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Feed the people and you will never go hungry: Illuminating Coast Salish economy of affection

Dara Kelly

Abstract

This thesis explores the nature of Coast Salish economy of affection through related concepts of wealth, freedom and unfreedom in Canada with the prospect that a better understanding of these concepts will enhance contemporary and future approaches to economic development that emerge out of Coast Salish values. Economic unfreedom emerged with introduction of the Potlatch Ban, and its residual impacts are prevalent today as discussed in Xà:m! Crying, weeping—the affective expression of grieving that shapes how the Coast Salish wisdom keepers in this research talk about gatherings. Economic freedom from within Coast Salish worldview is inherently spiritual by virtue of the interrelated nature of exchange between Xà:ls, the Creator, Sólh Téméxw, the river environment, and Xwélmexw, the river people.

The author offers a theoretical exploration using the Capability Approach of the extent to which Coast Salish freedom depends on the removal of residual economic unfreedom for tómiyeqw, the seven generations of unborn Coast Salish people. This thesis makes a methodological contribution through the use of autoethnography, oral history and heuristic inquiry as a research methodology that places Coast Salish philosophies of knowledge transmission at the centre, by listening to the voices of the ancestors through their descendants.

The research contextually explores Coast Salish economic capability embedded within the ceremonial institution of gatherings including: access to wealth founded in syewá:l, genealogy and Siwes, knowledge from the Teachings; having the ability to conduct spiritual ‘work’ in ceremony; engaging in spiritual exchange with Xà:ls, the Creator and ancient ancestors; and creating relationships through gifting, debt, saving and banking that weave Coast Salish people together in a continuous self-sustaining network of interdependence.

Coast Salish freedom is expressed in gatherings facilitating exchange within and across a complex interplay of spiritual, environmental, socio-cultural and financial capabilities. This expression of Coast Salish economic freedom allows for becoming a whole person and whole peoples within an economy that encapsulates all aspects of spiritual, environmental, socio-cultural and economic capability. It is an economy of affection in which Coast Salish individuals and peoples are wholly seen and recognised.
Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the grandparents I did not get to meet whose freedom I honour, and whose love, affection, resilience and capability resonate in our spirits for many generations to come.

O Chichelh Siyam, plist te sq'epstet
Ey kw'omkw'em cha teli te s'olh sqwalewel
Xwelam kw'it toti:ilt teli wayel
Ey kw'es hakw'elestet te s'i:tes ye siyolexwalh
Ch'ithometset lam kw'e mekw'stam
Ey kw'es ste'as

Bless this Gathering
O Creator Bless this Gathering
Give us good strength from our soul
Toward what we are going to study or meet about today
It is good to remember our teachings from our forefathers
We thank you for everything
Amen
Acknowledgements

I want to acknowledge and honour Siyelyólexwa, the elders and the voices of the ancestors who have breathed life into the Coast Salish economy of affection. I wish to recognise the wisdom keepers and their ancestors whose voices in this research speak of strength, wisdom, grace, resilience and their eternal commitment to pass on the Teachings for tómiyeqw, the seven generations.

I would like to thank my supervisors Christine Woods and Chellie Spiller for their encouragement, patience, guidance, and feedback through my learning journey. To my dear friends of the KIN Indigenous doctoral network, thank you for the gift of whanaungatanga. I want to give thanks to Mānuka Hēnare for his invaluable insight, inspiration, mentorship and support since the early days of my post-graduate academic life in Aotearoa-New Zealand. His role in empowering my thirst for intellectual freedom will continue to influence my growth and development as a Coast Salish scholar for a long time to come. I also thank my friends and colleagues around the world for our thoughtful, passionate, and engaging conversations that have contributed to my commitment to understanding the world in which we live as Indigenous peoples.

I also thank Leq’á:mel First Nation for the financial support that made it possible to complete both my Master’s and Doctorate degrees overseas. Thanks also go to Professor Kerr Inkson for his assistance, efficiency, and professionalism in the editing process. I thank Ned Roy for sharing his passion, energy, laughter, and love that brought balance to my life and work. I want to say thanks to my family and loved ones, whose laughter, love and affection supported and encouraged me while I was away from home.

Yálh yexw kw’as hó: y Chichelh Siyam! Thank you Creator!
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### Glossary

This glossary covers Halkomelem terminology used in this thesis, including different dialects of Halq’eméylem, the upriver dialect, hańq̓ałmiʔəm, the downriver dialect, and the island dialect, Hul’q̓umi’num’ (First Voices, 2013; Galloway, 2009a, 2009b; Galloway, Coqualeetza Elders Group, Stalo Heritage Project Elders Group, & Halkomelem Workshop of the Nooksack Tribe, 1980; "Musqueam language," 2016; Suttles, 2004). There are some words used in the direct quotes from the interviews that I was unable to find in the dictionaries. I sounded these out for my own reference from what I heard in the recordings, but for further interpretation around these words, accurate linguistic correction is necessary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Description</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a’wana sna’ps</td>
<td>to be without advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áyelexw</td>
<td>to come back to life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halq’eméylem</td>
<td>the language of the Leq’á:mel people; upriver dialect of Halkomelem language; going to Nicomen Island, or going to the visiting place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hańq̓ałmiʔəm</td>
<td>the downriver dialect of Halkomelem language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hul’q̓umi’num’</td>
<td>the Island dialect of Halkomelem language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leq’áléq’el</td>
<td>travelling with a destination in mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leq’á:mel</td>
<td>a community within the larger Stó:lō Coast Salish grouping; Leq’á:mel is a flat place on the territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lets’é:lmexw</td>
<td>different people, strangers, unrelated person with whom you have no relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>léwlets</td>
<td>debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lhít’es</td>
<td>to give (potlatch giving); to pass around to give away at spirit dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mí’lha</td>
<td>to spirit dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q’éyéxem</td>
<td>whirlpool</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td>qey’xene’ten</td>
<td>spirit associated with one’s shadow cast by the sun or moon, reflection (can be lost or stolen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qwsét</td>
<td>to launch into the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’éliyá</td>
<td>dreams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shxwelí</td>
<td>spirit or life force; soul; spirit of a living person; at death, shxwelí returns to the Great First; everything has shxwelí and shxwelí is everywhere; serves as a connecting force between disparate people and objects through time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shxweyó:yes</td>
<td>tool; something for working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shxw’öwhámél</td>
<td>a community within the larger Stó:lō Coast Salish grouping; &quot;where the river levels and widens&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sil’ye</td>
<td>guardian spirit power (not all acquire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitel</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S’íwes</td>
<td>the Teachings; knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyá:m</td>
<td>traditional leader; wealthy person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siyelyólexwa</td>
<td>elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skw’iyéth</td>
<td>slaves, the ones who do not belong here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smelá:lh</td>
<td>wealthy person, you have knowledge of your ancestral ties to the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sle’qwem</td>
<td>impregnate one’s breath with power, vitality, life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smestíyexw</td>
<td>soul (can be lost), vitality responsible for a person’s thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S’ólh Témexw</td>
<td>politically contextual word referring to the territories; Stó:lō upriver meaning: “everything that belongs to us”, “our world” or “our land”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoleqwíth’a</td>
<td>‘shade’ or ‘ghost’; merging of the vitality and shadow after death; may entice away a living person’s vitality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stêxem</td>
<td>poor people who cannot remember their lineage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>stl’e’áleq</td>
<td>Halq’eméylem word referring to gathering ceremony; the institution through which Coast Salish people conducted legal proceedings, conflict resolution, spiritual practice, facilitated traditional political economy, healing, economic exchange and social activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqweliqwehiwel</td>
<td>a specific place in S’ólh Téméxw, significant because of the “many small tunnels”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqwélqwel</td>
<td>oral histories of the recent past—also referred to as true facts, and personal history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stó:lō</td>
<td>river; the name of the Coast Salish people who live upriver on the Fraser River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sts’ailes</td>
<td>a community within the larger Stó:lō Coast Salish grouping; Chehalis village on Harrison River, the Heart Rock for which Chehalis, BC was named</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swia’m</td>
<td>talent, power closely associated with vitality/thought; perishes with physical body at death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sxá:sls</td>
<td>keepers and communicators of sacred histories; ‘one who keeps track of everything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sxwóxwiyám</td>
<td>oral histories of the distant past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sxwóyxwey/ sxʷa’ixʷe</td>
<td>a category of religious songs including sxwóyxwey songs and burning songs; serve primarily as a cleansing instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syewá:l</td>
<td>genealogy, lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syóyes</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syúwél/ó:lkwlh</td>
<td>‘guardian spirits’ that manifest during the winter dance, and which were associated with professional or vocational skills and abilities; society of Spirit Dancers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syówen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siu’an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsit; tlit</td>
<td>thank someone; praise someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tómiyeqw</td>
<td>the seven generations of passed, and unborn Coast Salish people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tale’áwtxw</td>
<td>money house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tél:exw</td>
<td>to know something; understand something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T’xwelátse</td>
<td>ancestor stone transformed by Xá:ls, the Creator; Herb Joe currently carries the ancestral name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xá:ls</td>
<td>the Creator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xá:m</td>
<td>crying, weeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xets’ét, xíts’et</td>
<td>to store away something for winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xexá:ls and Tel Swayel</td>
<td>ancient ancestral beings who saw the transformation of the world from chaos to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwélmexw</td>
<td>Indian person; Stó:lō upriver meaning: the river people; human beings who speak the same language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwlalámstexw</td>
<td>listen; call someone to witness; in gathering ceremonies this is a process by which Coast Salish record oral history in the hearts and minds of the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yálh yux” kw’a’as hó:y or yálh lix” kw’a’as hó:y</td>
<td>to thank someone, I thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yéqwelchep</td>
<td>Lighting the fire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1: QWSÉT, TO LAUNCH INTO THE WATER

In *Re-imagining S’ólh Téméxw: Tunnel narratives in a Stó:lō spiritual geography* (2010), Robbins explores “tunnel stories”—the hidden spiritual landscape of Stó:lō territory shaped by the unseen world of the tunnels that connect Stó:lō people to each other, to the territory, and to the Spirit World. “Tunnels” is to be taken literally, so that, for those who are trained, they represent a means for physical and metaphysical travel throughout the territory, and between human and Spirit Worlds. They are also metaphorical, in that they allow freedom and flexibility to negotiate permeable boundaries between seemingly rigid mental constructs within the material world. The tunnels are also active participants in the ongoing negotiation of relationships between people, the territory, and the Spirit World.

Robbins’ work on Stó:lō tunnels offers metaphorical and structural guidance in this thesis, and represents the process of knowledge production as an inductive process of discovery. Each chapter of this thesis represents a different phase of river navigation involving discovery, negotiation and illumination of Coast Salish economy of affection within Coast Salish spiritual, socio-cultural and environmental landscapes. The ‘whirlpool as portal’ metaphor of Robbins’ structures the methodological framework of this thesis. Much like the power of the Internet today as a force that connects and flattens spatial and temporal distance, the unifying nature of the tunnels is derived from their power to connect Stó:lō people with S’ólh Téméxw and the Creator (Robbins, 2010).
My name is Stah’wits’tun. My borrowed name is Dara. I am a Coast Salish woman born in Stó:lō Coast Salish territory and raised in the city of Vancouver. In both branches of my lineage through my mother and father, the push and pull of freedom and constraint has occurred throughout Coast Salish territory. It is through these lenses that I explore insights into the interconnections and layered understandings of many types of freedom for Coast Salish people. Coast Salish collective reality is still darkened by the impact of violence, addiction and poverty that have grown out of the trauma of colonisation within the confines of Coast Salish territories and what are now the reserve lands carved out by the Canadian government. Because of that darkness, a tension exists in the relationship between Coast Salish communities and the place we call home.

Reclamation and revival efforts of Coast Salish culture and language renewal have been successful not only in restoring knowledge, but also in reviving the strength of Coast Salish as unique people who contribute to the diversity of humanity. As my father has reminded me throughout my life, nowhere else on the planet does anyone speak the Halq’eméylem language. This is no small development, but an achievement of centuries of innovation to, and change and fine tuning of the language. Embedded in Halq’eméylem is extensive knowledge of the land, Sólh Téméxw, the river, Stó:lō and the many relationships across the space and territories that Coast Salish call home. In the realm of business and economics, Coast Salish people have much to contribute from the institutional philosophies passed on from Coast Salish ancestors over millenia. It is my view that as a contribution to the
burgeoning field of ethical economics, on the foundations of Coast Salish knowledge traditions, Coast Salish communities can grow and develop economically. In this thesis, I take Daly’s definition of what it means to develop: “To expand or realize the potentialities of; bring gradually to a fuller, greater, or better state” (1990, p. 1). Therefore, development as it pertains to Coast Salish economy is the process of expanding or realising the potentiality of Coast Salish people through enduring growth of relationships and belonging through affection.

My vision is that Coast Salish economic philosophies will be the foundations upon which Coast Salish engage with economic development as the ongoing process of expanding Coast Salish capability to a better state through development of its economy. Coast Salish economic development first requires exploration of the nature of Coast Salish economy that as an ethical question seeks to understand not the how, but why of economy. Throughout the thesis, Riverworldview guides how Coast Salish economy is explored. The Coast Salish economy of affection aligns with Riverworldview and re-values gatherings as economic institutions with the capacity to enhance capability for Coast Salish people to realise development as freedom and to live lives that they have reason to value. For Xwélmexw, Coast Salish people, development as freedom cannot be achieved without the capability to nurture relationships with Xá:ls and Stó:lō as well as affection relationships with one another.

For Coast Salish communities, this means that traditional gathering ceremonies once structured the heart of formal economic exchange. In their former means of implementation, within these ceremonies many economies were
embedded that spoke to what it means to live freely as Coast Salish people. Freedom meant that Coast Salish had the capability to express spirituality, governance, leadership and economy through gatherings ceremonies. Today, Coast Salish people face residual barriers from colonial state interventions in Canada that had particularly detrimental impacts on the capability to practise gatherings, and have yet to fully recover from those impacts. The economic consequences of historically restricted freedom from Coast Salish economic exchange in gatherings have yet to be shown.

This research provides an assessment of the historical silencing of Coast Salish economic values expressed in gatherings while also approaching this history as a living history. The interviews and data collection represent a contemporary gaze, looking again at gatherings as they are practiced today and reflecting on a time when Coast Salish were economically free. As a return to the contextual relationship between Coast Salish capability, gatherings and economic development, this research activates a shift toward Coast Salish philosophical underpinnings for economic development. Closer alignment to capability enhancement that speaks to ancient Coast Salish ancestral knowledge is explored. This research seeks to support Coast Salish economic and social transformation, contributes innovative and creative contributions from Coast Salish knowledge and expertise to shape business theory and practice. I believe deep in my core that Coast Salish knowledge and ways of life are our most valuable and precious source of strength as we continue to climb out of the darkness of colonial oppression. This means that we recognise alternatives to the
dominant paradigm of business and economics: to honour the wealth and wellbeing of Coast Salish people, we must be guided by Coast Salish economic philosophy.

In Image 1 below, Coast Salish welcome figures hold their hands with their palms facing up as a sign of peace and openness to engagement, dialogue and relationship. These figures stand at the entrance to the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC) in Chilliwack, BC. As I launch my canoe onto the river exploring the seen and unseen landscape of the Coast Salish economy, join me in my engagement, dialogue, and developing relationship with the Coast Salish economy of affection.

Image 1 – Coast Salish welcome figures with palms facing up (photo taken by Dara Kelly)
1.1. Research question

Tunnels throughout the territory, S’ólh Téméxw, are “transformative in nature” (Robbins, 2010, p. 49), and challenge assumptions around what is possible in spiritual landscapes of seen and unseen worlds, who can claim rights of access to the environment, and what grounds a sense of belonging within territorial place (Robbins, 2009). Robbins writes,

Unlike the storied topography of the aboveground world, these tunnels will not visually reveal themselves to an unaware bystander. They are part of a hidden spiritual landscape - sacred places of the mind more than sacred places of the physical terrain (Robbins, 2010, p. 2).

Although one cannot physically see “sacred places of the mind”, this does not mean they do not continue to inform what happens in the world above ground. Reframing landscape to include what we cannot see enables different questions to emerge. In this thesis, the pursuit of knowledge relevant to Coast Salish economic development follows a process in which tunnels are revealed and the hidden landscape of the Coast Salish economy emerges to be seen. Stó:lō wisdom keeper Darren Charlie draws attention to the limitations of deductive reasoning and instead offers that to understand Stó:lō tunnels, belief comes from an intuitive and contextual perception that what lies beyond the horizon is uncertainly defined, yet certainly there. He says,

Our spirituality and our belief in the mystical tunnels is they are mystical in the sense that I haven’t actually seen them but I believe they are there...they are for a purpose. If we have been told something about what’s happening with our world, or there’s a message, that’s when they show themselves (Robbins, 2010, p. 72).
At the outset, the interconnections are impossible to see, and without detailed knowledge and training, one cannot know where they are. However, their purpose lies as much in their discovery as in the message they carry. In a process of exploring and discovering the Coast Salish economy where interconnections cannot yet be seen, as one approaches tunnel discovery not knowing where they are, I ask the following questions to guide this research:

**What is the nature of the contemporary Coast Salish economy as expressed through the institution of gathering ceremonies?**

To help answer this primary research question, the following sub-questions will be explored:

a) How have Coast Salish people responded to the constraining effects of the Potlatch Ban and other restrictions within the Indian Act?
b) What is the nature of Coast Salish wealth?
c) What Coast Salish capability is needed to realise freedom?
d) To what extent are the Coast Salish economy of affection and the Western economy of exploitation complementary?

The overall structure of the thesis follows a process of journeying on Stó:lō, the river by first establishing the perspective taken through understanding Riverworldview in Chapter 2. Following is a “reading” of the river environment with the intention to travel with destination in mind in Chapter 3: Leq’áléq’el by presenting the research literature. In Chapter 4: Q’ényexem, the process of encountering a whirlpool on the river provides the opportunity to explore the whirlpool as a structure for the iterative methodological approach used including: oral history (with emphasis on listening to the voices of the ancestors), autoethnography, and heuristic inquiry. The
research tools used to employ the perspectives laid out in the whirlpool methodology are captured in Chapter 5: Shxweyó:yes that include archival and historical sources and qualitative semi-structured interviews. Following the whirlpool as a portal into metaphysical tunnels, the findings of the research make up a structure of interconnected tunnels in Chapter 6: Sqweliquwehiwel. The two main branches of the tunnels reflect the Coast Salish experience of unfreedom from the impacts of colonisation in Canada, and freedom, what it means to come back to life. Each of these main tunnels contain smaller tunnels revealing the specific and contextual experience of freedom and unfreedom. In Chapter 7: Táwél, the discussion explores and explains why the nature of the Coast Salish economy is an economy of affection through analysis of the tunnels combined with the research approach of listening to the voices of the ancestors. The economy of affection is made up of spiritual capability, river environment capability, socio-cultural capability, and financial capability. With the Coast Salish economy of affection justified and named, Chapter 8: Xwiléxmet recognises that the process of naming is a form of honouring and “standing up” the economy is a way of incorporating the Teachings discussed in Chapter 2 to recognise the spiritual aspect of Coast Salish economy. Xwiléxmet also considers the economy of affection within a broader scope of global development approaches and establishes that Coast Salish freedom and economic development should align with Riverworldview.
CHAPTER 2: RIVERWORLDVIEW

The notion of “Riverworldview” (Gardner, 2002, pp. 109-110) came by way of Stelómethet, Ethel Gardner who explains in her PhD thesis that Riverworldview is a specifically Stó:lō, or upriver Coast Salish worldview. It speaks to the depth and texture of the interconnections between: the Creator—Xá:ls, the river people—Xwélmexw, and the river environment—Stó:lō. S’íwes (“The Teachings”) is a reference used by Coast Salish people to refer to the body of knowledge that contains values about Coast Salish ways of life. The Teachings represent universal knowledge¹ that guides the means of relational exchange between the three aspects of Riverworldview in an eternal economy of spiritual exchange. The ancient knowledge of Xá:ls, the Creator, serves as the source of divine authority whose gift of S’íwes contains Coast Salish values expressed in sxwoxwiyám—the stories of the distant past. S’íwes signals of the highest level of knowledge that is not culture-bound but is contained in the natural environment of the territory.

In oral histories of the ancient past, Riverworldview came from the work of the Creator and metaphysical Transformers. The Transformers made the world “right” through the transformation of the territory and everything in it (Carlson, 2010, p. 66) after the time of chaos (the time before humans). Therefore, according to Coast Salish cosmology, to be free of chaos and disorder is an ancient spiritual

¹ Local knowledge is also developed within the Teachings that speaks to the unique and different histories of upriver, downriver and Island Coast Salish people.
freedom that has links to every aspect of Coast Salish life. It is our job as humans to do the best job we can to maintain balance and order for ever.

Stó:lō tunnels told by way of oral history provide a means for expression of all aspects of spiritual and relational exchange between Xwélmexw, Coast Salish people, Xá:ls The Creator and S’ólh T’éméxw, a phrase akin to Gardner’s river environment that represents Stó:lō territory for upriver Stó:lō people. According to the Stó:lō Heritage Policy Manual, S’ólh T’éméxw is defined as follows:

The Halq’eméylem word for “our world” or “our land”, including the lower Fraser River watershed downriver of Sailor Bar Rapids in the lower Fraser River Canyon. S’ólh T’éméxw represents the world transformed by the actions of the Xexa:ls, Tel Sweyal and other ‘agents’ of Chichel Siyam. S’ólh T’éméxw is defined through the known extent of occupation and land use of the Halkomelem speaking peoples of mainland British Columbia (Stó:lō Nation Lalems ye Stó:lō Si:yam (LYSS), 2003, p. 7).

Tunnels are captured in sqwélqwel, the oral histories of the recent past and oral history contained in historical archives. The stories attached to the tunnels are widely varied, but a common characteristic is that each tunnel was built with specific usage in mind for both humans and metaphysical entities. The continued presence of tunnel stories in Coast Salish worlds signify the ongoing influence of the voices of the ancestors today, activating the tunnels, guiding their activity, creating opportunities

2 There are a range of positions and perspectives concerning Coast Salish relationship with territory, land and water. S’ólh Témexw is a politised term and is not used universally across Coast Salish groups. Elder Larry Grant explained that from a Musqueam perspective, the term refers to a specific-use area of land, and generally is not a term to describe all-encompassing lands or territories. As a matter of consistency throughout the thesis, I use the definition from the Stó:lō Heritage Policy Manual, S’ólh T’éméxw as a general reference to the territory, including both land and waterways. For Stó:lō people, the term also refers to “everything that belongs to us” (Stó:lō Nation, 2010).
and intervening in their misuse. The tunnels are also not simply features of, or in, the spiritual landscape, but carry their own power. Robbins says,

The tunnels are themselves actors, not passive geographic features on the landscape, making decisions about the life and death of travelers seemingly based on the power of the individual traveler (2010, pp. 62-63).

In this research, Riverworldview is a broad metaphor for Coast Salish worldview. I apply this metaphor throughout the thesis as an example of how Coast Salish philosophy informs human behaviour and relational exchange between Xwélmexw, Coast Salish people, Xá:lš, The Creator and S’ólh T’éméxw, our world. However, each Coast Salish region has its own locally defined and distinct worldview that reflects its history, location and affective ties between these three spiritual relationships. Within this ontological framework, what changes across different Coast Salish regions is the terminology. For the purposes of consistency and alignment with how I see the world from the voices of my ancestors, I use Riverworldview.
Image 2 – Stó:lō, Fraser River from Kelly fishing site at McDonald’s landing in Summer (photo taken by Dara Kelly)

Image 3 – Stó:lō, Fraser River from Kelly fishing site at McDonald’s landing in Winter (photo taken by Dara Kelly)
For Stó:lō people, stó:lō translates literally to ‘river’ in the Halq’eméylem language. As a descriptor to our place in the world, it breaks the normative geographic priority given to land and centralises the river as not only a territory, but also a world in itself. As the name for upriver people, Stó:lō captures the centrality of the relationship that we have as people to the source of life, stó:lō the river. These interconnections are expressed through the language, S’ólh Téméxw, and sxwoxwiyám, stories of the distant past.

Carlson conveys the close relationship between people and salmon as told to anthropologist Charles Hill-Tout by one of the well-known and highly regarded Stó:lō wisdom keepers, Old Pierre who explains Stó:lō metaphysics thus:

...of all living things, only human beings and sockeye salmon, which are really regarded as humans whose home is far out to sea, retained their souls. Humans and sockeye are together distinct from all the rest of creation. Each year it is imperative that the bones, skin, and intestines of the first-caught sockeye salmon be cast back into the water; by this means all sockeye souls accompany the bones back to their home where they take on a new body so they can return the following year (2010, p. 72).
For Stó:lō people, their rights to fish in the Fraser River have shaped the long-standing and ongoing battle for the recognition of Aboriginal rights and title by the Government of Canada. The passage above demonstrates why the right to fish is not simply about sustenance of the physical body, nor about the ability to trade; rather, the right to fish is linked with Stó:lō people’s upholding of sacred and spiritual responsibilities to honour and care for their kin (Miller, 1997; Todd, 2014). Securing the continuity of salmon is a means for Stó:lō to protect their own ancestral lineage for all eternity. To say that “we are Stó:lō, people of the river”, is to make a statement about shared ancestry and belonging at home in, and on the river with salmon.

The process of fishing is more than an activity of subsistence. It represents one way to nurture this spiritual relationship expressed in the following statement: “The fishing site, in a certain way, is a cosmological access point to Stó:lō ancestry” (Buhay, 2011, p. 1). Metaphorically, the river and the salmon make up different components of “home” signalling to the interconnected nature of exchange across all parts of Riverworldview. Through mutual obligation and exchange, the river and the salmon contribute to the spiritual economy of Stó:lō people. It expresses the embedded nature of spirituality as a fundamental aspect of Coast Salish economy. To claim authority and legitimacy within the Coast Salish economy—and to participate in gatherings—one must demonstrate a connection to Sxwoxwiyám, oral histories of the distant past (Carlson, 1997). In doing so, because human existence represents only one element of a far greater economy in which the environment,
other living species and ancestors are part of an eternal exchange, acknowledgement of the interconnectedness between human and Spirit World is paramount (Blomfield, Boxberger, Carlson, Duffield, Hancock, Lutz, McHalsie, Ormerod, Peters, Rafter, Roburn, Schaepe, Smith, & Woods, 2001; Carlson, 2010). Spiritual freedom and other freedoms are indistinguishable; one cannot exist without the other.

Within the larger group of central Coast Salish, there are three distinct linguistic categories associated with the Halkomelem language group. My family ties are largely to the Halq’eméylem upriver dialect from which Gardner’s contextualised Riverworldview orientation is derived. The downriver dialect is called hańq̓amíνəm and the island dialect is called Hul’q’umí’num’. Although Coast Salish share many cultural and linguistic foundations as Halkomelem speaking people, within each region the communities have their own respective histories shaped by the lands and territories that each has been gifted to care for. Riverworldview is not a definitive and generalised expression of Coast Salish ontology and identity but represents one way that Coast Salish cosmology is expressed. Gardner’s understanding of Riverworldview does not reflect the ontologies of all Coast Salish people because the social and political history of the Stó:lō upriver communities prioritise sacred relationships between Stó:lō people, stó:lō itself (also known as the Fraser River), and sockeye salmon. Coast Salish people who are not Stó:lō do not orient around the river.
In addition to the linguistic commonality of Halkomelem, and the ontological commonality of spiritual relationships between the people, and the territories, and the Creator, “gatherings” are economic institutions unify Coast Salish communities. Gatherings represent the economic institution through which Coast Salish communities maintain reciprocal exchanges between the Creator, the people, and the territories and are practised throughout the Coast Salish network. In Coast Salish gatherings, processes vary, but the core values are the same.

One of the most prominent ethnographers to capture Coast Salish life, Wayne Suttles (1957, 1958, 1960, 1963, 1974) identified gatherings as inter-village ceremonialism, and provided early insights into gatherings as expansive Coast Salish social networks. He affirms their institutional economic standing as being closely linked with social hierarchy and says,

Among the Coast Salish, the minimal unit for the definition and maintenance of status—even within the village—was not the village but the area of intervillage marriage and potlatch relations (1963, p. 514).

From Suttles’ perspective, the appropriate unit of analysis to best understand and assess contemporary Coast Salish life in order to find “Indian solutions to Indian problems” (p. 514) is through potlatch relations. At the time Suttles published his ethnographic research, a resurgence of gatherings as context for Coast Salish spiritual freedom was on the horizon.

In light of this unifying concept of a Coast Salish shared economy understandable through the institution of gatherings, it is crucial to acknowledge
heterogeneity within and across Coast Salish communities. Coast Salish connections between people, the Creator and the environment may be best thought of as a continuum (Thom, 2005). For example, downriver ontology carries orientations and descriptions of kinship around both freshwater and ocean water living situated at the delta of the river. In Hul’qumi’num ontology, ancient oral histories detail interactions between people and the environment of Vancouver Island including the ocean between the island and mainland (Thom, 2005), and the many islands in the Strait of Georgia. Based on the insights of Old Pierre, interconnections between the Creator, people, and environment are similar, and take shape in the languages, territories and ancient stories of Coast Salish people.

Due to the approach taken by the government on the collection of statistics that align with categories of First Nations collective identities stipulated in the Indian Act, there are few statistics available on wider Coast Salish populations. General statistics are however available for nation-wide categories such as Aboriginal, and the sub-categories of First Nations, Métis and Inuit. Below those categories, statistics are available for tribal councils, and individual nations or ‘bands’. However, the missing category pertaining to this research is Coast Salish which sits between First Nations and tribal councils. Within Coast Salish, there are two tribal councils and

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3 The Indian Act is unique legislation in Canada that has had profound impact largely in the form of government control over the lives of Canada’s Aboriginal peoples. It was first enacted in 1876 and remains in existence today. The Indian Act defines who is an ‘Indian’ based on racialized colonial construction of pan-Indian identity and the Act details legal rights and disabilities pertaining to those people. To read the Indian Act, see Government of Canada, Justice Laws website: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/I-5/FullText.html.
these are not relevant to all Coast Salish people, but only to those in Stó:lō territories. There are many nations within Coast Salish that do not have tribal councils. In Figure 2 below, I provide a visual representation of the level of analysis to which this research aims to address the notions of wealth and economic philosophy within the red category.

Figure 1 – Coast Salish as level of analysis observed in this research

To understand the Coast Salish, aggregated data of the individual nations are required, and are outside the scope of this research. However, given growing awareness of the prevalence of Coast Salish identity demonstrated by the inaugural Kwikwetlam Colloquium in July 2015 (All Nations Festival, 2015), a “resurgence” of common language, culture and identity mark the recognition that this was a natural
category of shared economy, within which gathering ceremonies play a central role (Miller, 2001).

The research question asks about wealth and economic philosophy for Coast Salish as a broad category of people, and their collective identity indicates these wider concepts. This is specifically understood in relation to Coast Salish people on the Canadian side of the Canada-US border. This is because the particular colonial policies implemented by the Canadian government—the Indian Act and its amendment, section 149 known as the Potlatch Ban—have had direct impact on the current reality of Canadian Coast Salish people and have contributed to exclusion from the Canadian economy resulting in economic deprivation. For example, in my family history, the border is an arbitrary divisive line between members of my family that has negatively impacted the frequency and ease of our connection over time (Miller, 1997, 2001). These relationships are important to my family, and they continue to feature prominently in our family histories and syewá:l, genealogy. This issue is raised in some of the interviews conducted for this research mentioning the families who travel up from Nooksack, Sumas and Lummi in the state of Washington to attend gathering ceremonies in Canada. Any potential distinctions between American and Canadian Coast Salish economic and freedom philosophies as a result of the distinct colonial histories will not be addressed in this research, which focusses only on the Canadian context.

Within Riverworldview, the human aspect of life does not take priority over other living energies who inhabit S’ólh Téméxw, such as ancestors, animals and
ancient cosmological entities who move between human and Spirit Worlds. This is clearly embedded in the Halq’eméylem word used to describe Stó:lō people, Xwélmxw, which has been defined as ‘people of life’ (Carlson, 2010), ‘people of the land’ (Robbins, 2009) and ‘humans who speak the same language’ (Blomfield et al., 2001). However, the human perspective is only one of many relationships that cross the territory, and Riverworldview does not privilege humans over others. In fact, the river represents a way for Stó:lō people to engage spiritually with the world of the cosmos and a place to go for relief, healing, and release from the burdens of the human experience. As one Stó:lō elder, Evangeline Pete, known as The River Lady says,

I’ve always had respect for the mighty Fraser River. Whenever I am in great sorrow, I walk to the river and ask the river to help me bear my sorrow. Then I go to the edge of the bank and wash my tears away….I had two ways to gain strength. One was the river; I could walk there and find strength (Archibald, 2001, pp. 29-30).

The river as a source of life shapes the world we share, and for all the purposes of this research, water, more than land, connects Coast Salish. Therefore, fulsome understanding of Coast Salish economy in the context of gatherings commences with understanding Riverworldview.

Coast Salish territory extends from the lower east corner of Vancouver Island across the Juan De Fuca Strait to the mouth of the Fraser River, through the City of Vancouver and up the river through the Fraser Valley as far as Hope. Elder Larry
Grant explains that, in present-day two-dimensional mapping imagined through the lens of European cartography (Robbins, 2010), xʷməθkʷəy̓əm, Musqueam territory spreads laterally (left to right, as I have described above) (“Dara Kelly personal communication with Larry Grant on “Coast Salish gatherings”, 2014). However, acknowledging xʷməθkʷəy̓əm worldview in terms of mapping flips this orientation 45 degrees counter-clockwise. Spatial orientation of the world follows the flow of the river and positioning is taken in relation to the ocean. A ‘centre’ position changes depending on where in Coast Salish territories one is located. Upriver is the Fraser Valley (the mountains), downriver (xʷməθkʷəy̓əm, home) is the delta of the Fraser River, and the ocean and Vancouver Island are furthest ‘down’. When compared to colonial geography, what constitutes “up” is east, and “down” is west as shown in Figure 2 below from Musqueam Reference Grammar.

4 I use the alphabet of the Musqueam language, Ɂ̕ay̕am, to refer to the Musqueam people according to the appropriate name for themselves—xʷməθkʷəy̓əm.
Re-orienting to Coast Salish spatial thinking changed my perception of the whole territory. It reframed why the river narrows through canyons closer to the mountains, and gave me a greater appreciation of the journey of salmon “up” to their spawning grounds. The notion of a “home” for salmon in the mountains is a sense of home that I share, and reminds me that these territories are imbued with 10,000 years of spiritual ancestry that speaks to the three-, and four-dimensional aspects of xwélmexw (shared existence). To orient this research for a global
audience, below is a map of Coast Salish territory situated on the west coast of North America in both Canada and the United States.

Figure 3 – Coast Salish territories drawn by Hillary Rudd, 2004 (Thom, 2005, p. 61)
2.1. Coast Salish spirituality and metaphysics

The spiritual aspect of life for Coast Salish people is just as important as concerns for environmental, economic, and socio-cultural wellbeing. Chief Leonard George provides his definition of spirituality:

Spirituality is the bringing together of those things that are essential to our becoming human beings. The human part of us is our body, and the being part is the spirit. Our purpose in life is to bring these together in the best possible way, as our Creator intended. The relationship between the body and the spirit is what makes us whole—all other things we do are secondary to becoming the best possible human beings (George, 1991, p. 161).

The process of becoming reflects a process of human development such that life is enriched through the bringing together of body and spirit, human and being through spiritual capability (Hēnare, 2001; Shirres, 1997). Current approaches to economic development in Coast Salish communities have omitted spirituality in relation to economy. In this research, Coast Salish ‘spiritual economy’ refers to the exchanges that occur between the Creator—Xá:ls, the river people—Xwēlmexw, and the river environment—Sólh Témexw as a process of development. The Coast Salish spiritual economy recognises that maintaining these relationships in Riverworldview require deliberate exchanges. In order to acknowledge the gifts of Xá:ls, the Creator, Coast Salish engage in spiritual economy through ceremony—in the institution of gatherings.
It is not appropriate for me to discuss the details of Coast Salish spirituality. My lineage as a descendant of Maggie Pennier (whom I introduce in the next section of elders) belonged within the syówen⁵, the society of Spirit Dancers, affords me the privilege of knowledge about spirit dancing; however, I cannot share that knowledge with anyone outside of our family and community. The following excerpt explains why speaking or writing about spiritual knowledge inappropriately puts one at risk because it is such a powerful force:

You have to be careful with what you tell others, especially things which should not be written about. This is spiritual knowledge and not meant to be taken away. You take anything away from the Great Spirit and you’re going to suffer for it. You have to be very careful when talking of things of spiritual power, like the winter spirit dance...because winter dancing is about the most powerful thing that ever came to earth. The same is true of these stories. You have to be very careful with things to do with the smokehouse and what you say. Sometimes there may be five hundred to six hundred people there and they all have the same spirit (excerpts from a Stó:lō elder cited in Mohs, 1987, p. v).

Bruce Miller illuminates this restriction in relation to Spirit Dancing, and describes why doing so puts Coast Salish people at risk and creates the circumstance of spiritual danger and unsafety:

A particular difficulty facing the Spirit Dancers is the cultural prohibition on the communication of specific information about winter Spirit Dancing. Dancers do not reveal the nature of their spirit helpers, nor do they ordinarily describe to outsiders the specifics of their regalia or longhouse practices. To reveal specifics could place dancers in physical danger and reduce the efficacy of their relationship with their spirit helpers (Miller, 1997, p. 69).

⁵ In Hul’quminum, this is referred to as siu’an.
Therefore, in this thesis I proceed with the clear intention to speak to Coast Salish spirituality without divulging details and information about Coast Salish spirituality.

Spiritual cleanliness is a necessity to live a good life. Being ‘clean’ allows humans to receive gifts from the Creator and the following observation by Suttles explains this aspect of Coast Salish life: “It was said that wealth looked in the door and if a house was clean, it came in easily” (1974, p. 449). In Coast Salish spirituality, to give and receive gifts from the Spirit World is embedded in the way names are passed down, and expressed in the way knowledge is seen as a gift from the Spirit World. By virtue of the need to acknowledge and give thanks to the Spirit World for the gift of life, gatherings are embedded in spiritual ceremony and linked to a spiritual economy.

Gifts bestowed by spirits ranged from longevity, good health and general wellbeing to special abilities which lead to specialization. These abilities might be hunting or fishing, in crafts, in the control of ceremonial paraphernalia, or in the control of spirits and souls. Spirits also gave to their owners songs which when sung brought power conferred into full play (1974, p. 384).

If the conditions are right to receive gifts from the Spirit World, gifts are given to enhance human quality of life.

2.1.1 Shxwelí, everything is connected, interconnectedness

Within Riverworldview, there is a Halq’eméylem word, shxwelí, that refers to the concept of a spirit or life force that everything in the material and Spirit World has. Shxwelí may be akin to a common Indigenous philosophy, “all my relations” that conveys connectedness, interconnectedness, and what Cajete defines as the
“affective” dimension of life (2000, p. 86). It is through affection and sharing that people nurture connection in order to create relationships of interconnection.

In Coast Salish philosophy, all aspects of Riverworldview, the Creator—Xá:ls, the river people—Xwélmxw, and the river environment—Sólh Témexw have their own shxwelí, including the economy and tunnels. The term also refers to an all-encompassing force which everything is part of; shxwelí accounts for the interdependent nature of life by the forces that keep us together. Sonny McHalsie describes shxwelí thus:

Shxwelí is what’s referred to as the spirit or life force, and it’s like everything has that spirit and everything’s connected to that (McHalsie, 2007, pp. 103-104).

Another definition of shxwelí is:

Shxwelí is the life force that exists in all things and which must not be needlessly consumed or destroyed. Wisdom must be used to avoid taking more than is needed thereby turning ‘use’ into ‘waste’ (Stó:lō Nation Lalems ye Stó:lō Si:ya:m (LYSS), 2003).

It can also refer to a soul, or spirit of a living person. Shxwelí is important when exploring a broad topic such as Coast Salish economy because it helps to frame the topic from a Coast Salish perspective. What is shxwelí of an economy? What is the nature of economic, or exchange forces that connect everyone, and everything? What are the forces of interconnectedness?

The voices of the ancestors, Siyelyólexwa (elders) have informed much of this research in explicit and implicit ways. Their perspectives, life stories, resilience and character have shaped my thinking before the research officially began. They have
guided my evolving identity about who I am as a Coast Salish person, spoken to me through my Master’s research, emerged in archival sources that verify Coast Salish language and thinking, and shaped the coding and analysis of the interviews in this research. Within Riverworldview, social organisation expresses proximity to a person who may represent a ‘centre’; less familiar relations emanate gradually from that person in concentric circle, like a droplet creates ripples in a body of water. Figure 4 below shows a representation of Coast Salish social distance developed by Blomfield et al. (2001) that delineates exchange relationships, and reflects the concept of shxweli as interrelated social connections.

Figure 4 – Coast Salish affective relations (Blomfield et al., 2001, p. 57)
The symbolic representation of concentric circles emanating out from kin and friends reflects how I present the elders in the next section. I discuss those closest to me first, and those who have greater social distance follow. This model of social distance also aligns with Coast Salish generational distance except all relationships are within the category of xwélmexw, friends and family. The same name, tómiyeqw refers to seven generations behind and seven generations ahead of the current living generation. In all aspects of life, including the economy, recognition of equal respect and responsibility to both past and future generations implies that the current generation must listen, honour and live in service of both accordingly.

2.2. Siyelyólexwa, Elders

In Coast Salish ceremonial protocol, the voices of the elders always come first, before anyone else’s voices (Archibald, 1997). This acknowledges their wisdom and authority, but it is also an ethic of care within the Coast Salish view—that in order to conduct oneself responsibly today, one must acknowledge the spirits of the elders of the past, and seek their blessings.

People say to me, “What’s an Elder?” I tell them if you wake up in the morning and your teeth are in a glass, you are an Elder. I am only teasing, of course. It has to do with knowledge, respect, wisdom and love—that is an Elder (Foreword by Steven Point in Blomfield et al., 2001, p. xiv).

This is not only an acknowledgement of who these elders were when they were alive in the human world, but an acknowledgement of the ongoing influence, participation and guidance that they provide to Coast Salish in the present.
In this research, I discuss ancestral presence in regard to its greater depth relevant to oral history, but acknowledgement of elders’ voices as the first voices that shape this research is significant at the outset. In the context of research that seeks to bridge between Indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary issues and contexts, listening to the voices of ancestors offers unique opportunities not only to consider the impact of decisions made today on future generations, but also to re-frame the tendency to give priority to “our generation’s” perspective as being the most enlightened by virtue of linear concepts of time. This latter approach assumes that each new generation automatically embodies the wisdom of those who have gone before, and is therefore wiser than its antecedents. While acknowledging that wisdom takes many forms, including embodied memories of generations past, by listening to the voices of the ancestors through their descendants, and artefacts in tangible and intangible forms and media—such as carvings, prayer and precious ancestral representations—I can discern deeper insights into notions of Coast Salish wealth, economy, and freedom. As a deliberate move away from the normative fascination with research as a forward-looking crusade intent on forever revealing newly minted ideas to solve aberrations of the past, this research presents an approach that reflects the voices of the ancestors as provocation to take seriously the wisdom, integrity, and present-day relevance of ancient knowledge and traditions.

One of the sources I use throughout this thesis is Brent Galloway’s *Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem* (Galloway, 2009a, 2009b). There was no written orthography
of the Upriver Halkomelem language until 1970 when Dr Brent Galloway, a linguist from the University of California, began research on the language, and eventually produced the two-volume dictionary used in Stó:lō language classes today (Goodkind, Hess, Gorman, & Parker, 2012; Parker & Kaufman, 2009). In Galloway’s introductory statements on how to read and use the dictionary, he acknowledges the elders with whom he worked over three decades to create the dictionary. Among those listed are several of my great grandparents and great grand-aunts and -uncles, who are included in this section, Siyelyólexwa, the Elders shown in Image 5 and 6 below. The dictionary is a resource to complement what is said in wisdom keeper interviews, and aligns with a broader picture of oral tradition passed on intergenerationally from elders.

Image 5 – Coqualeetza Elders’ group (my great grandma, Tata, front row on far right) (Mohs, 1987)
Throughout the dictionary, Galloway marked particular elders’ knowledge with their initials so that the vocabulary and grammar is locally specific and footnoted. Galloway’s attention to details like this are very meaningful for me as a descendant of these elders whose voices speak in the dictionary. The dictionary itself is a medium to listen to their voices, and to use the knowledge and insights embedded in the language to inform this research both directly from what is written in the pages, and indirectly from the combined stories about them from oral history.
2.2.1 Swékten, Sénée, Hank Pennier (1904-1991) and T’esóts’, Maggie Pennier (1904-1983)

Image 7 – Photographs of Hank and Maggie Pennier as a young couple (Pennier, Carlson, & Fagan, 2006, p. 55) and celebrating their 50th wedding anniversary c. 1970 (newspaper clipping from Kelly family collection)
One branch of my lineage on my Father’s side descends from Ts’a’í:les\(^6\) (also known as Chehalis) through his mother, Irene Kelly (née Pennier). Her parents were T’esóts, Maggie (née Leon) and Hank Pennier seen in the photos above, better known in our family as Grandma Maggie and Pappy. They were both born in 1904 and married in 1920. My father spent most of his childhood (from age six) to early adulthood being raised by these grandparents. It is through this structure of grandparent pastoral care that he grew into his knowledge of Stó:lō Coast Salish ceremonial customs and spiritual life.

Pappy was a logger, and wrote an autobiography, *Call Me Hank* (2006), now a second edition of his original manuscript, *Chiefly Indian* (1972). The combination of Pappy’s wit and humour in his autobiography not only speaks to a perspective and way of acknowledging the challenges of living in Coast Salish territory throughout his life, but also illuminates the dark undertones of being of mixed heritage and navigating the constraints of being a non-status Indian\(^7\) at that time. One of the endearing aspects of Pappy’s life story is the way that he learned to take advantage of his circumstances.

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\(^6\) “Ts’a’í:les Chehalis village on Harrison River, the Heart Rock for which Chehalis, B.C. was named [at the mouth of Chehalis River]/, ASM [‘the Heart Rock] was about 14 ft. around, was shaped like a heart, was supported by a great root probably a willow (possibly a cottonwood) with lots of solid earth and grasses, it went up and down with the river’s rise and fall (beating like a heart), the wash from the logging tugs washed it out about 4 or 5 years ago [i.e. 1973-1974], it was probably a little upstream [north][on Harrison River] from the Chehalis River mouth and close to the village, Ed Leon knew the location, his son Rudy knows it also (EL with Ken McRae, November 1978)]’, literally ‘/on top on the chest’” (Galloway, 2009a, p. 49).

\(^7\) In Canada, the terms “status Indian” and “non-status Indian” refer to the legal category developed by the Government of Canada to recognise Indian identity under specific legislation called the Indian Act. The Indian Act and its criteria for status still exist today (Government of Canada, 1985). The legal terminology shaped the language used by Coast Salish communities at the time in reference to themselves as ‘Indians’. Over time, the legal terminology has changed from Indian to First Nations, but many Coast Salish people now used the Halq’eméylem word xwélmexw to refer to themselves.
of his mixed identity despite the disadvantages that emerged from both perceptions of who he was. Because of his complexion, he describes being neither ‘white enough’ in settler society, nor ‘dark enough’ in Indian society. Yet, rather than accept the expectations of him as not enough in any circumstance, he used his appearance to defy racialised boundaries. Throughout the book, Pappy comments on his identity and the different ways he made sense of it at different phases of his life. For example, he shares a story of his favourite childhood memory at the age of 12 (c. 1916) when he went hunting for the first time, and he ends the story by saying, “I sure felt all Indian that day though” (Pennier et al., 2006, p. 21). The perspective of the Canadian government at the time expressed by Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs in 1920 is captured in the famous quote:

I want to get rid of the Indian problem...Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department... (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 3).

To do so, Scott developed policy for all Indian children to attend residential schools\textsuperscript{8}. Pappy’s insights also shed light on the way the church and government seemingly arbitrarily enforced rules of control and surveillance on Indian people. The

\textsuperscript{8} Residential schools were associated with the Government of Canada’s colonial objectives to assimilate Aboriginal people into Euro-Canadian and Christian ways of living and broader Canadian society by way of education specifically for Aboriginal children. There were explicit objectives laid out by the government for the schools to facilitate the separation of children from their families for long periods of time, the enforcement of English over Aboriginal languages and the denial of Aboriginal heritage and culture. The schools were in operation from the 1880’s until 1996. Detailed information about the schools can be found at: http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/the-residential-school-system.html.
rules around Indians drinking alcohol were strict and clear, yet in his storytelling of the 1920’s, he says, “…that was about the only good thing about being a half-breed, I could buy liquor. Not all the time. Just sometimes” (Pennier et al., 2006, p. 30). By virtue of his ‘whiteness’, he had the privilege of being able to buy alcohol. Restrictions associated with drinking alcohol were more about the perception of decent drinking behaviour based on the way you looked, rather than being based on actual scientific justification that connected racialised people with poor drinking behaviour. He mentions the ways that alcohol restrictions were implemented again, and says,

On account of so many Indians at the hop yards the place was temporarily named a reservation and so liquor was restricted. Being a half breed of course I could drink but not on the reservation (p. 35).

Restriction on Indians’ drinking was a measure to control Indians in all contexts, regardless of whether they were within the confines of reserve land9, which was the typical means to control Indian behaviour. The rules for restriction of alcohol consumption were conflated with another policy under the Indian Act—that from 1880-1927 Indians could not assemble in groups of more than five people (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2010). However, because Indians were working, and that was encouraged by the church and government, the workplace was seen as an extension of the reserve and therefore subject to the same rules of surveillance and control. The reserve was simply a means to confine Indians and keep them separate from

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9 Reserve land is land set aside for the the exclusive use of an Indian band under the Indian Act (Government of Canada, 1985).
non-Indian society. The church and government ensured that Indians had no rights to privacy, fraternity, or travel (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1996). For Pappy, while he was out in the world at a time of intense surveillance and control by the state his mixed identity allowed him to do certain things, but not others. Nonetheless, the core of who he was lay in: his talents as a logger, boxer, and lacrosse player; his friendships; his family; and the geographic space of Sóih Téméxw throughout which he spent his life “logging, living and growing old” (Pennier et al., 2006, p. cover).

Grandma Maggie was well-known throughout Coast Salish territory because she was one of the last Spirit Dancers to have entered the longhouse in the traditional way at the age of 16 to find her song, dance and name. T’esóts is a name from the area of Port Douglas. My father has shared with me his reverence for the way of life that she brought him up to know. Grandma Maggie instilled in him a strong sense of integrity and virtue about what it means to be a good person and to live by Stó:lō Coast Salish values. She is someone whom I never met, yet have great reverence for, and who guided my intellectual pursuits to complete a Master’s degree studying leadership (Kelly, 2012). The values she held shape expectations of who I am in the Coast Salish community as one of her descendants. This has an impact on the way that I engage in research processes because her legacy lives on through me.

In the process of conducting this research, in a visit to her and Pappy’s resting place amidst the peaceful quiet of Ts’aí:les in August 2015, I discovered a link
between me and Grandma Maggie. Grandma Maggie passed away on 7 January 1983, six days after I was born. I have never encountered this connection before and asked my mother about the time of her passing. My mother said, “Oh yes, she was in the same hospital that you were in when you were born, and your Father was going back and forth visiting you both.” This new information tells me of an alignment in our spiritual cosmology. I was born in the heart of winter, which for Coast Salish is the season when we nurture our spirits. For Coast Salish people, spiritual practice and fulfilment happen in winter, as the time when the spirits must be taken care of, otherwise we would be “less than whole” ("Dara Kelly personal communication with Herb Joe on "Stó:lō economy"," 2014). The winter was a time of wealth, and as the longest season, it represents a time when life slows down, and Winter Spirit Dancing begins. Winter dancing and Coast Salish gatherings create space for focusing attention on spiritual well-being as an integral component of living a holistic and balanced life within the Coast Salish economy. Winter was Grandma Maggie’s time as a dancer. That January, she chose to pass into the Spirit World and our spirits journeyed together with the inauguration of the New Year.
2.2.2 Siyó:mót, Philomena Kelly (Tata)

One of Grandma Maggie and Pappy’s daughters was Irene Marjorie Pennier, my grandmother (whose first name I carry as one of my middle names). Irene married my grandfather, Patrick Kelly III from Leq’á:mel, both pictured below.

Image 8 – My paternal grandparents, Irene (née Pennier), and Patrick Kelly (Tata’s son) (photograph from Kelly family collection)

The parents of Patrick III were Patrick August Kelly II, and Philomena Kelly (née Kopp)—she is known in our family as Tata. Patrick August Kelly II’s parents were Joseph and Jesse Kelly. Joseph Kelly’s father was Patrick Kelly, the first.

Tata contributed to the Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem, and shared what she knew of the Deroche dialect as part of the Coqualeetza Elders’ group. The only
photo I could find of Tata is in Image 5, sitting with the Coqualeetza elders in the front row, on the far right side with the heavy black coat and cane. As with my great Grandma Maggie, I have come upon a particular connection that I have now with my great grandma Tata by way of a family heirloom. Qwe’tósel’wet, Mary Malloway is one of Ye Selsí:sele, the Stó:lô grandmothers responsible for caring for T’xwelátse, the ancestor stone. Among other affiliations within the Stó:lô world, Mary is married to one of the interviewees in this research, Frank Malloway, to whom I am related through T’esóts, Grandma Maggie. I ran into Mary and Frank Malloway in 2013 at a community meeting where Mary saw me departing with my father, and pulled me aside to acknowledge that she recognised me despite not having seen me “since you were in diapers”. She said, “You will have to come see me. I have something for you.” It was not until the following summer in 2014, when I arranged to interview Frank for this research, that after the interview was over, Mary decided that I was to be the custodian of a family heirloom until one day, I can find a new custodian to ensure it safely passes into the next generation.

Patrick Kelly I, my great grandfather is a son of Joe Kelly (1875-1949), one of the prominent Stó:lô Coast Salish leaders in his time known to have owned three smilha’áwtxw, longhouses along the Fraser River. When he passed away, he was

10 I will explain T’xwelátse, the ancestor stone in detail as part of oral history methodology.

11 A longhouse or smilha’áwtxw is one traditional form of housing for Coast Salish people. Over time, longhouses generally became used only for ceremonial purposes. Today, they continue to be where spiritual ceremonies take place including gatherings, and Winter Dancing. The longhouse is also referred to as a ‘bighouse’ and ‘smokehouse’ in English.
remembered as a “wise advisor, and competent business man” (unknown, 1949). Below is a photograph of the contemporary educational longhouse at the Stó:lō Nation officially opened in 2012 that serves as a crucial link between the past and present Coast Salish generations (Clapperton, 2009).

Image 9 – Shxwt’a:selhawtxw, smilha’áwtxw at Stó:lō Nation today

Image 10 – Dara Kelly honouring ceremony inside Shxwt’a:selhawtxw, smilha’áwtxw at Stó:lō Nation (photo taken by Patrick Kelly)

12 The normal protocol is that photos and audio recordings are not allowed in longhouses due to the spiritual sanctity of the place. This protocol is designed for spiritual protection. However, as a way to share the Teachings, elders have given permission to the photographer Patrick Kelly for the photos of the inside of the longhouse shared in this thesis to be taken.
The longhouse in the image above can hold several hundred people; however, longhouses once held close to 1000 people. Ownership of three is an enormous show of wealth and an indication of the access to resources that Joe Kelly would have had in order to support the operation and management of 3000 people. Descending from Joe Kelly, my father Patrick III was born and raised in the Fraser Valley as one of 13 children; nine have survived to present day. Both of my father’s parents attended residential school, as did their parents. The school they attended was called Coqualeetza Indian Residential School, which was open from 1894 until 1940 and which became the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre where the elders’ language revitalization initiatives emerged. Now, the site of the old residential school has been transformed into a resource hub now with a preschool, health facilities, treaty departments, the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC) and Shxwt’a:selhawtxw, the educational longhouse (Clapperton, 2009).
2.2.3 Swelimeltxw, Pulempen, Ed Leon (1899-1980)

Image 11 – Ed Leon (second from left) and Hank Pennier (third from left) in front row, Salmon Bellies lacrosse team

Swelimeltxw, Ed Leon is my great grand-uncle, and was an older brother to my great grandmother, T'esóts, Maggie Pennier. He passed away before I was born so I did not have a chance to meet him, but he was a well-respected wisdom keeper. Ed was a hunter, fisher, trapper, and as seen above, a lacrosse player seated in the front row, in the centre on the left next to my great grandpa Hank Pennier, on the right. Ed Leon was someone who highly valued his autonomy and freedom to speak the Halq’eméylem language and to live by traditional Coast Salish ways of life (Archibald, 2001). He carried two traditional names: one from Soowahlie and the other from
Port Douglas. Ed was one of the elders to contribute to the *Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem*. When I was interviewing wisdom keeper Siyémches\(^{13}\) for this research, he spent some time explaining the genealogical connection between himself and me. He made reference to Ed Leon because our connection is within the generation of my great grandparents.

The voice of Ed in my mind is a voice of Coast Salish freedom. To Ed, freedom meant independence to feed oneself and be wholly self-sufficient including being able to build your own canoe and having use of the river to travel throughout the territory. In an excerpt from a news article from 1978, Ed is quoted talking about his experiences trapping in 1920 and says,

> We had to camp on top of 17 ½ feet of snow with little tents. It was really cold....After being in the mountains for eight days, our noses became very sensitive. We could smell the rotting spawned out salmon in the Chehalis River. We were 3 ½ miles away from the village when we could smell the rotting fish....When we would get home from our trapping trips, our whiskers would be bushy and long. So was our hair. When we would get into the house, our kids would cry when they saw us. They would run and hide from us because they were scared of our long hair. My nephew, Marvin Leon was falling trees for Canadian Forest Products and found one of my traps. The trap was hung 24 feet up on the tree. It was how high the snow was at the time....When the tree fell, he removed the trap and returned it to me. I was really surprised and happy to see it again. That was in 1975. Forty-six or forty-seven years since it was hung there (2001, p. 24).

This story paints a picture of Ed as someone hearty, connected to the land and much like Pappy, humorous in the way he portrays life and family. He was known as a good

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\(^{13}\) In this research, Siyémches, Frank Malloway is well-known in Coast Salish communities by his traditional name. I use Siyémches instead of Frank Malloway throughout the thesis including in the findings section.
story-teller because he used his whole body. It is his style of storytelling that prompts me to reflect on how drastically Coast Salish lifestyles have changed from his life as someone who knew Coast Salish territory in great depth, and on how his experiences on the land were literally captured in the landscape itself. The sensory memory of being sufficiently attuned to be able to smell rotting fish from such distance gives insight into the lifestyle of a trapper; and without him saying how long they were out on the land, we know it was a long time. It also is fascinating to me how Ed’s story communicates genealogical connectedness and the power of oral traditions across generations. For Ed’s nephew Marvin to find the trap forty-seven years later while continuing in the traditions of the logging profession (that many Stó:lō men found themselves), and to know explicitly or intuitively that it was a trap that could have belonged to his uncle or another relative, he had to be familiar with the family history of Ed Leon’s trapping. Finally, it gives a sense of how much either the climate has changed in forty-seven years, or how little we see now of that landscape that once nurtured traffic in the treetops on 17½ feet of snow.
Th’eláchiyatel, Richard Malloway (1907-1987)

Th’eláchiyatel is the father of Siyémches, Frank Malloway, one of the wisdom keepers whom I have interviewed for this research. Th’eláchiyatel was born in 1907, passed away in 1987 and continues to be a highly respected ancestor and wisdom keeper within Coast Salish sqwélqwel as someone who was taught ‘in the old ways’. It is from the Teachings of Th’eláchiyatel that capture the essence of Coast Salish economy of affection, and for which the title of this thesis is wholly appropriate: “One of his teachings was to always feed your guests. When you do that, you’ll never go hungry” (Archibald, 2001, p. 26). This teaching expresses Coast Salish ethics of
generosity, reciprocity\textsuperscript{14}, wealth, connectedness and interconnectedness, affection, and banking for the future.

