bill Williams. Largely

*Skwxwú7mesh* revitalization efforts were funded through own source revenue because there were very limited government funds set aside for Indigenous languages.

The Language Team and School District specialists in a collaborative endeavour (Squamish Nation Education Department & School District 44, 1985) developed A Curriculum for Squamish as a Second Language with scope and sequence. Additionally in 1986, the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7èyxnitm ta Snewiyelh* (Squamish Nation Department of Education) developed the strategies and operating guidelines for all Nation Education and Language frameworks with broad community consultation and input. In these sets of documents, there are four principals for Squamish Nation Education: 1) Squamish Nation Education is an inherent Aboriginal right, 2) Squamish Nation Education is life-long and holistic, 3) Squamish Nation Education belongs to the People, and 4) Squamish Nation Education is central to our growth as a prosperous, healthy, and self-governing Nation. At the core of all the frameworks was the documentation, and re-generation of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language.

Building on the foundational work of Louie Miranda, the Language Team worked with longhouse speakers, workers, cultural practitioners, the canoe club, lacrosse team, youth, specialists, and other cultural institutions external to our Nation, from 1986 to the present. The Department's student populations and mandate has grown over the past twenty-years to encompass the needs of membership, however, the human and financial resources have not matched the growth. The *Ta Na Wa Nexwníwen ta a Ímats* (Teachings for your Grandchildren) was formed as a Consultation group for the Squamish Language program, under the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7èyxnitm ta Snewiyelh* (Squamish Nation Department of Education). This Group of *Skwxwú7mesh* language speakers became the Official language authority for the Nation.

In 1992, the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7èyxnitm ta Snewiyelh* (Squamish Nation Department of Education) undertook a review of the *Skwxwú7mesh* Language Program curriculum. The Report is entitled, the *Squamish Language Legacy* (Squamish Nation Education Department, Campbell & P. Jacobs, 1992). There were five main recommendations: 1) continue to work with the Elders' group to develop instructional materials; 2) to develop teachers' guides to help the teachers use the available

materials; 3) to inform the parents, more regularly of the content and purpose of their children's language classes; 4) community consultation; and, 5) evaluation measures for the students' progress. Research was undertaken and guides and pedagogical resources were developed.

In 2002, the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7èyxnitm ta Snewiyelh* (Squamish Nation Department of Education) commissioned a three-part study. In the *Skwxwú7mesh* study by the Immersion Research Group, Part 1 covered Research on Language Immersion Models; Part 2 Research on Aboriginal Language Standardization; and Part 3 Research on Second Language Teaching methods. The Nation's research and the findings of the Language revitalization practices study accentuates that early childhood programs face great challenges and obstacles in implementing mother tongue literacy.<sup>1</sup> According to the Immersion Research Group examination of the studies, each head start or language nest lacks curriculum materials and has to rely on resources designed by speakers. The 'teachers' may be language speakers with no training or teaching experience; or they are 'teachers' who are language speakers with Early Childhood Education training but no training for second language teaching methodologies; and lastly, they may be teachers who are non-speakers.

The *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7èyxnitm ta Snewiyelh* (Squamish Nation Education Department) identified the following language priority areas: research, human resources, community support, political support, training, funding, developing resource materials, and language education. These recommendations came from the Immersion Research Group 2002 research reports (D. Jacobs, personal communiqué, November, 2002). As I learned later, this was an essential component of engaging others to assist in developing a 'community based power' in "the interest of a responsible political, economic, and spiritual society... to move towards an active presence [within our traditional territories]" (Grande, 2008, p. 250).

<sup>1</sup> The Immersion Research Group looked specifically at the Navajo Head Start Language Study, Te Kohanga Reo — Maori Language Revitalization, Mai Loko O Ka Iini — Proceeding from a Dream, A Navajo Language Immersion Program at Fort Defiance Arizona, and the Arapaho Language Project because they are full Language Immersion programs.

The Squamish Nation Education Department has a Curriculum Framework, and *Skwxwú7mesh* ways of knowing inform the four curriculum organizers (D. Jacobs, 1998, D. Jacobs & Baker-Williams 2004). The first pillar is *Our Home*, which is the pillar of strength for the children and contains the knowledge of our traditional territories. The second pillar is *Our Families*, which helps the children to evoke their identity by establishing their relationship to their family, to the Nation, to the oral histories, transformers, and their relationship to the world. The third pillar is *Our History*, which represents preservation of our history and cultural heritage, focusing on cultural, historical, societal, spiritual, and psychological dimensions of pre-contact times. The fourth pillar is *Our Government*, which is the base of exploration for the concept of political theory as it had evolved traditionally and post contact. It traces the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* government to contemporary elected representatives and the issues around historical events.

Because there are only three teachers and one language-aide, language instruction does not reach all the Nation's children. More pressing is the urgency to increase the number of speakers with which the Team currently works. A survey of *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* showed that 13 elders grew up with *Skwxwú7mesh* as their first language (P. Jacobs, & Baker-Williams, 2004). At that time, a group of 20 grew up speaking *Skwxwú7mesh*, but no longer remembered it, or recalled small parts. This language loss and language shift affects language planning and research, given that the *Skwxwú7mesh* have limited human and financial resources. *Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* (Squamish Language) Planning has two intents: to develop goals and objectives and to design strategies for *Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* usage in the community.

The 2006 cohort of *Skwxwú7mesh* learners began with an Immersion course as a bridge course taught by Peter Jacobs and Vanessa Campbell. *Skwxwú7mesh* Language Introduction, INLG 150, offered in partnership with Nicola Valley Institute of Technology, and Capilano University followed the Immersion course. The *Skwxwú7mesh* Language introduction course is for those who have little or no previous *Skwxwú7mesh* instruction. The course is an intensive study of important aspects of language pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar with the participation of Elder language *Skwxwú7mesh* speakers. The course intent is to study family terms,

specifically those used in the *Kál'kalilh* (Giant Cannibal Woman) *CD-Rom*. The students are introduced to the *Skwxwú7mesh* writing system. At the end of the course, the students knew some of the most important basic kinship terms and ways of speaking the *Skwxwú7mesh* Language in a family context.

A second cohort began in 2008, bringing the total to twenty-nine students registered in the *Skwxwú7mesh* language certificate program offered at Capilano University. The language team and the department head recommend that our Nation continue to develop the certificate into a diploma program that would teach specializations such as language transcription and curriculum development. Additionally, work should continue on a *Skwxwú7mesh* language degree program.

Hampton (1995) identifies five stages in the continuum of education: the first is Traditional Indian education (prior to contact); the second is Education for self-determination; the third is Education for assimilation; the fourth is Education by Indians; and the fifth is Indian education sui generis, “a thing of its own kind”. Hampton describes Indian education sui generis as an education that is based on the learning styles and teaching methods employed by Native people in historic and contemporary times. Sui generis immersion education is the means to challenge existing and power structures in mainstream society that entrench a colonial framework in social spaces and educational institutions. Throughout the colonization process, education has been engaged to oppress and assimilate First Nations. Sui-generis education takes up the decolonization of the dominant group’s knowledge, culture, and language as the universal norm. Sui-generis education supports the reconstruction of First Nations epistemologies. I believe this continuum of education has at the core Indigenous languages that support language as an education project.

The context of *Skwxwú7mesh* epistemology, the nature of knowledge is uniquely *Skwxwú7mesh*. The collaborations and dialogue with the *Ta Na Wa Nexwníwen ta a Ímats* (Teachings for your Grandchildren, Squamish Language Elders Authority), cultural practitioners from artistic and ceremonial disciplines, educators, and other Squamish experts are essential to designing the curriculum for *Skwxwú7mesh* Immersion Education at all levels from early childhood to adult education.



The listing of Activities in Table 2 and Table 3 provides a listing of Status and Corpus planning.

**Table 2. *Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* Status Planning — Improving the role language plays in the Nation**

Year	Activity
1965-2016	Adult Evening Community Classes
1967-2016	Giving Language valid & priority status in the Nation and taking measures to enforce that status
1972-2016	Language taught in independent high school and public schools
1975	General Membership motion to fund Language instruction through own source revenue
1986-2016	Work with Longhouse speakers, traditional workers, cultural practitioners, canoe club, lacrosse teams, youth, specialists & special projects with Cultural and other institutions external to our community
1990	Squamish Language is declared the official language of the Nation
1992	Squamish Language Legacy Review
1993-2016	<i>Ta Na Wa Nexwniw ta a Ímats</i> /Teachings for your Grandchildren Squamish Language Dictionary work
2002	Research work on School Based programs, Immersion, 2nd Language & Language nests (Bar-el, Gillon, Watts)
2003	Digitalization of Squamish Language Archival collections
2003	Immersion School
2014	Community engagement Strategy for Immersion Curriculum (Jacobs-Morris & Seymour)

**Table 3. *Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* Corpus Planning-Refers to the planned change in the nature of the language itself**

Year	Activity
1979	Standardization of a writing system
1989	Adoption of Fishman's Eight Stage Language Planning model
1994-96,	<i>Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim</i> Legacy Planning
1994-96	Research work on School Based Programs & Teacher training
2003-2016	Immersion, Mentoring, Master Apprentice
2006-2008	Language Delivery by Web design for distance learning with workbook
2004-2015	Language certificate course development and implementation offered at Capilano University
2012	SSHRC Research on Evaluation Measures, History, and Government (Gillon, Fortney, Gore)

## 2.6. Strength to Finish

The *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* and other Coast Salish tribes have symbolically reclaimed the Salish Sea (Appendix A) an area that extends from the north end of the Strait of Georgia, to the west end of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and the south end of Puget Sound. Fortney (2010) postulates ... “that all of these initiatives such as the Salish Sea map (Appendix A) and the *Skwxwú7mesh Temixw* map (Appendix B) demonstrate a shift in power” (p. 7). The *Skwxwú7mesh* use Geographic Information systems (GIS) research and have created several territorial maps such as *Xay Temixw* (Sacred Lands Use Plan) undertaken in the last two decades. Further, Jacobs (1996) suggests that “renegotiation of the map leaves it transformed, somewhat depleted of its colonial powers. Actively engaging with the language of cartography provides an escape without leaving, from the perspectival positioning of colonialism” (cited in Fortney, 2010, p. 151). The Coast Salish Sea map (Appendix A) and the *Skwxwú7mesh Temixw* map (Appendix B) point out how the Canadian and American states have nationally and linguistically constructed borders.

These acts contextualize, situate memory and identity within *Skwxwú7mesh* commemorations to legitimize re-emerging governance structures that sustain our way of being with knowledge from the land and the spirit. Fortney (2010) found, “Social memory, the politics of representation, and the role of commemoration in the creation of national identities is necessary for cultural revitalisation and resistance to hegemonies” (p. 38). *Skwxwú7mesh* memory and one’s ‘self’ identity placed within the context of naming and claiming facilitates a return to self-governance, and nationhood building. These activities also place language re-generation at the hub.

This teaching evokes the words of Maori scholar Tuhiwai who encouraged First Nations among them the *Skwxwú7mesh* People to speak our language, to call the mountains, the rivers, and places by their true names (Aboriginal Languages: Vision 2000 Conference, 1988). In the act of doing, I take up the notion that *snewíyelh* mark sites within the *Skwxwú7mesh* universe. This is best surmised, as sites woven with history, place, time, two-legged and four-legged beings, winged and webbed beings, tangible and intangible rights, *Xay st’álk'em* (supernatural), and *Siwín* (spiritual power).

L.T. Smith (1999) also observed Freire’s notion “name the word, name the world”, has been “applied in the Indigenous context to literally rename the landscape” (p. 157). *Skwxwú7mesh* families continue to protect *Skwxwú7mesh* sacred sites and spaces, as we have never ceded title or our right to be *Skwxwú7mesh*.

### 2.6.1. The *Skwxwú7mesh* Government

From time immemorial, the *Skwxwú7mesh* inhabited respective traditional territories. The occupation of these lands and uses of the land establishes rights in law know as Aboriginal Title. The *Skwxwú7mesh* have always postured with the British Columbia government that Aboriginal title does exist. In 1906, the *Skwxwú7mesh* sent a delegation with other Coast Salish Nations to London to persuade the Crown of the legitimacy of our Aboriginal Title.

**Figure 144 Chief Joe Capilano with Delegation Prior to Leaving for England on North Vancouver Ferry Dock**  
Source: City of Vancouver Archives, Major Mathews Collection, 1905, Public Domain



The Crown would not hear or endorse the Coast Salish leaders’ position on Aboriginal Title. As a consequence of the Crown’s position the recommendations made by the McKenna McBride Commission in 1914, “cut off” approximately 130 acres of

Capilano Indian Reserve No. 5. Third parties have alienated *Skwxwú7mesh* lands, stolen resources, and the Federal government has denied the *Skwxwú7mesh* the right to make fundamental decisions about their communities.

*... Nilh swa7s ta Skwxwú7mesh tiwa, eyks ta S7elken, ta swa7s ta Skwxwú7mesh, ta7kswit kwi tiná7 ta schichem ayks ta Shisha7lh, narh ta Scheñk, Nilh swa7s ta Skwxwú7mesh k'aymin. Hawk wa rhi iniwilhem Xwmetkwiyam, ey hawk wa rhi iniwilhem iytsi Shisha7lh, swa7s iytsi... Skwxwú7mesh. Wa swa7swit k'aswit wa narh kwis wes yelxhalemwit. Nilh welh-tirháswit, syetsems iytsi kwekwiñ selsi7lt.*

This belongs to the Squamish, from here [North Vancouver] to Point Grey, belongs to the Squamish, up to this side of Sechelt, to Gibsons Landing. These are the campsites of the Squamish. None of the Musqueam crossed over. And, none of the Sechelt crossed over into the area belonging to the Squamish. They had their own [places] to go food gathering. That is the way that the old people of long ago described this. (*Senlhaliya-t*, Granny Lizzie Jacobs, Born 1873)

Sixteen of the Headmen of *Skwxwú7mesh* speaking villages declared in 1923 a *Prayer of Amalgamation*, which confirms that we are and always were the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* (Squamish Nation).

Squamish Nation of Indians on July 23, 1923 unanimously agreed the only solution for good government was to consolidate the nation revenues, reserves equally for the Squamish people and to have a council comprised of the 16 Chiefs ([www.Skwxwú7mesh.net](http://www.Skwxwú7mesh.net), 2010).

The *Skwxwú7mesh* formed a unified governmental structure. Ultimately, it served as the basis for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* (Squamish Nation's) claim to its traditional lands (Gore, 2012). In addition, the Squamish leadership understood the need to establish diplomatic relations with the Provincial government of British Columbia, the Federal government of Canada and the Imperial British Crown (Gore, 2012).

In the late 60's the circumstances, by which lands were "cut off" lands became fully know to the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* (Squamish Nation) leadership. The elected Council acquired expanded administration and control over *Skwxwú7mesh* lands.

In, 1977 the Omnibus Trust Action was filed. This claim involved specific acres of reserve lands that had been wrongfully taken from the Squamish Nation. A total of 153.54 acres has been returned to reserve status.

Another 25.08 acres has come under our control by eliminating poor historic leases on Seymour IR No. 2 (Mathias, 1999).

In December 1983, an agreement was entered between the Nation, Canada, and BC, providing for the return of 115.29 acres of the 'cut off lands' a 130 acre parcel. This agreement took 16 years to conclude.

In 1989, due to the lack of progress in the *Nisga'a* claim and the provincial government's refusal to come to the table to negotiate the 'cut off lands' the Squamish Nation Council made the decision to undertake critical research to advance Aboriginal title, reserving the option to negotiate the claim, if the political climate changed. The complexity and magnitude of the *Skwxwú7mesh* Aboriginal Title claim necessitated research in many areas such as, traditional land use and occupation, current land use and occupation, historical social structures and institutions, and was overseen by Chief Joe Mathias. *Skwxwú7mesh* laws and protocols govern the relationships throughout the Coast Salish world, and reflect values of recognition, respect, and honour. The Coast Salish Nations recognize and respect *Skwxwú7mesh* laws, protocols, and sovereignty, as we respect their autonomy. The knowledge base of *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* (Squamish people's) ancient connection to kinship, place, resource use, the nature of traditional *Skwxwú7mesh* government augments the Squamish Department of Education Archival collection.

**Poem 3. A Slippery Slope — *Snítelwet*, 2013**

Some days I know I am crossing the bridge  
Underneath tepid emotions ooze with a stench  
Retracing Old Steps in my mind's eye  
Full of verbiage, best left undigested  
Tomorrow will come, today we are at a cross road

*Txwkw'ínkw'in na wa níchim* (Just a few are speaking now)  
U chexw an k'álen (If you believe)  
*Men huy ta sníchim ek'xwekws* (We will use only our language)  
*Mk'ánatsut ta sníchim-chet* (Our language is returning)

*Chet nu Tl'étxem Sch'e7úsem* (We are on a Slippery Slope)

## 2.6.2. ***Xwmélch'sten Etsímwx skwul (Capilano Littlest One's school)***

These next sections comprise part of my life's work as the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7éyénitm ta Snewéyalh Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7éyénitm ta Snewéyalh* Department Head with a team of exceptional educators committed to the People. Many have left this world, some have retired, and new staff members have come to continue the *Work*.

Each language provides its own cognitive toolkit, and encapsulates the knowledge and worldview developed over thousands of years within a culture. While language is a central part of cognition, there is nothing magical about how language shapes thought. Different languages encourage different kinds of cognitive expertise in their speakers, and as a result, speakers of different languages end up thinking differently. (Boroditsky, 2010)

The Capilano Littlest One's School, K4-Grade 2 pedagogical approach promotes egalitarian active learning, and subscribes to traditional *Skwxwú7mesh* child-rearing practices. The teachers and students participate in community events; Catholic and Shaker church, the traditional Longhouse, and meetings and this demonstrates they are using their *nexwníneŵ and sneŵíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings). "Rather than asking what kind of cognitive processes and conceptual structures are involved, [we] ask what kinds of social engagements provide the proper context for learning to take place" (Hanks, 1991, p. 14).

Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's model of situated learning (1991) proposed that learning involved a process of engagement in a 'community of practice'. A community of practice defines itself along three dimensions. The first dimension asks, what is the community of practice about, its *joint enterprise* as understood and continually renegotiated by its members. Second how does the function, *mutual engagement* that binds members together into a social entity. The language teachers, the Capilano Littlest Ones teachers as a community of practice produced the *shared repertoire* of communal resources such as routines, sensibilities, and, vocabulary styles.

The teacher's community of practice take up multiple positionalities, of situated identities as family, cultural specialists, lifelong learners, and educators who have

*Skwxwú7mesh* culturally embedded value structures. The concept of *community of practice* helps one to recognize the varying degrees in which social worlds are circumscribed, yet retain a sense of human scale and human lives when thinking about agency. The *Skwxwú7mesh* children and the teachers construct knowledge from their individual lived experiences and collective social experiences within the school and the communities. The Nation School is a site of resistance for the Squamish language because the language-learning environment is essential in helping to build a community of Squamish speakers.

These efforts must also ensure the revitalization of the cultural context in which the *Skwxwú7mesh* language lives.

*Nch'u7mút* is manifest in the *Xwémélch'sten Etsímxw skwul* student's mantra:

*Estetey'wilh ta skwulawtxw chet.* (Our school is a safe place)

*Na wa ch'awatúmulhas ta nexw7usáyelh, wa st'i7stúmulhaswit.*  
(Our teachers help us and they love us.)

*I7xw chet Siíyáy iy s7ekw'í7tel.* (We are all friends and relatives)

*Chet wanáxwswit.* (We respect each other.)

*Chet wanaxwsténam'ut.* (We respect ourselves.)

*Ha7lh stélmexw kwelh tiná7 chet.* (We come from good people.)

*Ta Na Wa Nexwnínwèn ta a Ímats* (Teachings for your Grandchildren)  
Campbell & Baker-Williams, 2006

The *Xwémélch'stn Etsímxw Skwul* (Capilano Littlest Ones School) as a language-learning environment is vital to building a community of *Skwxwú7mesh* speakers. The language environment is enriched with the presence of *Ta Na Wa Nexwnínwèn ta a Ímats* Elders and Cultural specialists who work with the children to share *snewíyelh* (the teachings).

*Skwxwú7mesh* pedagogy as sets of actions allows, or causes the learners to gain knowledge; it is not an age related act, nor the exclusive domain of formalized institutions of learning. The *Skwxwú7mesh* teacher uses four inter-related strands of

pedagogy 1) as a political tool for the enculturation of students, 2) teaching methods; 3) engaging students; and as 4) family centered teaching. The ‘teachers’ share a collection of cultural resources, such as experiences, stories, tools, and ways of addressing problems, which is a shared practice. The practice sustained over time needs the participation of the ‘teachers’ in the *Skwxwú7mesh* language immersion-teaching cohort and within their community of practice.

School and community are the learning environments for *Skwxwú7mesh* language once acquired in the home. The intent is to continue to address the residual effects of Indian residential school on elders and undertake reconciliation work with the elders and speakers who had language block. Grande (2008) calls this, “theorizing the ways in which power and domination have informed the processes, and procedures of education, and to develop pedagogies that disrupt their effects” (p. 236).

### **2.6.3. *Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* Research and Training**

The *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* Council in 2001 adopted the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7éyénit̓m ta Snéwéyalth — Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* (Squamish Nation Department of Education (Squamish Nation Education Department) — Squamish Language Five Year Plan). External research grants funded a number of inter-related activities. The intent of the five-year plan was to increase speakers, train teachers, and create immersion curriculum. The *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* language revitalization plan’s major challenge has been to fund all the components. The Squamish Nation Education Department reported to Membership on the *Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* revitalization efforts, and held Community Circles to discuss the efforts and progress to date. In the *Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim* strategy, the complexity and unique aspects of the language provide an enriched *Skwxwú7mesh* worldview.

The Team has prioritized work with the elders and *Síiyam̓* (Leaders) over the years because of the specialized knowledge that they have to share. This is essential to consider in Status planning. The *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7éyénit̓m ta Snéwéyalth* (Squamish Nation Education Department) implemented a community-based language approach because school based language learning alone is not enough to restore the



language to every day usage. As the momentum, and capacity for language grows, the *Skwxwú7mesh* ideally move towards a *Skwxwú7mesh* Immersion school.

The *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7éyénitm ta Snewéyalh* (Squamish Nation Education Department) Plan recognizes that the *Skwxwú7mesh Snichim* is the cornerstone of the *Skwxwú7mesh* identity. This position is supported in planning, survey documents, and Education Department Language survey of 2004. The *Skwxwú7mesh* people prioritized the 2000 Immersion School capital project. The largest focus group that provided input into the design concept was comprised of 226 Squamish Youth and Advisors. The project is a multi-phased Nation Immersion School & Cultural Learning Center.

The *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7éyénitm ta Snewéyalh* (Squamish Nation Education Department) and the University of British Columbia (UBC) Department Of Linguistics had an official collaborative research agreement from 1995-2012. This initiative stemmed from previous work that Peter Jacobs did along with other researchers from UBC Linguistics faculty, and Simon Fraser Linguistics faculty. The agreement provided a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for graduate students to conduct fieldwork with *Skwxwú7mesh* language speakers. Chief and Council of the day supported this *Work* as essential activity to provide benefits to the Nation. The agreement terms assigned management of the research to the Language technician — Peter Jacobs, and Language team leader — Vanessa Campbell with the Language Team. The MOU stipulated the research must be beneficial to the *Skwxwú7mesh* people, and recognize the *Skwxwú7mesh Snichim* elders as experts in their field. The first group comprised Henry Davis, a professor at UBC, Hamida Demirdache, a UBC Post-doctoral student, and Elizabeth Currie, a UBC Master student in linguistics.

This project became part of an existing research grant that was underway with the University of British Columbia (UBC). The next five-year agreement became a part of the second *Skwxwú7mesh* Social Sciences Human Research Canada (SSHRC) grant to continue fieldwork with the UBC graduate students studying *Skwxwú7mesh*. In my view, it was an arrangement with many successes. The first major paper was Currie's, 1997 Master's thesis, which she presented to the *Skwxwú7mesh* Language Elders'

Authority, the Language Team, and to myself. It is entitled: “*Topic time: the syntax and semantics of Sqwxwú7mesh temporal adverbials.*” In October 1998, Bar-el defended her Master’s thesis entitled: “*Verbal plurality and adverbial quantification: a case study of Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish Salish).*” During this time, different members of what became known as the Squamish Immersion Research group produced linguistic papers for conferences and workshops. Two undergraduates did their honours’ thesis work as part of this research agreement. At the time, three people were undertaking dissertation and post-doctoral work on the Squamish language.

The purpose of the research for the *Skwxwú7mesh* language teachers was to increase their understanding of the language, increase their proficiency, document language use with this generation of elders’, and form part of Peter Jacobs’ doctoral research (see P. Jacobs, 2012) for more discussion on this topic. The Nation has hours of untranscribed work with elders’ stored in a database that will benefit scholars in all discipline areas.

## **2.7. Healing to Transformation**

The demography for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw* (Squamish Nation) is 4,021 members. Over 400 of 900 *Skwxwú7mesh* students in the British Columbia public K-12, post secondary and Nation school systems take the *Skwxwú7mesh* language regeneration program (D. Jacobs, Department Reports, 1990). Unfortunately, there are not enough language educators to reach all the students; this is still a reality in 2016.

The shaping of *Skwxwú7mesh* pedagogy is fundamental to immersion education. There are four *Skwxwú7mesh* curriculum framework organizers: *Skwxwú7mesh* Lands, Families, History, and Government (D. Jacobs, 1998, Jacobs, & Baker-Williams, 2004). The educative framework and curriculum may move the school to a full immersion model. The immersion school and other actions are vehicles to democratize the acquisition of knowledge for all *Skwxwú7mesh* people. The transformations over the past decades that I worked with *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7éyénitm ta Snewéyalth* (Squamish Nation Education Department) are distinct. In 1990, elected Council passed

an official language declaration of our inherent right to protect, teach, and speak our sacred language.

*Ta Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim-chet éxwa7tem ta xaay Xexa7énak tiná7 tkwi kwekwínt kwetsi swahám-chet. Ta s7ulh xaay Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim na wa súxwtnexw ts7it estétxw ta Skwxwú7mesh skwálwens ta welh7áynexws ta Skwxwú7mesh Stélmexw.*

*Ta Skwxwú7mesh Stélmexw haw k'és wa sk'eyk'eyxnítes ta i7xw ch'élmexw sníchim. Welh nilh wa i7xw-wit wa ts'ewás. Iy ha7lh ta skwálwén-chet ta Skwxwú7mesh Stélmexw txwnam ta i7xw ekw'í7tel Stélmexw.*

*Ta Skwxwú7mesh Sníchim nilh swa7s sníchim kwétsiwit swahám-chet ta Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw.*

*Iy haw k'et I eschel'áwstem ta Xwelíten síiyam wa7t kwílténstat. Nilh melh eskw'ay ek' kwis máynexwas ti ménmen-chet ta sníchim-chet. Men wá7u-wit ek' íymen wa usáyelh ta hehemí stélmexw stá7exwlh.*

Squamish People

We the People of the Squamish Nation declare that:

The Squamish Language was and is the first Language of our Ancestors and the Squamish People.

The Squamish Language is a gift given to our Ancestors by the sacred Creator.

Our sacred language is a living language handed down from generation to generation by our Ancestors.

The Squamish Language recognizes that all languages are created equal and must be treated with mutual respect. We offer good will to our Brothers and Sisters of all First Nations.

We the Squamish People have struggled long and hard to maintain our precious language. Our Language is tied to our culture, this is why we will continue to teach, maintain, and enhance our language for our children and our children's children for all time to come. (Baker, L., Guss, L., Jacobs, D., Mathias, J. & Yabsley, G. 1990)

This was a critical development in the Department's work on language regeneration. Some of the changes in community do pre-date the immersion efforts of the *Xwmélc'h'sten Etsímxcw skwul* (Capilano Littlest One's school). Campbell asserts

children do not question being given directions in the language. A quote from Peter Jacobs resonates with me and brings home why we do the *Work* we do:

Parents have had some language at some point in their life. ... What I have noticed talking to parents and grandparents is they have a level of joy that language is part of their family and their level of ownership has gone up another level. Immersion is not a complex or abstract term they get it. There is a look of pride. It is helping the community move it beyond healing of the heart — it is the joy. When we come back full circle, the elders bought into what we are doing. Their joy in the language is not quantifiable. However, their joy of Squamish being in the world- it becomes so necessary. (D. Jacobs, 2008)

The language and the culture are living and evident in how unconscious the 3 — 5 year olds, are singing, dancing, and speaking the language (D. Jacobs, 2008). This holistic approach towards language and cultural renewal is necessary, to negate the disaggregated method that separates out language only as linguistic phenomenon (personal conversation with Graham Smith, 2014).

### **2.7.1. Community Engagement Strategy for Immersion Curriculum**

Indigenous knowledge encompasses three processes: empirical observation, traditional teachings, and revelation (Brant-Castellano, 2000). The Community Engagement research connects with other activities undertaken by the Squamish Nation Education Department. One component of the research project called “Proud to be Squamish, Protecting our Language, Culture and Heritage, Planning Our Future Involving Community” was a series of Focus groups conducted to engage Community and discuss Immersion curriculum for *Xwmélch’sten Etsimxw skwul* (Capilano Littlest One’s school). The purpose of the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw Ns7é7yxnitm ta Snewéyelh* (Squamish Nation Education Department) research work was to be open and accountable, allow for a broad range of views to be expressed and enable the Squamish Nation Education Department and the community to work together to achieve balanced decisions.

## 2.7.2. Praxis and Discourse

Freire's (1986) and G.H. Smith's (2005) characterization of praxis is the one I used in this *Work* as, "reflection, and action upon the world in order to transform it" (Freire, p. 36). Aspects of Freire's research are significant for the purpose of this *Work* such as his emphasis on dialogue. This idea of praxis is a principal concept in this *Work* to find truth in evidence-based community practice because, "the act of knowing involves a dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection to new action" (Freire, 1972, p. 31). This resonates with those concerned with informal education, which is dialogical. However, Freire postulated that dialogue involves respect. It should not involve one person acting on behalf of another, but involve people working together. Praxis has its own insight prior to any explicit formulation of that understanding. Praxis entwines communication.

Denzin, Lincoln, & L. T. Smith, (2000) encourages researchers to focus on the vernacular, to capture the intuitive brief moments of everyday life because that is where the researcher finds the aesthetic. Everyday personal language and texts open to interpretation, bring people into dialogue, and may facilitate critical analysis of social structures. It is through critical dialogue, people become "masters of their thinking by discussing the thinking and views of the world explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own suggestions and those of their comrades" (Denzin et al., 2000, p. 95). Praxis, therefore, produces both a theoretical and an experience component mediated by dialogue.

Critical literacies are integral to understanding transformation in the *Skwxwú7mesh* community in order to address inequities, like the Identity legislation provisions in the *Indian Act*. Internal challenges have dissuaded critical discourses within the community on *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* language and culture.

