Generational Perspectives on Community Knowledge Transfer In Nipissing First Nation

by

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ABSTRACT

Generational Perspectives on Community Knowledge Transfer in Nipissing First Nation

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Indigenous knowledge is the living knowledge held by a particular community that is shared with, and transformed by, each successive generation. This thesis explores historical and contemporary intergenerational knowledge transfer at Nipissing First Nation, an Anishinaabe community in Ontario, Canada, that is working to restore its community knowledge and worldview while also dealing with conflict surrounding its commercial fisheries. Elders and youth from the community were invited to participate in a community-led workshop aimed at connecting generations and creating a space for knowledge-sharing and dialogue. Drawing on the workshop discussions I explored themes that emerged, including the disruption of historical mechanisms of intergenerational knowledge transfer in the community as a direct consequence of colonization and the imposition of the Western worldview onto the community. This disruption of intergenerational knowledge transfer has disconnected contemporary children and youth from traditional relationships with the land, the Anishinaabe language, the community and their Elders.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This research project is a qualitative research study undertaken in partnership with Nipissing First Nation in Ontario. The focus of this research is the historical and contemporary mechanisms of intergenerational knowledge transfer in the Nipissing First Nation community, as well as the barriers to knowledge transfer in the community. Indigenous Knowledge is the accumulated knowledge specific to an Indigenous community; it is living, dynamic, spirit-derived, relational and imbedded in the language of the community (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; McGregor, 2004; Steinhauer, 2002). Indigenous Knowledge is transferred from generation to generation through storytelling, direct experience, teachings and observation using established community protocols (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; McGregor, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Steinhauer, 2002). Since the settlement and colonization of North America by Europeans, loss of lands and a breakdown of tribal social structures have contributed to the undermining and loss of traditional values, beliefs and knowledge that has compromised the transfer of knowledge between generations within Indigenous communities (Morrison, 2011; Turner & Turner, 2008).

Nipissing First Nation is actively working to restore their community knowledge, traditions and ceremonies, with intergenerational knowledge transfer essential to the continuance of the Nipissing First Nation community's Anishinaabe culture. Additionally, Nipissing First Nation is involved in a resource conflict with local settler communities. The walleye population in Lake Nipissing, adjacent to both Nipissing First Nation and the city of North Bay, Ontario, is culturally, commercially and historically important to Nipissing First Nation, and a much sought-after fish by anglers and tourists, contributing to the economy of local settler communities each year. The walleye population is in decline, with current population numbers half of the 1980s population, with overharvesting occurring both commercially and recreationally (MNRF, 2015). Conflict also exists within the community on how to manage Nipissing First Nation's treaty-right to commercially fish walleye in keeping with Anishinaabe values.

In November 2015, a group of Elders and youth from Nipissing First Nation gathered

together for a workshop organized by Nipissing First Nation community leaders and the researcher. The workshop was developed as a community-appropriate method to address the research goals of this research project, as well as the needs and goals of the community. The community goals for the workshop were two-fold; to encourage knowledge and story-sharing between generations, and create a dialogue around the community fisheries. The themes that emerged from the community intergenerational conversation form the basis of this qualitative research thesis, including the values that inform the community worldview, knowledge transfer in the community, and the fisheries. I am honoured to have participated in the circle as a listener, to hear the stories of the community, to join in the laughter that often filled the room, and to learn from the Elders and youth of Nipissing First Nation.

Research Goal and Objectives

The goal of this research is to explore the meaning and importance of Indigenous Knowledge and Fisheries Knowledge to youth and Elders within the Nipissing First Nation. This goal will be accomplished through the following objectives:

a) To explore the historical and contemporary intergenerational transfer of community knowledge.

b) To explore historical and contemporary barriers to the intergenerational transfer of Indigenous Knowledge.

c) To identify opportunities for the intergenerational transfer of community and fisheries knowledge.

Research Context

Fish-WIKS: Overview of the project and its objectives

This Master's project is part of a larger national Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) partnership grant project titled "Exploring distinct Indigenous knowledge systems to inform fisheries governance and management on Canada's coasts, referred to by the acronym "Fish-WIKS" (Fisheries – Western and Indigenous Knowledge Systems). The Fish-WIKS project involves four distinct coastal First Nations community partners across Canada: Tla-o-qui-aht, BC, Repulse Bay, NU, Nipissing, ON and Eskasoni, NS, four regional Indigenous partners providing expertise in knowledge systems and fisheries management; the Assembly of First Nations, British Columbia First Nations Fisheries Council, Unama'ki Institute for Natural Resources and the Government of Nunavut, as well as four institutional partners: Dalhousie University, University of Toronto, University of Guelph and Vancouver Island University.
The overarching research goal of the Fish-WIKS project is to understand Indigenous Knowledge Systems within the context of fisheries in Canada and how this knowledge has been, and can be, used to enhance fisheries governance and improve fisheries sustainability, with the understanding that current fisheries decisions are made through a Western lens.

Key objectives of the Fish-WIKS projects include:

1. Examining how knowledge is valued, shared and used in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge systems
2. Identifying possible commonalities and differences
3. Using the knowledge acquired to enhance decision-making affecting Canada's fishery resources for current and future generations

This research project received funding from the Fish-WIKS project, and addresses one of the key objectives of the Fish-WIKS project: to examine how knowledge is shared, valued and used in an Indigenous knowledge system.

Community Profile: Nipissing First Nation

Nipissing First Nation (Nipissing Indian Reserve 10) is located on the north shore of Lake Nipissing, between the Municipality of West Nipissing (Town of Sturgeon Falls) and the city of North Bay, Ontario. Over 30 km long in an east-west direction, with a land base of 21,000 hectares, Nipissing First Nation is classified as an urban reserve. The on-reserve population of Nipissing First Nation is 857, with residents spread over 8 recognized communities; Beaucage, Beaucage Subdivision, Duchesnay, Jocko Point Subdivision, Garden Village, Meadowside, Yellek, and Veteran's Lane. The total registered population of Nipissing First Nation is 2509 (Goulais, 2016).

Nipissing First Nation members are Anishinaabe, of Ojibway and Algonquin descent. Benton-Benai (2010) describes the Anishinaabe as originating on the northeastern shores of North America, travelling west to the Great Lakes to "the land where food grows on water" (p.89). The Seven Fires prophecy of the Anishinaabe tells the story of seven prophets who visit the Anishinaabe each with a fire, or prophecy, of what will befall the Anishinaabe in coming generations; the fourth fire told of the coming of the Europeans to North America, while the fifth and sixth fire predicted the loss of language, knowledge and ceremonies. The seventh fire speaks of a time when the people will approach the Elders and retrace their steps to find what was left behind on the trail (Benton-Benai, 2010; Kimmerer, 2013b).

Living on the shores of Lake Nipissing for many generations, the Nipissings were traditionally hunters and fishers. Due to their location on a significant trade route, the Nipissings were also traders both pre and post-European contact. Contact with European traders and missionaries began in the early 17th century, with the trading of beaver pelts (Goulais, 2016).

In 1850, the Robinson-Huron Treaty was signed with the British crown, initiated due to the Nipissings concern about white settlers encroaching on their traditional land. In the Robinson-Huron treaty, land was set aside north of Lake Nipissing for the Nipissings.

In 2014, Nipissing First Nation (2013) ratified the first Ontario Aboriginal Constitution, Nipissing *Gichi-Naaknigewin* (Nipissing Constitution) that sets out terms for the self-determination and self-government of the community, as well as control of resources:

> Nipissing First Nation has exclusive jurisdiction to make laws with respect to environmental protection of natural resources. These laws shall be in accordance with Nipissing First Nation cultural practices designed to sustain and maintain our lands, fish, forest, wildlife, water and air and our heritage for future generations (p.6).

The current government of Nipissing First Nation includes the Chief and Council, who were elected in 2015. The Chief is Scott McLeod, the Deputy Chief is Muriel Sawyer, and there are seven council members. Resources for the community include a Band Office and community centre, three daycare centres, Nbisiing Secondary School, a library, police services, fire station, and a health centre, and social services and programs. Three years ago the Culture and Heritage Department was created to coordinate cultural events, language teaching and revitalization and restoring traditional knowledge in the community.

Community Liaison Coordinator

A crucial component of the Fish-WIKS project is the Community Liaison Coordinator (CLC) in each community. The Community Liaison Coordinator acts as the bridge between the Fish-WIKS project and the community, and as a support for the graduate students in the community. The CLC at Nipissing First Nation for most of this research project was Clint Couchie, who was the Nipissing First Nation Natural Resources Manager and worked extensively on fisheries management. Throughout this project, Clint provided invaluable support, advice, historical and contemporary context as well as a connection to Elders and other community members. Without the Community Liaison Coordinator in place, it would have been extremely difficult to negotiate the complexities of research with an First Nations community as an outsider to the community.

Figure 1: Location of Nipissing First Nation within Canada (Google Maps, 2016)

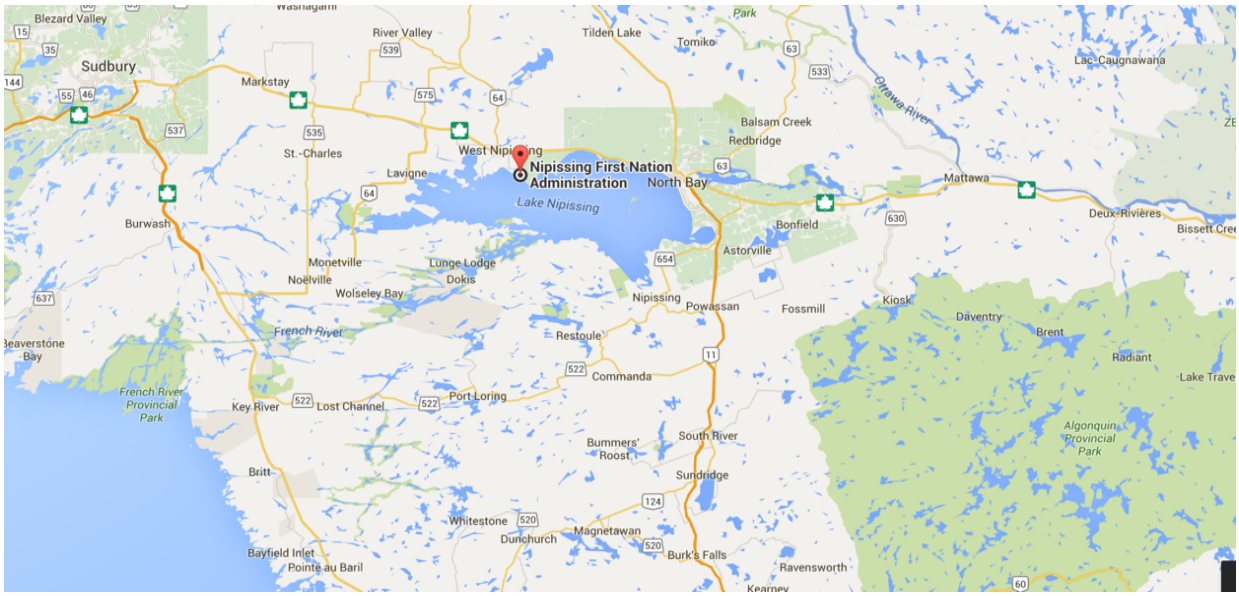

Figure 2: Location of Nipissing First Nation within Ontario (Google Maps, 2016)

Nipissing First Nation Fisheries

Traditionally Nipissing First Nation has harvested the fish of Lake Nipissing for trade and sustenance: Pickerel, Northern Pike, herring, white fish and lake perch. Of particular contemporary concern in the Nipissing First Nation community is the walleye commercial gill net fishery, which provides income for community fishers and is in decline.

Canada's Constitution (1867) gives the federal government authority of inland and seacoast fisheries, as well as Canada's natural resources. In Ontario, the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Fisheries (OMNRF) manage the province's fisheries, with fisheries management and decision making under the jurisdiction of the OMNRF (Boudreau & Fanning, 2016). Following many years of persecution of community members and fighting for their treaty right to commercially fish Lake Nipissing, the 1991 *R. v Commanda* Supreme Court decision recognized Nipissing First Nation's right to commercially fish Lake Nipissing, using gillnets. This decision was preceded by the *Sparrow* decision in 1990, which recognized the constitutional right of Aboriginal peoples to fish for food, social and ceremonial (FSC) purposes, based on section 35(1) of the Constitution Act of 1982. Since 1994, the federal Fisheries Act has regulated Aboriginal commercial and subsistence fisheries using *Aboriginal Community Fishing Licenses (ACFL*), which in Ontario have been negotiated by the OMNRF (Boudreau & Fanning, 2016).

Nipissing First Nation declined to negotiate an *ACFL* with province and in 2005 responded to declining fish numbers in Lake Nipissing by establishing its own Fisheries Law, using the Robinson-Huron treaty and the *Sparrow* decision as precedent (Boudreau & Fanning, 2016). The Fisheries Law allows Nipissing First Nation to issue permits to band members to fish commercially and set regulations for fish size, species, and the length of the fishing season.

The Nipissing *Gichi-Naaknigewin* [Nipissing Constitution], which set out regulations, rules, rights and governing structures for self-governance of Nipissing First Nation, states that "The Nipissings value and believe that protecting the right to harvest the gifts of Creator in a sustainable manner is essential" and that the Nipissings are committed

to “the principles of sustainability and preservation of natural resources for generations to come balanced with the interests of pursuing economic advancement” (Nipissing First Nation, 2013, p.4). *Gichi-Naaknigewin* was the first Indigenous constitution in Ontario and is recognized by the province of Ontario.

Due to issues with further declining fish stocks and a small minority of band members’ non-compliance with fisheries regulations, Nipissing First Nation updated the Fisheries Law in 2015 to include a reduced quota, shortened season, and a Justice Circle to deal with non-compliant band members. In August 2015, Chief and Council closed the commercial fishery early due to data showing that the walleye population was severely stressed, and that Nipissing First Nation had exceeded safe harvest levels (Nipissing First Nation, 2016b).

In 2016, Nipissing First Nation signed a non-binding Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to cooperatively manage the Nipissing walleye commercial fishery under Nipissing First Nation *Fisheries Law* and in response to the continued non-compliance of some Nipissing First Nation commercial fishers to Nipissing First Nation regulations, including fishing out of season. Key points of collaboration in the MOU are data exchange and harvest management, assessment and monitoring, education and outreach and training and technical support. Critical to the management of the commercial fishery, is the joint enforcement of compliance and response to violations (Nipissing First Nation, 2016a; Nipissing First Nation, 2016b). Commercial fishers who do not comply with Nipissing First Nation Fisheries Law and do not participate in or comply with Nipissing First Nation’s Justice Circle will be referred to the MNRF for enforcement of MNRF Interim Enforcement Policy (Figure 3).

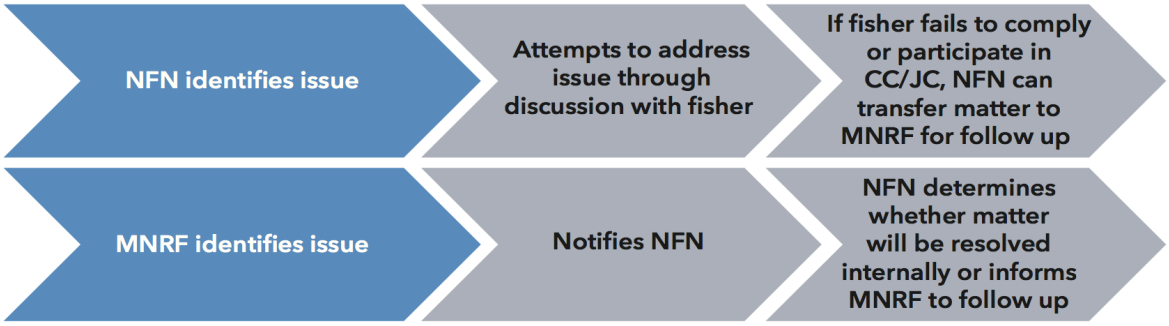

Figure 3: Process flow for Fisheries Violation (Nipissing First Nation, 2016, p 7)

While conflict exists within the community over the commercial fishery, the walleye fishery is a source of conflict with the neighbouring settler communities, and the provincial-regulated recreation fishery. In September 2016, Nipissing Chief and Council called on the Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry to close the 2016-17 winter walleye ice fishing season as a temporary measure to address declining walleye fish stocks, and as a gesture of reconciliation between treaty partners. To date, a decision has not been made by the MNRF ("Nipissing First Nation call for closure of recreational winter walleye fishery", 2016).

Outline of Thesis Chapters

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter Two provides a review of the literature that is relevant to this thesis, focusing on the concepts of worldviews, knowledge systems and knowledge transfer in Indigenous communities. Chapter Three focuses on the research methods used for this project including the research methodology, data collection methods and data analysis. It addresses the change in data collection methods that resulted in a community-led workshop, developed by Nipissing First Nation and in partnership with the researcher, that forms the basis of this thesis. Chapter Four presents detailed findings of the research. This chapter is structured around the research objectives of this project, as well as themes which emerged from the workshop. Chapter Five brings provides a summary and discussion of the key research findings of this research based on emergent themes. It provides a discussion of the workshop as a knowledge transfer process as well as implications of the research for Nipissing fisheries. Additionally, it examines the strengths and limitations of research, recommendations for the community and draws conclusions from the research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will provide an overview of the relevant literature reviewed for this research. The chapter begins with a summary of Indigenous and Western worldviews, including an overview of the Anishinaabe worldview in which Nipissing First Nation is grounded. The second section will give an overview of literature and research on Indigenous Knowledge, including Anishinaabe Knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge transfer.

Worldviews

A worldview is the lens through which we see the world; our worldview encompasses our values, customs, and beliefs and is developed through socialization in our community (Absolon, 2011; Hart, 2010). Cajete (2000, p 62) describes a worldview as "a set of assumptions and beliefs that form the basis of a people's comprehension of the world." These include our ideas of right and wrong, sexuality, equality, spirituality, and gender roles. Language is intrinsic to a worldview. Most of us are unaware of our worldviews; we simply live them, unconscious that the culture in which we have been raised has greatly shaped the way we think, act and view others of different worldviews (Hart, 2010).

Embedded within a worldview is a knowledge system that has developed along with the customs, values and beliefs of its culture. Within these knowledge systems is the knowledge itself. How knowledge is perceived, valued and used within a society is highly dependent upon its worldview. Figure 4 provides a conceptual interpretation of the relationship between a worldview, knowledge system and knowledge, with knowledge embedded in a community's worldview.

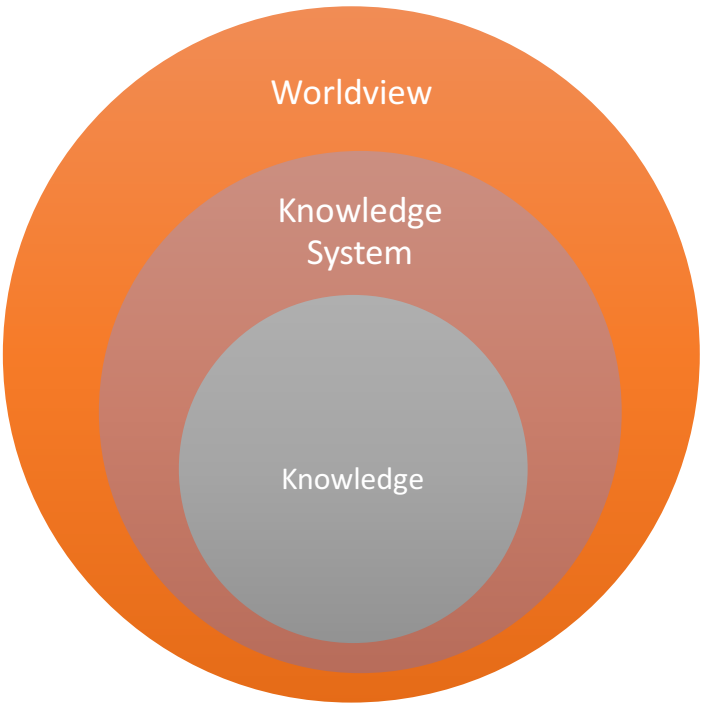

Figure 4: Conceptualization of Knowledge imbedded in Worldview

Indigenous Worldviews

While worldviews across Indigenous nations are not homogenous, there are common threads that join them together; they are holistic and relational, denoted by the commonly-used phrase "all my relations" (Absolon, 2011; Battiste, 2000; Hart, 2010; Little Bear, 2009). Common to Indigenous worldviews are the principles of respect, responsibility, reverence and reciprocity (Bell, 2013; Kimmerer, 2013a).
Absolon (2011) describes Indigenous worldviews:

> A worldview is an intimate belief system that connects Indigenous peoples to identity, knowledge and practices. Indigenous peoples' worldviews are rooted in ancestral and sacred knowledges passed through oral tradition from one generation to the next. It is how we see the world. It is the inner lens from which we look upon the world. Indigenous peoples' worldviews are rooted in traditions, land, language, relations and culture (p. 57).

Little Bear (2000) explains that in Indigenous worldviews all beings, including humans, trees, animals, plants and rock, have spirit and are animate. The idea of spirit is important as it provides a connection and web of relationships between humans, beings and objects: “If everything is animate, then everything has spirit and knowledge. If everything has spirit and knowledge, then all are like me. If all are like me, then all are my relations.” (Little Bear, 2000, p. 78). This relational worldview sees all things, living and non-living, as connected and ultimately responsible for each other. Language is of particular importance to philosophy and sharing of knowledge; in Aboriginal cultures animate Creation and constant motion create languages which are verb-rich and action-oriented (Absolon, 2011; Little Bear, 2000). The Aboriginal concepts of relationships, spirit and energy/motion in turn create values of kinship, collective decision-making, sharing, honesty, kindness and strength. These values speak to the importance of community and wholeness, where the collective is more important than the individual (Little Bear, 2000).

Indigenous Knowledge

Indigenous Knowledge can be defined as all knowledge pertaining to a particular people and its territory, the nature or use of which has been transmitted from generation to generation from knowledge holders to youth through storytelling, experiential learning, spiritual guidance and mentoring (Daes, 1993; Little Bear, 2009). Indigenous Knowledge is gathered by the collective community experience of observing and interacting with natural and social environment and is not static but continues to change based on changes in the local environment, climate and the introduction of non-Indigenous Knowledge (Getty, 2010; Stroink & Nelson, 2012).

Bell (2013) describes Indigenous Knowledge as

> ..culture specific, contained within the local knowledge and world view of the nation. It therefore also has to be ecological, where the knowledge is contained within the land of the geographic location of the nation. Knowledge is also contained within the people of the nation. Indigenous Knowledge then becomes personal and generational as there is a process of generational transmission (p. 191).

McGregor (2004) sees Indigenous Knowledge as a living and dynamic circle that is deeply embedded within a community's relationship with their local environment, climate, each other and Creation. Indigenous Knowledge is place and relationship-based and therefore cannot be separated from the people, land, and environment in which it is rooted.