The legacy of Th’eláchiyatel is that as a young boy, unlike his peers, he did not attend residential school, but grew up under the guidance of the elders, and in particular, a medicine man known as Catholic Tommy who taught him the spiritual ways of life. He was also mentored under the guidance of Chief Billy Sepass who in 1913 was an early advocate for Stó:lō land claims (Knickerbocker, 2011). One of the stories in his biography tells of the role of Th’eláchiyatel at the time when gatherings ceremonies were under threat from the Potlatch Ban, in helping to preserve them. It says,

He remembered hiding in the bushes with Elders, ankle deep in mud to practise the winter spiritual ceremonies. He was one of the chiefs who travelled to Ottawa to ask why our ceremonies and potlatches were banned (Archibald, 2001, p. 28).

In order to protect (illegally) the sacred knowledge of gathering economies, secret ceremonies took place with young people like Th’eláchiyatel present, with the

\textsuperscript{14} From a Coast Salish perspective the notion of reciprocity in Halq’eméylem is understood as a qualitative verb attached to other words. It is featured as a suffix, =tel that conveys the action, to “(do purposely to) each other” (Galloway, 2009b, pp. 675-676). It is therefore relational in nature. One example of a word with the reciprocal suffix is q’iq’xotél, which means contradicting each other. Another is a:wx:tel, sharing. In English, reciprocity stands as a concept with its’ own definition. When thinking about Coast Salish reciprocity as a relational concept, the nature of relationship matters deeply and there is no one definition. A person’s behaviour and care for another might spark acknowledgement, honouring, thanks or obligation to pass on good will to someone else. In this sense, reciprocity could be ‘paid’ forward to a new generation, and counts equally as expression of the spirit of reciprocity. Collectively, the principle of reciprocity signals strategic intention of communities to maintain existing relationships, and forge new ones. As a fundamental value in Coast Salish economy reciprocity is inherently and implicitly expressed within the language as a suffix that gives depth and meaning to other words.
intention that he would pass on the knowledge to future generations. In the excerpt above, the story not only paints an image of how grim the situation was for Coast Salish people faced with not being allowed to practise gatherings, but also speaks to the commitment of Coast Salish elders to prevent the loss of knowledge and the ceremony altogether, no matter what the circumstances were. In several other interviews I conducted, the wisdom keepers mentioned gathering ceremonies ‘going underground’. Siyémches shared insights from the life and experiences of his father.

This is the story of how Th’eláchiyatel learned Coast Salish Teachings:


Kids that go to residential school and have to get out of residential school, they take different jobs, and meet different people, get married, and they don’t come home to learn their history, or their family history, you know? And that’s what’s happened since, since my dad and mother’s time? You know, and I really appreciate what my dad did, you know? He ran away from residential school, he never went back. My grandmother never sent him back. So he grew up not really educated in the English world. But because he was home, and there was spiritual people, like we call ‘em, we call ‘em Indian doctors but people call ‘em medicine men, medicine women. They heard that he was here by himself. So this fella from one of your villages at the end of Chilliwack mountain, we used to call him Catholic Tommy. And he was a medicine man, and he contacted my grandfather, and says, “I heard your son is home”. “Yeah, we didn’t send him to school.” He said, “You bring him to my place.” So, my grandfather brought my dad there, and he stayed there for quite a while, but in that time, he started training him in different things, like the burning ceremony. I know people do burning ceremonies today, but it’s like, uh, going through the motions. They’re not really calling the spirits. And my dad said, you gotta learn. And when you’re calling ‘em, to feed them, you know? So I look at the young people that are just thinking all you gotta do is paint up and kneel down and put food in the fire, and you got it. But you know, it just goes up in smoke because you didn’t call the people. You didn’t know how to call them, you know, spirits from the other side, in the other world. There was about six people that my dad trained before he died. And I always rely on them to do my burning. You know, Steven Point, and one of the Kelly’s from Kilgaard. Francis Phillip was one of them, but he passed away a year and half ago. So, all those things that have happened recently, and it’s, it’s, I think it’s lost (Siyémches).
The legacy of Th’eláchiyatel for current generations of Coast Salish people, represents someone who carried the Teachings through a dangerous time. As a voice of the ancestors, the present-day Stó:lō Xwexwilmexw Treaty Association draws on the leadership role of Th’eláchiyatel as a reason to embark on treaty processes with the Canadian state. They write on their website:

The secret efforts of Stó:lō Si:yá:m like Richard Malloway of Yeqwyeqwí:ws enabled the potlatch and the winter ceremony to survive through the prohibition period and into the present. Many of the traditions and ceremonies that Chief Malloway worked so hard to preserve and protect are currently practiced in the Richard Malloway Memorial Longhouse with the active support of Siyémches and his family (Stó:lō Xwexwilmexw Treaty Association, 2016).

Th’eláchiyatel spoke Halq’eméylem and contributed to the Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem. He features prominently in the narratives of wisdom-keeper interviews in this research, including Siyémches, Frank Malloway, Hi’yólemtel, Kat Pennier, and Qepilanexʷ, Larry Grant. His name is commonly referred to in other research on Coast Salish history as an authoritative source of knowledge of Coast Salish traditional ceremonies and language, and as someone who bridged the world before gatherings were outlawed, and after.
2.2.5  Siyólewethet, Roy Edgar Point (1926-1999)

Siyólewethet, Roy Edgar Point, was the father of the Honourable Steven Point, whom I interviewed as a wisdom keeper in this research. He was one of the elders who contributed his knowledge as a fluent speaker of the Halq’eméylem language to the *Dictionary of the Upriver Halkomelem*, and was part of the Coqualeetza elders’ group. Although there is not much publicly available information on the life of Siyólewethet, and I was unable to find a photograph to feature here, his knowledge and insights from his biography in *Remembering the Sacred Time of the Elders* (Archibald, 2001), and Archibald’s (1997) doctoral thesis have provided further depth to the lineage of knowledge shared by Honourable Steven Point. Siyólewethet is a voice of the ancestors whose wisdom contributed to this research.
2.2.6 Khot-la-cha, Chief Simon Baker (1911-2001)

Figure 5 – Cover page of the autobiography of Squamish elder, Khot-La-Cha

Khot-la-cha, Chief Simon Baker was a respected Síy̓am, leader from Skwxwúmesh Úxwumixw, the Squamish Nation, part of the larger grouping of Coast Salish peoples. The Squamish Nation territories used and shared with neighbouring nations extend throughout what is now the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. I have nebulous memories of meeting Khot-la-cha when I was a child, and of being astutely aware of his status and standing as a thought leader. Khot-La-Cha was the first autobiography
I ever read because it was a book that lived in the bookshelves at home when I was growing up.

Reading Khot-La-cha, I saw with new perspective the sacred ceremonial aspect of Coast Salish potlatching. In early phases of this research, through his stories and combined with my tertiary training in the field of business, I came to see evidence of how the Coast Salish spiritual and trade economy is expressed in potlatch. Khot-La-Cha describes the potlatches that his grandmother hosted when he was a young boy:

My grandmother gave two potlatches after my grandfather. The first one, I’m told, cost her three thousand dollars. I don’t know much about this because I was very young. About ten years later, around 1925, when I was still at school in Lytton, she gave another memorial potlatch. It wasn’t very big. She just called the people to her brother Squamish Jacob’s longhouse. She gave people from the Island, Stó:lō Nation and the other Coast Salish people gifts and money. It cost her five or six thousand dollars. In return, they gave her money which was to go to a tomb to be built to house the body of Chief Joe Capilano. A lot of people who respected my grandfather wanted to give him the highest honour, just as is done for the royal family. Others who helped were the Interior Bands and the Nisga’as, the Saanich and even people from Lummi in the United States. My grandmother used the money she had saved up to put on the potlatches and to contribute to building the tomb. I guess you can say the Indians of British Columbia built the tomb to honour my grandfather (S. Baker, 1994, pp. 7-8).

The insights that I gained from the stories of Khot-La-cha give a sense of the size and breadth of Coast Salish networks that connect Coast Salish communities. The excerpt above sparked my first realisation of a link between potlatch ceremony and how Coast Salish approach economic development today. There appeared to be a gap that I sought to explore and discuss in research.
2.3. **Syewá:l, My genealogy**

In the formal gathering context, the basis for calling someone a respected leader can be justified by their wealth of knowledge, and especially knowledge of their syewá:l, genealogy. Síy̓am̓ is used in auspicious occasions to acknowledge individuals within his/her community for their contribution, or what they give back to the community. Across Coast Salish territory, síy̓am̓ in its many forms and other dialects (e.g. siem) can be found to refer to both “leader” and “wealth”, or “rich” (Galloway, 2009b; Lutz, 2008). Central to both leadership and wealth concepts in Coast Salish worldview is ancestral knowledge about syewá:l, genealogy and the acknowledgement that who you are is inseparable from your ancestors (Carlson, 2010). It is founded on the notion that you, as an individual would not be here without your ancestors; your wealth comes from the ability to place yourself in your lineage, but also knowing what that genealogy tells you about your relational ties to the community. A recognised leader, and a wealthy person is someone who knows their syewá:l, genealogy.

“Who I am”, is shaped by my sense of belonging as a Coast Salish person. Belonging is a fundamental aspect of understanding Coast Salish philosophy and worldview. Māori historian and philosopher Hēnare argues that the famous translated philosophy of Descartes, “I think, therefore I am” lacks a crucial component of the human experience—belonging (Hēnare, 2004). Instead, a Māori view of humanity is “I belong, therefore I am, and so we become” (Spiller, Erakovic,
Hēnare, & Pio, 2011a, p. 155); being and belonging are one and the same. Rather than focusing on celebration of the cognitive and thinking individual as supreme, the embedding of individuals within communities and societies requires careful integration of all aspects of body, mind and spirit as evidence of the strength and power of the cosmos. Belonging for Coast Salish people is also the most fundamental driver of survival and continuity. Belonging is embedded in the language, social structure and traditional institutions as something that is a privilege and must be nurtured for survival.

In the spirit of belonging, without the lineage that brought me to the world, I could not have conducted this research in the same way with the same perspectives and insights. This is an aspect of the research process that I will discuss in detail later as my methodology draws on heuristic inquiry. The means by which I approach the research is through questions that help me understand myself and the world I live in. I conduct this research using autoethnographic traditions of research with the purpose of understanding self, family, community and territory from a Coast Salish perspective in terms of broader socio-cultural and universal implications. I share this lineage below to signal my belonging as a Coast Salish person connected in our territory and tied to the networks of families and communities who are part of this research—which makes me part of this research. Through both my parents, my family heritage is shadowed by intervention and interference by the Canadian state, and my ancestors were witness to shifted capability across three to four generations.
2.3.1 My father’s lineage

A significant part of my father’s identity and belonging within the Coast Salish community is tied to his ancestral name, T’esóts’en. The story of T’esóts’en involves not only my great grandmother Maggie Pennier who is my father’s namesake, but also Hi’yólemtel, Kat Pennier, and Kwul’lh’uts’tun, Willie Seymour who are my father’s cousins and were also interviewed in this research. In the naming ceremony in which my father received his name, the first order of business was for Kwul’lh’uts’tun to pass on a sxwóxway\textsuperscript{15} mask that came with the name, Hi’yólemtel. As part of the responsibility of receiving the mask, Hi’yólemtel then had to do immediate ‘work’\textsuperscript{16} with it. This new work included passing on the ancestral name T’esóts’en to my father. In this ceremony, all four wisdom keepers are ceremonially tied to one another. In the ceremony where my father received the name, he describes the process of oral footnoting—a feature of Coast Salish oral history that I will describe as part of my oral history methodology. He also details the interrelated nature of the naming economy in gatherings. Below is my father’s written account of

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{15} In Hul’quminut, these masks are referred to as šxʷa’ixʷe.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{16} In contemporary Coast Salish contexts, activities of high significance to the well-being and continuation of cultural and spiritual life are commonly referred to in English as ‘the work’ (personal communication, Charlie, 2013). In the data analysis, this notion of spiritual work will be discussed in detail as a form of Coast Salish freedom. The ‘work’ typically refers to the spiritual and ceremonial component of any event. For example, it may comprise the purpose for hosting stl’el’áleq such as the transfer of a name or property, but it may also be the sacred ceremony conducted after the passing of a loved one. The work is done by those who are qualified to conduct the ceremony and who because of their expertise have been asked by the host family to do so. Typically, these are people who are trained to mediate exchanges between spirit and human worlds.
\end{flushleft}
the shared gathering ceremony captured in our co-authored book chapter in, *Indigenous Spiritualities at Work:*

As a result of many years of observation and discussion that did not include me, elders within the Stó:lō community decided that a gathering was necessary to confer a traditional name upon me. This was in recognition of my professional and personal contributions not only to the Stó:lō community, but also to First Nations in BC. Since I was a young man, I have worked in all sorts of jobs, and found myself driven by work that would better the lives of First Nations people in Canada; whether it was as an outdoor education leader, tribal education coordinator, or now, as a consultant working with First Nations facilitating their comprehensive community planning and community governance processes. Because of this work throughout my life, I received a traditional name.

The name that was selected for me is the name that belonged to my maternal grandmother, Maggie Pennier (née Leon), T’esōts’en. She carried the female version of the name, T’esōts’ and has since passed on, but I grew up spending much time with her from the age of six. Because of my close relationship with her throughout my childhood and early adulthood, it is a great honour to carry her name. I pay close attention to the traditional (and conservative) Stó:lō values that she taught me about how to carry and conduct myself because I represent not only myself, but also our entire family. Now, as before, but perhaps more explicitly, I conduct myself as T’esōts’en and that means I conduct myself as she would.

The ceremony to confer the name took place on 18 January 2003. It was held at one of the oldest remaining smilha’áwtxw in Stó:lō territory—a longhouse that is cared for by the Charlie family up in the mountains of Ts’a’í:les (also known as Chehalis). What happened in this ceremony was a profound example of the importance of continuity by way of witnessing. There were guests invited and who attended who were witnesses at the naming ceremony of T’esōts’, my grandmother at the same smilha’áwtxw in Ts’a’í:les when she was 16 years old in 1919. Those witnesses also spoke at this one in 2003, and retold the events that took place in 1919 including the history of the name, her legacy as a spirit dancer and the person she was, as if it was yesterday. There were over 1000 guests who arrived to attend this ceremony in 2003 from across Stó:lō Coast Salish territory and other communities all over BC. The smilha’áwtxw is suited to seating only 800, which meant that many guests were not able to witness the ceremony inside. The great influx of guests was a reflection of the name to which we both belong (Kelly & Kelly, 2015, pp. 200-201).
Through T’esóts’, our Coast Salish ancestry links us to Ts’aí:les (deep in the mountains) and I will describe our ancestral ties to Leq’á:mel, the landing place where the river deepens and widens. Woven throughout this thesis are stories of syesyewalelh, my ancestors from these two branches of Stó:lō—Ts’aí:les and Leq’á:mel—part of the larger group referred to as Coast Salish. Our lineage goes back 10,000 years in Coast Salish territory and draws a clear picture of our geographic and spiritual place in the world (Blomfield et al., 2001). We have lived along the Fraser River since time immemorial (Sewid-Smith, 1991). We have always been here.
2.3.2 My mother’s lineage

My lineage through my mother is less structured, less grounded in place, but is also traced throughout Coast Salish territory (in addition to other First Nations territories) in British Columbia, Canada. Because my maternal grandparents passed away before I was born I did not have a chance to meet them. What I do know about them, I have learned through research from public archival sources by one of my sisters, Laura, and documents from my mother from her personal archives. My mother is Darlene Kelly (maiden name, Boucher). Her lineage descends from the Tahltan First Nation from Telegraph Creek in BC through her father, Peter Ware, who in the process of enlisting for World War II, forfeited his right to be recognised by the Government of Canada as a “status Indian” under the Indian Act. This meant that my mother as his daughter was also not entitled to Indian status and although she met her father once, she has never sought to establish ties to Tahltan communities. I carry both my mother’s name, Darlene as my given name, and her mother’s first name, Bertha, as my middle name. Bertha McKusick (née Boucher) was descended from Carrier-Sekani lineage near Quesnel, BC through her mother, Mary Ann Powell.
Bertha also carried Métis lineage through her father, Alfred Boucher. However, neither Aboriginal identities as Carrier-Sekani, or Métis have become prominent in our lives as her descendants because Bertha was born in Chilliwack in Stó:lō Coast Salish territory, and she spent her early life attending residential school growing up in the Fraser Valley. Bertha lived a hard life in Coast Salish territory as someone not tied to the territory through kinship as Xwélmuxw, but inhabiting the space as Lets’el’imexw, which in the Stó:lō Halq’eméylem language refers to people of this land, but who are not of the territory. These are Indigenous people from other territories, and while we do not know the full story of how and why Bertha’s parents Mary Ann Powell and Alfred Boucher ended up in the Fraser Valley, Bertha’s records
of attendance at St. Mary’s Residential school in Mission, BC tells us that she was one of thousands of Aboriginal children across Canada who attended these schools to fulfil the government’s Indian assimilation agenda (Fournier & Crey, 1998). She attended this particular church-run school founded by the religious order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1863. While there is a spectrum of experiences that reflect student life in residential schools, from the horrifying and inhumane to good pastoral care, what follows of Bertha’s life after leaving the school leads me to believe that her experience at St. Mary’s was anything but loving and nurturing. We know that she did not have Indian status, which she may have never had, or at one point in her life she could have been disenfranchised under the Indian Act. Aligned with her lineage and life experience, possible disenfranchisement may have occurred because:

- Her mother married a non-status (Métis\textsuperscript{17}) man and therefore lost her status as did their children from the union;
- She became a ward of the state through the residential school system and never returned to her family after leaving school;
- She was disconnected from a “home” community and therefore removed from official band registration;
- She married a non-native man in adulthood.

We have not found evidence to explain Bertha’s non-status standing. Neither of my mother’s parents had Indian status despite having Aboriginal heritage. Sharing this

\textsuperscript{17} Under Section 35 of the Canadian constitution 1982, Métis are one of the three groups that fall under the broad category, Aboriginal. The other two are Inuit and Indian. Métis refers to people of “mixed Aboriginal and European ancestry, and particularly to those people with family roots deriving from intermarriages arising from the fur trade” (Kesler, 2009, p. paragraph 9). For more information on the detailed history and traditions of Métis people, see the website of the Métis National Council: http://www.metisnation.ca/index.php/who-are-the-metis.
story of my maternal lineage illuminates the impact of colonial policy that affected my grandma’s lived experience of capability deprivation supported by state records and media sources. She was unable to care for her five children who were taken into foster care as wards of the state. Several newspaper articles from The Vancouver Sun (not listed, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c) report that Bertha McKusick was murdered by a man in a boarding house in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver.

My mother’s lineage tells a different story of connection and disconnection not from place, but from a sense of belonging and more clearly speaks of the way that many forms of disempowerment have emerged out of that disconnect across generations. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015) highlights the intergenerational impacts of residential schools (Niezen, 2013) and illuminates the legacy of dispossession that can be found in my own family through my mother and father, and has unfolded within the geographic landscape and territory of Coast Salish in the lineages that I carry. My mother gained Indian status through marriage to my father, and has lived in Coast Salish territory since I was about nine years old. She found her home both literally and figuratively where she is free from the burdens, traumas and churn of the city of Vancouver where her own childhood was characterised by the deficiencies of the foster care system in the 1950s and 60s. She is part of the community she married into and brought us up to know, and be grounded in as the descendants of an ancient lineage still inhabiting the places we have known for millennia. Because my mother lives there, when we go home to her house, we are
surrounded by the mountains, the river and the places that have nurtured and grown our ancestors we hold dear in our hearts.

2.4. **Tél:exw Summary**

My interest in Coast Salish economy and economic development comes from hearing and seeing these concepts used among our community members and in the popular media as an approach to solving the multi-faceted disruptions and socio-economic challenges that are still very prevalent and visible in Coast Salish communities. However, proposed means for economic development as a process of enhancement of quality of life does not align with Coast Salish identity, landscape and social structure. What shapes who the Coast Salish are includes: the Fraser River, fishing, spirituality, ceremony and the sacred and ancient connections through storytelling that connect Coast Salish to the ancient past and seven generations in the future. Gatherings sit at the heart of Coast Salish livelihood because the voices of the ancestors have taught that feasting, gifting, speaking, sharing, listening, remembering, interdependence and interconnectedness are values that should be nurtured. Gatherings foster Coast Salish wellbeing and a shared sense of belonging in the place of our ancestors.
CHAPTER 3: LEQ’ÁLÉQ’EL, TRAVELLING WITH DESTINATION IN MIND

Now on the river, this chapter explores the river environment as a dynamic, fast-moving, and ever-changing terrain that responds to the spatial impact of surrounding land, changing currents and shifts in the weather. In Halq’eméylem, leq’álég’el refers to traveling with destination in mind. Navigating on the river requires skilled manoeuvring, careful reading of the riverscape and landscape, anticipation and moment-to-moment judgement. Understanding both what is seen above and what is unseen below the water contributes to the reading of how these disparate yet interconnected environments interact. The changing river environment creates worlds within worlds, including the emergence of whirlpools that present both opportunities and dangers. Responding to opportunities and dangers involves both calculated choice, and willingness to take a chance in the circumstances.

To set the scene, reading the river by setting the context and presenting relevant literature includes looking historically at the foundational philosophies that underpin the way in which the formal Coast Salish economy was expressed in gatherings. Illuminating gatherings as institutions of gift economy helps to establish a language around Coast Salish exchange dynamics and how these are expressed in ceremony. Historical and anthropological literature illuminates the time when Coast Salish communities responded to the harsh reality of settlement and colonial policy as they were enforced in Coast Salish territory. Tracing how the Coast Salish gift economy was replaced by the settler economy of exploitation helps give a sense of
contemporary Coast Salish economic contexts and reveals an oversight identified in this thesis that there is a disconnect between the gift economy and Coast Salish economic philosophy identified by anthropologists and the potential for that philosophy to inform current thinking on Coast Salish economic development.

To address the ‘why’ of Coast Salish economic development, I draw on the Capability Approach (Sen, 1999a) as a theoretical framework. The Capability Approach provides concepts and language to better understand this oversight as perpetuating the deprivation of capability that emerged for Coast Salish because of the economy of exploitation in Canada. Traveling with destination in mind means that understanding and establishing the passageway towards Coast Salish economic development is possible by way of capability enhancement. Capability is determined by the Coast Salish people and communities. Hyden’s economy of affection (1980, 2004) provides a framework that captures the ‘why’ of the Coast Salish economy and emphasises the significance of relationships, networks, and an ethic of care, as markers of a thriving economy with people not profit at the centre.

3.1. Stl’e’áloq, gatherings, Coast Salish economic history

The Halq’eméylem word referring to the ceremony previously discussed as potlatch is stl’e’áloq, but today Coast Salish people use the term “gathering”\textsuperscript{18}. Gathering

\textsuperscript{18} Due to the effects of colonisation primarily through the impact of Indian residential schools, the Halq’eméylem language has nearly become extinct (Gardner, 2002). While the Halq’eméylem language has undergone significant revival in the last 20 years, English remains the primary language spoken by Coast Salish people.
encompasses all aspects of ceremony in which gifting and other forms of exchange are crucial components (Carlson, 2010). Stl’eeáleq\textsuperscript{19} is the institution through which the Coast Salish people conducted legal proceedings, conflict resolution (Melenchuk, 2011) spiritual practice, traditional political economy, healing, economic exchange and social activities. This activity is called ‘work’ and is recorded in oral tradition, and to which potentially thousands of people may attend to witness the ‘work’ scheduled to take place (Suttles, 1963). Suttles describes Coast Salish gathering work as follows:

\begin{quote}
[Gathering hosts’] principal concern is with their "work." This consists of the bestowal of hereditary names, display of pictures or other mementos of the dead, wiping away of shame, etc., and for each of these purposes there will be speech-making, exercising of hereditary privileges such as masks or rattles, and the giving of wealth. Families of dancers also take this opportunity to pay others for recognition of new dancers and help for old dancers. At such a big dance on the Mainland the hosts serve a meal to their guests both before and after the main events. On the Island they serve a meal before the dance starts and as a final act they distribute sugar—generally ten hundred-pound sacks when the whole area is invited (1963, p. 517).
\end{quote}

The high level of formality means that stl’eeáleq exchange is recognised among members of Stó:lô society as legitimate by way of the spiritual and ceremonial components that affirm the authority of Xexá:ls and Tel Swayel, ancient ancestral beings who saw the transformation of the world from chaos to order. Stó:lô philosophy, as contained in Sxwoxwiyá:m (oral histories of the distant past), is such that humans are subordinate to the metaphysical world of spirits (Miller, 2001) and

\textsuperscript{19} The Halq’eméylem word “stl’eeáleq” is the upriver word to describe gatherings as an institution (Blomfield et al., 2001, p. 56).
therefore, are constantly engaging with the Spirit World for guidance on matters of importance (Carlson, 2010). At the highest level of institutional exchange such as happens in stl’ē’áleq, the most sacred spiritual authority is called upon and protocol adhered to, to ensure that the context of the exchange reflects careful attention to not only what is exchanged between humans, but recognises that the spirit of the exchange also tends to the relationships between human and Spirit Worlds.

The ceremony typically marks a time when it is imperative for events of significance, or community ‘business’ to be conducted in a public forum, witnessed and recorded by way of oral traditions. Examples of events include birth, coming-of-age, marriage, transfer of property (including traditional names) and death. At the heart of Coast Salish identity economics and associated gatherings are xwélmexw-to-xwélmexw exchange relationships, and everything radiating outwards from these represents a continuum of xwélmexw-to-lets’ē:lmeqw (different people, strangers) exchange relationships (Blomfield et al., 2001), or the economy in terms of other people and communities. The notion of ‘work’ in the context of stl’ē’áleq is a word used to describe all the activities and collective effort that goes into planning, hosting and conducting gathering ceremonies. The hired speaker, or master of ceremonies at a gathering is called, Lheqsqwóqwel and opens the gathering. The qualifications to be a speaker are that you must be male, a good orator, and you must know the names of all the guests (Suttles, 1974).

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20 In Hul’quminum, the hired speaker at a gathering is called naxwskwakwe’l.
According to Suttles, there are two types of gatherings. Within the hul’quminum dialect, sɬɛ’ešín is derived from the word ‘to invite’ and entails an intra-community gathering with an emphasis on feasting; and sɬɛ’naq is a gathering with the explicit purpose of gift-giving (Suttles, 1974). In Halq’eméylem, tl’etl’áxel, or tl’e’áxel means to give a potlatch, or feast (Galloway et al., 1980).

However, with the exception of two people interviewed in this research, no-one uses the Halkomelem variations, stl’e’áleq, sɬɛ’naq and sɬɛ’ešín to describe gatherings of any type, and few people have ever heard them, or know of those terms to describe gatherings. Likewise, “potlatch” is not used today. Throughout this research, the word “potlatch” will be used when talking about anthropological insights on potlatch. When Coast Salish people discuss this particular economic institution, rather than potlatch, they use the terms ‘gathering’, or ‘stl’e’áleq’.

Suttles observed that there is no one purpose for Coast Salish communities in hosting gatherings: he observed many purposes that unfold in the course of the ceremony. However he proposes that one purpose of gatherings is simply to keep communities connected (1974) through the institutionalised distribution of wealth, the gifting of material goods, and feasting (Ryan, 1973). The original purpose of hosting a gathering may be established, followed by the planning of resources to adequately feed, house and take care of one’s guests. Over the course of planning and preparations, if appropriate, additional spiritual, ceremonial or other economic activities are incorporated into the ceremony. This is exemplified in the story about my father’s naming ceremony, where two major events occurred in the same
ceremony. The first was when Kat Pennier received a mask under the authority of Willie Seymour. Ceremonial protocol required that Kat conduct ‘work’ immediately as part of his new responsibilities with the mask. The new work, and second event at this gathering was the bestowal of the name T’esot’s upon my father.

A Coast Salish gathering refers to the entire institution where the most sacred spiritual authority is called upon to legitimise not only what is exchanged between humans, but also the spirit of exchange between human and Spirit Worlds (Kelly & Kelly, 2015). The layers of complexity extend beyond material and non-material exchange. Within the category of non-material possession in Coast Salish philosophy, Suttles distinguishes three areas:

1) powers which one acquires directly from the supernatural; these may be called earned possessions; 2) knowledge which one learns from one’s fellow man; 3) rights which one inherits from his ancestors. These possessions are not evenly distributed. Persons differ greatly in the number and value of their non-material possessions. This difference accounts for differences in position in society, differences between specialists and ordinary people, differences between upper-class people and lower-class people (Suttles, 1974, pp. 107-108).

It is this complexity and the blurring of exchange between the human and Spirit Worlds that posed a significant threat to settlers’ understanding of Coast Salish people. In Miller’s extensive research on tensions between the contemporary Canadian justice system and Coast Salish law, Indigenous institutions (such as the potlatch) were deliberately undermined. To establish stronger, more relatable ties with settlers, the complexities of Coast Salish social life were stripped down and in
the process the Coast Salish had to “leave out their traditional beliefs entirely” (Miller, 2001, p. 15).

In the area of material exchange, blankets as a symbol of Coast Salish wealth have remained consistent throughout Coast Salish history and throughout the territory over time. They are identified as a sign of wealth in early ethnographic records (Hill-Tout, 1978; Lutz, 2008; Suttles, 1963, 1974) through to contemporary ceremonies where they continue to be given as gifts and to xwilámstexw, witnesses in the process of recording oral history.

3.2. **Coast Salish communities in research**

Within the broader field of anthropology and ethnography greater specialisation developed to focus on the Coast Salish. Ethnographers such as Franz Boas wrote about Coast Salish life, especially that of the Lekwungen on Vancouver Island (1890), and Charles Hill-Tout’s (1904) ethnological work covers a great deal of Coast Salish life in his four-volume book, *The Salish People* (Hill-Tout, 1978).

The legacy of ethnographic research and studies of Coast Salish communities and ways of life have been much enriched by the detailed analysis of ethnographer Wayne Suttles who captured Coast Salish life meticulously and methodically. His research continues to provide insight into gaps that shape the contemporary experience of being Coast Salish today. One particular quality of Suttles’ ethnographic insights is his honesty in writing and his willingness to acknowledge his observation of phenomenon without feeling the need to be an ‘expert’. It is frequent
to see in his writing, “I do not know”, “I am not certain”, and “according to the interpretation of some” to signal his ambiguity, unfamiliarity and integrity with which he felt a need to present Coast Salish life without claiming to know everything about it. Suttles’ research provides details about the way that he saw Coast Salish communities through to the 1970s.

From the 1970s onwards, the nature of anthropological field research shifted from broad topics such as potlatch and gift exchange to understanding social, political and legal aspects of First Nations communities. The research provides a depth of understanding of Coast Salish social, political and economic organization and social networks (Kennedy, 1995, 2000, 2007), cosmology and contemporary ceremonial life (Kew, 1970), how Coast Salish power is imbued in the territory (Bierwert, 1999), and recognition of Coast Salish spiritual sites (Mohs, 1987).

Collaborative research on Coast Salish life spans nearly four decades and achieves the dual purpose of providing evidence supporting Coast Salish communities in their efforts toward treaty negotiations, and continuing to bring Coast Salish views and philosophy to light within the academy. Among the researchers are Bruce Granville Miller, an anthropologist specialising in Coast Salish law and ethnohistory (Miller, 1989, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2011, 2007); Keith Carlson, a historian specialising in Stó:lō-Coast Salish history and identity (Blomfield et al., 2001; Carlson, 2003, 2007, 2010, 1997; Pennier et al., 2006); David Schaepe, an archaeologist specialising in Stó:lō history and Director of the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (Blomfield et al., 2001; McHalsie, Schaepe, & Carlson,
2001; Schaepe, 2007); John Lutz, a historian specialising in Indigenous-settler relations (Blomfield et al., 2001; Lutz, 2007, 2008); and Sonny McHalsie, Stó:lō cultural advisor (Blomfield et al., 2001; McHalsie, 2007; McHalsie et al., 2001).

The Stó:lō ethnohistory field school emerged as a collaboration between the University of Victoria, the University of Saskatchewan, the Stó:lō Resource and Research Management Centre (SRRMC), the Stó:lō Nation and the Stó:lō Tribal Council. The field school encourages students to use ethnography and oral history methods to capture and share Stó:lō stories, history and worldviews. While the collaborative and multi-disciplinary body of work on the Coast Salish provides invaluable insight into diverse aspects of law, governance, archaeology and social and political economy, there is a notable absence of discussion of Coast Salish foundations of economic philosophy. Carlson highlights that the way gatherings have been researched is limited to the ‘how’:

Few contemporaneous records discuss such [gathering] ceremonies, and those that do tend to describe the way potlatches were conducted rather than explain why they were occurring or the purposes they served (2010, p. 203).

Picking up on Carlson’s observation, it is to that lacuna that this research offers insights on economic principles embedded in gatherings, and contributes to the conversations within this community of scholars.

### 3.2.1 The Coast Salish subsistence economy

The Coast Salish subsistence economy continued as the way Coast Salish people sustained themselves from the resources of the land and territory, and this
discussion includes the way those resources were exchanged within a trade economy. A large part of the subsistence economy throughout Coast Salish history was made possible from the catching and selling of fish, sales of woven baskets, canned food, wool sweaters, and later, carvings made specifically to sell. One avenue for the distribution of resources from the subsistence economy throughout Coast Salish territories was through the institution of gatherings. Kew describes this connection and says,

The riches of specific places were widely shared through a complex socio-economic system which combined seasonal movements of people, legitimate access to resources over a wide area, effective means of food preservation, and finally, the exchange of the diverse products from different areas through the potlatch system (1970, pp. 12-13).

From the later parts of the 19th century, wage labour became central to how Coast Salish people thrived, largely in industries such as fishing and canning, logging, and farming (Amoss, 1977; Blomfield et al., 2001; Carlson, 1997; Cunningham, 1999; Kew, 1970; Pennier et al., 2006; Ryan, 1973). While these were industries that were based on centuries of Coast Salish traditional ecological knowledge of resource management and sustainability, the colonial government and the processes of foreign settlement relegated the Coast Salish people as being better suited as labourers (Cunningham, 1999), rather than as business owners and drivers of the emerging capitalist economy throughout central Coast Salish territories.

In Khot-La-Cha’s autobiography, he shares memories of growing up with his grandmother, Mary Capilano, in the early part of the 20th century. In the following excerpt, Khot-La-Cha describes how Mary involved herself in the subsistence
economy by selling goods before there were roads and bridges that enabled travel between what is now the North Shore and downtown Vancouver. Baker says,

She used to go in her dugout canoe from the Capilano Reserve across the narrows into Vancouver where the old Immigration Building used to be. The Harbour Board used to have a wharf in front of the Immigration Building. That's where my grandmother used to tie up her canoe. There was somebody there all the time so no one could touch her canoe. They had a lot of respect for my grandmother. They used to help her go up the steep ramp when the tide was out. She would have a little buggy with her berries. That was her place to berth her canoe. From Capilano, she would go around Brockton Point, follow the beach all the way around from Prospect Point, then cross when the tide was coming in. The tide would go out in the morning and the tide would come in the evening when she was going home. She knew when to cross, when there was hardly any traffic. She'd tie up there and pack her clams, berries, baskets and mats to the Hotel Vancouver and around the West End where all the rich people lived—the Rogers, MacMillans, McDermids, Bell-Irvings - all those people used to ask my grandmother to bring them fresh berries and clams. She used to keep busy going there about three times a week even if she got only five cents a pound. This was around 1917, so I guess five cents was worth something then. People used to visit her from Mount Currie, Sliammon, Sechelt to trade with her with roots and baskets. She would give them clothes that she got from her sales in Vancouver. She kept this up all her life until she died in 1942. My grandmother was known by many people all through the coast. She could speak five languages—Squamish, Musqueam, Chilcotin, Lillooet and Chinook (S. Baker, 1994, pp. 2-3).

In the span of 100 years much has changed for the Coast Salish people. Although Mary responded to her own need to supplement what she got from the land to survive, with money for other items, she also enjoyed the opportunity to maintain her existing relationships and build new relationships in the process. The subsistence economy was interconnected with Coast Salish inter-community relations and how wealth is negotiated and interest on gifts is managed in gatherings. Suttles comments on the nature of reciprocity in Coast Salish gatherings:
It was expected that gifts given at a potlatch would be returned. However, no definite interest was looked for; the return depended upon the future prosperity of the recipient (Suttles, 1974, p. 369).

One of the invaluable aspects of Suttles’ research are his reflections on the way that Coast Salish ceremonial changes were happening in the 1960s. He observed the way that Coast Salish wealth was changing due to the influence of money from wage labour. Individuals having money for their own use interfered with the need to distribute wealth in gatherings as a means of resource-sharing. Personal income increased individualised attitudes toward spending, which lessened the need for the Coast Salish to rely on each other to get through the year (1963).

By 1963, the Coast Salish identity was shifting because of the influence of settlers, wage labour, and money. In the following observation, the relationship between the Coast Salish identity, economy, and notions of value are outlined:

In the past, identity had to do with economic and professional roles, with hereditary rights directly or indirectly associated with these, and with the value including implicitly moral value accorded to those who could provide food and give wealth. Today, all that is left is moral value and this must be found in identity as an Indian (1963, p. 522).
To more clearly understand Suttles’ excerpt, Figures 6, 7, and 8 below summarise his observed changes to the Coast Salish identity from the influence of settlement:

**Figure 6 - Early Coast Salish identity formation (Suttles)**

![Diagram of early Coast Salish identity formation](image)

**Figure 7 - Changes to Coast Salish identity formation by 1963 (Suttles)**

![Diagram showing changes to identity formation by 1963](image)

**Figure 8 - Coast Salish identity formation in 1963 primarily based on “being Indian” (Suttles)**

![Diagram showing 1963 identity formation](image)

Interconnections between the Coast Salish identity, economy and value became fractured. In Figure 7, Suttles viewed value to be partially affected but not entirely which is why a broken line distinguishes the changes from the other solid lines over
the orange and blue bubbles. Suttles does not provide exact details of the processes that interrupted these relationships except to comment broadly that the change was because of the influence of non-Indian society and the modern welfare state.

3.3. Potlatch, Theory of Gift

The context in which this research explores Coast Salish economy is that of gatherings. As locally formed institutions, gatherings derive their functionality from the community’s need for structure and organisation. Drawing upon the oral history of the Kwak’waka’wakw people, whose potlatch traditions are similar to those of the Coast Salish, potlatch resolved the problem of chaotic disorder when distinctions between the physical and metaphysical worlds were blurred:

Out of that chaos emerged our ancestors. At that time, they [ancestors] took their costumes off and became human. In my way of thinking, they wanted to rid themselves of chaos, and they wanted to find peace. [They] found the vehicle to do that—the feast, where you had to remember to be inclusive, to feed one another, nurture one another. We needed to have harmony with the world around us. Our names will do that (Wedlidi Speck cited in Robertson & the Kwaguƚ Gixsan Clan, 2012, p. 76).

Gatherings play an instrumental role in the organisation of human activity and extend back to human origins within broader metaphysical cosmology.

Within the field of anthropology, the potlatch has been widely documented ethnographically. There is a vast body of literature, largely derived from the tribes of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia that illuminates potlatches as totalising institutions of gift exchange and reciprocity. Out of the wealth of research and evidence gathered by early ethnographers, a theory of gift exchange was developed
by Marcel Mauss in his seminal work, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l’échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (1966, 2016; 1925), translated as *The Gift: The form and reason of exchange in archaic societies*. Mauss discusses the spirit of gifting and reciprocity in potlatch, which he describes as an institution of “total prestations of the agonistic type” (2016; 1925, p. 63). He identifies three obligations in the theory of the gift relevant to potlatch: to give, to receive, and return the gift. This was further expanded to four obligations by Levi-Strauss (1987), who added the obligation of giving without expectation of a return. Weiner (1992) builds on these obligations, and identifies a paradox not identified in earlier theories of gifting, that while obligations to give prevail, so too does the obligation to keep particular items, which she calls inalienable possessions. One of the critical contributions from Mauss’s theory and the work of those whose research built on Mauss’ ideas is that these authors provide the opportunity to explore interconnected aspects of exchange within potlatch as a totalising institution including: reciprocity, debt, banking, insurance, interest, and saving.

In *Standing up with Ga’axsta’las: Jane Constance Cook and the politics of memory, church and custom* (Robertson & the Kwaguł Gixsan Clan, 2012), through the eyes of Ga’axsta’las, Jane Constance Cook’s descendants, the authors challenge assumptions about the impact of the ban on the Kwak’waka’wakw communities of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia. Within her lifetime, Cook saw the potlatch changing for worse due to the influence of settler customs. In her support of the ban, Cook made remedial efforts to curb the economic and social consequences of
defaulted interest on unpaid debt in potlatch. She anticipated the long-term impact of potlatch debt to be so large that for most participants in the potlatch network, repayment would be impossible within one’s lifetime. She did not support the detrimental social and political consequences of potlatch debt on wider Kwak’waka’wakw family and community sustainability and wellbeing. Neither did Cook accept the way that the potlatch system reinforced class divisions within an already stratified Kwak’waka’wakw society.

At the same time, it is because of her respect and love for the potlatch itself that she struggled to reconcile tensions between traditional customs and ancient values that took on new forms partially through the influence of the settler population. Emerging social inequalities permeating potlatch practice were further compounded by the emerging settler economy’s increased exclusionary measures against Indians, stricter national policies on Indian populations, and encroaching foreign economic interests. Cook saw potlatch as an inherently good institution with sound foundations for the ‘why’ of economic exchange, that expressed the foundations of Kwak’waka’wakw identity and their relationship to the territory. However, changes to the institution no longer expressed Kwak’waka’wakw values and it was the ‘how’ that she took issue with. These changes could be seen in changes to the value of fish as a sign of Kwak’waka’wakw wealth. The following excerpt details how the spiritual and economic value of fish as wealth was expressed in potlatch and how that was changing:
Fish are for feasting and for ceremonial hosting. The potlatch itself derives from the cosmological imperative to honour reciprocating relations among fish, birds, animals and chiefs. Fish are caught with relatives; they are prepared and distributed through networks of family affiliation. Smoked, canned and frozen fish sustain communities over the winter months. Fish are sold to purchase food and other necessities. Simultaneously, fish are a medium through which Kwak’waka’wakw people fulfill ceremonial obligations, meet their material needs, and sustain social and kin networks. The colonial attempt to define fish narrowly as food for subsistence has been an embittered political struggle for over a century in British Columbia (Robertson & the Kwaguƚ Gixsan Clan, 2012, p. 261).

This is also the case in terms of the Coast Salish Riverworldview wherein the relationship between humans and fish includes the idea that it is a means for people to connect and build relationships to nurture Coast Salish socio-cultural, spiritual and environmental interconnectedness. Fish enable many levels of exchange that allow people to literally and spiritually ‘feed’ one another.

Cook’s position in support of the Potlatch Ban also illuminates the particularly gendered inequalities in the potlatch exchange of the time that she saw as oppressive to women. Cook challenged the lack of agency and choice afforded to Kwak’waka’wakw women who were subjected to arranged marriages transacted in potlatch ceremonies. It was not only the nature and amount of material wealth negotiated as part of bridewealth exchange that Cook saw to be challenging and problematic, but the changing society around her that caused her to reflect critically on the form and function of potlatch. Cook’s critical perspective serves as a reminder to contemporary generations of Coast Salish people that although the fundamental values behind gatherings are to foster reciprocal exchange and interdependence (and these do not change), expression of exchange in the form of debt and
obligation is culturally and socially negotiated. This is a difference between traditional values compared to traditional practice. For gathering communities today, dogmatic abidance to traditional practice may interfere with the developmental potential of gatherings as economic institutions with contemporary relevance.

3.3.1 Reciprocity as continuity, not competition

Within Mauss’ reading of Kwak’waka’wakw potlatch, the aspect of competitive exchange in potlatch shapes the theoretical assumptions in the theory of gift such that Mauss describes the relationship between wealth and power as a “war of property”, and a “struggle of wealth” (Godelier, 1999, pp. 56-57). The competitive aspects of potlatch predominate in Mauss’ understanding. While these realities may accurately reflect the contextual circumstances of inter-community tensions over scarce resources, and communities vying to gain access to control over newly introduced resources, the relationship between wealth and power in potlatch is not inherently driven by competition in the same way that contemporary Western European capitalism promotes the pursuit of self-interest (A. Smith, 2012 [1776]).

Although the creation of unbalanced relationships between parties who exchange in gatherings provokes a moral ethic to reciprocate (Mooney, 1976),

21 Western European economy refers to the philosophical foundations of economic thinking from Western Europe that were applied in Canada, and shaped its colonial processes (Maddison, 2006). In this research, Maddison’s model of Western European economy is used interchangeably with Hyden’s concept of the economy of exploitation, which is derived from the same economic values.
restoring balance back to zero may not be the ultimate purpose of giving back. Rather than exchange and reciprocity being thought of as closing a loop, conceptually, the driver of reciprocity is to extend the relationship beyond a two-dimensional circle to that of an eternal spiral of reciprocity. The parties collectively push the boundaries of reciprocity together, forever. In this theory of gifting, obligations to exchange are not necessarily driven by a deficit model of publicly showing more accumulated wealth in order to reveal the relative poverty of the next person, family, or community. Instead, demonstration of surplus invites contribution, participation and an opportunity to build affective relations centred on shared resources.

The roots of ethnography in anthropology as a science were originally purposed to provide empirical evidence of the lifeways and practices of cultures destined to die out (Kew, 1993-94). The research lacuna that exists reflects these anthropological foundations in light of the lack of scholarly discussion about the contemporary role of potlatch for people like the Coast Salish whose resilience and survival contradicted its scientific intent. As it stands, the theory of the gift represents a historical representation of potlatch. Contemporary potlatch exchange has shifted immensely, and the theoretical foundations of potlatch as gift economy lack conceptual development to explain the role of gifting and reciprocity in today’s gatherings.
3.4. Hyden’s economy of affection

Hyden (1980, 2004, 2013 [2006]) argues that, despite the enormous body of anthropological research conducted in diverse contexts on the continent of Africa, and due to the deliberate oversight of contemporary economic advisors commenting on economic development, there is a troubling gap between African economic policies and socio-cultural ways of life. Hyden argues that the answer to better understanding development in Africa lies in paying attention to cultural institutions that reflect interpersonal reciprocal exchange in African political economies. These institutions are referred to as economies of affection, which are defined as: “personal investments in reciprocal relations with other individuals as a means of achieving goals that are seen as otherwise impossible to attain” (Hyden, 2013 [2006], pp. 75-76). Only through reciprocal relations can certain goals be achieved, and Hyden sees these goals as reflecting African development. Understanding economies of affection gives greater insight into African economic development than do insights emerging from normative Western European economic measurement. Hyden states:

The failure of capitalism to transform the economic and social landscape in Africa, as it has in other regions of the world, is an important reason for the continued dominance of the economy of affection....The nuclear family becomes the norm in the capitalist setting as individualism based on private property is gradually institutionalized. Capitalism in Africa has only touched the family system, not transformed it....Because lineage is extensive and not a close social unit that operates to achieve a corporate objective, it fails to lay the foundation for even primitive forms of capital accumulation that could make these societies invest and save for long-term institutionalization of a market economy (2004, p. 696).
According to Hyden, extensive lineage prevents capital accumulation, which means that the institutionalisation of market economy will never occur. Economies of affection contain fundamental social logic that determines the boundaries of a society, and reveals the ways in which societies change and what kinds of opportunities are available based on affective possibilities. In the economy of affection, work as labour is seen not as an end itself but as a means to an end (Hyden, 1980). Through informal institutions, the economy of affection looks at relational, reciprocal exchange between people at all levels of society, including at governance levels in state politics.

The economy of affection is a conceptual framework that provides an analytical lens through which a better understanding of Indigenous economic development can be gained. For the purposes of this research, the strengths of the economy of affection lie largely in the offer of an alternative language system to reframe Coast Salish economic development than the exact importation of Hyden’s ideas about capital accumulation and the success of capitalist economic development for Ujamaa communities in Tanzania. Hyden’s insights explain why the divide between anthropologist and economist approaches to African development centres on the measurement of different forms of exchange, material or otherwise. He says:

For instance, ethnographic records of the past do not have the same validity today because circumstances have changed and communities have reconstructed their past in new ways (Hyden, 2004, p. 702).
In Coast Salish gatherings, circumstances have also changed. As contemporary institutions, gatherings may hold the potential for insights into economic development with the Coast Salish philosophy and worldview at the centre. Reviving a focus on Coast Salish gatherings as a form of Coast Salish economy presents a significant opportunity to recognise Coast Salish economic development as embracing the Coast Salish economy of affection. The key distinction between Hyden’s economy of affection in African institutions and Coast Salish gatherings is that Hyden’s economy of affection centres on informal exchange and the influence of those agreements on economic development. In contrast, the Coast Salish institution of gatherings is at the most formal and highest level of inter- and intra-community exchange. Nonetheless, in both economy of affection contexts, affective ties structure the economy, and tell a fuller story about what drives relational exchange.

The failure to recognize the prevalence of an economy of affection and its robustness in Africa compared to formal institutions is one of the biggest—if not the biggest—challenge to scholars and policy analysts alike. Because of our strong desire to standardize and compare, the natural inclination has been to look only at the formal institutions and how they can be reformed. Even though they may generate statistics that lend themselves to quantitative modes of analysis and measurement, they do not tell more than part of the story at best (Hyden, 2013 [2006], p. 75).

The greatest value of an economy of affection is development that is internally driven by communities and does not rely on standardisation and comparison. Seen through a qualitative lens, the economy of affection recognises that affective exchange qualifies as development, the process of enhancing human lives.
3.5. Economy of exploitation and the Coast Salish

For Coast Salish communities, there were key colonial activities that sought to allow for the establishment and emergence of a Western European economy of exploitation by depressing Coast Salish values, basic freedoms and capability. In Canada, Aboriginal communities were seen to hinder this process. Cunningham explains:

The Indians in the way were seen as obstacles to be cleared to realize the “National Dream” and, worse, as mere impediments to development and wealth-making. The fate of Indians caught by the western-rolling juggernaut of state, business, and settlement revealed that the goal of assimilating Indians did not signify any serious intent to integrate them as equals in Canadian society. They would be the targets of intense civilizing efforts, not to prepare them for useful jobs and lives, but rather to erase their supposedly, inferior ethnic traits (Cunningham, 1999, p. 37).

Displacement of traditional Aboriginal political, legal and spiritual institutions in Canada took place primarily through legislation. In Coast Salish territory, Western European religious and political beliefs and the capitalist economy of exploitation aided the removal of Coast Salish agency and control over economic and subsistence activities that were part of the Coast Salish status quo. There were several waves of settlers who arrived during gold rush periods that eventuated in emergence of the name Xwelítem, attributed to settlers. The term translates as ‘the hungry people’, describing the apparent insatiability of the settlers’ appetite for land, food and resources (Blomfield et al., 2001; Carlson, 2010; Stó:lō Nation Lalems ye Stó:lō Si:ya:m (LYSS), 2003). In 1827, the Hudson’s Bay Company established Fort Langley along the Fraser River (Kew, 1970). By 1860, commercial fisheries were starting to
develop in the province of BC (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2010). From 1871 until the law changed again in 1923, Indians were not allowed to fish commercially.

By way of amendment to Canada’s unique legislation through introduction of Section 149 of the Indian Act—the Potlatch Ban—from 1884-1951, the potlatch traditions of all First Nations who practiced in Canada were successfully outlawed (Cole & Chaikin, 1990). The ban fast-tracked the powerful interruption and replacement of traditional Aboriginal economic values with those of a Western European market economy—an economy of exploitation. For the Coast Salish, the potlatch prohibition period did not altogether prevent exchange, but over time, it reduced the ability to nurture affective ties central to Coast Salish social and economic life. The ban interfered with Coast Salish agency and the ability to choose the means by which economic exchange might occur; and it prevented Coast Salish people from showing affection for one another through formal exchange processes.

The Potlatch Ban impacted communities’ ability to transmit, record and disseminate knowledge by way of oral history. Judge Alfred Scow, the first Aboriginal person to graduate from a law school in British Columbia (which he did in 1961), the first to be called to the bar in B.C., and the first legally-trained Aboriginal judge in the province, commented in an interview for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in 1992 on the impacts of the Potlatch Ban on Aboriginal people across Canada:
The Indian Act did a very destructive thing in outlawing the ceremonial. This provision of the Indian Act [the Potlatch Ban] was in place for close to 75 years and what it did was it prevented the passing down of oral history. It prevented the passing down of our values (Scow, 1992).

Miller has documented the political, social, historical and legal changes within Coast Salish communities on both sides of the Canada-USA border, and highlights the economic restrictions imposed at the time of increasing European settlement in Coast Salish territories that excluded Coast Salish people from both the economy of affection and the economy of exploitation:

Cut off from access to many of the resources that would have enabled them to continue in their previous economic patterns and restrained from equal participation in the emerging economy, they were likewise cut off from administering their own practices of justice and self-regulation of community life (Miller, 2001, p. 3).

The Potlatch Ban was actively enforced by way of surveillance and control by Indian agents and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). These authorities raided longhouses where potlatches were held, seized material and ceremonial objects, and incarcerated hosts and participants. Carlson says,

...it [the Potlatch Ban] undermined the power of siyá:m [traditional leader], and worked to reinforce the idea that political authority emanated from colonial institutions and policies rather than family networks and historical ties to the land (2010, p. 206).

Despite the Potlatch Ban being lifted in 1951, it has had a lasting impact: gatherings have since been revived, but do not play the equivalent economic role they once did, and inter- and intra-community relationships are not marked ceremonially to the extent that they once were. The impact of the potlatch prohibition period meant that Coast Salish people, without gatherings, involuntarily lost the institutional
capability to pass on knowledge between generations, or hereditary rights or property; and to engage in spiritual exchange legitimised within Coast Salish law. The effect on Coast Salish lives is expressed from a Coast Salish perspective as a’wana sna’ps, which means that younger generations of Coast Salish people would be “without advice” (Suttles, 1974, p. 451). The phrase refers to being without access to knowledge of how to conduct oneself or to “be of good mind” (McHalsie, 2007, p. 121) and live a good life through lessons learned over one’s lifetime from parents, elders, and members of the community (Kirkness, 1995). Without gatherings, generations of Coast Salish people went without advice and knowledge, and according to Coast Salish philosophy, those generations were impoverished.

After the Potlatch Ban was lifted in 1951, Coast Salish people were grappling with the multifarious levels of lost knowledge, ceremonial and material items. They were also facing other forms of constraint within the Indian Act, such as land loss (Cunningham, 1999), the ongoing theft of children from their families through the residential school system (Crey, 1991) and the loss of language (Gardner, 2002). Through the 1960s, communities were faced with new forms of dispossession including what is now called the Sixties Scoop where Aboriginal children were removed by the Ministry of Child and Family Development and placed into the homes of non-Aboriginal families. The destruction of Coast Salish family and social structure was wholly attempted under Indian Act policies of assimilation.
Ryan describes how, for Squamish Coast Salish, the distribution of wealth within gatherings shifted due to the influence of wage labour to the extent that traditional social structures became redundant. Ryan writes:

Where the economic balance based on a system of resource exchange had been carefully maintained, it now became increasingly inequitable as some family heads went to work for wages which they did not share with extended families (especially affines). Where political power had been vested in those of highest status and closely linked with economic skills as well as social ones, it now became elective and people of no name could control the lives of the big-name people. As a result, family history became greatly diminished as a means of establishing the basis for social and political superiority. Many important things diminished and ceased to be operative. The bighouses began to fall into disrepair and ultimately became the churches of the few traditional people rather than the center of many Squamish activities (1973, p. 123).

The legal prohibition of gatherings for 67 years was followed by a time when Coast Salish communities were legally allowed to hold gatherings again, but gatherings were not revived again until approximately 1966. This 15-year window remains unexplained but it may have been that the Coast Salish communities did not know how to begin the tradition again. The approximate length of time from when gatherings were legally outlawed in 1884, went underground, and were then revived is 82 years. That is over four generations of Coast Salish people who went a’wənə snə’ps, without advice, and therefore became impoverished by Coast Salish standards. Mathias and Yabsley (1991) state the greatest impact of the Potlatch Ban lay in the erosion of Coast Salish institutional identity:

Without question, this legislation struck at the heart of what was most sacred to West Coast Indian societies. In so doing, it put in question the very survival of these nations (pp. 36-38).
The added impact of the international boundary between Canada and the United States compounded the separation of Coast Salish families on both sides of the border, impacting individual and interpersonal freedom. Raibmon (2005) comments on the way that restriction from gathering and physical movement were enforced together preventing the ability to gather throughout Coast Salish territories in Canada and the United States:

During the late nineteenth century, colonial interventions made it more difficult to host and attend Aboriginal gatherings such as potlatches. Colonial boundaries were one reason. Colonialism had drawn lines dividing Aboriginal people from one another, an international line divided them into “Canadian” Indians and “American” Indians, while intranational lines divided them into “reservation” and “non-reservation” Indians. These lines hindered movement, curtailing not only personal freedom but cultural practice (p. 103).

Implementation of an economy of exploitation gave rise to “welfarism” (1999, p. 71), through the emergence of government social assistance and social welfare programmes as a key source of income for Aboriginal people across Canada. Without the Coast Salish institution of gatherings to distribute community resources, the primary means to manage Aboriginal people reeling from the impacts of broken families and communities and unable to find work when wage labour grew scarce. Haggarty (2009) explores Coast Salish access to social welfare and assistance programmes as another manifestation of Canadian policies of assimilation. Insights from Haggarty’s research indicate that from a Stó:lō Coast Salish perspective, federal social assistance was not seen to be a last resort of economic income. Instead, social assistance supplemented a range of income sources and was seen as remuneration for harm done to Coast Salish communities during the processes of colonisation.
Nonetheless, the rise of welfarism was implemented under the deficit model of economic policy that permeated the broader Canadian political and social landscape. Chief Leonard George comments that the impacts of dehumanization from Canadian legislation impacting Aboriginal people are multifarious. At the individual level, it is felt as a “loss of spirit” (George, 1991, p. 167) that comes from disregarding the inherent value of people.