*Ta nímalh Skwxwú7mesh-ulh Stélmexw chet wachayn ta s7ulh Nexwníw na sátañtem ta syawán-chet. I7xw swat ta s7ekw'í7tel-chet, ta élhtach-chet, ta selsí7l-chet, ta sch'émch'emékw-chet, ta kwepkwúpits-chet iy ta síiyay'-chet, Nilhwit na wa usúñtumulh. Tiná7 tkwi kwekwín, an hiñ kwis chet wa áynexw i ti temíxw. Lhik' chet wa xwekws ta s7ulh temíxw. Men wá7u chet chayn ti nexwníw na7 ta temíxw-chet. Na náantem ta syawán-chet i7xw ta temíxw-chet. Nilh welhes téywilhntas. Na yétsem ta Skwxwú7mesh-ulh Úxwumixw na7 ta 1923: lhik' chet wa nch'ú7mut. Na*

*ánuńtas ta Skwxwú7mesh-ulh Úxwumixw kwis men wá7u wa ns7éyxńitas ta temíxw-chet.*

We the Squamish People follow the teachings that were handed down by our Ancestors. We learnt these teachings from all of our relatives — from our parents, our grandparents, our great grandparents, our brothers and sisters and our friends. From long ago, for a long time we have lived on this land. We will continue to follow these teachings on our land. Our Ancestors provided names for our land. This is how they protected it. In 1923, the Squamish Nation declared that we have always been one. The Squamish Nation agrees to continue to protect our land. (P. Jacobs, 2012)

The decolonization piece is moving Indigenous Immersion education beyond political awareness to opposing oppression, to a “critical conscious praxis”. We engage in cyclical simultaneous consciousness, resistance, and transformative actions and respectful relations (G. H. Smith, 1997). Place mediates our experience of each other, and our relationships with each other mediates our experience of place. Graham Smith (1997) argues that as Indigenous people we have to come to the ‘politics of truth’ a term he devised to identify the limits and capacities of what one can do at any site. It is the transformative promise that he speaks to in ‘politics of truth’ that is meaningful because the transformative promise is premised on claiming one’s history, and taking up the politics of oppression to create an understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (G.H. Smith, 1997). Adopting this viewpoint, I take up a praxis that references interspatiality, and the ‘duality of self’ much like Dubois concept of ‘dual consciousness because I live with two selves for example as an Indigenous scholar and a traditional knowledge holder (Dillard, 1986, p. 282).

Within Red pedagogy, the root metaphors of decolonization are equity, emancipation, sovereignty, and balance. In this sense, an education for decolonization makes no claim to political neutrality although it engages a method of analysis and social inquiry that troubles the capitalist-imperialist aims of competition, accumulation, and exploitation. It becomes a project that interrogates both democracy and indigenous sovereignty to support as S.R. Lyons (2000) argues “a people’s right to rebuild its demand to exist and present its gifts to the world... an adamant refusal to dissociate culture, identity, and power from the land” (Cited in Grande, 2008, p. 245). Red pedagogy actively cultivates praxis of collective agency. That is, Red pedagogy aims to

build transcultural and transnational solidarities among Indigenous peoples and others committed to reimagining a sovereign space free of exploitation.

While Red pedagogy is grounded in hope, it is not the future-centered hope of the Western thought but rather a hope that lives in contingency with the past — one that trusts the beliefs and understandings of our ancestors, the power of traditional knowledge, and the possibilities of new understandings. Grande's (2008) concept of Red Pedagogy complements G. H. Smith's (2005) 'politics of the truth'. Many scholars (e.g. G. H. Smith (1997), Grande (2008), hooks<sup>2</sup> (1989)) speak to that which we can interrupt, re-claim, and transform through practice and the location of possibility. hooks (1989) evoke both Grande's (2008) 'spaces of engagement' and G. H. Smith's (2005) 'politics of truth' in the following piece:

We fear those who speak about us, who do not speak to us and with us.  
We know what it is like to be silenced. We know the forces that silence us, because they never want us to speak, differ from the forces that say speak tell me your story

Only do not speak in a voice of resistance. Only speak from that space in the margin that is a sign of deprivation, a wound, an unfulfilled longing.

Only speak your pain. ... This is a site of intervention. A message from that space in the margin that is a site of creativity and power that inclusive space where we rediscover ourselves, where we move in solidarity to erase the category of colonized/colonizer.

Marginality as site of resistance. Enter that space. Let us meet there.  
(p. 208)

G. H. Smith (2005) also found praxis is not a linear relationship between theory and practice; it is a reflexive relationship, where in this case both *nexwnínew* (upbringing) as the action, and *snewíyelh* (the teachings) are the reflection that build on one another. This is the power it holds to transform *Skwxwú7mesh* fragmentation to wholeness. In addition, as a *Skwxwú7mesh* researcher this provides space to frame the *Work* with a *Skwxwú7mesh* worldview.

<sup>2</sup> This African American scholar, bell hooks, does not capitalize her name and I respect her choice.

Overall, I come to this space to engage bringing my lived experiences and my ancestor's breadth of the ordinary and the extraordinary. Freire (1972) concluded that praxis is action, which informs us with values. Dialogue is not just an act of deepening understanding, but is part of making a difference in the world. Dialogue in itself is a co-operative activity involving *wanáxw̄s* (respect). The process is important in building social capital that enhances community. Freire's insistence on situating educational activity in the lived experience of participants has opened up a series of possibilities for the way educators can approach practice. Freire's concern to look for words that have the possibility of generating new ways of naming and acting in the world is an example of the legitimization of what matters in the *Skw̄xw̄ú7mesh* worldview.

Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind, and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern (Weedon, 1987, p. 108). At the most basic level Foucault uses the term discourse to describe the material verbal traces left by history and to describe a certain "way of speaking" (Foucault, 1972).

Identity is about how the *Skw̄xw̄ú7mesh* people come to understand themselves, how they come to figure who they are through the 'worlds' that they participate in, and how they relate to others within and outside these worlds. "Our conception of self, world... can only become critical when we appreciate the historical nature of its formation" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1999, p. 149). *Skw̄xw̄ú7mesh* identity embeds this distinct way of viewing the World that goes back to time immemorial.

Any Language is more than a set of grammatical rules, or a vocabulary, it is our identity. Denzin et al (2000) encourages researchers to focus on the vernacular, to capture the intuitive moments of everyday life, because that is where the researcher finds the aesthetic. Everyday personal language and texts bring people into dialogue, which may facilitate a critical analysis of the strategic apparatus. Through critical dialogue, people become "masters of their thinking by discussing the thinking and views of the world explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own suggestions and those of their comrades" (Freire, 1986, p. 95). Praxis produces both a theoretical and an experience component mediated by dialogue.



Praxis has its own insight prior to any explicit formulation of that understanding and entwines the dialogue we may have as *Skwxwú7mesh* language speakers, leaders, educators, or cultural practitioners from artistic or ceremonial disciplines essential to the recovery of *Skwxwú7mesh* language. The dialogue we have as *Skwxwú7mesh* language speakers and non-speakers, are essential in the recovery of *Skwxwú7mesh* culture, knowledge, and language for use in everyday life.

## Chapter 3. Purpose of the Study and the Questions

The purpose of the research is to document the beliefs the co-participants hold about the phenomenon of *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) and how they bring their beliefs to their work and practice for the upcoming generations of *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* (Squamish People). The co-participants are language teachers, education workers, and cultural practitioners; and have different levels of *Skwxwú7mesh* language proficiency. The *Uut Tl'a7áshn* (Invitation to a Potlatch) protocol is essential to this *Work* to center the politic of location in the community. The Potlatch, which is the *Work*, that took place in Circle. A complete Sharing Circle is generally four rounds (Wilson, 2008); complements *Skwxwú7mesh* cultural practices, like in the singing of songs, announcing a name, a right, or a remembrance. Pertinent points are referenced in the dissertation minimally four times.

This study uses the Four Quadrants Model to structure the questions (Cross, Echo-Hawk, & Manness, 2000) and the Sharing Circle method (Lavallée, 2009), which has been adapted for this research to gather the co-participants responses. The four quadrants include the context, mind, body, and spiritual and incorporate sets of criteria. For context, the criteria includes — culture, community, family, peers, work, school, and social history. The quadrant of mind includes cognitive processes, such as thoughts, memories, knowledge, and emotional processes such as feeling, defences, and self-esteem. The quadrant of body includes all physical aspects, such as genetic inheritance, gender, and condition. The quadrant of the spirit includes both positive and negative learned teachings and practices, as well as positive and negative innate forces (Cross et al., 2002, pp. 20–21).

The two bridging questions the co-participants take up metaphorically represent 'Preparing the Floor for the Sacred Work': 1) Tell us what it means to you to be *Skwxwú7mesh*. 2) tell us about your relations, the land, and cultural ways. The four

research questions that organize the Sharing Circle symbolically represent the 'Laying of the Blankets' are: 1) how do you define *nexwnínew*? 2) How do you define *snewíyelh*? 3) In what ways do you use your *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* in your Work? 4) How do you make space to bring your *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* to your practices?

### 3.1. Indigenous Research Paradigm

G. H. Smith (1997) defines characteristics of Indigenous theory, "as being located within a culturally contextual site, born of an organic process involving community... the product of a theorist who understands cultural epistemic foundations of an Indigenous worldview and focussed on change" (p. 10). L. T. Smith's premise is that methodologies must,

Be built into research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, be declared openly as part of the research design, be discussed as part of the results of a study, and be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood. (L. T. Smith, 1999)

In addition to Archibald's (2008) seven principles for storytelling, I also adhere to the principles, co-created by Wilson (2008) and other Indigenous scholars,

[C]onduct oneself with kindness, honesty, compassion, bringing benefit to the community; understanding the research question lies in the Indigenous experience; knowing transformation will be [an] outcome; never compromising the integrity of the researcher and others involved; and commit to being advised by an Elder(s) or knowledge keeper(s). (McIvor, 2010)

In an Indigenous paradigm, knowledge collectively belongs to the world of which we are a part and where researchers are interpreters of this knowledge (Wilson, 2008). Bakhtin (1984) offers a view that "[A] paradigm shift [of this nature] would increase the order of wholeness, where truth becomes an on-going event" (p. 207). Both theorists' views complement the proposal that an Indigenous paradigm collectively holds knowledge.

A transformative research paradigm employs all ways of knowing in *Skwxwú7mesh* theory of knowledge and *Skwxwú7mesh* theory of existence to situate the co-participants and me within the *Work*. Wilson (2008) concluded that a paradigm is “a set of beliefs about the world and about gaining knowledge that is coupled to guide people’s actions with how they do their research” and maintains four aspects that make up a research paradigm: (p. 175).

... First is ontology or a belief in the nature of reality. Your way of being, what you believe is real in the world...Second is epistemology, which is how you think about that reality. Next, when we talk about research methodology, we are talking about how you are going to use your way of thinking (your epistemology) to gain more knowledge about your reality. Finally, a paradigm includes axiology, which is a set of morals or a set of ethics. (Wilson, 2001)

Wilson’s research perspective speaks to me because he recognizes that ceremony is spiritual and important to healing. The premise is that “ceremony takes the research to a raised level of consciousness and [provides] insight to our world” (Wilson, 2008, p. 11). The salient of locating one’s ‘self’ in the *Work* is in part a personal commitment to help to sustain *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge. The *Work* incorporates the values and beliefs of the *Skwxwú7mesh* People in its design, methods, and analysis, using the protocols of the Coast Salish People as the theoretical base. This consciousness permeates *Skwxwú7mesh* language re-generation and facilitates transformation of one’s ‘self’.

### **3.2. *Skwxwú7mesh* Theory and Methods**

This *Work* integrates an ancient *Skwxwú7mesh* framework in an emergent theory called *Nch’u7mút* (in unity as one) drawing on the concept of *Xay Sts’its’áp’* (*Work*) and the assumption that *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge continues to affirm the internal life of our *Úxwumixw* (Nation). *Skwxwú7mesh* theory of *Nch’u7mút* (in unity as one) has four tenets, *chénchenstwaywít* (support for one another), *wanáxwís* (respect), *smenálhwit* (dignity), and *áyatway* (kindness), that integrate *Skwxwú7mesh* ancestors and elders’ teachings within the theory. Ceremony frames the dissertation using *Skwxwú7mesh* practices to interrupt and reclaim our self. *Skwxwú7mesh* theory of *Nch’u7mút* is

absolute and respectful within a reflective, socio-political, and educative context that aides in the acquisition of knowledge in the *Skwxwú7mesh* universe. *Nch'ú7mut* as a *Skwxwú7mesh* pedagogy is based on the traditional educative forms of storytelling and elder's teachings, which place learning within the lived experience of ancestors. Data analysis requires an understanding of *ǂay Sts'its'áp'* to address the notions *nexwnínew* (upbringing) and *snewíyelh* (the teachings) in the Findings. I employ L. T. Smith's (1999) and Wilson's (2008) insider research perspectives, as they are ethical and respectful; and recognize ceremony as important to community healing.

Ceremony and/or Potlatch interchanges with *Work* in the Squamish vernacular. This consciousness permeates *Skwxwú7mesh* language re-generation and helps to facilitate *Skwxwú7mesh* transformational change with participation in Ceremony. The research method *Utsám Chiyáxw* (Calling of Witnesses') is central to the *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge system, *ǂay Sts'its'áp* (*Sacred Work*). The method illustrates the process for gathering, producing, and sharing knowledge using vignettes from the co-participants narratives, as a unique transformative research paradigm in the emergent theory of *Nch'ú7mút*. The theory of *Nch'ú7mút* is informed by multiple realities shaped by the set of relations and connections that *Skwxwú7mesh* people have with the Universe, the Land, the Waters, the Environment, the Living, Two-legged, Four-legged, Winged, Webbed, and the Spirit Realm (capitalized to symbolize respect).

*Skwxwú7mesh* theory is the stories and teachings of the ancestors that place the notion of lived experience within *Skwxwú7mesh* pedagogy as *Nch'ú7mut*. The *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge systems continue to sustain our civilization. The sharing of the co-participants narratives is a means to pass on teachings to the *ménmenchet* (children). It is important to understand the process by which *Skwxwú7mesh* methods, protocol, epistemology, and ontology locate the co-participants and one's 'self' as a collective.

The Sharing Circle is a relational model associated with the Medicine wheel and based on a traditional Indigenous worldview. "The Circle is like a foundational platform. What you put there, it will be your canvas" (Wilson, 2008, p. 92). This relational model describes psychological well-being as a balance among context, mind, body, and spirit.

This conceptual framework organizes the investigation to draw on co-participant's beliefs on their *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings).

A Sharing Circle has transformative and healing methods because the co-participants and researcher are equal and both are seeking solutions to the challenges that they face in *Skwxwú7mesh* language re-generation. In the research environment, the Sharing Circles share the same goal as a Focus Group — to secure knowledge through conversation. The principles behind a Sharing Circle may differ, because the Circle shares all aspects of a human being, their spirit, their mind, their heart and their body, and the researcher has the co-participant's permission to share their narrative in their own voice.

*Skwxwú7mesh* epistemology is the embodiment of the ancestors' teachings, their conduct, and their respect for all things.

Respect is a concept that binds the community together. It is also a collective value. *Wanáxw̓s* translates best as 'to show respect'. This respect is shown to each other as human beings, to the land and to oneself. It is a way of speaking that is inherent in the language. (Baker-Williams, 2006)

*Skwxwú7mesh* epistemology integrates protocols that honour the people's ways of being. *Skwxwú7mesh Xay Sts'its'áp'* (*Sacred Work*) is the knowledge system upheld, and one that guides the research using *Skwxwú7mesh* methods of *Utsárn̓ chiýáxw* (Calling to Witness). Restoule (2004) describes Indigenous methods as incorporating experiential learning to fully engage the co-participant. "Spirituality and emotionality are shared in ceremony, as a way of healing" (Restoule, 2004). The data collection is respectful of *Skwxwú7mesh* protocols and beliefs.

The research process uses a *Skwxwú7mesh* analytical framework with culturally responsive techniques of data collection, such as the Sharing Circle, use of portrait vignettes because the method emphasizes spoken word and enables the co-participants to have a voice in the research. This process took place at two primary localities, the Squamish Nation Administration office, and my residence.

### 3.3. ***Skwxwú7mesh* based method — *Utsám Chiyáxw* (Called to Witness)**

The *Utsám chiyáxw* (Calling to Witness protocol) is the method and the transformative paradigm in this *Work*. The *Utsám chiyáxw* protocol asks the Witness to remember the *Work* in their minds and heart. The Witness must authenticate and remember the *Work* by carrying the message home and sharing it with their family and community members. To be called as a Witness is an honour and conveys to the people that the host family has immense respect for your family. This is the *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* act of making history and recording it for all time.

In *Skwxwú7mesh Work*, there are family members skilled in matters of protocol. The family hires male 'Traditional Speakers' to be the voice for the family doing the *Work*. They hire a 'Floor manager' to assist the Family, to maintain the rigour of the *Work*. There are four main House posts, two are male and two are female, this supports gender equity. Situated west to east there are two entrances to the longhouse main floor, with seating located around the House. The guests enter from the west and the Doormen seat them by their community and proximity to the hosts. On the right side, the Doormen seat the farthest away guests, ending up with the hosts seated on the left side of the House. It is in this spirit that I take on the role of the 'Floor Manager' to assist in managing the *Work* floor and to present the findings of the co-participants.

The language, stories, and lived experiences of the Ancestors, and the cultural experiences embody *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge. The cultural artifacts such as cedar bark or wool weaving come to life in dance, rituals, and ceremonies, which embody *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge.

## Chapter 4. *Sts'its'áp'* (The Work)

In this Chapter of Findings, I use vignettes from each co-participant's response to the research question in Circle and contextualize their backgrounds in a respectful manner. Their *Syets* (true stories) emerge from a specific location that they generously shared in Circle. The narrative discourse patterns of the co-participants communicate their cultural, moral, social, and political perspectives. The data is presented as *Xay Sts'its'áp'* (Sacred *Work*) would proceed. The full transcriptions of the co-participants' narratives are in Appendices D and E.

### 4.1. Preparing the Floor — What it means to be *Skwxwú7mesh*

Because of co-participants' immersion in the fields of education and the Squamish language, they drew on 'self' associated with family, their heritage, their location, their relations in the community, and their students. The co-participants' narrative excerpts illuminate the conflation of power and 'self' that guide their conduct and acquisition of certain beliefs premised on ancient knowledge of *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) that form part of their everyday living.

#### 4.1.1. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Sesemiya*, Tracy Williams, 2015

I needed to look for my identity in the community. I started to learn songs and I felt like I came alive ... I had collective gaps in knowing who I was as a *Skwxwú7mesh* person ... I may not know all my genealogy, parts are missing. My identity as a *Skwxwú7mesh* person, once I started doing a lot of basketry and work with the trees, I came alive.

The Co-participant is a high-school counsellor for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*. She holds a BA and MEd degrees, is a mother of four, with a *Skwxwú7mesh* mate. She



grew up outside the community and is of mixed ethnic heritage. As a young school-age child and later as a young adult, she began looking for her identity in the community. *Sesemiya* is an educator, cultural practitioner with a focus on cedar bark harvesting and weaving. Currently, she is working on ancient technologies' of the Squamish people.

#### **4.1.2. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, Damara Jacobs-Morris, 2015**

What it means to me to be *Skwxwú7mesh* means everything. Being raised by a single Mother who is *Skwxwú7mesh* is very important, because that is everything in my foundation. I am here, I come from her, and so it was always that is what it is. I never questioned I was *Skwxwú7mesh*. I consider that a rare privilege because many people battle with their identity and who they are, where they are rooted, where they want to belong.

This Co-participant works in the field of philanthropy holds a BSc in Communications and an Honors MA degree in Arts and Visual Education. *Chawtenaat* grew up primarily on reserve living with her younger sister and Mother. She spent her earlier years, with her grandparents part-time and extended family. Her upbringing taught her to value the differences among human beings. Without question, she 'self' identifies as *Skwxwú7mesh* while recognizing her rich mixed ethnic heritage.

#### **4.1.3. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Jessie Williams*, 2015**

Grandpa Natrall and Grandma would talk to me about what my role was ... I have a responsibility to take care of others ... Do you know how I interpret that now, as a 38-year-old woman is that I take care of People in my community with Education, so they can be the best version of their 'self'. ... Being *Skwxwú7mesh* means being connected. It is sacred being part of the *Skwxwú7mesh* community.

This Co-participant works in the field of Post-secondary administration and counselling for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*. She holds a BBA and is currently working on her Master degree in Education Leadership. She grew up in-care, off reserve interspersed with periods on reserve with her Mother and Stepfather. She also recognizes her mixed ethnic heritage has influenced her life. Her narrative speaks to the influence that her grandparents had on her moral development.

**4.1.4. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *Spelexílh*, Anjeanette Dawson, 2015**

I am proud to be *Skwxwú7mesh* that is where I come from.

This Co-participant works in the field of elementary home school counselling for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*. She holds a Home-School Co-ordinators certificate and has worked in the field over 15 years. She grew up on reserve, moving up-Island when she married her husband from Kingcome Inlet. She is a cultural practitioner of the ancient art of wool weaving. She is a mother of two tribal mixed children and a grandmother of two. Her narrative positions her location and speaks to her powerful emotive posturing.

**4.1.5. Sharing Circle 2, Co-Participant: *Setálten*, Norman Guerrero Jr., 2015**

The [thing] that makes me proud to be *Skwxwú7mesh* is our *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim*, that is one of the huge things in my life and my *Nexws7usáyelh* (my teachers) and this is something that makes us uniquely *Skwxwú7mesh*. Nobody else in the World can speak that language but us, and that is what belongs to us and that is who we are as *Skwxwú7mesh* people. There is so much uniqueness within that, so many teachings. Language is the foundation of who we are; it branches out to so many different categories whether it's on the land hunting, medicine — the plants, longhouse everything it is all tied.

This Co-participant works as a *Skwxwú7mesh* Language teacher at the elementary school level for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*. He holds a Squamish Language Certificate. He grew up on reserve and spent many hours with his grandparents. His comments are a testament to *Skwxwú7mesh* ways of being, ceremony, and technologies, which have survived the assault of colonialism, because that is how he lives. He is a cultural practitioner who works with wool and cedar, gathering, harvesting and weaving. His narrative provides clarity on the complexity of language and how everything interconnects.

#### 4.1.6. **Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *Tsitsáyxemaat*, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

I am very, proud of my *kwshámin Tsitsáyxemaat* Growing up learning the history, legends, and the language as a child and all of that being introduced to me when I was a child by my late Grandfather... that's what makes me *Skwxwú7mesh*, my ancestry all the ties to this land, and my Ancestors of this Land makes me belong to this Land. I feel what makes me *Skwxwú7mesh* is the language.

This Co-participant works as a *Skwxwú7mesh* Language teacher at the high-school level for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*. She is working on completing her Squamish Language Certificate. She grew up on reserve with her sibling, mother, and grandparents. She is married to a *Métskwiyam* (Musqueam) man, mother to four children and two grandchildren. She is a highly proficient speaker of the language and applies this to all her work, most especially as a cultural practitioner, sharing songs, dance and cedar bark weaving. Much like the former Co-participant, she positions the *Skwxwú7mesh* Language at the core of her identity.

#### 4.1.7. **Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Vanessa Campbell, 2015**

Everyone uses their languages: 'Island', 'Fraser Valley' the 'Skagit' from the USA. They really love their languages, too. We understood that there were a lot of marriages from everywhere. We really respect that our blood is from everyone. They don't let you forget that everyone of us is related everywhere. That's the way I came to understand, 'You are Squamish but related to everyone!'

This Co-participant was born in Washington State, where she lived until she was eight then came home and grew up on the reserve. She works as a *Skwxwú7mesh* language team leader for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*. Her responsibilities include fieldwork and documentation of the language, taking up the cultural requests from Nation members and the general public. She is a highly proficient speaker of the language. She holds an Associate's Degree (Arts) and a Squamish Language Certificate. She has two grown children, a daughter, and son who have a mixed tribal background. Her comments are reflective of the humanity that is inherent in our important relationships. There is no distinction to be made between relationships with humans and with the land, as they are equally important.

#### **4.1.8. Sharing Circle 3, Kirsten Baker-Williams, 2016**

Yeah sure, so with that question I will probably start broad and get more specific. Obviously, *Skwxwú7mesh* is a language, which is very specific to an area, to the land, it is about the territory being Squamish, it is about the people, the ancestors, about the history, the oral traditions, and it is about a way of being, these are all tied in.

This Co-participant works for the First Nations Schools Association (FNSEA) as a Regional Principal for First Nations Schools. She holds a Bachelors of Arts and a Masters (Arts) degree; her thesis work was with first speakers and two-second speakers of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language. This Co-participant was born and raised by her mother in Tacoma, Washington State, returning to Squamish after her high-school graduation. Her comments highlight the intrinsic nature of ways of being; and home and community are perceived as being natural to creation. She comes from a mixed ethnic background.

#### **4.1.9. Sharing Circle 4, Co-participant: Ruth Nahanee, 2016**

What it means for me to be *Skwxwú7mesh* is a soul level of belonging to a family; with the same upbringing, beliefs, whether it is good or bad. I don't really just identify myself with being *Skwxwú7mesh*. I am also *Khowutzun* (Cowichan). My mom is *Khowutzun* because we spent half of our life there to but it's still the same because it is Coast Salish. It is the same energy on how it feels to be a First Nations person in the 50's and onwards. ... I speak about it from my heart about who I truly am.

This Co-participant works for the First Nations Lands Management Advisory Board as a Senior Technician on capacity building. Previously, she worked for 21 years in the areas of land registry, lands, and resource management for the *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*. She holds a Diploma in University of Victoria Administration of Aboriginal Government. This Co-participant was born and raised by both parents on the Mission Indian Reserve #1. She is a Mother of a daughter with two grandchildren who like her have mixed tribal and ethnic backgrounds. Her narrative is pure and concise as she speaks about the love of her people, the love for her family, and the love for her identity as one who has a powerful tribal identity.

## 4.2. Blanketing the Co-participants — Their connections with relations, with the land and cultural ways

### 4.2.1. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Sesemiya*, Tracy Williams, 2015

I feel it is all connected — the Land, the environment, the culture, the language are all tied to our Squamish identity. You cannot separate one from the other cause they are all very inter-related, some of the ways to include our ceremony, taking care of ourselves, ... physically and spiritually are I find, to me, a very rich quality. How we take care of loved ones when we lose them and during our time of grief, and how important it is to us as *Skwxwú7mesh* people. To take care of one another during those very sacred and hard times and those are at the heart of what makes us *Skwxwú7mesh*.

What is significant in this Co-participant's narrative is how she speaks about *chéñchenstway* (supporting one another) and the practices, which express who she is as a *Skwxwú7mesh* person.

### 4.2.2. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, Damara Jacobs-Morris, 2015

I will try not to over think it and say what comes to my heart right away because it is very easy to go too deep. ... Connections with relations are huge — Family is everything ...My connection to the Land is one of respect, and more like sacred, so when I go onto the Land, it is still playful. ... It is a playfulness that is also serious. ... So my connection to my cultural lifeway is one of hybridity, one of two ways, I can mix together, so that there is a happy balance. I feel good about practicing my culture and spirituality of our ways.

In this vignette, the Co-participant contextualizes the importance of her connection with family, the sacredness of her relationship with the land and with all living systems. She also highlights how play is an important relation respecting the protocols of the Land. Culture cannot be viewed as separated from the Land, which is made explicit with this Co-participant and other narratives.

#### 4.2.3. **Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: Jessie Williams, 2015**

... when I think of being connected to the Land, I think of the cleansing, being connected to the Land spiritually, being amongst the tree, and the water, rivers, lake, and it makes me take a deep breath and those things touch me in a way that things in the modern world don't.

This Co-participant talks about the spirit practice of connecting land through the practice of “brushing off” or cleansing. The practice of “brushing off” can vary family to family, but it often employs fresh cedar boughs in the cleansing, and symbolically even a walk amongst the forest can accomplish the same results. As she explains it, this takes the negative energies, hurt, heartbreak, and sadness off the physical and mental ‘self’.

#### 4.2.4. **Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson, 2015**

My connections with my relations, the land, and cultural ways ... I love helping People, and I guess the teaching is if anyone comes to ask you to help, we don't say no. It doesn't matter when sometimes I have to re schedule some of the things in my life to accommodate ... Pretty much in the winter, since I was initiated, I'm down at the Longhouse every week. That's in part where the relationship with the land has come in. A lot of teachings in the Longhouse, about the land and thanking everything that has come into your life from there, because someone has given up their life for you in there.

This Co-participants' story underscores the importance of *chéñchenstway* (supporting one another) and *wanáxw's* (respect).

#### 4.2.5. **Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: SetáIten, Norman Guerrero Jr., 2015**

I love *Skwxwú7mesh*, you are going home... always makes me think of Amanda Williams, “Oh we're going to the homelands.” That's so true — *St'á7mes* — all the Villages I only knew, I didn't get a chance to go up further to *P'uýám̓*, up to *Ch'ékch'ekts* — all of us together on a team field trip with Dickie [Chief Dick Williams] you know you hear our *swexwiýám* [legends]. One thing to hear, but when you are actually there you make the vital connection; your mind is totally blown. You know looking at where the Houses were you know you could just see it. Close your eyes and you could feel it. There're still there. It's such a powerful feeling to go up there.

This Co-participant highlights the power of being on the land as opposed to just hearing stories about what may have happened there.

**4.2.6. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *Tsitsáyxemaat*, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

I remember when we were children...going to the *Skwxwú7mesh* River with my late grandfather, my grandmother, my younger brother, and my late uncle. My late grandfather brought a lot of guns. We shot a lot of trees (laughter) and learned our language, many of our legends on our sacred lands. And he taught me to fish, about many berries. We picked blueberries, salmonberries, blackberries, and...thimbleberry. We went there every month. We were so happy playing by the river. I was so happy listening to so many legends, to so much of our language.

This Co-participant highlights the benefits of taking the classroom out — side of the four walls.

**4.2.7. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Vanessa Campbell, 2015**

We are here on our land. Not understanding the difference 'over there'. All that was said was, 'Stay here, nears our house. It's ok to play everywhere outside. We went to the yard. We got saskeys, stinging nettle; there were a lot of crab apples everywhere by our house. We understood the land as good. We weren't afraid of nature. We loved to go everywhere outside.

The Co-participant highlight the benefits of taking the classroom out-side of the four walls. She also alludes to the safeness in community when she was growing up.

**4.2.8. Sharing Circle 3, Co-participant: Kirsten Baker-Williams, 2016**

With the Canoe family, there are a lot of teachings or ways of being that come along with that like cultural songs and singing.... But, coming out of that the ways of teaching to get there like potlatching whether it was a naming, your line of expertise, or your teaching was going deeper and deeper. One of the things that the late Frank Miranda said to me was, "You have an option to practice culture or not. That is your choice as a person, but as a Squamish the least you have to know what it looks like or what that experience is (a pause)." So, he had a very diplomatic way of putting it you know.

This Co-participant references a very important teaching of the elders and highlights Uncle Frank Miranda's kindness in his statements.

#### **4.2.9. Sharing Circle 4, Co-participant: Ruth Nahanee, 2016**

In regards to my relations, I have been very blessed to come from many different families within the *Skwxwú7mesh* Nation and *Khowutzun* (Cowichan) Nation. I have always felt safe with our people. But, I must admit there has been internal racism towards my Hawaiian side that I have had to deal with especially, in my younger years. It was very hurtful and being an adult now I can see why people from our reserve felt this way ... It's almost like this multi-generational abuse that was perpetuated, once again I think by the Church. They seemed to have brought it, this whole concept of differences, I guess you can call it even though it isn't because my Hawaiian side from my great, great, great grandfather is spiritually very connected to how our people are, so I'm not sure. My mom and dad took us every weekend to some Creek or somewhere up in *Skwxwú7mesh* or down here on the North Shore. There was always that feeling that there was so much energy and power coming from the land and trees that it was very safe and comforting for me. And for the Catholic Church to denounce all that was very confusing to me that is why I never committed to being a Catholic because I felt what they were teaching was opposite to what they were doing to us as little kids. It was not loving (pause, deep breathes)...