Indigenous scholars caution against a Pan-Indigenous Knowledge definition for the sake of Western academia; while Indigenous peoples and their knowledges do share commonalities, each Indigenous nation holds individual customs, ceremonies and culture that preclude definition (Battiste, 2000; Hart, 2010). McGregor (2004) warns that the non-Indigenous need to define Indigenous Knowledge is problematic as Indigenous Knowledge is not a product or commodity but a contextualized process that is not uniform across Indigenous communities. Recent scientific interest in Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), which can be considered to be the environmental knowledge of Indigenous Knowledge, has led to its study and use in environmental and resource management in Canada, and exemplifies the commodification of knowledge for use by the dominant knowledge system (McGregor, 2004).

Mi'kmaw Elder Albert Marshall (Marshall & Bartlett, 2010) states "Knowledge is not a tool, but rather it is a spirit. It transforms the holder. It also reminds us that we have responsibilities to the spirit of that knowledge. We must pass it on." This encapsulates the Indigenous concept of knowledge as a living spiritual entity to be shared with future generation. Knowledge holders have responsibilities to it, rather than a right to it or ownership of it.

Indigenous Knowledge Transfer

As previously noted, relationships and the concept of interrelatedness are of particular importance to the Indigenous Worldview, and they are imperative in the sharing or intergenerational transfer of Indigenous Knowledge to children and youth. These relationships include those with immediate family, extended family, Elders and the land.

In this context, land encompasses water, air, animals, and plants and Elders denote those who hold knowledge that can be taught and shared (Ball, 2012; Getty, 2010). Children are raised collectively as valued members of large interconnected circle of the community that includes family, Elders and other community members; they are taught with love and kindness and are recognized for their achievements through ceremony and praise (Little Bear, 2000, Loppie, 2007).

Through daily interactions, oral storytelling, visions, ceremonies, observation and experiential one-to-one activities with Elders, children learn their language, their relationship to others and the natural world, to respect and learn to live on the land, as well as their spiritual identity. Activities with Elders including harvesting, hunting, food sharing, and ceremonial meals teach children about the knowledge of their community (Ball, 2012; Getty, 2010, Loppie, 2007).

In a recent thesis connecting health and Indigenous Knowledge, Kulman (2012), examined the transfer of Indigenous Knowledge between Anishinaabe Elders and youth in the Pic River First Nation in Northern Ontario using participatory research methods. Youth were hired to interview Elders regarding health and environmental issues, and the youth were then interviewed to evaluate their experiences and Indigenous Knowledge uptake. Kulman (2012) found that the relationships built between the Elders and youth during the project were integral to knowledge transfer of Indigenous Knowledge to the youth.

Big-Canoe (2011) used community-based participatory research methods with Anishinaabe youth at Pic River First Nation, using qualitative interviews with youth to examine the connection between Indigenous Knowledge, social relationships and health. The research thesis found that connections that have been lost between Elders and youth resulted in a loss of community knowledge involving health, as stories have not been passed along to youth. This is perceived by youth as having a direct impact on the health of youth, and the community.

Mundel and Chapman (2010) used participatory research methods, including observation and semi-structured interviews, to study the effectiveness of an off-reserve urban community kitchen garden project on the University of British Columbia farm in Vancouver to provide culturally appropriate health promotion to individuals. At the

garden Indigenous Elders from various Indigenous communities acted as project leaders and shared their traditional food knowledge with the mainly Indigenous participants. The incorporation of the spiritual and ceremonial, with time spent in nature with Elders resulted in relationship building, increased social support, and the transfer of Indigenous knowledge.

Storytelling is an important method of intergenerational knowledge transfer. Loppie (2007) describes storytelling as the use of stories, myths and legends to transmit community values, knowledge and guidelines for behaviour from generation to generation. These stories are, dynamic, highly contextual and evolve based on circumstances.

Language is also of critical importance to the continuation and transmission of Indigenous Knowledge: a community's language is connected to relationships to the land, shared beliefs and ideals, spiritual identity and practical and philosophical lessons (Battiste, 2000, Battiste & Henderson, 2000, Getty, 2010). Battiste and Henderson (2000) note that Indigenous Knowledge evolves as it is shared with each successive generation:

> In each generation, individuals make observations, compare their experiences by what they have been told by their teachers, conduct experiments to test the reliability of their knowledge, and exchange their findings with others. Everything that pertains to tradition, including cosmology and oral literature, is continually being revised at the individual and community levels (p.45).

This testing and evolution of knowledge ensures that the knowledge remains relevant to individuals and communities as environments change.

Anishinaabe Worldview and Knowledge

Indigenous Knowledge is rooted in place and the people, with each Nation holding its own worldview, knowledge, and mechanisms of knowledge transmission.

The Anishinaabe relational worldview is encapsulated in the Ojibway word *Bimaadiziwin,* which translates to "the Good Life." The good life in the Anishinaabe context does not equate to the stereotypical Canadian ideal of a "good life": a big house, two cars in the driveway, vacations, a cottage to spend the summer, and unlimited

spending. Instead *Bimaadiziwin* is based in an Anishinaabe "recognition of themselves as spiritual beings that have a unique and respectful relationship to the land and all of creation" (Bell, 2013, pg 93).

The Seven Ancestral or Grandfather teachings given to the Anishinaabe people encapsulate the values of *Bimaadiziwin,* on how to treat each other and the land*:*

1. To cherish knowledge is to know Wisdom.
2. To know Love is to know peace.
3. To honour all of Creation is to have Respect.
4. Bravery is to face the foe with Integrity.
5. Honesty in facing a situation is to be brave.
6. Humility is to know yourself as a sacred part of Creation.
7. Truth is to know all these things (Benton-Benai, 2010, p. 64).

Anishinaabe Knowledge Transfer

The Ojibway words for Anishinaabe knowledge are *anishinaabe-gikenaasowin*, and Anishinaabe see the development of *gikenaasowin* as a life-long learning process that begins with conception. Learning is developmental, with children learning what is needed at each stage of growth with age-appropriate tasks. The experience itself is critical, not the outcome of the experience (Bell, 2013).

Anderson (2011) describes the life stages or cycles of the Anishinaabe as early childhood (from conception to walking), childhood and youth, adulthood and old age (Elders). In each stage, the moral and physical development of the individual develops through learning age-appropriate skills such as hunting, fishing, sewing, cooking, teaching and caregiving, with adulthood being achieved once an individual receives a vision of their life's purpose. It is possible to get stuck in a life stage if stage-appropriate lessons and tasks are not learned (Anderson, 2011).

Children and youth learn by observing adults perform tasks and attempting the task when ready, listening to stories and through dreams, fasts, and ceremonies. Through

these learning techniques children also learn the language, values, culture, and their relationship to nature (Bell, 2013; Anderson, 2011).

Relationships with family, Creation, Elders, the spirit world, the land, community members and future generations are fundamental to the Anishinaabe worldview and intergenerational knowledge transfer. Relationship to the knowledge itself is also important, and those holding knowledge bear responsibilities to it (Bell, 2013; McGregor, 2013).

Teaching is based on principles of non-interference, using indirect and non-coercive techniques that allow children and youth to learn self-reliance, critical thinking and problem solving skills, and a sense of responsibility in an atmosphere of warmth and affection. Instead of punishing children for their actions, storytelling was often used as a non-punitive method of discipline (Anderson, 2011; Bell, 2013).

Barriers to Indigenous Knowledge Transfer

Transferring the Anishinaabe worldview and knowledge is critically important to the sustainability of a community and Creation: the loss of knowledge has had far-reaching consequences to Indigenous communities across the world. In Canada, Indigenous Knowledge has been lost through the many and ongoing effects of colonization: loss of languages, the reserve system that disconnected communities from their traditional lands, the loss of children to residential schools which disrupted the intergenerational transfer of Indigenous Knowledge, and systemic Western thought that denigrates non-Western knowledge (Battiste, 2000).

Simpson (2004) states that colonial policies targeted the assimilation and annihilation of Indigenous cultures to remove the obstacle of Indigenous nations on the land for settlers:

> Indeed, the colonial powers attacked virtually every aspect of our knowledge systems during the most violent periods of the past five centuries by rendering our spirituality and ceremonial life illegal, attempting to assimilate our children and destroy our languages through the residential school system, outlawing traditional governance, and destroying the lands and waters to which we are intrinsically tied (p. 377).

This systemic approach to the removal of Indigenous peoples from the land in which their worldview and knowledge is based has had a devastating effect on generations of Indigenous communities. These colonial policies targeting land continue to this day in the form of resource extraction, including trees, fish, diamonds and oil, on Indigenous territories (Simpson, 2004). Knowledge and languages that remain today in Indigenous communities is due to knowledge holders who preserved their language knowledge in secret (Simpson, 2004; Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015).

Ohmagari et al. (1997), using qualitative methods including semi-structured interviews and participant observation, examined bush skill acquisition among Omushkego Cree women in two sub-arctic communities, Moose Factory and Peawanuck in an effort to understand Indigenous Knowledge transmission in a contemporary Indigenous community. At the time of the study, traditional bush skills were still essential in providing a sustainable livelihood for the communities and the community of Peawanuck was experiencing what was termed a “cultural renaissance” or a renewed interested in learning bush skills and traditional food knowledge among the women in the community (p.219).

The study found that food harvesting and food preparation skills were learned by hands-on experience and observation and that there was a multiplicity of teachers and learners: not only parents and grandparents teaching children but adults learning from spouses, and other Elders in the community. The key barriers identified by Elders to the transmission of Indigenous Knowledge to youth were the more sedentary lifestyle, Western-style education which does not take seasonal harvesting and hunting into account, and new equipment which allows the men to go out into the bush without their families. A generation gap also existed; many of the youth were not fluent in Cree and most of the Elders spoke only Cree, and material needs could be met by shopping in a store, with youth not seeing the necessity of bush skills. Interestingly, television was seen as a major barrier as it opened up a different world with different values and draws youth away from the land.

The Snaw-Naw-As First Nation on Vancouver Island used technology as a means to connect Elders and youth and facilitate the transfer of Indigenous Food Knowledge for health promotion. Using funding from Health Canada’s Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative the

Digital Harvest Project organized a workshop with Elders to teach youth about traditional foods, pre-colonization food practices and First Nations history. Youth also learned how to create digital stories and were supplied with digital cameras, which they used to interview the participating Elders about traditional foods. These interviews were used to create digital stories, recreating the cultural use of storytelling in Aboriginal communities as a vehicle for intergenerational learning. An evaluation of the Digital Harvest project found that the project increased intergenerational contact and relationships as well as traditional food knowledge transfer; digital storytelling effectively engaged the youth in learning and helped close the generation gap (Dagert & Mullett, 2011).

Restoule, Gruner and Metatawabin (2013) worked with the Fort Albany First Nation to examine the Mushkegowuk Cree concepts of land and environment and perceived changes to these understandings due to resource extraction in the area. Similar to the Digital Harvest project, key components of the project were a 10-day river trip with youth, adult and Elder participants as a chance to share learning and ways of knowing between generations, as well as an intergenerational advisory committee, with youth creating documentaries based on their experiences and interviews with community members. The report on the project found it project fostered intergenerational learning, reinforced connections between community members and strengthened shared knowledge (Restoule et al., 2013).

To summarize the literature reviewed in this section, qualitative methods have been used in previous Canadian research projects examining Indigenous Knowledge, and the transfer of Indigenous Knowledge, within First Nations community. Most of the literature on Indigenous Knowledge is fairly recent, and there has been limited research within First Nations communities on the intergenerational transfer of knowledge. Many of the research studies cited used community-based participatory research methodology, employing participatory methods to connect Elders and youth.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis used a community-based research approach, using a qualitative method, a community-led workshop, that was developed in partnership with Nipissing First Nation. This chapter describes the researcher perspective, community and research ethics process and approvals, research methodology, research methods, and analysis of the data.

Researcher Positionality

Sinclair (2003) and Absolon and Willet (2004) speak of the importance of locating self in Indigenous research to honour and incorporate Indigenous worldviews and to hold the researcher responsible for their role and position in the creation of knowledge. Locating the self allows the researcher to identify who they are, the position from which they speak, experiences that have shaped them and their intentions for their research (Sinclair, 2003).

I believe it is essential for me to share who I am, as my experiences have led me to my interest in research with an Indigenous community, and also affect how I understand my experiences in the community, and my interpretation of the research.

I am a white, middle-class, female settler. I have a young daughter, I am married and I live in the suburbs of Guelph, Ontario, Canada. My undergraduate degree is in Biological Science, an area of study that changed and shaped the way I view the natural world and my relationship with it, as well as instilling in me a sense of order, logic and linear approaches to problem-solving that are based in the Western scientific worldview. However, my professional life in International Education and personal interest in diverse cultures and worldviews have tempered my education, allowing me to develop a personal worldview that does not solely rely on Western worldviews and knowledges. However, my approach to life and my understanding of the world are rooted in Western tradition.

My connection with, and interest in, Indigenous peoples in Canada is a personal one. This story is shared with the consent of my parents and siblings. In 1970, a boy was

born to a young woman from Big Grassy First Nation. Shortly after he was born, the baby was taken away from his mother by provincial children's services. The baby and his mother wouldn't meet again for almost 40 years. After being taken from his birth mother, the baby boy was placed in foster care, and eventually adopted by a white, middle-class family: my family. My brother was part of what is now known as the "Sixties Scoop", a period in time from the 1960's to mid-1980s in which thousands of Aboriginal children were "scooped" from their families and communities by provincial social workers across Canada and placed with white families in Canada, and around the world (Sinclair, 2007). Though not part of a specific government policy, the Sixties Scoop was, by its mechanism of child removal from Indigenous families, an extension of the intention of Indian Residential Schools: to assimilate Indians into white Canada, and take the Indian out of the child. By placing Indian children with white, middle-class families, Indian children would be given the perceived advantage of white society and institutions.

Sinclair (2007) quotes rates of adoption breakdown or failure rates between Indigenous children and white families of up to 95%, significantly higher than breakdown rates in other transracial adoptions. The adoption of my brother by my family may be considered a success; my brother remains a part of my family who love and support him. However, disconnection from his Indigenous culture and family, negative stereotypes of "Indians" growing up in a white, rural, Ontario small-town with the added burden of being adopted into a white family have had harmful effects that reverberate through my brother's life today. I am very grateful to have my brother in my life, and cannot imagine my childhood or life without him. However, I struggle with the fact that my gain was a significant loss for my brother and his birth mother. Perhaps most difficult is coming to terms with my family taking part in Canadian colonial policy, however unknowingly. During my childhood, my family often spent time in nearby Indigenous communities, with the intention of exposing my brother to his Indigenous heritage, but also to do church volunteer work on reserves. We delivered food, baby supplies, and other necessities to on-reserve families, as well as organizing activities, and visiting families we knew. My childhood experiences with Indigenous communities left a profound impression on me. While I know my young mind did not grapple with connecting

Canada's long history of colonialism and conditions on reserves, I understood there was a deep inequity between my life and life on a reserve. It was not until much later that I began to connect colonialism, Christianity, and settler governments to what I saw as a child, and to what is occurring in First Nations communities today.

My interest in Indigenous research stems from my family experience, and from my relationship with my brother. My Master's degree began with a single thought: what would have happened if, instead of destroying the natural resources of North America, and making every effort to destroy Indigenous peoples, Europeans had integrated their worldview and technologies with Indigenous peoples? After I began my research project I reread the Seven Fires prophecy, and it connected with me. The fourth fire came with two prophets, each with a different prophecy, concerning a light-skinned people coming on ships from the east, with the future uncertain. The first prophet said that if the light skinned people came in brotherhood, they would bring great knowledge that would combine with Anishinaabe knowledge and together they would form a great new nation (Kimmerer, 2013b). The second prophet warned that the face of brotherhood might be the face of death looking to take the riches of the land, to beware if they come with suffering and weapons (Benton-Benai, 2010). We know the answer is that the Europeans came with the face of death, and many people now look to the knowledge of the Anishinaabe and other Indigenous peoples to provide solutions to the problems created by the European worldview.

My intention in my research with the Nipissing First Nation community has been to work with the community to produce community-led research that is useful for the community. On one of my first trips up to Nipissing First Nation, Clint, the Community Liaison Coordinator, and I met with one of the community Elders. In trying to explain my interest in working with the community, I talked about conducting research that would be useful to the community. The Elder thought about it, and then told me the story of a report that had been commissioned by the Band Council a few years back; the report now sits up on a shelf and no one looks at it. It was a sobering cautionary tale for me; while the research I do may not harm the community, it may not provide any benefits either. This led me to rethink my intentions and expectations and eventually change my research methods based on further feedback from the community on their interests and needs.

Research Ethics

Nipissing First Nation

Nipissing First Nation does not have its own research ethics board or committee that reviews proposed research in the community. The Fish-WIKS project was approved by the Nipissing First Nation Chief and council (Appendix I), and Nipissing First Nation is a partner in the Fish-WIKS research project. In the beginning stages of my research, I followed the advice of the Community Liaison Coordinator and met with Elders and community leaders about my research, and also provided my research proposal to the Nipissing Chief and council for approval. I wrote a Collaborative Research Agreement (Appendix II) with Nipissing First Nation using Nicole Latulippe's [Fish-WIKS PhD student] agreement with Nipissing First Nation as a template. Although the research methods changed, the collaborative agreement acted as a guideline for this research project.

This project followed the National Aboriginal Health Organization's OCAP (Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession) principles outlining the governance of research data within Indigenous communities (Kovach, 2009). Ownership, control and possession of the data resulting from this project remains with Nipissing First Nation, and I was granted access to the data by the community (Pualani Louis, 2007).

University of Guelph

This research project was also approved by the University of Guelph's Research Ethics Board (Appendix III), which includes Aboriginal reviewers who review ethics applications for research involving Aboriginal participants. The research ethics application form at the University of Guelph includes a supplementary Cross-Cultural application form, based on Chapter 9, Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit, and Metis People of Canada, of the TCPS-2, for research involving First Nations or Aboriginal participants. Other ethical considerations for the research project will be discussed in the research methodology section below.

Research Methodology

Smith (2012) positions research as “inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism” and “probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary” (p.1). Recognizing the long history of colonialism and research, the approach to this research was guided by the principles of community-based participatory research.

Community-based participatory research is recognized as a collaborative, participatory, capacity building approach that incorporates community participation, practice and decision-making, honours local knowledge and philosophies of change, and co-creates new knowledge or understanding that benefits both the community and the researcher. (Petrucka, Bassendowski, Bickford & Elder, 2012; Shea, Poudrier, Thomas, Bonnie & Kiskotagan, 2013). Petrucka, et al. (2012) state that “the use of community-based participatory research methods has become increasingly recognized as appropriate when working with Indigenous (i.e., First Nations/Aboriginal) populations as it is potentially empowering and inclusive for groups who have lacked voice” (p.1). However, as noted by Simpson (2001), community-based participatory research, while offering an alternative research methodology, is still based in the Western research paradigm. Getty (2010) and Loppie (2007), both white researchers working with Indigenous communities in Canada, describe their use of community-based participatory research methods and their navigation of the tensions of research within two distinct worldviews. Getty (2010) concludes that the epistemological approach of a well-intentioned non-Indigenous researcher has the potential to contribute to either the colonial narrative or support Indigenous self-determination. Loppie (2007) compares working within both Western and Indigenous paradigms to conducting research on a tightrope, with the creativity of Indigenous knowledge confined by the academic requirements.

I recognize that Anishinaabe Knowledge is the foundation on which this research project is built and I used the principles of respect, reciprocity, relevance and relationality to intentionally guide my research with Nipissing First Nation (Hart, 2010; Rogers Stanton, 2014; Steinhauer, 2002).

The methods employed in this research project were rooted in an Indigenous Paradigm: observation, storytelling, ceremony and learning from the Elders. I purposefully sought out literature and research by Indigenous academics and authors to guide the generation of knowledge and interpretation of findings in my research project, as well Indigenous teachers and Elders in Guelph and Nipissing First Nation.

By collaborating with the community to develop the research project, I endeavoured to address the issues of control in the research methodology, and relevance of the research to the community, by listening to community interests and needs (Rogers Stanton, 2014). The research findings were organized to tell the story of intergenerational knowledge in the community, and as much as possible kept the participants' stories intact instead of breaking them down into separate pieces of data to show respect for the stories being told, and to retain context (Kovach, 2009).

I acknowledge the influence of the Western knowledge system and education on my beliefs and interpretations of the research as well as my accountability to the structures of my academic program and institution, including the research ethics process, courses, and protocols for my thesis, as well as to the Fish-WIKS project.

Research Methods

The research methods for this Master's project evolved and changed, based on feedback from the community and the Community Liaison Coordinator. The initial research question and objectives were developed based on conversations with Elders and community members during visits to Nipissing First Nation, and a draft proposal was given to the Nipissing First Nation Chief and Council for review and feedback.

The initial research project proposed used two qualitative research methods, talking circles and semi-structured interviews with Elders and youth in the community, to tell the story of knowledge within the community (Appendix II). The rationale behind using these methods was their ability to address the power imbalance between the researcher and the participant, build trust and relationships, and invite storytelling, all of which are important within an Indigenous research context. This project received approval from

my committee, the University of Guelph's Research Ethics board, as well as Nipissing First Nation.

However, in conversations with the Community Liaison Coordinator, potential recruitment issues and lack of participation in the proposed research using talking circles, in combination with the University of Guelph's research ethics requirements, were raised. Recent issues with the community fishery were a concern, as well as the need for constructive community dialogue concerning the fisheries. My status as a non-Indigenous outsider to the community was also a concern, given the research topic and the sensitivity surrounding it.

In response to these concerns, as well as community interest in fostering intergenerational knowledge transfer and creating space for dialogue, Nipissing First Nation hired experienced Anishinaabe community facilitator Ryan McMahon, who works with youth and Elders in First Nations communities, to lead a four-day workshop at Nipissing First Nation. Funding for the workshop came from my SSHRC research funding, Nipissing First Nation, and the Fish-WIKS regional partner for Ontario, the Assembly of First Nations.

The workshop, called "Stories from the Land; A Nipissing Youth and Elders Fisheries and Traditional Knowledge Project", was developed as a legacy project for the community, which can also be used as template for other Indigenous communities facing issues with resource use and intergenerational knowledge transfer. The recordings and observations from the workshop were used as data for this research thesis, and were considered secondary data. I submitted a revision to my Research Ethics proposal to the University of Guelph with the changes to the project, which was approved.

The workshop was initiated by the community and as such met the current needs and interests of the community at that time. The workshop followed Nipissing First Nation internal processes and protocols already in place for promotion and recruitment, honorariums for participants, food and consent to participate.

Participants and Recruitment

The research participants were youth (aged 14-29) and Elders (50+) who are on-reserve members of the Nipissing First Nation. As noted, the on-reserve population of Nipissing First Nation is 857, with approximately 280 Elders (50+) and 190 youth (14-29) on reserve (email correspondence, Glenna Beaucage, March 2015). Overall, 25 community members participated over the four days of the workshop, including 17 Youth and 8 Elders.