From analysis and reading of the literature of how colonial impacts have affected Coast Salish communities and families at many levels (Phillips & Oswick, 2012) including: macro relations between the Coast Salish and the Canadian state; meso relations between Coast Salish communities and other Aboriginal communities; and micro effects of unfreedom on individual lives. Table 1 below demonstrates a multi-level synthesis framing the broad and specific Coast Salish unfreedoms to ground the relationship upon which freedom contextually interacts and shifts to employ McGill and Parry’s (1948) Unity of Opposites that will be explained in greater detail in terms of freedom-unfreedom as being dialectical.
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| Coast Salish relations with colonial governing body | Potlatch Ban (1884-1951)  
Policy applied across Canada. | - Institutional reform to ‘Canadian’ values based on Western European British values and perspectives of the new world;  
- Forced participation in new ‘Canadian’ economy;  
- Gain control over Coast Salish people to shift from seasonal labour to year-round labour;  
- Create and access cheap labour force to help build colony;  
- Religious reform and indoctrination of Christian values from Protestant ethic;  
- Force children to attend schools year-round;  
- Treated all First Nations across Canada as culturally homogenous. | - Dismantling of gift economy as institution;  
- Confiscation of ceremonial and sacred items;  
- Incarceration of families and communities caught in ceremony;  
- Before the ban, Coast Salish children attended school seasonally in alignment with parents’ stł’é̓ləq attendance during winter season (Oct-March);  
- Restriction from freedom to choose philosophy and means of socio-cultural, spiritual and economic exchange. |
| Indian Act (1876-present)  
Policy applied across Canada. | - Educational reform through introduction of Indian residential school system;  
- Children removed from parents, extended family and home for most of year, sometimes years at a time;  
- Restriction and surveillance of physical movement of Indians through introduction of ‘pass system’;  
- Indian identity defined by government based on blood quantum and those qualified were assigned ‘Indian status’. | - Loss of language;  
- Parent-child relationships broken;  
- Children suffered emotional, physical and sexual abuse at Indian residential schools;  
- Intergenerational trauma;  
- Physical movement of Indians restricted so that preparation and attendance to traditional ceremonial gatherings (primarily stł’é̓ləq) not possible;  
- Control over provision of resources from government to only those with ‘Indian status’ impacted Coast Salish collective identity, and recognition. |
| **Meso:**  |                 |        |
| Coast Salish intra- and inter-tribal relations | Potlatch Ban (1884-1951)  
Policy applied across Canada | - Destabilise inter-tribal networks;  
- Centralise resources within the family unit as compared to across wider communities. | - Social capital of gift economy diminished;  
- Resources not shared;  
- Spiritual and ceremonial life dismantled;  
- Spiritual responsibilities and to ancestors and ancestral deities not fulfilled can have serious social consequences;  
- Without other communities to ‘witness’, all traditional exchange cannot happen;  
- Traditional property and family rights have no meaning without spiritual authority acknowledged and expressed;  
- Access to collective and seasonal resources restricted;  
- Seasonal harvesting for ceremonial purposes interrupted; |
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<th>Micro: Coast Salish family and individual relations</th>
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<td>Individuals will work and participate in Western market economy;</td>
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<td>Family and individual shame;</td>
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<td>Distribution of excess resources stopped;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sacred knowledge and traditional roles within family undermined;</td>
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<td>Families left without social safety net of resource sharing;</td>
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<td>Family members incarcerated;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Traditional songs and dances lost when not practised;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ceremonial regalia confiscated, destroyed and sold;</td>
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<td>Oral histories of families and individuals not passed on;</td>
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<td>Tribal and local identity interrupted;</td>
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<td>Individual identity in terms of culture and custom interrupted;</td>
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<td>Spiritual well-being of individuals and families not nurtured;</td>
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<td>Knowledge about “who we are” contained in oral traditions of the longhouse lost;</td>
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<td>Stories and morality from tribal philosophy not expressed;</td>
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<td><strong>Indian Act (1876-present)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy applied across Canada</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Restrictions of individuals from travelling will prevent them from gathering goods for distribution in ceremony;</td>
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<td>Promotion of values of individualism.</td>
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<td>Disconnect from extended family members;</td>
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<td>Families restricted to food rations instead of sharing different foods from different local regions;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residential school survivors still suffer from their experiences at the schools;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intergenerational trauma and dysfunction from decades of sustained abuse experienced in the residential schools.</td>
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Coast Salish reciprocity and how the gift economy operates through gatherings is discussed by Mooney (1976), whose research reflects a later historical timeframe and an ethnographic case study that focuses on commercial and reciprocal exchange within Coast Salish households in Victoria, BC. Mooney’s ethnographic insights support those of Suttles—that the quantity of a returned gift is not important and is sometimes not expected, depending on the nature of the relationship. The research illuminates Coast Salish social distance measured by geographic location (on/off reserve), and kin ties between Island communities and mainland communities. Mooney argues that Coast Salish reciprocity is contrasted with the values of the Protestant ethic that shaped the programme of assimilation by the Canadian government. She says,

> Indians are urged to work hard, delay gratification, and save money, withholding support from any kinsman or fellow Indian who is less ready to assimilate (Mooney, 1976, p. 327).

As shown by shifting expectations of reciprocity, fundamental values common throughout Coast Salish territory that support distribution of wealth clashed with settler values. In her reading of Coast Salish Winter Dancing, Amoss (1977) finds that the ceremonial requirements to feast and give gifts appear to be costly and are therefore a waste of money. However, the research identifies that feasting and gifting are the underlying drivers that bring Coast Salish communities together to engage in ceremonial dance. By providing a space for creativity and belonging, Winter Dancing also represents a means by which Coast Salish people could resist assimilation and maintain their cultural identity. Even at the end of the 1970s, the
Coast Salish gathering traditions still presented a threat to economic norms of Canadian society. Poverty is seen to be only alleviated by accumulation of financial wealth. Although the sense of belonging and connectedness in gatherings is seen to be valuable as social contributions to Coast Salish life, their economic value is diminished:

Wherever the money goes, the greatest benefit of wealth redistribution is not the amelioration of poverty, or even the equalization of poverty, but the preservation of the Indian group against the threat of assimilation by the social and economic system of the dominant culture. Participation in the winter ceremonials, especially as a dancer, satisfies a person's need to be autonomous, to be related to other people and to enjoy a sense of personal worth (Amoss, 1977, p. 82).

Amoss’ interpretation of Winter Dancing is that it is frivolous and wasteful and therefore clashes with the economic values of the dominant Canadian society. At the same time, Amoss observes a sense of agency and belonging fostered by Winter Dancing. It is group cohesion that Amoss validates as a beneficial outcome of gathering frivolity. Clearly aligned with the dominant values of the Canadian economic system, Amoss’ reading of Coast Salish wealth and poverty in gatherings assesses material wealth by what is observed. Group cohesion is not seen to be a form of wealth, but framed as a group “benefit”. Although Amoss’ reading of wealth is distinctly not that of the Coast Salish, the research shows the inherent value of Winter Dancing as critical to the cohesion and wellbeing of Coast Salish people, and the enhancement of Coast Salish identity.
3.6. Aboriginal economic development in Canada

Aboriginal economic development within the field of business and economics emerged in the 1990s partially in response to the significant disparity between the income and quality of life of Aboriginal people compared to those of the dominant population. In response to the changing legal and constitutional landscape in Canada, Aboriginal economic development research examined the extent to which participation of Aboriginal people in an economy of exploitation through increased employment, professional training opportunities, business creation, corporate partnerships with tribes and entrepreneurship improve quality of life. At the centre of these shifts, conflicting worldviews emerge, typically instigated by government changes to policy and Canadian law that are later put forward to Aboriginal communities.

Aboriginal communities have been, and continue to be encouraged to prioritize economic development as the most lucrative and efficient form of emancipation from a relationship of dependency with colonial governments (Helin, 2006; Weir, 2007). Resources are poured into designing solutions to poverty, unemployment, poor health, and low levels of education for Aboriginal people, and documents such as the Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development in Canada reflect these efforts (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians Canada, 2009; National Aboriginal Economic Development Board, 2013). But even a brief scan over these documents shows that Indigenous people are encouraged to adopt, and take
ownership of a paradigm of economic development that fosters growth of the economy of exploitation—ignoring existing economies of value to Aboriginal people.

In Canada, the national government addresses issues of sovereignty and land claims in court and legal processes with the hope that the fruits of settlement agreements shape how Aboriginal peoples contribute within the Canadian, and global economy. However, despite the merits of economic achievement within the Western European paradigm of economy, underlying well-being achievement from the perspective of Aboriginal philosophy and knowledge remains unsatisfied. The repatriation of the Canadian Constitution Act, in 1982 led to Section 35 that recognises, affirms and protects Aboriginal rights, but does not define them (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2010). Section 35 made possible opportunities that did not previously exist under the Indian Act, such as the ability of First Nations to float loans, and buy property—monumental changes that shifted the systematic socio-economic exclusion of First Nations people from the wider Canadian and global economy.

Section 35 also led to the emergence, in 1992, of what is now the BC Treaty Commission (BCTC), the institutional body set up to facilitate treaty negotiations between First Nations, the provincial government and the federal government. The establishment of the commission signalled to the Canadian public that First Nations who signed a treaty—with their newfound sovereignty and self-governance—were essentially ‘open for business’ with control over land, money and resources that had previously been under government jurisdiction. It is the results of the resources
awarded to First Nations that sparked an interest by corporate entities (both private and public) to partner with First Nations, particularly in the mining and natural resource sectors where previously none existed.

For corporations, there was also recognition that decision-making power was being transferred from government to First Nations, and that presented a risk to standing business partnerships. Thus commenced a surge of corporate interests vying to engage these “new” agents in the control of land and resources. The protection of Aboriginal rights under Section 35 meant that an additional measure of business legal compliance applied that stipulated that corporate entities must abide by a “duty to consult” First Nations before any business decisions and transactions took place on treaty territories. This led to the emergence of research exploring how particular aspects of market economies and market exchange change when operating inside First Nations communities (Anderson, 1997). Through application of the contingency theory, researchers of Aboriginal economic development sought to explain the dynamics of partnerships between corporations and First Nations communities in Canada.

Foreshadowing that the constitutional changes for Aboriginal people would result in greater power, control and sovereignty, Anderson and Bone (1995) focus on the economic implications of self-sufficiency in Aboriginal communities. These authors argue that a contingency perspective theoretically aligns with research on First Nations’ economic development because First Nations governance is shaped by values aimed at consensus-building, mobilization of people and partnerships and
alliance. The research illuminates the nature of new business opportunities, and notes a shift in corporate mentality and behaviour in favour of First Nations partnerships. The following four reasons account for this shift: changing societal expectations around corporate social responsibility; legal regulations relevant to Aboriginal-owned land and resources; improvements to socio-economic and educational indicators for Aboriginal people; and more control by Aboriginal communities over traditional lands and resources. The findings identify that input from a ‘grassroots’ level (p. 126) is imperative for corporate partnerships to aid in successful Aboriginal economic development.

The primary objectives of Aboriginal economic development are to decrease Aboriginal peoples’ dependency on social welfare systems, create jobs for Aboriginal people, and encourage accumulation of personal and tribal financial wealth. Through entrepreneurship and business creation, Aboriginal people can participate in the national and global market economy (Anderson, Kayseas, Dana, & Hindle, 2004; Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians Canada, 2009). A critical look at the language of economic development shows the emphasis on value gained by the nation-state in such objectives as to “...improve the participation of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people in the Canadian economy”, and “unlock the full economic potential of Aboriginal Canadians” (2009, p. 1). Jobs and financial wealth increase quality of life in terms of the standards of living prescribed by the state, but this is the only perspective that is taken into account. This approach reflects the development
objectives of Canada, not the wish of Aboriginal people to enhance their quality of life in terms of their own definitions.

Aboriginal economic development research is increasingly shaped by First Nations’ management of land use and resource extraction on traditional territories (Anderson, Dana, & Dana, 2006; Anderson et al., 2004). In spite of previous predictions, and due to delays in treaty negotiations and the cumbersome legal process, land claims did not deliver self-sufficiency nor sovereignty to First Nations.

3.7. Indigenous economic development

In 1987, Professors Joe Kalt and Stephen Cornell co-founded The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. Although this initiative was focused on American Indian tribes in the United States, as was the case in Canada economic development emerged from a recognition that the disparity between the socio-economic standards of living experienced by Native Americans compared and those of the mainstream American population was considerable. From 30 years of research the project illuminates barriers to Native American social and economic well-being, and informs teaching and educational approaches to Indigenous economic development on key outcomes (Cornell, Curtis, Grant, Henson, Jorgensen, Kalt, Lee, Nelson, & Taylor, 2008). The research shows that economic development cannot take precedence over other means of social, legal, and political development. The project recognises the integrated nature of multi-faceted development and promotes Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. Economic development
must be accompanied by internally developed self-governance, health care and education, based on traditional Indigenous values and principles.

The project found that no matter how well economic development may be implemented by one community, each distinct tribe or people must determine its own journey towards development (Cornell, 2001, 2006). Because economic development is unique to each tribe’s collective decision about what steps are involved to do so, a definition of Indigenous economy is deliberately left open (Cornell et al., 2008). Importation of Western economic values into Indigenous community contexts resulted in an array of challenges demonstrating flawed core values guiding development objectives away from what matters to Indigenous communities (Begay Jr., Cornell, Jorgensen, & Pryor, 2007). However, a key finding is that each tribe’s purpose for economic development is found within local Indigenous knowledge and practices (Begay Jr. et al., 2007; Cornell et al., 2008; Cornell & Jorgensen, 2007; Cornell & Kalt, 1992). The Harvard project demonstrates how Indigenous communities build their capacity and skills to handle the institutional infrastructure that comes with economic success, and how they incorporate their own values and collective vision into achieving that. It is culture and identity that give substance to creating “communities that people can, and want to live in” (personal communication, Kalt, 2013).

Tribal capitalism (2004) refers to an approach to economic development that seeks a balance between “community and cultural protection and the enhancement of tribal sovereignty on one hand, and material gains on the other” (Champagne
3.8. **Limitations of economy of exploitation**

This section discusses the limitations of the economy of exploitation. A significant challenge to research that situates Indigenous economic development within the prevailing view of Western European capitalism is that it continues to replicate the dominant Logic of the Centre (Hoskins, Martin, & Humphries, 2011; Verbos & Humphries, 2014, 2015; Westwood, Jack, Khan, & Frenkel, 2014). It is argued that processes of colonisation globally were largely possible through the implementation, institutionalisation and perpetuation of Western European capitalism, which...
replaced Indigenous values and economic behaviour (Coulthard, 2006, 2014). A component of contemporary approaches to economic development in Aboriginal communities in Canada that has been somewhat overlooked is the way that Western European capitalist values have been transported, translated and implemented within the prevailing rhetoric of Indigenous Economic Development Corporations (EDC’s). In Canada this perspective has gone unquestioned as the only economic approach available for Aboriginal communities to access.

The failings of the current economic system of capitalism are increasingly documented and challenged by thought leaders concerned with the sustainability of the planet and its resources, and our current way of life (Hawken, 2005; Ki-moon, 2011; Little, 2003; Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 2009b, 2009c; Senge, 2008; Stern, 2010; Stiglitz, 2012). Put plainly, addiction to economic growth is unsustainable and awareness has shifted from controlling the environment and its ability to produce, to changing the way humans think about the economy. Robert Wade, Professor of Political Economy at the London School of Economics makes no apologies in arguing that the global economic crisis is due to limitations of economic modelling and measurement that have been identified but not resolved (Wade, 2015). Wade argues that because the oversights result from human error illuminating the limitations of “economic engineering, rather than of economic science”, accountability for the crisis is an ethical question.

The challenge ahead for Indigenous people contesting the foundations of capitalism lies in questioning who benefits from economic success, and who pays the
cost of exploited land and resources (Altman, 2005, 2007; Cheyfitz, 2011; Coulthard, 2006, 2014; Gibson-Graham, 2008; Humphries & Verbos, 2014; Ruwhiu, 2014). Of particular concern is why Western European capitalist values continue to be viewed as superior to the economic philosophies of Indigenous people. This concern reveals an underlying assumption that conventional Anglo-Western business ideology and terminology can be applied to Indigenous contexts without modification and that Indigenous peoples, philosophies and practices will, and must, adapt accordingly (Nicholson, Woods, & Hēnare, 2012). This assumption perpetuates the imperialist mindset that Indigenous economic development unquestioningly necessitates conformity to the processes and values of the global market economy. Under the guise of benefitting all, this approach promises to serve the needs and desires of Indigenous communities, yet perpetuates economic value that negates the spiritual and socio-cultural dimensions of exchange relevant to Indigenous people.

Furthermore, invisible within an economic mindset that perpetuates the status-quo is a disregard for the impact of the lost economic knowledge, philosophies and values that informed Indigenous relational ties and sustained communities for thousands of years. Relational ethics and values emphasise the means of “being, knowing, understanding, feeling, and acting in relationship to humans, plants, animals, and the natural world as interrelated and spirit-filled” (Verbos & Humphries, 2014, p. 2). In place of culturally diverse and people-centred economies, a falsely universal and deeply flawed economic approach asks how to
enhance financial growth through the exploitation of natural resources and the sales of inherent property rights in support of the economy of exploitation.

In their critique of the dominant economic paradigms, Peredo and McLean (2010) argue that the current insights provided by the tools and mechanisms of classical Western European economics provide little insight into what is actually happening economically in Indigenous contexts. The authors state:

...analysing the economic life of these societies in terms of standard classical and neoclassical economic assumptions distorts and misrepresents the economic realities of those societies (p. 604).

Similar to Hyden’s reading of African development and the economy of affection, Peredo and McLean (2010) contend that an alternative direction for economic development finds Indigenous communities characterised by collective social structure and driven by values aimed at building social relationships as the purpose to economic exchange. To understand Indigenous economies, the network of relationships that connect people and communities sheds light on value and wealth rather than material and accumulation of financial capital as means to ends centred on enhancing people’s lives. Kuokkanen (2011a, 2011b) challenges the assumption that Indigenous people, knowledge and economics must conform to structures of capitalist production in order to survive and thrive in the global market economy. Kuokkanen argues:

There is a need for a more critical approach to economic development models embedded in global capitalist paradigms, an approach that considers the role of Indigenous economies such as subsistence and household production in contemporary settings in addition to usual ‘economic development’ (2011a, p. 278).
The perpetuation of economic development for Indigenous peoples’ integration into business and economics that contributes to, and grows an economy of exploitation distracts from Indigenous community growth and development based on Indigenous ways of knowing. Kuokkanen critiques the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development because economic development does not sufficiently address or include Indigenous economic philosophies. Kuokkanen states:

The narrow focus on fairly standard economic development—that is, entrepreneurship and creation of businesses, while “traditional” economic activities and their continued significance are rarely discussed (2011a, p. 284).

Sir Tipene O’Regan, renowned Māori scholar, company director, and noted elder, made a simple statement about the nature of wealth generation: “How wealth is generated should be congruent with the purpose which it serves” (O’Regan, 2014). O’Regan also discusses how economic development within Indigenous communities can easily be subsumed within the “churn of Western economic governance practices”. O’Regan comments on the high level of proficiency within Te Ao Māori, the Māori world, to translate Western economic, governance and business values for the purposes and benefit of Māori communities. However, it does not sit well with him that the achieved purposes and benefits are only measurable from within a Western paradigm of economic and development achievement. Nearly two decades after the treaty settlement of Ngāi Tahu, the question remains in O’Regan’s mind,

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22 In a recorded public lecture, O’Regan speaks to the governance and economic success of the tribe that he belongs to, Ngāi Tahu on the South Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Ngāi Tahu submitted and won claims against the Crown for various breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi that resulted in a settlement, Te Kerēme – The Ngāi Tahu Claim in 1998 (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996).
“What’s it all for?”, highlighting that while the ‘how’ of economic development might be seen as a success, to some, the ‘why’ of economic development remains unanswered.

The economy is not an entity that lives and breathes on its own, but a creation of human imagination as a means for organising human life (Marglin, 2008; Trosper, 2009). This perspective acknowledges that the way we think about economy includes the possibility of its re-organisation. In the area of Identity Economics (Akerlof & Kranton, 2000, 2010), the relationship between personal identity and economy positions the human drive for belonging as the central factor of influence in economic behaviour. It is set on the premise that the freedom to choose identity is paramount, and therefore belonging has economic influence through its shaping of consumption behaviour. If identity and belonging are placed at the heart of economic behaviour, inequality, wellbeing and economic and social exclusion are more readily visible and accounted for. Akerlof and Kranton challenge the assumption of the economy of exploitation—the belief that in the pursuit of self-interest, people serve the economy, and Adam Smith’s ‘invisible hand’ (2012 [1776], p. 445) simply responds to market forces without the influence of human agency. Identity Economics moves away from economic development that pursues profit as a developmental end in itself. Consumption behaviours show that people are driven by their identity and a desire to belong, therefore the economy exists to serve in the development of identity and belonging.
There is a growing recognition of the need to explore economic activity that reflects the needs and lives of Indigenous people. One need not look far to find evidence that the dominant economic system is failing to deliver economic benefit to Indigenous communities across layers of tribal and individual well-being (Hall & Fenelon, 2009; Mander & Tauli-Corpuz, 2006; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). This issue is one of many that culminated in the mobilisation of Indigenous communities across North America (then globally) in a social movement called “Idle No More”. The movement signalled the deep dissatisfaction and discontent of Indigenous communities with national policies and exclusionary economies that perpetuate the status quo and reinforce the existing state of low quality of life experienced in Indigenous populations.

The language of resistance that emerged from the Idle No More movement marked economic matters as particularly problematic because wealth generation in economies of exploitation often necessitates Indigenous people having to forego their inherent responsibilities of stewardship over land—an issue that has been at the centre of Indigenous rights and title struggles for decades. At the heart of the Idle No More movement, its proponents express their discontent with economic development that ignores Indigenous interests, and describe Mother Earth and Indigenous communities as “economic hostages” (Moe, 2013; Nation Builder, 2013) to continuing exploitation from industrialisation. Agitation for change is symptomatic of the long histories of stress endured as a result of the inability to exercise stewardship rights to, and responsibilities for, the lands and territories that
Indigenous communities inhabited centuries before the arrival of European explorers. The global reach of Idle No More suggests that there is a willingness to explore new foundations of economic philosophy, different from those that have dominated the global market economy over the last 200 years (Maddison, 2006).

The structures and guiding principles that shape the economic institutions by which Indigenous communities are supposed to move toward well-being are primarily derived from Western economic institutional frameworks of business backed by neoliberal political policies, and inevitably support capitalist production (Bargh, 2009, 2010; Kuokkanen, 2011a, 2011b). Thus economic development principles are forever measured by non-Indigenous standards, no matter how “Indigenised” economic development may become over time. While a practical and legal approach that aligns with non-Indigenous legal business frameworks is necessary to succeed in the global market economy (Begay Jr. et al., 2007), commitment to sustain and support an economy of exploitation as the only approach to economic development has significant development repercussions for Indigenous communities that may leave Coast Salish communities asking the same question as Sir Tipene O’Regan.

In the context of Indigenous business pedagogy, Ruwhiu argues,

...business education in particular, will never provide for the real interests of Māori and other Indigenous communities, as long as the central philosophical assumptions of the system remain solely in the tradition of western intellectualism (2014, p. 186).
Western economic philosophy is particularly incompatible with Indigenous business and community development because although it may assist purely financial ends, it fails to account for multi-dimensional spiritual, environmental, cultural, social and economic wealth and well-being as a developmental end (Bargh, 2010, 2011; Spiller, 2010; Spiller, Pio, Erakovic, & Hēnare, 2011b). To revitalise economic philosophy as valid economic knowledge, emphasis is needed on interconnections between identity and belonging, better understanding of ancestral knowledge anchored in oral history (Kelly, 2012), and longstanding obligations to fulfil affective responsibilities through reciprocal relations.

The issue of ethics and morality is not inherently absent from the foundations of Western European economic philosophy. In *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (2008 [1759]) Adam Smith incorporates morality and justice into notions of economy and the marketplace. Prior to the notion of individuals pursuing self-interest as a means to the best outcome for all, as described in *The Wealth of Nations* (2012 [1776]), Smith tended to believe that benevolence is an inherently human trait that explains the relational nature of people. The following passage exemplifies, as evidence of humanism, a particular instance of ‘the unfortunate’ communicating their sorrow, and the moral weight of understanding misfortune:
They [the unfortunate] seem to disburthen themselves of a part of their distress....alleviate the weight of what they feel....the sweetness of sympathy more than compensates the bitterness of that sorrow....The cruelest insult, on the contrary, which can be offered to the unfortunate, is to appear to make light of their calamities. To seem not to be affected with the joy of our companions is but want of politeness; but not to wear a serious countenance when they tell us their afflictions, is real and gross inhumanity (A. Smith, 2008 [1759], p. 12).

In Smith’s economy, morality and relationality matter a great deal; to understand capitalism and its market only in terms of its likeness to an “invisible hand” is to turn away from the deeper insights and commentary on humanity embedded in economic activity. Those who critically frame modern capitalism by returning to Adam Smith’s original thinking in The Theory of Moral Sentiments and The Wealth of Nations (High, 2012; Sen, 2009a) illuminate the virtues of humanity that enable full operation of the market: trust, confidence, assurance, adherence to obligations and responsibility, thus invoking a return to humanism as the basis for economic institutions. Sen argues that a fundamental weakness in today’s capitalist economic and institutional systems is the lack of measures in place to ensure that the virtues of humanism apply. In light of the fact that current economic systems are selectively limited to reward profit and little else, Sen calls for a re-interpretation of current forms of capitalism:

The creditable performance of the allegedly capitalist systems...drew on a combination of institutions that went much beyond relying only on a profit-maximising market economy (2009a, paragraph 5).

Sen cites Adam Smith’s moral imperative to remember the virtues of humanism in economics and implies that economic institutions should measure economic performance beyond profit.
The notion of the human economy (Daly, 1990) that recognises that human interconnectedness sustained through the virtues of humanism is one component of a global ecosystem. This resonates with aspects of the Riverworldview—that the human experience is only one among many. Through the human experience, human institutions (Trosper, 2002) facilitate complex exchanges that sustain interconnectedness. At the heart of institutional exchange are humans interacting and engaging with one another to fulfil the demands of economic and institutional operation. In both the human economy and human institutions, economic ‘development’ prevails over economic ‘growth’ as the measurement of success.

The Indigenous economic development literature emphasises the accumulation of financial capital as participation in an economy of exploitation in order to alleviate the pressures that Indigenous communities face. Poverty, poor housing, physical and mental illness, addiction and low levels of education place insurmountable financial pressures for which the economy of exploitation offers promise of money to alleviate. The paradigm of economic development built on an economy of exploitation values means that Aboriginal communities in Canada are expected to find financial capital to re-invest in the Canadian economy. Participation and wealth creation is said to enable Aboriginal communities to merge seamlessly into the Canadian economy. The rhetoric of development outcomes envisions Aboriginal communities as lifting themselves from being a burden on the Canadian government by becoming financially self-sufficient, with money as a platform for future prosperity, health and wellbeing. Implicit within this approach to economic
development is the assumption that freedom is conditional on the ability of Aboriginal people to keep generating money.

Indeed, money and financial capital do enable different types of capability to improve standards and quality of life for Aboriginal communities. But economic development fails to account for notions of wealth and wellbeing founded in the worldview and values of Aboriginal people. Money, jobs and training support development of the Western capitalist economy of exploitation. This is a fundamental oversight that has long-term impacts for Coast Salish communities. Economic development seeks to generate profit from the sale and ongoing theft of land, natural resources and from the further alienation of Coast Salish people from Sóíh Téméxw. Economic development for the economy of exploitation causes further disconnection between the relationships outlined in Riverworldview—between the Creator, the people and the territory—and erodes the ontological basis of Coast Salish existence.

Research from the anthropological record leaves unexplored the philosophical underpinnings of the Coast Salish economy that includes all aspects of spiritual, socio-cultural, environmental and financial exchange as economy. It leaves unexplored how all these aspects of economy are interrelated and how Coast Salish wealth is defined, expressed, grown, shared and controlled through the ceremonial institution of gatherings. The research reveals a historical gap between the time when gatherings were outlawed, made legal and then revived to now, when economic development is a top priority for Coast Salish communities negotiating
with provincial and federal governments. The lack of literature connecting Coast Salish gathering traditions with economic development is problematic. A lacuna lies in research on Aboriginal economic development that takes account of the Aboriginal worldview and seeks to enhance wealth from this perspective.
3.9. The Capability Approach

A grounding framework that has guided this research from the early stages of idea formation to its full development is the Capability Approach (CA)—a framework developed from the Theory of Capability (ToC) by Amartya Sen. A Bengali mathematician and economist, Sen is a scholar who since the early 1970s has been writing critically against economic and development theories, including Game Theory (Sen, 1985a), welfare economics (1985b, 1999b) and the Theory of Justice (Sen, 1999a). Throughout his career, Sen has challenged orthodox economic theories, troubled by the seemingly impassable influence of global hegemonic economic theory and praxis that justifies the apparent stasis and permanent underdevelopment of his own Bengali community. Sen sought to challenge economic development approaches that saw Bengali underdevelopment in perpetuity. In 1998 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics for developing the Theory of Capability.

The Theory of Capability represents a language around understanding the political and economic institutions that are the key structures of society. The critical focus is the extent to which those institutions promote the expansion of freedom as both the means and the end of human development. Sen argues that the circumstances under which a person may evaluate their own freedom is significant as both an opportunity and a process. Although it is the role of experts to create
policy, and of economists to measure national wealth and wellbeing, Sen argues that in order to consider human freedom, principles of freedom should not only be “defined in terms of institutions, but in terms of the lives and freedoms of the people involved” (2009, p. xii). Sen challenges approaches to development that invoke change to institutional processes and policies but ignore how those impact individual experience. The Capability Approach (CA) focuses not on the freedom conditions that governments and formal institutions provide to their citizens, but instead on the the extent to which people are actually able to gain, and exercise freedom throughout their lives.

The Capability Approach is an evaluative framework that looks at the experiential component of freedom as a process at the centre of the human experience. The unit of analysis for evaluating freedom and unfreedom is individual people and their experiences in terms of capability. Capability, Sen argues is about:

Not detached objects of convenience, such as incomes or commodities that a person may possess….it proposes a serious departure from concentrating on the means of living to the actual opportunities of living (2009, p. 233).

In the CA, capability enhancement is not simply a means for nation-states to realise their own social, political, or economic ends; capability is a form of individual freedom. The purpose of the enhancement of capability is human development. Capabilities are the specific things people can, or cannot do that provide the freedom to achieve various lifestyles. Functionings are the specific things that people can, or cannot do, and although functionings may appear to be trivial to some, they are contextually defined by the people to whom they matter, and cannot be defined
by anyone else (Alkire, 2005; Sen, 1999a, 2004). Capability and its enhancement emerges from the combination of functionings and freedom realisation that create the conditions for development to occur. Opportunity and process are the two ways that achievement of freedom can be enhanced:

a) the opportunity to pursue the things that we value, and achieve those things;
b) the process of choice among alternatives without conditions imposed by external forces (how freedom is exercised).

In the realm of opportunity within the freedom framework, capability may be defined as:

...the individual’s real opportunity to pursue her objectives...account taken of the relevant personal characteristics that govern the conversion of primary goods into the person’s ability to promote her ends (p. 74).

In the realm of process within the freedom framework, Sen argues,

The alternative combinations of functionings (various things a person may value doing or being), that are feasible for her to achieve...the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations (p. 75).

In order for the achievement of freedom to be realized, there must be various lifestyles available from which one can choose capability sets. The availability of alternative functioning combinations of capability are what people use to align capability with values (Sen, 1999a). These may change throughout a person’s lifetime depending on what capabilities are needed to live a life that the person has reason to value. The achievement of freedom comes from, a “…person’s overall capability in terms of combined achievements that are open to her” (Sen, 2009c, p. 233).
By understanding freedom in terms of capability, the Capability Approach challenges economic developmental logic that enhances capability for some, and overlooks capability deprivation of others. The use of the CA as an evaluative tool for economic development implies that freedom and justice are based on realised capability—the specific freedoms that individuals are able to achieve. Thus, freedom and unfreedom are interconnected concepts unified by capability as either capability enhancement, or capability deprivation, respectively. The freedom of individuals rests on the capability that people have, to:

...lead the kind of lives they value – and have reason to value...The success of a society is to be evaluated, in this view, primarily by the substantive freedoms that the members of that society enjoy (Sen, 1999a, p. 18).

To contextually situate the CA, Sen examines the impacts that political freedoms have on the substantive freedoms and capability of individual people. He argues that political freedoms influence the economic power people possess to feed themselves and their families; however, freedom-centred development does not look at measured starvation, or avoidance thereof. The Capability Approach focuses on the freedom to feed oneself as a means to achieve other freedoms. Being adequately fed nutritious food ensures that people can work to make a living, clothe themselves and house their families. On the other hand, capability deprivation can cause deprivation in other capability areas. In both instances, capability enhancement or deprivation is interrelated with other freedoms and unfreedoms. The measure of development is based on measuring capability enhancement and capability deprivation for those most vulnerable to the effects of unfreedom.
There are limitations in applying the Capability Approach, particularly where the Coast Salish economy remains undefined. The Capability Approach deliberately leaves the task of defining capability to the people for whom freedom matters, and without a concrete idea of the nature of the Coast Salish economy, interconnections between different substantive freedoms are hard to make. Therefore, the first development task for Coast Salish is to address the nature of Coast Salish capability, functioning and freedom. Furthermore, relationships between Coast Salish communities and the Canadian state are widely varied, and the outstanding question of how to address unceded territories invokes mixed responses to self-government and self-determination. Some tribes are of the view that treaties hold promise for a sustainable future, and others believe that treaties do not capture all of the things that matter, nor account for all that was lost and sacrificed and is deserving of reparation for the whole experience of harm inflicted in the process of colonisation.

Without sovereign nation-to-nation relationships to provide a framework for discussion about policy issues, the Capability Approach provides only a conceptual provocation for Coast Salish economic development as freedom.

### 3.9.1 Theoretical constructs

In order for the Capability Approach to be meaningful in the context of the Coast Salish economy, some conceptual translation is necessary. Freedom itself is a contested notion that historically has a long legacy of philosophical debate and development. Freedom, being an issue that has shaped the human drama for centuries and spans diverse academic disciplines, has been shaped by questions
around what constitutes freedom and who is allowed to say what freedom is (Ege & Igersheim, 2011). Like many philosophical concepts, one of the defining features of the freedom debate that indicates its elusive and contested nature is its consideration in light of unfreedom, which in some respects can be seen to represent its binary opposite, but unfreedom also being an elusive term is but one of many other related concepts that interact and shift in relation to one another.

In philosophical traditions, the Unity of Opposites is a way of gaining insight into theoretical constructs such as freedom, by better understanding unfreedom. They are not compared as polar opposites; instead, by seeing their interrelationship and influence upon one another as an ongoing dynamic on a constant continuum of change, one can philosophically understand both concepts. McGill and Parry (1948) explain the dynamic of the unity of opposites:

In any system there is a unity of opposites of some kind appropriate to it, and that the specific interaction of the opposites determines the momentary character of the system, but also future states (1948, p. 443).

3.9.1.1 Freedom

At a fundamental level in the Capability Approach, freedom is the principal means and the primary end of development, and is achieved through capability enhancement. This means that although there are many different levels of society where freedom matters a great deal, development as freedom focuses on individual human capability as a type of freedom (Sen, 1999). Sen argues there are constitutive freedoms and instrumental freedoms. Constitutive freedoms refer to the expansion of freedoms and the removal of capability deprivation. Instrumental freedom refers
to the way that “rights, opportunities and entitlements contribute to the expansion of human freedom” (Sen, 1999a, p. 37), and to how different types of freedom are interrelated. Although the focus on freedom in this thesis is on the nature of the Coast Salish economy, the interrelated nature of freedoms necessitates an integrated approach to Coast Salish law, governance, politics, and leadership as part of the context of Coast Salish gatherings, though that is beyond the scope of this research.

In the Capability Approach, two general forms of freedom shape Sen’s discussion and justification for focusing on the things that people can actually be and do: positive and negative freedom. Positive and negative freedom can each exist without the other, but ultimately both are required for the achievement of well-being as freedom.

**Negative Freedom**

Negative freedom is liberty in the absence of coercion and subjugation (Hill & Jonish, 1993; Locke, Golden-Biddle, & Feldman, 2008) and can be seen as simply the absence of constraints. Negative freedom is about not being interfered with by others, but does not encourage processes or opportunities to enhance more freedom than exists in a current context.

Negative freedom consisted in denying all authority and all law; the new positive freedom consists in transferring the source of authority and law to the authority to the intimacy of one’s own mind. To be a law to one’s self, or in other words autonomous; to obey an authority recognized by conscience, because springing from its own law, is to truly be free (Ruggiero, 1925 cited in Locke et al., 2008, p. 35).
Negative freedom, if pictured on a simple number scale, may represent a shift from a position of deficit, for example from minus one to zero.

*Positive Freedom*

Positive freedom is the power to be free marked by agency and choice (Hill & Jonish, 1993). Using the same mental image as above, positive freedom includes movement above zero, with no cap on the maximum level of accomplishments that amount to a person’s or group’s self-determination (Locke et al., 2008). Positive freedom accounts for change that results in freedom as both process and opportunity.

To understand Coast Salish freedom, it is important to establish the difference between positive and negative freedom. This is because if we look at the example of the way that the Potlatch Ban was implemented, enforced and eventually removed, its eventual removal suggests that freedom might have replaced unfreedom simply through a change of legislation. However, the Potlatch Ban created circumstances of negative freedom from a previous state of oppression and subjugation. It was a legislative change that signalled only that the Canadian government would no longer interfere with potlatch activities, but took no steps toward reparation for 66 years of damage inflicted. From the position of the Canadian government, lifting the Potlatch Ban appears to have been a form of erasure, like pressing “reset” on a previous decision that had had little impact on settler society, but monumental impacts on Aboriginal communities. It is in the realm of positive freedom that this research focuses on Coast Salish freedom and the extent to which agency and choice guide economic development that aligns with the
Coast Salish values that are inherent in the Riverworldview. Bridging the divide between conditions of negative freedom in 1951 when the ban was lifted, to positive freedom to conduct gatherings as we do today has been achieved only through the (illegal) actions and preservation of knowledge by Coast Salish elders.

### 3.9.1.2 Unfreedom

In the Capability Approach, unfreedom is defined as capability deprivation and includes factors that prevent human thriving such as: famine, low income, illiteracy, morbidity, economic and social insecurity, inequality of capability in the assessment of social disparities; and limited access to health care, clean water, functional education, gainful employment, political liberty and basic civil rights (Sen, 1999a). It also includes unfreedom from participation in, and influence on, collective decision-making in public affairs that directly impact each community. The identification of unfreedom gives insight into development processes that are required to remove those unfreedoms so that freedom may emerge. Unfreedom in the form of poverty is understood as capability deprivation, and the path to freedom requires the removal of unfreedom. In both cases of freedom through capability enhancement and unfreedom through capability deprivation, it is the processes and opportunities that people have that matter. Unfreedom can arise through inadequate processes, or through inadequate opportunities (Sen, 1999a). Evaluating freedom is partially determined in relation to the absence of unfreedoms, Sen argues:

> Development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency (Sen, 1999a, p. xii).
With the removal of unfreeds, freedom enhancement is possible because enhancement creates interrelated opportunity and process capability. The story of freedom can only be understood by also understanding the story of unfreedom and how particular unfreeds hinder the expansion of freedom.

Manifestations of historical harm to First Nations in Canada are ongoing, and are evident from the number of states of emergencies declared by First Nations across Canada. Since 2013, because suicide has become an epidemic among their young populations, some as young as ten years old at least one First Nation in Canada has declared a state of emergency (O'Toole, 2016; Porter, 2016). In 2015, the Grassy Narrows First Nation declared a state of emergency because its community has been living with unsafe water conditions since the 1960’s (Lum, 2015), and the Blood Tribe declared a state of emergency because the drug fentanyl caused a rapid spike in fatal overdoses ("Blood Tribe enacts state of emergency over drug-related deaths," 2015). In the instance of suicide, among other indications of disempowerment and dispossession, it is a powerful message from Aboriginal youth about the extent to which the residue of historical restrictions impacts on their freedom to exercise agency and choice today. It reflects the fundamental conditions of unfreedom indicated in the Capability Approach. In light of Aboriginal youth making the decision to end their lives rather than continue to live unfreely, absolute unfreedom is experienced as a lack of opportunity to pursue and accomplish the achievement of capability, and a lack of choice of functionings, or the valuable beings and doings that are available among alternatives.
Coast Salish unfreedom in this research is defined as having emerged out of the forced interruptions to, and replacement of, Coast Salish capability in gatherings embodying the economy of affection with those of Western European capitalism and the economy of exploitation. What remains unaddressed as a hindrance to Coast Salish economic development are residual unfreedoms derived from historical capability deprivation, including: restricted containment on Indian reserves; the subjugation, in residential schools, of language, and of spiritual and cultural values; and the violation of inherent Aboriginal rights to fish and hunt. Today, Coast Salish communities continue to be subject to the regulations outlined under the Indian Act.

3.9.1.3 Wealth, relative deprivation and capability deprivation

According to the Capability Approach, wealth is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Value derived from wealth comes from “the things that it allows us to do—the substantive freedoms it helps us to achieve” (Sen, 1999a, p. 14). Therefore, wealth, by enabling us to do other things, provides the means to “more freedom to lead the kind of lives we have reason to value” (p. 14).

Relative deprivation refers to a comparative view of one’s own means for subsistence, including income. When one’s wealth is compared with that of other people and communities, the discrepancy is called relative deprivation. The CA addresses this discrepancy by acknowledging that resources made available to everyone will not be equally accessible to everyone due to differing capability. Each person has access to different capability sets based on the surrounding political, social and cultural context. A better way to view poverty is as capability deprivation,
because this concept illuminates the political, social and economic factors that deprive some people of capability to the extent that they cannot achieve good living. For example, the importance of having the freedom to exchange without ‘hindrance’ is tied to capability deprivation because exchange that is controlled and monitored lacks the element of agency to choose how, when and why exchange occurs. This contributes to economic unfreedom (Sen, 1999a). Understanding capability deprivation illuminates how development enhances the availability and realisation of functionings that people can achieve through the process of capability enhancement.

Stiglitz (2012) defines relative income as what is perceived to be an individual’s ability to consume (based on their income) and their comparative assessment of that ability against the consumption behaviours of other people around them. Likewise, the concepts of relative deprivation and relative poverty are based on the comparative assessment of an individual’s or group’s poverty compared to that of others. Consideration of the issue of poverty in Aboriginal communities in Canada tends to focus on dependency—the behavioural dependence of Aboriginal people on government social welfare—and is seen as a form of internalised assimilation (Helin, 2006). Particularly problematic in this approach is the historical amnesia that assumes that dependency is due to a lack of motivation. As discussed previously in relation to the economy of exploitation, the conditions imposed by the state restricted agency and choice to the extent that dependence was often the only option available. Dependence was originally motivated by fear of
punishment and repercussions following non-compliance. Overcoming dependency is a source of contention within Aboriginal communities and illuminates a division of perspectives and understanding about the role of individual agency and choice.

The Indian Act, in its measures to restrict freedom of movement and the ability of Coast Salish people to physically gather at all created the unfreedom conditions referred to by Sen (1999b) as capability deprivation. For Coast Salish people, capability deprivation may be understood as occurring from the loss of knowledge, regalia, language, songs, dances, children, and family members because without these things, Coast Salish functionings within gatherings cannot occur. Unfreedom was imposed with the forcible shifts into the Western capitalist wage labour economy away from the rhythms and seasonal patterns within which the gatherings had been embedded. By preventing access and the ability to engage in spiritual and relational exchange, unfreedom results from deprivation, and from the ability to exchange according to Coast Salish notions of wealth and value (syewá:í, genealogy, and S’íwes, the Teachings). Legislative measures are not unfreedoms in and of themselves; rather, the extensive impact they have had on Coast Salish communities has systematically unravelling the foundations of knowledge that made up the backbone of the gathering economy.

3.9.1.4 Agency and Choice

Sen argues that freedom is defined in close relationship with the exercise of agency, and entails not only the freedom to pursue a life one has reason to value, but also the freedom to choose from alternatives (1999a). This is a fundamental view of
human rights that argues not only that human rights are deserved by everyone, but also that they must be able to be exercised. Together, freedom and capability require agency and choice, and are crucial in development objectives. As discussed in the excerpt above defining capability, the notion of agency and choice are illuminated as critical components to the achievement of freedom and can also be included in the realisation of development goals. The Capability Approach looks at the extent to which capability enhancement as a type of freedom creates choice among various lifestyles.

The concept of choice among alternatives is particularly relevant to the exploration of Coast Salish gatherings as economic institutions, because the imposition of the Potlatch Ban caused deprivation of both negative and positive unfreedom. It was a means of forcible subjugation that restricted the Coast Salish people from practising spiritual, legal, political, cultural and economic traditions, and it also denied their freedom to choose how to engage economically. In other words, the freedom to choose to engage in the economy of affection in gatherings was removed, and no alternatives were provided except that of working and contributing to the capitalist wage labour economy, the economy of exploitation.

3.9.2 The Capability Approach and Indigenous contexts

In a review of research and literature, *Quality of Life of Aboriginal People in Canada*, a report by the Institute for Research on Public Policy (2006), research on quality of life and well-being are based on an assessment of opportunities, limitations and possibilities available for people to choose in the areas of being, belonging and
becoming. The authors share an Aboriginal perspective that says “a good life is free from chaos and disorder” (p. 8). This statement highlights that the chaos and disorder negatively affect quality of life. In the past three decades, in the context of the law and the Canadian Constitution, Aboriginal communities and individuals in Canada have made unprecedented advances, particularly in challenging and defining Aboriginal rights and sovereignty, and in advancing conversations around self-determination. Breaking news of legal victories for First Nations at the level of the Provincial and Supreme Courts is increasingly common. Yet, because Aboriginal communities continue to struggle with the cumulative and inter-generational effects of historical capability deprivation, unfreedom prevails. This may be because the process of unfreedom removal to make space for freedom has not yet happened, and capability enhancement depends on unfreedom removal.

In the context of Aboriginal economic development in Canada, and certainly for Coast Salish communities, because the residual unfreedoms of colonisation continue to be felt today, economic development has taken center stage as a means of eradicating poverty. The Capability Approach is appropriate as a framework by which to consider Coast Salish economic development because it looks at the ways that economic unfreedom has become manifest for Coast Salish people due to the forced interruptions and replacement of economic philosophy in gatherings with a Western European economy of exploitation. It also looks at the actual freedoms and capability that people have, and considers their ability to exercise those freedoms.

Like Panzironi, Murphy (2014) uses the Capability Approach to explore Aboriginal self-determination in Canada, illuminating the affective impacts of Aboriginal groups who have utilized self-governance and self-determination to improve overall community health and well-being. Murphy emphasizes the importance of collective capability such as increased autonomy in governance practices contributing to freedom.

3.10. **Tél:exw Summary**

Although insights from ethnographers are rich, and point to the diversity of socio-cultural capability of Coast Salish people, extant research in Anthropology speaks minimally of the potential of Coast Salish economic development to contribute to the future of Coast Salish people. Embedded in ethnographic research are Coast Salish values around wealth, spirituality and cosmology, relational ties between
people, relational ties to the territories and landscape and the interrelated nature of all aspects of Coast Salish worldview. However, these values as once discussed in Mauss’ theory on gift economy, are not framed in terms of a Coast Salish economic perspective. The focus of ethnographic inquiry shifted away from the potlatch, and after the Potlatch Ban came and went, Coast Salish gatherings have been enshrined today as spiritual practices of the past, akin to religious events rather than being expressions of cross-regional economic institutions (Carlson, 2003).

The period from the 1960s to approximately the 1990s was a time of notable silence in research on the Coast Salish economy. After the intense ethnographic activity that provided empirical evidence of the gift economy manifest in potlatch societies throughout BC, it appears that further insights on the gift economy began to be more specialised and the language more understandable to anthropologists. Academic contributions in anthropology delved deeper into the theoretical implications of reciprocal exchange, and swiftly shifted the focus to social and political economies as they developed in relation to the state. While the impacts of the state on shifting Coast Salish ways of life including the economy cannot be overlooked, investigation into the philosophical development of economic philosophy within gatherings fell away in the research. Economic unfreedom refers to a restriction of choice—denied to Indigenous people in Canada due to the Potlatch Ban—to act and engage economically in order to lead lives that have reason to value (Sen, 1999a). Coast Salish economic philosophy (including its systems and institutions) has been silent—an indication of continued economic unfreedom due to
the inability to “choose an Aboriginal way of being [economically]” (Panzironi, not listed, pp. Section 4.1, paragraph 38) that reflects the values of Coast Salish people.

Implementation of an ever-expanding train of assimilation policies by the Canadian state has meant that the silence in the literature on Coast Salish economy has mirrored a silence in Coast Salish communities that has reflected a time of instability, communities coming to terms with inter-generational trauma, negotiating basic survival, and embarking on a slow path to healing and recovery. Canadian legal and institutional restrictions have had the added effect of creating ontological barriers between Xwélmexw, the people, and the cosmological connections that tie them to ancient origins. The gap between the foundations of the Coast Salish economy of affection in the field of anthropology, and Aboriginal economic development as economy of exploitation, accentuates the discordance between two systems with distinct economic purposes. One system has rendered the Coast Salish unable to participate in the emerging Canadian wage-labour economy during the winter months when gatherings took place. The other system excluded the Coast Salish based on patriarchal racist policy that viewed them through a limited and oppressive lens.

When Aboriginal economic development research emerged in the 1990s, it was framed from an orthodox Western European capitalist perspective of economic wealth, value and freedom in business, economics and economic development. The Western European capitalist economic approach appears to have superimposed itself on top of the historical reality of economic unfreedom—where, for Coast Salish
people, the outlawing of gatherings suppressed the philosophy which underpinned the Coast Salish economy. This literature ignores the historical existence of the Coast Salish economy as evidenced within the wealth of anthropological research, let alone considers how the underlying philosophies continue to inform gatherings as a totalising economic institution today. The spiritual economy is absent from Aboriginal economic development. Yet, embedded in the values of Riverworldview, Coast Salish approaches to resource management, material exchange and accumulation of wealth are relational and spiritually valued. Economic development from a Coast Salish worldview is inherently spiritual by virtue of the interrelated nature of the river environment, the Creator and the river people and economic values embedded within the institution of gatherings.

The Capability Approach questions the economic status quo by considering the actual functionings, or what people can actually do that is of value to them, and serves as a conceptual bridge between the foundations of the gift economy developed in anthropological literature, and the extant business literature that explores Indigenous economic development. Through the disentanglement of Coast Salish economic freedom and unfreedom by consideration of the disruption to Coast Salish capability provides an avenue to a fuller understanding of the Coast Salish economy and economic development. Drawing on Sen’s assertion that the creation of freedom conditions requires the removal of unfreedoms, and despite the actual removal of the Potlatch Ban in 1951, a question remains: why have gatherings remained in a suppressed state and only been discussed in the realm of socio-cultural
and spiritual Coast Salish life? The Capability Approach opens the space for the possibility that there continue to be economic unfreedoms that stand in the way of allowing Coast Salish economy of affection to emerge.

Coast Salish economic history is shaped by the time of the Potlatch Ban and the deep social, spiritual, environmental and cultural capability deprivation that resulted in Coast Salish impoverishment, and economic unfreedom. However, out of that unfreedom, and in an attempt to avoid setting the modern against the traditional (Newhouse, 2004), economic freedom emerges from the process of questioning the status quo of Western European capitalism, and reclaiming key economic business concepts. The absence of Coast Salish identity and exchange principles in Coast Salish economic development exacerbates Coast Salish capability deprivation because economic development excludes Coast Salish identity and belonging, and reveals the inability of Coast Salish peoples’ expression of their identity through economic behaviour.
CHAPTER 4: Q’ÉYÉXEM, WHIRLPOOL METHODOLOGY

Robbins (2010) shares one of the unique features of Stó:lō tunnels—that they are accessible by way of portals situated throughout Coast Salish territory. Portals as metaphor provides a means to understand methodological processes and the way that oral history, autoethnography and heuristic inquiry interact to guide the research toward development of complementary and interrelated insights into the nature of Coast Salish economy. As with the tunnels, portals may or may not be visible to everyone, but they are the points of access for travel in the tunnels. Robbins writes,

These portals are powerful elements of a uniquely Stó:lō geography that occupies both the physical and metaphysical landscape of the Fraser Valley, a landscape that shapes, and in turn is shaped by, the history, mythology and complex identities of community members (p. 47).

In Halq’eméylem, q’éyéxem refers to a whirlpool. In a similar iterative process in this research, whirlpool portals represent interconnectedness and reciprocal exchange dynamics as reflective of the research processes that align with shxwell discussed as a fundamental component of Riverworldview.

An example of one type of portal discussed in Robbins’ research is as whirlpools that emerge on waterways, and in particular, on stó:lō, the Fraser River. Historically, for Stó:lō, whirlpools can be both helpful and dangerous on the water. Their energetic momentum has been used to thrust canoes forward, but their powerful energy also pulls downward, and can be lethal if entered unskilfully (Robbins, 2010). The structure of a whirlpool is a conical spiral such that momentum
of water increases exponentially further down as the spiral grows tighter. The image below captures the dynamic energy of a whirlpool and shows how the water draws downward, but it also spirals upward with equal force. It represents balanced motion: in and out, up and down, chaos and order, and conveys the sense of both seen, and unseen worlds.

Image 15 - Whirlpool showing dynamic balanced momentum in three dimensions (Howarth, 2016)
Stó:lō oral histories tell of whirlpools in which you can see the bottom of the river\textsuperscript{23}. The notion that there is no water at the bottom of a whirlpool invokes a paradoxical calm, and stark contrast between the swirling chaos that engulfs and overpowers things floating in the water around it. On the other hand, there are also tunnels where bodies of water are found to have no measurable bottom (Robbins, 2010), leaving the element of the unknown as a central defining feature of their power.

From a bird’s eye view, whirlpools take the shape of a spiral in which water or dynamic momentum simultaneously moves toward, and away from the centre (Tapsell & Woods, 2008). In this research, the three methodological approaches: autoethonography (Karra & Phillips, 2008), oral history methods (Janovicek, 2006) and heuristic inquiry inform the research from distinct levels of insight. When encountering a whirlpool, a choice must be made—whether or not to enter. While looking at the historical impacts of the mechanisms that result in many unfreedoms through ‘sources’ in print and in archives, I simultaneously see the impacts in Coast Salish people—often in those close to me. Therefore, autoethnography methodologically describes some of the research processes involved, but on a day-to-day, and ongoing basis, it is an exploration toward relief from the unfreedoms that linger. Given this opportunity, I have chosen to enter the whirlpool, and find that as the whirlpool approaches the centre, the three methodologies inform one

\textsuperscript{23} This should not be mistaken as evidence that tunnels are easily travelled and the bottom is a desireable place to be. Tunnel travel is nearly instantaneous and many Coast Salish oral history accounts are about people who get stuck in tunnels and do not survive.
another as a cumulative body of insights from multi-layered perspectives. In Table 2 below, I delineate the levels of insight gained from each methodology, and how they inform the research.

**Table 2 - Three-tiered methodological approach**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Insight</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>How this approach informs the research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Macro</strong></td>
<td>Oral history</td>
<td>To understand gatherings from Coast Salish collective knowledge in ancient oral histories informed by cultural values around access and management of knowledge. Approach informed by Riverworldview and the voices of the ancestors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meso</strong></td>
<td>Autoethnography</td>
<td>Systematic reading of intra- and inter-community relations, processes and engagement inform an understanding of Coast Salish gatherings and economy. This includes understanding Riverworldview relationships between Xwélmexw-Xwélmexw, Xwélmexw-stó:lō, and Xwélmexw-Xá:ls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Micro</strong></td>
<td>Heuristic inquiry</td>
<td>Researcher influence on how to explore Coast Salish gatherings and economy from: lived experience of Coast Salish spiritual traditions, intuition, development of identity as a Coast Salish researcher, personal development as belonging within Coast Salish communities, being in Aotearoa-New Zealand to conduct the research, and drawing on insights from Māori cosmology and philosophy. Research processes and findings influence researcher sense of being Coast Salish and belonging within community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Figure 9 below, I demonstrate the interactive nature of the three methodologies, and show in white text how those methodologies informed the research methods used. Flowing from the centre of the whirlpool, archival and historical data collection and qualitative interviews inform an understanding of gatherings as part of Coast Salish economy of affection across levels of micro, meso and macro contexts.
To illustrate how the methods flow outward, it was from the internal drive of heuristic inquiry that initially, I sought to explore only archives and historical data. Upon discovering the limitations of information on gatherings available at the archives, and confirmed in an unplanned conversation with my relative T’xwelátse, Herb Joe at the time of archival data collection, I concluded that qualitative interviews would garner more information on gatherings. Furthermore, interviews align more closely with Coast Salish oral history traditions. This iterative process of interaction between methodological approaches and methods is captured in the whirlpool metaphor.

The thesis explores Coast Salish economic freedom and unfreedom in the voices of the ancestors through the culmination of oral history, autoethnography and heuristic inquiry. As a Coast Salish researcher, my work adds to long histories of
politicised research. The wisdom keepers and informants become implicated in those histories. Listening to the voices of the ancestors through their descendants is a research approach that accounts for the contextual nature of knowledge housed within the hearts and minds of people and has Coast Salish ontology and epistemology at the centre of research inquiry.

4.1. Oral history, listening to the voices of the ancestors

In this research, oral history is both a methodological approach, and shapes the research methods used. In mainstream oral history literature, an interviewee shares their insights as life history (Batty, 2009). The primary source of knowledge is the individual person and their experiential reflections making the unit of research analysis at the individual level (Portelli, 1997; Yow, 1995). Rich, in-depth, exploration of individual perspectives shed light on potentially unseen and possibly more common experiences than might be understood had the interview not been conducted.

There is a powerful connection between oral history as a means to capture marginalised voices in research, and as a pathway toward empowerment and justice (Portelli, 1997). Oral history helps to foster understanding of diversity of experiences and viewpoints across the human condition to counteract hierarchy and oppression. Through individual thought processes and experience, research reflects distinctive ‘truths’ told by unique and diverse individuals. Although Coast Salish perspectives in the field of business and economics have been previously unseen, and have been
historically marginalised, oral history in this research departs from Portelli’s approach to oral history in a number of ways. This research seeks to gain insight into the nature and philosophy of collective knowledge on Coast Salish economy captured in the hearts and minds of the people. Coast Salish people and elders in particular, are viewed as wisdom keepers, and the interviewees represent a snapshot of this larger pool of all Coast Salish knowledge. Each individual in this research is valued immensely for their individual insights (and each interview was unique), but each voice is also part of an interconnected story guided by the wisdom of elders past, present and future who pass on the Teachings as a foundation for all Coast Salish knowledge. In the oral history interviews in this research, the elders and wisdom keepers speak to, and from the Teachings about gatherings as a way to discuss economy, and economic values from time immemorial.

Oral history as methodology derives from recognition that each living generation lives through and contributes to the stories of the ancestors, just as they lived through and contributed to the stories of theirs. In Riverworldview, the voices of the ancestors are not only there to teach us, but it is important that we speak back to them (Alfred, 1995; Kirkness, 1992). In doing so, we contribute our knowledge for future generations. My approach to interviewing the ancestors looks to the places where Coast Salish economies are alive today—gatherings—and invites research participants to share their perspectives about economy, wealth and freedom from Coast Salish philosophy and ancestral discourses as a way of learning from, and contributing to the voices of the ancestors. This is part of the resurgence
and revival of ceremonial ways of life after the time of the Potlatch Ban. By exploring the voices of the ancestors in Coast Salish oral history and taking account of ancient values, a better understanding of gaps in contemporary approaches to Coast Salish economic development emerge. The eternal continuity of knowledge creation and transmission characterises and guides Coast Salish oral history traditions.

We are returning to our ceremonies to mark births, deaths, name-givings, marriages. This is the voice of our ancestors. We are having potlatches and feasts to honor our people. That is giving voice to our ancestors. And we are even building longhouses, and that is giving voice to our ancestors (Kirkness, 1995, p. 16).