This Co-participant references the impacts of Christianity and the duality of beliefs. She highlights the power of the water and how it sustained her through troubling times.



### 4.3. Summary of Bridging Questions

This table is a synthesis of the concepts in discrete groupings as the co-participants' shared in their Circle; many of the concepts are intrinsically interwoven between bridging questions 1 and 2.

**Table 4. Summary of Bridging Questions 1 & 2**

What does it mean to you to be <i>Skwxwú7mesh</i> ?			
Circle 1	Circle 2	Circle 3	Circle 4
Identity & Lived Experiences	Family Trees	The People	Soul Level of belonging to a Family
Connected in the Community	Squamish Language	The Language	
Family	Ancestral Names		
Tell us your connection with your relations, with the Land, and with the cultural ways			
Love basketry	Grandparents	Canoe Journey	Being on the land
Connections with relations	Longhouse Teachings	Specialized cultural practices	With family
All inter-related	The Land		By the Water
Living in Community	The Stories		Spirituality

### 4.4. *Welhchán Lha skwemáyakin* (Spreading the Blankets)

*Welhchán Lha skwemáyakin* (Spreading the Blankets) is laying out one question at a time in Circle. This *Work* is highly evocative for the co-participants because their ways of being, personal narratives, and lived experiences are seen through a *Skwxwú7mesh* (Squamish) worldview. My family's teaching is we hire respected elder women who are strong in mind, spirit, and heart to prepare the floor and spread the new and pure blankets. In the past, and in contemporary times, on a dirt longhouse floor the blankets are spread one by one on top of the last making four in total. This is repeated depending on the number of participants involved in the *Work*, i.e. a Naming. During my grandfather's time, his father had blankets spread around the whole floor of his grandfather, Chief Squamish Jacobs's longhouse. Papa Jacobs danced around the house after he received his name, this is what our late Granny Lena told us, and we hold this event in our memory.

In this Chapter, the power lies within the co-participants' narratives shared with everyone in Circle. The research has been designed to take up solutions from a *Skwxwú7mesh* interpretation. I have, as an active listener, responded naturally to the co-participants' narratives and shared as necessary my understanding of what they put forward in the Summary. The blankets in this work represent the four research questions. The blankets are new and pure and have been spread out for each of the co-participants to stand on.

#### **4.5. Blanket 1 — Context Quadrant — How do the co-participants define *nexwnínew***

##### **4.5.1. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Sesemiya*, Tracy Williams, 2015**

By the time Avery came around, the baby, about a year and half ago, it was just Avery and me. I decided to take her for a run and I was drawn to the river. We ran all the way down there with rocks on my feet. When we got there, I saw this tiny cedar tree. I went over holding the tiny boughs in my hand praying and feeling an exchange of energy between the tree and me. I asked the tree to help and to give back to the tree what I did not need. I pushed Avery's stroller close and she was holding onto the branch and I was holding on to another branch and I said, wow I get it I had formally introduced her to the tree.

##### **4.5.2. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, Damara Jacobs-Morris, 2015**

I like to think *nexwnínew* it is just how you were brought up literally from a baby, to your walking years, and to adulthood. Through all cycles of your life to an elder, you go again. I think that I am very lucky because I have had a very blessed upbringing. I have always felt loved, so my definition is that I have been wrapped in this love and been very blessed so, I define it by all the various forms of love.

It says upbringing directly connected to *Snewíyelh* in the *Skwxwú7mesh* — *Skwxwú7mesh* and the *Skwxwú7mesh* to English sides of the Dictionary. I asked Peter [Dr. Peter Jacobs] of course, because he worked on the Dictionary. You have it as — Advice, teachings. How he interprets it is *Nexwníw* is learning “how to fish” meaning that you only take as much as you need and give back. Your *Snewíyelh* is your Papa taking you to the river and teaching you “how to gut a fish, return the

bones, return the guts back to the river, praying over it and giving your first big catch to someone in the community.” It is the personal knowledge. That was his example on how I could wrap my head around it.

#### **4.5.3. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: Jessie Williams, 2015**

I think in order to answer the question that we acknowledge that we are all born with a gift, gifts from the Creator that we are meant to use through the walk, the journey through life. I think what *nexwnínew* means to me is how your families role needs to be and is for some blessed people like you Damara from birth to have someone in your family recognize that your gifts are nurtured. Exposing you to more opportunities to use those gifts and I think *nexwnínew* is sharing knowledge in your life. I really think we take roles and how we fit into that role you are just chosen to do that, some of us are blessed to figure out what our purpose is and some of us try for a while to figure that out.

#### **4.5.4. Sharing Circle 2, Co-Participant: Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson, 2015**

I saw my parents work hard for us to keep a roof over our head, food on the table, sending us to school. Being the role models, working — we struggled, the eight of us, no matter how little we had — a houseful of my older siblings had friends who were always over. Mom’s door was always open. Our home is like that too — our door is always open especially to my son’s friends — feeding all the People — tradition of my family. I grew up with many of my sibling’s friends, 2-3 other people living with us because they had nowhere else to go and they enjoyed Mom and Dad’s company as well.

#### **4.5.5. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: SetáIten, Norman Guerrero Jr., 2015**

Upbringing — *nexwnínew*... what I can reflect on is seeing my parents do for all five of us ... I always remember my dad worked and Mom followed the tradition — Mom stayed home and looked after the kids. Ahh, yeah Dad always told me I had you kids ... I always have to work... I have to make sure that you guys are fed because growing up hearing their stories of when they were kids they did not have — the luxury...

I spent many summers with them [grandparents] and the cultural aspect of *nexwnínew* would come from my grandmother. She shared a lot in regards to that — she shared quite a bit with the teachings she has, so a lot of the teachings. I have reflected on my late grandmother and how to

conduct yourself as a *Stélmexw* person ... who you are gonna be, it was explained to us that we had a role you know ... in the long ago everyone would have a role in the village, in the longhouse and she really instilled that in me.

**4.5.6. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Tsitsáyxemaat, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

I asked them (sic grandparents) 'I want to go sleep at my friend's house.' Ok, only one, only one of your friends. We don't want you to be sleeping everywhere!' What's with that? What's the matter with it? 'Just take care, men! It is the upbringing! Every day I listened to all of our Elders in the Longhouse. 'Listen everywhere you go! Be quiet everywhere you go, child. Listen.' 'In my home, close the doors quietly, gently...that's upbringing.'

**4.5.7. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Vanessa Campbell, 2015**

That is the way it was with us as children, too. We had to listen to everyone. Quietly, we had to be quiet when an Elder was walking along. Don't be rough housing. Don't be loud near our Elders. ...Wherever we went, it was quietly, with respect for each other, everyone where we went.

**4.5.8. Sharing Circle 3, Co-participant: Kirsten Baker-Williams, 2016**

Your late grandmother was very social, she was you know very talkative. She would express things freely and in terms of *nexwnínew* the upbringing, she openly modeled that. So that essentially you know how a child was brought up having, you know the teachings or the way of being. You know she would spend time specially giving examples of that where umm I'm thinking if we... She was a good teacher. Where I'm thinking in other ways now if we just talk about it more in general or abstract terms without kind of you know spelling it out. You know it would be specific examples of what it might look like might get maybe a little loss. You know she was able to provide examples of her as a young person you know growing up in the longhouse. How people treated each other, how happy it was, and you know the story telling and knowing the relations.

**4.5.9. Sharing Circle 4, Co-participant: Ruth Nahanee, 2016**

My Dad when we went to *Khowutzun*, *Skw̓xwú7mesh* valley we would, we would always go visit our highly respected elders. That was taught to our whole family that our elders were to be well respected and to do

everything you can for them, which we did. I used to go and wash my *Ta7ah's* walls instead of playing outside like everybody else (laugh). We were in there scrubbing *Ta7ah's* walls and chopping her wood.

However, I did not care it was because not only did I love her, but also I saw how much Dad loved her. Same on my mom's side, even though she didn't have her parents because they died of alcoholism ... She did have an Uncle and Aunt that we thought of as our grandparents and they were so loving and think that is because they did not go through residential school. They still held onto that true teaching of being loving, being kind, and being respectful and it was passed down to Mom and Dad and it was passed down to us, so I would say that's where it came from, our elder's.

## 4.6. Research Data

**Table 5. Blanket 1 — Context Quadrant**  
**How do the Co-participants define *nexwnínew*?**

<p>Circle 1 Reclaim and capture old ways of knowing. All the various forms of love Sharing knowledge in your life</p>	<p>Circle 2 Upbringing was a whole lot of hard work, love, and laughter in our homes Sharing, listening, respect for each other and everyone</p>
<p>Circle 3 Having the teachings or the way of being</p>	<p>Circle 4 True teaching of being loving, being kind, and being respectful</p>

### ***Nexwnínew***

Language fundamentally embodies nationhood and plays a crucial role in structuring *Skwxwú7mesh* identity through culture. In the community, the co-participants generally found that their peers came from *smeñmánálh* (high class or well-respected people). This evokes the sentiment in the phrase "*Ha7lh Stélmexw kwelh tiná7 chet* (We come from good people). With the Family, the co-participant's narratives interrelate with the discrete experiences of their parents, elders, and extended family to situate one's 'self'. The shared social history the co-participants have is that they all are descendants from *Siiyám̓s* (Chiefs).

## 4.7. Blanket Two — Mind Quadrant — How do we define *snewíyelh*?

### 4.7.1. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Sesemiya*, Tracy Williams, 2015

I think when I look at that *snewíyelh* is not only to seek the teachings but to learn from the mistakes and to learn from those mistakes to also understand how to carry yourself, how to care for yourselves, all those things that go with that. It does go to the heart — If Auntie Vanessa is teaching or something, I listen, stop, and pay attention.

### 4.7.2. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, Damara Jacobs-Morris, 2015

How do I define *snewíyelh* ... when I was growing up there were certain words used in my family in various ways. ... I really thought about it in relation to protocol, what happened at *Work*, no matter what kind of *Work*. I thought, “Okay what is my *snewíyelh* in this if I am at a Memorial, if I am at the Baby Ceremony, if I am at a Wedding. I think I always thought of it in context of Ceremony. Those advice, those teachings I mean with a real strictness so that is how I would define *snewíyelh* for me. Upbringing and personal advice. In Farsi, they have similar words. The almost insane closeness of family and community like in our reality, it is ... somewhat similar in the Persian community. My girlfriend ...asked me to go to her late Grandmother’s funeral. The really old *Ta7ah* stood up to speak in honour of her friend who passed ... using these words in Farsi. And I remember asking what is she saying — “if you were taught in a good way this woman was brought up right and she’s going to miss her because People aren’t being brought up to help their People and community.” I have non-Native friends who have a little bit of an appreciation of what all that is — so much deeper.

### 4.7.3. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Jessie Williams*, 2015

So when I think of advice I think of [*snewíyelh*] being done in conversation. ... Two people, conversing from the heart and mind. I feel like the difference with *snewíyelh* in our community, in the Squamish Nation we are able to give advice that is deeper than People who are not part of a community, say the public.

**4.7.4. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *Spelexílh*, Anjeanette Dawson, 2015**

Collette and I would go to Gran's, lie on the bed and watch *Young and the Restless* umm, she would tell us about teachings, as well, her favorite story with us about the Mountain, the Chief, she was proud of that place where we would go bath. She said it was a very powerful place and she would tell us stories. She would tell us how proud she was of us going for our baths and she said you keep it up it will keep you pure, your mind open and to help the People. Other teaching ... was how you treat people. I never saw my parents treat anyone bad no matter what part or stage of life they were in. As well, our grandparents a big teaching was this is how you treat people and how you help. You may not be the richest in *tala* but you are rich with your own ways. We all have special gifts.

**4.7.5. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *Setáíten*, Norman Guerrero Jr., 2015**

I have the respect for the ways and I show it by helping out. It is something that Ness, Becky said, "You have something to share, and don't wait to be asked and you just go and do it." *Xéñxen* is such a huge part of who we are as *Skwxwú7mesh* People we always refer to our ancestors and our connection to the land. You know I think we really focus on, here in our own community. Because we visit other places and they have a little bit of understanding, but here it is so rich since straight from a young age you are told about where you come from.

**4.7.6. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *Tsitsáyxemaat*, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

*Snewéyelh* to me, I think the first *Skwxwú7mesh* People were so honorable and in how they displayed it and modeled it to their descendants, as the way to be. It has been handed down for thousands and thousands and thousands of years. To be respectful to the Land, to each other, to yourself, for the waters, for everything ... to always be respectful, not be *eskénexw* (greedy) of all the teachings. To me I think from my own experiences especially, you need to have an open heart to be able to hear these teachings taking place, to see them happening and to understand them, then you can actually touch, feel these teachings sometimes even smell the teachings. I wanted *snewéyelh* back, asked for it to give me the strength to feel it again, fall in love with it all over again. It is so rich, it is just the absolute truth, it is the reality, and it is the way to be. I think it is the most important thing to share, not only with each other, but with our *ménmen*, so that is what *Snewéyelh* means to me.

**4.7.7. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Vanessa Campbell, 2015**

Respected colleague, your words were excellent. You carry yourself every day like a true leader. Maybe you do not realize this is the way of our ancestors' teachings. It is just the way you have carried yourself through this day...respectful in leadership. It may be that our young ones get it, too. Here we are you are parents, being like our grandparents today. Not just 'like', you have not forgotten as I have told you...you are growing. You say we are a different People. But you aren't just 'like' it's said our grandparents were. You aren't just 'like', you understand our teachings. The way of sharing. Our Elders' teachings are to support one another. To share with one another's teachings. You aren't greedy. You share. The way you understand our Elders' teachings you may not realize but that is the way you carry yourselves every day. The way our parents did, our grandparents, our great-grandparents, you carry on the teachings well.

**4.7.8. Sharing Circle 3, Co-participant: Kirsten Baker-Williams, 2016**

I know that translates as advice ... for me I have a hard time seeing how that would separate from an upbringing from *Nexwnínew*.

**4.7.9. Sharing Circle 4, Co-participant: Ruth Nahanee, 2016**

I would say that how I define my advice is as my spirituality — I came in with it, I was born with it, and nobody gave it to me otherwise I wouldn't have been so conflicted with the Catholic church, *siwín* and that kind of stuff. I always think being born with spirituality, already knowing what I knew growing up that anything that was against what I felt or believed.



**Table 6. Blanket Two — Mind Quadrant**  
**How do we define *snewíyelh*?**

<p>Circle 1          How to carry and care for yourself and seek teachings          Think about it as protocol in Work, teachings with a strictness          The way we connect is deep</p>	<p>Circle 2          Going for baths to keep you pure and your mind open to help the People          Respect for the ways, the land, each other          The way of the Ancestors teachings</p>
<p>Circle 3          Not separate from <i>Nexwnínew</i></p>	<p>Circle 4          My spirituality, I was born with it no one gave it to me</p>

**Snewíyelh**

The teachings and knowledge are cyclical thoughts, memories, knowledge, and emotional processes such as feeling, defences, and self-esteem are all described in the co-participants’ narratives.

## 4.8. Blanket Three — Body Quadrant — In what ways do you use your *nexwnínew* *iy snewíyelh* in your Work?

### 4.8.1. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Sesemiya*, Tracy Williams, 2015

I was thinking how it applies to my everyday life; you know the complexity of how you blend everything together. I went along on a Canoe Journey and one of the Elders — Hank Gobin was there. It was the last night of the Potlatch — It was three in the morning and we had been sitting there all day — and I was trying to be a good girl oh I was sitting there so tired ready to go to bed. Three-thirty in the morning and Uncle leans over, “Niece I’ll need a week leave at the end of my Potlatch” I sat up a bit straighter and I smiled I’m not going anywhere. I sat there until 5:30 in the morning. So what was the point of that is that he wanted me to be there essentially to learn the teachings and he was sharing part of a proper upbringing and there was something very beautiful about that it was not anything long and complicated. So when I think how do I use *nexwnínew* and *snewíyelh* in my work — part of that is trying to share for People who are wanting to learn and try to provide opportunities to include People who want to go out on the Land, it sounds funny to say but go run around the mountains. It is like our cultural classroom; it is so much more fun than sitting still and not moving when you look around in nature.

### 4.8.2. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, Damara Jacobs-Morris, 2015

So *Work* for me the way it is capitalized, I always think of Ceremony. So I also understand what’s happening from a scholarly, an Indigenous intellectual thing — this is *Work*. Her [Snítelwet, Deborah Jacobs] entire dissertation, the research, sharing circles, reviewing previous literature and study that has been done on this sort of thing like Indigenous identity and Languages. It makes me think okay, so all of this is the *Work*. In what way am I bringing my *nexwnínew* and *snewíyelh*, my upbringing and advice, my teachings to this *Work* — right now in this exact moment me as a human being, me as a *stélmexw* — my life as a *Work* thinking at that deep of a level too — it’s like whoa you can go anywhere with that. How am I bringing it to my *Work* — I think I will tackle it in the big context of my life as the *Work*, my life as the ceremony, and the various stages of protocol I try to go through on all these different areas of my life. I think I use some aspects of my upbringing and my teachings in everyday like trying to be grateful, to always be present and listen actively and share

in a meaningful way — all of that is part of my teachings that not only respects those around me but respecting myself so it's kinda you know thinking of how I am communicating with everything ... this is part of my *snewíyelh* and *nexwnínew*. I address it in everyday senses and I also address it in a much bigger way like with decisions — what job am I going to take, which man I am going to date — you know (laughter) things like that. I have to reflect on my upbringing and teachings and what part am I upholding and really staying true to its different. So, I see myself using it in those ways. Looking at the concept of *Work*, as a much larger greater thing.

#### **4.8.3. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: Jessie Williams, 2015**

I think the ways I use my teachings and shared advice is I really begin by coming from a place of love, by lovingly connecting with people. I think that enables me to spend I believe what is going to be the rest of my career. Encouraging others to find their inner light, their purpose; to be able to use that to be the best version of themselves, self-discovery through education and use that to share that with everybody their family their friends, community people outside of our community.

#### **4.8.4. Sharing Circle 2, Co-Participant: Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson, 2015**

I think that I am always using my upbringing. I tell some colleagues in the District that's the way I like to teach from my own life-skills. So, I think some of the things I have gone through for a reason. Sometimes those are brought to light because some of my clients are going through exactly what I have gone through myself or would have gone through with my own children, or my nieces and nephews or my brothers and sisters. I think all of those experiences I have gone through and I have learned a lot and have a lot to share with the families that I work with because I have gone through it. I can truly tell them that I know what you are feeling because this has happened to me. I have gone through this, so I am always drawing on life experiences, feelings, and teachings with the people I work with even today. I think that is part of the job that I really, love is actually working with the families and kids.

#### **4.8.5. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: SetáIten, Norman Guerrero Jr., 2015**

Everything we teach in that class, 98% has to do with *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh*. It's always explained the reason you are doing this is that you are going to be carrying on what the ancestors held for us, to be able to teach you. I am always explaining about the teachings and Angie as well, about how to conduct yourself in the classroom and when you are

out because we always refer to the Longhouse and how it is in there. I ask the kids, “If you go to ceremony at the Longhouse or the Gym, are you always running around?” “Do your parents tell you to sit and listen?” Well that’s what we tell you to be like you are in the classroom, sit, listen, and don’t be rude. The consent form we sent out also has our code of conduct. *Wanáxw̓s stway, ch’áwatway, ta tkwayá7imen, chéñchenstway.* We want you to be respectful to one another; we want you to help each other, encourage each other and to listen to each other.

**4.8.6. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Tsitsáyxemaat, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

I have been a dancer for 28 years now so I had that... teachings from the Longhouse just before I started teaching, so I had a base foundation to go on. Now I know in my heart that what we teach is based on that and the pieces are falling into place. Like *Setálten* said, more of the puzzle comes in and you feel complete; and more pieces come into it and it is uplifting. Definitely like *Setálten* said, our *Work* revolves around *nexwnínew̓ iy snew̓éyelh.*

**4.8.7. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Vanessa Campbell, 2015**

Once again, the words of all of you are so good. Teachings, someone’s teachings, sharing teachings among ourselves. It’s the way you carry yourself conduct yourself every day. Being of support to each other. Not being greedy. Upholding the teachings every day. Affirming happy feelings, as well as feeling low. Talk about it. We aren’t always sad but we can still show support. It’s like, in the classroom, we see someone who’s having a hard time. Unable to listen. We don’t just let him alone in that state. We go with kindness, gently, ‘What’s the matter?’, ‘Talk about what’s going on.’, ‘You don’t have to be stuck like that.’, ‘Don’t bring something here that isn’t needed.’ No. Just say, ‘Bring that here.’, ‘Talk about it.’, ‘He’ll help you.’ In the same way as in our families, with grandparents, we, us. When you are with our children, you cannot forget about how you grew up every day with our families. And in our work. You cannot work alone. It is the same way in which our Community cannot work alone; it needs family and friendship to work

**4.8.8. Sharing Circle 3, Co-participant: Kirsten Baker-Williams, 2016**

I’m now regional principal, so I get to work with multiple First Nation schools and I still get to work with *Xwmélch’sten* which is still one of my favourite schools. What I’m finding is, which might be a bit interesting, is when you kind of get out of your community and kind of get out of your home base, you almost have to do a little bit more reminders in terms of

how you want to be in the world. Because we are often moving very quickly in our work and often are foot soldiers for many educational methods. I mean, the first thing I've had to do with myself, over the past couple of years is to constantly first do the reminder to slow down a little bit.

**4.8.9. Sharing Circle 4, Co-participant: Ruth Nahanee, 2016**

When I worked for the *Skwxwú7mesh* Nation, I would say it was very challenging for me because I worked not only with the Lands but also with the membership. Their infinity towards the Lands and the history had to do with individual properties and I think that being spiritually strong helped me to being more empathetic with our membership. ... When I had a client, that person was another spiritual human being and I treated them with respect and fairness.

**Table 7. Blanket 3 — Body Quadrant  
what ways do you use your *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* in your Work**

<p>Circle 1 Blend together because that is who I am and sharing with people who want to learn Every day trying to be grateful, to always be present and listen actively and share in a meaningful way, respect others and respect myself Use my teachings from a place of love</p>	<p>Circle 2 Always using my upbringing and sharing my teachings Teaching the children that they are going to be carrying on what the ancestors held for us Sharing teachings, it's in the way you carry yourself, being supportive not greedy</p>
<p>Circle 3 Trying to model what I have been taught in terms of business and slowing down</p>	<p>Circle 4 Use my upbringing and the teachings in my work with the land and estates</p>

***Nexwnínew iy Snewíyelh* in your Work**

The modalities of power and the processes of *Nch'ú7mut* (united as one) are essential to understanding *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) in context and with the dynamics.

#### **4.9. Blanket four- Spirit Quadrant — How do you make space to bring your *nexwnínew̓ iy snew̓iyelh* to your practices?**

##### **4.9.1. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Sesemiya*, Tracy Williams, 2015**

Part of my journey has not been just looking at weaving but looking at all the other components. So sometimes, it involved having the tools to be able to do the weaving. You know I thought I could sit here forever waiting for someone to make me the tools. So rather than sitting around waiting I thought I am just going to try to learn. So one summer here at *Ch'ich'ilxwi7kw* I was able to ride my bike to work and at lunchtime I would ride my bike over to the other side of the river. ... I have the best view ever this does not cost me anything. I am on my lunch break — this is I literally was making space and time just sitting there and this sounds funny but to just receive the teachings.

##### **4.9.2. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, Damara Jacobs-Morris, 2015**

It is so funny, whenever I think of making space in practice... I always think of Grad school and learning about being an Art, Visual, and Cultural educator. It is always about reflecting on your practice, your artistic and creative process as an educator who is encouraging people's creative and artistic purposes. So it is interesting for me, whenever I think about it is how can I change a classroom or a museum floor. I think how I can change that into an actual space, a physical space also a metaphoric space for people and kind of for me to engage in my practice as an educator. So in relation to my traditional self, *nexwnínew̓ iy snew̓iyelh* and my practices, I make space for it in both the literal sense of making this space, figuring out how to make the space work, the logistics of the room, the ceremony and also the people's feelings and the energy.

##### **4.9.3. Sharing Circle 1, Co-participant: *Jessie Williams*, 2015**

How do I make space to bring my teachings and upbringing and advice to my practice? I think of it as my environment that I have consciously chosen for myself, being my surroundings and the field I am in. So it is choosing to come back to work in my community. I was not working in my community before I chose to come back to because an opportunity opened up. I could not deny my passion for the Education Department. I choose to work for the position I work in. It is not like you know many of us have skill sets and we could work anywhere but I choose to be here.

I made that choice... ummm... consciously and it is the colleagues I choose to work with and be around every day. So that's how I make space like in the place where I feel I can make the most contribution and share what I have learned in my upbringing as a child, as a youth, as a young adult and now as a middle aged grown up. Sharing my knowledge and advice on People who are bettering themselves, [and] being successful in life.

**4.9.4. Sharing Circle 2, Co-Participant: *Spelexílh*, Anjeanette Dawson, 2015**

I think every year since I have been initiated [as a *Síwíñ* (Spiritual power) dancer] I have always made time for my Spirit. I love my Spirit, I love this part of my life, and it is a big part of my life this time of the year [winter]. I am hardly ever home. I think because of work and other obligations now it has not been so much this year. So, I am trying to find that balance right now. I am out there *shúk'um* [bathing] with my sister and my meñ. I thanked them both for inviting me. My life was too busy before and I could not go last time she asked. I was able to go and thanked them for dragging me back into it. I feel I need the balance with both of these soon. With pieces and parts of my life back now for a healthy mind, body, and Spirit — this is what I want back.

**4.9.5. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *SetáIten*, Norman Guerrero Jr., 2015**

Like I was saying when you just do it... what was shared with me by my cousin when I was in the Longhouse ... 'You know this is what was said to me, what you call your conscious is no longer anymore, it is referred to you as your Spirit, and it has always been your Spirit. Whatever it is telling, you to do you follow through with it.

My grandmother always said you do not go looking for it when you are right it will come to you. You will have those dreams, those visions come to you, and so I truly believe it. I make that space I leave that space there for whatever comes. You always have to have that space. U Siyam

**4.9.6. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: *Tsitsáyxemaat*, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

I truly believe that, the same — if it is meant for you, be patient it will come. Ever since I got into recovery, whatever I really pray on, or wish has been coming at me. It is unbelievable and I am so grateful with all gifts that have come my way and the blessings. My heart is telling me I need to make time for me and create my own personal space. I can hear

my Papa, "*Wa chexw shúk'um!*" I can hear my Auntie Theresa saying, "You go for that run!" "Get out in the bush." "Go for a hike." She was always on me about being active. I have been eating properly, I am always telling my kids and the kids at my house, "You are what you eat!"

**4.9.7. Sharing Circle 2, Co-participant: Vanessa Campbell, 2015**

The only thing I do is like every day I give thanks for having good food. Every day I put aside some food to feed my Spirit as I was told to do by an advisor. 'Don't forget to feed your Spirit.' So every day I put some away, every day for fifty years. It is like it's wrong to eat it all up. So I just leave some. This is the way I remember our ancestor's ways. This is how I share in feeding them. Every day I feed their Spirits, too.

Of all things our Elders said, 'You can't change anyone.' Could be someone is mad at you. You cannot understand what the matter is but go with a good feeling in your heart. Listen. Wait for a change. You cannot change anyone but maybe that someone you visit will change. Just speak as you do every day. Do not forget that everything you want is a gift brought from our ancestors. Wait. Listen. Talk it over.

**4.9.8. Sharing Circle 3, Co-participant: Kirsten Baker-Williams, 2016**

I meet hundreds of people each year and it is umm a little bit disjointed. I think to be more connected, I would have to do a big stop, probably do something for me that is a bit more reminding or grounding, spiritual or some daily practice that would help me at this point. I mean I am modeling what I know, but not as community based, as I would like to be. Which kind of feels differently? So, I think if you are not doing something often, everyday, or making a habit of whatever it is. Just talking with people or you know speaking *Skwú7mesh* with people.

**4.9.9. Sharing Circle 4, Co-participant: Ruth Nahanee, 2016**

I do get cedar boughs, I put them in a big pot, and I boil them. I use the water, the cedar water in a hot bath and put crystals in the corner and that really detoxifies and takes away all the negativity off me, or grief. Those are special practices that I use when I really, really, really need it. That is usually because of grief.



**Table 8. Blanket 4 — Spirit Quadrant**  
**How do you make space to bring your *nexwnínew̓ iy sneŵíyelh* to your practices?**

<p>Circle 1          Look at all the components to make time to receive the teachings          People must feel good about the space not just in a metaphorical sense in their process as they create art, also in the physical space          My environment I consciously choose</p>	<p>Circle 2          Make time for my Spirit          I make the space and leave that space for whatever is to come          If it is meant for you it will come          I put aside some food to feed my Spirit</p>
<p>Circle 3          Make space to get grounded</p>	<p>Circle 4          Pray every night</p>

***Nexwnínew̓ iy Sneŵíyelh* and your Practices**

The positive learned teachings are numerous, and the negative did not give rise. The interspace between *nexwnínew̓ iy sneŵíyelh* is filled with the *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim*. The positive innate force in the Co-participants narratives characterize the parameters and delineate the features of *nexwnínew̓ iy sneŵíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) within the knowledge systems. The notion of praxis is a primary concept in this *Work* because the truth is found in evidence-based community practice at the *Xwmélch'sten Milha7áwtxw* (Capilano Longhouse) and the dialectical movement is found in the interrelationship of all things in the *Skwxwú7mesh* Universe.

## Chapter 5. Conclusion — *Lhít'it*

*Chen wa k'ay'áchn ta néwyap (I raise my hands in thanks to all of you)  
Ha7lh Stélmexw kwelh tiná7 chet (We come from good people). I hope  
this Work benefits other Squamish people. When we look at the Work —  
it brings to us different levels of understanding of our nexwnínew iy  
snewíyelh.*

At the conclusion of a *Work*, the Family shares *Lhít'it* (give-around presents) with their guests. In the context of my research, the give-around presents are gleaned from the co-participants' narratives. Their thoughts and feelings supported the original premise that we are engaged in a socialization process, at the crux of an intergenerational pedagogy of *Skwxwú7mesh* language, culture, and knowledge re-generation that is enculturated through extended family relations in formal and informal ways. The intrinsic properties of *nexwnínew iy snevíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) and their interface are not problematic, but rich in meaning. The research provides new findings that interact with a suite of educative features that stress learning both the practice and content. The research findings also provide enlightened ethnographic information on the *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* from the *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh*.