Participants were recruited by the Community Liaison Coordinator to participate in the *Stories from the Land* workshop. Participants were recruited using email, social media, phone calls, and texts. Because the workshop was a Nipissing First Nation activity, recruitment followed normal Nipissing First Nation procedures for organizing a band activity. I created a recruitment poster for the workshop which was distributed to the community through social media, email and bulletin boards in the community. Participants were made aware of the public nature of the workshop and podcast through Nipissing First Nation recruitment and dialogue, as well as its role in my research project. At the workshop participants were given an Information Sheet (See Appendix IV) to advise them that the public recordings were part of my research project.

By working in partnership with Nipissing First Nation on the workshop, and applying community processes, we were able to address tensions around recruitment, privacy and informed consent that had been an initial concern for the research project (Brown, 2005).

Data Collection

The *Stories from the Land* workshop took place over four sessions, including three evenings and one afternoon in November, 2015. The first evening was a youth session, with 14 youth participating, and 3 Elders attending to listen. The second evening was an Elder session, with 7 Elders participating, and 3 youth attending to listen. The third evening began with a meal of Indian tacos (a dish in which frybread is topped with taco

toppings) and brought youth and Elders together to participate, with 7 youth and 4 Elders. The final youth-Elder workshop on Saturday began with a meal of moose stew, with 7 youth and 6 Elders participating.

Indigenous protocols were incorporated into the workshop sessions by the facilitator. Elders were given a tobacco bundle at the beginning of each workshop circle by the facilitator, as a gesture of respect and thanks for the knowledge that they would be sharing with the group. Showing appreciation for Elders' time and knowledge in culturally appropriate ways is important and respectful in an Indigenous community context, as knowledge is not considered a commodity (Flicker et al., 2015; Kovach, 2009). Also essential was the inclusion of ceremony in the workshops; each ceremony began with smudging and prayer and ended with song and prayer by a community Elder. Smudging is the process of burning sage or sweetgrass before an event or ceremony; both are considered sacred plants to the Anishinaabe people and in burning them the smoke cleanses the room and the people (Lavallee, 2009).

The sessions used an informal sharing circle format, with questions posed by the facilitator, and participants providing their observations and feedback. Questions for the workshop were generated by the facilitator, after discussion with the Community Liaison Coordinator and myself, and also by the participants. At the beginning of the first Youth-Elder workshop participants were asked to write questions on a piece of paper. The questions could be about the community, and its history, stories and fisheries. The questions were put in a basket and the facilitator drew questions from the basket to ask the group. Participants were not required to answer any questions, and the conversation generated by the questions was allowed to develop organically, with guidance from the facilitator (Appendix V).

I attended the workshop sessions as an observer, to provide logistical support to the facilitator and answer participant questions about the research aspect of the project. I introduced myself and provided information about the research project at the beginning of each session, and handed out the Participant Information Sheet. Participants were given an opportunity to ask clarifying or follow-up questions, but no questions were asked about the research project at any of the sessions.

The workshop sessions were recorded by the facilitator, and were used to create a digital podcast that was given to the community, as well as shared on the facilitator's online "Red Man Laughing" podcast. The recordings and the resulting podcast, are public, and archived in the Nipissing First Nation library.

Data Analysis

I was given access to the digital recordings of each workshop session to use as secondary data for analysis for my thesis, and transcribed the recordings verbatim. I uploaded the digital recordings to ExpressScribe, professional audio player software that is designed to assist in transcription. The software was downloaded to my computer, and allowed me to slow down the recordings, pause and rewind, which assisted greatly with transcribing the workshop sessions. The completed transcription of the workshops sessions was given to Nipissing First Nation for their use and archives. For use in my thesis, participants were given pseudonyms to provide confidentiality. Participants pseudonyms were divided into four groups that allow for the identification of the generation (Elder, youth) and sex (male, female) in the transcripts used for this thesis. However, due to the public nature of the podcast, and access to the transcripts in the Nipissing First Nation archives, anonymity for the participants is not guaranteed. Participants were advised of this in the Information Sheet that they were given. Due to the importance of place and place names to the context of the data, these were not removed from my research transcripts. Names of participants, family members, friends and community, which may have allowed for the identification of the speaker, were removed from the workshop transcripts used for analysis, and this thesis.

Coding and analysis of the data followed a general inductive approach. Thomas (2006) describes the purpose of the general inductive approach to data analysis as allowing "research findings to emerge from frequent, dominant and significant themes inherent in the raw data, without the restraints by structured methodologies" (p.238).

Many of the questions that were asked during the workshop sessions reflected the objectives of this research project. However, I found that the answers to the questions

did not always correspond to the original question. In the group setting, often the beginning of an answer to a question would be talked about by another participant whose memory was tweaked by the first answer and would not be in answer to the original question.

While I had not begun the data analysis with preconceived themes or codes, I had expected a more straightforward reflection of the research objectives in the data. However, by releasing my expectations of the research data, I allowed for an emergence of themes.

Throughout the transcription of the research data, I made notes in my research notebook as themes emerged from the data. Following transcription, I printed and read the transcripts several times and highlighted themes and made notes on the transcripts on the paper copy, in my research notebook and in Word. I used open coding to allow themes to emerge organically through the data, and created a poster board listing the themes and drawing connections between them.

Once I had finished open coding, the workshop transcripts were then uploaded to NVivo (version 11), to manage and analyze the data. NVivo was installed on my computer, and both the computer and the NVivo project were password-protected. NVivo allowed me to more effectively manage the large amount of data produced during the workshop sessions.

On NVivo I created major nodes which represented each of the major codes, with some codes being divided into sub-nodes. A case was created for each of the workshop participants and included their sex and age demographic to allow for further searches using these participant attributes.

Using the themes and sub-themes created in NVivo, I created a Mind Node (See Appendix VI) which allowed me to further connect themes and patterns in the data. Through NVivo and the use of the Mind Node software, I was able to create links and condense the codes into the following major themes:

Addiction
Anishinaabe Identity
Colonialism
Community (8 communities within Nipissing First Nation)
Creation
Culture (Sub-codes: Traditional, Loss, Revitalization)

Economic System
Education System (Western)
Fisheries (Sub-codes: Conflict, Government, Knowledge, Science, Sustainability)
Generational Perspectives
Government (Sub-codes: Agents, Indian Act, Treaties)
Knowledge (Sub-code KT processes)
Lake Nipissing
Land (Connection, Loss, Use)
Language
Power
Resilience
Resources
Rights and Responsibilities
Spirit
Technology
Anishinaabe Values
Western Values

Field Notes

I kept a research notebook, as well as a research journal on my computer, during all stages of the research project to record my observations, personal reflections about meetings, the direction of the research, events attended, and experiences in the community.

I made notes in my research notebook during the workshop sessions when possible, and used my research journal to record my observations immediately following each session (Mulhall, 2002). I referred back to the research notes and observations during data transcription and analysis, and these short-term reflections helped me to remember practical aspects of the workshop sessions that I might have otherwise lost to memory, such as the seating of the research participants or comments made to me outside of the formal workshop sessions (Mulhall, 2002). The observations also gave me insight into my interpretations in the field, and allowed me the chance to reflect on how my interpretations may have changed, given time for further reflection.

Reflexivity in Research/Research Rigour

Northcote (2012) and Barbour (2001) speak to the dilemma of evaluating qualitative research. Barbour (2001) interrogates the use of prescriptive checklists that in the end do not confer rigour, while Northcote (2012) questions the traditional qualitative gold standard of objectivity, reliability and validity based in the positivist tradition that does not recognize the diversity and complexity of qualitative research. Northcote (2012) advises postgraduate students to consider the philosophical or paradigmatic beliefs, in relation to both knowledge and truth, of both the researcher and the research participants to guide their criteria selection (p. 108).

Reflexivity is the continuous, introspective and iterative process whereby the researcher reflects on how their worldview (values, beliefs) influences their choice of research subject, their research methods, interaction with participants and data collection, data analysis, and ultimately their research conclusions (Darawsheh, 2014; Jootun, McGhee & Marland, 2009). Reflexivity acknowledges that qualitative research is subjective, and that the past experiences of a researcher has influence on their research. By acknowledging and making these influences on the research process transparent, reflexivity can provide rigour and quality to qualitative research (Darawsheh, 2014; Jootun et al., 2009).

Russell-Mundine (2012) speaks to the usefulness of reflexivity to reflect on the impact of being a White researcher working with an Indigenous community, the effect of Whiteness and working within a Western academic framework, and ultimately the legitimacy of a non-Indigenous researcher working within an Indigenous community. Like Absolon and Willet (2004), I believe that objectivity is not possible within research and that my positionality, personal experiences and worldview, my story, have directly contributed to, and influenced, my research. Story, as this research project demonstrates, is intrinsic to learning and knowledge creation in Indigenous cultures. The use of reflexivity in my research process is demonstrated by acknowledging my positionality and research intentions, keeping field notes and research journal to reflect on all stages of the research project, personally transcribing the workshop sessions,

and being explicit in regards to the decision-making process of research design, as well as data analysis (these practices are also outlined in Jootun et al., 2009).

Being temperamentally introspective (Finlay, 2002), I have reflected on my research intentions, my role as a white researcher in an Indigenous community, how my personal history has influenced my approach to this research, and how to respectfully interpret the voices of the participants in this thesis. In my experience, to be a reflective non-Indigenous researcher working within an Indigenous community is to continually reflect, constantly interrogating yourself and your intentions so that you do not perpetuate colonial structures and power.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following chapter outlines the findings of the *Stories from the Land* Workshop, conducted in November 2015 at Nipissing First Nation by Ryan McMahon, as part of a larger community initiative to restore knowledge, ceremonies and traditions, as well as start a larger conversation about the Nipissing First Nation fisheries. The findings have been organized to reflect both the findings of the original objectives and emergent themes.

The findings are sectioned into three main sections 1) Relationships with settler governments, 2) Elder experiences and 3) contemporary knowledge transfer. These sections are further sub-sectioned to address the themes of the findings.

Workshop Context

On November 4, 2015, the first day of the workshops, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his cabinet were sworn in, I visited different sites in the community with Clint, the Community Liaison Coordinator, and Ryan, the workshop facilitator. Many of the community members we met that day were watching the swearing-in ceremony, and talking about it. There was a sense of anticipation and hope in the community, as two of the Liberal cabinet ministers who were sworn in are Indigenous. The ceremony also included recognition of Algonquin territory, a Cree drummer, Inuit throat singers, and Metis jiggers. The day seemed to signal a new day in the relationship between Canada's First Nations and the Canadian government, with Prime Minister Trudeau indicating his intention of creating a nation-to-nation relationship with Canada's Indigenous peoples (A New Nation to Nation Process, 2016).

Laughter

Humour and laughter played a large part in the workshop sessions. While transcribing the recordings, I coded [laughing] for each time the group laughed during a session. A search on this code in NVivo showed that the group laughed together over one hundred times during the four workshop sessions.

Section 1: Relationships with Settler Governments

This section provides an overview of the findings related to the community's relationship with settler governments, both provincial and federal. Negative interactions between the community and settler governments emerged throughout the workshop sessions. This section provides a framework for current issues with knowledge transfer and fisheries in the community.

Some of the Elders remembered stories told to them by their Elders, and over the years some have worked on land claims, and uncovered stories from the past through archives and papers. Elders also told firsthand stories of their experiences with settler governments and their agents.

These interactions can be broken down into three major sub-themes: treaties, the Indian Act and government agents.

I. Treaties

During the workshops, the Elders had multiple conversations about treaties involving Nipissing First Nation and the provincial and federal governments.

ElderFA referred to stories that she had heard from her Elders about community members blaming each other for signing treaties that had given away Nipissing land. Later, ElderFA learned that those land surrenders, in 1904 and 1907, had only Xs for signatures and had been fraudulently signed by the Indian Agent. The land that had been fraudulently taken by the government has still not been returned to Nipissing First Nation:

> And the province hates to return land to us. When we did our negotiations for the land claim, feds called Ontario to the table, and they refused. Because they're the ones holding the land and they don't want to give it up, back to us. ElderFA

II. Indian Act

> I used to listen, I used to like visiting a community member down the road here, and he would tell stories, stories about when he was a boy. And how, how we, we lost our culture, our stories and our spirituality. How the Indian Agent used to enforce the Indian Act and enforce that Indian Act to civilize us. To become white people, I guess. ElderMC

The Indian Act became Canadian federal law in 1876 and still exists in modified form as law today. The act was grounded in assimilationist policy and gave the Canadian government the right to regulate the lives of Canadian First Nations peoples. The Act created the reserve system, replaced existing governance structures such as the Nipissings' clan system with elected band councils, and created a system that regulated who qualified for Indian Status. Essentially, the Indian Act made all Indians wards of the State who were not given the full rights of Canadian citizens.

The many ways in which Indian Status could be lost was discussed by the Elders: joining the armed forces, going to university, or hiring a lawyer. For First Nations women, status could be lost by marrying a non-status Indian or an Indian, a rule which did not apply to First Nations men. Some of the Elders, or community members they know, had previously lost their status, or were born without Indian Status because their parents or grandparents had lost their status.

ElderFE brought in a blue card (Figure 5) that had belonged to female community member. A blue card was a certificate of enfranchisement, given to Status Indians who signed away their status rights and became full Canadian citizens. Indians who became enfranchised were given a lump sum of money at the time of enfranchisement. As a result of signing the card, the community member and all her descendants lost the legal and cultural rights of a status Indian, and were no longer able to live on the reserve. Enfranchised Indians could buy their status back, at a much higher cost than they were paid upon their enfranchisement.

Figure 5: Certificate of Enfranchisement (Photo credit: Clint Couchie)

ElderFE lost her status through marrying a non-status Indian and was no longer able to live on the reserve. In 1985, she regained her status due to the passing of Bill C-31, which gave back Indian Status to a woman who had lost it through the discriminatory policy that an Aboriginal woman's status was based on her husband's status:

> I had started teaching, in 1975 I had just started teaching. So when I married my husband he was non-status, his father had become non-status because he had left his reserve, remember? He was in the war, they became enfranchised. So when I married my husband I immediately lost my status, I got a letter from the band office outlining that I had to give that apartment up immediately. And that I had to sign the paper saying that I had relinquished my rights. Which I did not believe I relinquished. And there is money owed to me to this day because I would not sign that paper, to acknowledge the government saying they, you know, they took my status away. I thought you took it away but I am not signing as result of that. So I lost probably 700 bucks. So had I took that 700 would I have had to pay for it back? You know what I mean? So it was just one of those things that no friggin' way, you're throwing off, I'm not acknowledging it.

III. Government Agents

Government agents were mentioned on numerous occasions by Elders and youth during the workshop. Government agents included Indian Agents, game wardens and conservation officers. Indian Agents were remembered as having control over whether community members could leave the reserve, fraudulently signing away the band's land, burning down the settlement at Mosquito Creek, attempting to move the community out of Garden Village, and influencing the building of roads and railways. ElderFA remembered the story of how the highway to Garden Village was built at a cost of $15,000 to the community:

> And we paid fifteen thousand dollars of our band money to build a highway and the Indian Agent said it's for you. Nobody owned a car. [laughing]

One particular Indian Agent, George Cockburn, lives on in the community's memory for the damage he caused to the community:

> The Indian agent. Cockburn, he was really bad. And all the Indian agents in town had the biggest huge houses there. Like Marlowe's, but he wasn't a big crook like Cockburn. But he was still pretty bad.
>
> Yep, on our land, it happened. Like they, one that 1904 surrender and 1907 and the Indian Agent, and this was George Cockburn. That man cheated us right and left. He made cheques out 12,000 dollars to himself cash. Cash order. And it just goes on and on. There's a book on the things that he did wrong. And he took that land, even Lauren Creek, and he sold it to his wife and he took that island there, it wasn't an island. Cockburn Island, that's on our list of land claims. They're just long. ElderFA

The damage done by one Indian Agent over 100 years ago has not yet been undone, as claims still exist for land that he took from the community.

Game wardens and conservation officers controlled fish and game in the community. ElderFF remembered being afraid of going to jail if she and her brother were caught hunting by the game warden:

> The thing I would think about too was my brother, one time he says you wanna come with me? We're going duck hunting. And duck season was closed, so we got over there and waiting for it to dark enough for the ducks to land. He tells me there's a motor we could see and hear in the distance and he says "Oh there's the game wardens, they're coming." Well, I was so afraid of game wardens all the time, I was ready to leave him there so he had to come home with me because there's no way I was thinking of going to jail.

ElderFA recalled community members going to jail for hunting moose:

> The Royal Commission, when it came out, there were stories in there. And I remember them coming here to our hall. And there's stories in there, there's two Commandas, I forget their names but they were jailed, the father and son. Jailed for 2 years 'cuz they killed a moose. And that's up in our, it was surrendered land across the highway. And it was hard to hunt like just imagine in the old days there was no hydro. And there was no back road, only that front road that ElderMA mentioned. Till 1953, they built the road that's there now, Ted Commanda Drive. There was no, I remember when there was like 10 or 12 houses here when I was young. And there was Beaucages, Moses Beaucage and his son, they went to jail for 2 years for killing a moose up on Beaucage Hill. And the, they were called game wardens then, like they were MNR, or conservation officers, whatever they were called.

ElderMB's brother went to jail and had his nets confiscated by the MNR conservation officer:

> This was happening not just here but to all reserves across Canada and that, it was the beginning of kind of a supreme kind of suppression. And I remember when my brother was always, that was his livelihood in providing food for our family, my eldest brother. And he would always be put in jail, arrested. His nets would be confiscated, he spent time in jail and he'd win. But even though he'd win, next time he set nets they would go and arrest him again. So there was this kind of, continuation of harassment.

Facilitator: So he'd win, when he had to go to court, he'd end up winning in court?

ElderMB: Yeah, and get his nets back and lose a whole day, couple of days of fish that he used to set nets for. And that's not only him.

ElderMB and ElderMA recalled an incident with an MNR officer and ElderMA's sister, in which ElderMA's sister confronted an MNR officer who was in her husband's boat, and hit him with an oar, breaking his arm.

More recently, YouthMA recalled his father's harassment by MNR conservation officers:

> It's even like at my dad, even the '80s the MNR were a lot more aggressive back then. And he's like, he'd have to set at nighttime and pick his nets up at nighttime so before the sun came up. So if you go and set them and the MNR and it was even the police, when they were on the lake they'd just pick up his nets and burn them on the shore or take them away. He'd have to hide, it wasn't so much an Indian Agent in the '80s but like hiding from the people who are supposed to be governing the lake. What kind of justice is that? This was happening forty years ago, '80's probably into the '90s. They're hiding from people who are supposed to be keeping people safe but they're hiding while doing something that is our right. Is our way of living.

YouthMH's father told him not to tell anyone that they fished, and fishing at night to hide from the MNR officers:

> I find it funny that you know we talk about oh it's the '80s and he says maybe into the '90s and for these young ones, even I was born in '91, so some of you's were born in the later 90s. But I find no one's talking about 2009, 2010, me and our dad, our nets got taken out of the water by MNR. We're right by North Bay. My dad growing up, my dad always told me, you never tell anyone that you fish. Don't tell anyone in your life that you fish. And he's always take us out on the lake, and he's take us out after the sun set. But you'd get your boat ready and everything and once that sun just touched the edge of the water, we'd be on the lake.

This relationship with the MNR and its officers has led to a contemporary distrust of the MNR. Both youth and Elders expressed their scepticism of the scientific fisheries data produced by the MNR, and their historic and contemporary favouritism of recreational/settler fishing. ElderMA believes that the MNR is not listening to the Nipissing fishers and their knowledge of the lake, and fish:

> And the fishermen are frustrated and I talked to the Chief about a month and a half ago, maybe two months ago and he asked me what do the fishermen want to do? How do we deal with the fisherman, that was what his question was. I said well the guys are frustrated because the MNR won't listen to what they have to say. Their input. They've had umpteen meetings with MNR and MNR doesn't want to implement anything that they suggest, and they don't want to listen to what an educated, supposedly uneducated people have to say. We've only lived on this lake, around this lake all our lives. What do you mean we don't know anything about the damned lake? We know something about the lake. But you don't want to listen to us. You'd rather blame us for what's going on with the lake, rather than listen to the solutions we have.

Section 2: Elder Experiences

This section presents the findings of the workshop that are related to the experiences of the Elder participants during their childhood at Nipissing First Nation. These findings are divided into three subsections: 1) Childhood experiences of the Elders, 2) Anishinaabe Worldview and 3) Historical Knowledge Transfer that emerged from the stories of the Elders.

Elder Participants

Twelve Elders attended sessions during the four-day workshop, with varying levels of participation. One Elder attended all of the workshops as the community Elder, and four Elders participated in only the Elder workshop. For the purposes of the workshop and this research, Elders were defined as being over 50 years of age, and does not denote a recognized role of Elder in the community. Two of the Elders were raised in other Anishinaabe communities in Ontario, and one Elder was non-Anishinaabe and raised in a settler community.

I. Childhood Experiences of the Elders

There was a range in age of the Elders who participated in the workshop, and this contributed to their childhood experiences and the degree to which their upbringing would be considered traditional Anishinaabe. When speaking about their childhoods, most of the Elders talked about living on the land, either in the bush or on the water. The water played a large part in their lives – fishing, recreation and drinking water.

Mosquito Creek

Many of the Elders spent part of their childhood living in log cabins in a small community on the reserve called Mosquito Creek. Mosquito Creek was located in between the settler community Sturgeon Falls and the Nipissing community of Meadowside, close to the railroad. At that time there was no highway connecting the communities and the

railroad was a means of travel and connection to the larger settler communities. Many Nipissing First Nation community members spent their summers in Garden Village, another small community located on the Lake Nipissing shoreline, and their winters at Mosquito Creek.

As ElderFA remembers;

> People that lived there were from Garden Village. Because like ElderMA mentioned the other night, when it snowed the roads were closed that was it. There was no phones, no hydro, nothing here. A few people stayed here that had horses but to get able to get to town, or a dog team. And the rest moved to Mosquito Creek. It was log cabins and at that time before that they were allowed to cut on the south side of the highway. There was big piles of logs there cut. And there was a big bridge. Like on this side of the tracks and on the other side of the tracks to the highway. They run parallel. And we were all on the lower side, on the south side. And there was small cabins, all log cabins, large ones. There was a couple of barns. And you moved there in the fall. Garden Village was a summer home, you planted your gardens, and our grandmother stayed here.

ElderMA and ElderMB remembered watching cowboys and Indians on TV at ElderMB's house in Mosquito Creek, as his family had one of the first televisions in the community. The proximity of the railway also gave access to Mosquito Creek to settlers, creating interactions that were sometimes humorous, and sometimes dangerous. ElderMC remembered a story that his *Gokomis* [grandmother] told about tourists stopping at Mosquito Creek because they wanted to meet Nipissings and buy moccasins from them. The tourists talked to the older women at Mosquito Creek about buying moccasins:

> ..they were saying in their language those white people they're telling us we're poor [laughing]. These old ladies chased the *Zhaagnaash* [white settlers] away [laughing]. It was funny.