In the quote above, Kirkness shares her vision of the role that the voices of the ancestors continue to play in our lives and in institutional tertiary training there is a notable absence of knowledge from the Teachings. Kirkness argues that the task of seeking knowledge is a sacred commitment because all knowledge represents the conscious efforts of generations before ours to learn, protect and transfer the Teachings. Therefore, the pursuit of knowledge comes with a sacred responsibility to reciprocate our learning as researchers by making the fruits of knowledge creation available to generations that follow.

Listening to the voices of the ancestors was key in the way I conducted qualitative interviews and interpreted interview data on ancestral Māori leadership in my Master’s thesis. I organised the findings into Ngā Kete e Toru o te Wānanga, the Three Baskets of Knowledge in Māori philosophy (Kelly, 2012). This structure allowed me to formulate an approach to ancestral leadership knowledge from not only people, but in “carvings, buildings, songs, photographs, genealogy, cosmology,
stories and mythology and symbols and metaphors” (Kelly, 2012, p. 5). A key finding of the research derived from this method, illuminating how ancestral leadership mirrors the depth and complexity of the human developmental learning experience. The influence of ancestral leadership directives in the present encompass the past and future as part of an “eternal continuity of leadership” (2014, p. 64). Ancestral knowledge is expressed and negotiated in the everyday experiences of living generations, and oral histories of this generation are rich with the voices of the ancestors. Listening to the voices of the ancestors is an approach to searching archival sources also used by researchers at the Mira Szászy Research Centre (MSRC) for Māori and Pacific Economic Development, where I have been a researcher since 2010. The approach that is adopted by the centre involves searching, interpreting and capturing the voices of the ancestors that speak to their descendants intergenerationally.

Oral history, “anchors the present in the past” (Cruickshank, 1994, p. 407), and is a crucial “linkage between past and present social organization” (p. 412). The medium for that linkage is through shared knowledge, collective memory and ancestral relationships which is what differentiates oral traditions from an historical approach that captures and re-tells events of the past. Mahuika (2012) explains how lineage is drawn between oral history documents and the living generations who read them:
They are viewed as living documents, not just because they are oral, but because their outward expression represents an active connection that acknowledges a cultural and spiritual inheritance essential to who we are (p. 5).

The process of reading oral history keeps them alive, activating oral history as a methodology to inform contemporary thinking about ancient knowledge.

The voices of the ancestors have guided Indigenous approaches to education, learning and knowledge sharing since time immemorial (Archibald, 2008; Carlson, 1997). The voices of the elders speak to me from Archibald’s research contributions in her doctoral research and an edited a book to honour Coast Salish elders, used as secondary sources, and as a means to verify aspects of Coast Salish Riverworldview. Archibald’s development of Indigenous research methods (Archibald & Selkirk, 1995), storywork (1997), and explication of Coast Salish oral history methods (2008) have had profound influence in the field of Indigenous education worldwide.

To listen for the voices of the ancestors in historical and archival records, written records are seen as extensions of Indigenous oral histories transmitted and recorded aurally (Hēnare, Petrie, & Puckey, 2009). In many cases, Coast Salish authors or authorities from which older written records were created around the beginning of the 20th century were not literate or trained in English writing skills. Oral histories recorded in print were often written by priests, missionaries and early researchers. Miller writes, the importance of oral histories in written form require the care and attention that would be afforded equally as if listening in person (Miller, 2011). Thus, historical and archival documents and records that inform this
research are treated as living histories that have meaning to contemporary populations of Coast Salish people.

Sqwélqwel in written form create an additional layer to consider the process of knowledge transfer, who captured written narratives, and under what circumstances have the voices of the ancestors shared knowledge. Sonny McHalsie gives advice on how to look for the voices of the ancestors in written sources captured in archival and historical records, and says,

When I read Duff or Hill-Tout, I’m not reading what he wrote, but what the person who told him said. I’m not in Duff’s mind, but that of the person who told him. I look at the filters imposed by academics (Miller, 2011, p. 97).

Even if sources are written by the individuals themselves, there are additional layers of translation to consider across knowledge traditions of oral and aural practices into the written form. A primary concern with shifting from one mode of transmission to another is when knowledge is decontextualised, or presented outside of its contextualised origins. Print sources that contain Coast Salish philosophy provide insights from the voices of our ancestors that continue to speak to their descendants, as they do in oral history passed down aurally.

Archibald raises the issue of how oral history is represented in textual form and says, “The text limits the level of understanding because it cannot portray the storyteller’s gestures, tone, rhythm, and personality” (Archibald, 1997, p. 22). This aligns with Miller’s (2011) discussion about the way that Coast Salish oral history captured in print continues to be ‘alive’ in the same way that oral histories recorded aurally can be adjusted and re-interpreted for different contexts. Without context
including the storyteller themselves, understanding of oral tradition may not be complete (Archibald, 1997). Nonetheless, this should not be taken to mean that understanding oral history in print is not worthwhile. It simply serves as a reminder of limitations that can be gained in the process of translation and meaning across different communication media. There are also immense benefits from having oral history captured that might not have been otherwise. This is particularly relevant for current generations of Coast Salish people. There is only one fluent Halq’eméylem speaker left, so oral history captured in textual form is immeasurably valuable.

At the forefront of Indigenous knowledge transmission is an understanding that knowledge is a gift (Kuokkanen, 2004). In Riverworldview, knowledge is a gift from Xá:l’s, the Creator. Accessing and understanding knowledge is a privilege. The nature of the relationships custodians of Indigenous knowledge systems, and recipients of that knowledge has an impact on the means by which knowledge is disseminated through those systems (Mahuika, 2012). Oral history captures the interconnected nature of knowledge passed on through generations of people within families and larger kin-connected systems including spiritual connection between descendants and their ancestors. Gladstone (2015) discusses transplanar wisdom as the transgenerational nature of collective knowledge that creates a sense of connectedness between people we may have never met, and may not have learned directly from. Yet, through their knowledge passed down, we come to know and love these people and their knowledge through narrative and ‘storywork’ (Archibald, 2008); genealogy and family histories; ancestral landscapes and houses; and
treasured objects and family heirlooms. The knowledge also is preserved in the passing on of ancestral names, songs and recital of prayers; speeches; writings; property rights; photographs; legacies; implicit knowledge gained through experiential learning (Kelly, 2012); and encounters with ancestral voices through different media, such as online videos. Oral history traditions permit affiliation and affection for the voices of the ancestors in perpetuity. By keeping these connections alive, we grow and contribute to collective knowledge in oral history, reframing what we knew, what we know, and what will be known for generations to come.

4.1.1 Squé!qwil: Coast Salish oral history of the recent past

For Coast Salish, oral history was, and continues to be the most reliable form of historical record-keeping, especially for knowledge over 200 years old. Knowledge about Coast Salish economy is thus approached as knowledge that can be sourced from much more than what appears in the material world; rather, exchange exist where relationships are negotiated within communities, with other communities, with the Spirit World, and with the environment for generations not yet born (McHalsie, 2007; R. Wilson, 2007). There are distinctions between oral history as representing knowledge that is passed down through generations, and oral tradition as the processes by which oral history is transmitted. The relationship between oral history and oral tradition cannot truly be separated as they are interrelated (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2005).

The definition of sqwé!qwil is oral histories of the recent past, also referred to as true facts, and personal history (Stó:lō Research and Resource Management
Centre, 2006). Sqwélqwel are distinguished from sxwoxwiyám, oral histories of the distant past (Blomfield et al., 2001; Carlson, 2010) but both represent knowledge captured and transmitted by way of oral tradition (Miller, 2001). Sqwélqwel are entrenched in the institutional foundations of Coast Salish gatherings by virtue of the ability to establish a connection to the territory through both ancestral lineage and use of the territory. Every Stó:lō person can claim sqwélqwel, and affiliate with being Xwélmexw people of the land and river environment. The responsibility to honour your ancestors carries no sense of time, and the distinction between sqwélqwel and sxwoxwiyám is not characterised by chronological distance; rather, the essence of sxwoxwiyám is marked by a chaotic world, whereas sqwélqwel marks a world “set right through transformations24” (Blomfield et al., 2001, p. 6). People without connection to the territory are deemed lets’é:lmexw (different people, unrelated person with whom you have no relationship), stéxem (poor people who cannot remember their lineage), and skw’iyéth (slaves, the ones who do not belong here).

That the land and metaphysical tunnels represent a form of remembering, sqwélqwel are remembered on the landscape, or the river environment. It is through sqwélqwel oral histories that symbolic markers and ancestral stories are preserved within the hearts and minds of the people, and continuity of occupation is reaffirmed, remembered and re-presented to each generation of Coast Salish people

24 Transformations is not a general verb here, but refers to the work that was done by the Transformers—known in Coast Salish philosophy as Xexá:l—is in the time of chaos before the human and Spirit Worlds were distinguished from each other (Blomfield et al., 2001).
The processes of passing on sqwélqwel as oral history happens in families, but the formal processes of inter- and intra-community oral history traditions take place in gathering ceremonies. Gatherings are where all relationships within Riverworldview come to life and are nurtured. It is where ancient stories become contemporary and connections to the past become immediately present.

In both an ontological and epistemological sense, the oral historical lens allows me to comprehend Coast Salish economic philosophy under the assumption that the world is set right. What is right is the current generation’s voices, and the voices of our ancestors that continue to speak in the current generation, even if captured in static form such as in archival and historical records. From a Coast Salish perspective, this notion of ‘right’ is not something that is only rationally informed, rather it is a metaphysical reference to worlds beyond the human experience. Thus as a methodological tool in research, sqwélqwel as oral history captures the significance of smestíyexw, spiritual relationships and ongoing exchange between Xá:ls, Xwélmexw and Sólh Téméxw.

The spiritual and metaphysical dimension of sqwélqwel as oral history sets out a complex system of reference for all knowledge. In the circumstance of one-on-one interviewing, adherence to the protocols associated with Xwlalámstexw, witnessing applies despite the absence of a physical audience. Knowledge represents the culmination of people and processes who have passed it on. In the precedent-setting court case Delgamuukw vs. the Province of British Columbia (Hurley, 1998), oral history changed the legitimacy of xwlalámstexw, and how expert witnesses in
court share knowledge and information not because they ‘know’, but because
knowledge, as a gift fosters ideas and relationships (Miller, 2011). It is not about the
inherent value of knowledge itself that matters; rather it is what the knowledge can
do that matters. Growing ideas and relationships by passing on sqwélqwel
encompasses a responsibility to nurture ongoing relationships with all past, present,
and future generations. As a living descendant, sqwélqwel inherently carry
reminders of the ancestors.

In oral history, the floating gap is an aspect of oral narrative literature that
describes the tendency to temporally emphasise history and memory as near or far
without discussion of the in-between:

...the inclination to focus clearly on the immediate past and the deep past,
leaving the intermediate past hazy and possibly telescoped (Miller, 2011, p. 98).

In Coast Salish oral history, anything that is highly esteemed and greatly valued
should be in the oral history record. In Coast Salish naming ceremonies, the floating
gap is a constant issue. McHalsie explains why, and says:

Other families may make claims to the names, especially those names that are
highly esteemed and greatly prized, so historical knowledge remains important
to be able to protect those names (Miller, 2011, p. 98).

Telling oral histories is a way of protecting knowledge about Coast Salish ways of life.
However, stories carry power and a major concern for Coast Salish communities is at
the intersection of protecting knowledge for the communities and from misuse, and
misrepresentation. Thus, there is also power in not sharing oral history (Miller,
2011). The floating gap reflects the literature gap identified in this research and
suggests a possible omission of information during the intermediate past relating to
Coast Salish economy. The immediate past is discussed in research on Aboriginal
economic development and the deep past is discussed in anthropological research;
however, the intermediate past is an overlooked aspect of Coast Salish economy.
The floating gap may be a partial explanation for why the Coast Salish economy and
its philosophy has not been closely investigated in a contemporary context of
gatherings due to residual protective behaviour over gathering knowledge. This
research uses oral history to explore a possible floating gap.

Within Coast Salish oral history traditions, there are limitations around what
people can and cannot say based on the knowledge that one possesses. Therefore,
what is ‘true’ is measured by what a person has seen, heard, and been told, and this
is verified by a statement indicating from whom one’s knowledge is learned from.
This is called “oral footnoting” (Miller, 2011, p. 95), and gestures to the active
process of connecting oral histories with the shxwelí of the people responsible for
passing on the knowledge to them, and acknowledgement of their responsibility as
carrier of that knowledge to take care of it.

Respected family historians...document exactly how they came to know what
they know, and how they have preserved what they know unaltered from
those from whom they learned it (Blomfield, 2001, p. 1).

In this research, Siyelyóləxwa, elders verify what the wisdom keepers have said in
the interviews. Considered against Portelli’s view of oral history, personal experience
and memory are important, but generally to the extent that they relate to the
Teachings. In this thesis, the elders are both literal and symbolic in their roles
supporting the insights of the interviewed wisdom keepers. Many of the wisdom keepers make reference to the people from whom they gained their authority to speak on these matters and I have included some of those mentioned in interviews in Siyelyólexwa, elders. The combination of qualitative interviews, elders’ insights and archival and historical evidence substantiate oral history in this research as a methods choice that aligns with Riverworldview, the research question, and the gap identified in the literature.

Critics of oral history argue that because it relies on memory as a source of data, it can be both unreliable and negatively influence the validity of research because the passage of time can hinder or alter memory (Batty, 2009; Hoffman & Hoffman, 1994). Coast Salish definitions of reliability and validity are based on contextual circumstances and depend on the type of oral history that is being told. Miller says,

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Stó:lō are taught that sxwoxwiyám stories told within a family have to always be told the same way, but emphasis on details within the story may vary in order to express a particular lesson or a certain teaching, such as greed or mischief (2011, p. 70).

Because there are many witnesses called in a gathering, xwlálmstexw, witnesses remember as individuals, but they also remember the event collectively. In the occurrence of an event that needs to be recalled, bringing the witnesses together functions as a form of triangulation, piecing together many memories from many minds.
Coast Salish oral history is remembered in different ways, including in spiritual and physical landscapes, and includes capacity for change to occur. Oral history as a means to convey discourse both past and present makes it changeable by visiting locations on the territory. The stories themselves do not change, but the experience of the stories do:

Properly trained or particularly gifted individuals can acquire certain types of sacred historical knowledge, not by referring to documents, but by travelling to particular sites on the landscape where they access metaphysical tunnels that lead to special locations in the Spirit World where knowledge and information can be ‘remembered’: the land itself was, and is the Stó:lō archive (Carlson, 2010, p. 62).

The nature of the research process in interviews creates tension when compared to the Coast Salish role of xwalástmstexw, witnesses, whose job in ceremony is not to refute or contradict the knowledge and words of the speaker, but to affirm that they are knowledgeable and authorised to speak on the subject. In a public keynote presentation to the Multi-community First Nations Governance and Treaty Forum, Judge Steven Point recounted a circumstance in a court of law where an elder was taking the witness stand, and the presiding judge asked the elder, “Do you swear to tell the truth?” The elder said, “No.” Surprised, the judge asked, “No, well why not?” The elder responded, “I can only tell you what I know. I don’t know if it’s all true or not!” (Multi-Community First Nations Governance and Treaty Forum, 2016). Point explains to the audience that the elder responded as he did because truth is embedded in the assumption that we can only ever speak from our understanding of the world. We cannot speak from someone else’s understanding, and truth is not objective. This vignette demonstrates the perspective of truth embedded in Coast
Salish oral history traditions—that in the process of passing on knowledge regardless of the context (whether in ceremony or between two people), it is assumed that in consultation with someone whose authority to know is verified within the community, that they will be truthful with that knowledge (Miller, 2001). Particularly where their knowledge is demonstrated in gatherings and verified publicly by witnesses, it is fair to presume the truthfulness of what they say.

4.1.2 T’xwelátse: Illustrating sqwélqwel

In the following section, the sqwélqwel of T’xwelátse contextualises and illustrates how sqwélqwel operate as a connection between Coast Salish people, Coast Salish territories and the spiritual realm. The story of T’xwelátse demonstrates how the territory ‘remembers’ lineage and Coast Salish history, even when it appears that the story became fragmented over time, and aspects of it were ‘forgotten’ but remembered through repatriation of T’xwelátse ancestor stone. In this research, I learned lessons about the nature of Coast Salish oral history from T’xwelátse the ancestor stone, and T’xwelátse, Herb Joe.
Featured in Image 16 above, T’xwelátse is an ancestor stone currently housed at the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC) in Chilliwack, BC. The journey of T’xwelátse was revived and re-told when the stone ancestor was repatriated home to Stó:lō territory after 114 years away. T’xwelátse crossed into the United States in the late 1800’s and was thought to be ‘lost’ until it was located at the Burke Museum in Washington State in the 1970’s (Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, 2006; The Museum of Anthropology, 2008). The repatriation process to bring T’xwelátse home to Stó:lō territory was a significant event in Stó:lō oral history because it served as a reminder to Coast Salish people that these stories continue to be alive. I will discuss in greater detail who T’xwelátse,
Herb Joe the person is, but as the living descendant who carries the ancestral name today, he was responsible to come forward and drive the repatriation process to bring stone T’xwelátse back to Stó:lō territory.

In the repatriation process, T’xwelátse was not categorised as an artefact, but approved as “human remains” (2006, p. 4). Because of this, repatriation took 14 years to navigate a myriad of institutional and national barriers that initially prevented T’xwelátse from crossing the border between the United States and Canada, but was eventually successful with the support of Stó:lō tribal elders and the Museum of Anthropology. The duality of physical embodiment of T’xwelátse as an ancestor stone and a person demonstrates a contemporary example of ancestral continuity and purpose for listening to the voices of the ancestors. The living, breathing descendants were re-connected through sqwélqwel, and revival of the oral history precipitated re-assertion of the role of Herb Joe as the custodian of the genealogy behind his namesake. This example provides evidence of how the voices of the ancestors are alive and continue to speak through their descendants. Although the family and community members were separated from the stone ancestor for 114 years, the passing on of the name is what ensured continuity of oral history so that when the ancestor stone was found, the name, the person, the ancestor, and the place to which they all belong were unified.

In the photo above, T’xwelátse is situated in the foyer of the building, but sits away from the main entrance just out of view. Although out of immediate sight, the stone oversees everyone who comes and goes in the building. When I arrived to the
SRRMC to conduct my archival research in February 2014, at first I did not notice T’xwelátse because most of the time during the day, the lights are off in the foyer. T’xwelátse sits in the dark. However, after a couple of days on the way to the archive, a notable presence caused me pause and take notice of who occupied the corner. When the lights are on (typically when public events take place), T’xwelátse wears the cedar blanket over its shoulders (seen hanging on the wall behind it in Image 16) illuminated brilliantly. From my experience at SRRMC, what struck me during my archival research visit was a quiet comfort that I felt with T’xwelátse there as part of the daily activities of the building. Cloaked and honoured, T’xwelátse is not always visible, but xwålámstexw, witnesses the events of each day. T’xwelátse is a salient ancient presence, a source of knowledge, and a physical manifestation of Coast Salish oral history at the SRRMC, having “seen” much through centuries. Including the sqwélqwel of T’xwelátse in this research serves as a reminder of the diversity of ways to explore and engage with oral history that reflects the words of Aboriginal elder, Doreen Jensen who said, “I am a historian because I go and seek out the people who have the knowledge, the old knowledge, nothing that you can read in books” (Bell & Williams, 1997-98, p. 291). T’xwelátse carries such knowledge.
T’xwelátse, Herb Joe is my uncle featured in Image 17 above on the cover of the book, *You are asked to witness* (Carlson, 1997). T’xwelátse the person, and T’xwelátse the ancestor stone in Image 16 are not separate entities; they belong to the same spiritual lineage, and the evidence for this is contained in their shared sqwélqwel and sxwoxwiyám, oral history of the distant past. When I was conducting my archival and historical data collection at the SRRMC, I was on a lunch break with my cousin when we ran into T’xwelátse who was also eating at the cafeteria. Over lunch, I shared details about my research with Herb Joe. In this conversation, T’xwelátse told us about aspects of historical Coast Salish life rhythms such as
alignment between the Coast Salish New Year (occurring at the end of October) and commencement of Winter Dancing, or the gathering season ("Dara Kelly personal communication with Herb Joe on "Stó:lō economy"," 2014). He explained that the timing is significant because commencement of winter dancing ceremonies occurred at the time of greatest abundance—after the other three seasons of the year are spent growing, gathering, fishing, hunting, nurturing, preparing, harvesting and working.

The winter season is dedicated to spiritual observation because Coast Salish people were preoccupied with work and sustenance living through spring, summer and autumn. He said because much of the year is spent preparing for winter, and therefore people were unable to fully embrace spirituality through those seasons, being able to live a ‘whole’ life meant gatherings and winter dancing was extremely important. According to a Stó:lō definition of wellbeing, the inability to conduct gatherings and winter dancing renders one ‘less than whole’. This impromptu conversation gave me insight into one purpose behind the Coast Salish economy, seasonal rhythms, and the new year within which gathering ceremonies play a crucial role. As we left that conversation, I came to realise why after one month of searching the archives at the SRRMC, I struggled to find information on the Coast Salish gathering economy. While some of the voices of our ancestors are in the archives, many voices are very much alive in the hearts and minds of the people. This is where knowledge about the Coast Salish economy lives. My conversation with
T'xwelátse was a major precipitating factor that prompted me to conduct qualitative interviews as another form of data collection.

4.2. Autoethnography

According to Patton (2004), autoethnographic inquiry incorporates the inquirer's own experiences to gain insight into the culture of which they are a part. Crucial within this research method is the explicit assumption that the research will be conducted "without the burden or pretense of the mental blank slate advocated in purer forms of phenomenological inquiry" (Patton, 2002, p. 491). The issue of reflexivity in autoethnography goes beyond viewing, positioning and repositioning ourselves to be seen in the research process as a reflexive researcher (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; P. Johnson & Duberley, 2003). It involves researcher self-disclosure through field notes wherein the researcher is in, and of the research itself (Parry & Boyle, 2009).

Gabriel (2015) raises the issue of change that research has on us personally and professionally as researchers and says:

Above all, consciously reflexive researchers are aware that in undertaking serious research they embark on a journey whose end will see them emerge as different subjects (p. 334).

This statement highlights research as a process of becoming, and as researchers, we are privileged to have the opportunity to gain insight and grow personally and professionally at the same time. In consciously reflexive research, an ethic of reciprocity accounts not only for what we ‘take’ in terms of perspectives, insights
and new information from people and organisations—but that we, as researchers have the opportunity to become different people as a result of the freedom to explore, question, investigate and theorise in research. Gabriel (2015) argues that the researcher’s livelihood depends on the transformative nature of data in order to draw insights that result in passing grades, career advancement and promotions. The potential for researchers to experience personal transformative changes and opportunities might cause researchers to ask questions of themselves, such as, what can I bring to the research and to those with whom I research? In autoethnography, as both researcher and researched, the transformative nature of data has changed what I thought I knew about myself and my place in the Coast Salish world. In my case, reframing Coast Salish institution of gatherings as an economy of affection has deep implications for the future of my immediate and extended family in terms of the resources and opportunities available to them in the future. Instead of what can I bring to the research, I ask what can I be in this research, and how do I belong in my community?

Autoethnography “allows the organizational researcher to connect intimately the personal to the cultural through a ‘peeling back’ of multiple layers of consciousness, thoughts, feelings and beliefs” (Parry & Boyle, 2009, p. 691). An autoethnographic approach creates space for me to provide insights from my own experience growing up, and developing as a Coast Salish scholar in business. I am able to identify economic philosophy from gatherings and traditional knowledge passed on through the generations of my syewá:l, genealogy and use family
networks to explore their application in contemporary Coast Salish economic development contexts. I use autoethnography as an approach to investigate Coast Salish economy by looking at gathering ceremonies and the philosophies that guide these institutions as an insider with existing kin and affective relationships with the people and communities explored in this research. Parry and Boyle present autoethnographic technique that includes the researcher as an active participant in the creation of knowledge in conversation wherein the researcher is part of the shared story. This is the approach that I employed in my use of autoethnography because by exploring the evolution of Coast Salish gatherings as resulting in capability deprivation means that my ancestors experienced, and the current generation continues to experience unfreedom. The burden of unfreedom creates intergenerational experiences of emotional trauma, which I am privy to in this research as a descendant. This shaped the nature of interaction between me as a researcher conducting interactive interviews as autoethnographic approach.

In the following excerpt from my field notes, I reflect on a turning point that affirmed the autoethnographic nature of the research. The experience illuminates the significance of face-to-face interaction and being ‘seen’ to affirm community belonging. I attended a community meeting with my father and uncle during the archival and historical data collection phase. The purpose of the meeting was for representatives of the Stó:lō Xwelxwmexw Treaty Association to update community members on their development in the BC Treaty Commission process. The following is an excerpt from my field notes after the meeting:
Prior to the meeting’s commencement, Siyémches said to me, “I haven’t seen you since you were in diapers!” As I was leaving the meeting with Dad, Mary Malloway [who is married to Siyémches, Frank Malloway] pulled my arm aside to talk to us. She asked me if I was Pat’s daughter, and expressed a sense of recognition. She said she wanted to give me a big hug. Earlier in the meeting, Dad stood up and introduced me to the whole room and shared with everyone that I was doing my doctorate degree in New Zealand. I am always embarrassed when he does this, but while I know it’s because he’s proud of me, it is also a strategic announcement as both a symbolic and literal introduction to family and broader community relations. I grew up in the city outside of our reserve territory. As an adult, this was an opportunity for recognition as a descendant of my Leq’á:mel and Ts’a’í:les grandparents. It is not that the connections would not have happened otherwise, but they might have taken longer to establish on my own.

This story illuminates some dynamics of Coast Salish economy of affection whereby my role as researcher is surpassed by my role as a community member. Showing up to the meeting with my father facilitated my encounter with both Siyémches, Frank Malloway and his wife, Mary Malloway in a way that may not have been the same had I shown up by myself, or even with another family member. Immediate relationships were established between us as the descendants of Hank and Maggie Pennier, and Patrick and Philomena Kelly upon which Mary established her relationship to me. Siyémches remembered me as a baby; a memory beyond my own recollection, but I saw it as a gift of affection and connection to me. This experience demonstrated how elders like Frank and Mary, “know” us better than we know ourselves and brought me into the fold of the community by way of recognising multi-layered identities: as my father’s daughter, as an adult, as a researcher living overseas.
4.3. Heuristic inquiry

Heuristic inquiry is both a methodology and a set of research methods that address how research questions and design emerges from the researcher’s concern and commitment to seek knowledge that contributes to their development toward greater understanding of the world around them (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985). It is a methodological approach driven explicitly by the researcher’s quest to resolve some aspect of life that affects them directly. Hiles states,

HI entails creating a story that captures the qualities, meanings and essence of a human experience. The process begins with a question or problem to which the researcher seeks an answer. This question or problem, whether explicitly or implicitly, will always reflect a personal concern of the researcher with respect to understanding them self, and the human world in which they live (2008, p. 5).

The personal nature of the research problem in heuristic inquiry can appear and feel like an obvious path to take for the researcher, and the nature of research as discovery may reflect implicit assumptions of the researcher that emerge in the research process. Hiles goes on to say,

It is useful to point out that, in effect, it is not the researcher who chooses the research question, but the research question that chooses them! Invariably, the research question is deeply personal in origin, and it may come to light as a major preoccupation that has been around for a significantly long time (2008, p. 6).

Although it may seem counter-intuitive to focus on the individual researcher in research that looks at such a broad question about Coast Salish life, Coast Salish elder Steven Point argues that the basic political unit of any tribe is the individual (2016). Therefore, heuristic inquiry aligns with a Coast Salish perspective such that
research insights reflect entrenched experience and deep thinking about the role of individuals and personhood within the community around them, recognising that each person carries their own agency and capability to exercise choice (Kahakalau, 2004). Individual choices have influence on the communities in which they belong and this is accounted for and acknowledged in heuristic inquiry in which the researcher’s methods and design choices are not just acknowledged in the research texts, but are visible within the experience of research conduct (Hiles, 2008).

Moustakas (1990) explains the broad implications of heuristic inquiry as an exploration of the researcher’s personal desire to explore a personal, or social question, and through their own experience of trying to find greater understanding of the phenomenon in question. In this research, the research question emerged from a personal challenge and puzzlement about Coast Salish economic development. As not only a researcher, but as a Coast Salish community member, heuristic inquiry creates methodological space to acknowledge how I seek to capture the implicit meta-narrative of influence that comes from my family dynamics, life experience, cultural protocol, and the culmination of thoughts over many years of tertiary education. The desire to pursue research that may foster change for Coast Salish people shaped how I chose to design and conduct the research looking to the voices of my ancestors. Heuristic inquiry as methodology incorporates recognition and invitation of the researcher to bring their whole selves into the research process.

Douglass and Moustakas argue:
Freedom in discovery is a necessary feature of heuristic research. It permits a high degree of flexibility in the design of the investigation. Because it originates in the passions of the self, heuristic inquiry challenges the scientist to follow a direction that will most effectively reveal the descriptive and analogical nature of the theme or problem (1985, pp. 43-44).

As a research method, heuristic inquiry involves as cyclical and dialectic process that follows a sequence of experiential steps that include: 1) immersion; 2) acquisition; 3) realization. Schram (2003) argues that within ethnographic research methods, one of the orienting concepts is that of ‘holism’, which he argues is a way of interpreting relationship between the parts that make up a whole, and the whole phenomenon itself by way of the hermeneutic circle. This is an orienting concept that involved reading the experiences of Coast Salish people and communities in letters and understanding the individual experience of affective unfreedom.

To illustrate an instance when my experience of being honoured in a gathering shaped next steps and ways forward for the research, I share the story of an honouring ceremony when I received a name. This ceremony occurred during the time when I conducted this research, and several of the wisdom keepers whom I have interviewed witnessed the ceremony and gave advice for me to take forward through the rest of my life. The event was a first-hand personal context to reflect on gathering processes, and provided the experience of understanding my place and contribution within the Coast Salish community. The excerpt below is a recollection of the event:
In December 2012, I was in the early stages of study toward my PhD. I travelled home from New Zealand to Canada to support my sister in the birth of my niece. While I was home, I offered to share my experiences of travel overseas and my journey in education with members of the Stó:lō community. Originally, I was imagining that I would give a formal speech or be part of an open discussion. Instead, it was decided by one of our respected elders, His Honour Steven Point, former Lieutenant Governor and Provincial Court Judge, Xweliqweltel, that I should receive a traditional name in recognition of my educational achievements. Since I was home for only six weeks, the ceremony preparations were significantly accelerated, and planning took place immediately. To prepare for the ceremony, I had to visit with the matriarchs of our family to gain their approval and permission for the ceremony to take place. This involved visiting with them face-to-face, sharing with them what I am doing and where I have been on the other side of the world. Some of the ways they expressed their approval was with a gift or advice for me in the ceremony. In one case, I was given a blanket at the end of the visit.

The ceremony took place on 3 January 2013. The smilha'áwtxw where it was held is an educational one built for teaching and reviving our longhouse ways. It is located at the Stó:lō Nation building complex in the City of Chilliwack. As with Dad’s ceremony, witnesses were called, and spoke to me and the guests about the significance of the name Stah'wits'tun, and the responsibilities that I now have as a result of this honour. What most stood out from what all of the witnesses said was the responsibility that I cannot yet know, but that will become clear when the time is right. They told of the history of the name and that it was last used at Chehalis Lake in 1856. Because the ceremony was not founded on the need to confer the name, rather to honour my educational achievements, it was an honouring ceremony, rather than a naming ceremony. (Kelly & Kelly, 2015, pp. 201-202)

From the experience of being honoured in ceremony, I was able to ask questions about the nature and meaning of gatherings—a process aligning with the immersion phase of heuristic inquiry (Bach, 2002; Douglass & Moustakas, 1985; Patton, 2004).

Heuristic inquiry as methodology emerges as an opportunity to:
…awaken and inspire researchers to make contact with and respect their own questions and problems, to suggest a process that affirms imagination, intuition, self-reflection, and the tacit dimension as valid ways in the search for knowledge and understanding….When pursued through intimate and authentic processes of the self, the “data” that emerge are autobiographical, original, and accurately descriptive of the textures and structures of lived experience….one follows the subjective past ordinary levels of awareness, living the question internally in sources of being and nonbeing, recording hunches, ideas and essences as they emerge, and, ultimately, consulting with others regarding the phenomenon or experience….It is a dedicated pursuit, inspired by a hunger for new insight and revelation (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, pp. 40-41).

A dimension of understanding research methods in this research was coming to realise that the phenomenon of Coast Salish economic philosophy does not currently exist in business scholarship. The research presented an opportunity to conceptualise and frame Coast Salish concepts around economy, and required a deep internal search as I grappled with how to engage with theoretical concepts in Coast Salish contexts. Heuristic Inquiry presented an opportunity to validate my experience, thoughts, and insights into, and account for translation from what I already knew about the Coast Salish gatherings from my life experience. My experiences had a strong influence on development of the research phenomenon itself.

As explained in “Riverworldview” and applied in terms of the research processes, my orientation as a researcher guided by Stó:lō philosophical knowledge informs not only how this research has been driven forward but builds understanding around existing interconnectedness and emergence of connections between and across people, the phenomena and sources of knowledge. To some extent, I drove the research, but there were distinct moments when I felt the
research drove me. I found myself recognising things that I knew needed to be done, not because they were significant to the research, but because they were significant to the cultural context, my learning and development, and belonging within Coast Salish community. It was imperative to understand and identify when principles of invitation, connection, respect, prayer, xwlalámstexw, witnessing, feasting, gifting, grieving and reciprocity took effect at different phases of the research.

4.4. Tél:exw Summary

Oral history ensures that the means and processes of accessing Coast Salish knowledge and philosophy is culturally-appropriate. Autoethnography allows for a systematic recording of the processes of the research within which my own genealogy and community shape opportunities to engage personally with gatherings as phenomena. Heuristic inquiry accounts for the nature of inquiry that has developed over the long-term experience of my lifetime, and is a result of the cumulative knowledge gained from multiple tertiary courses and degrees. Combined oral history, autoethnography, and heuristic inquiry enable a better understanding of Coast Salish economy in the context of gatherings, and the nature of Coast Salish freedom.
CHAPTER 5: SHXWEYÓ: YES, RESEARCH METHOD

In Halq’eméylem, shxweyó:yes refers to a device or tool. There are key distinctions between oral history in two contexts relevant to this research: sqwéléqwel as Coast Salish oral history, the means of transmitting ancient cultural knowledge inter-generationally through gathering ceremonies; and the normative characteristics of oral history as a research method using qualitative interviews. This research activates both forms of oral history. In Figure 10 below, clear distinctions are identified between oral histories used to transmit knowledge: a) from time immemorial; and b) in the constructed research environment using interviews to generate research data.

Figure 10 - Oral History as sqwéléqwel and as qualitative research method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sqwéléqwel – oral histories of the recent past</th>
<th>Interviewing as oral history</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xwlalámstexw, witnessing requires presence of community</td>
<td>Private conversation between interviewer/interviewee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Represents continuity of knowledge from beginning of time</td>
<td>Knowledge at a fixed time (time, and context-bound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Recording” in collective memory</td>
<td>“Recalling” from individual memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability to community</td>
<td>Accountability to self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real-time verification and correction</td>
<td>Delayed verification (recorded, transcribed, returned, analysed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Listening to the voices of the ancestors through their descendants, by invoking sqwélqwel, draws upon mechanisms of collective memory and has implications in research because the wisdom keepers’ lifetimes of experience and training in Coast Salish oral history shape their interview behaviour and further illuminate the interview as a site of exchange and interaction.

In this research, there are conflicting expectations around knowledge management. The interviews were different from ceremonial oral history traditions, lacking the crucial components of cultural context, the institutional protocol of gatherings and a public audience to witness. On the one hand, adherence to Coast Salish oral history protocol meant that the authority of the wisdom keeper (the interviewee) to speak on the research topic may be affirmed through their lifetime of participation in gatherings and not only knowledge of, but also protection of, the Teachings. Both the giving and the receiving of knowledge is publicly managed, and issues that arise are publicly contested and debated within a forum of equals, among diverse oral history experts across Coast Salish territory, and oral history incorporates many generations in the process (albeit structured through ceremonial protocol). In an interview context, personal conduct is mediated by the assumption that what you say is a reflection on your family and those who shared their knowledge with you to get you to a place of knowing. When one is speaking about Coast Salish principles and philosophies, honouring source(s) of knowledge is absolutely crucial because the connections between descendants and their ancestors’ voices are maintained through genealogical and epistemological lineage.
Contributing insights to and from sqwéliquewel carries spiritual responsibility described by Miller as part of the shxwelí, the universal connectedness of life:

...recognition of the shxwelí of the tapes and their secondary manifestation, the transcripts. These remain active and open to correction....although they may be transformed [into written documents], their transformation does not delete this feature. They do not simply become documents like any other documents...and entirely amenable to analysis within the historical canon. If the job of the historians is to create context, then from the Stó:lō point of view, shxwelí is a vital part of the context for these documents (Miller, 2011, p. 72-73).

By providing reference for shared knowledge through oral footnoting, the person indicates their own lineage of accountability, and situates themselves within an established web of expertise beyond their own individual thoughts and opinions. On the other hand, differently from the ceremonial context, in research the boundaries and expectations of tertiary institutions are clearly established and stated in human ethics policies and procedures.

The interview was an opportunity for many of the wisdom keepers to pass on knowledge to me, as a young Coast Salish recipient of the Teachings. In doing so, for some of the wisdom keepers, the research served to facilitate an expression of freedom that was not always accessible in Coast Salish history. For some interviewees, this was the first opportunity they had ever had to express their knowledge on Coast Salish notions of economy, freedom, and wealth in a research setting; others had never been interviewed at all. For this reason, although video recording is a static medium which limits an audience’s ability to respond and engage with the conversation, the depth that comes when image is added to audio...
recording enables a deeper engagement with the findings (Mahuika, 2012). Video recording also provided a medium to return the interviews back to the wisdom keepers in an accessible form for them to review, keep and share with their families. Where permission was given, the interview ethics form included the choice for wisdom keepers to have a copy of their interview stored in tribal archives. By talking about Coast Salish gatherings, I gain an understanding of how and why a distinctly Coast Salish perspective of relational exchange through gifting and ceremony tends to express the fundamental relationships embedded in the River worldview.

The method that I followed highlights the tensions between the two epistemological frameworks for oral history in Figure 10. There were instances in the interview process when it became clear that the interview was an opportunity for the wisdom keepers to enact their responsibility to adhere to sqwéłqwel and pass on knowledge to me as a descendant, and part of the younger generation. Reaffirming genealogical ties superceded the research purpose of the interview, reflective of the affective nature of Coast Salish knowledge exchange, and the value of embeddedness and belonging within the community. Ka’ili (2005) explains how ancestral ties create space for research to happen. My role was not as a researcher or interviewer, but as a member of the community, there to ensure the continuity of knowledge identified in the first and second bubbles in Figure 10. Regarding the final bubble, “Real-time verification and correction” in the interview process, verification occurred naturally through oral footnoting. I was able to clarify certain points for
understanding, but I do not carry the authority to ‘correct’ knowledge, especially without the public context of ceremony to do so according to protocol.

The institutional constraints around research conduct require interviews to be conducted in private, and confidentiality agreements protect the recordings and transcripts from being made publicly available. By inviting Coast Salish wisdom keepers to be interviewed, the risks associated with managing what they say and how they say it are left to the wisdom keeper to bear as an individual responsibility instead of a collective responsibility. In research conducted in Indigenous communities, there is ambiguity around who controls how knowledge is used, interpreted and contextualized. Knowledge sharing in the academy has broader implications than contributing to and learning from S’íwes, the Teachings within Coast Salish oral history traditions. The conflicted nature of knowledge transmission processes as public versus private events means that there is risk involved.

In some of the videos, wisdom keepers responded to the video camera by responding as if they were talking to a large audience as one would do in a longhouse setting. In some cases, this was marked by the use of a ‘longhouse voice’ sometimes stated explicitly by the wisdom keeper, or noted by me when it happened. In many ways, the presence of the video camera stood as a symbol for a public audience, indicating that these interviews provided an opportunity to share sqwélqwel and record knowledge in collective memory. In one case, a wisdom keeper stated that he would like the video recording so that his family would have a copy to keep and show his grandchildren and great grandchildren. Video recording
enabled oral history to be captured for the same purposes as it is used for intergenerational knowledge transmission. As discussed in Sqwéłqwel, the teaching that knowledge is validated in Coast Salish oral history by oral footnoting came through frequently, as most wisdom keepers referenced who they learned their knowledge from and seldom took credit for their knowledge as a product of individual creation.

5.1. Research as ceremony

Wilson (2008) argues that research is a ceremony. This research is a ceremony because the spiritual dimension of the phenomenon—gatherings—explored in this research, is acknowledged. In my research, understanding the interrelated nature of concepts involves relationality as a process of not only thinking through the relationships, but being in a relationship with the people and concepts myself. I acknowledge that I was in a deep relationship with every aspect of this research. As I have indicated as part of the justification for using autoethnography, and in my discussion of Figure 11 above, the moments when I was drawn into the research in a process of self-discovery were not altogether shocking or unexpected, but the way that occurred was not something I anticipated.

“Research as ceremony” acknowledges that ceremony and my spirituality shaped many aspects of the research process. The nature of exchange emerged from my telescoped nuanced interactions at community meetings to broad observations of how community members experience interaction that at all levels of
Riverworldview. Some instances of spiritual interaction in the research process included:

- One interview that was conducted in one of the traditional longhouses in Chilliwack;
- My journey into my lineage through the voices of my ancestors expressed in oral and written format and my experiential discovery in Coast Salish territory;
- My honouring in a gathering ceremony;
- The creative process of writing up the voices of the ancestors, involving prayer and emotional processing with my family;
- The process of coding and tunnel development through learning and application of Halq'emeylem words to express elements of Coast Salish economy.

A relational research approach helped me to see the nature of the Coast Salish economy in ceremony as an economy of affection. The research as a ceremony allowed me to “step beyond the everyday and accept a raised state of consciousness” (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 69) as a means of understanding the Coast Salish economy.

Indigenous Research Methods are approaches to expanding knowledge by conducting research with Indigenous epistemology and ontology at the forefront of every stage of research, from the initial stages of design to the findings and implications (Bishop, 1996; Foley, 2003; Henry & Pene, 2001; Kovach, 2009; Royal, 2009; Sandoval, Lagunas, Montelongo, & Diaz, 2016; L. T. Smith, 1999). Much of the scholarship that has emerged about Indigenous research methods has evolved out of a history of inappropriate research conducted in Indigenous communities or on Indigenous people typically as ‘subjects’ of research. It is argued that this has been an extension, or another form, of colonisation (L. T. Smith, 1999) and Smith critically
questions the fundamental purpose and value of research. Research as ceremony is an example of Indigenous research methods.

5.1.1 Spiritual preparedness

This research involved a powerful element of spiritual preparedness, particularly when preparing to conduct the qualitative interviews, and when I was interpreting the interview transcripts. Because I was exploring not only the experiences of Coast Salish ancestors in general, but also those of my own ancestors, I was engaged in deep internal conversations. During this time of interpreting the voices of the ancestors from the interview transcripts, I sought solitude for approximately six weeks and kept in close contact with my father in Canada, who provided support and guidance as a trusted spiritual mentor. The most important aspect of the research journey in this spiritual realm was ensuring that I was spiritually protected, and that, in the event that the experience became too powerful, I had access to appropriate support. The consequences of spiritual sickness in the Coast Salish world are taken very seriously, and this was something that, knowing the dangers, I paid particular attention to when I was going through it. I did not anticipate the experience before it happened, but once I recognised it, I was able to respond appropriately.

5.2. Archival and historical data collection

In the preliminary phase of data collection, I travelled to the Stó:lō Nation Archives and Library in Chilliwack, BC. I was intent on listening to the voices of the ancestors
through secondary data to gain insight into what the ancestors envisioned for Coast Salish people then, now, and into the future. “To listen” was to better understand that through their legacies, we, as their descendants can engage with them, and maintain relationships with them, by listening to their “voices” in songs, dances, writing, interviews, photographs, and carvings as guiding wisdom to all aspects of Coast Salish life.

In an iterative and exploratory process, I embarked on the research with a mind open to the ‘nature’ of the Coast Salish economy. I truly did not know how I was to understand gatherings, but viewed the archives as a starting place to begin my search. There was no definition for the Coast Salish economy, except what I knew experientially from attending gatherings, and the transactional language covered in anthropological research. My search commenced with print sources found in private and public archives, including policy documents, legislation, letters, newspaper articles, and church and school records. These sources gave clear insight into the unfreedom aspect of the Coast Salish economy and the experiential effects the Indian Act and the Potlatch Ban. Only a selection of excerpts from sources on unfreedom are presented in the findings of this research, as the majority of new insights into the nature of Coast Salish economy speak to Coast Salish freedom. In the freedom realm, archival data is presented as excerpts from recorded interviews conducted by other researchers. The archival sources are interspersed with sqwélqwel, oral history from the qualitative interviews that I conducted to collect
primary data from. These sources appear similarly in the findings, but contain citations to the original sources.

One of the archival sources of evidence presented in this research takes the form of petitions and letters that appear as appendices in the *Stó:ló Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (2001). These letters largely voice the anxiety of Coast Salish ancestors pertaining to land loss, the effects of legislation such as the Potlatch Ban on communities, and restrictions on fishing and hunting, giving detailed accounts of how Coast Salish lives were changing. They provide a glimpse into how the chiefs understood the arrival and encroachment of Missionaries and settlers into their territories, and their frustrations with being unable to assert their inherent authority as custodians of the territory. The letters detail ‘debts unpaid’ as a result of not being able to exchange in Coast Salish ways. These letters indicate that the level of interruptions imposed by the Potlatch Ban on small-scale exchange but impacted the entire network of communities across Coast Salish territory that made up the gathering economy. These letters are the entry points to the tunnels that appear in the research findings. These voices of the ancestors at the time of unfreedom guide the voices of the ancestors in their descendants today expressing the nature of the economy of affection in gatherings.

5.3. Access and selection of wisdom keepers

To gain access to eight of wisdom keepers for the interviews, my key informant was my father who recommended people that he knew to be knowledgeable on Coast
Salish gatherings. Using purposive sampling (Bryman & Bell, 2011), the wisdom keepers’ insights were sought because of their expertise in the areas of Coast Salish Teachings, wealth, freedom and gatherings. The two main ways that he identified his recommended people were that they had been trained and taught the Teachings by knowledgeable elders; and had hosted, attended or participated in the work of gatherings. The methods for measuring these criteria are embedded within oral history protocol, and taught in the processes of attending, participating in, and hosting gatherings. Understanding of xwlalámstexw, witnessing responsibilities, is a key element of responsibility and care in sharing knowledge from the Teachings.

There are Coast Salish protocols that determined an appropriate way for my father to approach potential wisdom keepers on my behalf about doing an interview with me, protocols that ensured that the people he had in mind connected me to the upriver genealogy outlined in the introduction. There is an element of efficiency involved—that my father’s involvement in the process saved me explaining that my father had recommended them for the research—but it also signalled to the wisdom keepers that my father was willing to lend his credibility to me, enabling me to access his networks. By making the first contact himself, he assured them that he endorsed my research, and indicated that the original relationship was valuable enough at both ends to personally facilitate this new relationship. If I had approached them on my own, it might have taken some time to get their agreement to participate, but additionally, they might have wondered why my father did not make the effort himself, raising questions about the credibility of his teaching to me.
about how to care for relationships. The deliberate care and approach to find wisdom keepers for this research was an opportunity for my father to pass on his knowledge, from the Teachings, about creating relationships in an economy of affection.

Not all Elders are storytellers, and not all Elders have lived a good life. But to learn the highest degree of cultural knowledge, one could go to an Elder or someone not yet an Elder who understands and who lives the “good” cultural traditions. One could also go to someone who has good teachings. Walter Lightning describes the authority that Elders use to teach: “When [Elders] teach others they very often begin by quoting the authority of Elders who have gone before. They do not state the authority as coming from themselves. They will say things like ‘This is what they used to say,’ or ‘This is what they said’” (Archibald, 2008, p. 13).

Evidence of the capability to use oral footnoting was based on my father’s knowledge of the Teachings and his ability to recommend wisdom keepers from his experience of living and working with Coast Salish communities. The specific reputations of my great grandparents, grandparents, parents, and myself enabled many of the research processes to happen. This had an influence on access to interview participants, on trust within the interview process and on the openness with which the interviewees shared responses to the questions. There was also a general openness to research that resulted from the research relationships developed as a means of capturing Coast Salish oral history.

5.4. **Qualitative semi-structured interviews**

As part of the processes of autoethnography and using oral history research methods, video and audio recorded interviews enabled me to uphold a
“commitment to understanding the knowledge as also ‘our knowledge’...underprivileged, unseen, and unacknowledged” (Cassell, 2009, p. 505).

I used video recording as the medium to capture sqwēlqwel, oral history, expressed in the qualitative interviews in this research. I used this method in this research as a way to listen to the voices of the ancestors with particular attention to cultural layers of interaction that occur as part of oral history. Video recording allowed me to capture not only what was said by wisdom keepers, but also the environment in which the interview was conducted, and the energetic and relational exchanges between me and the wisdom-keepers. The recordings also captured knowledge as part of a process somewhat akin to sqwēlqwel, fostering epistemological alignment between data collection and Coast Salish knowledge transmission. The interviews allowed me to participate in the co-production of Coast Salish knowledge in research.

I conducted eleven qualitative, semi-structured interviews over a six-week period. The final interview with my father was conducted one year after the others, giving a total of twelve interviews. All of the interviews were conducted in Coast Salish territories at either the home or workplace of the wisdom keeper. Cassell (2009) says the location of the interview is significant because no ‘place’ is neutral. The implication of being able to conduct the interviews in-person, in Coast Salish territory was that while the wisdom keepers talked about the historical impact of things that happened, they used body language and gestures toward the places they referred to. What unfolded in real-time in the process of interviewing exemplified
the continuity of past unfreedom in the present because of their continued presence and physical dwelling ‘in this place’. At times, in some interviews more than others, both spatially and temporally, there was little, or no distance between generations of Coast Salish people and the experience of unfreedom. This is demonstrated in the research findings through the language of affection, crying to express continued loss and grief from a’wəna sna’ps, the time without advice, the time of unfreedom.

The interviews were conducted in person, and recorded using both video and audio recording, barring one conducted at a distance via Skype. In the final six months of writing up the thesis, I shared an executive summary with the wisdom keepers over email, asking for their initial reflections and insights. I made several follow-up phone calls via Skype audio that resulted in further phone conversations about research findings and my interpretation of the interview findings.

5.5. Data analysis

Discourse analysis was used to analyse the interviews and listen to the voices of the ancestors. By focusing on the discourse of oral history texts in print, and the oral history interviews conducted in this research, I found that the nature of the language used to explore and describe Coast Salish gatherings provided a means to understand the historical and social circumstances that contemporary Coast Salish people find themselves in today. Their choice of words, how they are expressed, and the emotion that drives Coast Salish language reflects a mode of sensemaking (Phillips & Oswick, 2012) shaped by personal and intergenerational experiences.
Discourse analysis enables the researcher to approach research phenomena from the perspective that institutions are socially constructed (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2000; Nikander, 2008), and that their ascribed meaning and their relevance within the lives of the people and communities who use them change over time. With gatherings as the phenomena around which the interviews and archival data collection focused, discussion about the role of gatherings as economic institutions caused the wisdom keepers to reflect on specific memories and experiential insights into ‘moments’ when they viewed gatherings to have changed, why they changed, and how those experiences shaped a contemporary Coast Salish view of gatherings.

The deeper reasoning behind my use of discourse analysis to better understanding gatherings, is that the historical changes that devalued gatherings caused significant changes in Coast Salish discourse around gatherings evident today. Gatherings went from institutions that reflected Coast Salish economy and spiritual freedom to institutional memories of unfreedom derived from having to leave knowledge, families and ways of life behind. Their continuity today as ceremonies of cultural expression signal that a shift has occurred in the way that the Coast Salish view gatherings: as not serving the same economic purpose they once did. Deconstruction of this discourse creates the opportunity to look again at processes by which gatherings changed (Phillips & Oswick, 2012), and to reframe the way that the language of freedom, unfreedom, and wealth is used to enable the principles behind Coast Salish exchange in gatherings to be seen with new understanding.
In this research, the discursive texts that are used are archival and historical texts, and qualitative oral history interviews. These texts build a picture of the changes that took place for the Coast Salish from when Coast Salish values expressed in gathering ceremonies were the primary means of facilitating exchange in an economy of affection, to the shift when Western European economic values based on an economy of exploitation replaced those of the Coast Salish economy. Sqwélqwel captured in print illuminates the impact of the shift as relating to having the freedom to nurture relationships, grow networks, and express affection by looking after one another to an economy that did not allow for an ethic of care expressed according to Riverworldview.

In all the texts, I focused on what the voices of the ancestors were saying and feeling through shifting economic landscapes. Change from one economic mode to another involved processes of grieving and loss, and subversive acts of preservation to protect the Teachings in the face of adversity. In the analytic phase of research, there were four main media that I used to review and engage with the interviews:

1. **Watching the videos through.** *Watching, listening, remembering, responding.* 
   **Interviewee focus.**
   While watching the videos, in addition to the content of the interview, I was cognisant of relational and energetic exchanges, alertness to the story-telling context, location/surroundings of the interview, interruptions, timing, intonation of the interviewee, silences, facial expressions, spatial proximity between us, lighting, and time of day/night.
2. Listening to the backup audio recordings. *Listening, remembering, familiarity.*

*Interviewer and process focus.*

This form of analysis was process-focused. I reflected on how I would do the interview differently if I could do it again. In this analysis, imperfections were noticed in terms of technological insufficiencies and human errors, sound interference, interruptions, and my timing in terms of asking questions. Differences in pace, intonation, silences, and the visual component of oral history, such as when wisdom keepers painted pictures of the story were noted.


*Content and phenomenon focus.*

As I read the transcripts, I paid attention to the story and the words on the page. I found this medium lessened my memory of the power of the wisdom keepers, who were comfortable speaking in the longhouse setting, and had ‘longhouse voices’ which are loud, clear, and often low. These speakers tended not to speak in full sentences and their stories are harder to follow in print. They often reiterated what other people said, and asked rhetorical questions. They seemed to have a greater awareness that by doing the interview, they were speaking to a wider audience than just me as an interviewer and researcher. Without the video to complement, this nuanced behaviour can be missed and forgotten.

4. Coding transcripts in soft copy using qualitative data analysis software, *Dedoose.* *Processing, organising, engaging.*

*Broad research focus, commonalities and differences across all interviews.*

To analyse the qualitative interviews, I used an online qualitative data analysis programme called *Dedoose* to organise and map interview findings thematically.
Dedoose caused me to be more mechanical and streamlined with categories and previous codes. The software helped to organise the data, but was not used extensively to analyse it. Data analysis was done largely through an intuitive heuristic process of reflection on experience in the field. Dedoose provided a broad picture of meta-tunnels that were emergent from all interviews. The wisdom keeper transcripts spoke from the voices of the ancestors. The quotes that were selected for inclusion within the findings were chosen as best examples of the tunnels.

5.5.1 Halq’eméylem language-use, seeing the tunnels

I used field notes throughout the research process, from the early planning and design phases to the writing and synthesis. Where possible, I chose to apply codes in Dedoose in Halq’eméylem rather than in English. I used the dictionary to create many codes and tunnels from the interviews in the Halq’eméylem language, with an English translation to follow. I do not have any fluency or training in Halq’eméylem except in my undergraduate study at the University of British Columbia (UBC), where I took two years of language credit learning the downriver dialect of the Halkomelem language family, haňqəmiñəm spoken by the Musqueam people. This linguistic training immensely helped my ability to grasp the fundamentals of Riverworldview also embedded within Halq’eméylem. However, they are distinct dialects that reflect distinctly localised ways of life. In the midst of coding, I received the two-volume Halkomelem dictionary from my father. The arrival of the dictionary allowed me to rename many of the codes I had started to create in Dedoose with my interpretation of the appropriate Halq’eméylem word. If I could not find an appropriate
Halq’eméylem word to suit what I wanted to capture in English, I left it in English for later revision in the event that the other interviews might shed more light onto the Coast Salish understanding and representation or conceptualisation of this concept. Once most of the codes were renamed I quickly grew familiar with the language, becoming accustomed to the look and sound of those particular words. A secondary outcome of this research process was having the opportunity to learn the Halq’eméylem vocabulary and concepts through the coding process. The dictionary includes both Halq’eméylem-English and English-Halq’eméylem translations. In the first iteration of interview coding in Dedoose, I coded in the same order as the interviews, in a linear process that mirrored the sequence that I conducted the interviews in.

Creating the codes has been a spiritual experience in itself. I spent a significant amount of time exploring the vocabulary and experimenting with variations on concepts and philosophies, and marking the dictionary with what has the potential to become a set of Coast Salish economic principles and values. As I was allocating codes into Dedoose, I struggled to find words in Volume II of the English-Halq’eméylem dictionary (Galloway, 2009b) that pertained to aspects of Coast Salish philosophy and reflected expressions of Coast Salish being and spirituality. There were many words and phrases specific to the context of Spirit Dancing. This is not surprising given the centrality of Spirit Dancing as the grounding activity around which so much of the longhouse lifeways and protocol happens. Spirit Dancing legitimises continued existence, and the care and upkeep of the
remaining longhouses on the territory; and, in the Spirit Dancing months, it brings together members of the community. However, outside of the context of Spirit Dancing, concepts relating to components of Coast Salish being that might explain not how or what happens in Coast Salish spirituality, but rather why Coast Salish spirituality is the way it is, I was left without Halq’eméylem words to fulfil these codes.

Reflecting on the sequencing of the coding process using Dedoose, I note that a similar effect occurred in the coding process as in the process of conducting the interviews. When I conducted the interviews, it became clear through the perspectives of all other interviewees that there was a legitimacy to their sharing of knowledge that became apparent by virtue of their voices following that of Willie Seymour. In several circumstances, the beginning of each interview began with the interviewee asking who else I had interviewed, or planned to interview, but the question was not necessarily to get an entire list of interviewees: instead, it appeared to be answered upon the interviewee hearing that I had already interviewed Willie. This was more an indication of his wealth of knowledge and the reputation he has to speak on the topic of Coast Salish gatherings. I am not entirely certain as to what substantiates his knowledge, whether it is based on: an implicit referential system across Coast Salish territory that he carries this knowledge; the fact that he has hosted and/or attended many gatherings in his lifetime; his precedents’/teacher’s reputation and knowledge (his grandfather); or his age and his memory of times far beyond what they (members of a different generation)
remembered. No one interviewee really explained why he is so knowledgeable or seen to be a wisdom-keeper, but there is no question that he is.