The co-participants' narratives hold components of *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge, such as *wanáxw̓s* (respect), *smenálhwiit* (dignity), *áyatway* (kindness), and *chénchenstwaywit* (support for one another), fundamental tenets of the *Nch'u7mút* (in unity as one) theory. The concepts in the co-participants' narratives have been presented in discrete groupings. Co-participants' and their families are restoring *Skwxwú7mesh* intergenerational language transmission. In the co-participants' narratives, they are asserting their right to use the *Skwxwú7mesh* language and live the ways of being. The co-participants have engaged with the language and culture; to reconstruct their family knowledge through *Xéñxen* (the act of relating one's descent) and cultural practices. One major finding involved the natural and spiritual world; this co-participant's response holds a deep meaning:

She [her grandmother] would tell us about teachings, as well her favorite story with us about the Mountain, the Chief, she was proud of that place where we would go bath. She said it was a very powerful place and she would tell us stories. She would tell us how proud she was of us going for our baths and she said you keep it up it will keep you pure, your mind open and to help the People. (Co-participant narrative, Dawson, p. 158)

The inquiry opened up the co-participants' *Skwxwú7mesh* 'self' to engage their *nexwnínew̓ iy snew̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings); while leaving contracted spaces to navigate the differences between the *Skwxwú7mesh* ways of being and the western worldview. Their beliefs evoked both an individual and collective intervention, which also opened ones *welh7áynexw* (spirit) to their *Skwxwú7mesh* 'self', my own included. This co-participant speaks to this awakening of her spirit and her connection to the land,

There were times in my life when I needed spiritual and emotional cleansing. I used the trees to emotional cleanse, to take some of my hurts and take my heart heavy feelings off my chest. I prayed to and after to the tree thanking it for being part of my healing process and taking it off and sending it to the sky. I have also used the river to help cleanse myself to help myself deal with certain spiritual callings. I have, I kind of have to work through and keep it calm, I use the river and cedar to calm this experience that sometimes comes out and so that's what I think of when I think of the Land. (J. Williams, Co-participant narrative, p. 125)

The *Skwxwú7mesh* co-participants have shared that they feel, hear, taste, and smell *snew̓éyelh iy nexwníw* as lived experience within their traditional territories, within their homes, and with their families (Co-participant narrative, *Tsitsáyxemaat*, R. Duncan, p. 163). It is critical that one understands the specificity of *Skwxwú7mesh* oral history within place, as it scaffolds relations with 'self', with the physical environment and the spiritual realm. Four distinct themes come from this *Work: Wanáxw̓s* (Respect) *Xéñxen*, Community healing, and Transformation.

Sacred ceremonies verify *Skwxwú7mesh* laws and the history are passed on to the next generation. *Wanáxw̓s* (Respect) is integral to sustain our relationships with our family and community. The *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* must democratize the teachings and ways of being and knowing for all learners; especially disconnected families with little or no *nexwnínew̓ iy snew̓íyelh* (upbringing and the teachings). *Skwxwú7mesh* people have and continue to resist from many sites including community events, sacred ceremony,

athletics, cultural activities like cedar bark harvesting and weaving, Shaker church, Catholic Church elders' prayer group and the Nation school. Resistance and action is for *Skwxwú7mesh* Nation building. As a result, *Wanáxw̓s* (Respect) is integral to *Nch'u7mút* (in unity as one) and supports the assumption that *Skwxw7úmesh* knowledge continues to sustain our civilization.

*Snew̓iyelh* is rooted in *Xéñx̓en*, (the act of relating one's descent) as a central social and political piece that sustains Community, and *Skwxwú7mesh* ways of being, which are implicit in one's *nexwnínew̓* (upbringing). It was clear that the co-participants were appealing to a broad view of one's lineage and family connections to encourage the learning through the language. Learners need to develop an understanding of family trees to see how they belong to the *Skwxwú7mesh* and their kinship ties. This in turn facilitates self-love, helping one another, respecting one another and all *Skwxwú7mesh* families.

In the *Work*, the *Skwxwú7mesh*, co-participants connected to heal as first, second, and third generation residential school survivors from historical trauma. For the silenced, finding voice and hearing the ancestors speak is liberating and transformative. A holistic approach towards language and cultural renewal has tensions that must be negated by a disaggregated method that separates out language only as linguistic phenomenon. The re-dress of these tensions is imperative in *Skwxwú7mesh* healing from the injustice of language suppression in the historical experience of Indian residential schools. Mainly, the co-participants situated healing in the reconstruction of *Skwxwú7mesh* 'self' using language acquisition and cultural practices.

It is a priority for *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* to speak *Skwxwú7mesh* daily at home, in the community; place of work and in school. The author's premise is that the way we think shapes the language we speak. For example, the way we speak about the sacred and the way we practice, the sacred ways of being are the praxis and interface of our *nexwnínew̓ iy new̓iyelh* (upbringing and the teachings). In the community there are social and formal gatherings with similar sets of behavioural expectations, with different standards of rigour for a *Skwxwú7mesh meñ* (child), *swí7ka* (man) and *slhánay̓*

(woman). Therefore, the way we speak coupled with the way we live influences *Skwxwú7mesh* thought.

The natural way of speaking and using the *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim* is important to the survival of distinct *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge. It is important — *Skwxwú7mesh* People communicate with one another in a respectful manner that engages *Skwxwú7mesh* protocol. The supposition is that ‘formal learning’ is rooted in our relationships with *Ƴaays* (The Transformers) and *Skwxwú7mesh* First Ancestors’ teachings. *Skwxwú7mesh* language is central to our philosophical system; oral, cultural, and artistic practices and music traditions; and knowledge about our lands, environment, and medicine. It is important to understand the specificity of *Skwxwú7mesh* oral history within place, as it scaffolds relations with ‘self’, within the physical and the spiritual realms. The idiom of the distinct notions of *nexwnínew* and *snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) are important to future healthy generations of *Skwxwú7mesh* people.

The *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* moral universe draws upon the knowledge based on the relationships one has with individuals in the Coast Salish world, with the Ancestors, with the unseen and seen world, and with the land. A key transformative strategy is to nurture *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* and place *Skwxwú7mesh* ways of being and pedagogies at the center of learning. Stories and oral history highlight the validity of *Skwxwú7mesh* language, knowledge, and ways of being. I learned that *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh* (upbringing and the teachings) are rooted in *s7ulh sékw’7ekw’itel iy s7ulh temíxw* (our relatives and our land) from the *Skwxwú7mesh* co-participants, which complements my teachings from my *Snuneymuxw* elders and my parents. The creation of critical pedagogies informed by the culture and language may open self to become *Skwxwú7mesh* in more than membership.

The *Work* adds to an emerging international literature on Indigenous research methodologies of which Kaupapa Maori Research, Maori Philosophy and Practice Research is one example from Aotearoa. The *Work* contributes to a body of knowledge that holds hope and promotes transformation and social change for the *Skwxwú7mesh*. Ceremony frames the co-participants’ lived experiences with a *Skwxwú7mesh* lens to

reclaim one's 'self'. The co-participants assert their right to *Skwxwú7mesh* language and ways of being<sup>3</sup> in everyday life.

The *Work* may help in our collective efforts to free our Nation from cultural patterns of oppression to better navigate internal and external conditions that favour *Skwxwú7mesh* language regeneration and sustainment of *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge systems. The process of transformation must begin with an understanding that in dialogue there are differences in how we view both our *Skwxwú7mesh* reality and our shared reality as Canadians.

Today a criticality of politics of assimilation, colonization, and decolonization still exists. *Skwxwú7mesh* knowledge and culture are still valid and important today, and we struggle for its survival because we live in an environment that is still shaped by the political, social, and economic landscape of the past. The aspects of colonialism are in the religious, political, environmental forums that influence Indigenous languages. In all domains these ideological factors must be interrogated; all come into play because our language has been forever changed by the assimilation attempts on our people. In order to strengthen the *Skwxwú7mesh* language, we must seek to remember it in its wholeness. We must live the language and live the culture.

To understand what it will take to revitalize the *Skwxwú7mesh* language requires a deep understanding of the worldwide forces at work to bring about the extinction of Indigenous languages. The 'loss of language' is not a natural phenomenon. Language extinction however does have agency because English was a language imposed upon First Nations in Canada by agents of the Crown and their powerful economic, social, and educational systems, all done to take lands and resources and diminish the Indigenous people's relationship to their traditional lands. Clearly, it is evident that we require multi-tiered strategies and a plan of action to revitalize our language.

<sup>3</sup> I found the article by Martin & Mirraboopa (2003) to be an inspirational approach to Indigenist research.

## 5.1. Plan of Action

1. Indigenous people in all domains must continue to press the issue of Language revitalization as nation — building in all forums.
2. We must collectively heal from the Indian residential school devastation on families known as historical grief trauma by increasing the opportunities to learn the *Skwxwú7mesh* language in our Nation.
3. We must increase the opportunities where we can use the *Skwxwú7mesh* language.
4. We must actively cultivate praxis of collective agency among First Nations in British Columbia who are committed to reimagining a Homeland not based on the superiority of two languages, English and French, but inclusive of all First Nations languages.
5. We must continue to build respectful alliances across cultural and race with an ethic of valour to take up the *Work* in many settings, for example in public post-secondary institutions to ascertain that *Skwxwú7mesh* intellectual traditions take priority over Western intellectual traditions.
6. We must continue to support, honour our fluent *Skwxwú7mesh* speakers and *Skwxwú7mesh* language experts because their authority rests within tried and true perspectives of our ancient culture and inheritance.
7. We must continue to strive to have an inclusive gendered Indigenous identity, wrapped within an Indigenous worldview that respects all Human beings.
8. We each must commit to learn our language so that we can engage at higher levels with knowledge holders and elder speakers. We must do this because our knowledge is encoded in our language.
9. We must continue to press for our linguistic rights, which have been historically ignored, yet studied for decades.
10. We must call for the legislated protection for First Nations language by way of an *Official First Nations Language Act* that we develop to meet our Nations needs. The *Official Languages Act of Canada* recognizes English and French as official languages of Canada. English and French languages have received further protection in sections 16 and 23 of the Canadian Constitution's Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). Neither the Canadian constitution nor federal legislation refers to First Nations language.

## 5.2. Recommendations

I have two recommendations:

1. I intend to undertake additional research and anthropomorphize the *Nch'u7mút* (united as one) theory. This calls for post-secondary institutions to increase opportunities for *Skwxwú7mesh* scholars to conduct further research and development with their own people.
2. I aim to take up *Skwxwú7mesh* identity and socialization. The questions that arise from the *Work* are centered on the modalities of power and the processes of *Nch'ú7mut* (united as one) theory, which I believe is relevant to all domains.

## 5.3. Summary

For me the journey has been complex, as it has been full with teachings from the co-participants, the elders, my family, friends, and the ancestors. The *Skwxwú7mesh* will be self-determining when the *Skwxwú7mesh* breathe life into the language, honour the teachings, and respect each individual's gift. The co-participants taught us that *nexwnínew̓ iy snéwíyelh* is powerful and must be lived and experienced in real time with heart, mind, body, and spirit. It is important to *Skwxwú7mesh-ulh* that *Skwxwú7mesh* scholar's preserve and document the knowledge systems for those unborn children whose faces, souls, and spirits are still coming towards us. I want to leave you with the following quote,

Our People, the Coast Salish People, were taught to pass on the teachings of our Elders through storytelling. We were trained to connect with the energies of the Universe. The Creator told us, this is how you will be as human beings. ... We must never forget what our Ancestors tell us: Never forget where you came from. (*Kwulasulwut*, White, E. 2008)

*Tir̓á kwítsi en snichim* (that is all the words). Chen kwen mantúmi (I am grateful).



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# Appendix A. Salish Sea



Source: Tulalip Nation by permission of Coast Salish Nations.

## Appendix B. Squamish Land

# S̓k̓w̓x̓w̓u7meshúlh Temíxw



Source: *S̓k̓w̓x̓w̓u7mesh Sníchim — Xwelíten Sníchim Skexwts* (Squamish — English Dictionary). Squamish Nation Education Department, (2011).

## **Appendix C. List of Co-participants Permission**

*Sesemiya*, Tracy Williams

*Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya*, Damara Jacobs-Morris

Jessie Williams

*Spelexilh*, Anjeanette Dawson

*Setáalten*, Norm Guerrero

*Tsitsáyxemaat*, Rebecca Duncan

Vanessa Campbell

Kirsten Baker-Williams

Ruth Nahanee

## Appendix D. Bridging Narratives

### Q1. What does it mean to you to be *Skwxwú7mesh*?

#### *Co-participant — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams*

I grew up with a confused identity here and had fair skin on top of it all. My father married my mother and I had no status. As a young girl, I went to Pre-School and I would tell everyone my name was Tracy Nahanee. I knew Tracy Nahanee was connected to our People. I always longed for identity and I grew up in Coquitlam. I was graduating from high school when I became a Band member because of the changes to legislation and I always think about it as coming home again. I was looking for it in Education, but I needed to look for my identity in the community. I started to learn songs and I felt like I came alive. I was on reserve and off reserve. I had collective gaps in knowing who I was as a Squamish person. So I may not know all my genealogy, parts are missing. My identity as a *Skwxwú7mesh* person, once I started doing a lot of basketry and work with the trees came alive. Out on the land, there I met my husband who was involved with hunting and all the props involved with that. That is who I am and seeing myself in *Skwxwú7mesh*, and how important it is that I raise my children.

#### *Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris*

So ... what it means to me to be *Skwxwú7mesh* means everything. Being raised by a single Mother who is *Skwxwú7mesh* is very important because that is everything in my foundation. I am here, I come from her, and so it was always that is what it is. I never questioned I was *Skwxwú7mesh*. I consider that a rare privilege because many people battle with their identity and who they are, where they are rooted, where they want to belong. So to me, it means everything to be *Skwxwú7mesh*. I am very aware that I am mixed. My father is an African American, Cherokee, and French Canadian. I always knew because they said to me when I was little you are too dark to be an Indian, exact same thing (*Sesemiya*) experienced but the reverse. I was always proud I was a Jacobs, a big deal for me. When I moved to the reserve in my teen years, my cousin [another] Jacobs said, "You're a Jacobs?" I said, "Yeah." She said, "You look like you're a Hindu!" I was like "Wow." I got so mad I told my Auntie (her grandmother)

and she got upset. We are really close and she loved my grandmother, my mother's mother. So she was upset, she said that to me. I was sixteen and reflecting on that.

I was aware that People did not see me physically as *Skwxwú7mesh* ... but for me it was my lived experience. Despite my experiences with those were quote unquote "*Skwxwú7mesh*", I didn't ever feel less than. I am very proud of my heritage and spent a great deal of time with my grandparents. I do remember my Ta7ah, my great grandmother and I remember her speaking in 'Indian' and I remember my Family on the Island and I was around it- it is who am and who I always will be. That is what it means to me to be *Skwxwú7mesh*.

### ***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

So for me it was I first read the questions and I do not even know how am I going to answer that question? I have been reflecting on it all morning and I now feel confident about answering it. Being *Skwxwú7mesh* for me, a *Skwxwú7mesh* woman is a journey, still a journey. There are some big strong roots I can connect to quite quickly I will share that in a minute... one of the challenges I grew up with is my biological father is European and African American and South American. My grandma on my dad's side is European; but I grew up on reserve with my mom and my — dad who raised me. I have had these amazing rich and valuable experiences and I am acknowledging both my parents were alcoholics and from the age of eight, I was in foster homes.

I felt a big gap of knowledge and it is not based on People not loving me but based on not being home in my community but off where I often did not know anybody and my experience growing up was that too no one ever thought I was First Nations. People would talk about First Nation subjects in front of me not knowing that I was First Nations. They did not have the right knowledge and were just ignorant-well that always made me think hard who I was as a *Skwxwú7mesh* person of mixed heritage. The things I connect to being *Skwxwú7mesh* when I think about it being part of a Family called the *Skwxwú7mesh* Nation. That is how I view it and being part of this family, I have a role, a responsibility, and ability.

Grandpa Natrall and Grandma would talk to me about what my role was-I was on top of the Totem Pole and I have a responsibility to take care of others and to be educated. Do you know how I interpret that now, as a 38-year-old woman is that I take care of the People in my community with Education, so they can be the best version of their self? To me that is what it means to be part of the community and being *Skwxwú7mesh* means being part of a Family and those not part of my blood Family I think that is part of being blessed, no differentiation. I feel so sad for them who do not know being connected People, allowed to be in the community, and to never feel alone. I was about 20 when I learned how connected I was to community. I moved to Eastern Toronto for a year. I cannot get over how awful it felt to be away from home and my People. Being *Skwxwú7mesh* means being connected. It is sacred being part of the *Skwxwú7mesh* community. It is important to me; it matters to me... to find some way to help.

***Co-participant 4 — Spelexilh, Anjeanette Dawson***

I am proud to be *Skwxwú7mesh* that is where I come from. The people that I consider Family, which are most families... I found it very interesting learning about the Family Trees-and how they branch out and you actually find out who you are related to through our Ancestors maybe two or four people. The families are pretty large. [I am] proud of my culture and being part of the Longhouse. It is a big part of my life — a piece of my life I look after and participate in every year. Learning a bit of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language here and there and picking it up. Trying to use and retain it just like the students are. That's about it I think.

***Co-participant 5 — SetáIten, Norman Guerrero Jr***

*Ha7lh skwáyel tu núyap... An iis ti skwáyel ti stsi7s. (wa xaym) Na wa lhéIhemexw ti stsi7s! SetéItn kwi n kw'eshámin.* Norm Guerrero (Jr) kwi n sna. Hello to you all. It is a very beautiful day today. (Laughs) It is raining today!

Good morning everyone it is a beautiful rainy day today. I am glad to sit here and share some things with you guys. What it means to me to be *Skwxwú7mesh* and what makes me proud to be *Skwxwú7mesh*-Well I guess what makes me proud is being



able to be working with the people like you. It is such an honour. I never really seen myself coming down this road but I was told by many people that this is what is going to happen eventually. The Creator had something in mind for me and what I am doing. I am very honoured to have been brought up in a culturally rich family with a lot of teachings, especially from my grandparents. That is where I get my knowledge and teachings from.

Like Angie said, you know growing and learning about the Family trees is one of my favourite things to talk about. If you know me, you know I love to sit and talk about it for hours. Every time I bump into my colleague, *Xwáchtenaat*-Kathy that is the first thing we talk about is *Xéñxen* (telling a family tree). We start talking about something we might have found. About a new connection. We might have figured out going back a few generations. So *Xéñxen* is a huge thing. That is one thing that Vanessa taught us in school-you have that knowledge to share — it's for us to share with the kids. Some of them might have a little bit of understanding and to branch it out that connection with all the kids and show we are all connected in some way.

The other thing that makes me proud to be *Skwxwú7mesh* is our *Skwxwú7mesh sníchim*, that's one of the huge things in my life and my *Nexws7usáyelh* (my teachers) and this is something that makes us uniquely *Skwxwú7mesh*. Nobody else in the world can speak that language but us, and that's what belongs to us and that is who we are as *Skwxwú7mesh* People. There is so much uniqueness within that, so many teachings. Language is basically the foundation of who we are; it branches out to so many different categories whether it's on the land hunting, medicine-the plants, longhouse everything it is all tied. Language that is what really makes me happy and proud to share that stuff with our men. It's something exciting because as they always say in the dance house- *milha7áwtxw*- is you are always learning it never stops. I learn something new it seems every month. I figure out something new, it seems every month. I figure out something new every month. That's about it for now- I don't want to take it all- steal everyone's thunder (laughing) just kidding- U Siyám.



**Co-participant 6 — Tsitsáyxemaat, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

*Chen. A wanáxws n skwalwn ten sníchim. Chen kw'énmantumi ta Chilh Siyám na iis ti skwáyel ti stsi7s. Wa kéxwusmchet n sekw'í7tl i tti ti Ch'íchelxwikw Úxwumixw. Tsitsáyxemaat is my ancestral name. I am from Mission IR#1. I am Squamish. I am very proud of my language. I thank the Great Spirit for the beautiful day today. For gathering together with you all, my family here at Seymour IR#4. I feel what makes me Skwxwú7mesh is the language. Growing up learning or history, legends, and the language as a child and all of that being introduced to me when I was a child by my late grandfather. It all seemed so normal to me and helped groom who I am today.*

I am very, very proud of my *Kwshámin Tsitsáyxemaat* and that what makes me *Skwxwú7mesh*, my ancestry all the ties to this land and my ancestors of this land makes me belong to this land. I sincerely tried to keep ties to my *Métskwiyam*. You know my heritage and my status as *Métskwiyam*, but for some reasons it did not work out. I was meant to be here. My *Skwxwú7mesh* being is more strong in my blood. Home is where the heart is. I will keep it short and sweet, which is what I feel, makes me *Skwxwú7mesh*. Like *Setáalten* said all the ties to our land to everything that we did in our history, the fishing, the hunting, the basketry, everything, every bit of our lives he had language to apply to everything. So that is really important to me to carry that on and keep the *Skwxwú7mesh* language alive, as much as I can. U Siyám

**Co-participant 7 — Vanessa Campbell**

*Chap wa ha7lh ti natlh. Na men tl'i7 kwins kwelkwálwnnit tiná ... Skwxwú7mmesh. Skwxwú7mesh chan. Chen yewí7nts kwins an ets'ím. Chen nánam i7xw éncha ask'ú7 kwen sekw'í7tel, lhen... kwi sxwenlh n si7l. Eh...'Chexw ma ha7lh!' tsut na7 tkwi Skwxwú7mmesh sníchim. Welh tiná7 tl'a Sch'elxwí7kw lhen si7l. Haw k xwii7s Skwxwú7mmesh lha mánilh. Tiná7 tl'a 'Ruby Creek' tsut. Welh i7xw éncha kwis nánam wa xwekws ta sníchimchet. Na wa melyís kwi sxwenlh n si7l Xwelxwelácha7 Siyám. I7xw éncha wa xwékwstat ta sníchimchet i7xw swat wa súxwtnexwaswit Skwxwú7mmeshwit. Skwxwú7meshwit wa xwekws ti sníchim.*

Welh chen men kwelkwálwn íymen...chet wa iii...na7 ti úxwumixwchet. Hawk Xwelít<sup>n</sup>, men huy ta Xwelít<sup>n</sup> na7 ta ína. Men huy ta Stélmexw ítti. Wa...ha7lh timá. Men huy ta sekw'í7lchet na7 ti temíxw...i7xw lemlám i7xw Skwxwú7mmesh...hmmm... ha7lh timá. Chet men shéway chet nam i7xw é<sup>n</sup>cha chen yewí<sup>n</sup>ts Xweméts'kwi7ym nilh... Snanáymexw nilh... S7ámna... P'astn. Chen yewí<sup>n</sup>ts kwi kex nach' Stélmexw welh Skwxwú7mmesh chan. Chen yewí<sup>n</sup>ts i7xw kwi syelánm kwi men tut ha7lh syetsm: Skwxwú7mmesh chexw, hawk Sch'elxwí7kw, hawk Lúxwels. Chet xwekws kwi kex nach' sníchim. Welh íymen chet nam ta temíxwchet na xéchstumulh...Xwemélch'stn nilh...Átsnech nilh, Xwemétskwi7ym...kex kwi nach' Stélmexw. kex kwi nach' sníchim. Welh ha7lh timá. Na yewí<sup>n</sup>tstway i7xw swat na xwekws ta sníchimchet. Nilh timás na7 ta mílha7awtxw. Haw kw'exw stl'í7 men huy kwis xwékwsnichim ítti Skwxwú7mmesh? Haw. I7xw swat wa xwékwsnit ta sníchimswit: Henkami7n, Hekkami7n, kwétsi Leshútsit t'l'a P'astn. kex kwi há7lhwit ta sníchimchet. Íymen chet yewí<sup>n</sup>ts kex kwis melyíswit tiná7 t'l'a i7xw é<sup>n</sup>cha. Wa wanáxwschet i7xw swat tiná7 t'l'a sts'áts'í7nshet. Ti (ná7 t'l'a) é<sup>n</sup>cha i7xw swat...haw kw'exw máynexwaswit i7xw swat wa eslhíhkw'íwswitchet...tiná7 t'l'a i7xw é<sup>n</sup>cha. Nilh timá kwins yewí<sup>n</sup>ts Skwxwú7mesh chexw welh chexw wa eslhíhkw'íws tkwi i7xw swat. Huy chexw wa.

Hello to all this morning. It is difficult to think about being Squamish in this way. I am Squamish and understood this from when I was very small. As I went everywhere with my beloved late grandmother, she greeted others saying, 'You're looking well!' in the Squamish language. But she was from the 'Chilliwack's', born at a place called Ruby Creek. But everywhere she went she used our Squamish language. She married my late grandfather, Chief Edward Williams. Everywhere we used the language they were recognized as Squamish. But I think as well about being here in our Community. There were no non-Natives. The non-Natives were...over there. Only Indians were here on this land. It was good that way. Only our families were here. All Squamish in the houses...it was good like that. As we grew and got to go everywhere I came to understand...this is Musqueam, this is Nanaimo, Duncan, 'Americans'. There were many Indians but I understood I was Squamish. Every year I understood a little more the message you are Squamish, not 'a Chilliwack', not 'a Mt. Currie'. We used a lot of different languages and also as we went on our lands places were recalled to us: Capilano, 'Burrard', Musqueam, the many different Indians had many different

languages. But it was ok. We understood each other everyone used our languages. Just like in the Longhouse, you do not only want Squamish to be used. No. Everyone uses their languages: 'Island', 'Fraser Valley' the 'Skagit' from the USA. They really love their languages, too. We understood that there were a lot of marriages from everywhere. We really respect that our blood is from everyone. They don't let you forget that everyone of us is related everywhere. That's the way I came to understand, 'You are Squamish but related to everyone!' Thank you.

***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

Yeah sure, so with that question I will probably start broad and get more specific. Obviously, Squamish is a language, which is very specific to an area, to the land, it is about the territory being Squamish, it is about the people, the ancestors, it is about the history, the oral traditions, and it is about a way of being, these are all tied in. As you know, I grew up off reserve and my father did not trace his birth family until I was about 16 or 17 at that particular point. So coming in my intention was to come back for University and to go on my merry way with life.

I know for many Squamish, it meant being raised in a certain way and living with family and living in the territory, it was abit different and what was wonderful for me was coming into young adult life is a little bit open anyways, so coming back without a lot of connections. Like I got to meet my Uncle Steve who was a wonderful person and took in my brother in for some time. And my father eventually met Auntie Yvonne, so there was that type of introduction and that way the way they kind of lost their closeness as something happened to between them.

So essentially, I landed within the community as a young person and that was some good family ties. But I found out what was nice about coming into Squamish was that people, it sounds arrogant but those who are Squamish tend to be a bit kinder, that others from another Nation. For instance if they know someone is coming back they were so very kind like Auntie Audrey, who said oh you are Kirsten and took me around to introduce like Monica Jacobs in Membership and Linda Daniels who were so very kind. Not everybody was nice right away because they did not know me but it was a good way to come home. When my father and brother went up to Squamish and I

wasn't with them, but there was a whole ceremony something that is more elaborate to being Squamish. So I think there is a welcoming into... With that, I got into your Department and latched onto the Language like Peter, Vanessa that was of interest to me as a young person. I started canoeing and went on journey that way as well. I did not really cross the bridge until I was about 19. The first position was with the Education Department as the Youth Conference Coordinator and you were my mentor. Yes, it was quite an experience and privilege to be mentored and to be in the community. So yeah, I have experiences with the Youth Conference and oh my goodness, I worked quite a few summers with the Education Department and the Youth Center. That was good, really good.

### ***Co-participant 9 — Ruth Nahanee***

What it means for me to be *Skw̓xwú7mesh* is a soul level of belonging to a family; with the same upbringing, beliefs, whether it is good or bad. I don't really just identify myself with being *Skw̓xwú7mesh*. I am also *Khowutzun* (Cowichan). My mom is *Khowutzun* because we spent half of our life there to but it's still the same because it is Coast Salish. It is the same energy on how it feels to be a First Nations person in the 50's and onwards.

To be *Skw̓xwú7mesh* to me is who I am at my heart level, not so much my mind level. The mind level is more the falseness that was forced on us. I speak about it from my heart, 'who I truly am'. To be *Skw̓xwú7mesh* and growing up in the 50's I would say — I grew up on the *Eslha7áñ* reserve and that was my whole life. I didn't even know there was a Capilano reserve or a Seymour reserve.

I just lived in this enclave of the Mission people until this day I have a strong affinity to the people who were born and raised on that reserve. That's who I identify with when I speak to being *Skw̓xwú7mesh*. Many of the people I grew up with were my families I'm related to be it distant or extended.

I think we all have the same type of energy because the vibration of the land that we lived on affected us all the same way. There is a spirituality and energy that was produced by our ancestors many years ago that had roamed that land. It is just very

spiritual and energy wise very calming for me to be raised in an area where your ancestors have for many generations have lived and done their spiritual practices

I was very lucky to be born into a family where my parents didn't drink and so I think we were ostracized for that. People thought we were better than them so that affected me when I was growing up. I see that as the dysfunction of alcoholism, which stems from the residential school system. It is something that I have carried all my life, the sadness of seeing our people, the majority of our people in that state.

As I say, growing up with non-alcoholic parents, we were over-protected from many things. My parents, especially my mom being a strong Catholic, we were raised to be Catholic more than being raised in the traditional teachings of *Skwxwú7mesh*. But, for some reason I feel energy and I feel things that I always knew that the Catholic religion was not really a part of me. I have always been a part of what I define as the *Skwxwú7mesh* spiritual energy that vibrates from the land and the trees. So when I speak of what it means to me to be *Skwxwú7mesh* is more of an energy feeling than a teaching. It is not a dogma, it is something I don't really remember my parents teaching me, my grandparents or my great-grandparents teaching me.

I just felt it, so when I became older and started getting into energy healing, the whole concept of that was closer to 'who I was' as a *Skwxwú7mesh* person. I understand the *siwín* people when they speak of their energy and how powerful that is because that vibrates in energies of our reserve lands. When you walk off the reserve, it's a deadened energy. When you are back on reserve, you feel the vibration, the strength, the power. I guess the Great Spirit or a power higher than our selves — we are lucky to have that. Non-native people don't have that. That's why they are so lost they don't have the culture or that kind of connection.

**Q2. Tell us your connection with your relations, with the Land and with the cultural ways**

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

When I look at my connection to the Land, our environment, to the culture for me it is primarily practice through my love of basketry. So, my grandma was a basket weaver. She was *Stó:lō* and my grandfather was *Skwxwú7mesh* and I always knew she made baskets. She passed away when I was quite young at six, so I never had an opportunity to learn from her um... When I was about twenty-five, I had a chance to learn from a few different teachers, and it just grounded me in a place in our Territory because it changed the way I looked at the environment. The way I look at a cedar tree and my strong connection to it, and I think about how it has been sustained. All our people, my grandmother, my great-grandmother, and generations before that have done all that I hope it can help me and my children as well.

I think that ... those relationships are important as a basket weaver and someone who works with wools ... I think that as a community we need one another in terms of like specialists, so I can make mountain goat wool. But if I don't have access to some of the land so it establishes a relationship to the plants, so where we go to gather the cedar we'll go higher to gather the mountain goat wool umm... we'll be gathering our fireweed at different times during the year. In the spring, then in the fall we gather the fluff from the fireweed using places that are swampy areas to gather the head of the bulrush and then using the urine of a child in the copper natural process. And then in the spring all that we gather we spin it into something sacred and unique to our Land. And how it brings every piece together and we have somebody in our village who will dance it and wear it umm... will use it in a culturally meaningful way and how I feel it is all connected- the Land, the environment, the culture, the language are all tied to our Squamish identity. You cannot separate one from the other cause they are all very inter-related, some of the ways to include our ceremony, taking care of ourselves, umm... physically and spiritually are I find, to me, a very rich quality is how we take care of loved ones when we lose them and during our time of grief, and how important it is to us as *Skwxwú7mesh* people. To take care of one another during those very sacred and hard times and those are at the heart of what makes us *Skwxwú7mesh*.

**Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris**

I will try not to over think it and say what comes to my heart right away um... because it is very easy you know to go to deep. So just, say what I think right away... Connections with relations are huge- Family is everything, always together... always together (laughter). So Family is incredibly important and when I think of relations, I think about my Family ties. I think about my Aunt, my Sisters, those that have gone on to the spirit world. I think about those that are presently here, so I am constantly, constantly thinking about my relations ... and like Jessie mentioned those I call my family are very important to and it is huge my connection to relations is of utmost importance. I am always thinking of my family blood, extended, chosen, and the connection — I think that is a huge part of my identity is.

I am who I am because I am so connected to my family ... but my connection to the Land *Sesemiya* is my Weaving hero. My experience as a youth is relegated to camping every summer. We would go up to Osoyoos Lake... I spent time in the bush, but it was very different camping with Family you know kayaking, swimming, and canoeing. Only 1 year, we had a canoe and we almost drown so it was not a good idea, but you remember when Rachel flipped the canoe, it was intense. I had to save her... Yeah it was a fun thing spending time on the Land. Then going up to *Wiwk'em* to visit my Uncle Tom and his kids, you know they were the real Indians cause you know we'd hang out and he taught us to fish. It was a real good time- so my connection to the Land is one of play, enjoyment, um... it's been something that has been fun, and now, as an adult, I take a very different perspective because of my relationship with *Sesemiya* and her taking me to the bush to harvest cedar and to harvest mountain goat. Oh, no that was what we did at the School. Learning about things I never really thought about um... once she identified the plants for me I see them everywhere. I am driving I say, "Look there is fireweed and Old man's beard." I see them everywhere I go when hiking, so things have shifted so now my connection to the Land is one of respect and more like sacred so when I go onto the Land, it is still playful but in a different way. It is a playfulness that is also serious so that shifted abit.

My connection with cultural ways, I always considered myself as this is going to sound Sci-Fi but like a hybrid and not just because I am mixed race but I am Catholic, my grandmother was so fierce in her faith — that's the best way I can say it. She said you have to have a foundation, you have to know about Catholicism and go to catechism classes, you have to know how to pray the rosary, know what the bible is; but you also have to know about being *Stélmexw*, you have to know the Longhouse, know the protocol, know how to run a floor, know about our connection to *Sxwáyxwey*. There is a hybridity there are these two things that gosh she was drilling it into us that we had to know, had to know even when were little. So okay this was my cultural lifeway. This duality was my reality. I have to know, honour, and respect this, which is a meshing of both.

I am so blessed to be a Godmother now and I have a godson, it is so cool and I don't take that lightly, it is a huge responsibility and we have our very complex relationship with Christianity and the church, but it was something important to my grandmother, so it is something important to me. So my connection to cultural lifeway is one of my hybridity one of two ways I can mix together so that there is a happy balance. I feel good about practicing my culture and spirituality of our ways. That's it!

### ***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

Okay when I see the words connection with relations I automatically go to... I am a very emotional being, I live my life based on how I feel about everything, and the most important thing that makes me feel balanced is to have a strong emotional connection to the People in my life. If I don't have that connection, I am not balanced. I see those words connections I share with my relations, I think of my family, friends, my chosen brothers and sisters, my children's grandparents, and my blood family, my Uncles, my brothers, my sister and really that's my connection. That's what drives me every day, the joy; my purpose professionally is to have a connection in an emotional way that matters, um... I think of two things, one my connection to the Land is living in my community. I have lived outside my community, off reserve a couple of times and it doesn't feel right, it doesn't feel like that's where I belong. I belong in my community and I belong on my reserve land. That is so important to me... um... the experience I had



living outside the reserve really made me aware sometimes living in the community can be challenging but seeing my kids playing with my neighbours and my best friends kiss, waving and saying hi to the Elder in the window, and the mom next door going to the grocery store says can you watch my son playing out in the yard for a few minutes, of course that support and being connected to the land and living in my community means support, togetherness and to me that goes back to the first question of being Squamish. I just can't imagine not being in my community (giggle).

That's so special and the other piece when I think of being connected to the Land, I think of the cleansing, being connected to the Land spiritually being amongst the trees, and the water, rivers, lake, and it makes me take a deep breath and those things touch me in a way that things in the modern world don't. There were times in my life when I needed spiritual and emotional cleansing and I used the trees to emotional cleanse to take some of my hurts and some my heart heavy feelings off my chest and I prayed to and after to the tree thanking it for being part of my healing process and taking it off and sending it to the sky. I have also used the river to help cleanse myself to help myself deal with certain spiritual callings. I have, I kind of have to work through and keep it calm, I use the river and cedar to calm this experience that sometimes comes out and so that's what I think of when I think of the Land.

In regards to my cultural ways, I see myself as part of my life in two ways. As a child, attention to cultural teachings was different. I was exposed to ceremony in my grandfather's shaker church. My very first memory and how it has inspired the hybridity of Squamish ways and Church ways and my first memory, I swear it is, and of my life. It is the discovery at my grandfather's house. There were ten of us in his little house and they were having Shake in the house, I remember being taken out of my crib and my ears being stuffed by cotton and being walked around, everyone was so big, singing and the candles and that's my first memory. I don't remember anything before that, like talk about an amazing memory to have (agreement by other co-participants) just to have that connection of spirituality whatever way we do it. All *Skwxwú7mesh* people in my grandfather's house, all family — I will really have a memory more beautiful than that beautiful, even my grandfather's one leg was just a given um... it was just so powerful, I

remember People and going “Wow what’s going on!”, and also as a child I was exposed to Winter dancing in the Longhouse.

I have to admit those were the best memories of being healthy and happy with my Family and their struggle with alcoholism. There were a couple of winters when they (her mom and step-dad) practiced faithfully. Never seen such balance, such healing and never seen my parents be so loveable in their journey to be part of the community and to work hard against the residential school. The Longhouse was very strong feeling of love and support, whether they knew each other or not. Those are my most beautiful memories about being connected, as an adult at this point in my life, I have honestly struggled knowing how to be a modern woman and a *Skwxwú7mesh* woman and to my culture was so that’s a lifetime journey to me.

And working in Education being exposed to People who specialize in those areas and dedicate their lives to cultural teaching in different ways (mmhmm, agreement from co-participants) that makes it easier for me to have a connection to me in my direction sharing their teachings. I take a whole more participatory role like going to ceremonies. People like show up in the community and a couple of times I have been asked to help out. Now I have to be prepared because maybe the energy I am sending out cause I never been asked to do these things before I must be you know the Creator answering my prayer to learn and be exposed to Work by just showing up? That’s kind of, what happened and I feel like when I have more foundations, so when I know a lot more I can explain it to them. I’m not sure of my learning more can give them a foundation. What it is- is going into the environment like kids this means a lot time is commitment to teach them which up to this point I couldn’t. It is at their school they get exposed to most of their cultural knowledge, the things that get pushed at our school that they go to are blessed to have People who know are there that are part of the *Skwxwú7mesh* language class that teaches more than language. They have the opportunities to dance, drum, and sing — those are things I couldn’t teach them but it is a blessing.

#### ***Co-participant 4 — Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson***

My connections with my relations, the land, and cultural ways I think came a little bit later in my life... I remember growing up and going down to the Longhouse when I

was really young without our parents. We would sit there until 3 or 5 in the morning. I don't know if my Mom'em knew or not... but allowed us to go down there. I grew up with the Yelton's and Bakers there's the Lewis' — I guess Brenda, Deneen, and Theresa and I would go down there and kinda knew what was going on in the beginning or we would see someone being initiated umm... but really didn't have the knowledge of what was going on. We loved to go down to watch them get taken, get 'hatted,' and stood up. ... Then I think that part of my life disappeared when Fast pitch came into my life for about 12 years.

Met my husband and moved away for 11 years and came back. I don't know much about what you call cultural ways. The only cultural way I knew at the time was the Longhouse, so I knew nothing about the cedar weaving or wool weaving, carving, the language. I was absent from it for a long time. As soon as I moved home, I started making connections with my immediate family and that would be my sister Colette. We started going down to the Longhouse with her again — every week. I think that's when it was introduced to me again ummm... after that everything else followed. I am the youngest of nine kids but I fell into this role. I really didn't know much about it, but I had my mentors, one of them was *Snitelwet* and *Tenalh*, then there would be Jackie Gonzales- so these are the people I would go to when I started helping out on the floor, things like that, I never really knew about ...but it is real big part of my life today.

So I love helping People, and I guess the teaching is if anyone comes to ask you to help, we don't say no. It doesn't matter when sometimes I have to re schedule some of the things in my life to accommodate that, and I think a big part of that has been my own Family. Pretty much in the winter, since I was initiated, I'm down at the Longhouse every week. That is in part where the relationship with the land has come in- a lot of teachings in the Longhouse about the land and thanking everything that has come into your life from there because someone has given up their life for you in there.

And in the last year I been working with *Sesemiya* and *Setáltén* on the unit that they are working on [Ancient Technologies] has become very interesting to me now with the rocks and fish [skin], the sandstone and the history. Kinda hooked on Stanley Park right now... I have a bad memory now, so I have to write things down, things in my

hands, or visuals, recordings, or something like that. At this point, the land information coming into my life and I want to learn as much as I can to teach it to our children in the schools because that part of history, and I think that's what's lacking with certain generations, the history of the land, names of the ancestors. Where we are, where we actually used to live and it's really not shared because what they are familiar with is Capilano, Mission, Seymour, Squamish is all they know, so I'm trying to learn as much as I can about place names and what I want to really want to find is artifacts. So, I think we are going to go back to Stanley Park and find permission to take and I asked her to include digs- I kinda want to see where we had longhouses in Stanley Park, to see if there is anything left there for our kids.

We were there all day yesterday and shared all this- they all wanted to go to Stanley Park but there were 70 of them and it would be hard to set up for them. I think what sparked in me, has sparked in them now. It's all so new to us and what was really awesome about it is actually things for them to touch and use and look at and feel and use, like we were talking about tools. I brought some sandstone and sticks over, so we allowed them to drill into the sandstone with the stick to try to make a hole. They are learning while I am learning and it's getting very interesting now and I'm totally hooked. So the way, I'm gonna approach the Land part is I am going to a piece at a time. We have so many place names all over from here to Squamish.

This is only one place but I think it is a very interesting place because it is somewhere we can go and take from now. A little bit about the plants and berries and stuff like that, so I have much to learn like I mentioned- this is way later in my life that this is coming around and I want to learn as much as I can to share with my grandchildren, as well cause I think my knowledge with everything has just begun and maybe eight years ago- ten years ago with being initiated and that's where all my teachings are coming from was mainly from the longhouse and Sesemiya and Setálten now, Xwáchtenaat too. I talk with her lots and share. U Siyám [acknowledging other speakers]

**Co-participant 5 — Setáiten, Norman Guerrero Jr**

So I guess this one can branch out to so many areas I am trying to think where to start connections with my relations. The first thing I think about your asking about the land brings out my late grandpa Fred. Growing up across the street from him, I would always see him. He worked for fisheries for years so it makes me think of spending summers down there with my grandma. She would be bringing him lunch down there [Capilano River] as she did that she would take us to the Point towards Ambleside. So we spent a lot of time walking around *Xwmélch'sten*. I know Grandpa did a lot of hunting with Dickie [Chief Dick Williams] and the late Bino [Chief Norman Joseph]. Thinking about that I would always see deer hanging out on the porch. I know Grandpa liked to hunt and bring wild meat. It's all I heard my mom talk about too growing up. I don't think I remember having hamburger, things like that- it was always wild meats that they had. I was lucky to have grandparents who exposed me to that kind of food because whenever I didn't know I was just eating it Grandma feeding it to me, "Do you like that Son?" "Yeah it's good." "Oh well, that's deer meat or that was eulachon'." "Oh, okay- it's all good to me." That's what I think about my grandparents and the land. Grandma talking to me and teaching me how to dig clams at Ambleside. It wasn't good to eat, now in modern times. She said it was okay, "Come on, Son, we'll do it just for fun." That's a cool thing and it's what I miss. I'd love to share that with my Niece and Nephew to, "This is what your great Grandma and Grandpa did." I am pretty sure that they would want us to continue this on, show you stuff that I did and they did so that's funny I remember getting stuck out on the water and the tide came — we were out there for hours just digging away and it got to deep we ended up getting up to our waists. Could hear my Mom, "Get back."

*Spelexilh*, Anjeanette Dawson asked, "How old were you?"

I think I was about 7 or 8 years old, because that was the only other time I met Grandpa's other brother Wimpy because we went for a walk and he was sitting down Park Royal and he was sitting in a station wagon and Grandma says, "Son come here- this is your other grandpa." I said, "Oh!" "This is your grandpa's elder brother Wimpy." And, that was the other thing to my grandparents introduced me to so many People. I

thought of my first cousins, not really as my extended family, that's how we were raised because we are such a huge family- 50 first cousins just on my mom's side then on my Dad's side that's another thing that makes us uniquely Squamish is that we have huge families (laughter). You know not one of us can say we just have 1 or 2 first cousins. That's unheard of. One sibling- a rarity (much laughter) so that was my grandparents and the Land.

The other thing too that got me going down this road with the Language and culture, oh is my dad's side, my great grandfather — Frank Guerreo was the only one to speak Squamish fluently in my Guerrero family. He was born in the early 1920's raised in the traditional way with the Language. I went to see him a couple of times as a kid; you know I didn't really think of it. Gosh, I would have sat with him, so many of our Elders that I got to sit with. I got to hear him speak. I said, "Dad, your grandpa speaks Indian, eh? "Oh yeah he does." And it was not till I got to work here and sat with Vanessa and Peter, they said he helped to contribute to the Dictionary and was part of the earlier Elders' Group. I didn't even know it, it's something I am quite proud of, and I let my cousins know if they want to learn that's good. I said, "Your great grandpa would be so happy, so proud — I know he would." That's something that makes me happy and I hold it to this day.

Now from my parent's side, getting to travel around the Land- my parents played baseball for years, I was raised with that softball and Mom played fast pitch. We always got to spend summers up in Squamish and that was my connection to the land because we would go up there, and they would say, "Go play." I'm the oldest of five and on my dad's side, I am the oldest of twelve grandkids, so I got five cousins with my uncle, two with my aunt and being the oldest you have to look after everyone take them outside to play at the playground, so we would go play in the bushes in Squamish. Yeah, brings back many memories. I love Squamish, you are going home... always makes me think of Amanda Williams, "Oh we're going to the homelands." That's so true — St'á7mes- all the Villages I only knew, I didn't get a chance to go up further to *P'uýám*, up to *Ch'ékch'ekts*- all of us together on a team field trip with Dickie [Chief Dick Williams] you know you hear our *sxwexwiýám* [legends]. One thing to hear, but when you are actually there you make the vital connection; your mind gets totally blown. You know looking at

where the Houses were you know you could just see it. Close your eyes and you could feel it. There're still there. It's such a powerful feeling to go up there. Look forward if I get the chance to go up there, but umm... Oh yeah, fishing — my Dad, would take us fishing at the Marina, on the Land. Even if it was we were fishing for bullheads, we were down there fishing learning about the different kind of fish to mud sharks. I miss that to this day getting to see that stuff and crabbing. Never got to hunt... Never got to but it would be nice. Yeah... that's it for now I think.

**Co-participant 6 — Tsítsáyxemaat, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

*Chen wa xéchxech chet wa meñ. Na nam ta Skwxwú7mesh Stakw ask'ek'ú7 kwen si7l-t iy lhen si7l, kwen ska7k iy kwen sísi7-t. Na mis kwi kex sekw'elásh kwen si7l-t. Chen wa kwélash kex sts'ektsek (wa xéxaym) iy usáylh...-túmulh kex sxwexwiyámchet na7 ta xaay temíxwchet.*

*Iy tá7elts ti-sts'úkw'i7...kex skw'elám. Na lhémen chet ta yetwán, iy skw'élemxw, iy iyálkep...iy...chen máynexw 'thimbleberry'. Na i7xw lhkaych' na nam chet kw'eshétsut na7 ta stakw. A ha7lh n skwalwn kwis íchnexw kex sxwexwiyám, kex sníchimchet.*

I remember when we were children...going to the Squamish River with my late grandfather and grandmother, my younger brother and my late uncle. My late grandfather brought a lot of guns. We shot a lot of trees (laughter) and learned our language, many of our legends on our sacred lands.

And he taught me to fish, about a lot of berries. We picked salmonberries, blackberries, blueberries and...I forget...thimbleberry. We went there every month. We were so happy playing by the river. I was so happy listening to so many legends, to so much of our language.

Just having all that from my late grandfather that like every month, every other weekend we would go up. It was so normal. We would just love the ride up there everything he would tell us the legend *Sínulhkay* on the rock. Every time I would see Shannon Falls I would say, "It's time, it's time." You know the story should be kicking in

Papa. Like he told us all the time — I just loved going up there. We would spend right from early morning till it starting getting dark- we would spend it up there — which took me was my special relations- relationship with my grandpa, my brother, and my late uncle Beak. He was always with us. And when we would be cooking, the fish or whatever Fergie would come or Jake or any of Jake’s boys somebody would always show up there. Papa would introduce us, always tell who exactly they were, and we would always be meeting more cuzzies, more stélmexw [people] and it was just so fun. They would show us where to pick all the berries. He would say, “Go ahead *elh7ílhen chet* (eat it)” — You go ahead eat all the thimbleberries and whatever season it was. *Yetwán* (salmonberry time) all the different seasons we’d be up there all times.

There is so much of my childhood was at the riverbank digging those luscious sands and we would go and pick frogs and force them through the tunnels. It was so much fun and the best time of my childhood was there, it was so normal and I just loved it. Some of my best memories when I think back on those days. Relations with the land experiencing cultural things because it was on our land, the berries, the stories... *Ha7lh kwis timá*. (It’s all good.)

### **Co-participant 7 — Vanessa Campbell**

*Chet wa iii...ti temíxwchet. Haw k’elh yewínts kwétsi nach’ na7 ta ína. Men huy kwis tsut, “Chexw men ii... ch’it ta lámchet. Ha7lh kwis kw’eshétsut i7xw éncha tkwi ats’k.*

*Chet nam ta shéwaynup. Chet p’i7t kwétsi ts’á7ts’kay, chet p’i7t ta ts’exts’íx, chet p’i7t ta...kwi kw7up kwi kex éncha na7 ta lámchet. Chet yewínts ha7lh ta temíxwchet. Haw k’elh ip’áakw’ulhnit ta sts’ékts’ek tkwi ats’k. Chet ha7lhs kwis nánam chet tkwi ats’k.*

*Welh chet yewínts iymen texwnam wa txwnach’awtxw ta s7ekw’í7tlchet na7 ta Xwemélch’stn. Chet nam na7 ta ína kwis kw’eshétsut kwi kex ta s7ekw’í7tlchet. Chet nánam ta sta’kw. Chet yewínts kwis timá wa t’it’ichim, timá wa ti-shi7kw, timá wa íwas. I7xw éncha kwis nánam ha7lh kwis nam tkwi ats’k. Haw k’elh tsut, ‘u...h! ip’áakw’ulhnit na7 ta ína.’ Men huy ha7lh tkwi ats’k.*



*I7xw écha kwis nánam íymen nilh ta s7ekw'í7tlchet. Haw k'elh nam mench'nch'ú7 chet nam ask'ú7 ta siyáychet. Chet ask'ú7 kwi kex síyaychet i7xw écha kwis nánamchet.*

*Chet nam yewínts íymen na místas ta s7ekw'í7tlchet kwi s7ilhens. Kwis mis kwétsi smiyts t'l'a s\_xwi7shn, t'l'a máwich, ta k'iyí7ch, kwi kex sts'ú7kwi. I7xw écha na ílhenstumulh ta s7ekw'í7tlchet. I7xw swat na cháchshaystway. I7xw swat kwis chéncheñs (tway). Haw k'elh nam tisxwám. Na mi stl'í7s kwi swat kwis ílhenswit chet mis kwi s7ílhenswit. Eskw'áy kwis íp'is kwi stam. Men huy kwis lhít'it' kwi i7xw swat kwis kexíchet.*

*Íymen na nam i7xw swat kwis ílhenam kwi skw'elám na7 ta P'astn. I7xw swat kiyát kwis nánam ask'ek'ú7newas. I7xw swat kwis men íi-wit. Kex kwi nach' Stélmexw. I7xw swat kwis súxwtnexwtwaychet. Men huy kwis nánam tkwa 'Vancouver'...ah... 'Seattle' nilh kwi kex kwis haw k'elh súxwtnexw. Men huy kwi xéta ta temíxwchet kwi nch'ú7mexw. I7xw swat ch'it t'l'a nímelh, i7xw swat na tél'nexwaschet.*

*Nilh timá kwis yewínts. Timá kwis tsut, 'nilh u ta a ska7k' 'nilh u ta a kwúpits' 'nilh ta a sísi7' nilh ta a sáta7' 'nilh ta a si7l'. Haw k tsut men huy, 'Jim kwi snas.' Men huy haw k'elh tsut timá íymen na tsut, 'Jim kwi snas nilh a ska7k tiná t'l'a a sísi7 na7 t'l'a Snanáymexw.' Hawk mench'nch'ú7 ta snáswit. I7xw kwis hánstumulh nilh timá eslhíhkw'íwschet.*

*Ha7lh timá.*

We are here on our land. Not understanding the difference 'over there'. All that was said was, 'Stay here nears our house. It's ok to play everywhere outside. We went to the yard. We got saskeys, stinging nettle; there were a lot of crab apples everywhere by our house. We understood the land as good. We weren't afraid of nature. We loved to go everywhere outside.

But then we understood/learned more as well by going to visit our relatives at Capilano. We went there to play with our relatives. We went to the river. We

understood how to swim, gather clams, to go fishing. Everywhere we went we were outside. Never saying, 'ooo...it's scary over there!' It was only good/fun outside.

Everywhere we went as well, we went with relatives not alone. We went with a friend. We went with lots of friends everywhere we went. We came to understand as well that food was provided by our families to be eaten. Deer meat, moose, elk, a lot salmon. Our families everywhere fed us. Everyone shared. Everyone was supportive. No one starved to death. Food was brought for those who wanted to eat. No hoarding everything. Only distributing to everyone if we had too much. Maybe it was because we had no refrigerators! Only a cupboard to put away our food. So! We had to use our food when we were little!

Everyone went berry picking too in the United States. Everyone, again and again with each other! Everyone that was there were different Indians. Everyone there. We recognized each other. Only if you went to Vancouver or say Seattle, were there a lot you didn't recognize. Everyone near us, everyone was known to us. We understood by, 'Is that your little cousin?' 'Is that your older cousin?' 'This is your Uncle.' 'This is your Aunty.' 'This is your grandpa.' Never saying only, 'His name is Jim.' It was never said like that. It was said as well, 'This is your little cousin named Jim, from your Uncle in Nanaimo.' Never only their names. Always telling us how we are related. It was so good.

### ***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

The canoe journeys started as an intern and number 1, it was very important to find some connection for me. Like the canoe family if you participate in any amount of time like with any cultural groups like the Long house or with your family coming into Mask dancing a bit less with the canoe as a way of life. If you are participating with that, there might be a bit of an off-season because there might be some commitments in doing that. The first time on the canoe was travelling to Nanaimo like that going that distance to Vancouver Island. But people were holding more steadfast to that there are a lot of teachings or ways of being that come along with that like culture and songs. In canoeing, it is not so new, now it started up in the 1990's and for a lot of people was initially about rediscovery. For me it came a little bit later. It was really, really good and

it was such a huge commitment. So once, in the Canoe Family it is a bit of a life style choice.

So I am sure culturally that there are young people who specialize in weaving or dancers depending on which way you go in culture- your knowledge might go a bit deeper and specialized. Like Artists, well I know I got to do a lot of work with yourself on museums exhibits and I was thinking of that particular wonderful Circle or controversial Circle were we had that discussion where we had First Nation artists and non-Native artists come together, I don't know if that was recorded or not. The artists shared about what goes into a carving and the nuances and shades that comes from teachings. But, coming out of that was the artists' talking about the ways of teaching to get there like potlatching whether it was a naming your line of expertise or your training or family ties was going deeper and deeper.

One of the things that the late Frank Miranda said to me that kinda stuck with me was, "You have an option to practice culture or not. That is your choice as a person, but as a Squamish the least you have to know is what it looks like, or what that experience is..." So he had a very diplomatic way of putting it you know.

Snitelwet — If you are Squamish, you have to know what that is.

Yeah, this is where it gets a bit controversial, so this is where I go with kind of particular thought. There was a quote by an Ojibwa activist that sticks with me about culture. Truer was paraphrasing language activist Darrel Kip ... "You remove yourself from language you take the essence of what it means. There is a point in time and of course, it's politically incorrect to define it to someone who loses their cultural ways, it becomes more of an ethnicity." Who's to say who Squamish is and who is not? I think Truer still said it correctly, you have to have your own teachings and identity and the background that comes with it. Kip would say that if we

### ***Co-participant 9 — Ruth Nahanee***

In regards to my relations, I have been very blessed to come from many different families within the *Skwxwú7mesh* Nation and *Khowutzun* Nation. I have always felt safe

with our people. But, I must admit there has been internal racism towards my Hawaiian side that I have had to deal with especially, in my younger years. It was very hurtful and being an adult now I can see why people from our reserve felt this way and it wasn't until I spoke to another Nation member about it ... they live in up in *St'á7mes* and they got treated exactly the same way we got treated. Yeah, which was surprising to me because that family their last names was the one that used to terrorize us. It's almost like this multi-generational abuse that was perpetuated, once again I think by the Church.

They seemed to have brought it, this whole concept of differences, I guess you can call it even though it isn't because my Hawaiian side from my great, great, great grandfather is spiritually very connected to how our people are, so I'm not sure.

In regards to our cultural ways I was introduced to a lot of that not when I was younger running around the reserve, going to St. Paull's Indian Day school. I mean that's something, I don't know if it was the generational thing in the 50's, early 60's we were not allowed to do that but I really seen when I started going into my teen years and older. Whenever, I attended anything-cultural event or finally *siwĩn* came back into our community. It wasn't like I was learning it- it was like I already knew it; it was already inside of me. I already knew and felt what was going on even though I couldn't see it. It's a spiritual thing, it's an energetic thing, I felt it, I could read it ... all that was very powerful and that is something I have always felt.

My mom and dad took us every weekend to some Creek or somewhere up in *Skwxwú7mesh* or down here on the North Shore. There was always that feeling that there was so much energy and power coming from the land and trees that it was very safe and comforting for me. And for the Catholic Church to denounce all that was very confusing to me that why I never committed to being a Catholic because I felt what they were teaching was opposite to what they were doing to us as little kids. It wasn't loving (pause, deep breathes)...

## Appendix E. Blanket Narratives

### Blanket 1: How do you define *nexwnínew*?

#### *Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams*

This is one of the ones [questions] I have really been thinking about ... I was contemplating how I was raising my children to reclaim and capture old ways of knowing and wanting to make it easier for my children to make it their experience and worldview. Granted my oldest step-son was 2 years old and he would be playing in my bucket of cedar water and he would be in there um... but you know I value that... he was so ahead of me like Delmar and I would go to different places and the teaching was he would always come with us to be exposed to whatever we were doing. When he was about 4, he asked if we could weave a hat for his kitty cat-, you know (giggles) that was so normalised for him, which was cute because you know every *Skwxwú7mesh* cat needs a cedar hat right. For Colten, he was 2 months old the time I brought him to the bushes because my heart and spirit couldn't miss a season of gathering cedar bark because I knew if I did not gather I could not weave the entire year, So he was a couple of months old, and I was like how am I going to do this? How am I going to manage?

It's like Jessie you were referring to was how to be a modern *Skwxwú7mesh* woman and how to practice the older pieces, so I took him with me so that it was something he was familiar with. A couple of years ago I had Colten and Tiffany with me I was trying to make a real point of teaching them something that had to do with how we relate as *Skwxwú7mesh* People to the Land, so when we go to the mountains they are like can I take my shoes off. Hecks yeah, take them off, play in the mud, get dirty. We are here to immerse ourselves in the landscape. When I went to the cedar tree I brought Colten with me and said put your hands on the tree. We are going to say a prayer and ask for permission to use the cedar bark in a good way. See if you can feel it, when the tree gives you permission, I stood there and said, "Could you feel it." He said, "I couldn't quite feel it." "That's okay maybe you will learn later. I just want you to know that the tree has a spirit." So with that, he came and he took Tiffany to get some tobacco to make an offering to get something. So they have a big wad of tobacco and walk over to this tiny tree. They are standing there eyes closed and saying their prayer. "Mom, Mom,

I can feel it. The plant says yes I can have it.” (Laughter) He comes back with a handful of moss. Tiffany says, “I just got this much.” I told her the best thing is to be grateful for whatever you have been given. You know maybe that is all that you need. That is okay; to me it is an important piece of the inter-generational transmission. It means I am trying to be more mindful about what I teach my children and paying attention to what I shouldn't be sharing with them.

By the time Avery came around, the baby, about a year and half ago, it was just me and Avery. I was feeling really heavy and tired... and I could feel this weight on me. I decided to take her for a run and I was drawn to the river. We ran all the way down there with rocks on my feet. When we got there, I saw this tiny cedar tree. I went over holding the tiny boughs in my hand praying and feeling and exchange of energy between the tree and me, I asked the tree to help and to also give back to the tree what I did not need. I pushed Avery's stroller close and she was holding onto the branch and I was holding on to another branch and I said wow I get it I had formally introduced her to the tree.

Baby Girl this tree is your friend it will help you, it has helped Grandma and Great Grandma before that. This is a true part of your inheritance and this baby cedar tree is going to grow up with you and be friends for the rest of your life, it never occurred to me to knowingly make it intentional to my child. She will go up to my weavings and she will blow on it. She is only 2 but her understanding something much deeper, much more complex because she knows there's a strong relationship there. And the other part Delmar and I spent a lot of time trying to learn parts that were interesting to him like the piece around hunting, for our kids even know it may not be normalized in the city by any stretch of the imagination. Trying to normalize that for our children for wild meat, I know when it's time to hunt and I try to look for animals, read tracks, and we have seen so many amazing things, to hunt and spend time playing. We are playing on the Land. One thing when Colten and Tiffany were younger they used to go sit in the room with their Auntie while we did all the butchering of the meat. But now they are old enough, they are 8 & 10 they have their own knives. They aren't allowed to watch anymore. They have to come into the kitchen to help with cutting the meat and to learn all parts

that go with that, we are trying to make it so that it will not be too much of a struggle for them.

In particular, my son he struggles with school but it's okay he is going to have an understanding of the Land that is much deeper than I could have ever imagined that he could have. He's built fires and to me those things are so deeply valuable to have our children understand that connection. These are the types of things I think about intentional upbringing and to exposure to ceremony, to practice, to the art. When we did Delmar's naming recently the kids could see us meaning they could see our genealogy and how he came by that name umm... they were helping with all those pieces and when they get older, when it is their time to participate, to be the practitioners, then they will have some exposure, some familiarity with that. That's all I have to say.

***Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

I love for you that *nexwníw* is directly related to your children, and how you are raising them and how they are raising you, teaching you also. That is really beautiful. In all, honestly I did not have much familiarity with this word, as I did with *snewíyelh*. I started doing a bit more research in our language. I started to read the dictionary and the definitions of what it means, so I don't know... I like to think *nexwnínew* it is just how you were brought up literally from a baby, to your walking years, and to adulthood through all cycles of your life to an elder, you go again. And, I think that I am very lucky because I have had a very blessed upbringing. I have always felt loved, so my definition is that I have been wrapped in this love and been very blessed- so I define it by all the various forms of love. Love from parents, from my friends, so my upbringing has been one with that love. So I don't know if the dictionary definition complicates matters because I feel the word, feel what it is...