ElderMA remembered a different side of living close to the railroad;

> Now that's kind of a bright happy picture of Mosquito Creek. The dark side of it was, when the train went by, hobos would jump off and sometimes rape the woman there. I had to be 7 or 8 years old when I shot at one of them trying to rape my mom. That bullet was in the door jam till I guess they burnt the houses down.

The community of Mosquito Creek was eventually burned down, sometime in the 1960s or 1970s, after a road was built that connected Garden Village with the highway. Community members were offered permanent winter homes in Garden Village by the Indian Agent, and a vote was taken by the community to decide whether to move to Garden Village. Many Elders remembered the pictures of the log cabins being burnt down, with the Chief and Indian Agent in attendance and community members roasting marshmallows and hot dogs over the fire.

The relocation is recalled with some controversy by the Nipissing First Nation community. Youth MH had been told that the community was forcibly removed from Mosquito Creek, and questioned the Elders about it. ElderMA explained his understanding of the move:

> It wasn't more, so much as a forced removal as a coerced removal. Because like I said, they promised houses to burn those houses in Mosquito Creek. They promised permanent houses, better houses to live down by the lake.
> And what they did, how they coerced everybody else was they took a vote, they took a vote as to how many people wanted to stay, and how many people wanted to live down by the lake. And whichever way the vote went, that's where we would go.

Community Picnics

Nipissing First Nation community picnics were a topic of interest to the youth, and the subject of one of the questions submitted by the youth, "Can somebody please tell us about the community picnics and when they started, what they were like, when they were happening, and why we think they're not around as much as they used to be?"

The Elders remembered that community picnics were originally organized by the Indian Homemakers Club on the reserve. Indian Homemakers clubs were conceived by the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1930s, for women to meet, to share and learn knowledge about domestic skills, and were modelled after the British Women's Institutes. The Department of Indian Affairs provided funding to the Indian Homemakers Clubs to run the clubs and events within the communities. The clubs lost their funding in the late 1960s when the women in the clubs began to become politically active in their communities (Hanson, 2009a).

ElderFA remembers the homemakers club as groups of women who got together every Wednesday to sew, make quilts, plan events such as the fish dinners and the community picnic, and fundraise. There were multiple clubs on the reserve in the separate communities, with several generations of women attending the meetings. Fundraised money went towards items such as oil for the priest at the church, paying hydro at the daycare, helping those in need on the reserve, and furnishing the first band office.

The Elders recalled the picnic happening the first weekend of July when families came back to the reserve to visit and elections were held. They played games such as the pole climb and canoe races, helped their fathers bake beans, and held a fish dinner. There were multiple reasons given for the picnics ending, with introduced beer gardens creating a party versus family atmosphere, loss of the Homemakers Club, and the eventual replacement of the picnic with the pow wow. One of the Elder participants began the process of restoring the pow wow tradition at Nipissing First Nation over a decade ago, and it has since become a yearly tradition at the end of the summer for the community.

Racism

Racism was only directly addressed once in the workshops, when ElderMC spoke of his experience in a movie theatre as a child:

> I remember when I was, when I might have been maybe six or seven. This one time my mother took me into North Bay and took me to the Bay Theatre. To go and see this Western. I was into Westerns too. But anyways I went in there and it was about, Indians. John Wayne. Starring John Wayne, the Indian warrior you know. There was a part in there, all the Indians were surrounded, surrounded this wagon train and they're shooting areas and white people were just dropping off. And all of the sudden over the hill comes John Wayne (singing) you know the horn there? You hear that in the NHL arenas and all over in sports, in the sports stadiums, the cavalry theme. But anyway, here comes John Wayne over the hill with his cavalry and with his big sword, eh? He comes charging over and you know what? Everybody in that theatre got up and cheered. And they were just hootin and hollerin' and here's me just sitting there. And I'm wondering what I should do. Should I get up and cheer too? But John Wayne came in and killed all the Indians, you know? And that's the type of education that North America was getting in those days, and still are today.

ElderMC's story illustrates the attitudes of non-Indigenous Canadians towards Indigenous peoples during the time in which most of the Elders were growing up. Both ElderMC and ElderMA referred to the negative portrayal of Indigenous Canadians in the media during their childhood, and present day. Racism underlies many of the stories told by community participants about the fisheries, and interactions with government agents and settlers.

Fisheries/Fish Stories

Fishing played a large part in the lives of the Elders. The majority of the Elders told stories about Lake Nipissing that involved fishing on the lake. ElderFD and ElderFA's fathers were travel guides for fishers on the lake, ElderFE loved going fishing with goggles, and ElderFB remembers going out to catch catfish for dinner.
ElderMC remembered going with his father to spear fish during spawning. Spearing fish is a traditional method of catching fish used by the Nipissing people.

> My father took me down to the Beaucage Point, it used to be called. And it was, we had this gas lantern. They called it naptha gas back in the day. And he put a tinfoil on the back of that globe and he lit that. It was right in front of the old church, there used to be an old church there at Beaucage point, and we went there. And we weren't even at the lake yet and I could hear splashing, something in the water. So as we got closer to the shore, it was really, really quiet, quiet evening. And we got closer to the shore, my dad lit that lamp. And I asked him, what is that? You know, all that noise. And he says, those are pickerel he says, spawning. So when he lit that light and held that light up like that there and as far as you can see, you can see the ice, right up on the shore, like that much water, you can see the backs of those pickerel right up on the shore. And they were spawning. There was so much fish, we didn't even have to walk anywhere we just stayed right there and we took the fish we needed right there in that little area. We didn't even have to go anywhere. And after it was a potato sack that my father had and he filled that up. And we went home.

ElderMC reflected on how this has changed:

> Now today, I go there and it's silent there. There's not a sound there anymore. There's no fish there. And where did they go? I don't know. They're not there anymore. I don't need surveys from MNR or anything like that [to know the fish are gone].

ElderMA talked about his family, and the community, smoking the fish in teepees to preserve it:

> I remember my mother doing that. We had, it was a fair size teepee that was stood up there and remember these poles my dad would be sticking in the ground there and then putting poles across and then cutting the fish. But not cutting the tail off and just hanging them there like that. As the fish cooked, like they hung it in such a way I guess the scale side was hung like this first. Then when they turned it over to cook the flesh on it, the flesh that skin was easy to peel off. So they didn't really actually clean the fish all they did was peel the skin off it after they smoked it. And that's what I remember about that I rarely saw what I can remember back in the mid-fifties, early-sixties that's the way a lot of people done it. They helped each other, not every house that fished had a smoke hut but they would help, they would collect would for the person that was gonna smoke it. You know? And the person that would smoke it, okay you don't have to fish, I'll give you some, I'll share with you. You smoke it all, and I'll share with you. And it was done all over. It was shared with the whole community, it's not just because if you catch a 100 fish, pike, pickerel, perch, ling, sturgeon and whatever. I mean, you got an overabundance you can't eat it all, you got no refrigeration so of course you had to share with the community.

II. Anishinaabe Worldview

The Anishinaabe words "Mino Bimaadiziwin'" translates to "the good life", and embodies the Anishinaabe worldview, and is a philosophy of living, values, teachings, and knowledge:

> Oh yes, those teachings are very important. It reminds of us of how to live that good life. And to living kindness, live peaceful coexistence with others. ElderFC

In the initial, separate workshops with the Elders and Youth, each group was asked by the facilitator what it means to be Anishinaabe. With the Elders, this began a conversation about the translation of the word "Anishinaabe" and brought out stories of their childhoods, what they learned from their Elders. For some of the Elders, being Anishinaabe was not easily defined, as it is an integral part of their identity;

> For myself and I'm not going to speak for anybody else, for myself, it's, it's a very, that's a very difficult question because, and for the simple fact that I don't know what it is to be anything other than Anishinaabe. ElderME

While the facets of the Elder worldview that came out in the workshops are presented separately below, they are closely interconnected.

Creation Story

ElderMC sees the Anishinaabe Creation story as being integral to the Anishinaabe identity, and the Anishinaabe worldview:

> I think Anishinaabe, Anishinaabe, even that Nishnaabe is it talks about our Creation story. You know, that's where that word originates from. Anish, Anishna, Anishna. Where did this "aabe" come from, you know? Where's this "aabe" come from like Anishinaabe? The last part of this word, "aabe" is the male of the species. And then we talk about Waynaboozhoo, is our ancestor. Like our original man, they call it. Original "ne-ne" original Anishinaabe. And like that word there is, it defines who we are. Because it's our Creation story, and it's as old as long as we've been here, even though we were the last to be created.

He told the youth that to know who they are as Anishinaabe, they must first learn their Creation story:

> …the old people are all gone now, the ones that used to use those phrases, you know when I started to learn about about who I was, you know, I was asked that, you know, what is your origin? And I didn't have no idea what that was. But it has to do with our creation story. And once you know your creation story, you know who you are.

In the Anishinaabe Creation story, humankind is the last to be created:

> You know, we were the last to be created on this earth. Everything was here already. Because Gemnado, said to the animal kingdom….that's what he told, that's what our Creator said to the animal kingdom, the animal world. He said that there was going to be a two-legged that was going to come, and they're going to be really poor, and they're going to rely on you, to feed them, and to clothe them, so that they can survive on this earth. And since that time, they have always been doing that. And yet to this day, they still do that.

The Creation Story sets humankind below the animal world, and the Creator tasks the animals with taking care of humankind. This underpins the Anishinaabe understanding that humans rely on the natural world for survival:

> And same thing I hear, I hear, I heard some of you introduce your clans, and what's your clan song. You know, why do we have clan songs? And those, those clans, gave them themselves, just like they gave them their life. Those animals and birds and fish, are part of Anishinaabe because without them, we wouldn't be here. When I was growing up, our refrigerator was in the bush. And it was in the water, that was our fridge. Now today we go to the Sobeys and the No Frills and

> you know. But back in those days we didn't have that and even more so my, my grandmothers, my grandfathers, my great grandfather, my great grandmother they never had that. They had flour and and sugar and tea from Hudson Bay trading post but prior to that those animals and fish and that, they fed us, they gave us their government, which is the clan system. That's who we are. That's why we're sitting here today because of that.

Connection to the Land

The Elders spoke of their spiritual connection with the land as Anishinaabe, with land encompassing Lake Nipissing and the natural world:

> You do remind though, that I've been told, by Elders that I love and trust that first of all, that being Anishinaabe you have to have been on the land. You'd be lacking in much if you haven't lived on the land. ElderM

The majority of the Elders were raised on the land, with hunting and fishing being a source of sustenance for their families. Many of the Elders stories involved Lake Nipissing and their experiences hunting and fishing. Elder MC spoke of being raised in the bush, and coming out of the bush to go to school. For ElderFD, Lake Nipissing was an important part of survival for her family:

> I live down here in Nipissing but I was raised in place called Washgong, which means Mud Bay, across Lake Nipissing. So wherever my parents moved, there was always water around. It was part of our survival I guess, we have water for all our needs.

ElderFB spoke of the clan system as the original system of governance for the Anishinaabe people, which evolved out of their connection to the animal world. ElderME believes that the long history of Anishinaabe with the land provides the Anishinaabe people with a deeper connection than that held by settler Canadians:

> So, to tell you what it's like, I'm trying to think of the words, and then I just keep thinking well, this, this is Anishinaabe, this, doing these kind of things, that's what it means to me, it means knowing that I feel comfortable, here, one of the young ladies here said that being connected, feeling, feeling part of the land, you know that energy, I don't think your average Canadian can, can feel that. Because there's, they've only been here for a short time in the scope of things, that they don't have those, those, deep roots that we feel, here, as a community, and I don't, I don't how, how to be anything other than that.

Language

All of the Elders agreed on the importance of *Anishinaabemowin* [Ojibway language] to the community and the Anishinaabe culture. Language was mentioned thirty-five times in the Elder workshop, in connection with bringing back culture and ceremony to the community.

A majority of the Elders were raised with *Anishinaabemowin* as their first language. However, not all of the Elders have been able retain their *Anishinaabemowin* skills:

> I wish I could speak Ojibway fluently like a lot of other people but I lost that a long time ago too. I'm in the category where some of us don't speak it, and there's a lot of us who do speak it and I'm in the middle. So I speak a little bit and I understand quite a bit.
> ElderMB

ElderFD spoke only Ojibway until she was seven years old, and only began to learn English when she went to school in nearby Sturgeon Falls:

> I was seven when they moved me from Washgong to my great-grandparents in Sturgeon, where I started school, I didn't have any knowledge of speaking English, so I spent two years in grade one. By the time I got out of grade one I was already nine years old. (laughter). But I guess apparently I learned enough to put me up in the grades.

Those that who were not raised with the language express regret that this was taken from them, and stress the importance of bringing back *Anishinaabemowin* to the community:

> One of my biggest regrets is not having the language. We try so hard, you know, we try hard with little language classes every week. Our job here is to try to reclaim or rejuvenate some of the language culture, which I consider heritage.
> ElderFB

Ensuring that they are able to pass the language on to the youth in the community is of importance to the Elders, and ElderMC is fearful that this may not happen:

> Especially for those young people that were here last night. How are we going to pass this, that language on to them? Before we leave here in this world? To me that is, I fear that. That's a fear for me. And I'm as honest as anything right now in saying that. It is a fear for me.

Anishinaabe Spirit

Several of the Elders mentioned the importance of the Anishinaabe spirit, and the importance of the spirit to Anishinaabe history, as well as healing and resilience in the community:

> There are parts that have been taken away from me, I feel, that are missing, my language, a lot of my culture, but they could not take that spirit away from me, it's one thing that they couldn't take, and it remains, and I think that's what's driving a lot of this to resurface. ElderME

ElderMC credits help from the spirit in helping him overcome addictions when he was younger.

Community Values

Underlying the stories told by the Elders of their childhood and experiences in the community, were the Anishinaabe values that they learned from their Elders. These values are an important component of the community's worldview.

1. **Sharing**

The value of sharing came through strongly through the stories told by the Elders, with sharing including both the sharing of game and fish as well as the sharing of time and labour. Often the sharing of game/fish were together as in the story told by ElderMA about his father and friends bringing home six deer;

> Geez, my dad brought home a deer and the whole neighbourhood ate. You know? (yes from the group). A moose. You kill five partridges, you kept one for yourself and you gave the rest to the neighbours. Everybody partook, and when she says when something was to be built, or if, or even I remember one time my dad and his friends went across the lake, the last time I saw three canoes with two people in each canoe paddle across the lake well I didn't actually see them, but I saw them coming back. And their canoes were just above the water line. And in each canoe was two deer. And they were hanging up in and there was a tree in front of my house, with a big branch and there was six deer hanging there when I got up about 9 o'clock in the morning on a Saturday morning. And as I was, what woke me up, was the neighbours showing up. Oh. We're gonna have

> a big feast now. You know? And everybody chipped in, skinned the deer, or the men and start the..as soon one was skinned, they put it aside there. Put it on another table and some other men went and cut it up. And the women were standing around with their pots, and there was fire being made already.

When game and fish were shared, Elders were given the best pieces of meat and fish. Elders were often no longer able to hunt and fish, and being given the best pieces of game and fish was a sign of respect and acknowledgement of their role in the community. ElderMA noted that those in the community who were struggling with finding enough food were given meat, enough to feed their entire family.

ElderFC used the word volunteerism to describe how community members came together to ensure that all the work was done;

> ..we lived such a simple life, we lived in harmony with everything, with each other, we were there to help each other. I grew up and volunteerism was a big thing, volunteerism, the women would gather to help a woman finish her quilting one day, the men would gather to help barn raising one day, and the women would be cooking, neighbours went and helped each other till their garden, harvest their garden, cut the hay, bring in the hay, all kinds of things were done. Volunteerism.

ElderMC told a story about his grandmother, an *Anishinaaabe-kwe* [Anishinaabe woman], a healer in the community who had great knowledge of medicine and plants;

> You know, my grandma, she never called herself a medicine woman, she never called herself a shaman, she never called herself this and that, I'm grandmother this, I'm Elder this, I'm this and that. My grandmother she was simple, simple *Anishinaabe-kwe*, that's what she was. And she had the knowledge like the knowledge of the most advanced doctor in anywhere, in Canada. I seen my grandmother heal another woman that couldn't walk. I seen her do that. You know? And to me, like that's, like I never see that here, I never see it in today. I don't see that. I saw my grandmother do that. She went in the bush, and she went and got some medicines and she worked with that woman, I don't know how long that woman lived with us, I don't know how she lived with us, but at the end she walked home. She walked home. I seen that. You know? And that there is knowledge, like that's she was she didn't ask for pay, she never did that. It was all through her knowledge that she helped people like that. People looked for her, you know, came to see her. You know today I see people, you know, I'm this and I'm that. I'm this and I'm that. Like that's, I don't know how, to me that's all a lot of the dysfunction that we have in our communities. Like me, everything that was given to me, I give away. I give it away. That's how I continue to strive for that recovery, for that wellness. By giving away what was given to me. That's the

> secret. That's the secret for wellness. If you don't give it away then you don't really have anything. *Miigwetch* [thank you].

ElderMC's grandmother shared her knowledge for healing for the good of the community, with no expectation of payment in return. Through her example, ElderMC learned to value sharing knowledge and skills with the community.

2. Responsibility and Respect

Tied together with the concept of sharing was responsibility and respect. Community members were responsible to each other and an individual did not complete their tasks, it affected others in their family and community;

> Culture and language are so very important, ceremony, to know who we are, what our responsibilities are. It gives us purpose. If you don't know who you are, if you don't know what your responsibilities are, it must be a very boring life, and probably getting into mischief and being bored….I remember that everyone had a purpose, everyone had chores to do, if the chores didn't get done it affects the next person, if we didn't get the water from the spring we couldn't make our tea and cook our porridge in the morning. If the kindling wasn't gathered, you couldn't make a fire. People used to get ready…and they would make sure all of their chickens were in, the horses were in the, the cattle were in and they'd make sure all the fire was in, all the water was in that you needed and everything was taken care of. The shutters were closed, stuff like that, eh, everybody was always doing something. ElderFC

The Elders learned about respect through the teachings of their Elders, and the way in which they lived their lives as children. Respect for the land and water are important, as there were consequences for showing disrespect for them. Respecting the land included ensuring that nothing was wasted, such as using all parts of a fish.

> And we never, I remember even eating the, cleaning out the guts of the fish, my mother cooking up the guts even. We never threw those out. And pickerel was not our main fish, our main fish was to eat ling. That was our, that was the, that was our favourite fish that we could eat. And we ate the eggs, liver, everything on that fish. You never, we never threw anything out. Even the sucker heads my mother would boil sucker head soup. We ate that. So there wasn't any waste, we never wasted any fish. ElderMC

3. Community

The Anishinaabe concept of community is an overarching value that is intertwined through the Anishinaabe worldview, and included members of the Nipissing community, as well as the land. Community members were responsible to each other, and to the land.

III. Historical Knowledge Transfer

1. Learning Community Worldview: Intergenerational Knowledge Transfer

Storytelling and experiential learning were the two significant ways that the Elders recalled learning knowledge from their Elders. For the Elders, knowledge transfer encompassed not only day-to-day tasks. Through interactions with Elders and other community members and observing the actions of their Elders, the Elders learned the values of their community, what it meant to be Anishinaabe, and *Anishinaabemowin.* As children, they were raised by family members from different generations, parents, grandparents, aunties and uncles. The Elders mentioned their grandparents often during the workshops: knowledge they held, experiences with them, and stories that were handed down from them. For the Elders, grandparents were important sources of knowledge, comfort and stability.

ElderFA recalled spending time with, and learning from her grandmother;

> For our grandparents, we were, and they were the ones we always communicated with. My mother was out hoeing the potatoes and the garden, or carrying water, and my father was away guiding. So it was the grandmother, that's who taught you. And the grandmother lived with you. There was that family unit, your mother had to do this but the grandmother was there in her rocking chair. Showing you, and they showed you how to do things.

Stories played an integral part of learning and were repeated often;

> But the way, even my grandmother, she was the same way. Repeat, repeat, repeat. You know? At times I got, I guess you could say bored with the stories because it was the same but that was the oral tradition. Of passing it on. ElderMA

In order to learn from the stories, you had to listen. Through listening, you were able to learn your stories and values. ElderFA stressed that through listening, values are learned:

> Yep. Listen. There's great value in that. And through that, we learnt our values and I think that's an important thing. A lot of things that we talked about the community, the way it was, being helpful, somebody was fixing his roof everybody went over there and helped him. That's the way it was. And you learn how to live, and all those things, like the values, there's a big list of them, of which respect is at the top.

ElderFA spoke about story hour on summer evenings with her grandparents;

> The last question you had asked was about we learnt, or something, from our Elders. And I was just thinking about I remember when I was a child, and we'd be home from the summer from residential school. And my grandfather as soon as it was dusk, we'd run in the house, and he'd sit in his chair and we'd sit on the floor and we'd wait for a story. And sometimes it was the same one as last week, but we enjoyed it anyway and he talked about it in our language. And even one time, ElderMC's grandmother came to visit…our grandfather. And she sat in the chair, she told us a story. But it was just like watching your favourite program at seven o'clock on TV. But it was always like the stories in the evening, and we just knew when to go. And some of the people, and the grandfather, he'd get his pipe. And even the old ladies, the grandmothers, they had a pipe. Those little crooked pipes there. And they'd rock there and tell the story, and then we'd all run home after. And I remember them and they were, there was endless pots of tea. Always on the stove, and they were woodstoves, at the end where it just keeps warm. And they'd sit and talk and we were taught you can be in the room when Elders are talking, but you have to be silent, you tiptoe.

Through the structured story hour, ElderFA learned her language, values, and expectations of her as a youth in the community.

Learning was also non-punitive for the Elders. Misbehaving children were not scolded but there were consequences nonetheless. ElderFC told about what happened to her brothers when they misbehaved:

> Even though my brothers got into mischief when they were bored when I was little. And if you didn't do chores there were consequences. Sometimes my three brothers were lazy to do their chores on the farm, and my mother used to take their trousers away from them, and she'd make them wear skirts. And that would keep them on the property, and I guessed they'd be tilling around and they got their chores done [laughing]. And my mother was very sly so they couldn't steal their trousers she'd wrap them around her waist [laughing]. So there were consequences for not getting things done.

2. Historical Barriers to Knowledge Transfer

Not all Elders were able to learn Anishinaabe culture in their youth. ElderFB's mother did not have Indian status, and she grew up outside of the community. She spoke about growing up without the Anishinaabe culture, and searching for it;

> My mom, she used to laugh at me because there was no culture, I didn't grow up in any culture. But I always knew it was there, and I was always looking for it. I used to go on the bus and go to the Friendship Centre. I used to sneak uptown and well you know, [laughing] and I'd go to the Friendship Centre (ElderFC: It's okay now!) because I was looking for that. And then I got in trouble one time, we were camping and I didn't even see a powwow before. They went over to the manager of the camp, I had to stop dancing around the fire. She teases me about that but I was looking for that, all the time. Around the fire. They used to tease me about that, always chasing those Indians. But I was always looking for, I wasn't looking for that, I was looking for who we were, who we are.