5.6. Tél:exw Summary

By acknowledging that research is ceremony, the spiritual dimension of research informed the tools used in this research. Maintaining the voices of the ancestors as the driving force behind data collection, archival and historical data and qualitative interviews provides insight into the nature of Coast Salish economy from the time when the Potlatch Ban first started to be enforced. The choice to use video recording as a research tool provides particular depth and richness that audio recording alone cannot that aligns with Coast Salish oral traditions. The distinctions between ancient oral traditions, and oral history that is conducted for research purposes explored temporal and experiential differences that impact on the transmission of knowledge. The Halq’eméylem language was used in the process of data analysis and shifted how the research insights are understood through contextual framing within Riverworldview.
CHAPTER 6: SQWELIQWEHIWEL, FINDING “MANY SMALL TUNNELS”

In this chapter, the research journey on the river includes discovery of many tunnels. These tunnels are used to organise the research findings so that the nature of the Coast Salish economy can be seen through unseen sacred geography. Sqweliqwehiwel is a specific place in S’ólh Téméxw, significant because of the “many small tunnels” (Robbins, 2010, p. 68) that converge there, and is part of the story about how sacred sxwó:xwey masks came to humans from the Spirit World.

The stories surrounding these tunnels differ in the nature of their construction, but almost all versions of the story include at least one tunnel, suggesting their importance to the sacred geography of the Stó:lō people. The tunnel was necessary, according to McHalsie, because the underwater people could not bring the mask across land. They needed to travel underground in order to gift the mask to the Stó:lō people (pp. 67-68).

Reflecting on the primary question that drives this research, “What is the nature of the Coast Salish economy?” the interview findings demonstrate that Coast Salish people have experienced a time without freedom, and that the Coast Salish economy is an economy of affection. The impacts of unfreedom continue to be evident in current generations of Coast Salish people, through their language and the affective expression of sadness and weeping. Unfreedom is expressed using the language of affection, which is derived from the emotion of sorrow when speaking about gathering ceremonies. The language of affection expresses sadness and the loss of peoplehood, language, a sense of identity; and unfreedom from being unable...
to nurture the intra- and intercommunity relationships that sit at the heart of Coast Salish economy of affection, and was previously nurtured in gathering ceremonies.

The many small tunnels provide insight into the realm of freedom illuminating the nature of Coast Salish functionings that support the economy of affection as facilitating economic freedom, shedding light on Coast Salish wealth, work, exchange principles and spiritual economy. Qualitative interviews provide insight into the sub-questions: “What is the nature of Coast Salish capability within the Coast Salish economy?”; and “How is capability expressed in the Coast Salish economic institution of gatherings?” Coast Salish freedom captured under the broad tunnel, “Áyelexw, to come back to life” is, by virtue of having the capability to nurture exchange between Xá:ls, the Creator, Sólh Téméxw, the river environment, and Xwélmexw, the river people, inherently spiritual. Coming back to life after the time of unfreedom is demonstrated in Coast Salish capability to uphold values and protocol of ceremonial gatherings that nurture an economy of affection. Coast Salish ceremonial functionings include: having access to, and passing on wealth found in syewá:l, genealogy and specialised knowledge; having the capability to conduct ‘work’ in ceremony; and creating reciprocal affective relationships through gifting, debt, saving, and banking. Engaging in spiritual exchange with Xá:ls, the Creator and ancient ancestors by passing on ancestral names fosters belonging within, and contribution to Coast Salish communities. Coast Salish capability facilitates opportunities for Coast Salish people to participate in a continuous self-sustaining network of interdependence.
6.1. A’wəna snə’ps, the time “without advice” and without freedom

One of the tunnels that emerged in this research centres on the time “without advice” when gatherings were suppressed and freedom was not a Coast Salish reality. This tunnel focuses on Coast Salish unfreedom. Unfreedom is felt at the individual level and is thus expressed as emotional reaction and the affective language of crying and weeping. It is also intergenerational in nature, and reflects contemporary collective experiences of continued efforts to ‘overcome’ the impacts of colonisation. A summary of the findings related to Coast Salish unfreedom, and a general description is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3 - Coast Salish unfreedom findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unfreedom findings</th>
<th>Impact on functioning, ‘beings and doings’ according to Riverworldview</th>
<th>Reflected in literature?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relative poverty</td>
<td>Paradoxical, which reflects the reality of being poor and wealthy at the same time depending on which economy is used to measure wealth and poverty.</td>
<td>Framed in terms of economy of exploitation, not economy of affection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Coast Salish are poor relative to the rest of Canadian society using economy of exploitation measures of wealth and poverty;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Coast Salish are rich relative to Coast Salish economy of affection measures of wealth and poverty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X̱a:m! Crying, weeping, grieving</td>
<td>• Literal and figurative crying;</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Conveyed in both Halq̓eméylem and English;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Insight based not on what is said, but what is felt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Active process of mourning and ongoing sadness;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Includes both past and present responses to colonial impacts on Coast Salish gatherings;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Captures the essence of ancestors who directly experienced capability deprivation from being unable to host and participate in gatherings, and indirect loss (capability deprivation) within contemporary Coast Salish generations.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Because those experiences continue to live in the oral histories passed down, the contemporary experience does not see the struggles of ancestors as distanced from the challenges faced by generations of Coast Salish today. Willie Seymour shared his perspective on Coast Salish unfreedom:

*Unfreedom is not the right to live in the ancient way, that’s not the right to follow our tradition, our customs. It’s a sad way of life to not be able to live our ways. It’s a sad way of life for our grandfathers and grandmothers (Seymour).*

Without gatherings, Coast Salish knowledge could not be passed down through ceremony and oral history, and a generational gap grew between: Coast Salish who were raised speaking Halkomelem languages, were taught the economy of affection through Teachings in gatherings, and became confident in their individual sense of Coast Salish identity and belonging; and Coast Salish who could not access these cultural foundations. The residual impacts felt today reflect generations of Coast Salish still struggling with inter-generational trauma, and can be understood in greater depth by using the language of the Capability Approach.

In the Foreword of the *Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Blomfield et al., 2001), Steven Point recounts his experience of hearing derogatory comments from outsiders about perceived inequality around the social assistance and state resources allocated to Aboriginal people, and shares his response to these outsiders’ assumptions. He says,
My God, if we had only had equality since the time Aboriginal people met Europeans, then maybe we would still be people in our own eyes and not “Indians”....When I look at young Aboriginal people in the street today and talk to them, I find they don’t even know what is wrong with them. All they know is that they do not like who they are, they are angry, they are poor, and they are a minority in a country that treats them as though they get privileges that others do not. Well, I’m tired of apologizing for being Aboriginal (Point cited in Blomfield et al., 2001, p. xiii)25.

Point’s comment illuminates the stark paradox of inequality within a society that historically ignores how unfreedom has become the daily reality of many Aboriginal people. For those who experience it most intensely, the impacts of unfreedom are so deep there is no language to express it, and their sadness and anger is purely emotive and internally directed.

Siyémches, Frank Malloway describes the experience of being subject to Indian Act policy as, “Sort of like being held in prison. You didn’t have any freedom.” The feeling of imprisonment is connected to the enduring memory of literal imprisonment. Yet, Siyémches also tells a story about how communities responded to the policing and surveillance of gatherings when the Potlatch Ban was heavily enforced. The story explains how Coast Salish people disrupted the authority of the state, using deception to protect those who hosted gatherings from the shame and humiliation of incarceration. Siyémches says:

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25 In this section, the insights from tunnels include excerpts from the qualitative interviews conducted for this research, and excerpts from wisdom keepers found in archival and historical research from interviews conducted by other researchers.
The late Charlie Douglas from Cheam—he was telling me that the fellow that lived just past his reserve at Popkum, they put on a gathering in the wintertime, and it was just held in this fellow’s house. In the wintertime when you’re drumming or singing, you know, the cold, crisp air carries sound. It’ll go a long ways. If they were singing at Deroche, you could hear it at Popkum, you know? [laughing] And uh, so they were having a gathering at Popkum house, and the provincial police, there were no RCMP for BC at that time. Provincial police walked in, and they seen all the people sittin’ in there, and they said, “Who put on this gathering?” And a guy at the back, he stood up and he said, “Me. I invited ‘em.” So, “Come with us.” So they took him to town and they had court and he was sent to Coquahalla [prison] for two months. But he was just a guest. A dancer. He just came with a group, a family group. And it was Popkum Billie that Charlie Douglas told me had that party and [the dancer] saved Popkum Billie from two months [in prison]. But you know, the guy who claimed to invite everybody, he got two months. And that’s the things that happened with this Indian Act (Siyémches).

These stories are a significant part of oral history about gatherings and the legacy of Coast Salish unfreedom because they convey agency, and the collective understanding by Coast Salish communities that not being allowed to practise gatherings was a fundamentally unethical restriction. The sense of injustice, and the violation of basic spiritual and ceremonial rights, are expressed in the story. By highlighting key Coast Salish agents’ behaviour, the legacy of Coast Salish courage and survival against oppression is preserved, reinforcing legitimacy for contemporary Coast Salish people to understand that what happened was, from a Coast Salish perspective, unethical. Willie Seymour affirms this point, and extends the ethical lesson to broader society that not only is the survival of Coast Salish ceremony important for the Coast Salish, but also the ethics and values embedded in gatherings contribute to diversity of humanity. This guides the purpose behind the resurgence and revival of Coast Salish traditional knowledge. He states:
We need to understand those areas that affect us in order to move ahead. That is of great, great importance...to know that we are educators. We need to educate society as to what our culture is about so that there will be a balance, and acceptance to overcome assimilation. We have something to offer society, and that’s snuweyeth, traditions and cultures of our people (Seymour, 1998a).

Steven Point comments on the link between the experience of oppression from Indian Act policy, and the extent to which the Coast Salish experienced erosion of the ability to exercise choice and agency:

Being confined on reserves and being told by the Indian Agent what to do—you don’t have choices. And for a long time, we didn’t. I know growing up, a lot of us my age, still were taught by our elders not to ask for things, not to ask questions. These are rules that we have in our society, but when you get to a certain point, you’re supposed to ask. They said when you’ve got grey hair, you’re supposed to talk. I remember getting up at a gathering and I think I was a chief by then. One of the chiefs pushed me like that, “It’s your turn, get up there”. So I had to get up, even if I didn’t know what I was going to say. And he said, “Even if you just thank the people, just thank them, that’s good enough for now”. Okay, so I said a few words, and I sat down, and all these Old People are gone who trained me, so now I have to get up and speak, right? And you have to. You have more choices now, as you get older. So, I guess, a lot of us natives, when we’re out in the white world, “Don’t know. Can we do that? Are we allowed to do that?”....My generation, and my dad’s generation, “Can we do this? Is it alright? Can we do that? I didn’t know we can do that”. Waiting for someone else to tell us “You can do that”....I was telling people, “We don’t have to stay anymore. If you guys want to move off [reserve], you can.” “Can we?” “Ya, you can, you don’t have to stay here.” “Really?” That’s unfreedom when you think we have to stay here. We’re still here, even though we don’t have to be here. The reserves were designed to keep us here, and all that fell away in the 50’s and the 60’s but we’re still here. It’s like taking a big elephant and tying him up with a big chain, and then after a while, you just use a rope, and pretty soon, a thread will keep that elephant right where he is, because he believes he’s confined. That’s unfreedom. It truly is. Most of us believe that we’re confined. “I guess we can’t leave” (Steven).

Despite changes to legislation and the political climate that may afford the Coast Salish freedom where it was previously restricted, the experience of unfreedom is
lasting because the unfreedom mindset and associated behaviours have been transmitted across generations.

Steven’s excerpt demonstrates that actions by the state to rectify unethical policies are necessary because they are part of the state taking responsibility and accountability for its destructive impact on communities, and is required to enhance process freedoms. However, because the inability of Coast Salish people to pursue and achieve freedom outside of conditioned habits, the opportunity aspect of freedom is unaddressed. Because the affective dimension of unfreedom has gone unaddressed, the unfreedom mindset has shaped Steven’s, and his parents’ generation from recognising their own agency even when it was legally restored. Achieving this level of opportunity freedom entails the reparation of Coast Salish identity, belonging and interconnectedness through the practice of agency and choice in these areas.

The Coast Salish experienced unfreedom not only because having to let go of the Coast Salish economy of affection caused much anguish and uncertainty, but also because the transition to an economy of exploitation was also unsuccessful. Generations of Coast Salish did not learn to value the individualist behaviours crucial for survival and success in the economy of exploitation. In his role as an administrator of resources to his tribe, Herb Joe saw generations of Coast Salish who grew up used to collectivist values of sharing and distribution struggling to save money. This impacted on their ability to feed their families. He explains:
That was something I was always at odds with Department of Indian Affairs with. I was fighting with them on a monthly basis over fiscal accountability. There were certain families that, I knew these families. I grew up with these families. I knew their history and I knew them to be honourable people. But they were in a time when they didn’t know how to survive. They were raised in a situation where communal life was what they were born into, and what they learned at an early age. And they carried that kind of way of living right through to a more contemporary world that didn’t have the same standards, the same worldview, or anything like that. And they were completely isolated and estranged to that, and the world that they lived in. And it was really a struggle for them (Joe, 2005).

Unfreedom in this context pertains to an older generation of Coast Salish, who were used to the values of the economy of affection in which they were raised, and faced the indirect consequences of not prescribing to the values of the economy of exploitation. These earlier generations’ experiences of unfreedom had lasting effects that laid some of the foundations for the conditions of poverty common in Coast Salish communities today. Having economic beliefs that were not valued, and grappling with expectations to conform with the economy of exploitation values reified structurally Coast Salish poverty, disadvantage and exclusion from the economy of exploitation.

6.1.1 Xá:m! Crying, weeping, grieving Coast Salish economy

This tunnel demonstrates the affective expression of literal and figurative crying with reference to gatherings, conveyed in both Halq’eméylem and English. Xá:m signals a layer of insight based not on what is said about the Coast Salish economy, but on what is felt. Wisdom keeper, Willie Seymour used the hul’q’umi’num word for crying instead of the English word. In the interview, Seymour relied on his intuitive affective response that was an active process of mourning and reflected ongoing sadness.
Willie used xá:m to describe both past and present responses to colonial impacts on Coast Salish gatherings. Seymour used the word xá:m to describe his emotional state at the time of the interview, and shaped his response about what freedom can, or will, look like for Coast Salish people today and in the future. He responded with emphatic sadness:

\[
\text{That is my freedom, to tell my story as freely as I can. It's hard. It's hard, it's like a cry. It's a xá:m! It's a cry for me to try to remember the ancient ways. But to share it with yourself, and with what you're doing, is really, greatly appreciated (Seymour).}
\]

Xá:m captures the essence of the ancestors who directly experienced capability deprivation through being unable to host and participate in gatherings, and through indirect losses by contemporary Coast Salish generations of their descendants. Willie expressed xá:m in the interview emphatically, making it sound like a cry. Xá:m expresses loss of the opportunity to build and nurture relationships through affection for each other, for the Creator, and for the environment. Nurturing affective relationships provides a sense of purpose, and guides the ‘why’ of an economy that Coast Salish people have reason to value.

The archival letters written by chiefs include signatories from the two Coast Salish tribes that I am descended from: Ikwalia, Bob Tsalis from Ts'a’i:les; and Tsatselten from Leq’á:mel. The letters are from 1864, and petition against encroaching changes to land, fishing, and gatherings. The letters were written in legible but broken English. This indicates that Coast Salish leaders were communicating in a foreign language and were instructed to set out linear, written
arguments transcribed by a third party, pleading for the livelihood of their communities to remain intact. One letter reads:

_The white men tell many things about taking our lands: our hearts become very sick. We wish to say to Governor Seymour: please protect our lands….We do not like to pay money to carry lumber and many other things in our canoes on the river of our ancestors. We like to fish where our fathers fished_ (Blomfield et al., 2001, p. 171).

Another one reads:

_Our hearts are full of grief day and night, and in fact we have been many days without being able to sleep_ (Blomfield et al., 2001, p. 171).

As the letters continue, the grievances become more specific, and indicate the exact impact of encroachment and legislation that signal the unravelling of relationships within Coast Salish communities. The following excerpts, written after legislation took effect, highlight the crisis of not being able to host gathering ceremonies, and what the disruption to the long-standing gift economies felt like at an individual level. Shame, desperation, helplessness, and humiliation speak loudly to me as a descendant, as the voices of people without the freedom to fulfil their reciprocal economic obligations to each other. The following letter emphasises that the shame derives from not exchanging publicly:

_It cannot be wrong to pay what we owe this is the only way to do it we are not yet like white people and it is one of our laws that these payments shall be done in public. If I am not allowed to hold a gathering the disgrace will be greater than I can bear._

_And what must I do with the property that I owe. I owe 140 Indians goods, some of them as much as 100 blankets how can I pay my debts unless they are all here to witness! Tell me what I must do_ (Blomfield et al., 2001, p. 174).
The Coast Salish gathering economy is embedded in a complex network of relationships around which all aspects of spiritual, socio-cultural, economic and environmental life come together. The impact of the Potlatch Ban cut deep in the heart of the people.

Reflecting on his naming ceremony, Willie spoke about the tears that his grandfather shed at the ceremony, as evidence of his grandfather’s appreciation of the community for the opportunity to invigorate his deceased son Jimmy’s legacy. Willie explained:

When my grandfather named me, he shed tears. He shed tears. So I really appreciate what he did for me. So, that’s the origin of my name. Where I come from, my namesake was my uncle Jimmy Seymour....he cried because I was bringing back a legacy of his late son, my uncle Jimmy. And then, from there, it was a legacy of memories for my grandfather (Seymour).

The shedding of tears illustrates Willie’s grandfather’s residual grief from losing his son. However, the tears also show an outpouring of happiness because of the ability to nurture affective community and intergenerational ties through the commemoration of his son’s death. Willie’s role as the custodian of Jimmy’s name was prioritised as a privilege; and the legacy that Willie inherited represented an act of love and affection born out of sadness.

Grief and loss paired with love and affection is an expression of Coast Salish spiritual freedom based on the opportunity to connect Willie ceremonially and genealogically to a living memory of Jimmy. If Willie’s naming ceremony was still outlawed, the process of grief tied to Jimmy Seymour’s passing would have remained incomplete. The transference of ceremonial and spiritual commemoration
through the passing on of the ancestral name allowed the spirit of Jimmy to be remembered, and the burden of grief to be lifted.

Another topic that garnered the affective expression of crying and grief centred on the time when gatherings went ‘underground’. Reflecting again on his naming ceremony, Willie felt it was a privilege to receive a name at all. The experiences of his ancestors’ struggle to preserve the ceremonies against the law and under stressful circumstances caused Willie to feel sadness for what they went through. Describing the process of gatherings going underground, Willie alludes to an eventual surrender of a traditional way of life:

_They hid away everything that was coming to them. They hid away. That’s what I mean by underground. It was like a tearful time for our people. Because we weren’t allowed to practise publicly our traditional way of life. It was a xá:m! A xá:m! It was a cry! A way of life that they let go (Willie)._ 

Ongoing Coast Salish grief and sadness is shaped by the loss of both collective and individual identity and the erosion of Coast Salish peoples’ sense of ‘worth’. Ethel Gardner explains that Coast Salish individual worth is affirmed in strong cultural identity through knowledge of traditions, language, and having a sense of belonging within Coast Salish communities. The legacy of residential schools carved deep fissures in the Coast Salish identity, through deprivation of children's access to identity. Identity is a form of Coast Salish wealth, and although Coast Salish children were institutionally deprived of this wealth by the Canadian government, the individual affective interpretation of deprivation is felt as loss. Ethel says,
When colonisation came and took us and put us in residential schools and tried to eradicate who we were as Stó:lō people, that’s what they did—they took our worth away. And so, when you feel like you don’t know those things, you feel lost, and when you get those things back, you feel like you have worth. You know who you are (Ethel).

Individual worth comes from regaining traditions and language; however, rebuilding the institutions to facilitate worth through belonging involves both individual and collective effort.

Funerals emerged as a context in which the ceremonial and spiritual aspects of the gatherings have stayed largely intact. Kat Pennier describes contemporary Coast Salish memorial services as events in which ceremonial grieving takes place. In memorials, the wider Coast Salish community activates principles of reciprocity that involve the collective sharing of grief to relieve individuals from carrying the burden of sadness and loss alone. This shared grieving is passed on throughout the community:

...when you’re doing the memorials, you’re going through a grieving process, and after you do the ceremony, it’s time to let the loved one go. And that’s why you call the people together so that they can help you with that process. So it’s not only just for yourself or your family, it’s for the other people as well (Kat).

The processes of grieving in memorial services, as part of economy of affection, facilitate shared responsibility to care for the living by ensuring that those who pass away are spiritually guided to the Spirit World, and that the human world remains in balance. This is a collective responsibility, and sharing the burden of grief is a form of reciprocity in the Coast Salish spiritual economy. Reciprocity is also materially expressed through the gifting of money for funerals and memorials, thus attending to the practical financial expenses that funerals accrue. The exchange of money is
understated compared to the expression of caring and affection through metaphoric language and actions. The money is a gesture of affection rather than a financial transaction. Steven explained the dual meaning behind money being wrapped in a ‘hanky’ (handkerchief) as a way to comfort and care to those in mourning:

...guests will come up and offer words to the family and give them gifts of cash. They use beautiful language in offering the gifts, “I am giving you a hanky to dry your tears” (Steven).

The metaphor of drying tears is an expression of collective support, and signals the distribution of resources. Although death is inevitable and every family has to deal with death eventually, the financial cost of attending to spiritual responsibilities in addition to dealing with loss of a loved one is not something that individual families should have to worry about. In much the same way that the feelings of grieving are collectively shared, so too are financial expenses.

The wisdom keepers reflected on historical Indian Act restrictions, and recognised that the way the state enforced surveillance and control was somewhat ridiculous. Siyémches talks about the absurdity of the historical restriction on the number of Indians that were allowed to collect at any given time during the Potlatch Ban. The rationale of the restriction implied that his family unit consisting of himself, his wife and his children living in one house, would have broken the law. He says,

...that potlatch law covered too much. It didn’t cover just the giveaway things. It covered gatherings, you know, you couldn’t have a gathering...like I had a family gathering today, but there was about 12 of us. And in the Indian Act, you couldn’t have more than four or five at one gathering. A guy has more kids than that, you know! I got eight (Siyémches)!
The contextualised perspective of Siyémches helps us to understand that the sadness and grief around gatherings was also linked to anger and frustration. This may explain that sadness and grief still resonate because of the inherent injustice of the Potlatch Ban. The continued expression of mourning, grief, loss and sadness in Coast Salish discourse today is a sign that the necessary measures have not been taken for the Coast Salish to re-establish the freedom of opportunity to pursue and achieve affective capability. The language of affection expresses residual economic unfreedom.

6.1.2 Relative poverty

In the interviews, experiences of poverty emerged from wisdom keepers’ awareness of: a) growing up poor in material wealth; and b) reliance on government-allocated social welfare services. Looking at the way that poverty was expressed in the interviews reveals a paradoxical reality for Coast Salish people somewhere between the economy of affection and the economy of exploitation. The nature of this paradox is that for some wisdom keepers, although they expressed an awareness of being “poor”, or growing up poor relative to the rest of Canadian society as measured by the economy of exploitation, there was also an awareness of being rich in terms of Coast Salish wealth measures in the economy of affection.

Patrick Kelly shared his experience of spending summers in childhood camping with his family on the Fraser River. For three to four months of the year, his parents would take their 11 children to live by the river so that they could fish every day. They would eat fresh fish, rice and vegetables cooked over a bonfire. One
memory that Patrick shared was of his father asking, “I wonder what the poor people are eating?” This powerful rhetorical question was a reminder of the different, competing measures of poverty by which his father perceived his family to be both wealthy and poor at the same time. The question also caused his children to think about wealth in relation to their own extended family, wider communities, and the broader Canadian society. Herb Joe shared a similar memory of his experience growing up:

_I can remember we had no electricity, no running water, but we always had food on the table. My dad would go fishing. He could set a net anytime. Anytime of the year—the winter months included, and there was always fish in the river to provide us with at least one major meal a day. We were never, ever...I can never remember being hungry. But then, of course, as restrictions on fishing became more and more enforced, by the fisheries officers...of course, then people found other ways of getting the fish. Like, they would sink their nets, and stuff like that. Just to make sure that their families continued to be fed....That’s the way my father was raised. He was raised by his grandfather to be self-sufficient—to be a hunter, to be a fisherman, to support your family (Joe, 2005)._

In the Coast Salish economy of affection, wealth is closely tied to access to food. Increased restrictions imposed by the government interfered with Coast Salish wealth described in Joe’s quote as parents’ ability to access food and to be self-sufficient in feeding their children. This functioning is formed through access to traditional knowledge and to intergenerational teaching about Coast Salish ways of hunting and fishing. In Joe’s comment, ‘being hungry’ can be seen as evidence of Coast Salish poverty—a sign that a family was not self-sufficient and was therefore poor.
In Larry Grant’s interview, he discussed poverty in the economy of exploitation as a factor that interferes with the capability to uphold values of reciprocity in gatherings, and with the Coast Salish economy of affection. Larry explained:

*Poverty prevents reciprocity in the sense of contemporary life, today, because prior to contact, I don’t believe there was any real poverty because we all lived in today’s terminology, I would call co-op housing. We did not actually live in completely separate apartments. We were communal in our living and communal in our food. Feeding each other. And I know in myself, as a young person, if I visited someone that was my relative, the first thing they would do is offer me food. So, we might have been impoverished in certain ways, but not as impoverished as we are in today’s economy. We’re in a dollar economy today, and in an industrial world today, so poverty today takes on quite a different form. Poverty in not having the resources, which is financial resources to be able to reciprocate in a way that you may want to. So, sometimes you may be doing a lot of things for the community, a lot of things for your extended family in such a way that it doesn’t take cash resources, and people sometimes, when you’re short of cash, you’re not able to have a gathering and be reciprocal in the giftings that have come your way. So the, that’s the kind of poverty I’m really talking about, about the kind of reciprocity, is in today’s economy, because it’s a cash economy (Larry).*

In both the economy of affection and the economy of exploitation, the lack of resources prevents people’s capability to exchange. Today, the quantity of resources that are required to host a gathering necessitates the accumulation of cash for gifts, food, and the honouring of those who contribute to the ‘work’ as speakers and witnesses. Larry described how Coast Salish families with low incomes are also institutionally excluded from gatherings because they cannot uphold obligations of reciprocity. The issue of poverty within the economy of exploitation is an ongoing contemporary concern that has negative impacts on communities’ ability to sustain the momentum and robustness of gatherings. Steven reflected on his own
realisation, and shifted his thinking from focusing on poverty alleviation as the primary objective of Aboriginal economic development, to understanding poverty as a relative concept that when reframed, is better understood from one’s own worldview. Steven says:

‘We gotta think about economic development to alleviate poverty.’ I no longer think that. I think that what we need to do is alleviate the poverty of the soul and of the mind. If you went up to Inuit territory 500 years ago, and you found people living in an ice hut, eating raw meat, and you said to yourself, “Boy! These people are poor. They don’t have any kind of cars, or trains or boats or planes or TV’s or anything that we have. So they must be poor.” So your definition of poor is based on what you have, not based on what they have. So what do they do? They take those kids from the north and bring them to our schools, and teach them how to be us so that they don’t have to be poor, and then go home, and they don’t know anything about how to be Inuit again. Who the hell is poor? The kid is. He might have a PhD now or whatever, but he doesn’t know how to eat, or collect fish in a fish trade economy. So he’s poor, poor in knowledge, poor in experience, poor in connections that you need to have, poor in status because he’s never been involved in a lot of things, and it’s going to take him a long time to develop a lot of that stuff for the economy. We define poverty in a way that’s culturally, in our own lens. Well, then everybody’s poor then if we try to measure them against Canadian and American standards. There ain’t nobody that is rich but us. But if we define wealth in terms of how many cars you got, or how much money you got in the bank. That ain’t wealth in my view, it ain’t wealth in a Stó:lō perspective—has nothing to do with what we understand as being wealthy (Steven).

Steven realised that different understandings of wealth and poverty shift how they are understood and become manifest in Coast Salish lives. He came to the conclusion that in order for economic development to be of the greatest value to Coast Salish communities, the understanding what it means to be poor should be gained in relation to the Coast Salish philosophy of poverty and wealth. Steven’s statement that everyone is poor when compared against the national standards of the Canadian economy highlights the philosophical distance between an economy of
exploitation centred on material wealth, and an economy of affection centred on wealth of experience, connections and status. Larry Grant shared a similar perspective that he had learned from his mother about a Musqueam understanding of material wealth and how that was considered in the experience of relative poverty of Coast Salish families:

_There’s very little cultural sensitivity in business because it’s the cost, the actual cash cost of doing cultural protocols. Time is money to the industrialist, and in our philosophy it’s, “If it takes ten days, it takes ten days”. You know, we can’t do this in ten hours. It’s going to take ten days, and respecting it. And business is all controlled by time is money. And that’s, that’s like a false economy, I think. Because the dollar economy is a false economy, especially in today’s times, when the dollar has nothing to back it up. The gold standard is gone, where they used to have gold at least, and gold, as my mother said, “Why do you want gold? Can you eat it? Can you wrap yourself up and keep warm with it? Can you feed your children with it? Can you actually give them gold to eat? No, you can’t.” It’s a resource that is only valuable because somebody wants it, and somebody else wants it from you. For whatever reason, we have never been able to figure out, why is gold so valuable to the industrial society? You know, and my mother would say, “If you’re going to give me something, give me something I can eat, or something I can put on, keep me warm, something for my kids to stay warm and healthy. To me, that’s something that’s worth something” (Larry)._

### 6.2. Áyelexw, “to come back to life”, Coast Salish freedom

In the previous section, evidence from the interviews shed light on the phenomenon of unfreedom from a Coast Salish perspective. In this section, evidence from the research shows what it means from a Coast Salish perspective, Áyelexw, to come back to life, also understood as Coast Salish freedom. In the Capability Approach, this is understood as freedom to live a life that one has reason to value according to the Coast Salish Riverworldview. A summary of Coast Salish findings in relation to
freedom, and a general description of how the findings impact Coast Salish functioning according to Riverworldview is shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4 - Coast Salish freedom functionings in economy of affection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functioning</th>
<th>Impact of functioning, ‘beings and doings’ within Riverworldview</th>
<th>Reflected in literature?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Siyám, Coast Salish wealth, identity and knowledge | Wealth is derived from:  
1) S’i’wes, Knowledge—derived from the Teachings  
2) Syewá:l, Genealogy—having genealogy in order to be embedded in family and community, having knowledge of that genealogy, and growing that genealogy. | Yes, in Anthropology. |
| Syóyes, Work                                     | • Describes all activities and collective effort that goes into planning, hosting and conducting gathering ceremonies;  
• Community ‘business’ needs to be conducted in a public forum, witnessed and recorded by way of oral traditions;  
• Sacred spiritual authority called upon and protocol adhered to, to ensure that the context of exchange in gatherings reflects attention to not only what is exchanged between humans, but recognises that the spirit of the exchange also tends to the relationships between human and Spirit Worlds. | Yes, in Anthropology.  
Compared against layperson’s use of ‘work’ in everyday life, work in gatherings is inherently spiritual. |
| Spiritual economy and ancient reciprocity         | • Kwíxet, naming in ceremony;  
• Public acknowledgement of an individual’s contribution to their community fosters belonging;  
• Belonging is a fundamental component of Coast Salish economy of affection. | Partially, in Anthropological literature. Naming ceremonies are discussed, but belonging as an economic and spiritual capability are not. |
| Ayáqtel, Exchanging back and forth                | • Lhit’es, “the give-away”, generosity, gifts and gifting;  
• Léwléts, “debt”;  
• Xets’ét, xíts’et, “to store away something for winter”, saving;  
• Tale’áwtxw, banking, insurance. | Partially.  
Gifting and debt are discussed in Anthropological literature, but not saving or banking as economic terms. |
Collectively considered within the Capability Approach, the findings relating to freedom in Table 4 enhance Coast Salish capability in economy of affection, and represent different types of Coast Salish freedom. In the “Foreword” to *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Blomfield et al., 2001), Steven Point defines a life that one has reason to value means a life with dignity and a life without injustice. He says:

*We are just now beginning to recognize the extent of what has happened to us. We are just beginning to tell our story....We know there are no boats waiting in the harbour to take all of the non-Natives back someplace. We know people are not going to get on planes and say, “Oh, well, we didn’t get this country so we will go somewhere else”. The non-Natives are all going to be here after negotiations. And so are we. What I want to leave behind is the injustice....How do I get back my dignity? Non-Natives arrived here with their dignity; we would like our dignity back. That does not cost any money and does not take any land (p. xiv).*

This excerpt highlights that the removal of unfreedom only goes so far, and that what matters most is dignity, which is a form of affection for oneself. Patrick reflected on what might have happened had colonial forces not interfered to the extent that they did:

*Freedom would have been that we would have continued to flourish as a people according to our own customs and traditions in our territories, which we would have continued to take care of. And our life would have flourished as Stó:lō and as Coast Salish people (Patrick).*

Although it is impossible to know whether “life would have flourished”, at the heart of Patrick’s statement is respect for Coast Salish customs and for a life that the Coast Salish have reason to value. Cheryl Brooks expressed a similar view:
Freedom is the ability to live according to your beliefs and values, to practise your traditional spirituality, to manage and care for your lands and resources. To make your own decisions. To be responsible and accountable for yourself. To respect, share with and care for others (Cheryl).

From a Musqueam perspective of observing the city of Vancouver develop around and over top of Musqueam territories, Larry Grant discussed freedom in terms of survival and continuity:

Musqueam is surrounded by metro Vancouver. But, Musqueam is sort of an anomaly in that people around us didn’t fully understand that there was a reserve here—a community here. And even though there was a Potlatch Ban, our community was able to carry on in two ways. We were able to carry on physically, and be able to carry on mentally to carry on our traditional cultural activity from probably the 1910, 1920 times (Larry).

The location of the Musqueam reserve rendered it central, yet it was invisible to city dwellers who did not already know where it was. Its location protected the community from visibility just enough to enable Larry to attribute the resurgence of Coast Salish gatherings to Musqueam’s ability to protect their knowledge for a longer period of time. This continuity and steadfast resistance is a form of freedom.

Coast Salish freedom is shaped by agency, which Ethel Gardner explains means that Coast Salish people are no longer dependent on government-funded welfare services. Departure from reliance on state resources for survival creates the opportunity for Coast Salish communities to make decisions based on their own values, making freedom possible. She says Coast Salish freedom is:

When the majority of our people are not living in a dependent welfare state, and we have been able to define our own way of being in the community (Ethel).
In addition to agency as a marker of freedom, according to Coast Salish oral history, choice as an individual freedom was based on status and social positioning. Steven explained:

_The truth is, that most native people were not given choices either. But if you’re training a hereditary chief, that person was given choices...They were given choices, so freedom meant choices. Freedom meant, to have the ability to decide what you want to do....You couldn’t order a warrior around. You could only encourage them to this point. And so that’s why we have these long oral dialogues of orators standing and saying, this is my opinion, this is what I think. So in between people, men at a certain age, you couldn’t tell one another what to do. And so you had this liberty, being like a citizen of some kind. It meant that they couldn’t be ordered around. Little kids of course, teenagers, they said that they were always told what to do, but at a certain point—I don’t know when that was. I have only heard that once you became a grandparent, then you were allowed to voice your views. You could talk right? I’ve heard that. I don’t know if that’s true or not, but so up until that point, you did what you were told. But if you were a warrior, or someone in that class, I understood you couldn’t tell them what to do, you could only try to convince them to do this and that. So you had a different level of freedom. You had different choices then to do what you want to do. So freedom meant having more choices and less choices (Steven)._

As adults gained greater responsibility and experience throughout their lives, the right to freedom was marked by the capability to make decisions with more choices, and to voice one’s opinion. Eventually adults held full freedom to make choices without interference from others. Today, social stratification in Coast Salish communities no longer applies, but Steven shared how lack of agency prevented his parents’ generation from seeing the option to move off reserve as a choice. He also sees stark generational differences—that the understandings of generations of young Coast Salish people of choice as freedom is normal, and is a reflection of their strong sense of identity:
It’s the next generation, your generation, they don’t seem to have that. They go, “Why can’t we do that?” That’s their attitude. I used to think, “Gee, these guys are cocky people. They don’t behave right.” And I realised they just have confidence in themselves, which is different from what was like when I was growing up. And so your generation, they’re not as broken I guess as we were, and my parents were. And so they’re not broken. This next generation seem to be the unbroken ones and they don’t have unfreedom. They seem to have freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of their mind to decide, to give themselves rights to do this or that (Steven).

Choice and agency are no longer tied to the constraints and ascribed status that shaped Coast Salish communities in the past. Instead, to be ‘unbroken’ means having rights to choice and agency based on an inherent belief in individual worth. Steven identified a discernable shift between the broken generations’ view, and the unbroken generations’ view of agency, choice, and freedom. Patrick, hopeful that there is greater willingness to understand cultural knowledge as a source of freedom for all to take better care of the planet, comments on the shifting social and political landscape outside of Coast Salish communities. He says:

I think that we’re in a very strong rebuilding phase. I think there’s a lot of opportunity for others to understand our values and our traditions, and to understand that we actually never were anything other than a significant part of the broader human family with a great care for Mother Earth and taking care of the lands and resources not only for us, but for the future generations. Not only of Stó:lō people and Coast Salish people, but of all citizens (Patrick).

It is this potential for an exchange of ideas that Coast Salish did not have the opportunity to contribute to a more sustainable society through values of care and affection. Now, they do.
6.2.1 Siyám, Coast Salish wealth, identity and knowledge

There are two ways that wealth is defined within the Coast Salish world. Wealth is derived from: 1) S’íwes, knowledge—derived from the Teachings, including specialised knowledge gained through training; and 2) Syewá:l, genealogy—having a genealogy in order to be embedded in family and community, knowing that genealogy, and growing that genealogy. In Table 5 below, a summary of Coast Salish wealth based on syewá:l, genealogy is provided.

Table 5 - Coast Salish wealth from syewá:l, genealogy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Understand lineage 7-8 generations back.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nurturing distant oral history, sxwóxwiyám, and oral history of the recent past, sqwélqwel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining family ties to S’ólh Téméxw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of ecological principles tied to economic activity on S’ólh Téméxw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Síyám, wealth and leadership are both based on lineage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Salish collective identity as part of human family.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 6 below, Coast Salish wealth capability and functionings are shown, based on both S’íwes, the Teachings and syewá:l, lineage. The Coast Salish meaning and use of wealth is labelled “Wealth functioning” to align with the language of the Capability Approach. Functionings are the specific types of capability afforded by Coast Salish wealth.
Table 6 - Coast Salish wealth capability and functionings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siyá:m, Coast Salish wealth</th>
<th>Wealth functioning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S’íwes, the Teachings</td>
<td>To access, preserve and pass on knowledge, spirituality; and take care of obligations throughout Riverworldview exchange relationships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syewá:l, lineage, your ancestors</td>
<td>To be recognised as belonging in the community; individual gifts/contribution recognised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships, gifting, debt, saving and banking</td>
<td>To create indebtedness between yourself and others; reciprocate; help others in need; be helped when in need; build insurance for your future; banking resources in others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children, grandchildren, great grandchildren</td>
<td>To grow people and families through generosity, belonging, recognition of gifts, and knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>To look after the river environment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Steven discussed the way in which wealth is defined based on genealogical ties and knowledge:

*Your real wealth was not in what you had, but your station in life—who you were. So, if you were from a big family that was like hereditary chiefs, that was a wealthy position to be in. The hereditary chiefs controlled the assignment of things like fishing and hunting territories. They decided when they would go to war. They had a lot of power. There was a lot of wealth in who you were, in other words (Steven).*

An extension of these definitions is a combination of the two expressions of wealth seen in the number of children, grandchildren and great grandchildren a person has to carry on syewá:l, the genealogy, and s’íwes, the Teachings. Steven commented on the wealth that children and grandchildren afford:
The elders say this, when they say that: “My wealth is my children”. That’s what they say. My wealth is my children. They used to marry women on the basis of how many kids they could have. They wouldn’t marry a girl unless she already had a child, so that they already knew she could have children. Because the more kids you have, the wealthier your potential was. The bigger group you had. Cause a lot of children didn’t survive. A lot of children didn’t make it, even in traditional years. And girls were important because the bloodline passes through the women. Boys were important as warriors and fishermen and hunters (Steven).

From this perspective, wealth is realised through the ability to pass on genealogy and knowledge; the intergenerational component of Coast Salish wealth is a crucial component of its value. Growing lineage, knowledge and people harmoniously together enriches the Coast Salish economy of affection.

6.2.1.1 S’íwes, the Teachings

As a sub-category, or branch off of the Coast Salish wealth tunnel, S’íwes, the Teachings instil that Coast Salish people have an obligation and a responsibility to future generations, to be wealthy and free, and to engage in the Coast Salish economy of affection. According to Archibald (2008), the term ‘teachings’ means “cultural values, beliefs, lessons, and understandings that are passed from generation to generation” (p. 1). The Teachings are derived from the Spirit World, and carry lessons from ancient spiritual lineage, as described by Willie Seymour:
Our lessons come from the four directions. And it’s all a part of self. From the north they say, comes wisdom. It’s like our intellectual being. And from the east—illumination, or the ability to have vision. To be able to look forward. To be able to make plans and set goals—realistic goals and to accomplish those goals. From the south comes humility. We’re always told, you’re no better than the other person. You have to be humble. You have to respect. You have to honour each human being. Each part of each element of this earth. The west is an important component because today we have lost the ability for introspection. The Old People encourage that on a daily, daily basis. Especially if we weren’t correct, our elders would say, “Lamuthut sxwqweth”. Take the time to do a self-evaluation. Take the time to see what you are doing. Is it right, or wrong? Is it constructive? (Seymour, 1998a)

To be smelä:lh, or wealthy, you have to have knowledge of S’íwes, the Teachings.

Steven Point commented on how the Teachings were passed down from generation to generation and became specialised knowledge specific to family lineages:

There was also wealth in knowledge. It’s not well-known nowadays, funny to say that. It’s not well known. But there were secrets that were passed down from one generation to the next about things that were made, and things that were held, and medicines. That was knowledge, and that was wealth. And it was considered highly secretive society. Still is, I think. People know things, but they only pass it within their families. But that’s how specialisations grew (Steven).

However, to have the Teachings is not enough. Larry Grant says, “You are only wealthy if you can pass it on. It has no value if you keep it to yourself.” The requirement to pass on S’íwes, has had profound historical implications on Coast Salish communities unable to pass on knowledge through the oral history transmitted in gatherings. This definition of wealth is challenging for contemporary Coast Salish communities making sense of the nature of the knowledge that exists, determining its form and who to pass it on to and how. Larry explained how spiritual
wealth is tied to being able to carry the Teachings, and to uphold the responsibility to pass them on as an act of reciprocity:

Being spiritually wealthy, is like being a shaman, or Indian doctor, or in today’s dialogue, being a psychologist, being an herbalist...For you to have the ability to be what I describe as a psychologist today, the old terminology, we call him a shaman, or a witch doctor, or however they phrased it. That person becomes highly respected if that person is true to the Teachings they have received in the ability to help people spiritually, and culturally, and physically, because it’s all combined. If your mind is not settled in a good space, then you become, your whole being becomes unsettled and you begin to do things that are not quite right in the societal structure. And being wealthy elevates you to a point where people will seek your guidance and everything that you receive, you have to reciprocate in some form, and it may be goods, or privileges of marriage are offered and that elevates you again within the societal structure and that’s how I would describe spiritual wealth because your ability to be spiritual and be a healer, a spiritual healer, it elevates your status within the society (Larry).

The continuity of the Teachings was noted in the interviews with reference to the preservation of knowledge under the imminent threat of extinguishment, as discussed in Xâ:m! The wisdom keepers told stories from their personal experience and from oral history about S’íwes, the Teachings “going underground”. Willie Seymour referred to his community going underground which he explained as meaning “continued and carried on the Teachings of potlatching....we told the stories and the old people told the stories to us”, referring to the need for Coast Salish communities to transition from publicly passing on oral histories to doing so privately. While not in agreement with traditional Coast Salish values at the time of public recording in gatherings, the threat of gatherings disappearing created an imminent need to pass on S’íwes, the Teachings, to younger generations. Steven Point described the context in which the gatherings and Teachings went underground, commenting on the nature and scale of the loss that had occurred:
They used to have the gatherings here, they’d put them underground – hide them right? And people hid their regalia, there’s so much knowledge lost through the years you know. So much information. And none of it’s ever going to come...we’re never going to get that back cause people just died with that information, but slowly over the years, we’ve been trying to piece it together – it’s like finding a shipwreck, and going, oh, well, this fits here! It’s like, you know, some of it’s coming back. You know, we don’t even know the extent of what we lost because so much disappeared at the same time (Steven).

Steven also shared his memory of listening to an elder, Vincent Harris, tell of his experience as a boy having to learn the Teachings so that they would not be lost.

Revealing the dilemma the elders faced between protecting the Teachings from misuse, and preserving them for future generations, Steven said:

They used to bring the boys down to the community hall for days at a time to listen to the older men talk. And I said, “What would they talk about?” And he said, “Oh, they talked about our history and our politics, and why we’re doing this, and why we’re doing that.” And my mum and dad used to make me go and listen. I go, “Oh, gee, that sounds boring.” And what he was describing though, was the passing on of knowledge about their actual history. And he’d have to sit and listen to all of this for days at a time, and it was like school. It was like lectures that we go to at university. The old people would stand up and talk for days at a time and he was sitting there listening, but he’s like a kid, and I think, the elders must have thought at some point, “We’re dying, we’ve got to pass this information on. We got to get any boys together, we’ll start dumping it into them.” And so he was one that was there. And he remembered a lot of it. And I was like, wow, what a gem. That really fits with our experience. There’s all these people trying to figure out, what are we going to do with this information? We don’t have the normal way of passing it down anymore. Let’s get some people together and just tell them all. No more secrets anymore. Let’s just spill our guts. So I was going, wow, that’s amazing. Every once in a while you get a gem like that (Steven).

This excerpt highlights that the elders were not letting go of S’íwes altogether, but changing the forum used to pass the knowledge on, emphasising private and direct contact rather than the public and communal sharing that would normally occur in gatherings. Despite the elders’ efforts to preserve the Teachings by taking them
underground, knowledge was lost, particularly of the language, Halq’eméylem is officially extinct, with only one fluent speaker left, and many ceremonial objects and regalia that were taken and destroyed will never be recovered. The loss is salient, but a sense of optimism and hope is found in the resilience of people to preserve S’íwes. Ethel Gardner shares her perspective on preservation and revival of the Teachings:

A lot was lost I think along with the Potlatch Ban, the illnesses and sicknesses where so many people died. Of course Potlatch Ban didn’t help. Well, things went underground for sure. And were not completely, did not completely disappear. Were practised underground. That’s my understanding. However, despite the Potlatch Ban, I believe our people maintained an inherent way of being in the world that are connected to the original philosophies or values of our ancestors. That if we didn’t express them in exactly the same way as they did before the Potlatch Ban, because it had to go underground. I think it’s alive and thrives today because inherently, we maintained the values and were able to incorporate, to revitalise the practices the way we do today (Ethel).

The continuity of the values means the practices can be revived. Today, there continues to be a strong cautionary attitude within Coast Salish communities about who the Teachings should be shared with, and whether those people will respect and protect the Teachings appropriately. Otis Jasper commented on how he sees protection of the Teachings as a barrier preventing all Coast Salish people from having access to this source of wealth. This in turn prevents Coast Salish from allowing gatherings to play a central role in Coast Salish economy the way he understands that they once did. He said:
It [the knowledge] is like password protected, or like you have a lock on it that is basically the barrier also to freedom, or the ability for our longhouses say, to be meaningful in our lives, influential in our lives, significant, and a core. So as long as we protect tradition, and don’t have any change, then we are really living a day-to-day, year-to-year existence in those longhouses in our gatherings and merely pass on names that don’t necessarily provide a recognised or respected role to somebody within their family, within their tribe or nation. The tribe or nation is probably never really contemplated (Otis).

This excerpt explains that the Teachings serve as a barrier to Coast Salish freedom because of a fissure in communities between people who do not have knowledge of their genealogy due to colonial interventions. For those people, it is difficult to rebuild those affective ties when you do not know where to begin.

Otis’ comment about traditional names is about the influence of individuality that drives the desire for recognition but may be somewhat divorced from reciprocal relationships that are necessary for belonging. The bestowal of names carries a form of power and control over knowledge as wealth being accessible to some people, but not others. What Otis observed may be where people have understanding about how names are passed on, but there is ambiguity about why those names carry significance. Otis challenged the purpose of naming as it is practiced today, and whether or not naming achieves its intended purpose if individuals identify with its accompanying recognition and privilege, but ignore the responsibility to contribute to the community. An important question emerges about how contemporary Coast Salish communities negotiate traditional practices, particularly relating to the influence that naming has in the exclusion of some Coast Salish people from wealth and freedom, but not others.
The long-term historical context serves as a reminder of the power and resilience of the ‘underground’ network that transpired to protect the Teachings. Patrick Kelly commented on the Teachings within a larger picture of Coast Salish continued existence and said:

*Our values didn’t evolve over one or two generations. Our values evolved over 400 generations and more. They don’t just kind of disappear overnight, even though they tried to do that through potlatch banning and all that kind of stuff. A lot of the elders continued to do their ceremonies and practices by going underground. We still continue to do the feasting and to do those processes at least to the degree that we could, despite the heavy attempts at oppression and removing those things from us (Patrick).*

Patrick’s reminder that the Teachings survived over 400 generations is testament to the strength of the Teachings as foundational economic values and sustainability of the economy of affection. What is a persisting challenge for Coast Salish today is creating the time and space to give the Teachings priority among the demands of modern life. Gathering seasonal patterns and resource demands still conflict with economy of exploitation values. This tension between energy demands to simultaneously build and rebuild is discussed by Patrick:
A lot of the daily practices and living situations amongst First Nations is that, you know, we’re very much like any other citizen. We drive cars, we live in houses, you know, we go to day-to-day jobs, for those of us that have them. And we don’t necessarily have as much exposure even to our language because to live in the world today, the economy requires that you take a job, to be able to pay your bills, to pay your rent, to buy your food, run your car, and take care of your children. Those kinds of things. So a lot of the pressures of just daily living have tended to put a lot of pressure on all of us as Aboriginal people that we don’t have as much opportunity to recover and restore the traditions and teachings that we have. A lot of us though, are doing that nonetheless. After work, evenings and on weekends, and you know, we do our best to try to balance the needs of daily living today in society in Canada, the United States and other parts of the world where people live. We’re still keeping our identity as Stó:lō people (Patrick).

A particular challenge identified by Patrick is the demand for time to maintain Coast Salish knowledge and traditions that require effort in addition to the expectations of contribution and participation in the economy of exploitation. However, as demonstrated by the voices of the ancestors, maintaining Coast Salish knowledge and traditions not only is important at the micro-level for individuals, families and communities, but it is also valuable at a macro-level of Coast Salish’s contribution to global cultural diversity. Patrick said:
I think it’s critically important that we have our identity as Stó:lō people. I know, to me, in my mind, it would be an absolute travesty if all of the Teachings and all of the things that are important to me as a Stó:lō person were sacrificed on the altar of modern living. I think that I take my Stó:lō identity very seriously. I take my responsibility as T’esōts‘en very seriously and I’ll do my best to try to pass that on to my children and my grandchildren. You know, I’m so grateful that my grandmother and my older relatives had passed on the Teachings and traditions to me. Because in my heart, as a member of the human family, I think that the Stó:lō have a huge amount to offer all citizens of the world because we have so many beautiful traditions, and knowledge—scientific knowledge, cultural knowledge, ways of life, ecological knowledge. You know, I think the gifts that we have to offer all of humanity as a member of the human family are so critical. They’re so important to being who we are as one, individuals. I want to have pride in who I am. I want my children to have pride in who they are. And you know, I want others to know and understand and respect the fact that we are different, we have customs that are unique to us. We also share many customs and beliefs and systems of living that are common to all people in the world. But for us as Stó:lō people, I think it’s critical that we be able to exercise and practise our identity as unique members of the human family (Patrick).

The tension to make time for Coast Salish Teachings is a shifting and negotiated space that varies across Coast Salish communities. An example of how Mary-Ann Thomas passes on her wealth to her grandchildren conveys how, to her, knowledge is more valuable than money. She commented on her sense of pride while watching her grandchildren share jobs in the process of canning fish:

*When I did the dry fish, oh, it was an honour to see them [grandkids]. One was putting oil, the other one was putting the salt, the other one was putting fish, the other one was wiping the mouth...and we’re jarring it. Looking outside, seeing them cutting, and we’re smoking it. I took a picture of them. And I said, “Money’s nothing!” But seeing my flowers actually providing food, preparing...we’re rich that way (Mary-Ann).*

Two metaphors are used to describe Coast Salish wealth: baskets and blankets. Sitel, baskets as a metaphor signifies the things you carry throughout your life, which include syewá:l, genealogy, and S’íwes, the Teachings. Steven used the “blanket as
wealth” metaphor to explain how money interfered with the Coast Salish value around specialised knowledge. He says:

It kind of destroys the fabric of the blanket when all of a sudden, anybody can be, everything, anything with enough money. A traditional economy of course, there was a combination of knowledge and specialisation....People had specialised knowledge. And that’s wealth....Knowledge is power, power is wealth. That went right until the white people came. A lot of the people died. A lot of knowledge got lost. A lot of that traditional potlatch system broke down because of that too. People just picked up the pieces. We’re still picking up the pieces I think (Steven).

The blanket is made through the application of knowledge passed down through the genealogy. Not only did money destroy the “fabric” of blankets by replacing handmade blankets with store-bought ones, but knowledge was lost because of the obsolescence of the process of making them. Sonny McHalsie discussed the importance of blankets as a symbol of wealth that eventually became synonymous with money. He identifies a particular type of blanket traditionally known as swóqw’elh that is made of mountain goat’s wool, and explains why these blankets came to be a symbol of prized Coast Salish wealth. He said:

Counting money today is the same, you use the same word for counting blankets. So you look at the blanket, the swóqw’elh blanket anyways is regarded as wealth. Although we don’t have the swóqw’elh anymore. We do have people that do make the swóqw’elh, but of course they’re not making the mountain goat wool anymore. In the past, that was why the swóqw’elh was so valuable because of the labouring, the intensive labour that it took to go and gather the wool first of all. And that was usually the boys and the men that would go gather the wool up in the mountains, brought it back home, and that’s when the girls would clean it, and spin it into wool and weave it into a blanket. And so there was a lot of time, a lot of effort put into a blanket. So that blanket was used as a means of wealth (Sonny).
Wealth is symbolised through the application of knowledge, labour and collective effort represented in the production of blankets. Otis described how Coast Salish wealth as knowledge in material form was publicly displayed in the things that were given away at the end of gatherings. He says:

Collective wealth is people showing and displaying that their blanket-makers still know how to make blankets—that their people still are teaching their young to do those things....you give away your wealth, you give away what you've made and what you've done, but it's also a reflection of what's in your territory. What you have access to, what you can do, and it goes out to everyone in attendance and it goes abroad. It could be like, “Hey, we need more of these blankets so now we know where to go to get more of these blankets” so in some ways, it’s an early form of marketing (Otis).

In the following image of the honouring ceremony in which I received the name Stah’wits’tun, I stood on blankets that represented the wealth of knowledge and ancestors whose legacies helped me be the person I am today. Those blankets serve as a reminder that my being honoured is in part due to their strength and resilience, and their continued role in my life. The responsibility that I carry into the future is to continue growing and passing on the wealth symbolised by the blankets.
Knowledge of the territory is symbolised in material wealth. Blankets as a symbol of accumulated wealth appear in the letters discussed in the section, Xá:m! written to petition against the Potlatch Ban. Blankets are given to guests in lhí’t’es, the ‘give-away’ as they leave gatherings. In my father’s naming he wore a blanket over his shoulders as a marker of status and honour. In my honouring ceremony, there were three blankets folded and laid on the ground for me to stand on while I received knowledge and advice from respected elders. The blankets symbolise ancestral knowledge and genealogy passed on through sqwélqwel, oral history.
Blankets were used to deal with wealth that was abused. Steven shared an example of how blankets assisted in the management of the tarnished wealth and shame brought upon a family by individuals within the family:

They used to have a shame feast. When somebody did something wrong, they brought shame onto their family. When they brought shame to their family, to wipe out that shame, they used to hang blankets on the walls, and they would formally gather people together and expunge their shame by apologising for what they did. And they would take the blankets down and give them to people. So when they go home, they [the guests] lifted their [host family’s] shame (Steven).

As an expression of affective care, blankets are distributed as a way of sharing the burden of shame, and restoring collective wealth when the behaviour of individuals threatens to undermine the reputation of a whole family.

The ability to access the genealogical record contained in the oral history record is activated through the process of inviting people to attend gatherings. By bringing people together, you are asking them to recall oral history relevant to a timely issue for an individual, family or community. Through an extended process of triangulation from collective memory, the historical record becomes clear and public consensus permits movement forward, or a decision is made. The outcomes of a gathering are endorsed and the process is confirmed by the symbolic exchange of material goods between people. Kat Pennier described how wealth is accumulated over a lifetime through the process of hosting gatherings, participating in the economy of affection and gaining reputation from being a good host and honouring obligations of reciprocity. He states:
A person would be wealthy based on the relationships, he’s been able to acquire through a lot of these ceremonies because it demonstrates that you’re a good person, you know if you’re giving things away more than accepting them. You’re wealthier because you’re able to provide things to other people and people recognise that you’re a good person. And at some stage they’ll try to reciprocate. Then they’ll transfer goods back and it just keeps circulating (Kat).

The measure of wealth is in the quality of relationships shown through the act of reciprocity. The increase in power wielded by those who are wealthy suggests that wealthy people have greater power to accumulate material wealth, so they can host gatherings and build relationships. This is true to some extent, but within a Coast Salish Riverworldview power and material wealth do not equate to wealth on their own. The purpose of having Coast Salish wealth is to use it to contribute, participate, build relationships, and belong in the Coast Salish world.

There is a strong connection between wealth and property rights managed through the bestowal of traditional names. One cannot simply ask for a name, it must be bestowed by the community through a process of measuring wealth by syewá:l, genealogy, and S’íwes, knowledge, as a way to understand an individual’s sense of belonging. Names, as a sign of wealth, carry access to networks, territories, resources, fishing sites, and opportunities. Sonny McHalsie discussed how the bestowal of names as a transfer of wealth is better understood using the example of skw’iyéth, the slave class that used to exist in Coast Salish society. Skw’iyéth could not accumulate knowledge or genealogy as wealth because they could not legitimate their belonging and identity in oral history. Sonny says:
There’s the lower class too which is the slave class, skw’iyéth, the ones that don’t really belong here. They don’t have a connection to the land. They don’t have an ancestor who was transformed into a stone or into a mountain, you know, have a connection to sxwóxwiyám, and they don’t have sqwélqwel. Sqwélqwel is a connection to the land through all your ancestors that use the land, right? So if every Stó:lō person has their own sqwélqwel—who, you have your own sqwélqwel. So if you were to talk about your parents, grandparents, great, great, grandparents, any of your ancestors. If you were to talk about where they were born, where they lived, where they died, where they’re buried, where they fished, where they hunted, where they gathered berries, where they gathered cedar bark. Anything like that—that’s your sqwélqwel, right? And then the importance of that—of knowing where they did those things—once you know where those places are, and then there’s an obligation that you have upon yourself to go to those places and use them. And once you start using them, then of course, you need to take care of them as well. So that’s why that’s so important. So people that were skw’iyéth, they didn’t have that connection. So they’re like nobody. So that’s why they were in the slave class. Didn’t really belong, didn’t have an attachment to the land. So when we look at our attachment to the land, very strong and unique attachment to the land. And there’s that whole notion of taking care...taking care of those resource sites as well. Like the statement that we have in our office there: “S’ó:lì Témëxw t’li kwe la, Xõlhmet te mekw’ stám it kwelát”. That means, “This is our land. We have to take care of everything that belongs to us”. Ok, so there’s that whole thing where anything that we own, if we look at the fish, deer, or any type of resources, we look at our sxwóxwiyám stories, look at our language, look at our belief system, what is out there on our land, at the water people—s’ó:lìmexw mestiyexw (the little people), stl’á:leqem, right—the supernatural creatures (Sonny).