Jessie Williams: Do you mind sharing what the Dictionary says?

... It says upbringing directly connected to *Snewíyelh* in the *Skwxwú7mesh* — *Skwxwú7mesh* and the *Skwxwú7mesh* to English sides of the Dictionary. Advice, teachings, and Ceremony, I asked Peter [Dr. Peter Jacobs] of course, because he worked on the Dictionary. You have it as — Advice, teachings. How he interprets it is

*Nexwníw* is learning “how to fish” meaning that you only take as much as you need and give back.

Your *Snewíyelh* is your Papa taking you to the river and teaching you “how to gut a fish, return the bones, return the guts back to the river, praying over it and giving your first big catch to someone in the community.” It is the personal knowledge. That was his example on how I could wrap my head around it. I define my upbringing as one of Love; it’s just the phases of my life. I am continuing to be brought up moving through that cycle, it’s not something that just ends when you become an adult, your upbringing is continuous you know. And mine has been a positive one of love even when I have had made mistakes in my upbringing it has been good.

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

Okay for me I have been struggling with this one. Umm... you can pass and I can give a comment after.

***Co-participant & Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

I want to take a moment to say I was touched with the sharing of your story of your children. It reminds me that there are some things that are very clear, no ifs, ands, or buts. It’s you’re just supposed to do it and I said wow thought that takes free will out of the equation, in terms of your upbringing; (Laughter) having said that I am blessed to have two daughters who are grown now.

Marion was probably about 14 feeling her independence. She said, “You know, Mom, I don’t really feel like going and being tradish (traditional) with you. Damara can go; when I get older, I will be tradish all the time. (Laughter) I said “Oh, okay.” This past summer there were so many ceremonies, celebrations and hard times going on, and Marion was with me every step of the way. I was reflecting, thinking “well you know she’s grown up now, she is 19.” For her, part of her upbringing was “I know I got to be responsible and I know I got to understand the *Work*.” The one time, unfortunately, it was a hard time — the loss of 1 of my older relatives and, she went into the Hall and she spotted this very handsome young man. It didn’t matter where we went — all spring



and summer and fall, we seen this young man everywhere. Your Uncle Bucky was taking him under his wing. I said to me “this is so funny. No problem now... being tradish.”

In defining *nexwniw*, what comes to mind to me is captured in Kirsten Baker-Williams work. She interviewed my late Granny and she said “Come in you honoured ones, you responsible ones.” She also said your upbringing paraphrasing — this is how I understand it from both my grandmas — this is who you are because this is how you have been brought up. So you are your example of your family. You have to always be aware that someone is always watching you. I used to think as a young girl who is watching me now (laughter). Anyway, that’s one thought around upbringing.

### **Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams**

I just had an ‘aha moment’, thank you for letting me listen and to connect. These questions are making me connect in a way I have never connected. I am so thankful and glad you asked me to be here. This afternoon has been a whole ‘aha moment’, so I think I have an idea of what *Nexwnínew* means to me. I think in order to answer the question that we acknowledge that we are all born with a gift, gifts from the Creator that we are meant to use through the walk, the journey through life.

I think what *nexwnínew* means to me is how your families role needs to be and is for some blessed people like you Damara from birth to have someone in your family recognize that your gifts are nurtured. (Mmhmm, agreement from Damara). Exposing you to more opportunities to use those gifts and I think *nexwnínew* is sharing knowledge in your life. I really think we take roles and how we fit into that role you are just chosen to do that, some of us are blessed to figure out what our purpose is and some of us try for a while to figure that out.

With the right family, I think those things are nurtured. What *nexwnínew* means is showing, by exposing to opportunity within our community and to share that gift; by actually doing that in the many roles in your family like doing the work, running the floor or cooking in the kitchen in the longhouse or what have you like, fundraising to have the Shaker Church built. Whatever your role is, I think that is part of upbringing for myself, I

always come back to my grandpa and my non-First Nation grandma and my non-First Nation grandpa pushed me into those roles to make decisions. You are meant to go get a white man's education, to help your family and he literally said that "go get a white man's education." I know literally he didn't just mean my family, my brothers and sisters, and my future babies, he meant my Squamish Nation family, my community and umm, he always made me see the struggle inside of me being half white. Most people don't know when I was/wasn't with my native family. I would question mark a little bit and wonder but I always had that role. Yep you're going to be smart; you are going to go to school.

All these good things happen to me, lucky I had my chosen brothers and sisters — I call them my soul brothers and sisters. I just naturally went in that direction and that made it less intimidating for me. So my purpose is to help People bring out their gifts and I help them by lovingly connecting with People. I think if I lovingly connect with People on an emotional level they will trust me and I think that is very important what I do as a mom for upbringing and how I am sharing knowledge with my children, teaching them to be very independent that I feel it is very important to have independence and support each other, help each other, be there and cheer each other. One needs to cheer each other on when the other one needs to be cheered on, to love each other even at risk when they are fighting and have a hard time as older sister, brother a year and a half apart. I try to teach them in those moments how important it is to just love each other even if that's the kind of upbringing and sharing knowledge with my kids. I think that's what it's about nurturing individual gifts they were born with and helping them to discover their purpose and using that to contribute to our community as a whole. That's what it means to me.

***Co-participant 5 — Setálten, Norman Guerrero Jr***

*'Haw kw'exw smáts'en.'* ["Don't be 'snobby'"] ...just joking!

***Co-participant 4- Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson***

What I remember coming from such a large family I was very close as *Setálten* had mentioned in his previous statements... to my first cousins on my mom's side...

considered them all my brothers and sisters pretty much saw them all my life through part of my life in fast pitch. We travelled everywhere umm... considered my Uncles and Aunties pretty close to being parents because they were always acting like parents when we were travelling on the road. And we were not afraid to say anything to my Auntie's, Uncles, and my parents or any of the family members. I just remember being really close to my mom's family.

Not going to residential school, both my parents went to residential school, so home life was both of my parents worked all their life, that's all I saw. This is what I saw and what I remembered when neither of them worked. It is instilled in us "go to work, go to school." I saw my parents struggle to raise 8 kids in a small three bedroom home. I can't even remember when Mom and Dad got the new house. I remember we were happy to move into it, a bigger home.

In the earlier part of my life, my parents especially my mom I guess was not into anything related to culture until way later in life. That's been part of what has been lost when they went to residential school. My dad didn't have anything culturally or spiritually to share with us because I remember Mom being part of the God Squad. Dad said, "Oh my god aren't you sick of that you went to residential school and you're bringing it home with you." So there was a lot of that going back and forth in our home because my mom never let go of it with my grandmother. Dad was on the other end, the extreme so we got a taste of everything...

With the 8 of us- none of us picked on ever to it. I remember getting dragged to prayer meetings with Mom, with all these old friends, Lila Johnston, Eva Lewis, and Auntie Yvonne Joseph. I was young then but remember going there to listen to them. Okay when I was older and able to make up my own mind and stopped going. Dad said, "Oh way to go — welcome to the heathen side." (Giggles) Then our attitude was Mom and Gran go enough for all of us, so somebody was praying for us. Now Dad's words are coming out later in life. I saw my parents work hard for us to keep a roof over our head, food on the table, sending us to school. Being the role models, working — we struggled, the eight of us, no matter how little we had- a houseful of my older siblings had friends who were always over. Mom's door was always open. I don't know today

how to cook for 2 people. I cook for 8 — 10 people and get stuck with all leftovers. Our home is like that too- our door is always open especially to my son's friends- feeding all the People — tradition of my family. I grew up with a lot of my sibling's friends, somebody 2-3 other people living with us because they had nowhere else to go and they enjoyed Mom and Dad's company as well.

So not many teachings when I was growing up- just a whole lot of role modeling until I actually grew up and shifted when I moved away I had different upbringing there, a different lifestyle. My husband had the same upbringing as I did, his parents went to residential school and saw both communities with our immediate families there was a lot of love. There that's what we were brought up with, we didn't have a whole lot of money, whole lot of material things like today's generation.

What our kids have today- everything cost money. This is what I remember having our grandparents for a long time helped out. It's humour. We all have that wicked sense of humour. Yeah I remember partying at someone's home. My mom's family was always together. That's all you heard was laughter- I don't know what kind of jokes they were telling because we were in the other room. Pretty sure Auntie Terri shared those with us when we got older. Finally found out what they were talking about, so I guess my upbringing was a whole lot of hard work, love, and laughter in our homes. That's what I like to share with my own kids is that our daughter calls the 60's the olden days but I say the olden days are when Gran and Mom and Dad were born in the 1900's and the thirties.

This is what I want to share with my kids because I think there was a big gap to my generation and when my parents went to residential school. We didn't see the love part till Mom and Dad had grandchildren. We didn't get the hugs and kisses when I was growing up till Mom's first grandchild was born and it was a real big shift for my mom... she started hugging and kissing. Talking to people my own generation, their parents had a hard time hugging and kissing them till they had grandchildren. Really happy that happened because my mom and dad weren't here that long for my children they missed it but some of my nieces and nephews remember it. Yeah you remember those days because they weren't like that with us until they started having grandchildren because of

residential school. No affection from either one of them for a long time- they were just parents. So we had some hard teachings and some teachings from our parents in the end. Thank you.

**Co-participant 5 — Setálten, Norman Guerrero Jr**

Upbringing- *nexwnínew*... what I can reflect on is seeing my parents did for all 5 of us ... I always remember my dad worked and Mom followed the tradition — Mom stayed home and looked after the kids. Ahh, yeah Dad always told me I had you kids umm... I always have to work... I have to make sure that you guys are fed because growing up hearing their stories of when they were kids they didn't have — the luxury of ... My Dad grew up on reserve till he was about 3 and they moved off reserve and so I guess I have the best of growing up in both worlds because my mom grew up on reserve. Dad grew up off reserve and didn't move back home till the late 70's. It was just after his Mother passed away so I heard about the hardships they went through living off reserve and having to work for a lot of stuff.

Same with Mom's family not having much but being able to get stuff from the land. We lived off wild meats. So everything Dad did for us he said you have kids you make sure that there is food on the table, clothes- so that's a lot of what I have in my memory. He was always working... Mom when the kids were old enough she would vest us in the care of our grandparents. She worked in the cannery for years... I remember when Dad was off she was working bringing in the good money the cannery provided. So, I always thought that was great- I had cousins it seemed got spoiled more. Whatever I said, I was happy up until now till I started working on my own- I thought I had things that were great. I know our parents wanted what was good for us because you know they didn't have much- both sides I heard you know they had to be dependent on assistance and stuff like that and whatever. They didn't want that for us umm... later on I guess after that like I said spending time with my granny, my grandparents.

I spent many summers with them and the cultural aspect of *nexwnínew* would come from my grandmother. She shared a lot in regards to that- she ... my mom didn't talk too much about that. My dad he didn't have the cultural side, as he moved off

reserve and again his family started many generations, starting with his great grandfather, grandmother, and dad, they all went to residential school so he didn't really have that cultural aspect.... Grandma shared quite a bit with the teachings she has, so a lot of the teachings. I have reflect my late grandmother and how to conduct yourself as a *Stélmexw* person ... who you are gonna be, it was explained to us that we had a role you know. And that was something again you know being in the Language classes with Ness, Becky, Kathy talking about in the long ago everyone would have a role in the village, in the longhouse and she really instilled that in me.

This is who...you know she would always talk about her father and her brother as elected Chiefs in *Snuneymuxw*. She had that vision for me. She would say that is what you are going to be, I guess she groomed me for that and shared a lot about things that they did themselves to conduct themselves. Like to not be selfish, to share because that's how our People were always sharing. You hear that with the Elders. You know I couldn't believe all the stories about how they shared. You know when they would go hunting it wasn't just for that one family but the meat would get distributed amongst everyone and that was the thing, "Never be stingy!" and the other thing "Never be smátsen." I always heard it that other way, 'smeytsn'. I guess that's basically, what it is for me- seeing that from my parents and I appreciate so much what they done for us.

Like Aunts and Uncles, what Anj was saying big on that role like being parents because I respect each of them so much? On my Dad's side-, you know my Uncles have helped me so much to get where I am today. Pushing me to further my education, pushing me to be where I am with my career, encouraging me giving me things I didn't ask for because of that love. You know they have set such a high standard, as an Uncle, as an Aunt. Because I have nephews and nieces now to do that for... not to take their place but to...they deserve that, it's in my heart to do that as well when you have family you love, it's just there. Now on my mom's side, like my grandma gave me so much cultural knowledge I have such an appreciation for that again... love them with all my heart. *U...Siyám*

**Co-participant 6 — *Tsitsáyxemaat, Rebecca Duncan, 2015***

*Nexwnínew...Na tsut kwen si7It, "T'amí! Chen wa em7út ta k'ayks kwen si7I-t. Na mi emút ch'it ta ens, 'T'amí!' Chen wa sínit an uys! I wa kw'awch't ta kekí7xem kwa si7I-t. Chap lhk'i7s and nsiiy ta ménmen. Chen wa kw'eshétsut. Na wa kwélkwel. Lhen/kwen si7I-t...na tsut lhen/kwen si7I-t, 'Wa chexw aslhálhkn meñ.' Chen wa xéchxech: "aslhálhkn". Lhiq wa aslhálhkn!*

*Chen wílkw'taswit, 'En stl'i7 kwins ítut na7 ta lam's ten siyáy.' 'I7' tsut, 'men huy, men huy mnch'nch'ú7 a siyáy! Haw kw'exw ítut i7xw écha!' Ashán? Ashán? 'Wa chexw yuu' tsut, 'Nexwnínew!'*

*Huy chexw.*

The Upbringing.

My late grandfather said, 'Move over.' I was sitting in his chair when my grandfather came over, "Move over!" I moved over! My grandfather was watching a movie. You know how loud kids can be. I was playing. I was talking and talking to my late grandfather. My grandfather said, "Be quiet child." I remember that, "be quiet!" Always quiet!

I asked them (sic grandparents) 'I want to go sleep at my friend's house.' Ok, only one, only one of your friends. We don't want you to be sleeping everywhere! What's with that? What's the matter with it? 'Just take care, men! It's the upbringing!'

When I was in the longhouse my late grandfather said, 'You are to help them child. Pour the tea/coffee. Prepare the sugar and milk, all the dishes. And I'd be happy.'

Then, keep yourself busy. Go to. I'll give you the newspapers! I went to work. Then it was my own money!

Every day I listened to all of our Elders in the Longhouse. 'Listen everywhere you go! Be quiet everywhere you go, child. Listen.'

'In my home, close the doors quietly, gently...that's upbringing.' Thank you.





## Co-participant 7 — Vanessa Campbell

Nilh timá íymen kwis méñmenchet. Men huy kwis íchnexw kwi i7xw swat. Eslháhkn. Eslháhkn kwis íimesh ch'it ta síiyuxwa7chet. Haw k'elh welh. Haw k'elh nsíiychet ch'it ta síiyuxwa7chet.

Eslháhkn. Emút chexw tkwáya7n kwins nam txwnách'awtxw i7xw ta síiyuxwa7chet na7 ta Slha7áñ Úxwumixw. Chet nam ask'ú7 lha/kwi sxwenlh n si7l. Chet nam emút. Chet íchnexw. Eskw'áy kwis yewíñts. Men huy Skwxwú7mesh kwis kwéykwaystswayswit welh 'Emút chexw.'

Eslháhkn chexw íymen kwis nánam ímesh i7xw ta síiyuxwa7chet. Haw kw'exw welh. Haw kw'exw skw'eshétsut ts'áts'eyx ch'it ta síiyuxwa7chet. Men wanáxwschet i7xw ta síiyuxwa7chet i7xw écha kwis kw'áchnexwaswit.

Chet nam kw'eshétsut ask'ú7 ta siyáychet, chet nam tsut, 'Chexw ma ha7lh.' Haw k'elh nam uys i7xw écha7 lám<sup>h</sup>swit kwis haw k'elh súxwt<sup>h</sup>nexwas. Chexw tsut, 'U...nilh ta ens, Vanessa. Rose William's kwi snas lhen si7l.' Chet t nam uys ta lám<sup>h</sup>swit.

Chet nam tut men shéway timás tsut lhen si7l, 'Haw kw'exw nam i7xw écha kwis í7tut. Men huy nch'u7 kwis síiyáychet kwis nam í7tut.' [to Rebecca, 'Nilh lha a chésha7 kwins nam txwnáchawtxw kwins í7tut.] Haw k i7xw écha.

Chet nam txwnáchawtxw na7 ta ina welh 'k'ánatsut chexw t ta a lam i7xw es-nát. Welh timá yuus...yúustenamut.' Timá kwis yewíñts, 'Yúustenamut chexw i7xw écha. Haw kw'exw nam i7xw écha kwis nánam i7xw stam.'

Haw. Chet nam eslhá7lh i7xw encha kwis nam wanaxwstway i7xw swat kwis nam.

Íymen kwins nam men tut shéway, íymen ta ens, chen yewíñts kex kwi nach' kwis k'ál<sup>h</sup>numet...i7xw swat welh timá, 'Haw. Haw k'en yewíñtswit timá. Chen wilkw't kwi sxwenlh n sayxw, Sxaaltxw-t Sintl', 'Txwnch7am kwis kw'enmáylh ta síiyuxwa7chet?' 'Ah!' tsut, 'Chen iyáyshim kwis wilkw'ts. Timá: Kw'énmantumi kwi swat kwis

*xwníwntumulh. Chen kw'énmantumi kwi swat kwis cháchshaytumulh i7xw stam na7 ti k'eksín ti syatshn. Chet kw'énmantumi kwi swat kwis téteywilhtumulh timá ta elhtáchschet.*

*Timá ta elhtáchs kwis kw'enmáylh txwmi ta méñmenchet....xwníwntumulh, cháchasaytumulh...téteywilhtumulh.*

That is the way it was with us as children, too. We had to listen to everyone. Quietly. We had to be quiet when an Elder was walking along. Don't be rough housing. Don't be loud near our Elders.

Be quiet. Sit down. Listen when we went visiting all the Elders on Mission Reserve. We went with my late grandmother. We went and sat down. We listened. We couldn't even understand 'because they discussed things in Squamish but we sat.

Be quiet as well when an Elder is walking. Don't be rough. Don't be playing too fast/'out of control' near our Elders. Show only respect when you see any of our Elders anywhere.

When we went to play with our friends, we'd have to say, 'Hello, you're well?' Don't go inside house without acknowledging. Say, 'I'm Vanessa. Rose Williams is my grandmother.' when you go in.

When I got to be a little older, my grandmother said. 'Don't go sleeping everywhere.' You can only stay at one of your friends' house to sleep. (To Becky D: It was at your mom's when I visited.) 'You're not to be sleeping everywhere.'

We'd go visiting but went back home every night. And then it was, like... 'Be careful...take care of yourself everywhere. Don't be going everywhere doing just anything! No.'

Wherever we went, it was quietly, with respect for each other, everyone where we went.

And when I was a little older, I understood, not everyone has the same beliefs. I asked my late Uncle, Chief Louis Miranda, 'How did our Elders pray?' 'Ah,' he said. 'I've been waiting for you to ask me. Like this:

....thank you for your teachings, thank you for all that you share with us in this wide world, we thank you for protecting us like parents do.'

### **Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams**

The one person I know that used that word the most would be your late grandmother *Kwitelut-t* she would use that word quite a bit as well as *wanáxws* (respect) so she's the one that would use those two terms and essentially as a part of coming back to the community, I was a bit of a Squamish language groupie. You know throughout university I got to go to the elder language meetings for a period of years, which was wonderful. It was great and you know essentially a lot of this discussion would come up with your grandmother umm it was around when as it was called the original members of the "God Squad" were there the late Yvonne Joseph, the late Tina Cole umm the late Eva Lewis, the late uncle well he was more of a junior too, but late Uncle Lawrence. I think part of doing this type of learning you know changes a bit overtime as one moves through their life because you know a lot of umm. It was interesting because your grandmother was one of the last language speaking generations to pass away and to pass on into the next part of the journey there. That you know at the time Tina and Auntie Eva and your late grandmother would I suppose have you know a similar umm relationship in certain ways in terms of expertise.

Your late grandmother was very social she was you know very talkative. She would express things freely and in terms of *nexwnínew* the upbringing, she openly modeled that. So that essentially you know how a child was brought up having, you know the teachings or the way of being. You know she would spend time specially giving examples of that where umm I'm thinking if we. She was a really good teacher. Where I'm thinking in other ways now if we just talk about it more in general or abstract terms without kind of you know spelling it out. You know would it specific examples of what it might look like might get maybe a little loss. You know she was able to provide examples of her as a young person you know growing up in the longhouse. How people

treated each other and how happy it was and you know the story telling and knowing the relations.

Late Uncle Lawrence would repeat similar things I think umm a lot of it or my sense of it was at least with Uncle Lawrence. He was a bit worried about future generations and how times might be a changing and not to say it's been eradicated it's still in existence. I think taking a look at whole families right now, some might be operating more succinctly and tighter than others depending on if what the matriarch, or patriarch is still there. If that makes any sense cause, I know a former colleague Rosalind Williams would say you know in terms of how we acted or behaved, as young people would be viewed as shameful you would essentially be bringing the whole entire family down and I'm not sure if families are quite as connected anymore.

So, I think a lot of us you know terminology although its there's a translation in English. I always think of what your cousin Peter Jacobs would say as well saying that when you're listening to people you know speak within the language, you know essentially like your grandmother was a lot funnier or the sense of humor was there the nuances were there so and again its going back to that truer quote "If your within the language you are within talking within a world view your talking within a cultural context and these types of concepts and things and the ways of talking to each other and behaving with one another might be umm more apparent within some other language then putting into English and translating it through English."

***Co-participant 9 — Ruth Nahanee***

Well like I said my upbringing was very confusing because what I was feeling energetically and what I was being taught by the Catholic school were two completely different things. The one thing that was common amongst the two was the love, the respect and caring for another human being.

Although actually both sides didn't really display a lot of that sometimes in the sense that one was teaching love in the Catholic church, and the nuns and the priests were teaching us , as if we less than. Living in a community you know where that whole you are supposed to love everybody and respect everybody but the kids around us were

beating us because we were Nahanee. It was not how I see it as being true. So I was always confused as a young person, but I knew deep down inside that I guess my spirituality, my soul ... I would always make sure I was safe and protected and I would not lose who I was. So, my upbringing in a sense was one of conflict and being over-protected by my parents because of the alcoholism that was going around the reserve.

They didn't want us to be anywhere near that and so it made us look like we weren't friendly because we weren't allowed to... so we had to seek out our first cousins as our friends. There's an abundance of that in our families (laugh) because that was something that we had to do and live within a tight community.

And I mean that was my life, I didn't hang out off reserve. I didn't even know any white kids till I was in Grade 8. I was like in this little bubble, very well protected, and I remember being around elder's alot. My Dad when we went to Khowutzun, Skw̄wú7mesh valley we would, we would always go visit our highly respected elders. That was taught to our whole family that our elders were to be well respected and to do everything you can for them, which we did.

I used to go and wash my Ta7ah's walls instead of playing outside like everybody else (laugh). We were in there scrubbing Ta7ah's walls and chopping her wood. But I didn't care it was because not only did I love her, but I saw how much Dad loved her. Same on my mom's side, even though she didn't have her parents because they died of alcoholism ... She did have an Uncle and Aunt that we thought of as our grandparents and they were so loving and think that is because they did not go through residential school. They still held onto that true teaching of being loving, being kind, and being respectful and it was passed down to Mom and Dad and it was passed down to us, so I would say that's where it came from, our elder's.

Even the late August Jack, he was my great grandfather's first cousin, so their father's were brothers. So that part of us, our family tree August Jack and *Swanamia* would come in to visit Dad or we would go up there, and it was beautiful. It was really a treat because they had so much love to give. It was something we looked forward to and August Jack was a siw̄in̄ dancer, so we got to see him dance and his power. What that was all about, how different it was to how he became a dancer to now.

## **Blanket 2: Mind Quadrant- How do we define *snewíyelh*?**

### ***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

I think when I look at defining it, I can only do so for myself looking at quest for *snewíyelh*- teachings or training to understand who I am and how I belong to this place and this community. There have been times when I have seen myself primarily as a Mother, as a wife, and a basket-weaver and of course all those others that is how I place myself. In terms of teaching, there are times when I wanted to learn more about basketry and I did not always know how to find those teachings or to find people who know what I was looking for. And it took me a really long time so that maybe I was looking at it the wrong way, eventually over time.

I spent a lot of time trying to make mountain goat wool. I'm still on that particular journey, but I realized my teacher might not always be a physical human being — umm...the mountain goat became my teacher when Delmar went hunting and brought the mountain goat home umm...part of that work was prayer and asking them to teach me and share with me umm....the gifts that they had to share with our People.

Part of my learning process was to learn to not be in a hurry. So I had to understand that I had to go through many stages. Five years later, I continue to go through stages later. I had to learn right from the beginning how to remove the wool from the hide, how to wash and clean the mountain goat wool, how to let it sit for a while and I couldn't run through the reason because I had to gather the other materials, the yellow cedar, other plants that could be spun as part of the mixture where I might have been aware or information armed by other community members trying to tap into someone else's grandparents' memories spinning wool and what that might look like really tried to reach far to reach what was there and to talk to the plants as well to ask them to teach me so that I could learn and gain the knowledge I was trying to recapture.

So after a period of time, I learned how to spin wool on a spindle and I'm starting to learn how to do the dyes. It's that international seeking of teachings that make it so that when I go out on the land I don't anything, how little I know because when I look around I don't know what that plant is or what gift that plant might offer, medicine comes

from there and yet there's lifelong learning that is there I don't have to rush there and eventually over time it might reveal itself to me. I think when I look at that *sneŵíyelh* is not only to seek the teachings but to learn from the mistakes and to learn from those mistakes to also understand how to carry yourself, how to care for yourselves, all those things that go with that.

***Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

How do I define *sneŵíyelh* ... when I was growing up there were certain words used in my family in various ways. Now that I know what certain words mean and kind of know what their English translation might be, I think this an interesting use of a word. When ... my grandma or mom would say *sneŵíyelh*, I don't think I was fully able to grasp the complexity the word. I'm thinking about the personal advice because I always interpret it as teachings. So not necessarily... Advice can be thought of as a suggestion — teachings are teachings. So it was a very different idea when I got older thinking about *sneŵíyelh* I think umm...in the traditional sense — I never thought of it as applying to other parts of my life except with the rigours of ceremony.

I really thought about it in relation to protocol, what happened at Work, no matter what kind of Work. I thought, "Okay what is my *sneŵíyelh* in this if I am at a Memorial, if I am at the Baby Ceremony, if I am at a Wedding. I think I always thought of it in context of Ceremony. Those advice, those teachings I mean with a real strictness so that is how I would define *sneŵíyelh* for me. Like I said, it has changed for me now from when I was a little kid. But it still holds true, I don't think I was aware, as a baby of the significance of the word and I realize what they were trying to tell me. I have always liked the word and what is associated with the word.

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

Thank you — both of these words are new for me and from a Squamish Nation language context is so exciting (laughter). Geesh, when I saw the question I thought what I could contribute. I didn't realize, Tracy said you are Squamish, and put me in my place. So when I think of advice I think of it being done in conversation. To me it is verbal communication between two people, conversing and from the heart and mind. I

feel like the difference with snewíyelh in our community, in the Squamish nation we are able to give advice that is deeper than People who are not part of a community, say the general public.

I have been blessed to belong to different communities like self-growth, healing, salsa, cross training. Whatever I have, a lot of interests the way we connect in our community is different and provide advice it is deeper, more real we go right to the root. I feel sad when I see other people trying to be friends, to support one another. We go so much deeper where I come from makes me have this sense of appreciation for the ability to grow as a person. To be able to receive and give advice from place inside, the heart and the mind of course the mind is important but combined with the heart wow is it ever a powerful feeling when you hear that coming from somebody whether it is an Elder. I experience Elders and other Peoples experiences sharing advice and it feels different that's what I think about and I think that when we communicate and give advice we do it from a place of understanding too — most of us can relate to each other good times, tough times. Not everybody has that relationship that reliability inside our community. It is so diverse out there is some natural human experiences but it's not the same as being part of the Squamish Nation community. And umm...that's what it really means to me.

***Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

Can I say something else — those two words are so very complex and there are many different ways to look at it. Upbringing and personal advice. In Farsi, they have similar words. The almost insane closeness of family and community like in our reality it is really somewhat similar in the Persian community. Like my girlfriend ...asked me to go to her late grandmother's funeral. It was so crazy I was oh my God. The really old Ta7ah stood up to speak in honour of her friend who passed like she was in her nineties she was using these words in Farsi. And I remember asking what is she saying — “if you were taught in a good way this woman was brought up right and she's going to miss her because People aren't being brought up to help their People and community.” Those are the words we use — that is the same sort of idea and that is the only sort of



parallel I can think of when I have non-Native friends who have a little bit of an appreciation of what all that is — so much deeper. You are right.

***Co-participant 1-Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

You are right. It does go to the heart — If Auntie Vanessa is teaching or something, I listen and stop and pay attention. You will see with our kids too, they listen to Uncle Bucky talks, when our spiritual leaders come in the kids act differently.

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

You know why? It's not because they are standing up there talking from their mind, like when you go to school you take these steps. They speak from their feeling of the knowledge. This is what I know.

***Co-participants 1 & 3 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams, and Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

That's right, yep.

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

You know a lot of People have lost that and don't know how to relate to that place where you don't have a written speech

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

You know there were a lot of times for me personally I'm realizing gees this was very clever the order you asked these questions by the way. (Laughter)... You really know where you're going. You're a smart cookie, but I feel like I realize about myself is — I am all heart because I am so in my emotion. I can easily cry just because it matters. It's not about being negative. I get so excited and I just will save it for the next question.

**Co-participant & Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs**

I will close off this round. *Snewíyelh*...I grew up hearing a lot of about our *snewíyelh* that it was fun — I didn't necessarily think about it as being strict. Whether we were in the longhouse wrapped up ...I recently just saw this of an Elder, — and actually your Uncle — Jessie — saw him do this at Tracy's work. He was watching his niece's son because his Dad was seconding the Mask. He said "okay now lay down" and he wrapped him and I said "Oh my goodness, I haven't seen that in a really long time." But that's how I was raised umm...I certainly heard the drums and singing but was too young to watch. That's my *snewíyelh*, that's my teachings. The strictness that goes to it, this might be our way and not everybody's teachings some other People might have other teachings but that's okay we can respect one another.

I was at a relative's wedding in modern times down in the States. Her daughter was there with her children, but was part of her mom's wedding party. My cousin's late Mother was still alive my Auntie said to me "Oh honey, we just have to help each other out." I said, "What would you like me to do Auntie; you want me to take the children?" She said, 'Yes'. I believe that she wanted the children to sit down because they were going up and down the aisle. Anyways, I took them and sat them on my lap; they stayed with me and watched the Ceremony. If that's strict, then that's strict, but it also an expectation of how to behave. I aspire to my Mother's greatness with her grandchildren...they always sat as little ladies and little men and paid attention to the *Work* no matter how old they were because that's their *snewíyelh*.