ElderFF remembers being treated for illness with traditional medicines by her mother when she was sick as a child. But her mother did not share her knowledge of medicines with her children, so this knowledge has been lost:

> And I've thought a lot about my, like how it was at home too, when we were growing up. Where my mom especially, I think about, when they talk about medicines, when we were sick, like if you had, if there was something wrong with you, she'd say well, I'm going to the bush. Well, I got better right away because I didn't want to drink this [laughing]. But she never taught us how to make this medicine, to write it down.

ElderMA credits colonial policies with creating a culture of secrecy in the community that was meant to protect community knowledge with loss of knowledge and intergenerational knowledge transfer:

> Because I find, a lot of people are secretive with their knowledge. I think it has to do with the residential school system where we were denied to speak our language, know our culture, and stuff like this so now, to get anybody to talk about it, the old days as you call them, you almost have to drag it out of them because we had to keep that a secret that we knew how to talk our language, that we knew our culture. And our parents passed that on to us, to keep it a secret, and today we're having the problem teaching. What should have been common knowledge. But that's the difficulty that's the row we gotta hoe now.

> To get back there. I don't think it's all that difficult, it's just a matter of who wants to grab a hold of it and learn.

Section 3: Contemporary Knowledge Transfer

While the previous two sections have addressed historical context and knowledge transfer in the Elder generation, this section presents the findings of the workshop sessions related to youth participants and their experiences in the community, and the contemporary context of knowledge in the community. This section is divided into three subsections 1) Youth at Nipissing First Nation 2) Contemporary Community Knowledge 3) Contemporary Community Worldview.

I. Youth at Nipissing First Nation

a) Youth Context

During the youth session, the workshop facilitator spoke to the youth about the context of their lives, speaking of the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, the trauma of many previous generations of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the responsibility that they bear to the knowledge and the history:

> It's really important I think especially for young people today, especially in the day and age we are now, in the era of what they're calling reconciliation, the apology from the PM and the findings of the TRC, 7000 residential school survivors over the last 7 years have told their horror stories to the Commission to gather those stories of survival and perseverance. Also the stories of tragedy and deaths, and addictions, all these things, they came together to gift that, to put it in a bundle and give it back to this country. To not just show Canadians what happened but to show us what happened. As young people now we have to work through that, and it's not fair but this is going to be your life's work. This is your burden being Anishinaabe. You're going to have to take all of this knowledge, knowing what happened to your grandparents, your great grandparents, maybe your parents. And walk with that but use it in a good way. You know. Use it in a way that my generation, ElderME talked about carrying that history with him, his generation, the generation before that. You guys carry a different burden you carry a different responsibility, you carry that vision, the responsibility of vision, you know you have to tell your leadership here what you see for this community going forward. What you see for yourself and what you see for each other.

> Because we've never been in time like this before and that's what makes in really challenging is that we've never been in a place where there's a generation, that's almost, and I say almost because you're not free and clear. Colonialism, colonization, the laws being passed right now in Ottawa still affect every one of you. If you're still carrying an Indian status card, you're still being governed to. Yeah? The government is still telling you who you are, so you're not free and clear. But there's never been a time since contact when there has been this much possibility and it's so exciting. And I think our Elders dreamed of this moment coming, I think our Elders prayed for this moment to come and now we're here and you get to decide what happens. That's pretty cool.

b) Youth Participants

The youth participants were invited to attend two evenings and one afternoon of workshop sessions, with the initial evening session promoted as an opportunity for youth only.

On the first evening 14 youth participated, including nine females and five males. There was an age difference in the youth participating, with 10 of the youth identifying that they were currently attending high school. One of the female youth identified that she had graduated college and was currently working. Three of the male youth attending identified as being married with at least one child, and currently in the work force or completing university. Throughout the remainder of the workshops, only one high school-aged male attended an additional workshop, while the high school-aged females continued to attend some or all of the workshops. An additional high school-aged female, and one male currently enrolled in college, attended one additional workshop each. Overall, 16 youth attended one or all of the workshops, with 10 females and six males.

The youth workshop was intended to be an opportunity for youth in the community to talk about their experiences with the fisheries, and community knowledge. One community Elder attended the workshop to offer prayer and spiritual guidance for the workshop, and two other Elders attended the workshop for a short time period. The Community Liaison Coordinator, myself, and the Fish-WIKS PhD student working with Nipissing First Nation, were also in attendance.

c) Being an Anishinaabe Youth at Nipissing First Nation

After the youth had introduced themselves, they were asked the same question that the Elders had been asked first, “What does it mean to be Anishinaabe”, with the follow-up question asking them what it meant to them to be from Nipissing First Nation.

Like the Elders, YouthFB sees being Anishinaabe as core to her identity;

> Being Anishinaabe, that’s who I am and that’s who I’m going to be. I’m going to keep going, and keep trying to learn my culture and do more things, dance more and hopefully learn more language.

Many of the youth associated being Anishinaabe with a close, spiritual connection to the land, that is unique from a settler connection to land. Youth also expressed pride in their community, and with being Anishinaabe and see Nipissing First Nation as safe and comfortable home, where there are teachers and family to guide them through their lives:

> Yeah, there’s guidance in every single direction here. Like, growing up with everybody, here, like, everybody, like everybody is helping everybody. Yeah, our people aren’t as closed off I guess, like I’ve heard from where other people, other peoples’ reserves how like they’re all like majority of them are like into drugs, and how you’re the weird one for being clean and stuff like that. Yeah, like, I’m like really proud of our people here so, yep. Lots of good teachers and everybody here. Yeah. YouthFB

The facilitator, who has worked with youth in many First Nations across Canada, observed that First Nations youth from other communities do not feel happy to be from their communities:

> Good that’s important because sometimes you travel to places, I work with youth that say the complete opposite, right? And wish they weren’t from the place they were from, wish they were from somewhere else. So it’s really refreshing to hear you say that. That’s nice to hear.

Youth also identified resiliency with being Anishinaabe, with the Anishinaabe people having endured much in their history.

II. Contemporary Community Knowledge

a) Learning Community Knowledge

Youth expressed both gratitude and pride in their community Elders for keeping the Anishinaabe culture and language alive for them, and future generations, and recognized the adversity that many generations of Elders had lived through.

Both YouthMA and YouthMH feel a responsibility and duty to the Elders to learn community knowledge and language from them:

> Where for Anishinaabe people, we're trying to hold on to that, luckily for us, our Elders held onto it for us. Like, for us as youth to get the knowledge from them, to not let their struggle and their perseverance go to waste because a lot of things they could have easily forgot but they chose not to and that's pretty lucky for us that they chose to hold onto it for us. YouthMA

Youth also expressed gratitude to the Elders for coming to the workshops to share with them, and had a genuine interest in learning from them:

> I just want to say thank you to everybody. It means a lot to me that you guys are sharing these stories with us. I know we've come a long way as a community so far but I also know we have a long way to go. But I just want you guys to know that I'm gonna do whatever I need to do to get us to where we need to be. I'm gonna try hard, I've been going to the language classes and coming to these meetings. YouthFC

During the workshop sessions, ways in which community knowledge and *Anishinaabemowin* are being shared and learned in the community were identified by youth and Elders. These include weekly language classes, a language camp, the annual pow wow, drumming circles and craft classes.

Elder participants spend time with children at the on-reserve daycare and students at Nbissing High School. Elders share the language, conduct ceremonies and tell traditional stories to the children and students. Community knowledge is also being integrated into the curriculum, and community newsletter.

The Elders see community events such as the drum circles as a way to bring many generations together to learn:

> ElderMD: I think the drum social the other night was a statement because there were lots of children that were just….maybe a brother was drumming young, like an eight-year-old but mom and possibly the dad, and the little infant were coming up. Now in 10 years if that phenomenon of people, that things being available, role models, becoming part of events in the evening, parents looking for something to do in the evening to bring them out. And then the little ones start running around, and it's just, there's a sense that something right is going on.
>
> ElderFC: They have that natural beat for the drum too.
>
> ElderMD: It's the fact that the parents are out with them, they didn't send them. They're coming out and staying, and the children see their parents interested, but look what's happening – the parents are getting interested. The ones that were ours, and the grandmothers will eventually come out cause the little one is out there. So I think, I think recently there's something happening where we will get more of those who are reluctant but they will come out and watch. They might not participate but for the children's sake they sense there's something beautiful happening, I'm gonna take my child and I'm gonna stay.

At a language camp that was held a few years ago, 40 children and other members of the community spent time learning the language, with learning in the sweat and teaching lodges. Ceremonies are also a mechanism for knowledge to be shared with youth. In May 2015, I participated in the Water Ceremony, which opens Lake Nipissing for the fishing season. Youth from Nbissing High School attended the ceremony and some participated in the drumming circle.

b) Contemporary Barriers to Learning Community Knowledge

I. Community Disconnection

At the beginning of the youth workshop, the youth went round the circle and introduced themselves. In their introductions, the youth who were currently attending high school named the school that they were attending. Out of the group of ten students, four different high schools were mentioned, on reserve, in North Bay, and in Sturgeon Falls. Many also mentioned that the community on the reserve that they lived in, with three different on-reserve communities identified.

The disconnection of the communities on the reserve was referred to at several points during the workshops by the youth, with the older youth discussing that they had not

known each other when they were growing up and only realized later that they had seen each other at community picnics and were related:

> Well, I grew up seeing this guy walk around there, seeing them and like, say we used to have picnics or whatever and I seen him when I was younger, then never seen that kid again. Then I see this big hairy man walking around and then I was like, I didn't know who he was. And then it only dawned on me when I went to his house to go buy some beads and I see this picture there, it was like, YouthMH that was you? I remember seeing that little guy running around. But what I'm gettin' at is that we're from the same reserve but we never knew who we were. We're actually cousins. YouthMI

The youth also identified perceived discrepancies between the different on-reserve communities, with some communities having more amenities such as paved roads, newer water pumps, access to public transit, and a location closer to North Bay:

> It's like we were city people because they lived right next to North Bay, so they were a bit more accultured into the city life there. 'Cuz they're like we got on a city bus, we went there we tried a city bus we didn't know what was going on. We're just like, we've got to get off. Us we got on school bus and go to town, that's it. We're here we didn't have that luxury of just going into town, we had to walk an hour and a half or whatever to get to town it was like the difference of that is like that separated us, that too because like we didn't have the same growing up, although we're the same Nipissing but Garden Village and Duchesnay, people still think it's two different reserves. Like even at Nipissing or North Bay, you say I'm from Garden Village it's part of Nipissing and it's like oh, like I thought the reserve was just right there in Duchesnay. Well, it is but it's the whole thing. It's, that's a struggle for us to make us feel as one. YouthMA

Elder participants also recognized the separate communities on the reserve as an obstacle to the community.

II. Addiction

Both Elder and youth participants see addiction as a problem in the community. Addiction was discussed on seventeen separate occasions over the course of the workshops. A few participants, both youth and Elders, spoke of their own experience with addiction and recovery. Youth spoke about addiction being a barrier to being Anishinaabe, and wanting to learn Anishinaabe teachings now that they are sober. ElderMB acknowledged the long history connecting colonization and addictions with the Anishinaabe people:

> But I believe that, I was doing some research on our community and one of the things I was read was in the North Bay library where these people came from Ottawa, these explorers or these Jesuits, and there was across, came across the southern part of the lake here, and there was group of Native people, or a group of Anishinaabe people who intercepted them. Because they always wanted to know who was travelling through our territory. And the first thing they asked for was if they had any rum. And this was in the journal from 1670s. So our people have been afflicted with alcohol for a long time.

ElderMC sees addictions as interfering with being Anishinaabe:

> And I think that I don't, I don't only think, I know that that is, something that prevents us from being Anishinaabe. It's the use and abuse of mind altering substances, it's something that's, it's real. It prevents us from being, it prevents us from being, when you look at the seven grandfather teachings for example. There is a positive side of the grandfather teachings and also there's a negative side of the grandfather teachings. And when we abuse addictions when we are abusing substances we walk on the opposite side of those seven grandfather teachings. That's just the way it is. And it prevents any human being from knowing who they are. Doesn't matter whether you're an Aboriginal person, an English person, a French person, if you're a human being and you abuse substances, it prevents you from being who you are.

III. Technology

Youth and Elders also see technology as a barrier to learning and sharing knowledge as it has caused a disconnect between generations, starting with TV ending the culture of storytelling and more recently the Internet, Facebook, video games and cellphones taking the time of both adults and youth.

> And everybody's caught up, today's babysitters are the internet or the video games. Like the parents you don't see them walking around anymore, you barely, you don't see couples walking holding hands anymore. They're losing values like that, things that we treasured when we were growing up, we don't see that today. ElderMF

An older technology, refrigeration, is credited by many of the Elders as changing the values of the community. Refrigeration was a pivotal moment for the community, causing shifts in the community's values as well as community interaction with settler society that are still being felt today.

> Refrigeration was a game changer. It was a big game changer. Now we were able to hoard, as ElderMC mentioned, we were able to hoard the fish. ElderMA

The majority of the Elders grew up without refrigerators or freezers. Fish and game were eaten fresh, and shared with others in the community, traded for other goods, or dried and salted to preserve them. Root cellars were used by community members to store fruit and vegetables that they grew.

However, once refrigeration was introduced, community members were able to store far more for longer than they would have been able to do before. Prior to refrigeration, any excess fish or game was shared with other community members, and this sharing was considered an integral part of being a member of the community.

ElderMC remembers the bush being his family's refrigerator, and they didn't rely on supermarkets to provide for them:

> And when we start, when we start to get, to buy freezers, that's when things start to change, I found. That we started to hoard things, we became hoarders. And whomever had their freezer full, they seemed to have more, well they had more food.

Refrigeration created a differentiation between those who had more food than others, a differentiation that did not exist before between community members who shared equally amongst themselves. When the Elders were growing up, fish was sometimes traded for what they needed or food that they were unable to get on their own from the land:

ElderMC: To us it was like, it was, we never heard of selling fish either until later on. I remember we used to trade with this guy used to come around and he used to bring a big box of bananas, we used to trade with this guy with the fish.

ElderMA: I remember that fella.

ElderMC: A big box of bananas.

ElderMA: He brought apples and oranges and he'd ask you want you want to trade for. He brought brown paper bags and put that in there, okay five fish and okay, you get three bananas two apples, four oranges for five fish. And it wasn't pickerel like you say it was just whatever was available and you traded for that and the guy took it.

After refrigeration became common, however, community members were able to keep the fish or game for themselves to eat later, or sell on the market.

> I think what ElderMA is saying too, a long time ago there was no refrigeration. You know, those root cellars, eh? Where you keep just limited amounts so in this day and age, the ability to keep the fish longer, and the moose, the deer in refrigeration in order to sell, makes a big huge difference. ElderFE

Refrigeration created a market for community members to sell fish that otherwise would have been shared. Refrigeration allowed community members to store excess amounts of fish and game, which could then be sold in the neighbouring settler communities. The concept of selling fish instead of trading was a debated subject during the workshops. Many of the Elders see the selling of fish as buying into the Western/settler values of capitalism and the market. The market was created by settlers, who in turn blame First Nations fishers for selling on the market:

> And my concern you know we talk about this how do we manage, how do we look to our own people but you know what? There's a market. What about the markets that are out there? How are they being monitored? Are they, they're saying that people sell to restaurants in the south, in Southern Ontario. How are they being monitored? Are they doing it under the table? The market is there so if you can eliminate the market there wouldn't be an overselling of fish, or selling of moose or deer or any of our resources. So my concern is how do we look at that and what monitoring systems are there in place even by the Ministry of Health or restaurant associations if that is the case? ElderFE

Both YouthMA and YouthMH were raised in families who fish. YouthMA, whose father is a commercial fisher, believes that a balance can be maintained by selling the amount of fish that is needed to maintain a household, as well as providing fish to Elders in the community who otherwise wouldn't be able to access fresh fish. YouthMA's father sold fish in order for his family to eat, as the ability to trade fish for goods does not exist anymore:

> ..when we talk about people about fishing, he takes what he needs to survive and when we're talking about how they used to trade in Sturgeon for groceries and things like that, I think now that the grocery stores became franchises, they can't do that anymore so they had to trade for money to go to the grocery store and get the groceries but a long time ago the grocery stores were like independently owned so the guy had his own farm, he killed his cows, okay I'll give you 20 fish if you give me fifteen pounds of meat or whatever so I think just in terms of that, that's the way my dad looks at it. I'm just trading for something different, but he stills does trade like that.

For YouthMH selling fishing contributed to his family's income, which enabled his family to eat. His father taught him to only take as much as they needed.

IV. Family Structure

Several of the Elders noted the change in family structures from many generations living together to the Western model of nuclear families living separately from each other:

> And it was good, I mean, and then our families we weren't like today, nuclear families, all individual families, we grew up with grandparents and aunts and uncles. So we always had that security. Somewhere along the line someone told us that that's your kids will be at home too long or it's wrong. And you should have your grandparents in a nursing home, and we bought into that somehow. ElderFB

ElderFA believes that the change in family structures has been brought about by value changes in the community brought about by settler structures:

> And we have dysfunctional families, they're well taken care of, like everything, but we're pushed into this rat race where you have to make money, you gotta pay your hydro. And the family is disintegrated.

This disconnection between generations in families has led to the disruption of intergenerational knowledge transfer. While children have lost that connection between generations, they are also taken out of their families at an early age to go to school, instead of learning from their Elders.

V. Generational Perspectives

In listening to the Elders and youth speaking about learning and sharing knowledge, generational differences were evident. Youth spoke about feeling intimidated to approach Elders, that they wanted to learn from them but were not sure how to begin. YouthMF spoke of feeling disconnected from the Elders, and unsure of what to do:

> What stops me from seeking teachings is, I guess that disconnection from the Elders. And also I'm a pretty nervous guy, I remember the first time I went to go talk to ElderMC and another Elder. I went up, introduced myself, and they nodded their head. And I was like, what do I say next? So I just turned around and walked away.

The Elders talked about expectations of learning teachings, and community protocol on the sequence of learning traditional teachings:

1. To learn teachings, first you have to ask.
2. After you've asked, there are expectations of what is needed to earn teachings:

> This one young man here one time, he approached me, and he says "Oh, ElderMC" he says "My name is so and so, I'd like to learn what you do. I'd like to learn that." Oh, I says, okay I'll accept your tobacco. He's already there you know. Well, the first thing we need to do, I says, at the sweat lodge, I says, I need lots of wood over there. There's about two cords laying around over there, by there over at Lauren Creek. All that wood is laying there between the highway and the railroad tracks, all that wood has to be brought in there. You start off with that.
> "What?" [laughing] "What does that have to with teachings and learnings and ceremonies and that?? Well, I says, "the wood, that's the most important thing in ceremony, is the wood. Cuz we need to build a fire, and without a fire we don't have no ceremony. So you have to start working with that wood." Every stick I say, you gotta. "Oh, okay, can I start tomorrow?" [laughing] Never seen him again! Never seen him again.
> ElderMC

3. After you've earned the teachings, you have to put in the time to learn the teachings:

> Well, ElderMC gave one good example of this young fella coming to ask him for a teaching and ElderMC telling him well you have to do this first. Right? Now that's not a five-minute teaching because there's a process. There's a way it has to be done. You can just walk in and say "I wanna know this." Because there's so much more to tell before you know that.
> ElderMA

4. Even if you have put in the time, a specific teaching may not be meant for you:

> There is saying that you are only told what you're meant to hear. You know, like, cousin, a first cousin of mine passed away not too long ago there. And I told him about a George Custer story that my grandmother had lived through. And how the runner came through this area looking for all the men and warriors that would go to fight Custer at Little Bighorn. And his response was I lived with her for 10 - 11 years, fetching water, cutting wood and whatever else needed to be done back in the sixties. Fifties and sixties. He said "she never told me anything like that." And I told him, I don't know how it came to me too. And I just responded with "Well, maybe you weren't to hear that." You know?
> ElderMA

While these expectations are laid out in sequence in these findings, they are pieced together from the workshop sessions and were not communicated in one instance in one workshop session. For the youth, these expectations are not clear and have not been previously communicated. YouthMA suggested that informal opportunities for youth to talk to Elders, hear stories, and a space for youth to learn the expectations behind the teachings. YouthMH expressed his concern that some Elders in the community do not think that they have knowledge. There is a lack of pride in their knowledge, and they don't want to share it with the youth because they do not feel that they know enough.

VI. Education

Education is seen as a barrier to contemporary knowledge transfer by both the Elders and the youth, with children taken away from their families at a young age to be educated in the Western system. ElderMD sees the education system as promoting Western values over Indigenous values, designed to bring students into the middle class:

> The system, the education system, that we all put our families in, we've had this conversation, is designed to provide an opportunity to join the middle class. That's the system in Ontario that, all the expectations and the teachings style and the topics is to see whose gonna earn their way into the middle class. White middle class..conform to that. You're usually given the other option of poverty. So our children are in a system that creates individualism, not communal ideas, and the things that ElderMA talks about are a natural consequence of generation after generation moving to this, this system that only allows a few people in the middle class. Everyone can't join the middle class. And our children are the first ones to not make it. And there's something in their spirit that says you know what, I don't even think I want to make it. Those aren't the things that I've been taught to value. And then the leaders say you know we gotta get more Indians in the middle class. And I go but they don't even want to be there.

YouthMF identified education as a barrier to learning from the Elders, and conditioning youth to think in a certain way:

> This, like, the school system, growing up as a kid, instead of learning ABCs, learning from the Elders in the bush about stuff that would be important to me today. They give us so much homework that it takes up every single minute of our time doesn't give us a real chance to ask and go learn.

Similar to the ideas voiced by ElderMD, YouthMF sees the education system as conditioning to act and think like mainstream Canadian society. ElderFB relayed conversations she has had with youth in the community, with the pressure to get a Western education so they are able to maintain a settler lifestyle:

> When I was interviewing the young people and I was telling them some of things that I learned, all of them almost said I wish we had that again. And then I showed them pictures of the old picnics, and the old water games, and they all say I wish we had that. And one even said, gee I would trade in my education, to have, to hear all the stories the Elders have. I would trade it all right now if I knew what I know now. But I have to do this or I don't get a job to make money to buy all that stuff.

Western education is perceived as having historically disregarded Anishinaabe teachings and knowledge, as the Anishinaabe were considered "uneducated" and "savages". ElderMC and ElderMA expressed exasperation that knowledge that has been known by the Anishinaabe for centuries is just now being discovered by Western scientists and claimed as their own.

Education was also seen by the Elders as an opportunity for knowledge transfer in the community. Currently, Elders participate in teachings and ceremonies at both the on-reserve high school and the daycare. The potential to develop curriculum that teaches community youth about treaties, and Anishinaabe culture is seen as important to ElderMB:

> This camp I go to every year, to Quebec, one of the things that I heard up there. This remark is what keeps me going. Is in all the years I've been working with Native youth, one youth said "Every school day should be like this." And they were out in the bush learning about hide tanning, and catching fish, hunting, making moose calls, trapping and preparing fish, smoking fish. So they had all that in this camp. And when I hear a remark like that, it just says well, yeah, we have to go in that direction to bring back our culture to the youth.