Sonny’s excerpt shows how syewá:l, genealogy and the Teachings preserved through the medium of oral history make Coast Salish wealth discernible to other community members. This process of establishing one’s wealth can seem constant for families who have access to sxwóxwiyám and sqwélqwel, but what is difficult is maintaining that wealth by taking care of it. It takes work to exercise the responsibility to have, know, maintain and use genealogical connections, but to further protect these connections and ensure that they are recorded in oral history. In this sense, gatherings are crucial in the maintenance of Coast Salish wealth. To account for
wealth measures in Coast Salish economic development based on understanding who you are and what you know considerably changes how it is understood. In Table 7 below is a summary of Coast Salish wealth from S’íwes, knowledge from the Teachings.

**Table 7 - Coast Salish wealth as knowledge summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocity; pass on S’íwes from generation to generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialised knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrier to freedom without genealogy; recognition without responsibility; exclusionary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resilience and continuity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevented from opportunity to recover and restore the traditions and teachings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to global cultural diversity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blankets; money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge is power, power is wealth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of territory imbued in material wealth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing the burden of shame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build relationships by hosting gatherings; reciprocal affective relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names; property rights; connection to the territory.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.1.2 *Syewá:l, Lineage, your ancestors*

The second sub-category of Coast Salish wealth is based on knowledge of one’s syewá:l, genealogy or lineage. Larry Grant explained how lineage is a form of wealth:

*Wealth is measured in two or three ways. Wealth, I think is the ability to acquire resources other than cash. Being rich is understanding your genealogy—for generations—seven, eight, ten generations back. And also knowing how you’re connected to your extended family is part of your wealth. Because if you don’t know your genealogy, our old people would say, “You’re a poor person. You don’t know who you come from. You don’t know where you come from and you don’t know how you’re connected to certain ceremonies”. So that is considered a poor person. And a wealthy person is wealthy in genealogical, cultural, spiritual knowledge (Larry).*

As discussed by Sonny McHalsie, access to wealth through lineage requires nurturing distant oral history, sxwōxwiyám, and oral history of the recent past, sqwélqwel.

Growing sqwélqwel is closely tied to maintaining family ties to S’ólh Téméxw, Coast Salish territories, because the stories connect families to the ancestral sites they are responsible for. This logic extends to providing a Coast Salish perspective on material objects that come from S’ólh Téméxw. Patrick Kelly makes a distinction between material items as commodities, and material items as symbols of ancestral ties to stó:lō, the river environment. He says:
In our worldview, the way we see the world, you know, we don’t just look at items as commodities. A hide from a mountain goat wasn’t just a hide from a mountain goat. We knew that it came from a place that was protected by certain families. You know the mountain goat needed to be able to continue you know, throughout the generations. Same with the deer, the same with certain berries, the same with certain medicine. So, inherent to our philosophies and our trading economy were clear ecological protections. We wanted to ensure that the waters were clean and clear and safe for the animals, and for the fish, and for us. We wanted to make sure that the places where the plants grew were well taken care of, and not abused, and not destroyed. So, we often had very comprehensive ecological principles that were tied closely to economic activity. So, families knew exactly the territories that they were responsible to take care of because they knew the deer had to be able to come back every year and live there, and the salmon areas were taken very close care of. Creeks where they were spawning were also very carefully tended and guarded and things like that, so one of our big economic aspects is the integration of an ecological imprint in that process. They’re not separate, they’re actually of the same comprehensive view, an integrated view, of how the traditional values that we carried in our way of life would also be represented in how we traded economically (Patrick).

As discussed in the Riverworldview, the tie between wealth as syewá:l, lineage and identity, and the territory is not only spiritual. Larry Grant said, “Wealth is represented by siyam.” In the Musqueam language, the haňqamı̊nał word siyamı̊ is attributed to respected leaders and was reserved for those who know their lineage, and are therefore worthy of leadership roles. Wealth and leadership are synonymous, although today, Larry says that siyamı̊ is used more liberally in Coast Salish communities. Ancestral rights to particular areas within Coast Salish territories meant that within syewá:l, lineage, along with the extensive knowledge of the human relations and responsibilities that come with the Teachings, and environmental functioning specific to the ecology of the area were also significant. Patrick commented on how, in the economy of affection, identity as wealth, ecological rights and knowledge are interconnected:
Lands and resources are certainly part of the equation, but a very significant part of that is our identity. You know, we’re not about to basically ignore our identities and say, “Ok well, we’re just going to forget about all that”, and do what the government wanted us to do and become like every other people, whatever that was they wanted, primarily under, because it was a British system, they wanted us to adopt British customs, and British ways, and British values that were coming along with the colonial process....We haven’t forgotten our fundamental values. We still have holistic view of how we’re connected to our territories, how we’re connected to our communities and our families. How we’re connected to one another through significant relationships, how we’re connected not only now just to other Salish people, but to broad range of other citizens from all walks of life. Those were all still fundamental values that we still have. We’re reawakening those. They never were bad values. They were part of the human family in a good way and I think they continue to need to be reawakened (Patrick).

The unique collective identity of the Coast Salish is a feature of their economy of affection. Maintenance of sqwélqwel in gatherings ensures that economy of affection relationships are protected for future generations.

6.2.2 Syóyes, Work

When attending a gathering, the hired speaker announces the following phrase on behalf of the host family, “You are asked to witness the work that will be done here today” (Carlson, 1997, p. ii). The phrase is an invocation to understand the spiritual nature of the ceremonial exchanges ahead. The speaker reminds xwlalámstexw, the witnesses, of their responsibility to commit the events of the gathering to memory, and to pass the story on to their communities and to their children. In Table 8 below, some examples of gathering activities that constitute “work” are shown.
Table 8 - Examples of “work” in gatherings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-/Intra-tribal affection</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>Tl’etl’áxel</td>
<td>Inviting, sending out the big invitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter and Intra</td>
<td>Tl’etl’áxel</td>
<td>Hospitality, taking care of guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra</td>
<td>Tl’etl’áxel</td>
<td>Welcoming, greeting, seating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra</td>
<td>Yéqwelchep</td>
<td>Lighting the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra</td>
<td>Qw’él’t</td>
<td>Feeding, cooking for the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra</td>
<td>St’iwiyelh</td>
<td>Ceremonial prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>Stl’etl’áxel</td>
<td>A feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>Lheqsqwóqwel</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>Xwlalámstexw</td>
<td>Witnessing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>Lhit’és</td>
<td>Gifting, the give-away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the interviews, the topic of ceremonial and spiritual work encapsulated in gatherings emerged often. Patrick Kelly compared the notion of work in gatherings with work in terms of the Western capitalist economy:

_The word work in our traditional way doesn’t mean, you know labour and a job. It’s actually the many, many things that go on in the ceremony. It’s the storytelling. It’s the history-making. It’s the relationship-building. It’s the protocol. It’s the taking care of people properly as one should when you’re inviting them to a ceremony where they’re being asked to be a witness to come, to take part, and to know and understand what’s going on. So the work is the many, many things that go on in our traditional feasting ceremonies. So work in our way is all the many, many things that, to make a traditional process be able to continue through the families, through the generations. The storytelling. The witnessing. Describing the meanings and all of that kind of thing….The work involved making sure that people we invited as guests were well taken care of (Patrick)._ 

The work of the gathering speaker is specialised. Willie Seymour explains what is involved in conducting this work:
To speak, you are speaking for those people that hire you, you speak their heart. You speak their emotion. You speak their truths. This is what you have to do...you have to echo the heart of who hires you. Once they put a blanket on you, you become that family. You become that individual....That’s one of the trainings and the disciplines I had to go through to be a speaker. It doesn’t just happen. The words don’t just happen. It takes a little bit of sacrifice on the individual’s part as well (Seymour, 1998b).

The sacrifice is about putting aside one’s individualism in order to give oneself to the work that the family asks to have done. To be asked to join that family for the gatherings is an affective invitation based on an exchange of mutual trust, and requires grace on the part of the speaker. The speaker wears a blanket given by the host family that signifies a demonstration and distribution of wealth and honour.

Patrick Kelly explains the process of preparing the speaker leading up to a gathering:

Then it came time for the speaker. For weeks ahead, the family would talk with the speaker to say ok, this is what’s going to be happening so that the speaker could convey to all of the people gathered what the purpose of the gathering was, what the wishes of the host families were.... there were also gifts prepared, give-aways. We always make sure that when the people go home, they’re given gifts of thanks from the family. So there were lots of give-aways made, things were made to be put in give-away baskets and so that’s also work that went on for actually, throughout the three years. Once our family knew the ceremony was going to happen, we then literally got to work and started to make things and to gather things for the give-aways to gifts to all the guests who would come. So there’s many, many things involved with the work. It’s all part of the collective process of ensuring that a ceremony is conducted well, and the guests are made to feel welcome both as they’re coming, while they’re at the ceremony and also as they go home to their communities (Patrick).

Building trusting relational ties through hired speakers is a way to expand family networks and build relationships across communities. In Figure 13 below, the hired speaker at my honouring ceremony in 2013 is shown acknowledging the guests by ‘raising his hands’ in thanks for their attendance and indicating that the work is about to begin.
Sonny McHalsie explained that an ethic within gatherings is to “humble yourself through the gatherings to grow your network”, reiterating the point that gatherings are an opportunity for host families to invite other people to help conduct gathering work. By humbling themselves collectively as a family, they acknowledge the strengths of other families even if the same strengths are held within one’s own family. Seeking the help of others builds reciprocal, trusting inter-community ties based on ongoing affective exchange of ceremonial work.

The different stages of preparation for gatherings begin years before the event takes place. Verbal, face-to-face invitations are sent out to announce the intention to host a gathering. The invitation itself is a significant part of the ceremony because it indicates that the affective relational work is beginning. When Willie Seymour explained the Hulq’umi’num word for gatherings, he stated that it is:
Sƛɛ’ešin [pronounced st’leh-shun], ƛɛ’ešin, the invitation, the big invitation. ƛɛ’ešin. If I invite you...my ƛɛ’ešin (Willie).

The formal name for the ceremony emphasises the significance of the invitation because, although the intent of a gathering is decided by one or two families, the intra- and inter-community network is essential for validation within sqwélqwel. The job of xwlalámstexw, witnesses and guests, is to pay attention to the way that affection is shown, to grow inter-tribal and intra-tribal relationships in the gathering network, and to consider whether the ceremony is conducted to demonstrate affection. Witnessing is a function in gatherings for guests to assess the work according to S’íwes, the Teachings. This assessment is tied to demonstrated spiritual capability, because conducting the work to foster affection and build relationships reflects the voices of the ancestors of everyone involved. Ethel Gardner commented on the all-encompassing nature of work in gatherings:

The term work in that sense, is more associated I believe with a holistic sense of the word. Holistic in terms of the work. It has a functional connotation in somebody’s being honoured and recognised. It has a spiritual connotation in that interconnectedness. And you know, a community connotation ‘cause you know, we all have to pay attention. So, it’s a more holistic sense that it’s being used when the Stó:lô use that word in the Gatherings (Ethel).

Guests are not passive observers of the work. They are active participants and have a responsibility to correct the oral history if the ceremony does not align with what they recall of events in the past. The blending of human and Spirit Worlds in stl’e’áleq means that the work in gatherings is much more than the sum total of the labour and energy put in, but further encompasses the spiritual component of
inviting the ancestors to witness the event by lighting the fire, which will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Steven explains how the English word, ‘work’ came to be used within the context of gathering ceremonies in the longhouse:

*The work that they call syóyes, has got to be done—what are we doing here, why are we here. See, that’s the reason. So, you know, they have a gathering. The speaker will stand up and say, “We’re here to do this, this is why we’re here”. Then they get on with their work. Maybe it’s a name, maybe it’s...whatever the work that they gotta do. Then, the give-away. They might bring out blankets and pots and pans. All kinds of things. Give it away to the people. Once the give-away is all done, and the work is all done, now the potlatch is finished....a normal gathering lasts 12 hours. And it’s smokey sitting there, sometimes. Smokey. Cold. Used to be cold. Places were cold. Doesn’t matter, people sit there, and wait. Patience. One of the things we teach the kids. You gotta have patience. Exercise that. There’s always same order, just different work, that’s all (Steven).*

The people who have been selected to conduct the work on the floor of the longhouse in gatherings are made visible to all in attendance by blankets placed on their shoulders, and money is safety-pinned to the front of the blanket. The money shows that this person has been asked to do the work by the family, and serves as a form of validation that he or she has accepted the responsibility of conducting the work with integrity, and has the training and expertise to do the work. Kat Pennier describes this process:

*They bring out all of the people who are going to be doing the work for them, and they use, today they use blankets to make sure that people know the ones that are responsible for doing the work, and they pin money on them. So you know, that’s part of making sure that money flows to different people (Kat).*
The public display and visibility of the distribution of money is shown to honour those people, not to ‘pay’ them per se. Kat also mentions that the money flows to different people. Today, being asked to do work at a gathering represents a form of income generation based on traditional training and expertise. Kat’s comment reinforces the expectation that this form of income is distributed, however equal distribution is not always the reality. Sometimes, payments are about maintaining particular relationships and not others.

Steven Point comments on the notion of ‘big work’ as an expression of the relative importance of work that is of a highly sacred and spiritual nature. He says:

*If it’s big work, now you’ll see something come out. And the people don’t like to use the word showing off. They’re not showing off. They’re acknowledging that this is more important, that’s what it is. So the speakers will say it that way. They want to thank this person (Steven).*

When Steven says, “you’ll see something come out”, he is referring to what is gifted by the host family to those who help the family conduct the ceremony. Gifts symbolising great honour reflect the standing of the person receiving the gift (often based on their knowledge), but they also reflect that the relationship between that person and the family is strong. Steven gives an example of big work that is expressed through the gifting process and says, “See if somebody gets a canoe, that’s a big gift. Means the work is important.” Gifts for big work tends to be of greater value if they require specialised knowledge to create, or access to resources to make.
They [the host family] used to also take note of who came the farthest. See, you came from Auckland, they’d make sure that they gave you a gift. You know why? So they can brag and, “Oh, my work went right to New Zealand”, that’s a big work now. It gives them a big honour for having a guest from a long way to come. And they would stand you up, “Look she’s all the way from New Zealand, wow”. And we go wow, she came, all the way, it’s a long ways - it’s a big work. They’d give you something nice. People travelled a big distance, it meant it was important work too. There is an important element I think of prestige. “We did this, and it was done in a good way, and people talk about it for a long time” (Steven).

The gift represents the continuity of the work after the event is finished, and ensures that the work is talked about, and remembered in oral history in the places that people return home to. Work is used to express ongoing spiritual relationships with ancestors, and how those relationships are negotiated across communities belonging within the same spiritual family. In the case of families and individuals who carry both the rights and the privileges of the Sxwó:yxwey masks, Kat Pennier shares how the work must be conducted within that spiritual family—among those who also carry the same rights and privileges:

*If we’re going to honour someone who happens to be a member of the mask family, then only members of the mask family, like myself, would go out and ask the other mask dancers if they could come in and help us do the work. So, that’s one of the important protocols to understand through these ceremonies, that not just anybody can go out and ask somebody to do that kind of work (Kat).*

Syewá:l, genealogical wealth, is paramount to conducting this particular spiritual work. Although the English word work is used now by Coast Salish people as a catch-all term in gatherings, Otis Jasper believes it does not encapsulate the extent of everything involved in gatherings. He contemplated a return to the Halkomelem languages to express work:
I’ve always known it as work, the term work and I’m connecting this to when did it come into being a term, right? When was it used? And I think in some ways, it’s like a microcosm of that influence of settlement, I guess....I hope we’re at a transition or place of potential change where we start getting rid of the term work—getting rid of some of these imprints on our way of life. In particular, learn the language that was used in our longhouses. When there was gatherings, as I understand it, as I was told, there was a language that was used, like a high language it’s referred to, or that would be used on the floor in the longhouse that had different meanings (Otis).

Otis identified how the common connotations of work as despised and cumbersome labour does not accurately reflect the element of care and affection that invigorates the spiritual and ceremonial context when people talk about gatherings. A return to concepts embedded in the language may capture the essence of spiritual work better.

Because witnesses are responsible for the continuity of the oral history record and the maintenance of sqwélqwel, although it is certainly a form of sociocultural exchange that requires abidance to protocol, to be xwlalámstexw is to work, and it is a spiritual responsibility. Witnesses are connected through a network of shared responsibility to uphold the Coast Salish principles of oral history that are derived from ancient values of the Creator and are connected to the territory. In the Riverworldview, witnessing activates all components of exchange.
Image 20 - Ethel Gardner speaks words of advice to Dara Kelly (photo taken by Patrick Kelly)

Image 21 - Doug Kelly speaks words of advice to Dara (photo taken by Patrick Kelly)
6.2.3 Ayáqtel, “exchanging back and forth”

In gatherings, wisdom keepers share insights into many levels of exchange between:

- Xá:ls-Xwélme:xw, between the Creator and the people;
- Xwélme:xw-Xwélme:xw, between people through inter- and intra-community relationships;
- Xwélme:xw-Sólh Témé:xw, between the people and the environment.

Regarding exchange between Xá:ls-Xwélme:xw, the Creator and people, Steven Point discussed the way that salmon are celebrated and appreciation is shown to the spiritual ancestors of the salmon, who give their lives at the first arrival of the salmon runs up the river. He explained:

_First Salmon Celebration, people get together. That’s a happy, happy occasion; big celebration. And people come. There’s no gift giving, but there’s a dinner and everybody gets a piece of the fish, and they take the bones and put it back in the river to honour the salmon (Steven)._
This form of exchange is largely ritualistic, and includes prayer, sharing and feasting.

Mary-Ann Thomas commented on exchange between Xwélmexw-Sólh Téméxw, the territory:

*All of that, it’s still alive. It really comes from the land. It’s one thing we said, when you look after the land, the land is going to look after you (Mary-Ann).*

In the economy of exploitation, when there is consideration of whether or not to exploit natural resources for financial capital, this level of spiritual exchange related to the environment is often disregarded as less significant. Mary-Ann’s comment illuminates that for the Coast Salish, at the level of exchange between Xwélmexw-Sólh Téméxw, between the people and the environment, not only is the exchange not about the environment as part of the material world, but also that spiritually, the environment looks after us by feeding us, and is therefore guided by an ethical obligation to do the same. Exploitation of natural resources disturbs the spiritual relationship between people and the environment. Furthermore, the territory is imbued with the shxwelí of the Coast Salish people and their memories of their ancestors, as exemplified in Ed Leon’s story about his hunting trap discovered in the trees by his grand-nephew decades later.

Regarding exchange between xwélmexw-xwélmexw, between people through inter- and intra-community relationships, Patrick Kelly recalls an instance when he was a young boy through the 1950s and 60s, and participated in the process of inter-community trading with his grandma Maggie. Starting early in the
spring season, with the surplus, she was able to trade with other families and communities through the summer months. Patrick explained:

I used to make trips with my grandmother from Chehalis up to Lytton for example...and the trading commodities that she had—I would help her by picking cedar roots for basket-making and certain barks that were used in basket making and then dyed, and certain natural grasses and reeds that were used in basket-making. Wool that was used in making garments, and so we would take stores of those with us up to Lytton and we would trade them for dried salmon, dried deer meat. So, it was a very precise economy...I know many families that did that, not only amongst the neighbouring nations, but I know there was trade on the coast for shellfish, and you know with mountain goat hair and you know, things like that across broad distances (Patrick).

Beyond subsistence, trade relationships fed into the economy of gathering exchanges. In this excerpt, Patrick shared insights into how Maggie was active in the Coast Salish subsistence economy from the Fraser Canyon (Lytton) where she traded game and wind-dried salmon, to the ocean, where she was trading for shellfish. If she had simply packed up surplus resources randomly and travelled to trade for anything with anyone, it might have indicated that she did not have established trade partners and sought instead to create relationships at the time of the trade. Instead, Patrick’s story indicates breadth in terms of the geographic area that Maggie was personally trading in, and diversity in terms of the material things exchanged, indicating her vast networks marked by good relationships. Maggie’s precision of measurements and planning before departure on her trading trips suggest that her trade relationships developed and were maintained over a long period of time, and were probably inherited from her parents or grandparents.
Xwélmexw-xwélmexw, exchange in gatherings between people, are affirmed, negotiated and symbolised through material exchange in gatherings. Levels of exchange fall under four broad categories:

- Gifts and gifting;
- Debt;
- Banking, insurance;
- Saving.

Many of the interview excerpts that speak to these broad categories also apply to other categories, and represent exchange across more than one level of the Riverworldview. In reality they are interconnected, and the whirlpool as a metaphor helps to demonstrate how the four types of exchange meet different relational goals in the economy of affection, as different dimensions of the spiral, yet parts of the same structure. In Figure 11 below, the interrelated components of xwélmexw-xwélmexw exchange are shown using the whirlpool metaphor.

Figure 11 - Whirlpool metaphor to show the interrelated nature of gifting, debt, saving and banking
6.2.3.1 *Lhít’es, “the give-away”, generosity, gifts and gifting*

The first form of exchange that is a crucial component of Coast Salish gatherings is *lhít’es*, ‘the giveaway’ that occurs at the end of the ceremony, and continues to play a fundamental role in nurturing affective exchange relationships. This is the most obvious expression of gift exchange, and is not couched in metaphor or nuance. Kat Pennier described how different gift exchanges occur in gatherings to demonstrate reciprocity in ceremony:

> At the end of the ceremonies, they usually do a giveaway...During the winter season from October to probably around the end of March is when a lot of the memorials are held in our longhouses. People are called to witness all of these different ceremonies, so it keeps the gifts going around to all the different families. And families have to plan four years in advance for a memorial, so it gives them that amount of time to gather all the goods that they're going to be giving away to the guests, and gathering food and all the other things that go along with making sure that people are fed...So, that's in itself reciprocity, when you go and you help that family, and at some stage, when you're in that position, that family comes back and helps you (Kat).

Steven Point explained that exchanges for work done at gatherings are made through ‘gifts’, and the language used to express appreciation for the work is to thank people, not ‘pay’ them. He said:

> When you’re giving gifts...this is the big thing now, potlatching...it depends on what you’re doing I guess. But let’s say, you hired someone to build a casket for the funeral. Now you’re going to go over and give them some money, and you’re going to give them some blankets. Now the cook, you’re going to give them some money, and you’re going to give them a basket of goods. What we say, in our language, we’re not paying you. That’s what this is. Not paying you. Cause they don’t like that idea—paying people. They call it a thank you. We’re just thanking you, that’s all. Just shaking your hand (Steven).

The visible act of shaking hands is what people see: it emphasises physical connection as evidence of appreciation, but in the handshake exchange of money
also occurs. Discretion when thanking people with money is important in the public setting of gatherings. Steven explained how, at memorial services, gifts also symbolise the affective distribution of sorrow as a way of keeping everyone from bearing too much grief from the loss of loved ones. This distribution is a way of helping those in mourning to feel relieved, and it assures collective wellbeing. Steven said:

For a ceremony that somebody passed away, they’re giving you this [material gift], so you can take some of the grief home with you, relieve the family of their grief. In other words, they connected it [the gift] to what they were doing (Steven).

Otis Jasper discussed the notion of personal gifts as the individual, unique and often spiritual capability that each person is born with. Sxoxómes are gifts from the Creator, and involve exchange and engagement with the Spirit World. Each person is born with a gift and it is their responsibility to use that gift as their contribution to the community. Otis discussed why using personal gifts is also an act of reciprocity and a show of appreciation to the Creator for their gift:  

If you had someone who had certain gifts, those people needed to spend time, and grow and learn and understand their gift for it to be of maximum benefit to their family and their community and their nation. In order for that person to do that, they really then relied on their community to take care of their needs. You know, take care of their food, shelter, stuff like that so that they could then do what they needed to do and be who they’re supposed to be, right? And make the family and everyone else stronger and better because of that (Otis).

Otis’s excerpt shows how in the economy of affection, when the nurturing of one person is seen to be valued by all, the affective community network kicks in. It is a collective interest to make each person’s gift accessible and usable as a contribution.
The community coordinates resources similarly to having an incubation period that enables individual development by creating a supportive and nurturing environment and allowing time for the mastery of personal gifts. This example demonstrates another form of affection in the act of feeding the people both literally and metaphorically to grow. Otis sees the ability to grow personal gifts as a spiritual capability.

*On a spiritual level, or a personal, from a place of where what you actually bring as a person, or you as individuals offer to the world. You know, the gifts that we have are silenced. You in many ways, can’t either work to grow those gifts, recognise those gifts, nurture those gifts, have those gifts, and then help your family (Otis).*

Herb Joe, discussing personal gifts as part of spiritual lives, commented on the life of the gifts inside people. Not using personal gifts has consequences of shame, threatens family wealth and contributes to ruptured belonging within Coast Salish communities. He said:

*If you had a hunting gift, and didn’t use that gift for anything other than to yourself [sic], then you would be in a situation where you would have brought shame on your family. And your family first of all would have been responsible to re-educate you on your views on one of the other seven laws of life—generosity. You know, you have to learn how to share your gift. If you jealously hoard your gift, then the gift turns. And it turns on you. And it can become a malignancy that fester and grows until it finally kills you. There was a word in our language that referred to them as being the useless people—the lazy people. Say your father was a grand chief, but you were one of the laziest of the community, over time, the rest of the community would put a label on you. And you would have brought shame to your high-status father. You would carry this label, and then you would be gradually moved out of the community until finally, you were completely ostracised (Joe, 2005).*
Ethel Gardner explained how fish are gifted as a way for Coast Salish people with fishing rights tied to Indian status to share wealth with those who do not have fishing rights:

For example, we have fishing rights along the river, and I know that one time when I moved to Chilliwack. Of course at that time, I was non-status Indian. I didn’t become a status Indian until 2002. Anyway, I didn’t have a right to fish. Mary Malloway, when I worked at Stó:lō Nation, she came to me and she said, “Do you have any fish?” And I said, “No.” “Well, come down to my place.” She said, “We’re giving fish to all the people who we know who can’t get fish.” And she gave me, I don’t know, a dozen fish or so that I could put in the freezer. It was to make sure everybody got fish who was Stó:lō who, you know, it’s our traditional food. And that to me is a Stó:lō tradition of wealth. It wasn’t to gather and see how many fish you could get or sell, but how can you spread it so that everybody could have some (Ethel).

This demonstration of shared wealth reinforces the ethic of care in economy of affection, by making sure that people are fed from the wealth of the river. Gifting salmon nurtures Coast Salish identity by maintaining people’s connections to the river and fosters belonging within Sólh Téméxw the territory, and within the community.

6.2.3.2 Léwlets, “debt”

The second form of exchange identified in Coast Salish gatherings is léwlets, debt. The establishment of debt between people is a sign of social embeddedness and connectedness by virtue of the ability to form and maintain relationships through debt. Indebtedness is recorded in the long history of Coast Salish oral tradition. Like “work”, the English word debt departs from its commonplace usage when used in gatherings. Debt in gatherings is a way of distinguishing between the many
relationships that each individual, family and community is connected to. As a means to structure relationships, to be indebted means that one is not burdened with deficit, but anchored through reciprocity in the fold of Coast Salish society. By nurturing and sustaining other families, the sustainability of one’s family is ensured when the time comes to be a debtor. Debt is an expression of the awareness and acknowledgement that one person, one family, and one community cannot survive alone. Larry Grant says, “You have to be reciprocal because you cannot stand alone.” It is this larger sense of obligation to the community that is embedded within debt, based on the Coast Salish assumption that you always owe something in exchange for the freedom to be a part of the community and to share in the greater pool of resources (wealth), including having access to knowledge and genealogy.

Sonny McHalsie detailed processes of debt in his interview, and showed how relationships of indebtedness and repayment operate in the context of gatherings. He described how debt is dealt with in the funeral process, as below:
I’m going to remember that I owe you that. And so one day I’m going to have my own ceremony, and I’m going to invite you, and then that’s where I’m going to repay my debt. It even happens at funerals today. If you ever attend one of our funerals, especially elders, families still remember and the elder would let them know who they owe to. So, if the person ever in their lifetime was unable to repay someone, at his death, they would actually do that. It happens at the funeral, right? The speaker would announce that on behalf of the family, owed to this family, they would announce and say, “Oh, 20 years ago, the deceased here came forward and helped our family, and did whatever, gave us this, and gave us some sort of help, but now, we want to repay that debt. And how we’d like to do that is we have this to offer.” It’s important that they announce it so that everybody knew right? Because that’s how it was done in the past and that’s why we call witnesses. So witnesses, they’re the ones that record in their minds, and in their memories, you know, what happened. And so they see, who was given things, and so they see who was put in debt so everyone is like a witness, and they’re all watching to see who gets put in debt. And then at the same time, they’ll be watching whether or not the person that was put into debt, actually repays, and then of course, if they don’t, well then they’re kind of pushed down to the middle class rather than the upper class (Sonny).

In the context of McHalsie’s discussion around what debt means in gatherings, he tells us that debt signals embeddedness in the community, and a continuity of debt relationships over time. In this case, the debt in the example above is 20 years old; within an individual’s lifetime. It was mentioned in several of the interviews that funerals are crucially important opportunities for individuals to settle debts that they have accrued in their lifetimes, and is even something that the individual would plan while they are still alive, in preparation for death—repayment of debts in their own funeral ceremony or the hosting of a final gathering before they die.

Sonny discusses what xwlalamstexw, witnesses, watch and listen for when they are called to remember in gatherings, and says they observe “who is put into debt”. The long-term memory of oral traditions enables a collective notation to be organised around tracking whether or not debt is repaid, but not necessarily
attending to the exact amount of repayment as a fixed figure. What matters is that a repayment occurs, and whether or not interest is included in the repayment to account for the cost to the family of being indebted. If debt relationships are created, while the material aspect of debt is significant, what is more significant to record in oral history is the underlying spiritual, socio-cultural or environmental debt relationship. When debts are repaid, it is not the material amount but the relationships that are being restored.

Although Sonny’s excerpts tell of debt as something that is an obligation for life, in the Coast Salish economy of affection, it is not unusual to accrue debt throughout one’s lifetime. It is an imbalanced relationship that must be balanced eventually. Imbalance in perpetuity is not acceptable and Sonny described the social consequences of not being able to repay debts that resulted in relegation of status and social standing. However, debt in perpetuity is possible because there are no time constraints (except for death) on the expectation of repayment (Hēnare, 2003). I propose that Coast Salish values around belonging necessitate varying degrees and levels of material and social, and individual and collective debt to people, families, and other communities. The existence of continuous indebtedness may be a measure of a thriving Coast Salish economy.

There are limitations to using the English word “debt” to describe reciprocal relationships in Coast Salish gatherings. In layperson’s language, debt carries connotations of owing and deficit. It also conveys the presumption of two primary transactions: debt and repayment. However, debt as it is practised in gatherings is
often representative of long histories of intergenerational reciprocal exchange. Larry
Grant shared insights on debt from his mother, who explained that reciprocity in
debt arrangements may be carried on after people pass away:

> When the time is right, things are reciprocated. Although they may not be
reciprocated in your living lifetime. You may not be here to receive it, but that
has nothing to do with the fact that other person will pay you back when they
can (Larry).

Larry explained that this is why he was taught never to expect immediate repayment
when debt relationships are created, and he sees this to be where Coast Salish and
Western concepts of debt do not meet. Larry confirmed that there is no time limit on
reciprocity, and this means that there is ongoing generational owing. Unresolved
debt is a prominent feature in the letters from chiefs about their concerns about the
Potlatch Ban. Their main issue is not concerning repayment itself, but their
knowledge that without gatherings, the record of repayment would be lost.

6.2.3.3 *Xets’et, xits’et, “to store away something for winter”; Saving*

The third concept relating to exchange that emerged in the interviews is saving,
xets’et, xits’et, to store away something for winter. Although saving is not a type of
exchange, this category is tied to the ability to engage in exchange activity
eventually. Because of the volume of people that need to be taken care of, and
shown affective care, saving for gatherings is important and commences months, if
not years before a gathering takes place. The ability to save is part of the display of
wealth, and ‘savings’ go into the gathering economy as food, material goods and
money to thank the people who help to do the ‘work’. Saving is a collective effort
and is tied to the ability to distribute accumulated wealth. Willie Seymour explained the need for saving in preparation for gatherings:

_The economy was based on the family’s ability and skills to save. They saved food. They saved resources that could feed everybody’s needs. So when they saved, the old people, they would stand up, raise their hands in great honour to the Creator, to say thank you for the honour of saving for us. And then they would save. That was the economy. And if they were going to have a potlatch, they saved and put away goods. Blankets, usually blankets, mountain goat blankets called “p’qalqen’… p’qalqen’”. They put the mountain goat blankets aside. And they would show the people, and the people would acknowledge the “p’qalqen’”, the mountain goat wool. Sometimes it’d be hundreds of blankets saved for a particular business—whatever they’re doing. Many, many blankets. And the people would acknowledge that (Willie)._

Willie’s excerpt demonstrates that saving is not accumulation for oneself, but saving for everyone within the gathering network. The excerpt also shows that in order to be wealthy, one gives wealth away, and in order to give, one must accumulate wealth, describing a mutually reinforcing relationship between wealth and gifting that is enabled through long-term saving.

### 6.2.3.4 Tale’áwtxw, “money house”, banking, insurance

The fourth concept tied to gathering exchange is tale’áwtxw, banking in gatherings. Banking is a form of spiritual and social exchange that is characterised by people investing their resources in each other for the future. Debt and banking are similar in the sense that both are infused with the intent to maintain and secure long term relationships. However, where debt may be seen as a mutual exchange based on present need, banking is strategic generosity. Through giving and caring for others when one can afford to, generosity ensures that one’s own needs are met in the
future. It is a form of long-term insurance that is secured through investment of resources in others for the wellbeing of the collective. Petholwet, Cheryl Brooks commented on how banking in gatherings works:

*The gathering is a form of banking in the sense of putting away for the future. An example is for a funeral. A family will call upon people to support in the planning and organisation which includes staying with the body of the deceased for four nights, digging the grave, preparing temporary or permanent grave marker, all the burial ritual and holding a big feast. For the most part, this work is done on a voluntary basis to support the family. Then at the end of the feast, the family will acknowledge these workers with small gifts or some cash. After that, the guests will come up and offer words to the family and give them gifts of cash. They use beautiful language in offering the gifts, “I am giving you a hankie to dry your tears” “This is to help with feeding the family”, “I want to help you get a marker”. After this happens, it is understood that the next family who has a member pass on does not need to worry about the costs of the funeral. Those whom they have supported in past or are related to, will help them. In Cowichan they expressly say, “Your gifts and generosity in helping the family have created a bank account for the future needs of our community” (Cheryl).*

Excerpts from Th’eláchiyatel, Richard Malloway, explain the way that money is exchanged between families and communities in funerals, and in what is referred to as ‘the Indian peoples’ banking system’. He explains:

*The donations were meant to show their love for the one who died. The money isn’t given because the people think the remaining family needs the money….I accepted it because it was given in her memory, and the people wanted to show their love for her. My family marked everyone’s name and amount of money given and when we hear of anyone dying, we check the list for names. If a member of that family is on the list, we return this money, sometimes with 100% interest. This is the Indian peoples’ banking system (Archibald, 2001, p. 26).*

The way that Th’eláchiyatel explained money, interest, and banking is significantly different from the way these concepts may be understood within the neo-classical capitalist system that shapes today’s global market economy. While money is
exchanged, and no indication is given for how the family of a deceased person uses it, what matters is the expression of love and affection by the family giving the money. It is an act of affection reflecting a family’s wish to bank their money with trusted relations for the future. The money is not a gift. While Th’eláchiyatel does not explicitly state that there is an expectation of reciprocity, the system of recording that he describes tells us that the amount is significant, but only as far as ensuring that it is returned with interest. In this manner, families represent each other’s “banks” and provide assurance and insurance to one another through care and affection, with the expectation that when the natural rhythms of life occur, such as birth, death, marriages and strategic relationships, resources are available to support many people. The respective “banks” (families) come forward to contribute banked resources. In this case, money is appropriate for funeral expenses, but other measures of value are also exchanged. Through gatherings, the Coast Salish economy of affection is animated by transactions embedded in long legacies of intercommunity relationships.

Addressing the interest that Th’eláchiyatel refers to as “sometimes 100%” recognises that because money is banked, and under the possession of another family, the family that gave the money does not have access to it. The interest therefore operates in a similar way that interest works in banks in the economy of exploitation to acknowledge the gift of access and the privilege of use; however, interest demonstrates recognition of generosity and the affective component of money given as an expression of love rather than as a loan. The transactional nature
of this exchange is not set by fixed figures and amounts. Rather, it is based on what families can afford, and the reciprocity that is shown with interest aligns with what is given, not with the expectation of what should have been given, or what is needed in return. In banking relationships in gatherings, both parties are agents in the exchange.

Siyémches, Frank Malloway told a story told to him by his father that describes when the principle of banking re-emerged with the renaissance of gatherings:

_We got some visitors from Vancouver Island from Cowichan Tribe, and this lady was giving money to the people that were going to do a memorial and they were calling witnesses to the work that they were going to do, and my Dad told my brother and young people. He said, “You pay attention to what this woman’s doing. She’s putting money in the bank. Putting money in the bank.” And he said, “Yeah, she’s going to call a witness and tell you what she’s doing. And she’s giving so much money to these people this family that are having a potlatch, or whatever, memorial service and she wants you to remember that. Whenever she has work she has to do, these people that she’s giving money to have to bring that back and give it back to her, and maybe give interest on what she gave you, so they are required to give same amount or more than what they received.” And it’s like having interest in the bank you know? You put a lot of money in the bank (Siyémches)._

Banking in others carries social and economic implications due to the demonstration of generosity and distribution of wealth. Steven Point discussed the social implications that resulted in greater status and upwards movement in Coast Salish social hierarchies, and said:

_I think that from a traditional perspective anyway, wealth has to do with a lot of other different things, other than just the accumulation of stuff. Because in the end, you didn’t, at potlatches, you gave it away! You didn’t keep it! You give it away! For them, the prestige, the size of your work was how much you gave away (Steven)._
By sharing wealth, one gains wealth. In the Indian banking system, the qualitative spirit of giving takes precedence over the quantity of what is given. The economic implications of Coast Salish wealth from this perspective meant that families would anticipate the inevitability of scarcity, but would also account for the change by planning ahead and allocating abundance and surplus among others. When they were planning a gathering that might happen three years ahead in time, a family would begin to accumulate resources to give away at the ceremony, but they would also count on their “banked” resources to come back to them to be channelled into the gathering and add to their wealth and its distribution.

Because banking is future-focused and because it was recorded in oral history rather than in writing, its transactional nature was hard for settlers to see and understand. Siyémches shared a story told to him about his great grandfather Siyémches who hosted a gathering and enacted banking principles, but this was overlooked:

*Siyémches gave away guns and horses and whatever he had, you know? And he gave it away, but that was all supposed to come back. And you know, that Department of Indian Affairs, Indian agents—they visited these potlatches and they didn’t stick around to see the benefit that was going to happen. You know, like the chief or leader was giving a potlatch, giving all these things away and he described it in his reports that that man was destitute after he’d give everything away. He’d have nothing! But he didn’t stick around for two or three more years to see that money, or those goods come back. You know, that man was maybe two, or three times richer than when he had his potlatch (Siyémches).*

Patrick Kelly describes how the principle of insurance and reciprocity was incorporated into his, and Kat Pennier’s, gathering ceremony:
When my ceremony was conducted, as we were talking to certain families, we discovered throughout the process for example, that some of them did not have a very successful year maybe with fishing, or someone was sick, and wasn’t able to make as much for their family. The relationship between the ceremony and wealth is that we as a family, both Hiyólemtel and myself, T’esótes’én, knew that we had to invite these families so that when they came, they would leave with fish and deer meat and food that they could bring back to their family because we knew that they didn’t have as successful a year as they would have liked to have had. So the relationship between those of us who did have the means in this particular year is that we could share the wealth with those who didn’t have as much of a successful year as we did. We know at some point in the future maybe we wouldn’t be so lucky and then the family that we had helped out during this ceremony, maybe in five years or ten years, or even 20 years, it might even be the next generation, they would remember how they were taken care of by us in our ceremony, and if we were ever in a position of need at some point in the future, they would reciprocate. And be able to share the success of their life and economy with us when we may be in need. So there was a lot of redistribution of wealth across the nation, and along with that, the stories, and the prestige (Patrick).

6.2.4 Yéqwelchep, “lighting the fire”, spiritual economy and ancient reciprocity

In the Riverworldview and in the economy of affection, the nature of Coast Salish spiritual exchange, Yéqwelchep, “lighting the fire” is about nurturing the connection between xwélmexw, the river people, and Xá:ls, the Creator. When the Teachings went underground, the elders protected the right of Coast Salish people to receive gifts of knowledge from the Spirit World. The elders knew that for the Coast Salish, the only way to spiritual and economic freedom is through gatherings because gatherings incorporate all the components of spiritual, socio-cultural and material exchange.

What I see lacking in the academic world; you go to school and you see our children, they’re getting their intellectual training and a little bit of a physical training. But nothing emotional or spiritual. Traditional education—you get it all. So one has to work harder. It is harder for us as xwélmexw mestimexw because we live in two worlds (Seymour, 1998a).
Larry Grant discussed the central role of Musqueam healers in the resurgence of gatherings. This resurgence was in response to several instances of people falling ill, becoming ‘Indian sick’, and finding that Western medicine was insufficient and could not heal. Because Musqueam were able to maintain continuity by being protected from view in Vancouver’s development, Musqueam spiritual practices, traditional healing and medicines were eventually needed and spread throughout the Coast Salish territories. Larry said:

We’re re-started again. It stopped for a while, and then it began again around 1915, 1920—"in that era. And, when communities like the Capilano Indian Reserve, when young people there became, I don’t know how to explain it in English except become Indian sick. And these young people had gone to doctors, psychiatrists, um, medical profession...the Western medical profession could not explain or find anything wrong. When they talked about how the young person was behaving, our old people just, “Oh! They’re just Indian sick, you know?” So our community was able to go to North Vancouver, to the Capilano Indian Reserve, and initiate a person for the first time in many, many, many decades from the Potlatch Ban, because many of the people in North Van lived very close, and within the Catholic religion and lived the Catholic life, even though they did have a bighouse over there, they really didn’t participate very much and it almost died right out. So our community went over there and assisted initiating. After a few years, more like after a decade, they begin to do their own work again, so we were part of what I call the renaissance of part of our culture in the Squamish area, the Squamish tribal area, and specifically the Capilano Indian Reserve. We also did the same thing in Tzcheacten in the 1960’s shortly after we did this in Capilano. Our community was invited up to Tzcheacten, and Richard Malloway had called the people up there, and re-lit the fires in Tzcheacten and then our community was also involved in the renaissance again up in the Chilliwack area. Now that all the three places are really active and involved, and also it was in the State of Washington because the groups are there without the border prior to contact. It is something that—Musqueam was able to maintain all of that even though we were right here basically surrounded by the City of Vancouver. It’s part of our history that needs to be talked about (Larry).

Musqueam played a central role in ‘relighting the fires’ of Coast Salish gatherings.

Sonny McHalsie discussed the spiritual significance of fire as the elemental medium
between xwēlmexw and the Spirit World of Xá:ls, the Creator. He explained the context behind guests at gatherings showing appreciation for the fire as a way of showing appreciation for continuing Coast Salish spiritual continuity. Sonny explicated how fire is employed as a metaphor that symbolises the literal lighting of fire as a medium through which the Coast Salish connect to their ancestors:

*The fire is the extension to the ancestors, right? Cause the fire is what we use to feed our ancestors. Right? So it’s like, the fire is there and kind of represents the ancestors, or like Steven Point says, represents the truth, because you have to say the truth cause it’s the ancestor spirits are there in the fire. And that’s why the fire plays a role when someone passes away. We light a fire, and the fire’s always burning outside the house until the funeral happens. And it’s basically what we’re doing is hosting the ancestor spirits. We know that they’re around us, because they, that’s what the elders say is when someone passes away, all the ancestor spirits come cause they’re coming to take the spirit of the deceased person. Right? So then the fire is at the back and so when you go to visit the family, you spend some time in the house but it’s always important to go back and sit by the fire. Because when you’re sittin’ by the fire, you’re sittin’ by your ancestors, all the ancestor spirits are there. So the fire plays an important role as well (Sonny).*

Fire operates in the same way that spiritual tunnels do, to facilitate exchange and travel between the human and Spirit Worlds. As a symbol of truth, fire sits at the heart of all ceremony. The metaphor of relighting the fires features in the oral history of spiritual resurgence that occurred when gatherings started again, and represents a return to Coast Salish spiritual freedom.

Mary Ann Thomas shared how she nurtures spiritual reciprocity through the ceremonial offering of food to the Spirit World in exchange outside of gatherings, in daily life. In exchange for her offering, she receives spiritual protection, and her
family enjoys the the enduring privileges of continuing the Teachings and of being able to receive gifts of names, masks and baskets from the Creator. She said:

*Every four years, we do offering for our family – to protect our children, grandchildren. To keep up that legacy of the things that we do to prepare. There’s a commitment of things that we carry – you know, your name, your mask, qwechelmexwches, the basket. To feed it - you know, small little fish and potato (Mary-Ann).*

6.2.4.1 *Kwíxet, “naming”, belonging*

The concept of naming in ceremony is an inherently spiritual aspect of Coast Salish gatherings and falls under the broader tunnel of Yéqwelchep, “lighting the fire”. In Halq’eméylem, the word kwíxet means, to name someone in a ceremony. Kwíxet can be a primary reason for hosting a gathering, and the process of bestowing a traditional name is a form of public acknowledgement of an individual’s contribution to their community. The process of naming, Sonny McHalsie argues, allows one’s community to make a direct connection between an ancestor who carried the name previously, and the individual who receives the name in the ceremony. Through this connection, the name serves to unleash the potential of individuals, or of the current generations of Coast Salish people, to unfold in relationship with their ancestors. It is also a way in which the ancestors have ongoing roles in the ceremonial life of the community, as Sonny describes below:
The connection that you have to your ancestors through your name—so you have to live up to whatever your ancestral name is because your name will be used in the longhouse. So when they call your name, they’re calling you, but also it’s like they’re calling the spirit of the ancestor. That’s why you’re not allowed to drag your name in the mud because it belonged to the person, and the spirit of that person is there as well....There’s protocols that say at night time, we’re not allowed to call their name because otherwise, it’s like we’re calling that ancestor to come. If you’re in a gathering for instance, and it is night and you’re calling someone, and you say an ancestral name of that person, well then there’s still a role that the spirit of that ancestor, still has a role to be there, to stand beside the person that carries that name. So, that connection’s still there (Sonny).

Willie Seymour described the naming process and said it is the occasion when your family and community takes the opportunity to “stand you up”. Standing individuals up in kwixet is a gesture of public recognition that every person has a place, and through acquisition of a name, gains a sense of belonging and purpose. Ethel Gardner explained how being stood up by one’s community in a ceremony “feeds” individuals through belonging, identity and expectations of behaviour:

They call it “standing them up”. So we’re recognising who they are, and what they mean to our community, and give them Teachings in how to carry out their role in the community. Later on down the road, it will be their role to tell the younger people, how to live their lives, and how to conduct themselves properly. And along with this ceremony called “standing them up”, there is feasting, and gift giving. So, what we do is we feed the people. The family whose person is being stood up have prepared a number of gifts to give the people who come and witness, so that consolidates our community in terms of thanking people, and spreading the little wealth that people have and getting people to understand who this person is within our community. And as a community, we respect that. We respect who this is. We know who they are, and when they go out in the world, they carry that with them.
In a community, we each have a role, and when we understand what that role is, we understand what our role is in that community. Then, we’re able to contribute to it, and we’re able to understand what our part is in that community. If we don’t recognise people, and stand them up and in a sense honour who they are, and what they have to offer in our community, then we won’t know how that person can contribute. Bringing back the traditions and the history and the language is really helping people to understand our original economy because when we don’t know who we are, then we don’t know what our place is in the economy (Ethel).

The process of standing community members up is a way to ensure that each person is connected to his or her ancestors, but there is an aspect of mutual exchange that also occurs. The individual receives a name, security in the form of a communal ethic of care, and a sense of belonging in exchange for accepting the responsibility to contribute to the community. Willie Seymour shared his experience receiving a name, and said:

> When you name somebody, and then, the witnesses stand up and acknowledge the name...they acknowledge you as an individual, like myself. They acknowledged who I was, and thanked me for accepting the great honour of a name. And thanked me—that I would be honourable to the name. And then they turned around and they said, “Huy ch q’u”, thank you. “Huy ch q’u”, thank you. “Huy ch q’u, kw’s ni’ thuni’s’tun’, ch’ulhwen’”. It’s like you stood beside your elders, your grandfather. This is after the feast. The feast happens first. The feast happens first. When they have the feast, they honour whoever it is. In this case it was me that received the name at my grandfather’s invitation to many people. So, when I received the name and they did the honouring and the blessing, the christening of the name, Kwul’lh’uts’tun, the blessing that came to me. And this is after the feast. Then, after the feast, my grandfather said, “I honour my grandson. Thi monesthi’, Thi monesthi. I really care for my grandson. I want him to be taken care of. And I invite all you people to take care of him, if something should happen to me.” That was a real [sic] big honour to hear him say that. And after the naming, the witnesses come, and they acknowledge who I was, acknowledge the name that I was taking, accepting. Acknowledge the will to accept. They wanted me to raise my hands to them – which I did. I raise my hands to my grandfather. He was basically my world. Up until then, I was basically all alone (Willie).
The fundamental change that occurs in the process of bestowing a name is the broadening of the community’s responsibility to care for individual people. Prior to the ceremony, individuals are a responsibility borne by the smaller family unit, but after the ceremony, they are a responsibility shared by the wider community. In Willie’s excerpt, what stands out is the manner in which he speaks about his grandfather as enabling the wealth of resources that come with the bestowal of a Coast Salish name. Each of the witnesses represents a form of network, making direct connection to Willie in the ceremony as a type of informal relationship commenced that he can call upon from that point forward. Likewise, they can call upon him when needed. The final statement that basically he was “all alone” until he received the name indicates that without the name, he lacked connection, responsibility, and a sense of belonging.

6.3. **Tél:exw Summary**

The findings provide insight into the nature of the Coast Salish economy of affection. Under the broad tunnel, “A’wana sna’ps, the time without advice”, there were two findings. The first showed that residual unfreedom exists, and is demonstrated by the affective language of crying and weeping to describe gatherings historically and today. The second finding showed that for Coast Salish, poverty is paradoxical because of the dual reality of being poor and wealthy at the same time, depending on which economy wealth and poverty are measured in relation to. There were four findings under the broad tunnel, “Áyelexw, to come back to life, Coast Salish freedom” pertaining to Coast Salish: wealth, work, principles of exchange and growth, and the community.”
spiritual exchange. Coast Salish wealth is largely measured by access to S’íwes, knowledge derived from the Teachings, and syewá:l, genealogy. Work conducted in gatherings is diverse and refers to all activities and preparation that goes into hosting a gathering. Coast Salish principles of exchange in gatherings include: gifting, debt, saving, and banking. Spiritual exchange involves naming in ceremony and fosters belonging as a central component of the Coast Salish economy of affection.
CHAPTER 7: TÁWÉL, TO LIGHT, ILLUMINATE

In the Collins English Dictionary, the definition of a whirlpool explicates that the cause of such dynamic and powerful energy is “usually produced by conflicting tidal currents” ("whirlpool," 2016). The whirlpool of conflicting tidal currents has been swirling for Coast Salish for what feels like a long time. The appearance of conflict suggests that where currents clash, discordance results. However, in the case of a whirlpool, where competing energy merges together, a great structural force is produced anew where neither current dominates, yet both are interdependent and intertwined to sustain the whirlpool structure. Without one another, each current would continue to flow independently and neither is lost without the other. But when forced together, the interplay of water energy creates a structure of potentiality that neither can achieve alone. This dynamic whirlpool energy represents the structure by which both Coast Salish economy of affection and economy of exploitation must find synergy toward mutual development objectives to guarantee Coast Salish people not only survive, but thrive in the future. In Halq’eméylem, tåwél means to light, or illuminate as the following discussion shows greater depth of insight by synthesising all aspects of the research approach to better understand the nature of the Coast Salish economy.

For Coast Salish, the paradox of experiential wealth and poverty that emerged in the findings from the time without advice, the time without freedom, may be explained using the whirlpool metaphor as the place of quiet, and calm at
the bottom of the deep structure. At the centre, in the place of calm and stillness, wealth in the economy of affection and wealth in economy of exploitation are not mutually exclusive. They are complementary if nurtured in a balanced way, but the findings show that balance has yet to be restored. The various tunnels that extend from Áyelexw, to come back to life illuminate different areas of Coast Salish functioning within the economy of affection that, when paired with freedom, become Coast Salish capability. Although the tunnels are signposted separately in the findings as a product of the research process, in reality, the tunnels are deeply interconnected, and interwoven.

The Coast Salish functionings that emerged in the findings summarised in Table 4 at the beginning of Chapter 6 reflect Coast Salish economic capability and hold the potential to create opportunity freedom that was not addressed in 1951 when the Potlatch Ban was lifted. In this chapter, the findings are discussed as contributing factors to both downward and upward momentum in the whirlpool of the Coast Salish economy. Having collected archival and historical evidence of Coast Salish gatherings, and conducted qualitative interviews with 12 Coast Salish wisdom keepers to explore the primary research question, “What is the nature of the contemporary Coast Salish economy as represented in gatherings?”, the tunnels shed light on Coast Salish gathering as a context for Coast Salish economy. The tunnels also show that the lacuna identified in the literature—between potlatch as gift economy in anthropological research, and First Nations economic development in business and economics—is also reflected in the voices of the ancestors. However,
it may not actually be a gap or lacuna, rather, the Coast Salish economy of affection is something new within the Aboriginal economic development realm as a system of relational affective exchange. The Capability Approach helped to light the tunnels demonstrating why the nature of Coast Salish economy is an economy of affection because of the inherent spiritual need for Coast Salish to nurture affective relationships across all components of Riverworldview. As a result, Coast Salish economic development that aligns with Coast Salish freedom enhances the historically deprived capability of Coast Salish people to live lives they have reason to value within the Coast Salish economy of affection. Coast Salish freedom lies in capability enhancement as the developmental end to Coast Salish economic development.

Globally, definitions of economic development have been changing for some time to include more diverse development objectives, and have had impacts within the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC), United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The influence of advances to the Capability Approach by Nussbaum (2011), Alkire (2005, 2007, 2008, 2010), and many others have given rise to approaches to Indigenous development that centre more comprehensively on enhancing distinctiveness, and freedom that is individually, and culturally-defined rather than nationally-defined (Barcham, 2012; Nussbaum, 2011; Panzironi, 2012; Tremblay, 2010). These approaches to development suggest that with the shifting global discourse around
economic development, a strong case stands for Coast Salish to align economic development approaches that enhance individual and cultural freedom based on Coast Salish values and institutions.

As the ‘valuable beings and doings’ of the Coast Salish economy of affection, the functionings identified in the Coast Salish freedom tunnels meet international definitions of development supported by the Capability Approach. Coast Salish functionings indicate that what matters to Coast Salish people is the capability to ‘light the fire’, take care of Sólh Téméxw, conduct spiritual ‘work’, gift, create relationships of indebtedness, save for gatherings and bank resources in each other in anticipation of life challenges that inevitably lie ahead as part of the human experience. These functionings are more expansive than approaches to development outlined in the literature at the national level within Canada in Aboriginal economic development and align with global development discussions suggesting that national policy on Aboriginal economic development is outdated. Instead, international definitions of development should be the standard that Coast Salish uphold when defining their own economic development objectives regardless of the standards set out by the Canadian government. Additionally, there is scope for Coast Salish to add to these international definitions over time.

The impacts of economic development that promotes values of the economy of exploitation over other development goals will cost all future generations, and Stern argues, “prosperity is found in equality of opportunity” (City University of New York Graduate Center, 2015), including the opportunities that are afforded to those
not yet born. It is an ethical decision to prioritise long-term sustainability for children and grandchildren of the future—something that for Coast Salish is expressed in spiritual functionings and embodied in the intergenerational nature of banking and debt in gatherings. No longer can the argument be made that equality and the assumption that wealth creation for all comes to the detriment of economic growth. In fact, equality and economic development are compatible, as are prosperity and freedom (Stiglitz, 2012).

This research shows that the institutional structure of Coast Salish gatherings did not disappear and that means, the institutional foundations for Coast Salish economy currently exists as a framework within which the economy of affection may be expressed. However, the findings of this research show that the residual barrier that stands in the way of Coast Salish achievement of developmental freedom within the Coast Salish economy of affection is persisting capability deprivation from when Coast Salish could not practise gatherings. Coast Salish unfreedom emerged from the inability of Coast Salish people to uphold their spiritual responsibility to nurture affective ties between all components of Riverworldview in gathering ceremonies. By listening to the voices of the ancestors, the two main ‘tunnels’, Xá:m! Crying and weeping, and Relative Poverty are interrelated.

The tunnels illuminate the nature of the Coast Salish economy as an economy of affection. A comprehensive overview of the research in Table 9 below shows how eight central components of the thesis create a whole picture of the Coast Salish
economy of affection. A detailed discussion follows, except the first component—recognising that it has already been addressed in the literature review.

Table 9 - Eight components of Coast Salish economy of affection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis section</th>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Evidence of Coast Salish economy of affection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Literature</td>
<td>Research lacuna identified; bridged by Hyden’s economy of affection</td>
<td>By identifying an historical and disciplinary gap between research in the fields of Anthropology and Aboriginal economic development on the topic of Coast Salish economy, Hyden’s economy of affection offered a new approach to Coast Salish economic development showing that the nature of Coast Salish economy in ceremonial gathering context is an economy of affection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Methodology and theory</td>
<td>Residual unfreedom continues to shape gathering context; unfreedom removal still necessary</td>
<td>By listening to the voices of the ancestors through their descendants using Coast Salish oral history research methodology, the economy of affection could be seen, including residual unfreedom impacts from colonial policy as residual capability deprivation from the inability to engage in affective relational and spiritual exchange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Theory</td>
<td>Opportunity freedom remains unaddressed</td>
<td>In the realm of freedom, process freedom was addressed through lifting of the Potlatch Ban that allowed Coast Salish to practise gatherings; however, opportunity freedom has not been realised and remains a barrier to Coast Salish economic freedom. Aligning both the means and ends of economic development contribute toward Coast Salish achievement of freedom according to Coast Salish Riverworldview.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Findings</td>
<td>Define Coast Salish wealth</td>
<td>By understanding the nature of Coast Salish wealth, the nature of Coast Salish economy can be better understood because what enables acquisition of Coast Salish wealth is passing on knowledge, growing family, and nurturing relationships. The metaphorical and literal act of Coast Salish people feeding each other through feasting, gifting, honouring and fostering belonging within community through gatherings perpetuates interconnectedness and long-term sustainable and interdependent communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Findings</td>
<td>Spiritual work fosters interconnectedness</td>
<td>By understanding “work” in gatherings as inherently spiritual, the collective efforts of many help to facilitate strategic inter- and intra-community relationships, recorded in the hearts and minds of each generation through continuity of sqwélqwel, oral history.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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6. Findings | Affection is fostered through gifting, debt, saving and banking
--- | ---
By understanding how gifting, debt, saving and banking are employed in gatherings, the nature of Coast Salish economy is illuminated as Coast Salish people are bonded through affection for themselves, one another, for Xá:l’s, the Creator, and for Sólh Témexw, the river environment.