My last thought is I really believe that there is a level of understanding, that depth of understanding that takes us from *nexwnínew* to *snewíyelh* and it becomes *nch'ú7mut*-to become one, inter-connected, inter-related. You know finding that place in your heart where you give advice is self- actualizing as a human being. Jesse you are a good human being from good people. Tracy you were taking us down this path when you were talking about your work and your children. Damara you are a bright light filled with generosity, love and an old soul.

***Co-participant 4 — Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson***

It is interesting sitting here listening to you all- we were all brought up in different times, different generations. Vanessa was lucky she grew up with the old people and I guess that is what I seek out the old teachings. I think since coming home and belonging to syéwen. The teachings were never there for me other than to provide for your family. It's how to support my immediate family and I remember Mom and her job especially sharing when she got into cedar a little bit you offer when you take from the land you always thank them these are the animals that have given up for you. I don't remember too much of it because it happened before I moved away. So when I came home I didn't have her in my life too long after that she became ill and passed away.

So umm, once in awhile Collette and I would go to Grans and lie on the bed and watch Young and the Restless umm, she would tell us about teachings, as well her favorite story with us about the Mountain, the Chief, she was proud of that place where we would go bath. She said it was a very powerful place and she would tell us stories. She would tell us how proud she was of us going for our baths and she said you keep it up it will keep you pure, your mind open and to help the People. I reflect on that time with my gran. That's where my life is now- that time with my gran lying on the bed catching up with her, getting a little bit of teaching with her here and there. Auntie Terri was a big part of that and it opened a new world. She would come and share but I wasn't ready for that part of my life yet — Mom had just passed away and prayer was the furthest from my mind cause I was more of feeling the loss and Auntie Terri went and I think from there I had my father he had bits and pieces. His was the life skills; it was his major part in our family to try to provide for us because of his upbringing with no parents. He started working at the age of 15 and starting providing for all his kids from 21 and for the rest of his life. I understand where he was coming from... I think when he left prayer came into my life through the Longhouse and that opened my eyes to prayer.

I think in the beginning working with Aggie Andrews- I spoke with my sister and a couple of people who I wanted to see help because those are the teachings I remember seeing as a little girl going to the Longhouses. Seeing all the changes myself from not wearing the paint, I could see the changes down there. So being initiated into their

opened a whole new world to me receiving all those teachings constantly every winter that's when the teachings really started for me working on the floor with different ladies working with the Families different versions of the same *Work*. Kind of listened to teachings under the hat, you take in what feels right for you and going to ask other people their views on something. Theirs is always something different. So I think that's where a little bit of confusion lies because it has changed so much from a version from long ago that I remember when I was little girl from age 8 or 9 to where we are today. You can go ask five of our People and they all have different versions of how they do things.

Other teaching a big teaching was how you treat people. I never saw my parents treat anyone bad no matter what part or stage of life they were in. As well, our grandparents — a big teaching was this is how you treat people and how you help. You may not be the richest in tala but you are rich with your own ways. We all have special gifts. A gift that was given to me was the wool weaving in my 40's , siwín came into my life as well when I was in my 40's and this is a teaching I love to share every chance I get. Along with that comes many teachings that I don't know yet either, but the skills and techniques' I can share with people. Between *Setálten* and I the little bit of knowledge we share about the wool weaving and mountain goats.

Combined everybody I have come across in my life the last while, 18 years since I been home has taught me, not being a spiritual person or a cultural person before coming home. Everything has come into my life now. It's alot to learn and absorb; and sometimes it is frightening. Some people come up to you and ask you questions and I am just learning myself and I tell them I can share what I been told and what I have learning. That is what I can do at this point in my life, because I don't know everything either and I am still learning myself. Beginning to learn some thinks, but I think the point where I am at in my life I'm finally starting to feel happy and that because what has been brought to me and given to me and why it's been given to me.

Another big teaching for me that you have to earn what you are given, you don't ask, don't be greedy, don't be in a rush , be thankful for what you have been given and share what you have been given. Keep learning a big piece for me is the learning part

there's a lot to learn out there and I would like to share it with the kids I work with and my family. I look at my own immediate family and I think I am as cultural as it gets, I don't think there is anyone more cultural than me. So a lot of people come up to me and compliment me because I am young and I am the youngest of all of them. And I pretty much do everything for my family cultural wise, so it's a big compliment for me. I am just starting and I am young, but I have a lot of good teachers, role models that I can go talk to out there, as well my eyes are always looking for something, my hands are always looking for something to do, and my ears are open to the teachings.

Even *Setálten* is a big teacher for me because he has a lot of knowledge and I compliment him on that all the time when I'm out there and talking with the people, I associate with because he is a big part of my life. A big piece of teaching is his family in *syéwen*, they have taken me in. They are very knowledgeable that way and yeah I like my life now, where it is going. I am lucky to work with the bunch of people in my Department; we all have our own skills in our own different way. We have smart people whether it is in the Language, the arts or our history. You know I don't have to look far if I want to know something I just ask someone I work with. I am lucky to have you by my side. Thank you.

### ***Co-participant 5 — Setálten-Norman Guerrero Jr***

So this is *snewáyelh/snewéyelh*. This can branch out for quite a bit as well, *Spelexilh* touched on teachings, for me it wasn't until I was around 8 years old and I started to understand what cultural teachings were and I would ask questions. The first thing I would ask Mom and she would just go "Oh" and she wouldn't really answer and I would ask my grandma.

My Dad would say you have always been nosy, but I have always been curious kid who wanted to know. That is one of the things you want to have and my grandma said, "Son, I will explain to you when you are a bit older." It wasn't till I was at that age where I could understand and I was allowed to go to the *milha7áwtxw* [Dance House]. My grandmother and my mother always stressed to me that it was a place to go and learn. Their teaching was that it wasn't a place for kids because of the powerfulness and the spiritualness. And I guess they were looking out for me and didn't want any harm to

come of me. That is something that has been instilled within me, and the younger kids are that you have to keep still, and don't be moving up and down. That's always been said and it didn't even need to be said, I would just get that 'look'. It would be like okay. It was when I was able to start going at eight or nine, you know I was already trained on what to do there and where my place was.

So with that, umm things starting coming, that is one the things I learned is that it doesn't come all at once it is like a little piece of the puzzle. It is still like that to this day, you know little pieces that begin to make something more clearer in my eyes and how things work in ceremony and everyday life with the language. It might be just a little thing, you know I have learned up until this point and when my grandma passed, one thing that really hit me when she was going and she told my mom and my aunties that what she has taught them it is their role to take over on what she has done. Oh my God, It hit me. They are taking on what she did, me, my first cousins, and me are taking on what my aunts, and uncles did.

When we started doing the work for them it hit me what Angie was saying about being the youngest doing things. It is like that with me and my first cousins being with grandma and seeing her do things. I am not the oldest I have older first cousins on that side who are in their 40's and I am just approaching my 30's. They didn't have that growing up, it wasn't for them, or they were left out in that aspect. Normally it is the older ones that are guiding us younger ones but that's how the tables turned for that we're taking on more roles and showing them what to do and I remember my Aunt talking to her sister that she was kind of kicking herself now, that she didn't do this with her girls. When she went in it was a negative time for her and what I learned from my mother and grandmother is that this is a way of life nothing to be afraid of cause I guess they might of had that fear instilled in them about what it like to be in the *milha7áwtxw* [Dance House] . But I never had that, you will have that understanding when it is time like Angie said, these gifts will come to you.

I sat back and did not drum for anyone for the longest while. I sat back, listened, and watched and it wasn't until my mother got initiated that I got up because people had a hard time with her song. I sat there enough to listen and I didn't have to go and get

her workers. I said, I could sing for my mom- I know her song... It was like that with Anj because she is one of mom's syewen sisters and I sang for her and whenever they come, I sing for them too. I have the respect for the ways and I show it by helping out. It's something that Ness, Becky said, "You have something to share, don't wait to be asked, and you just go and do it." There's that part!

I come from a family that does a lot of cooking; I guess it is something that started with my great-grandmother's mother, but being raised with those big families you just can't cook for one. Growing up we really had huge pots, I really miss the big family dinners because when my grandparents left, it has never been the same anymore. They were like, I don't know I have talked to a lot of people in the community where they have big families, the big *Tl'a7áshen*, the big feasts were and after they go it doesn't seem the same because of the food. Mom always says prepare the food with good thoughts and you will give the people some of that. If you are frustrated or mad your food will burn. That was a teaching that I got helping them to prepare food with them. You will always hear them laughing. It is a good sign if you hear that people will come back laughing. Sitting around the table at Grams I really miss that you would hear stories and them cracking jokes. It was me sitting back being nosy. Having eight aunties they are all nuts, but that's what makes us Stélmexw people is to have that humour. If you don't have humour, go home!

Anj- Sometimes Norm and I could have the conversations that go on and on until we are in tears. It's always a good time.

Teachings on *Xéñxen* again too... *Xéñxen* is such a huge part of who we are as *Skwxwú7mesh* People we always refer to our ancestors and our connection to the land. You know I think we really focus on, here in our own community. Because we visit other places and they have a little bit of understanding, but here it is so rich since straight from a young age you are told about where you come from. That's something from me that I know so much about my family connections here, that I am starting to expand more on my connections to my extended family, like Ness touched on her (*steýshkw?*) I am learning more about my *Snanáymexw*, my American side, my *Nitnat*.

**Co-participant 6 — Tsitsáyxemaat, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

*Snewéyelh* to me, I think the first *Skwxwú7mesh* People were so honorable and in how they displayed it and modeled it to their descendants, as the way to be. It has been handed down for thousands and thousands, and thousands of years. To be respectful to the Land, to each other, to yourself, for the waters, for everything to always be respectful not *eskénexw* (greedy) of all the teachings.

To me I think from my own experiences especially, you need to have an open heart to be able to hear these teachings taking place, to see them happening and to understand them, then you can actually touch, feel these teachings sometimes even smell the teachings. Certain things like devil's club in the Longhouse. You know their smells that go along with it like the river- the teachings that go along with the water; you have to have that open heart to receive *snewéyelh*. If you do not sense them, I do not think you can really understand it or receive it. You know that's just my own feelings on it. I've learnt and felt most of these in my heart when I was young.

It all seemed so familiar to me when I would hear it from the elders, from my Papa (*Xálek'-t*, Chief Lawrence Baker) learning the language young, these teachings, our old language elders *Sxananált-t*, Yvonne Joseph, your Granny (*Kwítelut-t*), and all of them I started with. All of their teachings just seemed so familiar, I heard them before, I knew it already, and I just loved it. I have an absolute love for it you seen even their love because they cared so much to share that, you know it really made me feel loved receiving their love. It was such a strong, powerful, mutual understanding to me that *snewéyelh*, the respect for it, the gratitude for the opportunity to just receive those teachings.

That is the same feeling as when I was in the Longhouse and even when my Papa went into the Longhouse. I was 10 and I just fell so in love with it, my favorite part was the teachings on the floor. I couldn't wait till everything went quiet and then O'Siem... then they would start talking, I just love it and couldn't wait for the Speakers. It was like I knew it all already but you love hearing it again and again. Course feeling all of that when I was a kid and growing up with that into my teens, I'm pretty sure I got disconnected somewhere in there. I went astray and you know got into that "fuddy



duddy kind of life.” And after I lost my Papa, I really became disconnected with all of that. I just closed my heart, closed everything, and let it go. That was the hardest thing for me to know that it was there and I wanted it. I wanted to go back to it so making that change for me. I wanted *snewéyelh* back, asked for it to give me the strength to feel it again, fall in love with it all over again. It is so rich, it is just the absolute truth, it is the reality, and it is the way to be. I think it is the most important thing to share, not only with each other, but with our *ménmen*, so that’s what *Snewéyelh* means to me.

### **Co-participant 7 — Vanessa Campbell**

*Yewán men ha7lh a sníchim, Siyám timá. Timá kwis nánam i7xw skwáyel. Wáyti haw k’elh t’el’númut nilh timá ta snewéyelh ta swa7ámchet. Welh timá kwis nánam i7xw ta núyap na7 ta skwáyel ...siyám. Wáyti timá kwis p’ich7nexwas ta ménmenchet. Chet ii, chexw élhtach, ta sí7lchet k’es nánam ti stsi7s. Haw k’elh timá. Haw k’elh máynexw timá kwins hánstumi. Welh chexw mi shéway. Chexw tsut kwi nach’ ta Stélmexwchet. Haw kw’exw timá nilh n hants kwen si7l. Haw k’elh timá ta nu kwis yewínts ta snewéyelhchet. Timá kwis cháchshay ta snewéyelhchet. I7xw stam kwis xéchnexw. Timá kwis chéncheñstumulh, timá kwis xwníwntumulh. Haw kw’exw eskénexw. Chexw cháchshay. Timá kwis yewínts ta snewéyelhchet. Haw k’elh t’el’númut welh timá kwis nánam i7xw skwáyel ta núyap. Timá kwis nánam ta elhtáchs, ta selsí7l, ta schámiykw. Timá kwis nánam, chexw nánam timá ta snewéyelh. Ha7lh.*

Respected colleague, your words were excellent. You carry yourself every day like a true leader. Maybe you don’t realize this is the way of our ancestor’s teachings. It’s just the way you’ve carried yourself through this day...respectful in leadership. It may be that our young ones get it, too. Here we are you are parents, being like our grandparents today. Not just ‘like’, you haven’t forgotten as I’ve told you...you are growing. You say we are a different People. But you aren’t just ‘like’ it’s said our grandparents were. You aren’t just ‘like’, you understand our teachings. The way of sharing. Our Elders’ teachings are to support one another. To share with one another’s teachings. You aren’t greedy. You share. The way you understand our Elders’ teachings you may not realize but, that is the way you carry yourselves every day. The

way our parents did, our grandparents, our great-grandparents, you carry on the teachings well.

**Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker- Williams**

I know that translates as advice umm for myself umm, I have a hard time seeing how that would separate from an upbringing from Nexwnínew umm maybe it's used in a more in depth context or maybe if you were umm yeah. Yeah I'm not sure how the advice would separate from the upbringing I'm having a hard time defining that. So I'm not going to be very helpful I'm afraid. But I know it means the advice

Deb: That's totally okay. I certainly agree with you that umm there very much entwined with one another and not separate. That *snewíyelh* is umm our private, for me it's our private advice or our umm-private knowledge, and umm I think back to an explanation that *T'naḵwtn* gave Damara on how he understood the concept. That I know myself what I know from my maternal grandma on this concept. About how it is everything, all of our laws and everything, which takes it away from private knowledge but within all of the deeper layers umm it, teases out. That it is advice, it's the way of being, and it is the knowledge. That's just one of the things I have heard.

**Co-participant 9 — Ruth Nahanee**

I would say that how I define my advice as my spirituality- I came in with it, I was born with it, and nobody gave it to me otherwise I wouldn't have been so conflicted with the Catholic church, *siwín̄n̄*, and that kind of stuff. I always think being born with spirituality, already knowing what I knew growing up that anything that was against what I felt or believed. If it didn't ring true, I would not believe it. There are aspects of the Catholic Church that rang true but a lot of it didn't. Mostly, the religious part of it, the belief system of what they were teaching I did not believe there was a spirituality part of the Catholic Church that I believe in the majority of the religious tenets I do not believe in.

In *siwín̄n̄* to there is a good part but some of their teaching and how they use their power is disturbing. So, I try to just take the goodness out of each one of those and stay

away from the rest. I don't think I really got into my spiritual powers till I was in my 40's. When I started to hear about energy healing and started getting into that- it opened up this whole part me that it was like going home. It was I had gone home and when you open, up to your own soul and spirituality and your 'self' opens up to the higher beings is that you have less fears that's for sure and you can look at your people and understand them better. You can understand, yes, there is a lot of dysfunction in the communities, but I understand why and I have forgiven what I had to grow up with. I have forgiven the Catholic Church.

I have become a stronger person because of who I am and honour my spirit and love my people more. Who I am as a Skwxwú7mesh person is because of it.

**Blanket 3: Body Quadrant- In what ways do you use your *nexwnínew̓* iy *snewíyelh* in your Work?**

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

I was thinking, how it applies to my everyday life, you know the complexity of how you blend everything together. How do you be a Mother who cooks dinner and brings kids to school, washes clothes, is a basket weaver who works full-time as the Secondary School counsellor.

***Co-participants 3 & 2 — Jessie Williams and Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

And ... Master student! Don't forget that it is no small feat.

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

They all blend together because it is who I am, and I can't separate one from the other because they all belong together. And I was thinking of some of the Elders that were teaching me along the way weaving. I went along on a Canoe Journey and one of the Elders — Hank Gobin was there. It was the last night of the Potlatch — It was three in the morning and we had been sitting there all day — and I was trying to be a good girl oh I was sitting there so tired, ready to go to bed. Three-thirty in the morning and Uncle

Hank leans over, “Niece I’ll need a week leave at the end of my Potlatch” I sat up a bit straighter and I smiled I’m not going anywhere — I sat there till 5:30 in the morning — so what was the point of that is that he wanted me to be there essentially to learn the teachings and he was sharing part of a proper upbringing and there was something very beautiful about that it wasn’t anything long and complicated.

So when I think how do I use *nexwnínew* and *snewíyelh* in my work — part of that is trying to share for People who are wanting to learn and try to provide opportunities to include People who want to go out on the Land, it sounds funny to say but go run around the mountains. It’s like our cultural classroom; it’s so much more fun than sitting still and not moving when you look around in nature.

The best thanksgiving, I ever had — Delmar and I and the kids decided we were going to take a break from it all and we were going to get out of the City. We were gonna run for the hills. What we did was we packed a cooler full of stuff that we were gonna cook for dinner and a pumpkin pie and we went way up high, we went as far as road could take us in our traditional territory up to this little Creek and sat at the bottom and built a fire with the kids and then we were looking up and we could see the mountain goats and were watching them with the binoculars and then we were cooking a deer stew over the fire and we had pumpkin pie and it was just us but it was something that was like you were being embraced by your family, embraced by your community. What it was like *esem̓kwu* to be wrapped in our land to be healed and we came out just like ....there were no toys for the kids. We had sticks, we had water, there was no need for any of those things umm...funny driving through the mountains with our windows open so we could see, feel, smell and pay attention.

So as we were coming out Delmar says watch for the elk they move at this time — it was foggy sure enough we were driving down the road — oh we stopped the car — look kids look we watched a big herd of elk walk across the street. They were like, “oh my gosh” watching it. You know Tiffany comes home that week at school she tried to write about it in her little journal of how she saw all these elk crossing the road for Thanksgiving.

So to me it's so a part of my life and whenever it can fit in. Here we run down to the river and put some cedar bark in to learn the nature of the river with our other colleagues and Elders and how they try not to separate it so much but it's okay that we learn together, ...we try to support one another in whatever type of learning we are seeking or the knowledge that we're trying to achieve ... and the willingness to explore those skills in how we do it, how can we learn if we don't look at the land umm... and our place from a seasonal point of view for me and paying attention to the environment and when things become ready. How the earth change whether you are going from Spring to Summer, Fall to Winter and that there is a reason why we follow the seasons and follow those pathways ... because there was a time for everything. For our Family when it is time to hunt — there is nothing more important.

Right now, it's time to hunt so we make a time for Delmar to do that. Go out to the mountains so he can be who he needs to be as a Squamish man and for us we wait for the food to come home like for a visitor. We clean everything we prepare the house in anticipation of the animal coming home, and then we go through that process. Right now, it's different — we did Work in the summer we have no food. So for us that is a different place to be...used to having more food in the freezer but we know we will because it is at this time... it's the same for the Spring time — when it's time to gather the bark, it's time to gather bark — it's time to be in harmony with all of those things. How are we practicing these ways its very similar to how it had to be in the old times cause it's really not on my schedule. If it was up to me to make time, when the tree is ready, the tree is ready, when the animals are ready, they are ready, when the fish are ready, and the fish are ready. It is up to you to align yourself with those times and places.

***Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya Damara Jacobs-Morris***

So Work — it's interesting because you did your various roles and aspects as Work and those relationships to your role as a mother, a weaver, a gatherer, and how you bring it all together.

So Work for me the way it's capitalized. I always think of Ceremony. So I also understand what's happening from a scholarly, an Indigenous intellectual thing — this is

Work. Her [Snítelwet, Deborah Jacobs] entire dissertation, the research, sharing circles, reviewing previous literature and study that has been done this sort of thing like Indigenous identity and Languages. It makes me think okay, so all of this is the Work.

In what way am I bringing my *nexwnínew* and *snewíyelh*, my upbringing and advice, my teaching to this Work — right now in this exact moment me as a human being, me as a stélmexw — my life as a Work thinking at that deep of a level too — it's like whoa you can go anywhere with that. How am I bringing it to my Work — I think I will tackle it in the big context of my life as the Work, my life as the ceremony and the various stages of protocol I try to go through on all these different areas of my life.

So I think I use some aspects of my upbringing and my teachings in everyday like trying to be grateful, to always be very present and listen actively and share in a meaningful way — all of that is part of my teachings that not only respects those around me but respecting myself so its kinda you know thinking of how I am communicating with everything even when I am on the road. “Am I having road rage?” Why am I doing this? Pause — this part of my *snewíyelh* and *nexwnínew*. I address it in everyday senses and I also address it in a much bigger way like with decisions — what job am I going to take, which man I am going to date — you know (laughter) things like that. I have to reflect on my upbringing and teachings and what part am I upholding and really staying true to its different. So I see myself using it in those ways. Looking at the concept of Work, as a much larger greater thing. I would love to say I could look at it through the lens of a Mother.

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

But you will.

***Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

I know but I am not quite there yet.

***Co-participant 1 &3 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams, /Jessie Williams***

(Laughter) but you will right.

***Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

Yeah — I think that's all I can share right now.

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

So how I read this question is how I apply it to my work — my career. I feel that is the place I feel most confident now to be honest. I feel like I have been working in Education for 3.5 years and I have never been so emotionally connected to a job in my whole life. I done a lot of different things I can find positive aspects of but I've never been so emotionally connected to a job before. That's new for me so that's what I'm gonna answer.

I think the ways I use my teachings and shared advice is I really begin by coming from a place of love, by lovingly connecting with people. I think that enables me to spend I believe what is going to be the rest of my career. Encouraging others to find their inner light, their purpose, to be able to use that to be the best version of themselves, self-discovery through education and use that to share that with everybody their family their friends, community people outside of our community.

You know I mentioned earlier that these gifts come from the Creator and I feel like I just use my passion to get others to discover that. You know when I first started when I was graduating high school and you put a quote in your yearbook. What your future plans are or whatever. And I said I wanted to be a teacher — an elementary school teacher that's what I always wanted to be but I went on this big journey and started school and ended up being a flight attendant, having kids and a family, and then going back to school taking business fundamentals. I ended up being really good at it — like business — I just didn't know that was a skill set I had inside but in the end I'm in education so my life brought me to my purpose. It's like destiny, how neat is that no matter what journey you go on obviously I needed to learn those skill sets to apply that to aspiring to education there is freedom and knowledge that gives people the capacity to be able to give advice.

Just the circle — it's all interconnected, sharing your knowledge and gaining enough knowledge and maybe your upbringing as an adult not just as a child. Your upbringing in your journey as a student and how you can use that knowledge and strength to be able to provide advice to the people that you ... I just think that's an amazing circle and I couldn't imagine doing anything else, cause ...it's work — but when I come to work I don't feel like I'm going to work. I feel I get to be me every day at work. I don't have to change myself here you know. I just get to do what the Creator made me to do — you're going to this — went on a big roundabout journey and came back to this to be here where I was supposed to be in the first place. That's what I apply to my job.

***Co-participant 4 — Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson***

In my work, that's an interesting question. I love my job. I love working with the younger children. They are at a point in their life where they are learning. They are hopefully going to retain and hopefully share at some point. I feel that the kids I work with today and the past even... I feel there is a gap in some generations of sharing the history and the teachings that some of us have grown up with, some that I have just learned.

I think that I am always using my upbringing. I tell some colleagues in the District that's the way I like to teach from my own life-skills. So, I think some of the things I have gone through for a reason. Sometimes those are brought to light because some of my clients are going through exactly what I have gone through myself or would have gone through with my own children, or my nieces and nephews or my brothers and sisters. I think all of those experiences I have gone through and I have learned alot and have alot to share with the families that I work with because I have gone through it. I can truly tell them that I know what you are feeling because this has happened to me. I have gone through this, so I am always drawing on life experiences, feelings, and teachings with the people I work with even today. I think that's part of the job I really, love is actually working with the families and kids.

The other part of that always has to explain to teachers, staff and principals, counsellors, and psychologists that I feel reserve life is very different from off-reserve life. A lot of our kids don't have a whole lot of life experiences other than on reserve.



What I learned today and what I hope to share with them in the future is that part of that is the name places and even travelling to Whistler, going to the movies, a lot of that our kids don't have those opportunities to do that.

I didn't either when I was growing up, I don't remember going to the movies or the mall all the time. I always tell them that it's not a big part of anybody's life- you know you have the forest. We used to have it behind us. You have the pond, the river, and I told them we didn't have Nintendo, Playstation, or DVD's, cell phones or pagers. We had the playground, which was the field, and I remember any toys we had were Campbell Soup cans or a tennis ball that we played with. Right, we were outside all the time.

So when kids and parents are going through tough times that is what I draw on, remembering growing up and compare then to today. I can't say how lucky some of them are but, some are luckier than others financially... have both parents in the home. I was lucky to have both parents in the home all of the time. I sure would miss my mom or dad if they weren't there for me.

I work with a lot of broken homes and some good homes. I can only share with my clients and colleagues in the School District this is how I was brought up, and the teachings that I have reviewed up to today. Shaping the kids into I guess it is experiences I have gone through make me who I am today. With my grandson now I want him to learn everything now and allow him to feel everything like Becky said, "the feeling part is a big part of the experiences, as well and that's what you have to allow children to do is to feel and express in their own way." I can't speak about their upbringing or their teachings maybe it's there but maybe they are not listening, but you can hopefully expand on that or you introduce them to it. That's what *Setáalten* and I do every day in the classroom and *Xwáchtenaat*. We share those teachings with them. I am always sharing with my colleagues in the School District. We come from two very different worlds, the staff in the District and us because we are brought up different and our experiences were way different than theirs. Having gone to Norgate when I was young, I have seen some changes. You only want the best for their children; you are not there to judge. Thank — you.

**Co-participant 5 — Setáalten, Norman Guerrero Jr**

I think our position is pretty much built around this whole subject. Everything we teach in that class, 98% has to do with *nexwnínew iy sneŵéyelh*. It's always explained the reason you are doing this is that you are going to be carrying on what the ancestors held for us, to be able to teach you. When I first moved into that class Ness gave me most, of stuff, she had and we have the picture of late Uncle [Chief Louie Miranda] in there. She put it there so he could be watching the kids. The kids always ask "Who is that?" the younger guys that come. I tell them *Siyám Sxáaltxw-t*, that's Uncle Louie. "Is he my Uncle?" We explain that everyone called him Uncle. He was a well-respected Elder who taught here. Yeah he taught here and helped save a lot of the stuff we teach today, the writing system, the stories that were recorded by home. "Did he teach my mom?" I think he might have taught your grandmother the one's in my mom's age group. I remember Angie brings it up the pilot project.

Angie- I remember you guys coming there. I was in St. Thomas Aquinas, Grade 8. You (Vanessa), Val, and Uncle Louie coming there, we were probably the guinea pigs.

I am always explaining about the teachings and Angie as well, about how to conduct yourself in the classroom and when you are out because we always refer to the Longhouse and how it is in there.

I ask the kids, "If you go to ceremony at the Longhouse or the Gym, are you always running around?" "Do your parents tell you to sit and listen?" Well that's what we tell you to be like you are in the classroom and sit and listen and don't be rude. The consent form we sent out also has our code of conduct. *Wanáxw's stway, ch'áwatway, ta tkwayá7imen, chéñchenstway*. We want you to be respectful to one another; we want you to help each other, encourage each other and to listen to each other.

Every year before the Language starts that's something that Ness said to always go over with the kids. It is reflected pretty much in each class with the kids. I tell them the aisles are for walking, do you remember our code of conduct? We go through it again. Like Angie said a lot of what we do is repetitive, hoping it will sink into them

sometimes because sometimes it does and it doesn't. You just have to keep repeating and repeating. The kids come from all different backgrounds, some live on reserve; some don't live on reserve.

When we are doing our *Xén̓xen* [Family tree] and the connections to the Land. Some kids bring up that they don't live on reserve so they don't know where they come from. I ask them, "Where do Grandma and Grandpa live?" They answer that they live on Mission and Squamish. "Well, that's where you come from!" I tell them there are other connections to other villages but where your grandmother and grandfather come from, where your parents grew up is where you are connected to. You know to give them this sense of belonging because they have that disconnect. Because Norgate is close to *Xwmélch'sten* we tell them they are part of *Xwmélch'sten*, so that makes them feel happy to let them know they are connected somehow.

Some of the kids we work with come from other places, but live on reserve. We ask them where they originally come from and what they know. We always encourage learning about that over time; you don't have to learn it all at once. It will come piece by piece, so that they have that sense of belonging. They say they learned this about where they come from so that they have that sense of connection to wherever they came from.

Also, letting the kids know why we are teaching the language and it's not just language we teach but it's what we can cover, history, biology, we dissected a fish to prepare the fish skins. Geology-we looked at rocks, doing these different units we see language is attached to everything. That's what we are doing going along with so many talented people in one Department here. It's so awesome we are able to work together and to collaborate to share with the kids. Yesterday they were so enticed with everything- touching and smelling the fish, they wanted to stay in the Language classroom all day. They didn't want to go back to class; they wanted to stay there to learn. I think that's one thing that is unique to our program is that we have the kids having that feeling knowing we are there because we care for them, we love them. It's a safe place for them to come and talk as well to let us know if there is something going on. I think that's unique to us as *Stélmexw* people that we have that understanding. So

they feel comfortable enough to talk with us. They will even share a teaching with us. They tell us this is what we do; this is what my family does. I say it might be abit different than I do it but in the end it all means the same — it is the same thing.

I always let the kids know as they are learning this stuff that eventually they are going to take on a role in our community. Some of you maybe fishermen, some of you may be Speakers. You know we were talking about the numbers up to 100; eventually we got up to 40. I say it's important to know this because some of the young men in here may be asked to speak. I ask, "How many of you have been to ceremony?" Most of them put up their hands. "How many of you see what the Speakers do, if there's a funeral or a naming?" "Do you see them call Witnesses?" Yes. "Do you see them giving money?" "Why do they give money?" To help the family. "Do you hear them say the name of the money?" You know everything has a name when you are speaking. It is important that you know how to do this. Because one day you may be up there helping a family give money. You'll have to know how to say words and to know how to do this.

The Ladies as well, the ladies lay the blankets down, some of you may have to sing in the line-up for *Sxwáyxwey* [Ceremonial mask] or maybe to cook. Everybody when it comes down to it will have roles in our life, community, and ceremony. So it brings up their stories, this is what I see, my Mom does this, my grandmother does this, and it's so good to hear these stories because I see it, I know their parents, their grandparents what they are sharing. I tell them, "Yeah, that's true!" *Ha7lh* (Good)

### **Co-participant 6 — *Tsitsáyxemaat*, Rebecca Duncan, 2015**

*I7xw skwáyel na7 ten sts'its'áp' chen wa xwekws ta nexwnínew iy snewíyelh. Na wílkw'ts aswit kwins ch'áwataswit ta Stélmexw na7 ta newtsám, na7 ta sts'its'áp'awtxw, i7xw éпча. Chen tsi nexwnínew iy snewíyelh tiná7 tl'a síiyuxwa7chet ...*

I use the upbringing and the teachings every day in my work. People ask me to help them by phone at the Office, everywhere. I have the upbringing and teachings from our Elders.