While the Western education system was seen by many of the participants as an obstacle to being Anishinaabe and learning Anishinaabe culture, education was also seen by several Elders as a tool to be used by the youth to help their community and influence governments:

> An educated native is the most dangerous person in the world. And there's a lot of truth in that saying. The better educated we get, the more we know about what was done to us. And how we fight back using their rules against them. And that really hurts them. You know, when you make laws and they're used against you, when you're the one in power and those people that you're trying to suppress using the laws that you made against you. It hurts. And it terrorizes them, it scares them. So that's why there's a lot of truth in that saying – an educated native is the most dangerous person in the world. ElderMA

ElderMB encouraged the youth to get an education through the Western education system but to ensure that they learn and retain their Anishinaabe teachings as well.

III. Contemporary Community Worldview

a) Community Value Changes

At different points in the workshop, changes in Anishinaabe values were addressed by the Elders. The Elders see the community as buying into Western/settler values including the Western concepts of family, resources and community and an economic system that includes consumerism, capitalism and the market economy.

Several of the Elders talked about their childhood as seen through a Western worldview. While they saw themselves living a “good life”, through a settler lens they were living in poverty:

> Because a community member used to say life was so simple, we didn’t have an electricity bill, we didn’t have a telephone bill, we didn’t have an insurance bill, we lived in our little cabins and that was our home until somebody came along and thought that was inadequate housing. Now it’s all about money, money, money, money if you don’t have money you’re poor. We didn’t know we were poor when we were young, we were just living the good life just like everybody else. It took work, but that was just the way life was. ElderFC

ElderMC saw his childhood as having everything that he needed to live the good life:

> You know, that story about the old grandmothers there when the tourists got off that train there and they’re looking for moccasins. That’s why they chased those *Zagaanaash* away, because they didn’t understand that when they said that...they didn’t know what that was, because we were not poor. Maybe it looked like we were poor but everything that was there, we had everything we needed. Everything. We had lights, coal oil lamps, you know, for our lights. We survived, we’re still here [laughing].

ElderMA feels that the value of community that existed when he was growing up has been replaced by the Western concept of community:

> I think we lost the definition of community. We’ve accepted the non-Native definition of community. As opposed to who we were. Way back when. Because like she says when I was young I didn’t know I was poor. Geez, my dad brought home a deer and the whole neighbourhood ate. You know? (yeah from group). A moose. You kill five partridges, you kept one for yourself and you gave the rest to the neighbours…We lost our meaning of community. And accepted the non-Native meaning of community. Which is, I got a hundred bucks more than you. (yeah from others). That’s how they see community, you know?

ElderFB addressed the differences in Anishinaabe and Western values using the Anishinaabe understanding of Creation and the Western understanding of resources. With the Western concept of resources, the Anishinaabe values of trading, sharing and community have changed:

> …when the treaty came, it turned the word creation into resources. And resources are to be exploited. To me creation should be respected, but when you start saying oh it's resources, no now we can exploit them. And we got mixed up, I heard an old man tell me, we bought into the capitalist system, ever with our fishing and hunting. We've become capitalists. So we don't see that, we only see money. I mean, in our history, we did trade fish but it's just the amount, large amounts that are, and then the people here aren't getting any, the old, my aunt says, we hardly ever, some people say they never taste fish for months and months until they have to buy some. And how come they don't get any?

b) Rights and Responsibilities

Similar to the discussions about trading and selling fish, the two terms of rights and responsibilities were debated throughout the workshop. The facilitator framed the terms to the youth and Elders on the last day of the workshop:

> Because I hear this word rights all the time. And respectfully I just have to say, I just hate that word. Because when we use rights, what we're talking about is Section 35 of the constitution, right? Our rights have been upheld, given to us by the Her Majesty the Queen. She gives us rights. The word I'd rather hear is responsibilities. Rights versus responsibilities. Because when we say we have a right to that lake, no you don't. Nobody does. As Anishinaabe we have responsibilities to that lake, you don't have a right to the fish there, you don't have a right to the medicines. That's putting yourself above those medicines, or those animals or those moose. Those seven or eight moose. It's my right to shoot 8 moose. No, you're Anishinaabe and that's what you say? I want to take this conversation, which is a good one, back into talking to rights and responsibilities, cuz it answers the harvesting questions, and another question that we had was about traditional harvesting, what does that mean? So what do you guys think of that? Rights versus responsibilities, you know, we hear the word rights all the time thrown around be people but it's one if I had a magic wand I'd do away with that word altogether. Rights versus responsibilities as it pertains to the land and to fishing.

Following this, the Elders had a discussion around the terms, and the lack of the word "rights" in the Anishinaabe language:

> ElderMB: I think it reinforces my belief that we had a clan system looking after, after the fish. There's a fish clan looking after the fish. And a deer, and a moose clan, that's looking after the moose. Those clans were there for a reason. But we've been introduced to this other sort, this other government, we've lost, we've lost those clan systems. And I think all our answers are in those clan systems, if we can agree, if we can determine and reclaim, reintroduce our clan system, if in a good way. Make sure that we know all the responsibilities, all the

> responsibilities are there. That word “right” I was trying to think I can’t think, an Indian word for right. My right hand maybe. (laughing). That word responsibility..I don’t know if that’s a good word for it..you have a responsibility for yourself and you have a responsibility for the land. I think that’s one of the reasons why we’re put on this planet is to look after it.

ElderMC connected a recent story of a community hunter to the loss of the *Anishinaabemowin*, and the use of the English language:

> Last week, I was talking to a hunter. And he says to me, he says, Oh I caught five moose now, I killed five moose. I said Holy, what are you gonna do with five moose. Oh he says I, that’s what I do he says. Oh, okay. You know, my grandfather, and our ancestors, our grandparents, our grand-mamas, they would be, I don’t think they would understand us. How we are today. I don’t think they would. And when we say well, that’s my right to go out and kill fish. I can do that. I have the means to be able to do that. I can get a couple of boats, big motors, lots of nets. I can do that. I can hire a couple of guys here and let’s go and get those fish. I can do that if I want. I got the means to do it. But I wouldn’t. I don’t have to. I don’t have to do that. But when we talk about rights, you know, everything, everything we talk about, it’s all in the English language. You know? When we use the English language everything, everything changes. Our whole way of life changes. When I used to hear the old people talking a long time ago, and they used to talk, and I heard that over the last couple of nights here. That the old people a long time ago they used to talk, just straight Anishinaabe. You’d never hear that word “rights”, “that’s my right”. You never heard that. They talked about how good life was. How good life is.

The Elders also connected the use of the rights to the introduction of refrigerators in the community, which led to the ability to preserve meat and fish, and to sell to settler communities.

> You know, that’s I think that’s where we lost the meaning of rights and responsibility was when refrigeration came in. And that hoarding was, is a big thing, yeah. And a lot of the it had to do with the outsiders created the market. And now they’re blaming us. You know? We were nothing but poor effin’ Indians but now all of the sudden, what the fishermen called, we got Nipissing gold. ElderMA

The youth in the community felt that the term rights needed to be balanced with the responsibility to the land, and to family.

> So we were talking about the whole rights and responsibilities go hand in hand. You know rights is like, it's like, it's giving us, we have a right to life, right to be free for example. But with rights also comes with responsibilities too and I think people don't want to, don't want to accept that, they don't even want to hear that. You know we have right to live, so we have a right to eat and take what we need from the land. But we also a responsibility to take only what we need and taking care of the land along with it, and that's what people don't even want to hear or understand. Cuz responsibility suggests that you have to, suggests that you have to work at something, or you have to be responsible for something, people don't like that right? YouthMJ

YouthMA learned responsibility from his father: to share fish with other community members, to take care of his family, how to fish responsibly, and his responsibility to the generations coming after him. YouthMH feels that responsibility includes learning the language, taking care of and advocating for others in his community, and raising his son to be Anishinaabe. Like YouthMA, YouthMH also feels a responsibility to the generations coming after him.

The term rights was also used by community members, both youth and Elders, in discussions about the right to fishing and hunting, the right to Lake Nipissing and the right to the land. ElderMF used the term rights in discussion of Anishinaabe rights to being taken away by the *zhaaganash* [settlers], and the regulation of Indigenous rights to hunting and fish by the government. However, he also referred to his responsibility to respect the land, and take only what was needed.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Beginning with a review of the main objectives of this research project, this final chapter provides a discussion of the findings of this research project. My conceptual framework played a significant part in the conceptualization and organization of these findings as the Indigenous methodological concepts of relational accountability, respect and reciprocity provide the backbone or support structure to the Western methodological precept of Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) of respectful co-creation of knowledge.

Wilson (2001) posits that Indigenous knowledge systems are based on relationships: to people, to creation, and to ideas and concepts as well. These relationships are important in the co-creation of knowledge; they imbue knowledge creation with relational accountability. In a research context, this means that a researcher is part of a web relationships to which they are accountable in all stages of the research (Pualani Louis, 2007). As I am accountable to these relationships it is my responsibility to fulfill my obligations to these relationships (Wilson, 2008). From my perspective, there are a number of principal relationships to which I am accountable: to the Nipissing First Nation community, to the research project, to the University of Guelph and the academic community, as well as to Fish-WIKS, the SSHRC-funded project of which my research is a part.

Within the Nipissing First Nation community there are micro-relationships to which I am accountable: overall, to the community, in particular to the youth and Elder participants and to the knowledge and experiences shared by the participants, to the land and in particular the fish. The discussion of the key findings is shaped to reflect the participants' experiences in ways that are thoughtful and respectful and are from a place of "reflective non-judgement" (Hart, 2010, p.10). This chapter also provides recommendations to the community as a way of giving back and contributing to the relationship between myself and the community (Weber Pillax, 2001 cited in Wilson, 2008, p.77).

The following section *Implications for Nipissing First Nation Fisheries* contributes to my relationships with the community, with the fish, and with Fish-WIKS, articulating what I see as the significance of this research project to these relations.

The final sections of this chapter fulfill my relationship to the academic community in which this research project is based. The method used for this research project is assessed in the section *Evaluating the Workshop as a Knowledge Transfer Process*, examining the method's effectiveness as both a research method and a community process for knowledge transfer. By providing strengths and limitations of the research, significance and contributions of the research, and recommendations for future research, I am following the protocols and structures in academia to confer rigour and meet academic expectations.

Policy Implications ties together my obligations to the main relationships of this research project (the Nipissing First Nation community, Fish-WIKS and academia) that is, how this research project contributes to the larger picture of policy at multiple levels: community, provincial and federal.

Research Objectives

This qualitative study focused primarily on two generations within the Nipissing First Nation community, youth and Elders, and their experiences with community knowledge. There were three main objectives. The first was to explore the historical and contemporary transfer of community knowledge between the two generations. The second was to explore the barriers to knowledge transfer experienced by both generations. The final objective looked to identify opportunities for intergenerational knowledge sharing in the community.

Summary of Key Findings

The first objective of this research was to explore the historical and contemporary intergenerational transfer of community knowledge at Nipissing First Nation. Through discussions with the youth and the Elders, the disparate ways in which knowledge-

sharing occurred for Elders and the way that contemporary Nipissing youth learn community knowledge were brought forward.

For the Elders, the proximity in their daily life to their Elders (parents, grandparents, and other community members), as well as their relationship to the land and its prominent role in their community, created a distinctly different learning environment from that of contemporary Nipissing First Nation youth. Many of the Elders spent a significant amount of time living in the bush and on the water, as fish and game were a substantial part of their diet. Learning community knowledge was built into the fabric of their daily lives, and their interactions with their Elders were largely informal. Multiple generations often lived together or close together. Children spent much of their time with their grandparents, who taught them the skills and the knowledge that they needed to know as members of the community.

For many of the Elders, the language spoken at home by their Elders was Anishinaabe. Built into the *Anishinaabemowin* are the values and worldview of the Anishinaabe, so immersion in *Anishinaabemowin* provided children with an understanding of the Anishinaabe worldview. Another mechanism to learn skills, values and knowledge was both informal and formal storytelling, which played a large role in what and how the Elders learned from their Elders.

Learning was experiential; children and youth learned by observing their Elders, whether hunting, fishing, cooking, gardening or healing, and following their example. Elders were there to know when a child was ready to learn a certain task or piece of knowledge, and guide them through the process. Embedded in this knowledge transfer were the expectations behind learning; children and youth were taught these expectations as part of the knowledge transfer process. These findings correspond with the accounts of traditional Indigenous and Anishinaabe learning and knowledge transfer described by Indigenous scholars (Anderson, 2011; Ball, 2012; Bell, 2013).

Comparatively, contemporary Nipissing First Nation youth have minimal interaction with Elders in their community and their methods of learning community knowledge are largely formal. Nuclear family units live in houses that are separate from their grandparents and extended family members. Grandparents often still work outside the home, and typically live alone in their own houses. Opportunities for interaction are

limited to visits and special occasions. With separate communities spread out over Nipissing First Nation, the opportunity to interact with Elders is further limited.

None of the youth spoke *Anishinaabemowin* at home as their first language, and many are now learning the language through school and community language classes. Opportunities to learn community knowledge are created by the Nipissing First Nation Cultural Office through language and craft classes, the pow-wow, and drumming circles. Children and youth who attend the reserve high school or daycares have more opportunities to interact with Elders as part of their curriculum. These formal and structured activities such as school assemblies and events are in place of the experiential learning experiences by the Elders. Rather than daily interaction, learning is restricted to scheduled special events and activities in which youth interaction with Elders is limited. As a result, youth learn the more ceremonial aspects of community knowledge but lack the language and lived daily experience.

Opportunities on the land are limited to fishing and hunting to those youths interested in these activities. Unlike the Elder generation, contemporary youth do not have to rely on what they catch or hunt for their daily meals. It is important to note that community knowledge may not reach all youth in the community. Youth who are interested in learning community knowledge will seek out events and Elders in the community, while those who are not interested or are not knowledgeable about the opportunities available to them will miss out on intergenerational interaction and knowledge transfer. Most significantly, youth who are interested in learning community knowledge expressed an inability to find ways to connect with Elders, speaking of disconnection and feeling intimidated or too shy to approach Elders.

In comparing the two generations, the youth lack contemporary mechanisms to learn from their Elders as the day-to-day interaction that existed in previous generations has been lost. Many of the Elders would be grandparents to the current generation of youth, so only one generation separates them. However, significant changes in community life during this time have contributed to this loss. These changes will be discussed in the section below.

Table 1 provides a summary of the main generational differences of lifestyle and learning between community youth and Elders.

Table 1: Summary of Generational Differences

ELDERS	YOUTH
Language at home: *Anishinaabemowin* (Ojibway language)	Language at home: English
Multi-generational home (parents, grandparents, children, aunties/uncles). Close relationships with community members.	Nuclear or single family home Families separated into different communities on reserve
Grandparents significant part of learning/knowledge transfer	Grandparents typically not part of daily life/learning
Knowledge learning: Informal, daily, experiential, observation, storytelling	Knowledge learning: Formal, structured activities in education curriculum, community ceremonies, cultural/language classes organized by Cultural department
Stages of knowledge learning based on age and ability	
Significant amount of time spent in bush/on water	Minimal time spent in bush/on water
Fish/game significant part of diet	Fish/game minimal part of diet

The second objective of this research was to examine the historical and contemporary barriers to the intergenerational transfer of community knowledge. As discussed in the previous section, many of the traditional ways in which knowledge has been transferred between Elders and youth in the Nipissing First Nation community have been lost. Essential to this transfer is a close, daily connection between the generations. For Nipissing First Nation, this disconnection is directly tied to the imposition of the Western/settler worldview and knowledge systems by settler governments on the Nipissing community.

This section begins with an examination of each worldview, using the medicine wheel as a framework in which to view the worldviews through the lens of the community participants. The medicine wheel is used in many Indigenous cultures, and Bell (2014) describes their meaning as “the importance of appreciating and respecting the ongoing interconnectedness and interrelatedness of all things.” For the Anishinaabe, the four quadrants of the medicine wheel represent the directions North, South, East and West, and can be used to represent ideas or concepts for learning (Bell, 2014; Benton-Banai,

2010). While the four quadrants are separated on the wheel, they are closely connected and directly relate to each other.

Indigenous worldviews are typically examined and compared to the Western/settler worldview using Western methods as a framework. In Western academia, Indigenous worldviews are usually observed through a comparative lens, with Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge considered binary opposites (Battiste, 2000). Hart (2010) states that Indigenous worldviews, and those that differ from the European worldview, are often not acknowledged, and when acknowledged these other worldviews are analyzed through a European framework.

By using the medicine wheel as a conceptual framework, the community and settler worldviews can be examined from the perspective of the community participants and their experience with the Western worldview, using an Indigenous lens.

Figure 6 details the community worldview as voiced by the Elder participants using an Anishinaabe medicine wheel. In the case of the Elder worldview, the medicine wheel quadrants are representative of the spiritual, values, relationship and Anishinaabe identity components of the Nipissing community worldview.

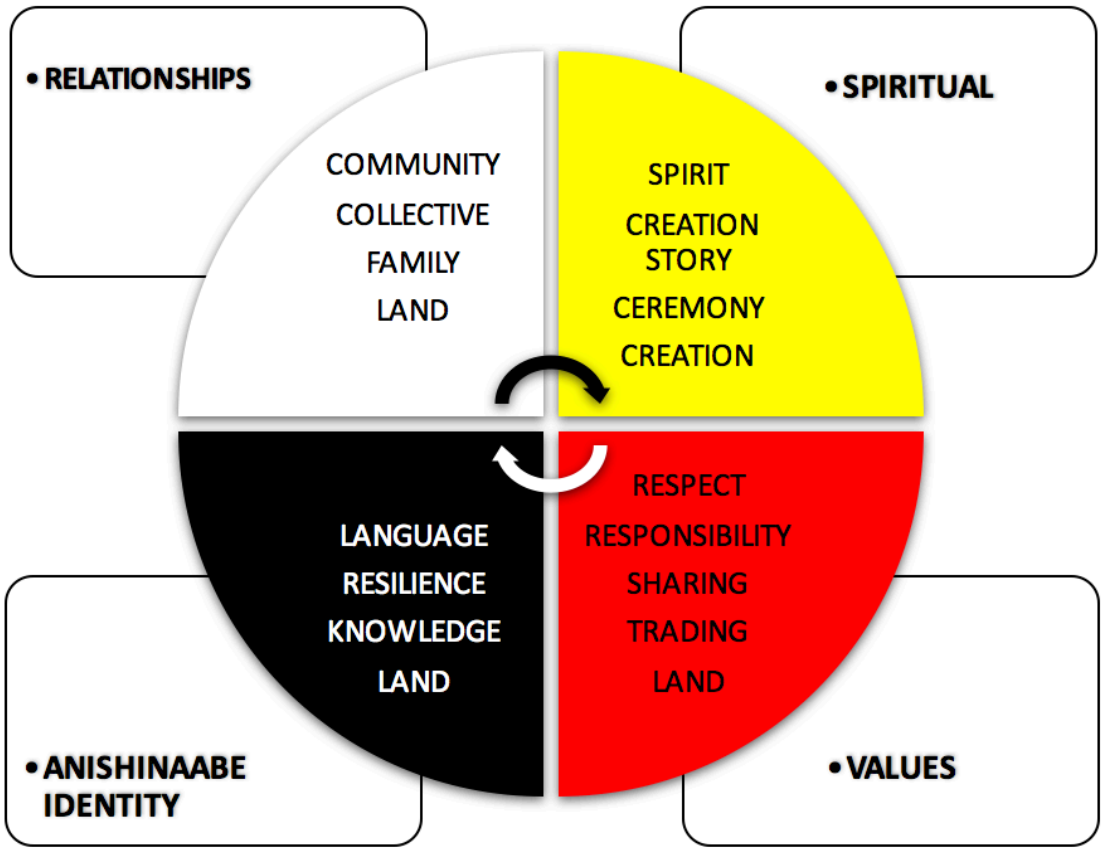

Figure 6: Nipissing First Nation Worldview conceptualized as Medicine Wheel

Figure 7 represents the Western/settler worldview. The four quadrants of this medicine wheel symbolize the economic system, values, relationships and technology characteristics of the settler worldview as experienced by the community, and expressed by the Elders and youth in the workshop. As with the community worldview, the medicine wheel enables us to see that quadrants are closely interrelated.

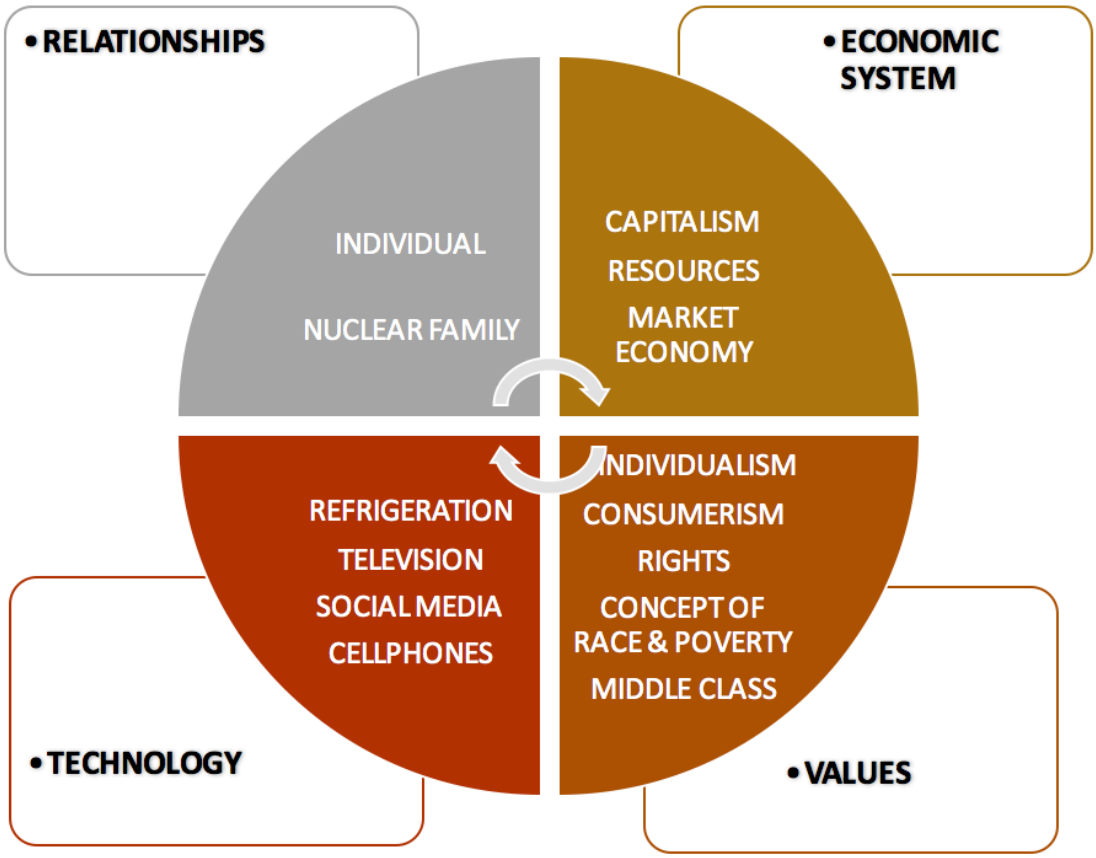

Figure 7: Western Worldview conceptualized as Medicine Wheel

The Elder participants recognize the Anishinaabe or community worldview as beginning with their Creation Story. To understand the differences between Western and Indigenous worldviews it is essential to start at the beginning, in their respective Creation stories. In the traditional Judeo-Christian creation story of the Western worldview, God takes seven days to create heaven, earth, and all that is contained within them. God creates man on the last day and gives him dominion over the fish, the fowl, the cattle, the earth and over every creeping thing (King James Bible).