7. Context | Spiritual capability is central to economy of affection
--- | ---
By understanding the centrality of Riverworldview, Coast Salish economy is seen to be inherently spiritual. Therefore, spiritual capability is a crucial component of Coast Salish economic development.

8. Findings | Feeding the people through belonging sustains economy of affection
--- | ---
As a process of enhancing the lives of Coast Salish people, economic development involves “standing the people up”, and honouring each person for their contributions to the community to foster not only one’s sense of identity, but belonging through public recognition in gathering ceremonies. Out of belonging, the ethical exchange of reciprocal care and affection taught by Th’eláchiyatel can be realised that by feeding the people through collective ceremonial and spiritual feasting, Coast Salish will never go hungry.

7.1. Residual unfreedom and unfreedom removal

For Coast Salish, residual unfreedom continues to shape the gathering context. Weeping is a declaration of mourning the tragedy of loss of gatherings—an institution that fosters Coast Salish capability to build relationships, connect with one’s community, share the burden of grief, financially support one another, and demonstrate, gain and negotiate wealth. Coast Salish people are still crying for the lost ceremonies, the lost relationships and for the broken hearts of the ancestors who endured economic, spiritual, and cultural loss. Contemporary Coast Salish notions of wealth are connected to historical unfreedom and are expressed affectively today. Considered within the formal setting of gatherings, the loss of identity and belonging is expressed as unfreedom by the experience of not having knowledge and a lineage from which to speak with authority. Suttles writes,

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The phrase *a’wana sna’ps*, ‘without advice’, is used to describe the lower class. Even today smokehouse speeches in English may begin, “I didn’t have any advice when I was young, so I really don’t know how to talk to you people” (Suttles, 1974, p. 110).

Wealth in the form of knowledge provides a speaker in a ceremony legitimacy and confidence that what they say is grounded within a firm body of knowledge (Ryan, 1973). Without anyone to give them “advice”, access to Coast Salish wealth is difficult. This system of access to knowledge is not fixed, but in a ceremony where the protocols of oral history are important, it signals to the audience the legitimacy of what is said. Indicating wealth by stating the source of one’s knowledge allows expectations (especially by respected elders) to be adjusted, and invites opportunities for elders to educate that person from the oral history record, if appropriate. In this example, unfreedom removal begins with the search for knowledge and establishing individual belonging within the community.

The letters that contain the voices of Coast Salish ancestors express sorrow for gatherings as institutions that not only held immense economic power, but they held the people together. In dealing with the grief and shame from residential schools, Niezen (2013) comments on affective expression of emotion and language as a spiritual act, and says,

The ritual offering of tears to the Creator....elaborate on the Creator’s power to heal, to comfort, to release the weight of sorrow (p. 65).

Coast Salish crying, and the language of crying and weeping prevalent in the economic discourse of gatherings are calls to the Creator to heal and comfort the spiritual suffering that stands as a barrier to Coast Salish economic development. It is
not just an emotional response to injustice. Although the wisdom keepers convey deep sadness, and loss in the interviews, the voices of the ancestors are pervasive with strength and resilience—that no matter the circumstances and magnitude of peril that Coast Salish people faced, the Teachings were preserved and protected at all cost.

In the voices of the ancestors in the letters, and by way of their descendants, grief signals loss of the capability to access and pass on Coast Salish wealth, conduct the spiritual work to build and maintain relationships, participate in spiritual exchange with the Creator and have the freedom to exchange with one another. Loss of belonging resulted from individuals no longer being ‘stood up’ and honoured for their individual contributions. Crying and weeping also suggests that prolonged conditions of poverty are affectively taking a toll on Coast Salish people. As many of the voices of the ancestors emphasised, the burden of grief that normally is distributed through ceremony to allievate heaviness on any one individual or family has been carried in Coast Salish hearts for many generations.

Following from Sen’s (1999a) directive that unfreedom removal is necessary for freedom to emerge, for Coast Salish, the removal of unfreedom embedded in the economy of exploitation is necessary so long as the values it promotes continue to impede on Coast Salish capability. The inability of Coast Salish people to engage in affective relational and spiritual exchange in gatherings is an imperative component of Coast Salish life. If the spiritual nature of Coast Salish worldview continues to be unaccounted for and ignored in the Coast Salish economy, efforts to promote
Economic development will likely result in misguided economic development planning, wasted resources, and arrested human development for Coast Salish people. The institution of gathering is structured in a way that captures the affective needs of Coast Salish to exercise care for each other, and exercise inherent rights and obligations that are bestowed from the Creator to care for the land. In caring for each other and the land, Coast Salish look after themselves. Economic development that reflects these processes of capability enhancement can be achieved through the institution of gatherings and enables Coast Salish people to realise development as freedom.

In the language of the Capability Approach, capability deprivation is marked by the discourse of the wisdom keepers identified in the tunnel Xá:m! Capability deprivation and the many barriers to the achievement of development (Little, 2003) can be better understood through the structures and institutions that promote or hinder capability enhancement. Existing structures and institutions within the economy of exploitation that perpetuate capability deprivation reinforce historical inequalities between the dominant Canadian society and Coast Salish communities, and will continue to do so if the approach to economic development is derived from the system that caused capability deprivation in the first place (Coulthard, 2014). This is not because Coast Salish are not capable of creating financial wealth, and cannot contribute to the global market economy. On the contrary, there has been an unprecedented surge in Coast Salish businesses and entrepreneurial activity on Coast Salish territories over the past twenty-five years with establishment of the
Coast Salish Development Corporation, Tale’awtxw Aboriginal Capital Corporation and the range of businesses affiliated with Stó:lō Community Futures.

Inclusion of economic development opportunities besides financial growth (such as Sólh Téméxw capability enhancement, rather than resource exploitation) are of interest in economy of affection. If the underlying system of wealth generation that drives Coast Salish business and entrepreneurship is the economy of exploitation and the bulk of business activities reflect typical processes of economic development that overlook the spiritual and affective needs of Coast Salish people, this represents an area for research development extending the concepts of economy of affection within praxis. What has been largely the focus of Aboriginal economic development derived from national initiatives and policy is a negative freedom approach. This means that obstacles to participation in economy of exploitation are identified for removal without attention to enhancing positive freedom. Positive freedom includes agency and choice in the form and means by which individuals pursue and achieve capability. Economic development in terms of a positive freedom approach situates Coast Salish economy within Coast Salish concepts of wealth and capability enhancement towards the functionings aimed at spiritual work, and variations of exchange such as debt and gifting that allow xwélméxw to show affection in the exchange.

Capability enhancement serves to improve Coast Salish wellbeing by nurturing exchange relationships across all parts of Riverworldview. Peredo and McLean (2010) alternatively present the argument that in nonmarket societies,
economic drivers of exchange and entrepreneurship are social relationships. The insights from the voices of the ancestors in this research add that in the Coast Salish economy of affection, relationship and belonging drive economic exchange. As long as relationship and belonging stand peripheral and not central to the economy, economic development “inherit[s] that distortion and misrepresentation” (p. 605) of the economy of exploitation, and remains captive to its logic. What is important to note however, is that although the economy of affection is not driven by market values, market exchange plays a role within it, and this will be discussed further in Swóqwelh, Coast Salish financial capability.

The continued use of language of affection in the tunnel Xá:m! shows the extent to which Coast Salish capability deprivation dominates the nature of the Coast Salish economy. It also shows how neglect of economic development that adequately addresses process freedom also diminishes Coast Salish opportunity freedom. Simply lifting oppressive legislation failed to recognise the complex and interrelated nature of a holistic economic institution such as Coast Salish gatherings. Addressing residual unfreedom by recognising the extent to which Coast Salish identity and belonging were also impacted by the Potlatch Ban reinstates fundamental values for Coast Salish that Coast Salish principles of wealth matter. This is a significant shift that accounts for the difference between unfreedom and freedom in the realm of process. In the next phase of discussion, opportunity freedom extends beyond process, and aligns both the means and ends of economic development according to Coast Salish Riverworldview.
7.2. Opportunity freedom and redefining Coast Salish wealth

Opportunity freedom in the Capability Approach is often overshadowed by process freedom because developmental approaches taken up at the level of institutions and policy tend to address it first as a matter of pragmatism (Alkire, 2005, 2008; Human Development and Capability Association, 2013). However, the lives of Coast Salish people encompass much more than can be described by processes, and opportunity freedom helps to create space for the economy of affection in both theory and praxis. To reiterate Sen’s definition of opportunity freedom, it is “the opportunity to pursue the things that we value, and achieve those things” (1999a, p. 74). Opportunity freedom includes the exercise of freedom of individuals which is why both pursuit and achievement characterise this aspect of freedom. Drawing a link to the economy of affection, what matters to Coast Salish is not only the establishment of relationships and belonging as developmental ends, but the pursuit of relationships and belonging. For Coast Salish, opportunity freedom permeates all aspects of gatherings and Coast Salish wealth as discussed in the tunnel Siyám provides an indication of the things that Coast Salish people value, and how wealth is used to realise opportunity freedom.

Although poverty might be understood as an extension of unfreedom, the way that the wisdom keepers discussed their experiences of impoverishment overlaps both economy of exploitation and economy of affection. In the tunnel, Relative Poverty, the wisdom keepers discussed relative deprivation. For example, some of the stories include recollections of wearing second-hand clothing, living in a
run-down home, or not having toys and other personal material belongings. It was also a shared experience for all wisdom keepers.

On the one hand, these excerpts convey the experience of lacking, and speak of the historical injustices imposed by the Canadian government that created conditions of inequality for Coast Salish people. The wisdom keepers also critique the system of measures used to categorise that inequality across unequal groups whose experiences of relative advantage and disadvantage bear little grounds for comparison. Finding that Coast Salish communities are poor in the economy of exploitation that actively excluded Coast Salish people from participation in it highlights the inherent bias of a flawed system (Kuokkanen, 2011b). The experience of relative poverty reiterated what Coast Salish people already knew—that compared to dominant Canadian society, Coast Salish people do not measure wealth in the same way. However, relative poverty does indicate the fundamental inequality and unjustness/injustice of measuring Coast Salish by wealth indicators of the dominant society. These create further policy impacts to the detriment of Coast Salish people.

Coast Salish poverty is facilitated and affirmed by not having the opportunity to gain access to wealth through S’íwes, knowledge from the Teachings, and Syewá:l, genealogy. This point is demonstrated in the excerpts illustrating how wealth was understood by the quality and accessibility of food available to survive and feed one’s family. In Larry Grant’s narrative about visiting family and the generosity that he received as a young person by way of food, he highlights how poverty within the
economy of exploitation had effects on the capability of Coast Salish families being able to uphold Coast Salish reciprocity in the economy of affection. As government restrictions prevented Coast Salish families from being able to access food through subsistence living such as hunting and fishing, and where money was scarce, Coast Salish wealth diminished from the inability to nourish and reciprocate.

Coast Salish poverty within an economy of exploitation has had devastating impacts on Coast Salish identity and created other forms of capability deprivation in economy of affection identified by Steven Point as the reality of being poor in knowledge, experience and connections. Oral history and its traditions in gatherings encouraged Coast Salish people to gain and demonstrate access to wealth by building relationships, connecting with one’s own and external communities, sharing the burden of grief, and financially and socially supporting one another. From the perspective of the wisdom keepers, it is not the lack of material belongings that exacerbated the experience of poverty; rather, it was the lack of opportunity freedom to pursue and achieve relationships and belonging that have made Coast Salish poor.

In order for an economy of affection to offer an alternative approach to Coast Salish economic development, a focus on poverty alleviation may still be relevant as an approach taken in terms of the economy of exploitation. However, in terms of the economy of affection, poverty alleviation should enhance Coast Salish S’íwes and Syewá:l, enabling both process and opportunity freedom through generations of exchange and debt. Poverty alleviation in the economy of affection addresses the
unfreedom impacts that emerged from the historical legacies of broken relationships and unsettled debts when potlatches were first outlawed. Coast Salish wealth based on genealogy and knowledge provides the means to develop human capability to grow the economy of affection through relationships with belonging as a developmental end. In order to be an asset to the collective, Coast Salish people must have access to wealth to exercise freedom. As long as S’íwes remain, so too does the potential to access Coast Salish wealth and freedom, and contribute to the economy.

7.3. Coast Salish economy of affection and capabilities

The Coast Salish economy of affection in gatherings facilitates the belonging of individuals within the community and depends upon the strength of relationships that are institutionally affirmed. In order to foster belonging and relationships, certain capabilities are required. Returning to the Teachings of Th’eláchiyatel, Chief Richard Malloway “to always feed your guests. When you do that, you’ll never go hungry” (Archibald, 2001, p. 26), gatherings as economic institutions facilitate Coast Salish capability embedded in the economy of affection to literally feed one another through feasting, spiritually feed one another through spiritual exchange, feed one another through the exchange of knowledge and provide access to wealth, and distribute resources through material and financial exchange. In order to allow all of these exchanges to take place, relationships between xwélmexw and Sólh Téméxw must be established and nurtured through ongoing learning of, engagement, and
contribution to sqwélqwel as the medium through which all exchanges in the economy of affection are recorded.

The economy of affection not only reflects Riverworldview at an elevated level of philosophy, but at the level of the individual person, the basic human right to exchange, or the “liberty to transact” (Sen, 1999a, p. 177)—a key tenet of the Capability Approach—is met whether or not the material needs to make exchanges between humans is possible. In other words, participation, contribution, belonging and connectedness of individuals within the Coast Salish economy of affection is not entirely dependant on access to material means; spiritual exchanges are just as valid and valued, and in fact, have been undervalued for some time in favour of material exchange, suggesting that this area of Coast Salish economy of affection warrants closer attention and development as an area of potential capability enhancement. A prescriptive approach however, will not work, seeing as the realm of spirituality is widely varied within and across Coast Salish communities. This is simply to state that comparatively speaking, material exchanges have largely been the focus of Coast Salish and Aboriginal economic development across Canada, leaving spiritual exchanges unseen, and certainly not as part of an economy.

Without belonging, material wealth, employment, businesses, production and consumption is meaningless to communities of Coast Salish people whose fundamental values are based on connection, interconnection, relationship, and spiritual thriving. The metaphorical reference to “never go hungry” is a simple statement about the inherent sustainability of an economy built on an ethic of care.
and affection. Emphasis on affection as an integral part of life is referred to in Tongan philosophy in the phrase *tauhi vā*, that expresses “the space in between”, or the relational space between people, generations and things (Ka'ilii, 2005; Māhina, 2010; Refiti, 2013). Perhaps the most significant aspect of *tauhi vā* is the responsibility to nurture relationships, including intergenerational relationships across four dimensions of space: physical, social, intellectual and symbolic. Caring for the space in between people is an approach to Indigenous economy that places people at the centre of exchange over profit and accumulation of financial capital (Kuokkanen, 2011b). Decisions about whether or not to care depends on whether there is vā to be nurtured. In an effort to understand why nurturing the space between relationships is important, such as those that make up the Coast Salish economy of affection, attention is needed to the foundational relationships that guide Coast Salish worldview.

The economy of affection depends on the economic choices and behaviour of people that can be seen among the affective relationships within it (Hyden, 2004). Where the Coast Salish economy of affection departs from Hyden’s economy of affection is that the affective space of Coast Salish relationships is delineated by formal rather than informal rules marked by rational decisions. In the Coast Salish economy of affection, ancient ancestral ties help to affirm the rules of contemporary relational space. Due to colonial processes, it is also the lack of global integration of Coast Salish exchange in gatherings with market exchange that meant for the Coast Salish, like the informal African institutions discussed by Hyden, the economy of
affection continues to be centred on family relationships and extensions from that (Hyden, 2004).

At the outset, the space between people may appear to be abstract or unseen in daily life, but when observed in gathering ceremonies, informal and formal rules are clearly defined, formally arranged and institutionally structured. Much like the whirlpools that form in the river, the Coast Salish economy of affection in gatherings illuminate that below the surface of the water, dynamic structural energy provides not only a means to transport knowledge across generations, but channels affection through the tunnels creating a diverse network of relationships. The components of the Coast Salish economy of affection are discussed in concrete terms accounting for Riverworldview and the spiritual economy.

Drawing upon a Māori four, and five wellbeings approach developed to account for spiritual, environmental, social, and cultural (or socio-cultural) wellbeings in business (Spiller, 2010; Spiller et al., 2011a; Spiller et al., 2011b), the Coast Salish economy of affection can be applied within a similar framework. The wellbeing approach informs Māori business principles, and measures of business success reflect not only tangible outcomes such as measurable profit, but account for intangible outcomes such as how business contributions to enhancement of spiritual wealth and the wellbeing of the community. In this research, the Economy of Mana (Hēnare, 2011) is also based on Hyden’s economy of affection, and the wellbeings listed above shape Māori business practise. Instead of wellbeings, the Capability Approach offers that the Coast Salish economy of affection is made up of
Coast Salish functionings as types of capability: spiritual capability, environmental capability, socio-cultural capability, and financial capability (economy of exploitation). The distinct tunnels that emerged in the findings represent specific functionings. In Figure 12 below, the Coast Salish economy of affection is visually represented with three areas of capability inside of the fourth, spiritual capability that permeates all other types of capability.

Figure 12 - Coast Salish four capability areas, adapted from four wellbeings in Economy of Mana (Hēnare, 2010)

In Hēnare’s Economy of Mana, spiritual wellbeing makes up a fourth circle with overlapping areas among the three wellbeings: environmental, socio-cultural, and financial. As justified throughout this thesis, spiritual capability is fundamentally important and permeates all other capabilities; however, this should not be mistaken to discount spiritual capability, or render it unseen because it is all-encompassing. Coast Salish economy of affection is a balanced approach that
consider all aspects of capability by accounting for the Coast Salish experience of capability deprivation and capability enhancement. In Figure 13 below, the Coast Salish economy of affection sits at the heart of Riverworldview and at the heart of all spiritual exchange; thus, economic development enhances Coast Salish freedom grounded in Riverworldview.

Figure 13 - Coast Salish Economy of Affection at the heart of Riverworldview (spiritual capability)

7.3.1 Yéqwelchep, Coast Salish spiritual capability

Coast Salish spiritual capability is represented by the encompassing circle of Riverworldview in Figure 13. Accounting for affective exchange, the spiritual dimension of relationship between humans and the natural world provides guiding principles for mutual reciprocity (Kuokkanen, 2011b; Verbos & Humphries, 2014,
In the Coast Salish economy of affection, spiritual exchange is implicitly understood and implicitly enhanced simply through the ongoing practice of gathering ceremonies. If taken seriously as a fundamental component of Coast Salish economic development, what needs to be explicitly stated is that if Coast Salish economic development continues to ignore spiritual capability deprivation, it runs the risk of being economic development that is inherently not Coast Salish. The evidence provided in the tunnel, Yéqwelchep, Lighting the Fire shows crucial Coast Salish spiritual functionings in the Coast Salish economy of affection that permeates all aspects of exchange.

Spiritual functionings includes literally lighting the fires that burn in the middle of longhouses during gathering ceremonies. As Sonny McHalsie discussed, fire is the elemental medium between human and Spirit Worlds. In the language of the Capability Approach, lighting the fire enables opportunity freedom to the extent that Coast Salish people can live spiritual lives that they have reason to value by actively pursuing and achieving spiritual functionings. Only by lighting the fire and inviting the ancestors in ceremony can Coast Salish become whole people by honouring and listening to the voices of the ancestors. The notion of truth is affiliated with spiritual capability because in the world of spiritual engagement, a higher level of consciousness guides human conduct (Bolton & Daly, 2013; Carlson, 2010; McHalsie, 2007; McHalsie et al., 2001; Mohs, 1987). Truthfulness as a spiritual functioning guides exchange within the Coast Salish economy of affection. The metaphor of lighting the fire, and re-lighting the fire of gatherings as the institutions
of the Coast Salish economy of affection incorporates development as process-oriented by reinstating the spiritual significance of gatherings beyond unfreedom removal. Development by lighting the fire is also opportunity-oriented by enabling both the pursuit and achievement of human wholeness contained within the Coast Salish Riverworldview.

7.3.1.1 **Spiritual nature of work**

In Māori philosophy, Patterson (1992) discusses work that is an expression of the human connection to the Spirit World. In this realm of work, the activity of creation and labour is closely tied to production for the purposes of sharing, connection and securing relational ties among people through material goods. Syóyes, spiritual work in Coast Salish gathering ceremonies is work that through transmission and mastery of knowledge from the Teachings, enables further connection between individuals and families to the spiritual realm. Artistry comes in many forms, and in gatherings, the art of creation and production is seen as the work of the Spirit World (Patterson, 1992). Although the behaviour of individuals who carry ancestral names matters from the moment names are bestowed, names that connect people conducting spiritual work to ancestral lineage is significant in ceremonial work because, by lighting the fire, and calling the ancestors, the physical embodiment of humans is for the purpose of spiritual exchange (Kennedy, 2000). It is the job of humans to feed the ancestors.

Spiritual work is also about the collective energy that is required to foster interconnection. Ethel Gardner talked about work being something that everyone
who participates in gatherings has to do throughout the ceremony. Paying attention, listening, watching and engagement is an active, not passive effort, and although the bulk of the work may appear to be conducted by the hosts of a gathering, what makes it a formal ceremony, and not a spectacle, are the organisational roles that every person abides by to ensure that the spiritual work is done, and that it is done well.

7.3.1.2 Naming, belonging and becoming

Standing individuals up in kwíxet, ceremonial naming fosters a process of spiritual development for Coast Salish people. Feeding people through naming (Miller, 2007) is the literal means of fostering relationship, affection and belonging for individuals in their communities. The nature of belonging within the community is conveyed in the following excerpt that places the sense of ownership with the community, not the individual: “An ancestral name does not belong to the person; rather the person belongs to the name” (Tataryn, 2009, p. 68). Naming in ceremony fosters expansive relational connection that feeds the human spirit but it also incorporates an element of collective responsibility to uphold the name’s continuity for future generations.

The feast as part of naming gatherings anchors the metaphor in the lived experience of receiving food prepared and shared to honour individual contributions. The name becomes a guide for other members of the community and other communities to understand who the person is, how they affiliate with their own family, and provides structure to the way they might proceed in building further external relations. Naming enacts Coast Salish spiritual capability that grounds
individuals contextually in time, spatial location, generational location, and makes clear the nature of their affective ties.

In Coast Salish Riverworldview, the notion of becoming is closely tied to belonging and this is something that is possible only in relationship with one’s community. Without belonging, becoming a whole person is an impossibility because ties to family, community, heritage and place are embedded in the economy of naming (Joe, 2005). Through naming, belonging is bestowed, affirmed, and locates each individual within the wider community through a symbolic identifier. Furthermore, a relational bond is firmly established in the giving and receiving of a name as mutual acceptance of responsibility, affirmation of belonging within one’s community and guidance for individuals on conduct that creates more opportunities to expand relationships (Hēnare, 2003).

By hosting a gathering ceremony to conduct formal processes that legitimise capability and contribution, individuals become whole people, and communities become whole through the contributions of many. Naming as a spiritual capability is derived from the freedom to be “fed” and reciprocally “feed” others within one’s community so that the voices of the ancestors continue to speak in each generation, and the people do not go hungry.

7.3.2 **Swóqw’elh, Coast Salish financial capability**

There is no indication that economy of exploitation and economy of affection capability cannot be complementary; simply that in the economy of exploitation,
Coast Salish capability, especially spiritual capability and its enhancement as a developmental objective is overlooked. Although discussion about money emerged in the tunnels, particularly with reference to the different means of exchange that occurs in gatherings, money was not a central feature of gatherings. Only to the extent that money allowed people to show their affection, build relationships, or enhanced identity and belonging was money significant within the gathering network. Recognising that Coast Salish communities have the same basic human needs to feed, clothe and house themselves and their families, financial capital and development of capability to access and generate financial wealth is a contemporary reality for Coast Salish people, and will continue to be for the foreseeable future. However, unlike in economy of exploitation, in economy of affection, Coast Salish financial capability is no less, or more significant than spiritual capability, environmental capability, and socio-cultural capability.

Given what the wisdom keepers have expressed in their interviews, the voices of the ancestors indicate that a specific focus on belonging and identity as a way to enhance spiritual capability must be a central focus to understanding the Coast Salish economy of affection. Economic development should pivot around this focus. Indigenous entrepreneurship that centres on social relationship, reciprocity and redistributive exchange will attend to economic aims of the economy of exploitation in the areas of production, distribution and consumption in the long-run (Peredo & McLean, 2010). Within the Capability Approach, economic logic that places relational and affective needs before financial needs meets economic
developmental ends of both eventually; however, Indigenous scholars have argued that the inverse is not true, that a focus on economy of exploitation first, does not create the conditions for Indigenous communities to meet their affective needs (Barcham, 2012; Hoskins et al., 2011; Humphries & Verbos, 2014; O'Regan, 2014).

With the assumption stated that spiritual capability takes precedence in economy of affection, within this area of financial capability, measures of development emerge from Coast Salish having the freedom to pursue opportunities and achieve greater participation and inclusion in the Canadian and global market economy. There are a multitude of opportunities and approaches to financial capability enhancement within this area that do not necessitate exploitation of natural resources, or encroachment on Coast Salish environmental capability enhancement to the detriment of future generations of Coast Salish people. Some approaches exist within the area of social and Indigenous entrepreneurship (Anderson, Honig, & Peredo, 2006; Cahn, 2008; Henry, 2007, 2012; Morrison, 2008; Peredo & McLean, 2010; Swinney & Runyan, 2007; Tapsell & Woods, 2008, 2010), and social business (Yunus & Weber, 2010) wherein business fulfils social need while generating financial capital to continue to meet those needs.

Verbos and Humphries (2015) propose that the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC), paired with principles outlined in the UNDRIP open pathways to ensure that businesses are accountable to Indigenous communities, and adhere to good business practice. The UNGC may represent a means for Coast Salish to ensure that all external parties interested in participating in the Coast Salish economy of
affection commit to upholding Coast Salish values of affection and that business activity enhances the pursuit and achievement of relationships, identity and belonging. Having working knowledge of both the UNGC and the UNDRIP may constitute basic functionings of Coast Salish financial capability that all parties communities must demonstrate—both within Coast Salish communities and parties seeking to establish economic development relationships with Coast Salish.

Opportunity lies ahead through development of burgeoning Coast Salish intellectual and creative economies. It is important for Coast Salish communities to bear in mind, that within this area of financial capability, the seemingly endless pressure to maximise growth within the economy of exploitation has the potential to present a tireless tension against enhancement of other areas of capability. Staying competitive in a global capitalist economy requires continued exploitation of resources, and these pressures will inevitably compete with finite natural resources of S’ólh Téméxw. This is where it is particularly important for Coast Salish communities to have clearly defined principles of governance and law to regulate the means by which financial growth and competition are managed internally.

7.3.3 Sólh Téméxw, Coast Salish river environment capability

Coast Salish capability in the area of relationship between xwélmexw, the river people and S’ólh Téméxw, the river environment is expressed through the language of love and affection for landscapes and all of the land and waterways that Coast Salish have the inherent responsibility to care for. Sonny McHalsie shared the
guiding principle of the Stó:lō Nation, “S’ōlh Téméxw t’i kwe la, Xólhmet te mekw” stám ít kwelát” that he explained means, “This is our land. We have to take care of everything that belongs to us” (Stó:lō Xwexwilmexw Treaty Association, 2009, p. title page).

Connecting the affective language of weeping from this research, and once again, drawing on Māori philosophy, Hēnare (2003) discusses the deeper connections between weeping and the ongoing trauma that Māori feel tied to land loss and the loss of their ancestors. He explains:

Sir James [Hēnare] speaks of weeping for the land handed down from ancestors past. However, there are two spheres of the past for which he weeps. There is a recent sphere – one embroiled in broken political promises, and military and legal intervention by the colonial masters in the second half of the nineteenth century. Then is an earlier, timeless sphere of which the remembrance of a mythic history is what links humanity to the natural world. His narrative informs us of the continuing personal relationships of the living with the ancestors and with the land. His words remind those who will listen that the land and resources are a sacred gift passed on to the present generation from human and spiritual ancestors (p. 33).

Recognition of the two spheres of the past are significant for considering the nature of Coast Salish economy in relation to the river environment. Hēnare’s recent sphere of broken promises and intentions reflects figurative loss of Coast Salish freedom to host gatherings. In the timeless sphere of connection to the past and future ancestral realms, the lack of wholeness, or the partial and fragmented nature of what remains of the land to be passed down to next generations of Coast Salish people. This is not only shown through the language of sadness, but affection for the territory in the interviews explicate values around supporting and growing
community relationships with Sólh Téméxw. McHalsie’s discussion about Coast Salish wealth from Síwes, the Teachings, delineate how Coast Salish nurture individual and collective belonging within Sólh Téméxw as a landscape that carries depth of meaning imbued with stories. Coast Salish wealth in relation to the river environment comes from the ability to connect to sqwéłqwel, the stories that tie people to the territory.

Seen within the language of the Capabilities Approach, McHalsie’s explanation of wealth from the Teachings suggests that Coast Salish capability in relation to Sólh Téméxw consists of the following functionings, as the ‘beings and doings’ that combined with freedom, foster Coast Salish river environment capability:

- Connection to sxwōxwiyám: language, belief system, what is out there on our land, s’ó:lmexw mestiyexw, the water people, the little people, stl’á:leqem, the supernatural creatures;
- Sqwéłqwel is a connection to the land through all one’s ancestors who have used, and continue to use the land;
- Knowing where in Sólh Téméxw one’s ancestors established connection and belonging;
- Going to ancestral places and exercising ancestral and territorial land-use in those places;
- Excercising care through use and development of sxwōxwiyám, sqwéłqwel, ancestral sites.

Returning to links with the Stó:lō tunnels, Robbins argues, “Issues of land title, treaty making, and economic development are all rooted in ideas of rights to space” (2010, p. 96). Coast Salish tunnels include the unseen spaces that transcend physical and metaphysical realms and reflects Coast Salish ethic of reciprocity between xwélmexw
and the Spirit World. Indeed, rights to this space warrant definition within economic development if Coast Salish are to live lives they have reason to value.

Likewise, in the realm of exchanges between xwélmexw and S’ólh Téméxw, the river environment, Coast Salish liberty to transact is severely limited by narrow parameters set out within processes of treaty negotiation between Coast Salish and the Crown. At a basic level, it is limited by the assumption that authority to negotiate such treaty agreements derives from the Crown, when as I have put forward within Riverworldview and has been firmly established in legal precedent by elders across Canada who have shared oral history in court proceedings, the world gifted to humans as “set right” by the Transformers comes with the spiritual responsibility and agreement between xwélmexw and Xá:ls that the role of humans is to simply care for the gift. In this agreement, the Crown falls on the side of xwélmexw, not Xá:ls, and bears the same responsibility as Coast Salish.

Treaty negotiation should concern the nature of the human responsibility to honour the world set right, ensuring that the world does not revert back to a state of chaos from which it was transformed. The divide here between the responsibility of humans is to care in exchange for the privilege to inhabit, and renders ownership and authority over the territory to Xá:ls, the Creator. Movement towards a chaotic state is a tenuous pathway whose destination is a world reclaimed by Xá:ls, and to which human ownership and responsibility for S’ólh Téméxw are irrelevant. Although this may sound somewhat apocalyptic in nature, the importance of perspective cannot be understated as further supporting the significance of
economy of affection as meeting both the economic means of exchange—having the liberty to transact through spiritual and other doings, and meeting the ends of exchange—for Coast Salish to live lives they have reason to value as spiritual beings.

In the economy of exploitation, property rights are the pillar upon which rights to exploitation are founded. Busse (2012), an economic anthropologist argues, “the language of property is the language of the market” (p. 122), and therefore, land discussed in the realm of property rights and property law will always be vulnerable to exploitation having shifted from the public to private domain of exchange. Thus, Busse counsels that property rights driven by economy of exploitation are fundamentally at odds with Indigenous values around protection of collective knowledge, especially as it is embedded in the landscapes imbued with spiritual and sacred wealth. Coast Salish capability and functionings within the economy of affection that values the inherent spiritual worth of Sólh Téméxw requires a shift in language and redefinition of property rights to align with localised Halkomelem principles of collective relationship, and belonging of people within the landscapes that nurture Coast Salish river environment capability.

A central feature of economic development is growth, typically defined in economy of exploitation as growth per capita income (Schumpeter, 2008 [1934]; Sen, 1999a; Stiglitz, 2012). There is divergence between the means and ends of sustaining the economy of exploitation based on exponential growth, and protecting the finite resources of the planet (Suzuki & Knudtson, 1992). One of the major critiques taken up by those who grapple with issues of climate change and inequality
is that that apparent divergence can be seen to be complementary and achieving economic growth and ecological sustainability at the same time is possible (Stern, 2010; Stiglitz, 2012). The idea of exponential growth within the Coast Salish economy of affection applies to exponential growth of affective relationships, and economic development is marked by Coast Salish people’s capability to access wealth through their identity and knowledge from the Teachings. Using that wealth, growth of relationships through spiritual work, gifting, debt, saving and banking allows Coast Salish people to feed the people, thereby feeding themselves.

7.3.4 Smelá:lh, Coast Salish wealth, socio-cultural capability

Coast Salish socio-cultural capability recognises that affection is shown in relationship through behaviour, actions, love and ceremony. The tunnels show that gifting, debt, saving and banking are particular means of socio-cultural capability by which xwélmexw foster bonds through affection for themselves, for one another, for Xá:ls, the Creator, and for Sólh Téméxw, the river environment. It is therefore imperative that within economic development these aspects of exchange contribute to the enhancement of capability in this realm. Given the dire straights that once characterised processes of Coast Salish knowledge transmission, passing on traditional and genealogical knowledge, keeping alive oral traditions and the freedom to host gatherings are crucial ways to ensure future generations of Coast Salish have access to the Teachings.
7.3.4.1 Affective exchange through gifting, debt, xets’et, xits’et, saving and banking

One of the most salient messages from the voices of the ancestors that emerged in the tunnels was the sense that Coast Salish gifting and the distribution of wealth at the end of gatherings has not been fully understood. The views expressed in the historical letters convey the same frustration as was shared in the interviews—that due to the long-term nature of gift-exchange transactions in ceremony, often spanning generations, the mutual benefit of gifting was not “seen” in full within the ongoing network of infinite reciprocal exchanges. The fact that within gatherings, intergenerational gift exchange is normative expresses the depth of affection that is actually imbued in the gift, and speaks to the strategic impact of transacting beyond the boundaries of one lifetime. Gifting tethers the “work” in gatherings to the people (Robertson & the Kwaguƚ Gixsan Clan, 2012). Through the combined forces of ceremony, witnessing, and the gift as symbol of the relationship, the connections between people are remembered without time- or context-bound parameters. It is the relationship that has always mattered, and it is this aspect of gifting that bears emphasis and cannot be understated as an expression of the economy of affection. The long-term component of the gift economy is accounted for in the economy of affection as a socially embedded exchange network that fosters reciprocity but more importantly, is institutionally encouraged (Hyden, 1980).

Debt as a means of affective exchange served as a generative word in this research in the manner put forward by Brazilian philosopher and educator, Paulo Freire in *A Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972). Debt in gatherings is distinct in many
ways from Western European capitalist notions of debt (High, 2012), but one feature that became pronounced is how it is intricately linked with other related and supporting concepts, making it generative. It is not always clear at the outset when gifts are imbued with debt, and when they are not, but those whose transaction it is are clear about the distinction. The notion of “saving” gifts and goods for gatherings is the active means of planning to pay off debt, or strategically creating relationships of debt for someone else—which is actually a form of banking for the future. Banking bridges the divide between a certain present and an uncertain future by planting certainty within relationships.

The way that debt is stigmatised within an economy of exploitation should not overshadow the way that debt is understood within an economy of affection. Debt supports the infrastructure of the Coast Salish gathering economy, but it also helps to form and maintain structures of inequality that stratify Coast Salish society. The stakes are high, but the rewards are also high. On one hand, one such reward includes that to be in debt signals one’s participation and access to the pool of relationships and resources that keep everyone in the gathering economy together. If being in debt is not seen to be stigmatised, for Coast Salish people, there would not exist a desire to be “out of debt” as that would indicate removal of oneself, family or community from the network of social inclusion and relational exchange. The following excerpt affirms the power of debt in relation to wealth, and saving:
The most prestigious thing a Lekwungen could do was to give away more wealth than any of his predecessors, leaving himself socially enriched although poor in goods. In the meantime, however, his rights to the resource sites that generated the wealth had been affirmed. It might help to think of this as the giving away of “interest” or “dividends” rather than the wealth (resource site) itself, which remained in the family’s hands and, over time, renewed its wealth. Since he knew his peers were accumulating property in an attempt to potlatch still greater amounts, the siem and his family had a powerful incentive to begin accumulating immediately for their next potlatch (Lutz, 2008, p. 61).

On the other hand, risks associated with debt are highlighted not only from the imbalance of resources, but the accumulation of debt can be problematic. In the biography of Ga’aaxsta’las, the authors present a critical perspective of debt in Kwakwaka’wakw potlatch society by illuminating the perspective of Ga’aaxsta’las, who “argued that the potlatch kept people dependent with no ability to exercise choice” (Robertson & the Kwaguł Gixsan Clan, 2012, p. 248). This view stems from the sentiment and evidence in the potlatch system of families’ abiding commitment to give beyond their means in order to maintain status, and elevate their social standing through the elaborate and expensive “show” of wealth. Ga’aaxsta’las saw the unfreedom aspects of giving beyond one’s means, and the great consequence of being indebted to the point where paying off debt is an impossibility. She was a strong advocate for the management of moderate and feasible wealth to sustain families and communities in transition; something that the potlatch system as it had evolved in the early 18th century would not account for. In light of the risks associated with potlatch debt and the historical ties to conditions of economic unfreedom in both economy of exploitation and economy of affection, a new question emerges: To what extent do Coast Salish gathering institutions foster dependence or interdependence?
Within Coast Salish communities, debt as a sign of participation and inclusion in the Coast Salish economy means that debt exists as a way to facilitate relational growth, and represents an economic common ground within which deeply shared roots tie families and communities together. This relationship between Coast Salish wealth and the ability to form and maintain networks is explained below:

...socio-economic networks and systems of sharing effectively created a safety net, a form of social welfare, available to all members of the kin group. Poor people therefore were not those who lacked material goods or wealth but those without the family connections that made them part of a viable extended economic network; poverty in this context was synonymous with unconnectedness (Haggarty, 2010, p. 13).

Debt is also a way of distinguishing between the many relationships that each individual, family and community is connected to, but it is also a means to structure relationships. Because gatherings institutionally develop interdependence, debt will always carry the potential as a means for the wealthy to control those who are not wealthy. Tied to the power imbalance between Coast Salish wealth and poverty, to what extent do xwlalámstexw, witnesses serve as watchdogs and gatekeepers of indebtedness in gatherings, and are gatekeepers within the Coast Salish economy of affection? Within Coast Salish communities, scarcity of resources in the form of fishing and hunting sites created the necessity for social mechanisms to ensure that managing and looking after the territory was sustainable for future generations of Coast Salish people. However, with a resource-base that is much more expansive, and has the potential for global reach, the contemporary reality is that new constraints and opportunities place pressures on Coast Salish communities that
include sharing resources with a diverse population of people who may share similar values but do not have the same ancestral and philosophical ties to the territories.

The emergence of banking as a form of investment in the economy of affection is exemplified in the excerpt expressing both literal and metaphorical feeding of the people. The nurturing component of feeding others signifies not only surviving but thriving. Considering the Halkomelem word for European settlers, xwelítem translates to mean, “hungry to the point of starving” (Carlson, 2010, p. 161). This act of naming contains paradoxical and ethical acknowledgement that Coast Salish felt obligated to feed the starving people, but to assign this label in particular also inscribes upon them the character of insatiability—a metaphor of not only an imbalanced relationship lacking reciprocity, but signals a somewhat regretful investment on the part of Coast Salish.

7.4. **Tél:exw Summary**

The Coast Salish economy of affection is founded on wealth that is derived from passing on knowledge, fostering individual belonging within community, and nurturing relationships. The metaphorical and literal act of Coast Salish people feeding each other through feasting, gifting, honouring and fostering belonging within community through gatherings perpetuates interconnectedness and long-term sustainable and interdependent communities. Spiritual “work” in gatherings as inherently spiritual, and the collective efforts of many help to facilitate strategic inter- and intra-community relationships, recorded in the hearts and minds of each
generation through continuity of sqwélqwel, oral history. Affection is fostered through gifting, debt, saving and banking that creates bonds throughout the aspects of Riverworldview and the economy. Coast Salish economy is inherently spiritual. Therefore, spiritual capability is a crucial component of Coast Salish economic development. As a process of enhancing the lives of Coast Salish people, economic development must involve “standing the people up”, and honouring each person for their contributions to the community to foster not only one’s sense of identity, but belonging through public recognition in gathering ceremonies. By feeding the people through collective ceremonial and spiritual feasting, Coast Salish will never go hungry.

The framework of the whirlpool enabled analysis of the research findings that ‘see’ the impacts of unfreedom, but critically and theoretically engage beyond the grief to also understand Coast Salish freedom. The freedom findings are understood as Coast Salish functionings, the beings and doings that facilitate spiritual, financial, socio-cultural and environmental exchange in the Coast Salish economy of affection. As the whirlpool energy spirals upward, and rejoins the river currents and the seen world above the water, Coast Salish capability is also seen. To be seen, and recognised as a valued contributing member of the human family, Coast Salish are collectively acknowledged through belonging in the world.
CHAPTER 8: XWÍLÉXMET, “STANDING UP” COAST SALISH ECONOMY OF AFFECTION

In Halq’eméylem, xwíléxmet refers to the process of “standing up”, or honouring to follow the findings and discussion bringing to light the Coast Salish economy of affection. Emerging from the tunnels, and ascending from the whirlpool, a new order on the river becomes apparent. From the depths of the river, the whirlpool brings debris to the surface of the water that previously was not apparent, and suppresses matter that occupied visible but perhaps idle space. As the dynamic energy of the whirlpool spin slows, and eventually ceases, the new order of the river settles into place and ordinary currents flow, reestablishing a steady calm. Although the disturbance was disruptive, it is also generative. However, the return to stability is as important as the swirling chaos because it is in the settlement that new patterns can be seen, and in the realignment that new learning establishes the potential for new outcomes. If the whirlpool were to continue for eternity, normal life activities cannot occur amidst the chaos, but the same applies if the river continually flowed in one direction without pause to allow change to occur. The aftermath of a whirlpool provides the opportunity for pause and reflection upon the newly “seen”, yet ancient values that have guided Coast Salish life from time immemorial and brings these back into the economy.
The new order presents a view to economic exchange that incorporates intuitive, spiritual and ancestral knowledge for a contextual, human-centred economic order expressed through the economy of affection. Emergent from this knowledge and rising to the surface of the river are notions of Coast Salish wealth that are founded in the Teachings and ancestral lineage, spiritual work that captures the depth of resources and commitment to enhancing spiritual capability, gifting, debt, saving and banking as means for exchange that ultimately serve Coast Salish developmental ends to belong as a way of becoming. Finally, lighting the fire and acknowledging the Coast Salish spiritual economy as a fundamental component of Coast Salish freedom applies literally and metaphorically to the new order of the river.

In the 100th anniversary edition of Pauline Johnson’s book, Legends of Vancouver (2014), the story, “Deer Lake” alludes to a Coast Salish tunnel that serves as an escape for a giant seal from days’ long struggle with seasoned spearsman, Chief Capilano. Johnson writes:

Once only did his cunning fail him, once only did Nature baffle him with her mysterious fabric of waterways and land-lures. It was when he was led to the mouth of the unknown river, which has evaded discovery through all the centuries, but which – so say the Indians – still sings on its way through some buried channel that leads from the lake to the sea....Until the day of his death the first Capilano searched for the unknown river up which the seal travelled from False Creek to Deer Lake; but its channel is a secret that even Indian eyes have not seen. But although those of the Squamish tribe tell and believe that the river still sings through its hidden trail that leads from Deer Lake to the sea, its course is as known, its channel is as hopelessly lost...(pp. 120-124).
In this legend, the experience and expertise of Chief Capilano as a spearsman is unmatched, yet, he is still eluded by the world of tunnels that make up the unseen spiritual landscape of Coast Salish territory. Even though its pathway is unknown, the Squamish believe that the river still sings through the hidden tunnel.

In much the same way, even though the pathway back to the Coast Salish economy of affection is not entirely defined and remains partially unseen, the potential of gatherings as the institution of the economy of affection still carry the voices of the ancestors. And even if the tunnels are increasingly apparent, there remains a possibility that we may never fully understand the economy of affection and Coast Salish freedom. There will always be an element of economic life that goes unseen, and continues to be a secret—especially in the realm of the spiritual economy—but discovery and emergence of the economy of affection occurs when believing does not rely on seeing; instead, what is seen emerges from readiness to believe.

8.1. Contribution

My purpose as a Coast Salish researcher in this research and beyond is to explore Coast Salish philosophy with the intention of redefining the principles that drive Coast Salish economic development. In order to achieve that, it is necessary to understand the fundamental nature of Coast Salish economy, and through a process of internal discovery and experiential learning, my contribution to my family and community is through thoughtful recasting of the gathering ceremonies we hold.
close to our hearts. The outcomes of this research have the potential to challenge the foundations of exploitation upon which colonial policies were implemented to the detriment of Coast Salish ways of life. As a philosophical and ethical approach to decolonising modes of thought and presenting an alternative paradigm of economy, this research contributes to the enhancement and freedom of Coast Salish communities and people.

An approach to economic development that overemphasises poverty alleviation as the means and ends is short-sighted and fails to satisfy the depth of spiritual and ceremonial life of Coast Salish people. Economic development driven by an economy of exploitation is not enough. Development as freedom occurs through institutional change that reflect a wider range of values beyond the limits of market mechanisms (Sen, 1999a). For Coast Salish, a shift toward gatherings as institutions that addresses enduring Coast Salish capability deprivation and enables capability enhancement meets development of value to Coast Salish people.

As a contribution to research methodology within the field of business, the whirlpool methodology used in this research aligns with theoretical insights from the Capability Approach and Coast Salish Riverworldview. It is contextually specific, which makes it not easily generalisable to disparate contexts. However, the combination of approaches taken provided an exploratory and iterative means for understanding freedom and unfreedom. It was not hard to see that unfreedom impacts affected Coast Salish capability, and how that became an historically founded, yet contemporary barrier interfering with Coast Salish people to live lives
they have reason to value. Understanding freedom proved a greater challenge that, through engagement with the Capability Approach and oral history, qualitative interviews fostered exploration of freedom as Coast Salish functionings, the ‘beings and doings’ that Coast Salish people can be and do according to Riverworldview. Informed by the voices of the ancestors, Coast Salish wisdom keepers speak from their own life experiences and reflect on such experience informed by Coast Salish traditional knowledge from, S’íwes, the Teachings.

Oral history is important in relation to the Coast Salish economy because it is through affective ties of shared experience and trust bestowed upon those who are called upon to take up witnessing roles that knowledge as wealth is acquired, and passed on. Oral history is one way of passing on wealth, but it is also a key mechanism for maintaining relational ties. Activation of oral history activates the economy of affection. Signs of economic success may not reflect those of mainstream economics but instead show stronger relationships and accountability to the worlds beyond human relations that acknowledge our embeddedness within eternal spiritual and environmental ecologies. Because of the depth of personal spiritual engagement through private reflection and interpersonal time spent with the wisdom keepers, I gained deeper understanding of the nature of the Coast Salish economy. The methodology conducted in this research contributes to extant business research because it attends to constructing economic development around the responsibility affirmed by Kirkness to listen to the voices of the ancestors and
learn from the knowledge of all generations referent in tómiyeqw, the future generations.

8.2. Implications for practise

There are three primary implications for practise from this research. The first concerns why the economy of affection practically represents a good alternative to the economy of exploitation as a chosen economic framework for Coast Salish communities. This is because the economy of affection safeguards poor communities who would normally be vulnerable to fluctuations and economic downturns inevitable within the economy of exploitation. The second implication concerns the practical matter that economy of affection has a leveling effect of making economics understandable and accessible to more Coast Salish people. This is an important advantage to Coast Salish communities who have made economic development a priority, yet have little education or working knowledge of economics or development. For those who do have education and expertise in economics and development, economy of affection provides structural and institutional opportunity to account for ancestral and traditional knowledge that would otherwise fall outside of economic relevance in economy of exploitation. The third implication concerns the opportunity of capabilities as a non-prescriptive and specific approach to represent diverse communities, meaning capabilities reflect the actual experiences and lived realities of Coast Salish people.
Where the Canadian and North American economies of exploitation are vulnerable to fluctuations in the global market economy, the risks associated with economic downturns have serious consequences felt by those who are most vulnerable—the poorest populations of society (Sen, 1999a; Stern, 2010; Stiglitz, 2012). At present, the majority of Coast Salish communities fall into this category of vulnerability and as the wisdom keepers have expressed, conditions of relative poverty have shaped Coast Salish life for many decades. Where economy of exploitation and economy of affection are interconnected is within this realm of financial capability. However, because the economy of affection does not rely solely on what happens in the financial capability section within it, economic risk that creates uncertainty within the global market economy does not affect the Coast Salish economy of affection to the same extent. This is because there are different developmental means and ends at play in the economy of affection. Where the means of economic development are vulnerable, the ends are not in an economy of affection. Although the different areas of capability are interconnected, deprivation in one area of the economy of affection does not mean the entire economy is at risk of collapse. Given the proven fallibility and flawed nature of the dangers of leaving oneself open to global market forces and the ‘invisible hand’ of the economy of exploitation, the case for Coast Salish economy of affection presents a relatively stable and sustainable future for Coast Salish communities based on ancient economic values. There is ample opportunity for further research and conceptual development exploring contemporary interactions between economy of exploitation and Coast Salish economy of affection.
Returning to the ethical crisis identified by Professor Robert Wade (Izurieta, 2009; Wade, 2015)—that economics is a science for the elite—he highlights a perception about economists who view themselves as engineers for the economy of exploitation. Wade contends that as a discipline, mainstream economics is reserved for those with exceptional capability in mathematics and positivist rational thinking. Wade observes that this culture of superiority is fraught with specialists willing to overlook the ethical dimension of economics in favour of greater mastery of the science. As a counter-position to such economic elitism, by virtue of reliance on values of interdependence, trust, wealth distribution and the public nature of oral history maintained in gatherings, Coast Salish economy of affection is neither a scientific system, nor does it require elite knowledge to understand it. Understanding gatherings is a basic component of Coast Salish community life and knowledge about gatherings is available to anyone who participates, and contributes as part of the affective network.

As an implication for practise, reinstating confidence in Coast Salish knowledge of the economy of affection may require discussion and reframing of what constitutes economic knowledge with the clear objective of making the economy accessible, and not a science of the elite. Affection is something that every person can understand on a human level by virtue of having human relationships. Therefore, in the Coast Salish economy of affection, every Coast Salish person should be an ‘economist’ at the level of understanding the role of affection to foster belonging. Because oral history is captured through the witnessing network, it is
within gatherings that economic knowledge of the economy of affection is disseminated broadly. As Larry Grant illuminated when he commented that reciprocity may not come to fruition in the span of one lifetime, because these economic relationships are captured and passed down intergenerationally, so too is economic knowledge. Intergenerational reciprocal knowledge transmission is fundamental as a catalyst for the sustainability and continuity of Coast Salish economy of affection.

The extent to which Coast Salish communities engage with the economy of affection is entirely dependent on each community’s pathway into the future. Likewise, those that do engage in the economy of affection will be faced with adjusting the capability areas to their needs and specific community context. The specific quantity of capability sets that make up the economy of affection inside of the overarching spiritual capability that aligns with Riverworldview is not significant for the purposes of this research. Returning to Sen’s definition of capability, they are not finite, or rigidly defined. Capability may be negotiated within and across Coast Salish communities, and they may change over time. Defining Coast Salish-specific capability represents an area for future research as this research only discusses issues that emerged in the interviews and archival research. However, more capability in the areas of governance, law and leadership may be explored as distinct additional capability from the four identified in Hēnare’s Economy of Mana, or subsumed as part of these four. The specific number and allocation of capability falls
under the ‘how’ of economy of affection and is therefore beyond the scope of this research.

A potential pitfall ahead is if an implicit assumption about the apparent incommensurability of two economic systems coexisting side-by-side. This assumption is borne from the falsity that in order to participate in Coast Salish economy of affection, one cannot participate in economy of exploitation and visa versa. This assumption has the potential to become a barrier to economic development if unrecognised, but is founded in the same logic that justified implementation of the Potlatch Ban in 1884. It is supported by deeply flawed assumptions about Coast Salish aspirations for the future. This research provides empirical evidence to show unfreedom from the inability to engage in Coast Salish economy of affection in gatherings, but it also shows that the expression of sorrow is sadness for the lost capability to nurture all relationships within Riverworldview. This is a key factor to consider in response to the argument for focusing on financial wealth, because where financial wealth is derived from resource exploitation and destruction of the relationship between xwélmexw and Sólh Téméxw, the economy of affection is negatively impacted. In this instance, Coast Salish communities are faced with an ethical and moral choice over which economic values to uphold. Nonetheless, it is my belief that it is a false assumption that the economy of affection and the economy of exploitation cannot coexist. They can, and should coexist, and in fact, have the potential to be complementary.
8.3. Future research

From my experience, there is much potential that rests in the archives to support and shape the Coast Salish economy of affect given a more clear set of guidelines around archival access, management and primary research. With the benefit of hindsight and some general language developed within this thesis, keywords may be drawn from this research to assist with future research.

The process used for coding and analysis of the tunnels is exploratory and experimental. There are limitations that, given the opportunity to code again, verification of the meaning, interpretation, dialects used and application of localised Halkomelem words with elders, linguists and other experts in-person would strengthen the research. The codes developed can serve as starting places for more specific and expanded conversations in future research with Coast Salish communities about the extent to which these codes resonate with localised worldviews, and if not, then finding better concepts that do.

In the section concerning the theoretical constructs freedom and unfreedom, the interrelated nature of freedoms as an opportunity for future research centred on integrating Coast Salish economy with Coast Salish law, governance, politics, and leadership. This concept is novel in a contemporary sense because these structures are largely disparate, but gatherings institutionally integrated each of these areas as part of their fundamental structures. Finding a way to bring back their interrelatedness presents a rich area for research development and Coast Salish community development. A life that Coast Salish have reason to value is one that allows Coast
Salish to institutionally operate according to Riverworldview by maintaining the order that was gifted from the Transformers. On this fundamental assumption that all of Coast Salish economic, governance, political and legal philosophy is embedded in stl’e’áleq, as institutions rather than cultural or spiritual “practises” (which might suggest that stl’e’áleq supplement who we are, when in fact they reflect who we are).

Opportunities for future research also lie in exploring greater diversity of insights into economy of affection across Coast Salish territories and communities. The interviews conducted in this research are drawn predominantly from my father’s and my existing networks that on the one hand, represent a unique opportunity to explore using an autoethnographic approach. On the other hand, when set against the diversity of views that fall under the Coast Salish experience, there are immense opportunities to expand conversations about Coast Salish freedom, wealth and economy of affection. This research is not a representative study of Coast Salish perspectives; rather, it is a first approach to exploring the worldviews and philosophies that shape economic philosophy in Coast Salish gatherings. Nonetheless, greater representation of views from downriver and Island communities as well as across different networks of upriver communities would substantially enhance and contribute to philosophical development of the Coast Salish economy of affection. A greater balance of gendered views would also provide different insights as would a balance of the voices of the ancestors across different generations.
Having focused on the “why” of economy, naturally, the “how” of economy follows. Future research might explore, how an economy of affection is implemented, and measured, or it may be the case that a measured, linear, and rational approach is not relevant to communities. Nonetheless, a closer look at Coast Salish functionings might reveal depth of insight into the lived experience of economy of affection and what that means at a more specific and practical level outside of the freedom parameters outlined in the Capability Approach.

An opportunity that falls beyond the scope of this research but has the potential for rich insight are links between stl’l’e’áleq, and the institutional nature of gatherings. This might include situating future development and framing within aspects of institutional theory, or consideration of stl’l’e’áleq in light of Ronald Coase’s (1937) seminal development of the Theory of the Firm. As a potential pathway to explore the ‘how’ of economy of affection, the Theory of the Firm outlines the purpose and function of firms including their role in creating transactional efficiency in the distribution of resources in economy of exploitation. Such an approach may open up avenues into Coast Salish modes of production and distribution of wealth as a contemporary question that includes growing knowledge and creative economies, especially pertaining to Coast Salish using online and other social networks.
8.4. **Coast Salish freedom**

Standing up the Coast Salish economy is the first stage of economic development as freedom such that enhancement of capabilities that grow the economy of affection necessitate depth of understanding around fostering belonging and connectedness for all Coast Salish people. The consequences, should this research be ignored would reflect the status quo of economic development within the parameters of the economy of exploitation. Simply through naming and framing the potential of the economy of affection in this research, it is my hope that further research and practical development of the Coast Salish and other Aboriginal economies of affection will become increasingly commonplace, and inform economic development moving forward. Reflecting S’íwes, the Teachings of Willie Seymour from his training to become a longhouse speaker, naming is to call something forward and bring it into existence. Seymour recalls:

> Pretty soon I was quite comfortable in speaking naturally to the elements—to the cedar tree, to the maple tree, to the balsam, to the fir, to the rocks, to the vegetation. At least to the names that I knew anyway. I didn’t know a whole lot. They were saying that if I think of a name, to call it out. To shout it out like as if I’m calling them as a witness, and listen for my echo along that valley up there. Said that if you can hear yourself four or five times, or even more, you’ve accomplished the lessons that you began to learn (Seymour, 1998b).

It is certainly my intention that by naming the Coast Salish economy of affection and calling it forward, and standing it up, the economy of affection will take precedence in Coast Salish lives to allow the people to live lives they have reason to value.

> Broadly speaking, for Coast Salish, framing economic development enables reclamation of economic legitimacy in the global human family that due to historical
circumstances, have not been afforded until now. The economy of affection enables Coast Salish people to uphold the values that matter to them in terms of economic exchange as a form of freedom. The aspect of belonging within the economy of affection refers not only to the micro, or meso levels of belonging in terms of embeddedness within immediate family and community, but reframes Coast Salish belonging at the macro level as a universal freedom inherent to being human. The only criteria for belonging within the human family at this level of universality is being and existence; no other proof is required, yet, looking at the economic record, Coast Salish would appear not to exist.