... Elder's Advisory on the phone subbing with my Co-workers, any gigs I am asked to do or any openings I am asked to do a prayer. I try to share a little something every day, everywhere, even when I have to write a report, in the curriculum, make it respectful, make it understandable, and put some teachings in there. When I do any ceremony like opening prayer or anything like that, I do try to share the analogy of being in the Canoe and the teachings that go with being in the Canoe, how you carry yourself in the Canoe. Along the lines of Ian's words on the *áwtxwslúlum* (House song). Like in the *Milha7áwtxws* — teachings from the Longhouse, same as when you enter those doors you leave the negativity. Those kind of things I share to make a successful journey, you carry yourself in this way and your canoe will float, go smooth, even if you tip, you will be strong enough to get back in and pull hard again.

Those are the kind of things I try to share with outsiders and with people who aren't familiar with our teachings in a gentle way they can understand. Of course, when I am subbing I wish I had more time with them. I get a little glimpse, it is such a tease. The kids are little sponges; it's so amazing how much they do know already. When you teach something, they are so absorbing.

On the phone, I share respectfully when I get requests for help, or translation. I have been teaching for 27 years now off and on. I started when I was seventeen, so I had a base of *snewéyelh*. I have been a dancer for 28 years now so I had that... teachings from the Longhouse just before I started teaching, so I had a base foundation to go on. Now I know in my heart that what we teach is based on that and the pieces are falling into place.

Like *Setálten* said, more of the puzzle comes in and you feel complete; and more pieces come into it and it's uplifting. Definitely like *Setálten* said, our Work revolves around *nexwnínew̄ iy snewéyelh*. That's who we are, that's part of our job I believe it!

### **Co-participant 7 — Vanessa Campbell**

*Kiyát yewán men ha7lh a sníchim a snichimsyap. Timá kwis xwniwn kwi xwniwns –xwníwnstumulh. Timá kwis nánam i7xw skwáyel. Chénchenstway. Haw k eskénexw. Chénchenstway i7xw stam ta nexwníw, ta — ha7lh skwalwn kwis mi les*

skwalwns kwa mánilh. Chexw nam kwéykways. Haw k'es séselkw — i7xw swat — chet — i7xw swat chénchenstway i7xw skwáyel timá tay ta tá7eltayaknchet. I7xw ta ménmenchet wa t'átsut. Chet kw'áchnexw kwi swat kwis an tl'i7s kwis tkwáya7n. Ha7lh k'elh li7t ta men timá tay. Chet mis há7lhanen, 'Ashán melh?' 'Kwéykwaystenamut' 'Haw kw'exw timá tay na7 ta ína.' 'Eskw'áy kwis mis i tti.' Haw. Men huy kwis tsut, 'Mi chexw i tti' 'Kwéykways', 'Cháwatas ta nu.'

Timá kwis snewíyelh, timá kwis elhtáchchet, ta selsí7lchet, ta nímelh. Chexw nam ask'ú7 ta ménmens, eskw'áy kwis máynexw tima kwis shéway ta nu i7xw skwáyel ask'ú7 ta sekw'í7tlchet.

Íymen na7 ta sts'its'áp'chet eskw'áy kwis nam ts'its'áp' mench'nch'ú7. Eskw'áy timá ta Úxwumixwchet kwi stl'i7s kwis ts'its'áp' na nam ask'ú7 ta sekw'í7tl iy ta síiyay. I7xw wa txwnách'awtxwtumulh timá i7xw skwáyel.

Ta ménmen txwmi ta nímelh, i7xw ta ménmen iy ta elhtáchchet — haw k mench'nch'ú7. Nilh iwáyti nách'tway chet ta Sxwelítn. Lhik kwis tsut, "You are responsible." "You" welh with our children", we are" — ta nímelh, "we", "we".

Nilh timá wa xwniwn ta snewíyelh ask'ú7 ta ménmenchet.

Once again, the words of all of you are so good. Teachings, someone's teachings, sharing teachings among ourselves.

It's the way you carry yourself, conduct yourself every day. Being of support to each other. Not being greedy. Upholding the teachings every day. Affirming happy feeling as well as feeling low. Talk about it. We aren't always sad but we can still show support. It's like, in the classroom, we see someone who's having a hard time. Unable to listen. We don't just let him alone in that state. We go with kindness, gently, 'What's the matter?', 'Talk about what's going on.', 'you don't have to be stuck like that.', 'Don't bring something here that isn't needed.' No. Just say, 'Bring that here.', 'Talk about it.', 'He'll help you.'

In the same way as in our families, with grandparents, we, us. When you are with our children, you can't forget about how you grew up every day with our families. And in our work. You can't work alone. It's the same way in which our Community can't work alone; it needs family and friendship to work. The children are to us, all of the children and all of our families are not taken alone. It could be that it's different among non-Natives. Where it's often said, 'You are responsible.' 'You' 'with our children. We, is the way we hand down our teachings with our children.

**Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams**

I know that translates as advice umm for myself umm, I have a hard time seeing how that would separate from an upbringing from *Nexwnínew* umm maybe it is used in a more in depth context or maybe if you were umm yeah. Yeah I'm not sure how the advice would separate from the upbringing I'm having a hard time defining that. So I'm not going to be very helpful I'm afraid. But I know it means the advice

Deb: That's totally okay. I certainly agree with you that umm there very much entwined with one another and not separate. That *snewíyelh* is umm our private, for me it's our private advice or our umm-private knowledge, and umm I think back to an explanation that *T'naḵwtn* gave Damara on how he understood the concept. That I know myself what I know from my maternal grandma on this concept. About how it is everything, all of our laws and everything, which takes it away from private knowledge but within all of the deeper layers umm it, teases out. That it is advice, it's the way of being, and it is the knowledge. That's just one of the things I have heard.

Yeah so I'm now regional principal so I get to work with multiple First Nation schools and I still get to work with *Xwmélch'sten*, which is still one of my favourite schools. What I'm finding is, which might be a bit interesting, is when you kind of get out of your community and kind of get out of your home base you almost have to do a little bit more reminders in terms of how you want to be in the world because we're often moving very quickly in our work and often are foot soldiers for many educational methods. I mean, the first thing I've had to do with myself, over the past couple of years is to constantly first do the reminder to slow down a little bit. If that makes sense. When we rush and rush, we could be missing a lot of different things. We have to be respectful

about things. We don't want to rush in the same way. Miss you know the personal connections, or you know even taking some time to visit or to converse cause it's like we're always in a rush. By doing that for myself by not slowing down, I'll be missing out on some key points. I mean what's kind of interesting going into different places too, is you don't want to be umm pushy in terms of culture because I know people might...

***Co-participant & Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

Don't want to be Squamish centric

***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

Yeah, yeah, I've been kind of guilty of doing that. There especially around the central coast, which is, kind of northern cultural but it is different. So I mean people are you know there's a lot of a similarity in teaching the First Nation people everywhere. Where I was up last week in the Sekani territories, you know a very different place a very beautiful place, but a very different place. I think in terms of doing prayers, you know traditional work I'm thinking huh that's different then what I'm used to. It might not be those specific tangible things again; you don't want to be Squamish centric to be people but in the way on kind of conducts themselves. You can essentially have a better place of saying where your coming from and going into communities that might be operating a bit differently for different reasons.

At least that modeling comes through at least with talking with people and being respectful can be very different. I've gone into some places where I'm not sure if its umm either left over affects from residential school and if that's why it's a very uhh kinda of a very its honestly kind of a mean places but people aren't saying very nice things at all about one another or you know even doing things to the kids its very curt advice and part of me wonders if that's more residue from residential schools

***Co-participant & Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

Lateral violence?



***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

Yeah especially with these ladies who were in their 50s, 60s, 70s. Or if it's the stress of being in a school environment maybe not being supported enough and expected to do everything. It can look very different I know as someone who's now retired from the education business and Indian country would say in saying where you're from oh the sophisticated South. So I'm not sure if that means that culturally things are done a little bit differently or if the order of events or in terms of naming, ceremonies, or memorials it seems to be really structured and in other places I'm sure it's just a different way of doing things.

***Co-participant & Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

It's fairly chaotic in some parts of the country.

***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

Yeah. Oh, it can be yeah to me it seems kind of ordered. There's a way, there's steps that are involved. There's a way of behaving during that rigor. So essentially, now it's trying to model what I've been taught in terms of business and slowing down. It's probably a bit easier to do your own work within your own specific nation. I think I'd be able to move leaps and bounds within our own school for instance having those upbringings and teachings and language. Which in the overall picture I'm doing a lot more academic work, which is also important but its different, then being in one zone community huts for sure. It is different when you leave the confines' of the territory

***Co-participant 9 — Ruth Nahanee***

When I worked for the *Skwúwú7mesh* Nation, I would say it was very challenging for me because I worked not only with the Lands but the membership. Their infinity towards the Lands and the history had to do with individual properties and I think that being spiritually strong helped me to being more empathetic with our membership. I was taught to always be fair by my parents and not to be biased. That's part of my spiritual tenets. Even though all around people were being nepotism and being politically

aligned, I would always remain true to myself. When I had a client that person was another spiritual human being and I treated them with respect and fairness. I think I took it too far I was extra hard on my family (laugh) to the point I was not giving an inch especially cause you are my family.

I think that affected the way I ran my office and dealt with our membership. Another thing, is I think it is because I understood the trauma and dysfunction that our membership were in ... I had so much love and empathy for them that when they came into my office I felt I was giving therapy sessions because they are so hurt and wounded.

Especially, because Lands are such a sensitive area with land transfer or estate lands. It's such a big thing that I think it is one of the hardest jobs because you are dealing with people that are fighting for land that is dwindling and that their fighting each other as family members. It was very hurtful for me to hear all this and eventually I had to walk away because it hurt my heart so much.

I always even though at that point I was working in Land Registry, I was into my energy healing. I would ask my teacher, I just need to get out of there and it's really starting to bother me spiritually and she said, "No, you're supposed to be there because you bring light to that area of people's lives and you are actually doing healing work." Soon as she said that I got it- people when they walked into my office they could talk to me, talk about things they shouldn't be talking about but they felt safe. I think that's how my spirituality ended up showing in that job. That's the only job where I say my upbringing and advice ended up showing in that job.

**Blanket 4: Spirit Quadrant- How do you make space to bring your *nexwnínew̓ iy sneŵíyelh* to your practices?**

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya Tracy Williams***

How do I make space- okay I am going to tell you something ridiculous that you will find funny. Part of my journey has not been just looking at weaving but looking at all the other components. So sometimes, it involved having the tools to be able to do the weaving. You know I thought I could sit here forever waiting for someone to make me

the tools. So rather than sitting around waiting I thought I am just going to try to learn. So one summer here at *Ch'ich'ilxwi7kw* I was able to ride my bike to work and at lunchtime I would ride my over to the other side of the river. I don't know why- but I would sit there laughing at everyone eating my brown bag lunch. I have the best view ever this doesn't cost me anything. I'm on my lunch break- this is I literally was making space and time just sitting there and this sounds funny but to just receive the teachings.

So what were the teachings I was looking for? Well, I was looking to talk to the rocks in the river, so I spent quite a few lunch breaks just sitting there trying to understand the nature of the stone and stone tools because to me that related to the tools that I needed for weaving. I don't know the name for the rocks but I understood the nature of it and I would sit there and pound the rocks trying to break the rocks and understand how they might fracture. What rocks are stronger than others and eventually I would start looking in old books and hey we had rock stone bowls, certain shape of tools, by the looks of it, we were pretty good at it. I figured some things out.

One day I heard we would put rocks in our mouth...ummm... as part of training, our teachings. So I literally rode my bike from this side of the river to the other side of the river. I was trying to ask (giggles) to understand why? What does this mean? Why would we be doing this? I was having these terrible visions of choking on the rock cause it was slipping on my way back. Having to explain to the paramedics-, I was talking to the rocks — as part of our training and teaching. I was laughing and eventually I spit out the rock.

What are the most the obvious points I am learning about this — was like maybe this has more to do with listening then talking. An obvious result of having a rock in your mouth. And as I was riding down the road, I could see someone looking at me. I'm peddling along and I ask myself why is he looking at me? Then I look beside me and there is a deer who had been feeding on the other side... We must have been this far apart from each other (arms length). We both looked at each other and I said "Oh!" I told him I'm sorry about that and I just kept peddling along. That was one little way I was trying to make space and time in my day.

I would literally bring rocks home and have a towel laid out- pounding and pecking away. Something I didn't know there was a teacher for even my kids would sit there and we would make a big mess in the living room- I never wanted to say, "I have kids, so I can't do anything, I can't go outside because I have kids and that's too much work." I would just bring them to the river with me- that's the intergenerational piece. So we would all go and occasionally I would pick up my nephew to because 5 kids is no difference than 4, but the thing is they would sit there and part of them would learn how to play without toys. They would never need toys because how we would play with the water. We would play with the rocks and we would walk away just feeling a little bit lighter because it's about that unspoken piece that I think is the real critical piece of how that river has the ability to cleanse you and brush you off even if you are not sitting in it and it has that blessing.

I had tried to make a little drill bit- I was pretty excited and I was showing Peter how I would take this rock and I could have cried because I went down to the river, I had spent hours working on it to get it to a real sharp point and I dropped it in a pile of rocks. I could never find it (sympathetic sounds awww) I tried I kept going back to look for that rock. I thought that's okay you taught me something I could understand in a lot of other ways. I would go back to Peter and ask him, do we have a word for this kinda thing? The rock because this rock is different than this rock? And they have different uses and purposes. How does one relate to our language and therefore our identity? So to have these types of conversations and how they help and inform us and connect us in a more meaningful way to the Land. So, that's my story of practice.

***Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs-Morris***

It's so funny, whenever I think of making space in practice... so the ends of that question- I always think of Grad school and learning about being an in Art, Visual and cultural education. It's always about reflecting on your practice, your artistic and creative process as an educator who is encouraging people's creative and artistic purposes. So it is really interesting for me, whenever I think about it is how can I change — a classroom or a museum floor. I think how I can change that into an actual space, a

physical space also a metaphoric space for people and kind of for me to engage in my practice as an educator.

For the people, to feel good about the space not just the metaphorical space in their process as they are creating and making art, also the physical space so I am always asking, does it relate to my upbringing and my personal advice and my teachings I have received. Because a lot of what we do in ceremony, whatever type of ceremony it is- it is also about the logistics of space, it's about moving the people, moving the dancers, getting the Feast out, having everything in the Work run smoothly. So the aspect of the actual ceremony and what is going on the floor or in the logistics of the space you ask- How are the people feeling in the room? Are the people feeling good that this is good Work? Are they feeling proud or are they feeling uneasy? We don't want anybody to feel threatened, if anything goes wrong during Work- oh goodness- you have to stand up and make a public apology, so you are always thinking all about that protocol.

So in relation to my traditional self — my *nexwnínew̓ iy snew̓iyelh* and my practices, I make space for it in both the literal sense of making this space, figuring out how to make the space work, the logistics of the room, the ceremony and also the people's feelings and the energy. I started doing it because I have learned in school what I learned as an Art educator, but I have transitioned to thinking about it in the context of the roles I might occupy as a Squamish woman. You know who could potentially be running the floor for Work, so yeah, that's my two cents on that.

### ***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

I want to recognize on a side note before I could go into exploring this question how I make space for it in my practices and what I do. Its kinda neat sitting here listening to you two ladies talking just how neat it that we come from three different perspectives on all of this- there's Damara who was born and raised with these teachings and all these teachings are around your everyday life. Then there's Tracy who sounds like might not have had much exposure, but created for yourself some time and you nurture it, and you are being a Master at what you do, and the role you take.

You are all very clear and then there's me who is in the process of being open to sending that message to the Universe and having little messages come back- kinda neat. I just had to point that out. What a neat group!

How do I make space to bring my teachings and upbringing and advice to my practice? I think of it's my environment that I have consciously chosen for myself being my surroundings and the field I am in. So it's choosing to come back to work in my community. I wasn't working in my community before I chose to come back to because an opportunity opened up. I couldn't deny my passion for the Education Department. I choose to work for the position I work in. It's not like you know many of us have skill sets and we could work anywhere but I choose to be here. I made that choice... ummm... consciously. It's the colleagues I choose to work with and be around everyday so that's how I make space like in the place where I feel I can make the most contribution and share what I have learned in my upbringing as a child, as a youth, as a young adult and now as a middle aged grown up sharing my knowledge and advice on People who are bettering themselves, being successful in life. Does that make sense?

***Co-participants 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams, & Co-participant 2 — Chawtenaat iy Siyamiya, Damara Jacobs Morris***

Yes it does.

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

Yeah really, about my environment, one thing that is so powerful and amazing- a really a-ha moment for me is I am in power of that. I can control that now. I spent my childhood, my youth feeling not in control of my life, of the surroundings I was in, but the think I like to teach- You have a choice, once you are an adult. You're not at the mercy of your situation because you are powerful and young. You don't have the resources to take care of yourself of make decisions, that a really big empowering thought, I choose to be in this environment with you two ladies and other Colleagues I get to work within the Department, in the field because it's not just here but in my career I get to work with other people who are just as passionate as those in Education and do not feel as we feel. Pretty amazing. So for me, it's the environment I choose that's how I make space.

I choose to be in an environment that fosters and allows me to make that difference in people's life.

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

Do you think part of it is I'm not sure if we make space for it but we are Squamish women, who just do our practicing in so many multiple ways that maybe we are not always conscious of how we do that. But, I think you're right there are those conscious decisions we choose to be in our community. We all chose to participate and we all chose to make it important or feel it is important, or something we all continue to strive toward continuing for our children I think.

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

Grandchild, nephews, nieces...

***Co-participant 1 — Sesemiya, Tracy Williams***

We all want them to have that, so I think if we didn't have that as caretakers, knowledge keepers, those kind of things that really we have to be worried about for the future of our of our community. We know that's strong and it will continue to be strong into the future.

***Co-participant and Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

Thank you Tracy. Did you finish all your comments Jessie?

***Co-participant 3 — Jessie Williams***

I did- I think so.

***Co-participant and Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

I will just close off this part by sharing one of the ways I bring space to my practice as an Educator and as a scholar, as an artist, as a writer, is acknowledging that

there are all different communities of practice I belong too. One of my favourite ones is breathing life back into images, trying to capture different images through the lens of a camera. I used to do a lot of the work, but now the sense is to reflect on my connection to the Land and to our territories. What these images mean to me — is I can look at my Swans and tell the babies why I have all the little animals for them because they are their “brothers and sisters”. Making that space, I have linked the challenge of making oneself write and think bi-lingual. I have to make the space to do this every day.

I raise my hands and say *Chen kwan'mantumi-yap* I am most grateful to all of you, for bringing your hearts, you minds, your good thoughts to this Circle. I thank you for helping me with the Work, I hope benefits other Squamish people. When we look at it — it brings us to all different levels of understanding of our *nexwnínew iy snewíyelh. Timá kwítsi en snichim*, that's all the words.

#### **Co-participant 4 — Spelexílh, Anjeanette Dawson**

If my body says, 'No' my mind says get up and do it. With my immediate family, I am always sharing with my kids. They know when I am getting out of the door at 5 am and getting home at 7 am. They know where I am at — no questions asked. You can make a million excuses why you can't go but you need to. I have certain women in my life that as everyone has mentioned 'everyone has their role.' Somebody is not pushing me, but if I went out to those mountains and to those swimming, holes on my own I would get lost. So I have my leaders who know where all those holes are and it is dark out there, so those are the ones I lean on for that part of my life.

I think every year since I have been initiated [as a *Síwín* (Spiritual power) dancer I have always made time for my Spirit. I love my Spirit, I love this part of my life- it's a big part of my life this time of the year [winter]. I am hardly ever home. I think because of work and other obligations now it hasn't been so much this year. So I am trying to find that balance right now.

I think it is going to slow down so I can go back to regular Thursday nights and start going again. It feels different this year than any other year in the past for some reason. It hasn't I feel been consistent so I think that's the way my Spirit is feeling- kind



of confused now about that part of my life. It was good being back last night. I think the reason it came back to me was because it felt like a Big Dance. I loved seeing all of those different homes- visiting homes that I think have never really been down there [Capilano Longhouse] for years; so I think that really lifted my Spirit. Seeing my cousins down there and sitting with the people, I sit with every winter. So I think trying to make time and space for my own upbringing and teachings is first. Normally, I I know what I am doing, it is consistent each part of the year or week.

That includes another part of my life, my own well-being. Five years ago, I was overweight and unhealthy- I walk a new path in that perspective of diet and exercise. It is a big part of my life now, probably as big as my Spiritual life now. Since my grandson has come into this world, everything has become less for me. We're his second parents, so if his parents don't have him, my husband and I do.

The people I work with- the traditional grandparents who have the kids all the time is us now. He kinda overrules everything now, so we work around his schedule. That includes my workouts and diet and the Spiritual part of my life for this past year. Seven months ... nine months actually, where everything has come to a standstill since he was born. My body is telling me and mind that I am trying to get back there again. I am finding it different sometimes I can feel depressed about it because it was a big part of my life. I really want to get out here and do it but my body won't allow it for my workouts.

I am out there *shúkw'um* [bathing] with my sister and my meñ. I thanked them both for inviting me. My life was too busy before and I couldn't go last time she asked. I was able to go and thanked them for dragging me back into it. I feel I need the balance with both of these soon. With pieces and parts of my life back now for a healthy mind, body, and Spirit — this is what I want back. They tell me as we all are busy — your grandson is always going to be there. So, I have to listen to my teachers, as well just to try and fit it in now. Always at the back of my mind, they are always going to be there. I have to be strict with myself and just do it. *U Siyam*

**Co-participant 5 — Setáiten, Norman Guerrero Jr**

Like I was saying when you just do it... what was shared with me by my cousin when I was in the Longhouse... 'You know this is what was said to me, what you call your conscious is no longer anymore, it is referred to you as your Spirit, and it has always been your Spirit. Whatever it is telling, you to do you follow through with it. It struck me, ho that I had never thought about it that way- I understand it as my Spirit, but when he put it that way- I said okay!

If something is not feeling right it's [Spirit] letting you know, it's just understood like Angie is talking about her *Shúkw'um*, her bath. You know when I go I just do what's normal to me with everyday living just using my traditional lifestyle. Just doing it over time, some of my siblings know about it but are not interested that much. They will come up and ask when I do bath and it shocks me, my brother wants to come. Sure. I am not pressuring them to do anything; I don't force them to do it this way. We are just doing it! It makes me happy they want to do this stuff.

Like when I went up to harvest cedar and devil's club the first time — I went with my brother. I didn't ask him, he just wanted to come. They are learning as they go, that was how it was for me. If they want to know, I am not going to force the teaching on them- that's just how it is.

If something's telling you to pursue it then they do. Cedar was the thing for me, I didn't feel comfortable teaching about cedar because I did not fully have the teaching myself. Yeah, I can weave it but the whole process of gathering and harvesting it, I needed to have that full circle for myself so that I could teach it. I was fortunate to go up this summer with Becky and that now I feel that full understanding. As with canoe, I can't teach about it because I don't have that full understanding. On that last day of classes with Peter was my first time on a canoe. It was so rich and I learned so much, I am thankful for Becky and Uncle Buck for sharing that stuff. I would have never- I didn't know. The again I will get to that day when I will have that fun in hand, but it is a bit different.

That's how I make room I guess it will come and not going to rush into it. My grandmother always said you don't go looking for it when you're right it will come to you. You will have those dreams, those visions come to you, and so I truly believe it. I make that space, I leave that space there for whatever comes. You always got to have that space. *U Siyam*

***Co-participant 6 — Tsitsáyxemaat, Rebecca Duncan.***

I truly believe that, the same- if it's meant for you, be patient it will come. Ever since I got into recovery, whatever I really pray on, or wish has been coming at me. It is unbelievable and I am so grateful with all these gifts that have come my way and the blessings.

I guess right now I am focussing on my home, around my children, with cultural aspects like the language and being respectful, keeping yourself clean, your area, and self-discipline. Those kinds of things, my home is my focus where the teachings are concerned.

I haven't really been able to do the things I want because I have been so extremely busy, it is just ridiculous! I feel like *Spelexílh* I haven't made time for my fitness, or the Longhouse. I haven't been yet, and I have been saying I was going for a bath since October and I still haven't gone. That part of me is weighing, I need to focus on myself and not worry about everybody else.

My heart is telling me I need to make time for me and create my own personal space. I can hear my Papa, "*Wa chexw shúk'um!*" I can hear my Auntie Theresa saying, "You go for that run!" "Get out in the bush." "Go for a hike." She was always on me about being active. I have been eating properly, I am always telling my kids and the kids at my house, "You are what you eat!" I really believe that if you are going to eat cheap meat or McDonald's, your body is going to be stinky.

When you eat like the Ancestors did, living off the land — the pure meat, fish, the berries... all of those things are given to us by the Creator; so it will keep you strong, healthy, and able to run up the mountains just like they did. So, I share alot about

healthy living and eating. I will keep it short and sweet. That's my practices in my everyday life. *U Siyam*

### **Co-participant 7 — Vanessa Campbell**

*Ta ens. Eskw'áy kwins nam tkwi nach'. Men huy kwins skwekwíyíntsut timá:*

*I7xw skwáyel chen kw'enmán kwi ha7lh s7ílhen. I7xw skwáyel chen li7t kwi s7ílhen. Chen wa ílhens ten welh áynexw timá wa hants kwi kwetsí7ts, 'Haw kw'exw máynexw, ílhenstumi ta a welh áynexw.' I7xw skwáyel kwins li7t, i7xw kwins ílhen kwins li7t kwi s7ílhen timá tkwi lhek'chelshá7awanexw. Timá eskw'áy kwins ílhen i7xws, i7xws. Men huy timá kwins li7t. Nilh timá kwins xéchnexw ta swa7ámchet. Nilh timá wa cháchshay ta s7ílhenswit. I7xw skwáyel wa ílhens ta welh áynexwswit.*

*I7xw skwáyel chen xéchnexw kwi stam kwins ha7lh skwalwn kwins kw'énmantumi. Wáyti kwins nam xwil'ts'án ta staḵw. Na xwii ta staḵw chen tsut, 'u7...an ha7lh skwalwn kwis éxwa7tumulh taḵ staḵw.' Wáyti xwii chen men nam li7t ten yekwáy na7 ta 'washing machine'! U...ha7lh skwalwns kwins xwekws ta 'washing machine'! Eskw'áy kwins nam ta staḵw kwins xwekws ta staḵw. I7xw stam kwins stl'i7 kwi stam...kwi stam kwins kw'enmán.*

*'I7xw stam,' íymen na tsut ta síiyuxwa7chet, 'Haw kw'exw nách'i kwi swátes.' Wáyti chexw t'ayeknits. Eskw'áy kwins yewínts k'es ashán welh i7xws chen nam ha7lhánen. Chen íchnexw. Chen iyayshim kwis mi nach'i. Eskw'áy kwis nách'i i7xw swat. Wáyti kwi swat men txwnách'awtxw an nach'. Men huy kwéykways timá ta nu i7xw skwáyel.*

*Eskw'áy kwis máynexw i7xw stam kwis éxwa7ts ta swa7ámchet. Kwi swat at kwi stl'i7s kwis mis kwi stam: chen iyáyshim. Chen íchnexw. Chen kwéykways. Eskw'áy kwins tsut, 'Haw k nilh ta ens. 'Welh ashán? Na stl'i7s kwi stam? Ta ens, ha7lh kwins cháchshay. Nilh timá. Huy chexw.*

Hmm...me. I don't want to go astray. The only thing I do is like: every day I give thanks for having good food. Every day I put aside some food to feed my Spirit as I was

told to do by an advisor. 'Don't forget to feed your Spirit.' So every day I put some away, every day for fifty years. It's like it's wrong to eat it all up. So I just leave some. This is the way I remember our ancestor's ways. This is how I share in feeding them. Every day I feed their Spirits, too.

Then every day I remember something that makes me happy to be thankful for. Maybe I go to the sink and turn on the water. When the water appears I say, 'Oh, I'm so happy that you have given this gift of water to us.' Maybe its clothing that comes to mind so as I put the clothes in the washing machine I say, 'I'm so glad to be able to use this washing machine. Going to the river to use the water doesn't work anymore. Every day I want something to be grateful for.

Of all things our Elders said, 'You can't change anyone.' Could be someone is mad at you. You can't understand what the matter is but go with a good feeling in your heart. Listen. Wait for a change. You can't change anyone but maybe that someone you visit will change. Just speak as you do every day.

Don't forget that everything you want is a gift brought from our ancestors. Wait. Listen. Talk it over. Don't say, 'It's not me.' But, 'what's the matter?' What do you want? That's sharing, too. That's the way. Thank you.

***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

See this is one of those things that I think I'm going to have to get back to cause in terms of making space. If one, well I guess, I can say I'm not doing it tremendously well cause I think if one is not making space to get grounded I think that things will get lost in the day to day to day. Like I mean for instance like I'm rarely in contact with people from the nation or even people that I'm close to it's pretty rare. So, a lot of the reminders (36:54-:58 no clue what she said) something that's centered in the community would be a good reminder. I mean, I meet hundreds of people each year and its umm a little bit disjointed. I think to be more connected, I'd have to do a big stop, probably do something for me that's a bit more reminding or grounding, spiritual or some daily practice that would help me at this point. I mean I'm modeling what I know, but not as community based as I would like to be. Which kind of feels differently. So I think if

you're not doing something often, everyday, or making a habit of whatever it is. Just talking with people or you knows speaking Squamish with people. Attending different important life markers that kind of umm, one gets removed a little bit but I'm sure someone like T'naxwtn is you know saying he's not speaking as much anymore, because he's not around. So, I think that result from the territory you can get a little umm, influenced by the world around you. That sounds like a bumner way to end an interview.

***Co-participant and Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

Do you still run?

***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

Not as much, I mean I'm starting to. I'm on the learn to run program. I mean I work out. Yeah I mean.

Co-participant and Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs

When you're out in the field to me your sifting through your Squamish way how you do things. Do you think any of that translates to your practice?

***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

Oh yeah I think it does. No it does.

***Co-participant and Principal Investigator — Snitelwet, Deborah Jacobs***

So unconsciously you are making some space, but in a concerted effort to make space

***Co-participant 8 — Kirsten Baker-Williams***

Yeah I mean it doesn't. Yeah in a concerted effort, just having certain reminders a lot of it for me would be the people. It can take time to pray and do spiritual practices

but again going back to the question what does it mean to be Squamish. I think we all need reminders from our families and our teachers and our elders just to maintain that kind of grounding and you know the relationship of being with people in this great big world as well.

***Co-participant 9 — Ruth Nahanee***

That's easy I pray every night, I put white light of protection around my mom, my daughter, and my grandchildren every night to make sure they are safe. Of course, myself. I meditate, not every day but at least once or twice a week. Walking along water is probably the most healing thing I do for myself. In the summer, I am always out there, but in the Fall, and Winter when it starts getting wet and cold I tend not to.

I do get cedar boughs and I put them in a big pot and I boil them. I use the water, the cedar water in a hot bath and put crystals in the corner and that really detoxifies and takes away all the negativity off me, or grief. Those are special practices that I use when I really, really, really need it. That's usually because of grief. That's about it.