> And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth on the earth.

In this version of Creation, humankind is the pinnacle of creation and is given control of all Creation. In the Anishinaabe Creation story, humankind is also created last. This, however, is not because humankind is the best that creation has to offer. It is because of all the living and non-living beings created, humankind has been given the least in terms of talents and survival skills. Humankind is created last because humans depend all the other beings in order to survive. Humankind is the least of creation (Johnston, 2008). Creation stories permeate the respective community and Western worldviews, and have shaped their values, beliefs and attitudes to land/nature, family, and community over thousands of years.

For the community participants, the concept of land is central to their worldview. Land includes Lake Nipissing, wildlife, fish, plants and trees, as well as the land itself. Land is part of creation, it is a value held by the community, is fundamental to the community identity, and community members have a personal relationship to the land. The reliance of the community on the land for survival, acknowledged in the Anishinaabe Creation story, have produced the values of respect and responsibility for the land. In turn, dependence on land created an interdependent system within the community, in which community members were also reliant on each other for their survival through sharing of tasks and food (game/fish/produce). Community knowledge is deeply connected to the land, and the community's relationship to the land. In the past, community survival was also contingent upon knowledge and values being shared between generations, and evolving with each successive generation to meet changing environmental and social conditions.

Conversely, the community participants see the settler worldview as built on an economic system, rather than a land or Creation-based system. Land, given to humankind in the Western creation story to control, is a resource to be used to feed the market economy and capitalism. The economic system does not rely on the interdependence of a community, evidence by the way in which individual rights are more important than those of the community. The economic system has also created strata based on race, and economic status, producing concepts of poverty and middle class values.

Over the past 150 years, Canadian and provincial governments have enacted systemic policies on Indigenous peoples that are based in the Western worldview (Canada, 1996; Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015). These policies, including treaties and the Indian Act, upheld Western beliefs of race and class, and the belief that land was meant to be conquered and used for economic gain. At their most benign, these policies were tools of assimilation intended to impose the Western value and belief system onto Indigenous communities' worldviews. By assimilating Indigenous peoples into mainstream Canadian society, they would no longer hold rights as a distinct peoples in Canada (Canada, 1996).

Throughout the workshop sessions, the Elders spoke of their and their Elders' experiences with these assimilationist policies: Indian status, education/residential school, Indian Agents, treaties, run-ins with game wardens and conservation officers. These policies directly interfered with their learning and connection to the land.

The barriers to knowledge transfer identified by both youth and Elders, including community disconnection, addictions, technology, disruption of family structure, generational disconnection, the educational system and community value changes, are a direct result of the imposition of the Western worldview and Canadian assimilationist policies on successive generations of Nipissing First Nation community.

Education is widely recognized in Canada by both Indigenous and settler communities as an instrument used by the Canadian government to take Indigenous children from their communities and families to take the Indian out the child and assimilate them into mainstream Canadian life. (Canada, 1996, Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015, pg 1) labelled this as cultural genocide:

> Cultural genocide is the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group. States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social institutions of the targeted group. Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed. And, most significantly to the issue at hand, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next. In its dealing with Aboriginal people, Canada did all these things.

The effect of Western education on the Nipissing Elder generation is illustrative of the consequences of the Western worldview on knowledge transfer in the community. Figure 8 provides a conceptualization of the Nipissing knowledge system as experienced by the Elders during their childhood.

Figure 8: Conceptualization of Nipissing Knowledge System (Elders)

Many of the Elders lived part of their childhood in the bush with their families and Elders, learning about the land and speaking Anishinaabe. They spoke of coming out of the bush to go to school. At settler and residential schools, they left their language, families/Elders, community and the land behind. The Western education system effectively removed the Elders from their worldview and knowledge system.
This disconnection continues; Nipissing youth participants recognize the education system as removing them from opportunities to learn from Elders and spend time on the

land. Youth are also disconnected from each other; they attend different schools and live in separate communities on the reserve.

The third objective of this research, to identify opportunities for community knowledge transfer, is addressed in the section below, *Recommendations for the Community*. During the workshop sessions, community members referred to the many ways in which Nipissing First Nation is providing cultural activities for the community such as drum circles, language classes for all ages, and community ceremonies. Due to the deep interest in the community, Nipissing First Nation will continue to increase these opportunities. The section below provides recommendations for increasing these opportunities based on my observations and these research findings.

Recommendations for the Community

As a researcher working with the Nipissing community, my role has been mainly one of an outside observer during community events and the workshop sessions. My primary contact has been the Community Liaison Coordinator, who has provided me with his personal insights into the community. My main interaction has been conversations with community members over email, phone and on my limited visits to the community, in addition to the Stories from the Land workshop. I have spent much of my time outside of the community struggling to understand the context and history of the Nipissing First Nation community and its fisheries, Canadian and Aboriginal fisheries and resources within Canada, and five hundred years of complex history between First Nations and settlers.

My recommendations come within the context provided above, and to offer reciprocity to the community for partnering with me on this research, and for their kindness and welcome to me (Getty, 2010; Wilson, 2001). My recommendations are based on my observations in the community, and from the stories and contribution of Nipissing Elders and youth during the *Stories from Land* workshop. The recommendations primarily involve re-establishing the critical link between Elders and youth in the community to provide a conduit for knowledge transfer, and building on the strengths of the community. This section addresses the third objective of this research project to identify opportunities for knowledge transfer in the community.

Recommendation 1: Build on youth interest

Anishinaabe scholar Deborah McGregor (2013) states “There is much we learn from our youth, and they must be given credit for their insights and contributions to transforming our knowledge. TK comes from every single person in our community. Elders who are revered for their life wisdom, patience and knowledge are especially gifted, but our youth and children also have much to share” (p. 85).

Indigenous knowledge is not static. It evolves with each successive generation to meet the particular needs and challenges of that generation. During the workshop, the youth described a pride in their identity as Anishinaabe, and pride in their community. This counters the loss of pride for previous generations, who spoke of how their sense of identity was taken from them through a range of colonial practices. The number of youth that participated in the sessions, and listened attentively and respectfully, demonstrates youths’ interest in learning from their Elders. In conversations outside of the workshop, the youth were enthusiastic about becoming involved and contributing to the community by creating a youth council. The Nipissing youth of today lead lives that are distinctly different from the Elder generation; they are more likely to be using YouTube to learn a task instead of asking an Elder in the community or learning experientially. The youth participants are ready to learn community knowledge, contribute to it, and transform it for their generation based on their experiences navigating multiple cultures. For knowledge transfer in the community, the willingness and interest of the youth is a considerable strength for the community to build on. Given this, I recommend that the community builds on youth interest by actively supporting youth-driven/youth-oriented initiatives, such as the youth council.

Recommendation 2: Work towards understanding generational perspectives

One theme that emerged from the workshop were the generational perspectives on knowledge transfer. Elders told stories during the workshop about how they learned knowledge, as well as the expectations behind learning knowledge. Youth were unaware of both the mechanisms and expectations of knowledge transfer as they have not had the opportunity to spend time with Elders.

One youth recommended a gathering in which youth and Elders specifically talk about knowledge transfer mechanisms and protocol. I recommend a facilitated knowledge transfer session specific to knowledge transfer processes would build on the *Stories from the Land* workshop and allow more youth to more fully understand knowledge transfer from an Elder perspective and continue the intergenerational dialogue. This session would ideally also give considerable time to brainstorming around how expectations that honour community knowledge can be transformed to meet the changed world of today's youth.

Recommendation #3: Re-create Spaces for Knowledge Transfer

The Nipissing First Nation Culture and Heritage department has developed programming for the community in which youth can learn language and traditional crafts, attend cultural events, and spend time with Elders in classrooms at the reserve high school and daycares. This has begun the task of re-creating spaces in the community for knowledge transfer in ways that meet the current needs of community. How can more spaces be created in the community that allow for intergenerational knowledge transfer in ways that are appropriate, and interesting, for today's youth?
The knowledge transfer research examined in the literature review draw from recent research projects in other First Nations communities in Canada, and provide examples of communities using different methods to engage Elders and youth.
Technology has been identified as a knowledge transfer barrier by the participants but can be used to bring generations together as well as preserve knowledge for future generations. The *Digital Harvest* project in the Snaw-Naw-As First Nation, and the Fort Albany First Nation project, integrated land-based learning with technology to provide opportunity and incentive for youth to engage with Elders. The *Stories from the Land* workshop used a digital podcast to as a means of distributing the information and findings of the workshop to the community.
Similarly, growing capacity in the community to use education to integrate language and community knowledge into the curriculum both on and off reserve ensures that children and youth are exposed to Elders, and community knowledge in their daily life is critical.

Ball and Simpkins (2004) speak to the need for early childhood education in First Nations communities that focuses on teaching within the worldview of their community:

> We must be able to feel confident that our worldview is clearly understood by our own children, and that they will know that their culture has value in modern times as it did in past. We must be able to teach our children appropriate skills and understanding, and control how our children are taught (p. 454).

Education is also seen by Elders as a method to turn the tables on settler governments by using Western knowledge in conjunction with Indigenous Knowledge to benefit their community. Mik'maq Nation community Elder Albert Marshall describes the bringing together of Indigenous and Western Knowledge in education for the benefit of youth as Two-Eyed Seeing. Rather than taking pieces of one knowledge system and pasting it into another, Two-Eyed Seeing weaves together the knowledges, thereby acknowledging the importance of each. In Two-Eyed Seeing, one eye sees through the strengths of Indigenous Knowledge and the other sees through the strengths of Western Knowledge, and respectfully and intentionally brings the shared strengths of these two distinct knowledges together to find common ground and answers (Hatcher, Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2009; Iwama, Marshall, Marshall & Bartlett, 2009).

This integration of knowledge allows students to harness both worldviews for their learning, providing a framework for Indigenous and Western knowledge systems to be incorporated into education through more intentional and formal mechanisms.

Given the scope of this research, it is not possible to provide specific recommendations on integrating community knowledge into education. Educators at Nbissing High School, the community daycares, and the staff at the Culture and Heritage office are the front lines of education and knowledge transfer at Nipissing First Nation, and are working towards building ways to integrate community knowledge into the curriculum.

Integrating Anishinaabe language and culture into educational curriculum provides formal activities for youth to learn. As noted in the research findings, what is lacking for today's Nipissing youth are the smaller, frequent and informal interactions with Elders that allow for knowledge transfer. Recreating these opportunities for knowledge learning and sharing require a deeper commitment for both youth and Elders, as it involves more time and personal flexibility.

One recommendation is to create a Youth-Elder Cultural Connection program which could be coordinated by the Culture and Heritage department. The program would link interested youth and Elders who sign up for the program together as community-knowledge learning partners. While the initial contact would be facilitated by the Cultural and Heritage department, the types of learning experiences would be left to the youth and Elder who are paired together. It could be as simple as setting up a time to meet on a weekend and taking the cues for learning from the weather, the interest of the youth and the Elder's knowledge.

A second recommendation is to provide outdoor experiential learning opportunities that occur on a frequent basis, such as once per month, that would allow youth the opportunities to experience community knowledge in action. Outside of the workshop sessions, an Elder noted to me that many youths do not go to camp with their families anymore on weekends and in the summer so do not have the opportunity to experience traditional community outdoor activities. Recreating these experiences on the land and water would allow for more informal interactions between generations that are more in line with traditional knowledge transfer mechanisms.

Implications for Nipissing First Nation Fisheries Management

This research project is part of a larger SSHRC-funded project, Fisheries-Western and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Fish-WIKS), and directly addresses one of the key objectives of the Fish-WIKS project, to examine how knowledge is shared, valued and used in an Indigenous knowledge system. Overall, the Fish-WIKS project aims to investigate how Indigenous Knowledge Systems can be used to shape and influence fisheries management at time of dwindling stocks and climate-induced changes.

Many of the themes and stories that emerged in the *Stories from the Land* are directly related to the Nipissing First Nation's fisheries. They are also connected to the key findings of this research project, namely, the consequences of the Western knowledge system and colonization on Nipissing First Nation's worldview. The implications of these findings to the Nipissing First Nation fisheries are outlined below.

Distrust of Western Scientific Knowledge

Both Elders and youth in the community expressed their doubts over the validity of the fisheries data provided by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Fisheries (OMNRF). Many believe that the data collected by the OMNRF has ignored community fishers' long-held and current knowledge of the walleye and that the OMNRF is not interested in hearing their opinions or solutions to the fisheries issues. Although data on the walleye is collected by the Nipissing First Nation, some participants believe that because this data is collected within the Western scientific method it is not in keeping with traditional methods and knowledge.

This distrust of the Western scientific worldview and methods is connected to the community's history with government agents, and the fraud and abuse of trust perpetrated by these agents over land, education and the fisheries. In regards to Nipissing's fisheries, Latulippe (2015) states that "the Nipissing people have been subjected to decades of state-led antagonism, conflict, and criminalization" (p.3).

Values Conflict

Over many generations the settler worldview, through multiple mechanisms, has been imposed on the Nipissing worldview. In viewing the two worldviews (see Figure 6 and Figure 7), it is the values and relationships that ground the four quadrants and create either connection or disconnection from the land and community. Settler values of individualism and consumerism create a worldview where the individual is more important than the collective. This in turn creates a worldview where technology, resource extraction and individual rights are more important than the land and the community. The Elders see the adoption of settler values changing the community's relationships with each other and the land. Conflict exists within the community in regards to these values, with the settler communities, and with settler governments in respect to the walleye fishery.

In the workshop, the concept of rights and responsibilities were discussed by the youth and Elders. They noted how the concept of rights originates in the settler worldview.

Through legal interactions with the British Crown and then Canadian government, Aboriginal rights became the commonly-used terminology for Aboriginal peoples to safeguard that which existed before colonization. In settler terminology this would be the land itself and the resources that exist on the land: forests, game, fish, oil, minerals. In essence, Indigenous peoples have adopted the word rights as a means to preserve the land, which is a central value in Indigenous worldviews.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 claims North American lands for the British Crown, and provides guidelines for European settlement of Aboriginal land. By providing guidelines and policy on how Aboriginal rights to land could be extinguished through surrender and treaties, the Crown also provided means for Aboriginal rights to be recognized (Borrows, 1997). Section 35 of the Constitution Act (1982) recognizes and enshrines Aboriginal rights in Canada without defining them: “The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed” (Hanson, 2009b; Constitution Act, 1982).

The Elders in the workshop spoke of how the term rights does not exist in the Ojibway language; many of the Elders and youth agreed that responsibility to the land, including the fish, was an Anishinaabe value while rights was a settler value. Some of the youth felt that rights could be comfortably balanced with responsibility if done in a respectful way that also follows community protocols such as the sharing of fish with Elders and those in need in the community.

The Western values of rights and individualism have changed the ways in which community members view the fish. Refrigeration allowed community members to store, rather than share, fish. This in turn created a market for the Lake Nipissing fish. Instead of trading for needed goods, selling of fish for profit has become a community norm. Youth and Elders perceive this change differently; youth in the community have been raised with selling fish as a community norm and right, while for Elders this is a breach of community values.

However, youth and Elders were in agreement about the root cause of community members who abuse their fishing rights by fishing out of season and setting illegal gill nets: a lack of respect for and responsibility to the fish.

A recent incident recorded on video between Nipissing First Nation enforcement officers, OMNRF personnel and Nipissing First Nation community members who were fishing illegally after the closing of the fishing season illustrates this community conflict between the values of rights and responsibilities:

> They said their lawyer advised them they have the right to fish, describing their harvest, which will likely be sold, as “sustenance” activities because they don't have any other income.
> "We talked to a lawyer and he's explained to us, what you guys are doing are said a man who appeared to be holding the video recording device.
> "If you are going to do something, charge us now, today, right now ...,” another said. “You have to charge us or otherwise leave us alone. We have our right to fish, you're stopping our right, right here” (Dale, 2016).

These community members are operating within the Western worldview where individual rights are more important than those of the collective. Interestingly, although they reflect the Western worldview of individual rights, the actions of this minority of Nipissing First Nation community members are reviled within the surrounding settler communities and seen as representative of the community. Chief Scott McLeod in his comments to the press (Dale, 2016), noted that the conflict over the fisheries is within the community and not with settler governments.

Little Bear (2000) refers to the fragmenting of Indigenous worldviews by colonization as leaving behind an “heritage of jagged worldviews” (p. 84). Within these jagged worldviews, Indigenous peoples individually hold worldviews that are an amalgamation or “jigsaw puzzle” of both Indigenous and settler worldviews (p.84). Because this worldview is different for each individual based on their personal context and experience with colonization, it is difficult to have dialogue across these worldviews. In Nipissing First Nation, these fragmented worldviews create conflict over values surrounding the fisheries; while some fishers’ jigsaw puzzle worldview may incorporate more traditional community values that are reflected in their fishing practices, some other fishers may approach fishing with Western values of individualism and individual rights.

Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)

The 2016 collaborative Memorandum of Understanding between Nipissing First Nation and the OMNRF is significant to the findings of the *Stories from the Land* Workshop as it addresses emergent themes brought forward by participants, specifically colonial history and community values.

The MOU addresses the colonial history and relationships with government agents discussed by the participants in the *Stories for the Land* workshop:

> Both Nipissing First Nation and MNRF agree to collaborate on addressing the decline of the Lake Nipissing walleye population by continuing on the path of reconciliation and good faith through discussions between both parties about Aboriginal restorative justice, recognition of the Nipissing First Nation *Gichi-Naaknigewin* (Constitution), and rebuilding the parties' relationship, which has been frustrated by historical government policies and actions (Nipissing First Nation, 2016).

It outlines a new government-to-government relationship in regards to managing the Nipissing commercial walleye fishery using Nipissing First Nation Fisheries Law and Aboriginal Restorative Justice (Nipissing First Nation Justice Circle, Nipissing First Nation Compliance Conference). Within the scope of the MOU, the OMNRF will provide a supporting role to Nipissing First Nation in the management of the fisheries.

OMNRF staff will be given training by Nipissing First Nation on the history and culture of Nipissing First Nation, as well as the relationship of Nipissing First Nation to the lake and the fisheries, enabling them to have the historical context behind fisheries issues.

The Summary of the Memorandum of Understanding (2016) and Nipissing First Nation Fisheries Update (2016), address both the Treaty Rights of Nipissing First Nation and the collective responsibility of the community:

> Our rights are collective in nature and are dependent on our continued existence as a strong nation of people. They are not bestowed on each of us individually (Nipissing First Nation Fisheries Update, 2016, p. 3).

This speaks to the community values of responsibility to the fisheries, compliant fishers, and to future generations, while maintaining their Treaty Rights as a nation to the fishery. For Nipissing First Nation, this constitutes a balancing act between two

worldviews to preserve their commercial fishery and Treaty Rights, while still retaining community values to protect collective rights and reinforce collective responsibility.

Evaluating the Workshop as a Knowledge Transfer Process

The main objectives of the *Stories from the Land* workshop were to create time and space where Elders and youth could interact, and youth could learn community knowledge from the Elders. This section will examine whether these objectives were met, using researcher observation and indicators including attendance and participant interaction.

Attendance

Sixteen youth and twelve Elders attended the workshop over four sessions. Table 2 below details the attendance of Elders and youth at the sessions. Six of the youth attended the initial youth session only, and two of the Elders attended the initial Elder session only, so were not engaged in intergenerational interactions or knowledge sharing. Two youth attended the Elders only workshop session, and two Elders attended the youth workshop session.

Table 2: Youth and Elder Workshop Session Attendance

Number of Sessions	Youth	Elders
Four	1	1
Three	5	3
Two	2	3
One	8	5
Total	16	12

Intergenerational Interaction

Interaction between youth and Elders during the sessions was dependent on the age of the youth participants. Male youth in the upper range of the youth demographic appeared to be comfortable with the Elders, and they were confident verbalizing questions, telling stories and interacting with the Elders.

Conversely, the high school-aged youth were often silent and hesitant to talk. At the beginning of the youth workshop, YouthFD introduced herself:

> Hi I'm YouthFD, I'm really shy and probably won't do much talking today but I'm in 11th grade and I attend Northern Secondary in Sturgeon, I'm happy to be here tonight, already I love hearing the language but uh, I'm nervous...

Although YouthFD attended all of the workshops except the Elder only workshop, she did not speak again until the end of the final Youth-Elder workshop.

Many of the youth only spoke to introduce themselves but did not respond to the questions posed to the group, with a small handful of older youth doing most of the speaking. At the end of the four days of workshops, YouthFB handed me a note as she was leaving thanking the organizers for the opportunity to attend the workshop, and stating that she felt that she had a lot she wanted to share, but that she wasn't comfortable speaking in front of others. While limited, the question method used by the facilitator, in which youth could write down questions that they wanted the Elders to answer, allowed youth to bring forward their interests to the sessions.

Engagement in the Process

While youth-Elder interaction was limited, the repeat attendance of the female high school-aged youth suggests their interest in learning from the Elders. The older, male youth spoke of their interest in learning from the Elders, and were engaged in interactive learning with the Elders throughout the sessions.

Opportunity for Knowledge Transfer

As a mechanism for intergenerational knowledge transfer in the community, the sessions provided an opportunity for youth to learn knowledge from Elders that they might not have otherwise.

Throughout the sessions, the Elders told stories of their youth, the land and the community and shared how they learned knowledge and values from their Elders.

The Elders spoke of listening to the stories of their Elders, in which they learned not to interrupt but be respectful and quiet. The sessions offered the youth in the community

this same opportunity to hear stories from their Elders, similar to the evening story hour described by ElderFA. In being quiet, the youth may have been modelling the community value of listening to their Elders, and without interrupting.

Crucially, the youth learned the expectations of the Elder generation in regards to knowledge transfer, and Elders learned that community youth are prevented from learning knowledge as they lack a connection to Elders in the community, and are daunted at the prospect of approaching Elders to make that connection.

Because the sessions were recorded, the intergenerational knowledge transfer of the workshop goes beyond the hours that the youth and Elders spent together. The sessions have been transcribed and are part of the archives of the community. In this way, the stories and knowledge can be shared in classrooms, on an accessible online archive, and other ways that can be accessed by community members.