What has risen to the surface after the whirlpool settled is a reminder that a new generation is listening to the voices of the ancestors, and that the Teachings are there to inform Coast Salish economic lives. For Willie Seymour, the freedom to speak about gatherings cannot be understated given the nature of Coast Salish unfreedom apparent in this research; however, the potential that lies ahead for Coast Salish communities to draw upon the nature of Coast Salish economic philosophy from the Teachings speaks to Sen’s invocation that “people themselves must have responsibility for the development and change of the world in which they live” (Sen, 1999a, p. 282). Coast Salish economic freedom means having the freedom to choose the economic means by which we live, including having the choice to choose Coast Salish economic philosophy. This notion of economy accounts for a holistic integration of socio-cultural, economic, spiritual and environmental capability that takes precedence in Coast Salish economic development planning.
For Coast Salish communities living within a global market economy, the future for Coast Salish people necessitates that we be spiritually, culturally, environmentally and economically free according to Coast Salish laws, philosophies and principles. The Teachings recognise that Coast Salish obligations to the Creator—Xá:ls, the people—xwélmexw, and S’ólh Téméxw—the environment as discussed in Riverworldview have not changed. Coast Salish cultural practices of governance, and economic philosophies, and foundations for development must align with Coast Salish perspectives and reflect Coast Salish people, traditional territories and ancestral ties to long histories of being and belonging with Sólh Téméxw.
APPENDIX ONE: SXÁ:SLS “THOSE WHO KEEP TRACK OF EVERYTHING”

In this appendix, sxá:sls, the Coast Salish wisdom keeper biographies describe the people with whom I spoke directly in 12 qualitative interviews. Three of the wisdom keepers are men, and two are women. The Halq’eméylem word, sxá:sls expresses the collective role that the wisdom keepers have in this research as recipients and transmitters of oral tradition. They speak from their lived experience, and share what they have learned from wisdom keepers before them derived from S’íwes, knowledge from the Teachings. Carlson explains the role of sxá:sls as:

“Keepers and communicators of sacred histories. Such a person, typically a man was referred to as sxá:sls, meaning ‘one who keeps track of everything’ (2010, p. 62).

Although Siyelyólexwa, elders is part of chapter 2, Riverworldview, those voices are closely connected to the voices of the wisdom keepers in this chapter. It is through the wisdom keepers that the elders continue to speak within Coast Salish communities.

I introduce the wisdom keepers with brief summaries to explain who they are and highlight some of their roles and contributions in Coast Salish communities. In some cases, I share a personal memory illuminating the relationship between me and them. These stories build histories of relationship that precede this research, and will likely continue after its completion. They also demonstrate how my affective ties within the Coast Salish community have shaped thinking and development on
Coast Salish economy throughout my life. In many ways, I have watched Coast Salish economy of affection unfold through my genealogical networks built upon foundations of kinship, friendship, and shared location, values, and challenges. Because of this network, the interviews represent a snapshot of Coast Salish insights and are more representative of upriver voices than downriver and island Coast Salish voices, reflecting my lineage and the kin networks immediately available to me. I see this research as an initial opportunity to situate new idea development in a set of language and concepts from which greater breadth and depth will develop in the future. These voices are a starting place for future research to build and capture a wider scope of Coast Salish insights into the economy of affection.
Kwul'lh'uts'tun, Willie Seymour (1949-2015)

Kwul'lh'uts'tun, Willie Seymour was from Stz’uminus First Nation at Kulleet Bay on Vancouver Island. He was named by his grandfather, Suyisusten, Joseph Seymour and carried the traditional name of his late uncle, Jimmy Seymour. Willie Seymour passed away since I conducted my interview with him. He made his journey to the Spirit World while I was in transit on a flight from Canada to Aotearoa-New Zealand on 31 August 2015. Willie’s interview was absolutely crucial in this research as a generative opportunity, and catalyst for other interviews to occur because he carried a reputation throughout Coast Salish territory as a respected elder and wisdom-keeper on the topic of gatherings. Having the opportunity to speak with him as the first interviewee in this research was a great privilege that had an impact on many subsequent interviews. His name came up often, and because I interviewed
Kwul'lh'uts'tun first, for some interviewees, this created a sense of ease and willingness to participate more openly knowing that his contribution lay the foundations for this particular body of knowledge.

Willie’s reputation as a respected wisdom keeper on the topic of gatherings was affirmed by many other wisdom keepers. At the outset of many of the other interviews (usually before audio or video recording commenced), I was frequently asked who I had already interviewed, or was planning to interview. I felt that while I may have received verbal agreement to interview each person prior to the interview, this question in-person represented a second-level agreement based on establishing the body of voices to which each individual contributed. As a recurring experience, this signalled to a collective valuation of whether I sought the insights of those most qualified to speak on this topic. It was also a relational approach to participation in research that permeated the network of wisdom keepers. When I told them that I had already interviewed Willie, responses were always positive. For example, Steven Point explained that he felt he may not have much to contribute to this research because he felt he did not know much on the topic of Coast Salish economy. However, he was happy to participate knowing that his knowledge was building on aspects of gathering ceremonies that Willie may have already mentioned. This tells me that the nature of the topic itself sits within a body of shared knowledge to which no one person is willing to claim total expertise; however, individuals are willing to contribute within an established collection of voices to share what they have seen, heard and been told. Finally, I also interpreted this relational approach as
confirmation that each person was seeking to establish *syewá:l*, a genealogy of knowledge to link themselves to. By understanding who else was speaking, they situate themselves among other respected, valid, knowledgeable, and reputable Coast Salish voices. Willie’s legacy continues to be expansive across Coast Salish territory, and well-known among the community of wisdom keepers as a respected voice of the ancestors.

The decision to interview Willie first was based on a recommendation by my father who, as his cousin, knew of Willie’s extensive knowledge on Coast Salish gatherings. The interview with Kwul’lh’uts’tun was arranged by my father because of their mutual ceremonial relationship that I have described in “My father’s lineage”. Kwul’lh’uts’tun did not have internet access at his home at Kulleet Bay, so initial contact was made by phone. In that phone conversation, my father explained that I was conducting research on Coast Salish gathering ceremonies and he said I would like to speak with Kwul’lh’uts’tun on this topic.

The phone conversation was an important research event because there were levels of protocol required to facilitate the relationship between me and Kwul’lh’uts’tun based on Coast Salish values of respect. By my father calling, instead of me, he signalled his endorsement of the research. In return, Willie trusted my father because of our family reputation based largely on Tesots, my great grandmother. In this phone call, I was also contextually situated within the Coast Salish world as coming from an upriver perspective. This information would allow
Willie to calibrate his knowledge and what he chose to share in the interview across layers of Coast Salish cultural, geographic and generational differences.

There were several phone conversations between my father and Willie in the days leading up to my arrival from New Zealand. When I arrived to Vancouver Island, it was my turn to phone Willie to confirm a suitable time to meet. This was another important research moment because it signalled to Willie that I was taking responsibility for the research from that point forward. Admittedly, I was nervous because I was worried about making a mistake that could jeopardise how the interview would go. In my nervousness, I was responding to a sense of ambiguity and tension from growing up learning that showing respect to elders means you listen and reverence is shown by keeping your eyes to the floor (Fairhaven College, 2015); yet, I needed to take responsibility for the research process because my role as a ‘researcher’ required me to do so. This phone call represented a first point of inner conflict between who I am as a researcher, and who I am as a young, Coast Salish community member. Willie was expecting my call.

In the process of getting his address, I was overwhelmed by his detailed directions and struggled to grasp his local knowledge of the area. This was also a moment of reckoning for me having grown up in a city, and not used to finding my way around Indian reserve land, except where my family lives. Even then, I struggle to know my way around with certainty. I listened as best I could to Willie’s instructions, but after I got off the phone, I searched the address online. I could not find either the address, or the street on Google Maps, but I found other roads he
mentioned. It looked straightforward as there is only one road that goes around the peninsula to Kulleet Bay. I got lost on the way to the interview, but arrived eventually.

Kulleet Bay is more remote than I had expected. A visceral memory of that interview includes driving out of the forest and entering the clearing of streets and houses on the reserve. There was a tangible heaviness, and visible poverty that unfortunately, is a familiar reality for me, and a common experience entering reserves in Coast Salish communities upriver. Despite the clear, sunny summer day, the area felt thick with sadness, loss, and darkness—as if the memories of their colonial history hover in the trees like an invisible fog. It is not what I saw, but what I felt that stuck with me. When I arrived to Willie’s house, I was 40 minutes late and worried that this would upset the interview. Willie was in his living room looking out the window for my arrival. When I introduced myself, some practical challenges emerged immediately—the first shift I had to make, was to speak slowly and loudly so that he could hear me. The second was being sensitive to his physical health. He struggled with a cough, his breathing was shallow, and his speech truncated with long pauses. I switched from thinking about my interview and being focused on my research, to tuning into his comfort and ability to do the interview. I did not want the interview to be exhausting or cause him to expend energy beyond his capability.

I made a few research mistakes in this interview relating to having trouble with recording using a video camera. I forgot to have a backup audio recording in case the video equipment failed. I discovered that the video camera captured a
certain number of minutes of recording before it would shut off automatically. This was a consistent challenge in all of my interviews that I thought would be solved with a memory storage card of greater capacity. For subsequent interviews, the solution I came up with was to keep pressing the record button as soon as the sound signalled that the camera stopped recording. Because I did not have a backup recording, I made sure to capture everything that was said on video, and if the recording was interrupted, I asked Willie to pause while I resolved the technological issue. It was challenging to balance the camera equipment and focus my attention to the words and energy exchanged between me and Willie.

The beginning of Willie’s interview was interesting, because he expressed deep thanks and appreciation for having the opportunity to be interviewed at all. He was grateful to be able to speak freely, and share his thoughts. The other moment that stands out in the interview was when I asked him a question about freedom as Coast Salish people. He answered so clearly and definitively that freedom is not a state of being that as First Nations people in Canada, we have the privilege to enjoy. The certainty of his response gave me chills throughout my body.
Séliqw, Mary-Ann Thomas and Senupin, Andy Thomas

Séliqw, Mary-Ann Thomas and Senupin, Andy Thomas are married. They are from Lekwungen, also referred to as Songhees-Esquimalt Nation. Andy is the hereditary chief of the Esquimalt Nation and has been in that role for 43 years. They have been married for 44 years and they have seven children, 39 grandchildren and two great grandchildren. Together, Andy and Mary-Ann are frequently invited to conduct opening prayers and speeches for events in the Victoria area of lower Vancouver Island on Coast Salish territory.

I conducted this interview with both Mary Ann and Andy together. It is the only interview conducted with two people at the same time. I had never met Andy or Mary-Ann before, and because I had not, my father accompanied me to this
interview to make official introductions. As he did with Willie, he also wanted to make sure that Andy and Mary-Ann were clear that my father had made the recommendation for them to be interviewed to contribute their insights. My father struggled to make arrangements for this interview beforehand, so we went to visit them at their home with the intention of making a proper introduction face-to-face, and prepared to do the interview on the spot, if appropriate. Mary-Ann did not express an immediate willingness to participate in the research, as they had just returned from traveling and visiting family over a long weekend. Mary-Ann spent some time unwinding and resettling at home before she decided that she was willing to participate.

In this interview, Andy spoke first and shared his story and reflections about the Coast Salish economy on Vancouver Island. Mary-Ann spoke about what is referred to as s’éliyá (Galloway, 2009a, p. 1561) in Halq’eméylem, or dreams. In her case, she shared spirit dreams and intermittently used words from the Lkungen language, a dialect of Hulq’umi’n̓um specific to the Songhees-Esquimalt people. She used the language in the same way that Kwul’ih’uts’tun, Willie Seymour used Hulq’umi’n̓um words. They both spoke in English, but in the middle of an important point, used Hulq’umi’n̓um for emphasis. It may have been to demonstrate that the only way to express what they wanted to convey is through the Coast Salish worldview expressed in the language. For example, Mary-Ann said, “A lot of work to pass on the legacy for them [grandchildren] to learn because it’s really tlit, this legacy.” Tlit roughly translates to praise. Intuitively, this sporadic use of the language
may be explained by early memories of hearing the language used by Mary-Ann’s father, who was her spiritual guide, and a major influence in her life. To provide a concrete example of when I knew the interview was viewed as a means to transmit oral history, there were research moments when I was to abide by spiritual protocol in order to receive the Teachings. In my interview with Mary-Ann Thomas, she gave me a shawl to wear and would not allow the interview and video recording to begin until I was wearing it. She explained that when she spoke to me, she was also speaking to my ancestors and the shawl served as a form of spiritual protection and acknowledgement of their presence. She acknowledged her ancestors too, and taught me that by protecting myself spiritually by wearing a shawl, I also protect my thinking and the research. Mary Ann was not pleased that I came to the interview without wearing a long skirt because she said for women, skirts are a sign of respect for one’s ancestors and lineage. This is protocol that I have learned from my father, but only in the context of ceremony in the longhouse, and I did not anticipate this protocol to also apply when conducting interviews elsewhere. Upon reflection, this experience reinforces the sacred nature of knowledge transmission in this research and signals the need for me to be spiritually prepared regardless of location and context.
Hi’yólemtel, Clarence (Kat) Pennier

Clarence (Kat) Pennier is from the community of Scowlitz, next to our tribal affiliation at Leq’á:mel. I grew familiar hearing Kat’s name in childhood, as Kat and my father were involved in the political life of the Stó:lō Nation that at that time, was the political body representing 19 upriver Coast Salish communities. Kat’s introduction to politics began in 1970 as an accountant for the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), one of the longstanding and most influential political bodies representing BC Aboriginal rights (B. C. Baker, 2011). Kat was also one of the founders of the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Training Centre (CCETC) dedicated to revitalising Stó:lō culture, language and traditions. It was here that Kat and my father worked together, helping to shape and develop initiatives to both preserve Coast Salish knowledge and promote education and learning for young Coast Salish generations.
Kat was also Chief of the Scowlitz band, and involved in the nation-wide political struggle with the Canadian Government through the 1980’s and 90’s in his work with UBCIC. In addition to my interview with Hi’yólemtel at the Skowlitz band office, Kat’s life story was captured and written about by a student in the Stó:lō Ethnohistory field school reports (B. C. Baker, 2011).

Kat and my father are further connected through ceremony along with Willie Seymour. Willie’s decision to bestow the name Hi’yólemtel on Kat rendered Kat responsible for a first order of business under that name. Kat sought approval from Stó:lō elders to bestow a traditional name on my father in the same ceremony described in “My father’s lineage” where Hi’yólemtel and T’esots were honoured and stood up for their contributions to the Stó:lō community.

Kat Pennier is someone whose name as a wisdom keeper resonates in my life for longer than I have actually known him personally. Growing up, there were books in our house that were products of an intensive effort to capture the Halq’eméylem language and stories of our communities so they would not be lost forever. Throughout the 1970’s, 80’s and 90’s, researchers and members of the Coast Salish community worked with elders to create these resources and in the dedications and acknowledgements within these books, I find the names of my grandparents and great grandparents. My father and Kat were involved in these efforts. Many of these books were illustrated children’s stories. One book I have already mentioned is, You are asked to witness with T’xwelátse, Herb Joe wearing a ceremonial blanket on the cover. Clarence (Kat) Pennier is also written about inside this book. Despite living in
Vancouver away from our tribal territory, this book taught me about the protocols of longhouse gatherings from an early age. It explains Coast Salish xwlalámstexw, witnessing processes and describes how and why oral history for Coast Salish communities is such an important aspect of Coast Salish identity.
Xwelīqweltel, The Honourable Steven Point

Xwelīqweltel, the Honourable Steven Point is a close friend of my father’s and my uncle from Skowkale First Nation, part of the Stó:lō Coast Salish tribes. He is married to Dr Gwen Point. Steven was awarded an honorary doctor of laws from the University of Victoria (UVic) and has had an illustrious professional career in the area of law with the following distinctions: Appointed as a provincial court judge in 1999; appointed Chief Commissioner of the British Columbia Treaty Commission in 2005, and sworn in as the 28th Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia—the first Aboriginal person to hold this distinguished title in 2007. He was one of the first law students to study under Louise Mandell of the prestigious Aboriginal Law Firm Mandell Pinder and contributed to landmark cases including Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, and R v. Van der Peet (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2013). He was also the
first lawyer to return to Coast Salish territory to represent First Nations clients at his own law firm, and part of the first wave of Coast Salish people to pursue and receive degrees in tertiary education. Steven has long been an advocate for the rights of Stó:lō Coast Salish people. The following quote is from a video in the archives of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs and captures the way Steven has acted on behalf of his Stó:lō elders and ancestors in his leadership positions throughout his life. It also reflects a significant time of change in Canada’s history when the provincial government was forming the BC Treaty Commission, and First Nations were faced with how they should proceed in treaty negotiations:

"It’s not my idea. This idea comes from the Old People. I’m only repeating to you what they told to me, and to many other people. And that is that we must form, and stand up as a government, and we must now sit down and work out our relationship with Canada. Because they’re the ones that are doing it now, and they’re the only ones that have got a pen in their hand. We have to go to them not as an Indian band under the Indian Act. Not as an organisation of the Union of Chiefs which has formed as a society under the Societies’ Act of British Columbia. We have to go to them as a nation. And I don’t care if they write it in their constitution. I don’t care if they have an Indian Act. Whatever they have, that’s their business. My business is that I have a nation and I have tribal sovereignty and then I’ll sit down with them and talk about how I want to relate to them. I’ll put them in my constitution if they like! That will make them feel better. I’ll put them in my constitution! We’ll have our own Section 35: “We recognise the white people in this land...” (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 1992).

I remember meeting Steven Point at the formal ceremony swearing him into his role as the 28th Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia. At the time, he and his wife, Gwen Point were moving into the residence reserved for this titleholder in Victoria, BC. I recall the honour of being able to attend that ceremony not only because Steven is another close friend of my father’s, but because as part of this transition, Steven and Gwen made it a priority to pay attention to the spiritual wellbeing of the
place that they were about to inhabit. The ceremony that took place was a familiar Coast Salish process of cleansing, but what mattered the most was recognition that the residence of the Lieutenant Governor is situated on a site of prominence and significance in both the colonial history of BC, and to Lekwungen Coast Salish people in Victoria. Prior to Steven and Gwen moving there, previous inhabitants of the Lieutenant Governor’s house were agnostic to the spirituality of the place that remains from the Coast Salish people who once lived there. Despite the fact that Steven and Gwen are ‘upriver people’ their initiative to tend to the spiritual life of that place exemplified that within Riverworldview, care for the lands and territories we share, and remembering our ancestral ties to them is not constrained by territorial boundaries. In fact, neither are those responsibilities bounded by the distinctions between ‘river’ versus ‘ocean’ versus ‘land’ because they must all be cared for the same way. This memory stuck with me as a stark reminder that behind the official processes and ceremonies that we may be accustomed to as part of Western institutional systems, there are older economies in these same places that may have been forgotten by some, but not all. I witnessed Steven and Gwen’s responsibility to exercise spiritual freedom not because it was outlined in a title, codified in writing or granted in a court of law, but exercised because our connections to the Coast Salish economy are preserved in the land and water; in the places that we call home, the economy is still there because the land does not forget.
I interviewed Steven Point in his home in Chilliwack, BC. The interview was recorded on audiotape and one of the particular aspects of the interview that I found most unexpected as the interview commenced were Steven’s comments that he was not sure he could provide much insight to me into the Coast Salish economy. Hearing this illuminated an assumption of mine, which was that just because I understood him to be someone whose lifelong commitment to advancing the rights and livelihood of not only Coast Salish communities meant that he would automatically see why I sought his contribution to this research on Coast Salish economic freedom. Evidently, he did not, and this signalled to me to step back, and take the time to outline exactly what I meant when I used terms like ‘economy’, ‘freedom’ and ‘wealth’. It was a good exercise, and resulted in a detailed and anecdotal interview. He spoke as one might expect of someone trained to speak in the longhouse. He responded to my questions with examples of how he heard, saw, and understands the purpose and function of gatherings from the combination of personal experience, and from those who taught him. On the audio recording, sometimes the stories are not as clearly understood as I recall they were in person; in writing, the interview can be difficult to follow because he jumps back and forth between the ‘voices’ of people in the story. The process of transcribing required that I pay close attention to how he was telling the story, and from whose perspective, because it was not always a first-person account in the way it is told.

In the longhouse, and in particular, in the ways of Coast Salish oral traditions, this is a common way of telling stories to an audience when what matters is not the
semantics of who said what; rather, a general lesson is revealed by the end of the story that pertains to the broad topic in discussion (Archibald, 2002). The details are crucial, but not as individual parts that have meaning on their own. It is the sum of the parts that make the story make sense, and it is the job of the listener to revisit each of the parts to put together the overall meaning. Often there are no explicit verbal clues such as a clear statement that the story is finished; instead, intonation and body language indicates that a point has been made and the story is complete. This is invisible if only going by the transcript. It is audible when listening to the audio recording, but I had to rely heavily on my memory of being there in order to piece together subtle nuances of the story by putting in the grammar and syntax that I thought to be appropriate. In the following excerpt, Steven describes how interest operates in a gathering context:

They came and shook hands with you, $50 to help you with your funeral expenses. Now when they have a loss [a family member who passes on], you have to go give them the money back, and then you give them another $50. Give the money back. So, people always go, “Thank you” and they’ll think, “Oh I gotta give this money back now. You give ten blankets, now I gotta give back more” (Steven).

This example is short, so it is not particularly difficult to see the overall point he makes to describe how interest accumulates in gifting; but simple words such as his use of ‘loss’ can easily be mistaken to mean a financial loss of $50, rather than a death in the family. These visual differences make reading the story more likely to be fraught with misunderstanding and having to re-read parts than it is when listening in person, where following the story is processed audibly in real-time with the opportunity to convey lack of understanding as it happens.
In this example, Steven also uses pronouns fluidly such as ‘they’ and ‘you’ without clearly stating exactly who he is referring to. I found this something that I had no trouble understanding when he told the story in person for two reasons. The first reason is that I have been to several gatherings, so the scene that he is describing is familiar to me, and I pictured how it looked and who would be there. The exchange is a public show of affection (in this case, condolence), and ‘they’ are the extended families and community members who have come to support the family of the loved one. Alongside their condolences is a private handshake in which money is exchanged. The amount of money given is never shown publicly, so what Steven is describing is the silent dialogue of the recipient of the money, even though it is likely that they have not yet seen the amount given. But no matter what the amount is, they will be thinking ahead to when they will return the money with interest at a time not when they can afford to give, but when those families are in need. His use of ‘you’ at the end confirms that the story is told from the perspective of the recipient of the money.
The second reason I found this way of telling stories easy to follow is that when I was growing up, my father told us stories in a similar way. It was not exactly like Steven, but I recall my father used to use ‘says’ instead of ‘said’ regardless of whether he was speaking in past or present tense. So when reminiscing, he would say, “So, I says to the guy...”, or “He says to the guy...” as a way of bringing you into the story as if you are there, watching it happen. The eternal present tense in storytelling is an effective means for bridging time-gaps, generations and gaining efficient buy-in from an audience; for Coast Salish, these are highly-praised and valued characteristics of a good story-teller (Archibald, 2002). I am not sure if the higher skill required to determine context when listening to a story aurally renders paying attention to tense and positionality less relevant, or if I was simply more comfortable listening to stories unbothered by symantics after listening to a lifetime of stories from my father. Either way, these differences are discernible depending on the medium in which stories are told, shared, recalled or scrutinised later.

Nobody fights the cases because they never believed in the system. Nobody believed that they would get anything from it. What drives you is the simple fact that Native people are...they’ve been marginalised to the edges of society. They’re not part of mainstream. This isn’t their justice system either. This isn’t...the whole government structure, this isn’t their government and they’re more or less dragged into it from time to time....Being kind of a guide a little bit within the system—that’s what I became....In dealing with Aboriginal people, they’re oppressed, they’re poor, they’re shell-shocked from colonialism, they’re needy, you know, so your office as a lawyer becomes someone that can help them (UBCIC, 2013).

Steven identifies a lack of alignment between wealth acquired within a system that values money as wealth. He comments on the environmental cost of devaluing one
fundamental aspect of Riverworldview economy—that of S’ólh Téméxw, the river environment—in order to be wealthy, and questions the logic of doing so. He says,

I’m not against people making money, or becoming wealthy. There’s nothing wrong with that. But how do we define it? How do we understand it in the context of our environment? We need to keep breathing air. We need to keep drinking water and we need to keep having fish, we need to keep having trees. So, if we define wealth and richness and economy in terms of just profit-making, that ain’t very smart, you know, and maybe we ought to be looking at it from the perspective of some of the traditional people in the world (Steven).
Naxaxálhts’i, Dr Sonny McHalsie

Naxaxálhts’i, Albert "Sonny" McHalsie is Cultural Advisor and Historian at the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC)—a position he has held since 1985. In this capacity he seeks to ensure that Stó:lō culture and history are interpreted accurately and respectfully and for his contributions and service in that role, he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Victoria, Canada. Sonny McHalsie has authored and co-authored many written contributions to books and his insights on different aspects of Stó:lō life are prevalent in Coast Salish research and literature. Sonny McHalsie has shared his insights from a lifetime of personal and research experience to develop Coast Salish knowledge over the last
three decades contributing insights on law (Miller, 2001), oral history (Miller, 2011),
ceremony and governance (Carlson, 2007, 1997), identity and socio-political history
(Blomfield et al., 2001; Carlson, 2003, 2010).

One of the ongoing roles that McHalsie carries is to provide cultural place
names tours throughout Stó:lō Coast Salish territories as a way to share his
knowledge with members of the community. McHalsie shares not only the names,
but the narratives attached to those names derived from sxwōxwiyám and sqwélqwel, passing on oral histories tied to the territory. He
continues to exercise his Aboriginal right to catch and sell salmon from his hereditary
family-owned fishing spot in the lower Fraser River canyon. McHalsie is the father of
eight children and sits as the representative of his extended family on the
Shxw’ōwhámél Band council (Carlson, 1997).
sʔayəɬq, Larry Grant

I met Larry Grant in 2004 when I re-enrolled in my undergraduate degree at the University of British Columbia (UBC). I had taken two years off after a dismal first year in Science, and returned to university with the clear decision to shift into the Faculty of Arts and take courses in the First Nations Studies Program. Larry was and continues to be the Elder in Residence at the university and is from the Musqueam Nation. I came to know Larry when I enrolled to take hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓, the language of the Musqueam people as my language credit to complete my degree. Larry co-taught the year-long introductory course. I recall that at the time when I was taking the course, I was going through a particularly powerful developmental period of maturity and growth in understanding myself in my early 20’s. What Larry taught me
in the language course was that my ancestry extended beyond the confines of the Leq’á:mel reserve, and the Stó:lō Nation in the Fraser Valley. The close affinity between what Larry described about Musqueam ways and what I already knew about being Stó:lō was emerging in the language learning process. I found other clues too. On the walk to class, we passed the Musqueam longhouse that invoked a familiar quiet in me, as I knew it looked like ours upriver. These were the seeds of my understanding the extended and interconnected communities of Coast Salish. As I made it over the threshold of training my brain to make my ears listen differently and my mouth move into different shapes, my confidence in learning haŋəmə̱n̓ increased dramatically. There was a moment past the half-way point of the academic year that I recall when it suddenly made sense. From there, the vocabulary, the sounds and the doorway into how Musqueam order the world opened. I attribute so much of that to the way Larry started the course with his life story, the location of the course on the Musqueam reserve, and the willingness of the Musqueam people to invite learners into their mode of life embodied in the language.

By the end of the year, I was performing well—particularly on the verbal assignments—but the most profound shift for me came with the final presentations to the Musqueam community. My father came to support, and at the end of the presentations, he stood up and thanked the Musqueam community for providing me the opportunity to learn their dialect of our shared language. Through his thanks, he established our ancestral ties as upriver people and conveyed his appreciation for much more than simply the freedom to learn, but the freedom to learn the
languages that his parents were forbidden from speaking and learning. His acknowledgement was thanks for all the hard work that Musqueam put into providing the choice for students like me to learn hańq̓amił̓əm among other languages offered, and thanks for the enormous achievement of having it offered by a mainstream tertiary institution like UBC. What seemed like a simple course selection to me reflected a much greater process in the struggle for Aboriginal rights and freedoms. While the vocabulary and grammar has slowly receded from my memory without regular usage, the stories that Larry told us have not. Upon this teacher-student Coast Salish affinity, I invited Larry to contribute his insights and knowledge on the Coast Salish economy to this research.

I had the opportunity to speak with Larry twice on topics related to this research. The first conversation occurred during a trip he took to Aotearoa-New Zealand with a delegation of Musqueam people. As part of a 20-year celebration of the Sir James Henare Research Centre (affiliated with the Faculty of Arts at The University of Auckland), Larry co-presented a Musqueam mapping project in the Bay of Islands. I happened to be in the Bay of Islands at the time, and heard by word of mouth that the Musqueam delegation was visiting. I arranged to meet with Larry during his visit and we engaged in a lengthy discussion about Coast Salish gatherings. This early conversation informed my thinking and development of questions about

26 The Bay of Islands is in the far north of the North Island of Aotearoa approximately four hours north of the city of Auckland by car.
Coast Salish wealth that I was able to build on throughout the later phases of the research.

One of the topics that I returned to with Larry in a formal recorded interview was the issue of sxwóxway masks. These masks are the most sacred of all ceremonial masks in Coast Salish society and signal spiritual “work” of the highest calibre in gatherings. In Suttles’ research focusing specifically on Hul’quminn̓um-speaking groups on Vancouver Island, he says “Most informants agree that the sxwá’ixwé properly belonged to some, though not all, of the Halkomelem-speaking groups to the north” (1974, p. 464). According to Suttles, the origin story of the sxwóxway and how the sacred traditions travelled throughout Coast Salish territory is as follows:

The first two masks were fished up out of Cultus Lake by Chilliwack who were trout-fishing. A Chilliwack girl who married at Musqueam took them there with her. From Musqueam they went in the same way to Duncan. At Duncan, so the story goes, the owner used them so constantly that his wife persuaded him to send some of them with their daughter to Malahat (p. 469).

Because of their level of sacredness, Coast Salish protocol and rituals outline that they are not up for discussion in the public sphere (Miller, 2011). I am able to

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27 This comment by Suttles reflects Coast Salish spatial orientation described in riverworldview of the land and territory with ‘north’ reflecting upriver from the perspective of someone ‘south’ on Vancouver Island. In the rules of cardinal direction, upriver communities are inland, and east, rather than north.

28 I grew up knowing that there are certain issues in Coast Salish spirituality that are not appropriate for discussion outside of their ceremonial contexts. Anything pertaining to how Coast Salish relate and engage with the Spirit World and the Winter Dancing ceremonies fall into this category. In the process of interviewing in this research, I made clear that my interest in the gatherings was not to expose or exploit Coast Salish spirituality in this way, but to focus on the nature of economic exchange enabled in gatherings.
discuss the role that these masks played, and continue to play as mediating forces for dispersed Coast Salish communities to come together in gatherings because sxwóxway carry such significant spiritual power. These gatherings are conducted only by families who carry the appropriate rights to sxwóxway masks and songs, and have been trained into this specialised society. Sxwóxway lineages are carefully monitored and protected within the oral histories of family lines, and because of this, when gatherings involve sxwóxway, there is an imperative to have the most knowledgeable and experienced speakers, hosts, and xwlalámstexw, witnesses attend these gatherings to ensure the ceremony is conducted “in a good way”. The specialised nature of knowledge and skill required to conduct these ceremonies also draws an audience keen to attend because ceremonies with sxwóxway are not as frequent and therefore invoke an element of reverence; however, the weight of gatherings with sxwóxway is largely based on the nature of spiritual “work” that will be done in the ceremony.

Larry mentioned a significant distinction in the way that proprietary rights are understood as part of the relationship between the masks and sxwóxway families. He said that there is an assumption that has developed often in the newer generations that causes confusion because it is drawn out of understanding proprietary rights from a Western perspective rather than a Coast Salish perspective. The mistaken assumption about sxwóxway is that when a gathering happens to bring together a family with a mask, it is often assumed that the mask then belongs to the family. However, what the ceremony is really about is that the new relationship
means the family belongs to the mask. It is accompanied by particular names, songs and dances given to certain family members, and these then afford those individuals rights and the privilege to dance the mask. To exemplify this important distinction, in the biography of Xwelíqwiya, Rena Bolton Point, she recounts the nature of the relationship that characterises the lifelong responsibility that comes with sxwóxway masks. The spiritual significance of sxwóxway is powerful, and Xwelíqwiya says,

The mask names go with the sxwóxway….I remember she [informant] was telling me, “I am so tired of carrying these masks! I want to leave, but I can’t leave until you take them.” And you know, right after we took them, she passed away. True to her word….She had been carrying the masks for us for a long time, and her spirit needed to be lifted up out of her body, along with the masks, so it could go on its way (Bolton & Daly, 2013, p. 120).

There are two ways that this elder expressed the need to be released from belonging to the masks in order to transition to the Spirit World. She needed to first ensure that they were appropriately passed on to a new caretaker—someone in her family trained to do so—but her spirit also needed to be released with the masks after she passed away. Only in ceremony was this achievable, and this elder made sure this process would be properly conducted while she was still alive.

Several families may be connected to the same sxwóxway from dispersed Coast Salish communities through intermarriage. Additionally, rights and privileges do not always go together. Some family members may belong to a sxwóxway, and have a right to it because they are part of the family, but do not have the privilege to dance it because they do not have the name, song or dance to do so. The rights to a mask are collective rights afforded to anyone belonging to the mask, and privileges
are negotiated within those collective rights. No one individual has the right to unilaterally decide how those rights and privileges are passed down to others.

Larry raised this issue in relation to the Coast Salish economy because he wanted to talk about how the oral histories of sxwóxway trace the way that masks travel, and the way that Coast Salish communities are interconnected through the masks. By extension, because masks are gifted with affiliated names, dances and songs, traditional names also travel. He used the example of his own name, Qepalanexʷ, to which he says there are at least six other families who carry that name because it travelled through the six wives of Qepalanexʷ throughout Coast Salish territory.

With each of these naming ceremonies, gatherings were held and the oral history told to ensure that the connection is established between those families back to the name’s place of origin. If this connection is not made or made inadequately, the legitimacy of a family’s right to take a name is called into question, and this initiates verification processes undertaken immediately in the gathering ceremony. The ecology of Coast Salish masks, names, songs and dances represent a complex spiritual, socio-cultural and political system to which Coast Salish economic activity attached itself. In the Coast Salish economy, gifting, reciprocity, distribution of material wealth, and material debt as economic functions developed in service of ceremonial and spiritual exchange (Lokensgard, 2001) that occurred to maintain good relationships between the three elements of Riverworldview: the Spirit World, the river environment, and the river people. Names, masks, songs and dances were
the primary reasons for economic exchange to happen but these represented an invisible exchange in the realm of the Spirit World. The visible manifestation of spiritual exchange was what was ‘seen’ to be physically exchanged in gathering ceremonies (i.e. gifting, reciprocity, distribution of material wealth, and material debt). An intricate network of intra- and intercommunity exchange flourished out of the need to formalise and record growth and movement of Coast Salish communities through strategic partnerships, relocation and intergenerational affection. In this sense, the economy existed not as an entity in and of itself, but reflected needs and activity of Coast Salish people in constant relationship with each other, the Spirit World, and the river environment.

The Potlatch Ban caused unsurmounted upheaval and disturbance to this system not only by preventing people from publicly settling their debts (and thereby having it recorded into the oral history record) as I have shown with evidence from letters from chiefs in the archival record, but the impact of disallowing rights and privileges from being recorded in the oral history record affected the capability of Coast Salish people being able to establish their connections to one another, to the environment and to the Spirit World. Without gatherings, people do not gain access to the collectively kept genealogical record by not having access to oral histories. They lose the ability to trace their connections to the territory (and affiliated rights and privileges) embedded in the stories attached to names, songs, dances and masks. Connections between communities who share the rights and privileges of names, songs, dances and masks fade because those rights and privileges are only
verifiable in ceremony. The specialised knowledge and expertise of xwlalámstexw, witnesses with in-depth insight into particular areas of life (mostly elders) is rendered invisible and irrelevant. They lose the ability to trace their connections to sxwoxwiyám, thereby losing the big-picture lessons about the obligations that we as humans have to maintain and restore the balance of a world set right by the Transformers out of chaos.
Siyémches, Dr Frank Malloway

Siyémches, Frank Malloway is hereditary chief of the Chilliwack tribe, and chief of Yeqwyeqwíws. The father of Siyémches is Th’eláchiyatel, Richard Malloway. Siyémches is the leader of the Yeqwyeqwíws longhouse, and this hereditary name can be traced back to one of the original four brothers of the Chilliwack people. He has been an active advocate of Stó:lō rights, and a promoter of the revival of Stó:lō traditional culture (Carlson, 1997). Siyémches is also a long-time contributor to knowledge and oral history on Coast Salish research, and his voice can be found in a wide range of research (Archibald, 1997; Bierwert, 1999; Malloway, 1993; Mohs, 1987) for which he received an honorary doctorate from the University of the Fraser Valley in 2010.
I had seen Siyémches several times over the last ten years at various community meetings and family events. He has a prominent presence. Although he is not tall, Siyémches is someone whose energy is unmistakably calm, thoughtful and his voice low and hoarse. Siyémches is experienced at participating in research interviews and his insights are captured in texts and recordings on diverse topics relating to Coast Salish life including governance, law, politics, language, education, and history. Although his family home is next door, Siyémches sleeps inside Yeqwyeqwíws longhouse. Typically, longhouses are taken care of by one family, which means they are responsible for maintaining it between ceremonies. But Siyémches explained that he finds the stairs in his detached home challenging to navigate as he gets older, so it’s easier for him to sleep and cook in the longhouse year-round. He does not have an email address, but is accessible by telephone.

I arrived at the end of a holiday long weekend and Siyémches and his wife Mary Malloway were sitting outside with kids and grandkids departing to return home. We arranged for the interview to take place in the longhouse. It’s quite an old one—though not the oldest in Stó:lō territory—and it was a distinctly different experience from the other interviews. This interview is particularly powerful as an example of autoethnography in action because in the process of conducting the interview, Siyémches discussed aspects of our shared lineage that I did not previously know, and in doing so, brought me into the fold of the collective narrative of Coast Salish economy of affection. Siyémches explained our family connection that I later had to draw out to fully understand. He said, “Did you know that we are
related? My mother’s mother was Maggie Pennier’s mother’s sister.” Upon reflection, I was humbled and amazed not by how much I learned (although I was), but more humbled by how much is known about me by my community than I know about myself. It reminded me that the nature of collective knowledge and belonging is not so much about individual identity and experience, but about the sum of all parts that make the economy of affection whole.

In transcript format, I found that the interview of Siyémches reads distinctly unlike linear arguments typical of academic writing. For example, when I asked a question, Siyémches does not respond with an answer; instead, he tells a story about it with references to many different people by name, the places they are from, and where the story took place. It was often hard to tell when particular stories occurred, and not easy to distinguish what question he is answering. He would often ask rhetorical questions in his narrative. As I was reading the transcript, I recalled from my responses in the transcript that it was a challenge to establish a sense of flow between the questions because in the process of trying to follow his stories, sometimes he would finish abruptly and be waiting for the next question. In a sense, the interview felt disjointed, but I think this may have been because the style of narrative that Siyémches has been trained to tell is as circular stories that have a beginning and end. So when he reaches the end, he is ready to tell another story. For us as interviewers, we are prompted by the questions, but he is prompted to share what he knows on a given topic—stated as a question, or otherwise. Each of his
stories contributes to greater understanding of a topic through insights from his perspective, but no one story explains the whole picture.

One of the memorable aspects of this interview was the way Siyémches used humour to talk about the tragedy of language loss for Coast Salish communities. Siyémches explains that the reason why he became afraid to learn Halq’eméylem is because he understood the importance of learning it ‘correctly’ with the appropriate grammar, pronunciation and cultural context because the subtle nuances are discernible by fluent elders. He was afraid that if he did not learn it properly, he would not only feel foolish making mistakes, but he would not do the beauty of the language justice. Siyémches says,
They’re still teaching the language in the schools and university but it’s all mixed up. And that was one of the reasons I didn’t sit down and try to learn to speak. My dad kind of embarrassed me, you know, early on when we were the Homemaker’s Club before they even had Fraser Valley College or evening programs for adults. At Homemaker’s Club, they said they lost their language after they got out of residential school and they wanted language lessons taught. So they had got funding and they had a meeting and they hired two instructors. And my dad was telling me at that time, “You know, it’s going to be difficult because we got some dialects, you know, like the resource centre in the Stó:lō Nation, they call them micro-dialects. And the Upper Fraser Valley—we have about five or six micro-dialects. The Chehalis people where your [Dara’s] uncles, grand-uncles were from speak the Chehalis language. My dad and this side, speaks the Chilxweyek language and they pronounce words differently. And when my dad was asked to assist the other teacher, that’s what happened—they got in such an argument, they forgot about the students. Argued about one word. “You don’t say it like that! You say it like this!” My dad got home, and he was still fuming, you know? Do you know what he’s talking about? It’s not a flashlight, it’s a lantern. Well they were asking what’s the Indian word for a flashlight. And there’s some words that when the settlers came in with different things, they invented—thought up different words for it. You know, like the flashlight. We didn’t have a flashlight, but they put words together to say what a flashlight was, or what a lantern was. And when we were working at Coqualeetza, working with the Coqualeetza elders, you know, we used to ask them about names for different animals and that...My dad was talking to his cousin—she was from Hope, Tillica Terrace, and he said, “You know the word for a car?...Automobile.” “Oh yeah”, she said, and she told him. And he laughed his head off. And after he left her, he said, “You know what you were describing, what a car was?” and said, “No.” “Gas coming out of the rear end”. [laughing] You know the exhaust from your burned gas, comes out from the back of the [car]...gas coming out from the back almost describes a person, you know? Gassed up. But he was laughing. “I never heard that before”, you know? He learned something that day.
My dad was saying, there’s so many different dialects that...you know, you’d be talking broken English and he used to describe it to me, “You know that Chinese farmer down Chinatown?” I said, “Yeah.” “You know how he talks English?” I said, “Yeah.” “Well, that’s the way you’re going to talk Indian if you...if you learn all these different dialects and you are using different words from each one. That’s the way you’re going to sound.” So I never ever learned my language because I didn’t want the elders laughing at me. And that’s the way they’re doing it today. You know, they figure it’s easy, you know? The universities hire language instructors, and some of the elders saying, “She can’t talk Indian. How come she’s teaching it?” You know, just words at a time, you know? And that’s why I didn’t really...We have very few elders left that know the language where they can, like, Tillica Terrace you know? Tell you something and she’ll describe something to you, you know? Descriptive language and that’s the same thing I learn from West Coast people. They said, the native language is different in English, cause English is made up of so many different words from different countries and different, you know, it’s not a pure language because there’s so many words from different countries that were added to it. And he said, when you talk Indian, it’s just like drawing a picture. You can vision what you’re talking about. But I think you have to be raised with it first, before you can vision. He said our language is so pure, that when you talk to me, and tell me what’s going on, you know, I can vision it, but you know, you have to be born and raised with it to be that fluent (Siyémches).

At the end of the interview, I noticed that the paper had absorbed moisture from the clay floor of the longhouse. I know that a lot of ceremonies have happened in that longhouse, and it felt as if the house claimed part of the research.
Qwa'olxwao7, Otis Jasper

Otis Jasper is a Coast Salish citizen from the Soowahlie First Nation. Otis received his Bachelor of Arts from the University of British Columbia where Otis and I studied together in the First Nations Studies Program. He received his MBA in Aboriginal Business and Leadership from Simon Fraser University (SFU). Otis has held many roles within the Coast Salish community including the following past positions: President of Ts’elxwewayeqw Tribe Management Limited, Chief Councillor for Soowahlie, and President of the Coqualeetza Cultural and Education Centre. Otis is currently Chair for Sólh Téméxw Stewardship Alliance comprised of 16 member First
Nations, Manager of Rights and Title for the Stó:lō Tribal Council and has led community negotiations as part of enhancing project development for Stó:lō people.

Otis is the youngest of the wisdom keepers interviewed. Otis shared insights into gatherings from his experience participating in them with his community, and like me, reading about them through tertiary education at university. These two contexts for understanding gatherings meant that Otis reflects on gatherings in two ways. He states that learning that happens in the community involves a process of observation, listening and receptivity. On the other hand, learning in university shaped his learning about gatherings through development of a critical voice. This duality permeates Otis’ interview as he frequently sought to share with me what he has learned from his elders through participation, observation and listening; at the same time, Otis displays dialectical engagement (often with himself) by simultaneously talking about, and questioning why gatherings are conducted in certain ways, and how changing processes are a significant part of the contemporary Coast Salish reality of gatherings.

Otis commented on his knowledge about the period after the Potlatch Ban was lifted. He said Coast Salish people experienced significant trauma including the fragmentation of families as a result of the devastating impact of Indian Residential School policy within the Indian Act. Because gatherings were the cornerstone of Coast Salish communities and as institutions facilitated crucial processes of Coast Salish identity formation, much of what we see in gatherings today is a fraction of the substance and depth they once carried. The impacts of intergenerational trauma
and family fragmentation has meant that Coast Salish identity and belonging was deeply affected. Otis believes that the gatherings we see represent only what could be preserved by the few who were able to pass down the knowledge, often in secret. As a result, gatherings are highly process-oriented with emphasis on protocols and rules of behaviour in an effort to ‘maintain the tradition’. Thus, the revival of gatherings involved rebuilding the ‘how’, but their ‘why’, or purpose, particularly as economic institutions today has not yet been made clear. Otis is of the view that what is missing in the purpose of gatherings includes implications for also understanding why Coast Salish look after the territory, and what are the nature of relationships necessary in order to do so. Because of the Potlatch Ban, a home-grown process of development of gatherings did not occur. Instead, Coast Salish communities continue to take an approach to gatherings that mirror historical modes of survival, protectionism, and preservation that were fundamental for Coast Salish ancestors, but that may hinder their potential to change and adapt to align with the economic needs of current Coast Salish generations.

Otis acknowledged that a contributing factor to a protectionist approach to gatherings is that there are significant generational gaps between younger and older generations of Coast Salish people. The challenges centre around the former, who are increasingly taking up positions as leaders, administrators and hold governance roles within Coast Salish tribal organisations, and have different skills, capability and experiences to their parents’ and grandparents’ generations. The latter, not as familiar with rapid changes in global technology, nor used to the quantity of
information available now are perceived to slow down governance processes and decision-making. Otis says, the young generations have an understanding that in the business world, “business can’t wait” and this is a problem because their perceptions about wealth stem from the Western capitalist economy of exploitation. Therefore, when it comes to Coast Salish economic development, it appears that there is only one way to do business, but it is also a path of least resistance. The young generations view the accumulation of financial wealth as the developmental ‘end’ through conventional business processes. Too often, Coast Salish communities turn to exploitation of natural resources on traditional territories as the only way for Economic Development Corporations (EDC’s) to implement the community’s economic development objectives. Internal community conflict results because of this idealogical and generational divide. Not only do the ethics of economy of exploitation contradict the traditional values of the older generations in terms of how to do economic development, but it further contradicts the efforts of the ancestors who literally fought for their survival and went to great lengths to protect Coast Salish from complete alienation and dispossession of traditional territories. Coast Salish leadership roles and governance processes of decision-making and reaching consensus embedded in gatherings are also ignored. Finally, maintenance of the oral history record is not used. For example, economic development that ignores the role of the hired speaker, and xwlalámstexw, witnesses mean that issues of accountability and transparency become more prevalent because diverse perspectives are not widely sought or factored into decision-making.
Petholwet, Cheryl Brooks

Cheryl Brooks is from Ts’a’i:les First Nation, part of the Stó:lō Coast Salish and is President of the Indigenuity Consulting Group. The name Petholwet comes from the Lorenzetto side of Brooks’ family at Shkwayhamel and Squatits. She was the first Aboriginal woman to achieve Associate Deputy Minister status in the provincial government of British Columbia holding that position in the Ministry of Energy, Mines. Brooks has been an Associate Professor at Royal Roads University on Vancouver Island and held several senior positions in Aboriginal organizations and in the corporate sector. She was the founder and first Manager of BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Relations Department, and in that role with my father, Patrick, they guided a new approach to land negotiations that accounted for the significantly different worldviews of First Nations. Professionally, Brooks is recognised for her
strategic planning, negotiation, communications and facilitation skills. Through her business Indigenuity Consulting, she works with clients to plan for and implement intentional change, resolve conflicts, enhance understanding and relationships between aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples and develop their clients' skills and capacity in all of these areas. Brooks co-edited a special issue of the academic journal, *BC Studies* with Doreen Jensen in 1991 entitled, “In Celebration of our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia”. She is also author of *Rights, risks and respect: A First Nations perspective on the lifting of the federal moratorium on offshore oil and gas exploration in the Queen Charlotte basin of British Columbia* (2004).
Stelómethet, Dr Ethel Gardner

Dr Ethel Gardner is a member of the Skwah First Nation, part of the Stó:lō Coast Salish tribes and is a lifelong friend of my mother, Darlene Kelly. Gardner completed a Master’s degree in Education from Harvard University and received a Doctorate of Philosophy in Education from Simon Fraser University (SFU). In her doctoral research, Gardner explored revitalisation and renewal of the Halq’eméylem language in the everyday lives of Stó:lō people. The research contributes to an emerging intellectual economy of Coast Salish women who have done PhDs along with Dr Jo-Ann Archibald and Dr Gwen Point. In Ethel’s interview, she speaks about the significance of connection between having a strong identity as Coast Salish people, and being able to contribute to the economy based on a sense of belonging.
Patrick Kelly is my father. He is a member of the Leq’á:mel First Nation, part of the Stó:lo-Coast Salish. Professionally, he operates a consulting business and has held executive positions with the Mission Chamber of Commerce, the Mission Heritage Association, the Mission Indian Friendship Centre, and the Coqualeetza Cultural Centre. My father has held a diverse range of professional positions throughout his career, including: Executive Director of the BC Chapter of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (CCAB); Manager, Cultural Relations and Corporate Training in BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Relations Department; and BC Director, Strategic Planning and Communications, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
He attended dinner with Queen Elizabeth II in 1982 as a Young Achiever for Canada at the ceremony to repatriate Canada’s constitution. He has been an active community volunteer throughout his life. The Leq’á:mel First Nation elected him Treaty Representative for treaty negotiations, a role he held from 1998 to 2001. From July 2002 to June 2010, the Attorney General for British Columbia appointed Patrick as a Bencher for the Law Society of BC, to represent the public interest in the administration of justice. In March 2009, Patrick received a BC Community Achievement Award. Patrick is founding President of the BC Aboriginal Golf Association established in April 2009. In December 2010 Patrick was appointed as Governor of the Law Foundation of BC. In September 2012 he completed a five-year term as Advisor to the Lieutenant Governor of BC and became a member of the Banff Centre Indigenous Program Council on which he is a co-chair. Currently, Patrick is a member of the University of Victoria Gustavson School of Business International Advisory Board and the UBC Sauder School of Business Ch’nook Indigenous Business Advisory Board. Patrick is also on the Board of Directors of the Victoria Foundation.

My father has been an inspiration for this research by virtue of the stories, anecdotes, and memories he has shared throughout my lifetime of his experience growing up. One of the unique features of my father’s interview, unlike any of the other interviews, was that he spoke directly into the camera rather than to me as the interviewer. This showed me that he has an acute awareness of the possibility and likelihood that his recorded interview may be accessible and viewed by future generations of Coast Salish people. He also demonstrated a formal tone and
abidance to protocols of behaviour that were taught to him by his grandma, Tesots.

In the interview, my father spoke in what I know to be his ‘longhouse voice’—a clear and certain tone that communicates much more than his personal opinions, but represents an offering to witnesses in ceremony to consider what he says, and verify such knowledge against what they know, or have been told by their elders.
APPENDIX TWO: Consent Form

Consent Form for Individual Interview Participant
THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Project Title: Understanding the Impact of Economic Unfreedom on Traditional Ngāpuhi and Coast Salish Gift Economies: Illuminating Indigenous Economies using Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach

Researcher: Dara Kelly
Department of Management and International Business
University of Auckland Business School
Telephone: (021) 191 5550 (New Zealand) and (250) 386-4084 (Canada)
d.kelly@auckland.ac.nz

All interviews will be conducted between August and December 2014.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

• I agree to take part in this research.

• I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time during the interview, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to February 1, 2015.

• I understand that my decision to participate has no implications on my professional relationship with the tribal or educational body that recommended me to participate in this research.

• I agree / do not agree to be audio / video recorded (Even if you agree to being recorded, you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time).

• I understand that this interview will take anywhere from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours in length.

• I understand that the recorded interview will be stored at Mira Szászy Research Centre for Māori and Pacific Economic Development at the University of Auckland Business School for three years, after which they will be destroyed.

• I understand that my name will be used in the dissertation and possible publications from the dissertation.

• I understand that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed with respect to the identity of non-participants, particularly within the same tribal affiliation as me, in the dissertation and possible publications from the dissertation.
• I understand that the information may be reported in more than just the researcher’s dissertation (for example, in publications such as journal articles or book chapters).

• I understand that my data (the audio/video recording) will be kept confidential.

• I wish / do not wish to have a copy of my recorded interview returned to me.

• I wish / do not wish to have a copy of my recorded interview sent to my tribe, or hapū-īwi to be housed in their research database.

• I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings (the dissertation).

• I understand that data will be kept for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name ___________________________
Signature ___________________________
Date ___________________________

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 24 JULY 2014 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 2014/012207.
APPENDIX THREE: Participant Information Sheet

DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS

The University of Auckland

Individual Participant Information Sheet – Coast Salish

Project Title: Understanding the Impact of Economic Unfreedom on Traditional Ngāpuhi and Coast Salish Gift Economies: Illuminating Indigenous Economies using Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach

Name of researcher: Dara Kelly

Researcher Introduction

My name is Dara Kelly, and I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland Business School, in the Department of Management and International Business. As part of my research, I am examining archival and historical documents and conducting qualitative interviews with Ngāpuhi and Coast Salish women and men to understand the Māori notion of hākari and ‘fau’, and the Coast Salish St'l'eitlex, or ‘potlatch’ tradition.

Project Description and invitation

In this research, I seek to explore the notion of economic freedom from Ngāpuhi and Coast Salish perspectives. In the literature, Nobel Prize winning economist, Amartya Sen defines freedom as the freedom “to choose a life one has reason to value” (2009, p. 74).

By way of amendment to the Indian Act, from 1884-1951, all forms of potlatch traditions practised by First Nations across Canada were outlawed (Cole & Chaikin, 1990). As a result, St'l'eitlex underwent severe transformation, as did the cultural expression of all First Nations across Canada with practices deemed to have a likeness to “potlatch” (Drucker & Heizer, 1967). Following the amendment, the potlatch outlaw was actively enforced for 67 years by way of surveillance and control under the watchful eyes of government-appointed Indian Agents and local church officials. In this research, the long-term impacts include economic unfreedom for Coast Salish.

Through archival and historical documents and records and interviews, this research explores historical and contemporary impacts of economic unfreedom from the inability to engage in Indigenous systems of economic exchange.

I am contacting you because either your name has been mentioned within the Coast Salish community as someone who demonstrates extensive understanding of St'l'eitlex, or ‘potlatch’ tradition. I would like to take this opportunity to invite you to participate in this research; however, you are under no obligation to participate. While your name has been put forward to speak on this topic, your decision to participate or not participate has no implications on your professional relationship with the tribal or educational body that recommended you to participate in this research.

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Project Procedures

If you do choose to participate, your involvement will include an interview that will last anywhere from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours in length and a follow-up meeting to review your recorded interview. The interview will be conducted in a quiet, private space where you will be most comfortable. It is your absolute right to withdraw at any time. I will provide a small gift, or koha at the outset of your acceptance to participate in this project irrespective of whether you withdraw, or not. Koha is a gesture of appreciation for the time and insights you offer to this project.

All interviews will be conducted between approximately August and December 2014.

A requirement for participation in this research is that the interviews be either video, or audio taped for accurate transcription by me, Dara Kelly. An important aspect of research is recognizing that there are risks involved with participation that may impact relationships with your Coast Salish tribal or professional communities in a negative way. One that has been identified in this project is that your views may, or may not agree, or coincide with all forms of Coast Salish, and non-Indigenous belief systems. There is the potential for adverse responses to the research as a result. This is for you to consider before giving your consent to participate.

Data storage/retention/destruction/future use

After the interview, you will be given the option to view or listen to your interview and make any edits to the content. You will decide if you are happy with the content, and if not, you indicate which sections you would like deleted off the record. The content that you give approval to use will be data for analysis in my dissertation. You have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time, and have the right to withdraw your data from the research up until February 1, 2015. All approved interview content will be carefully studied and considered alongside document analysis of archival material and will be used to inform development of ideas on the topic of Indigenous economic freedom/unfreedom for Coast Salish communities.

You have the option to retain an audio or video copy of your interview. You may also request a copy if it is the case that your nation would like one for their own research database, but it will be given at the end of the research project only if indicated on your consent form. Upon completion of the dissertation, you will be offered a digital copy of the dissertation in PDF format. I will also provide detailed information on how to locate it in the University of Auckland library. It will be accompanied by a summary that is understandable to everyone.
Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity with respect to your identity cannot be guaranteed due to the higher potential for you to be identified in the research as a result of genealogical and ancestral links to specific Coast Salish communities. You will be identified by name in the dissertation. Additionally, it is possible that individuals or groups affiliated with you personally and professionally may be identifiable in the dissertation due to the integrated nature of Coast Salish communities. Please consider this carefully before giving consent.

I will ensure that audio or video recordings of all interviews are kept confidential during the research process at the University of Auckland in a locked cabinet in a locked office at the Mira Szászy Research Centre for Māori and Pacific Economic Development in the Business School. The audio and video recordings will only be accessible by myself, and my research supervisors, Christine Woods and Chellie Spiller. The audio and video recordings will be kept in a locked cabinet to ensure confidentiality. All consent forms will be stored in a locked cabinet separate from the audio or video recordings.

The University of Auckland will keep a copy of all interviews for three years at the Mira Szászy Research Centre for Māori and Pacific Economic Development. If you have not requested to keep a copy of your interview, any audio recordings stored at the University of Auckland will be erased after three years. Consent forms will be kept for six years, after which they will be shredded in a paper shredder.

Your participation in this research is highly valuable to me, and it is hoped that you may also find it valuable as a way to revive conversation and theoretical development around traditional Indigenous economies.

This research has received ethical approval by the University of Auckland Human Participants Committee.

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For any concerns regarding ethical issues you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373 7599 ext. 87830/83761.  
Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE  
ON 24 JULY 2014 FOR 3 YEARS. REFERENCE NUMBER 2014/012207.
APPENDIX FOUR: Semi-structured interview schedule

Interviews with Coast Salish participants in Canada on Stl’e’áleq:

Tell me about your knowledge of Coast Salish potlatch, or Stl’e’áleq ceremony and traditions.
What is the extent of your personal experience and engagement with Stl’e’áleq?
How far back is your first memory of Stl’e’áleq as part of your life?

From your perspective of understanding, what is the purpose of Stl’e’áleq?
Can you describe what is involved in preparing for Stl’e’áleq?
What is the role/purpose of gifting in Stl’e’áleq?
How does reciprocity operate within the context of Stl’e’áleq?
Have you been called to witness in Stl’e’áleq before?
Have you needed to recall the events of Stl’e’áleq from memory for verification purposes after the event was over?

What is your understanding of traditional Coast Salish wealth?
What is your understanding of traditional Coast Salish freedom? Unfreedom?
To what extent is the idea of the Coast Salish economy relevant to Stl’e’áleq?
How would you describe a Coast Salish economy in the past?
In your opinion, is it possible to imagine a Coast Salish economy today?
How can you imagine that economy to be tied to Stl’e’áleq traditions of gift exchange and reciprocity?

What effect have colonial interventions had to change understandings/perspectives of Coast Salish wealth? Freedom?
What has been the greatest change in your opinion?
How do Stl’e’áleq compare now as to what you understood them to be in the past?
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