Similarly, the Stories from the Land podcast has been shared with the community, and has provided another mechanism of intergenerational knowledge transfer.

Strengths and Limitations of the Research

Strengths

This research project was designed in partnership with the Nipissing First Nation community intentionally, to meet the objectives of the community in providing a mechanism for intergenerational knowledge transfer, as well as the objective of the researcher to explore community knowledge transfer. The workshop on which this research is based was initiated by the community, and the research data was collected by an Anishinaabe facilitator who incorporated questions from the participants into the workshop.

Community-led research connects with the research methodology of this research project, which is grounded in the principles of Community-based Participatory Research.

The research was also able connect colonization and the Western worldview to loss of community knowledge and intergenerational knowledge transfer mechanisms.

Limitations

One of the limitations of the format we used for data collection is connected to my role as an observer in the workshop, rather than a facilitator or co-facilitator. I was unable to delve more deeply into questions, or follow up with participants for more clarification, in order to meet the objectives of my research or further explore an emerging theme. Time constraints made follow-up with participants outside of the workshop unfeasible.

And as the workshop was meant to meet the objectives of both the community and my research, some of the data collected was not related to my objectives and did not align with the focus of my research. However, what evolved out of the workshop provided deeper insight into emerging themes which shaped the findings of this research project.

The limited contributions and interactions of some participants within the workshop sessions was also a limitation of this research project. The physical structure of the sessions limited the interaction and contribution of the participants. The attendance of fourteen youth at the initial youth workshop was a surprise for the organizers, as we had anticipated a maximum of five to 10 youth. The room used for the workshops was small, and the set-up of the room was not ideal for the larger number of participants. This resulted in the creation of a modified circle in which some participants were isolated from the rest of the participants outside the circle, restricting interaction between the participants.

As mentioned previously, youth voices were underrepresented in the workshop sessions. While the number of youth attending was higher than anticipated, most of the high-school-aged youth spoke only once during all of the sessions. As well, there was a gender difference in contributions to the sessions. Among both the Elders and youth, male participants spoke more often, and longer, than female participants.

For example, in the Elder-only session, three of the participants spoke only at the end of the sessions, when the facilitator asked each of the participants to answer a final question. The participants who had not previously spoke used this time to respond to questions previously asked, and share stories.

Significance of the Research

This research project adds to the increasing number of research projects using decolonizing methods to partner with First Nations community in ways that are meaningful both to the community and to the research. This research is also significant on a local level. Indigenous communities across Canada have experienced colonization in a myriad of ways that have left behind diverse and complicated legacies in each community. It is imperative that each community has the opportunity to devise individualized solutions to colonization. The method used in this research had not been previously used in the community, with the methodology used in this research project supporting the Nipissing First Nation community in their work towards restoring community knowledge.

As First Nations communities work towards regaining their community knowledge and language, this community-led research provides a template to communities who are interested in working with researchers, as well as to researchers who are interested in working with First Nations communities. The research method also provides an example of intergenerational knowledge transfer method that is locally-meaningful and can be used by other communities who are working on increasing youth-Elder interaction and enabling knowledge transfer between generations.

Contributions to the Field

One of the main goals of this research for the community was to begin a dialogue between generations and create a space for knowledge transfer to happen, a goal which was met by this research project. Theoretically, the research contributes to the limited research conducted with First Nations communities on knowledge transfer, and adds to the literature on First Nations education. It further adds to the literature on the effects of colonialism on First Nations community, and uniquely captures the perspective of the community participants on the Western worldview, and the consequences of the imposition of the Western worldview onto the community worldview.

Methodologically, this research is distinct in its use of a community-led workshop developed in partnership with a First Nations community, with the workshop facilitation provided by an experienced Anishinaabe facilitator. This method allowed for successful knowledge transfer between youth and Elders and could be replicated in future research.

In addition, the project used the Western academic principles of Community Based Participatory Research to ground the research (collaborative, participatory, honours local knowledge, co-creates new knowledge), while incorporating Indigenous principles (relationship, reciprocity, balance, respect) into the project. Within this framework, community members were both research partners and research participants, and the outcomes of the research were beneficial to the researcher and the community. Incorporating Indigenous methodology can be difficult for non-Indigenous researchers who are not rooted in a particular Indigenous community and fear appropriating Indigenous culture in ways that are not respectful. This framework provides a guide for other non-Indigenous researchers when developing their research methodology.

Future Research

Based on the findings of this research, there are multiple avenues for further research. Nipissing First Nation continues to be a partner in the Fish-WIKS project, with the prospect of future graduate students working with the community. Future researchers could partner with Nipissing First Nation to more fully explore the youth perspective on community knowledge and knowledge transfer. Additionally, as inheritors of the fisheries, youth perspective on the fisheries and the future of fisheries could be examined. Using the data from the workshop sessions as a basis, interviews could be conducted with youth in the community to draw out their perspective.

Outside of the Nipissing First Nation community, this research could be replicated in other First Nations communities interested in knowledge transfer. Future research could draw from partnership model that blended the goals of the community and the researcher, while addressing the acknowledged limitations of this research project.

Any further research with First Nations communities should be mindful of the importance of thoughtful, intentional and respectful research based on relationship-building and reciprocity.

Policy Implications

This research has implications for two areas of policy: Indigenous education and fisheries management.

Non-Aboriginal educational funding is managed provincially, while funding for First Nations children is federally managed. A 2013 report found that per child, on-reserve educational funding was at least 30% below that of Canadian students living off-reserve (Drummond & Rosenbluth, 2013). The TRCC (2015) cites a high school graduation rate of 41% for on-reserve adults and 60% for off-reserve Aboriginal adults. Both rates are lower than the national average of 87%.

While the funding gap tells part of the story of low graduation rates, the findings from this research project point to the need for on-reserve early childhood programs and education that address the necessity of incorporating Indigenous worldviews, languages, teaching and learning. This supports the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Call to Action on education (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015) which calls on the federal government to draft new Aboriginal education legislation which would incorporate culturally appropriate curricula and teaching of Aboriginal languages (p. 320) as well as to provide funding "to Aboriginal schools to utilize Indigenous Knowledge and teaching methods in classrooms" (p.331).

While this research details some of the effects of Western education and worldviews on one Indigenous community in Canada, there are hundreds of other communities still in trauma or recovering from colonial trauma. Indigenous education is an important piece on the road to recovering community knowledge and worldview.

There is a long history of appropriation of Indigenous Knowledge in Canada, from the early settlers to the current trend of scientists researching and using TEK for resource management (McGregor, 2004; Nadasdy, 1999). This creates tension in research that aims to understand how Indigenous Knowledge systems can be incorporated into

resource management policy; it risks the “dilution, assimilation and co-optation” of Indigenous knowledge systems (von der Porten, de Loe & McGregor, 2016, p. 237). While Indigenous scholars caution against direct comparisons of Indigenous and Western Knowledge systems, this research illustrates that worldviews of Nipissing First Nation, and that of surrounding settler communities and governments, are distinctly different and seemingly incompatible. At the root of the fisheries conflict are the differing values and beliefs with which Nipissing First Nation and settlers approach the fisheries. These cultural differences need to be acknowledged and addressed by both the Nipissing First Nation and settler communities/governments. Similarities or “common ground” between these knowledge systems should also be acknowledged and explored, to create understanding between knowledge systems and support fisheries management (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p.16).

The Memorandum of Understanding signed between the provincial government and Nipissing First Nation uses the strengths of both knowledge systems to manage the Nipissing fisheries, incorporating Anishinaabe community values of justice to address non-compliant fishers, and OMNRF providing technical and financial support to Nipissing First Nation. The MOU provides an example of a government-to-government relationship in which the strengths of both Indigenous and Western worldviews are being used to manage the fishery, and demonstrates the concept of “two-eyed seeing.” The MOU recognizes the need for government agents to understand historical context and Nipissing culture in order to effectively work in partnership work with the Nipissing First Nation community. Taking this a step further by incorporating discussions of values and beliefs underpinning community and settler worldviews is important in creating understanding of the current fisheries context.

Community participants are distrustful of the ways in which fisheries data are collected as well as the decision-making process involved in fisheries management, as they are perceived to be based within the Western knowledge system. Providing fishers and community members the opportunity to provide input into how and where fisheries data is collected and used, would allow for the incorporation of community knowledge into data collection and the decision-making process.

This tension between knowledges demonstrates the complications involved in negotiating knowledge systems in the context where one knowledge system has held control and power for hundreds of years (Nadasdy, 1999). Inclusion of Indigenous worldviews and knowledges into fisheries policy is not an attainable goal unless Indigenous Knowledge is recognized as an equal partner to Western Knowledge and power differentials, and historical context, are acknowledged and addressed.

Conclusion

In summary, this research provides an overview of historical and contemporary knowledge transfer in Nipissing First Nation and demonstrates the significance and value of transferring and transforming community knowledge to the Elders and youth that participated in the *Stories from the Land* workshop.

The *Stories from the Land* workshop, on which this research is based, provides a template for other Indigenous communities to bring Elders and youth together to begin a conversation on community knowledge, and providing a space for storytelling and knowledge transfer to happen. Additionally, it offers an example of a research collaboration between an Indigenous community and an outside researcher using culturally-appropriate research methods that are guided by the community. Further to this, the findings of the research illustrate the effects of colonization on the community, the consequences of the imposition of the settler worldview on the community worldview and knowledge, and the resulting disruption of transfer between Elders and youth in the community. The findings are significant to both knowledge transfer in the community, as well as to Nipissing's commercial walleye fishery.

With many Indigenous communities in Canada working to revitalize their knowledge and reset their worldviews, the findings demonstrate the importance of connecting Elders and youth in ways that are meaningful and allow for dialogue. The youth of Nipissing First Nation are ready to learn from their Elders, and as the Anishinaabe people of the Seventh Fire, are returning to their Elders and looking for the knowledge left behind on the trail.

EPILOGUE

An epilogue is written to bring closure to a story, and offers insights into what happens after the main storyline has ended. My intentions for this epilogue is to reflect on my experiences and share lessons that I've learned as a settler researcher in an Indigenous community, as well as presenting next steps for knowledge mobilization within the Nipissing First Nation community.

Reflections and Lessons Learned

Like many researchers before me who have walked the tightrope between Western and Indigenous paradigms (Getty, 2010; Loppie, 2007; Russell-Mundine, 2012), I struggled to find a balance that honoured and acknowledged both traditions. I felt a consistent tension between the rigidity that exists within academia with its many protocols and processes, and the flexibility necessary to work within a community and allow for authenticity in the research.

I learned that it was important to be open, flexible, and willing to listen to community members and changing (thoughts, ideas, methods) based on what I heard. Community members are the experts on their community, not the researcher. Having the humbleness to acknowledge this is essential to building relationships within the community, and opens the door to significant learning for the researcher. Humbleness recognizes the historical trauma that many First Nations communities have experienced in the name of research.

Flexibility, openness and being humble are closely tied to the intentions of the researcher. Many Indigenous researchers speak to the need for critical self-reflection prior to, and throughout, the research process (Absolon & Willet, 2004; Kovach, 2009; Sinclair, 2003). I spent a significant amount of time thinking through my intentions and actions so that I did not perpetuate past research harm. Being willing to dedicate time to self-reflection, relationship-building, and thoughtful, intentional data analysis and writing, was integral to my research process. However due to my family and workplace commitments, I had fewer opportunities to spend time in the community than I would have preferred. It would have been beneficial to find other ways of connecting with

community members, such as using technology to have face-to-face communication when community visits were not an option.

Research in a cross-cultural context is often uncomfortable. Community protocols and processes can seem unclear, and there is certain amount of ambiguity that exists in conversations and interactions. It was helpful to have community members that I could follow up with and ask questions for clarification. It was also incredibly important to my personal learning, as I had to dig more deeply into my moments of discomfort.

There was no roadmap offered to me in the literature on how to work with an Indigenous community. The linear-thinking, problem-solving methods of my education and professional life were not always useful, and the lack of a roadmap often encouraged me to learn in other ways.

While I had expected that I would be affected by my experience with Nipissing First Nation, I could not have predicted how deeply. Seeing the Western worldview through the eyes of the *Stories from the Land* participants facilitated my examination, and questioning, of the values and beliefs with which I have lived my life. In particular, my concept of education, my relationship with the land and my understandings of Canada have changed: Ways of learning are varied and diverse, and the Western education system has been used as a tool to attempt to dismantle other ways of learning, communities and knowledge systems. The environment is not a separate entity from myself but a web of interconnected relationships of which I am just one small part, with a responsibility to those relationships. My ideal of Canada as a tolerant, inclusive, fair and just country is challenged when I remember the many and intolerable ways that Canada has harmed Indigenous peoples.

This is just a small fraction of what I take away from my research.

Knowledge Mobilization

The research findings from this research project will be presented to the Nipissing First Nation community in the coming months. There are a numbers of ways that the knowledge from the *Stories from the Land* can be disseminated to the community, including social media, the Nipissing First Nation website, and the community newsletter. I plan to visit the community to talk to community members and the

workshop participants, as well as present to the community. I will work with the Community Liaison Coordinator and community leaders to find the methods that are most appropriate.

In particular, I will be focused on how the community and settler medicine wheels included in the research findings for this project can be ground-truthed at a local level, modified if needed so that in can be used as a tool for learning within the Nipissing First Nation community. The medicine wheel provides a framework or lens to view the perspective of the *Stories from the Land* participants on the community worldview and the settler worldview in a holistic and culturally appropriate way. Medicine wheels are used as a non-linear tool for teaching in Indigenous communities to show interconnections and help "make sense of the world and bring order to it, without isolating or compartmentalizing our different understandings of it" (Atlantic Council for International Cooperation, 2013, p.4). As a tool for teaching in the community, the medicine wheels illuminate the community's relationship with the settler worldview and can initiate conversation and storytelling around the effect of the settler worldview on the community's worldview as well as the community fisheries.

Within a fisheries context, the medicine wheels can be used with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to teach conservation officers about the worldviews (value/beliefs) of the Nipissing First Nation community, and in comparison with the community view of the settler worldview, deepen understanding of the causes of the fisheries conflict.

Final Thoughts

On the first day of the *Stories from the Land* workshop Justin Trudeau was sworn in as Prime Minister of Canada. Despite campaign promises of the building of nation-to-nation relationships with First Nations and implement the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's 94 Calls to Action, 18 months later the Trudeau government's relationship with First Nations communities does not appear to be substantially different from that of previous governments. The approval of natural gas and oil pipelines, non-compliance for equal funding for First Nations child and welfare services, and lack of consultation are continuations of the relationships with settler governments experienced

by Nipissing First Nation and First Nations across Canada. Creating meaningful change will require an understanding of the historical context of Indigenous-settler relationships, and a genuine intention for reconciliation.

The approach used within this thesis was an attempt to understand and change settler-Indigenous relationships albeit in a modest way, with Nipissing First Nation, as a starting point.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I – Nipissing First Nation Fish-WIKS Letter of Support

NIPISSING FIRST NATION

the Land, the People, the Future

HEAD OFFICE
36 Sante Road
Garden Village, ON
P2B 3K2

Administration
Finance
Library
Tel: (705) 753-2050
Fax: (705) 753-0207

Employment & Training
Tel: (705) 753-2050
ext. 1242 and 1243
Fax: (705) 753-0571

Economic Development
Tel: (705) 753-6985
Fax: (705) 753-0207

Housing Department
Tel: (705) 753-6973
Fax: (705) 753-6986

Lands Department
Fisheries/Forestry
Tel: (705) 753-2922
Fax: (705) 753-5762

Native Child Welfare
Tel: (705) 753-2691
Fax: (705) 753-2577

Ontario Works
Tel: (705) 753-2058
Fax: (705) 753-5841

Food Bank
Tel: (705) 753-6972

Public Works
Tel: (705) 753-4167
Fax: (705) 753-6703

October 11, 2011

Original on file

RECEIVED
OCT 1 2 2011
2090-9-N5

Director, Marine Affairs Program
Faculty of Management, Dalhousie University
6100 University Avenue, Suite 2127
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 3J5

Dear Dr. Fanning,

Please accept this letter as a statement of our support from Nipissing First Nation for the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council project Exploring Distinct Indigenous Knowledge Systems to Inform Fisheries Governance and Management on Canada's Coasts.

We believe the outcome of this project will provide insight by way of understanding Aboriginal (First Nations and Inuit) knowledge systems across our nation and their applicability to current federally managed fisheries.

As a partner in this project, Nipissing First Nation is committed to contribute to the direction of the research activities and is pleased to offer our support to the research team. It is estimated that Nipissing First Nation would be providing in-kind contribution of $15,000 per year to the project over its five-year timeframe.

We wish you luck in this endeavor.

Sincerely,

Marianna Couchie

Chief Marianna Couchie

APPENDIX II – Collaborative Research Agreement

Project title
Generational Perspectives on Indigenous Knowledge in Nipissing First Nation

THIS COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH AGREEMENT is made this 15th day of June 2015.
BETWEEN:

Lisa Blenkinsop, Master's Student

Supporting Agency: University of Guelph
Address: Capacity Development and Extension
School of Environmental Design and Rural Development
Landscape Architecture Building
50 Stone Road East
Guelph, ON
N1G 2W1
Telephone: 226 979 7398 (personal)
Facsimile: (519) 824-4120 x56780 (Capacity Development and Extension)
Email: lblenkin@uoguelph.ca

AND

Nipissing First Nation

Contact person: Clint Couchie, Nipissing First Nation Natural Resource Manager
'Fish-WIKS' Community Liaison Coordinator
Organization: Nipissing First Nation
Address: 36 Semo Road
Garden Village, Ontario P1B 3K2
Telephone: (705) 753-2050
Facsimile: (705) 753-5762
Email: clintc@nipissingfirstnation.ca

The researcher, as named, and Nipissing First Nation agree to conduct the named collaborative research project in accordance with the guidelines and conditions described in this document.

1. Purpose of the Research Project

The main purpose of this research project, as discussed with and understood by Nipissing First Nation (Nipissing First Nation), is to explore the meaning and importance of Indigenous Knowledge and Fisheries Knowledge to youth and Elders within the Nipissing First Nation.

This project is part of a larger project known as Fish-WIKS ('Fisheries – Western and Indigenous Knowledge System'), a national research project that seeks to improve fisheries governance and management in Canada by understanding *if* and *how* Indigenous knowledge systems can enhance fisheries governance in Canada. Nipissing First Nation is a full and equal partner of Fish-WIKS.

2. Scope of the Project

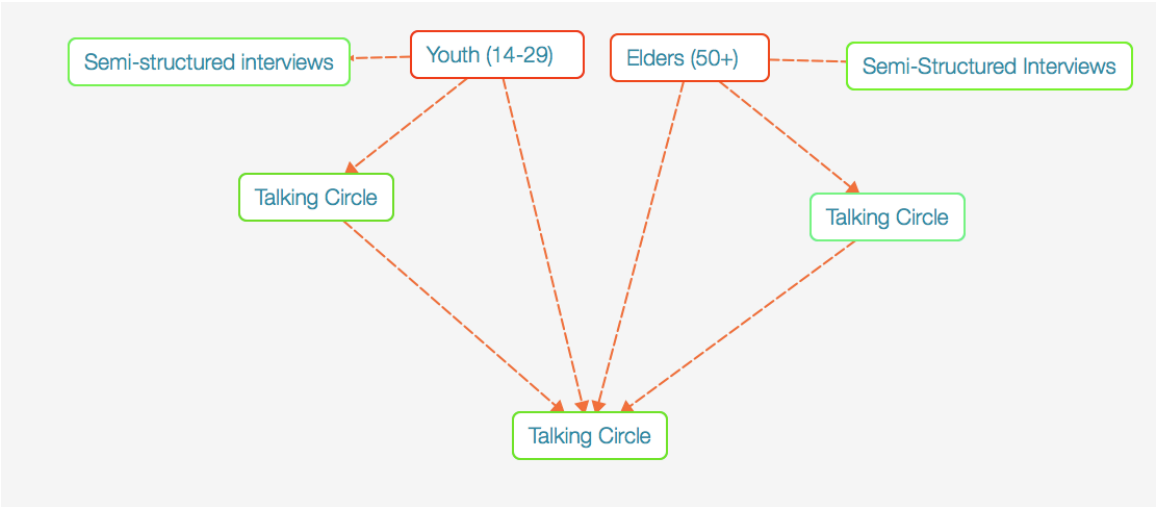
This project has the following *proposed* objectives:

d) Compare how different forms of Indigenous Knowledge (for example Fisheries and non-Fisheries Knowledge) is shared by community knowledge holders with youth.
e) Explore historical and contemporary barriers to the intergenerational transfer of Indigenous Knowledge.
f) Identify opportunities for the intergenerational transfer of community and fisheries knowledge.

3. Methods and Procedures

Data will be gathered using the following *proposed* methods: talking circles and semi-structured interviews.

The chart below details the research methods that will be used, and the flow of the research:



Talking Circles: The primary method of data collection for this research project will be through the use of talking circles. Talking circles are similar to focus groups, in that a group of individuals are brought together for the purposes of sharing knowledge and information. The talking circles will involve youth (14-29) and Elders/knowledge holders (50+), with each group participating in an initial separate talking circle. Each initial

talking circle will produce a group mural, which will be brought to the final joint talking circle of Elders and youth. The murals will be used as a starting point to discuss knowledge sharing between the two groups. Together, the Elders and youth will create a second mural to reflect their shared understanding of knowledge sharing in the community.

The talking circles will be audio recorded, and participants will be informed of this during the consent process.

Semi-structured, conversational interviews: Interviews will be offered as an option to Elders or youth who do not have the ability to commit to the longer talking circle method or who prefer to speak individually instead of in front of a group. The questions will be the same as those used in the initial talking circle. With informed consent, the interviews will be audio recorded.

The talking circles and interviews will focus broadly on:

- The understanding of community traditional knowledge, and its importance to Elders and youth
- Ways that traditional knowledge is currently shared between Elders and youth
- The contributions of Elders and youth to traditional knowledge in the community
- Current perceived barriers to intergenerational knowledge transfer
- Opportunities for future sharing of knowledge between Elders and youth
- Participation in fisheries, and the intergenerational transfer of fisheries knowledge

Nipissing First Nation Community members may assist or participate with the data-gathering phase in the following ways:

- Community Liaison Coordinator will support activities at all stages of the research
- Consenting youth and Elders may chose to participate either in the interview process or talking circles
- Nipissing First Nation community members may attend any talks, presentations, or open house for more information

Individual consent to participate in the project will be obtained prior to the collection of data. If written consent is not culturally appropriate or literacy is a concern, the researcher will obtain verbal consent. Participation in the project is completely voluntary. Participants will not be influenced to participate in the study, and participants will be informed verbally and in writing that participation in the study is completely voluntary. At the beginning of the talking circles and interviews, as well as in the consent forms, participants will be informed of their right not to answer questions, as well as their right to withdraw from the Talking Circle or stop the interview at any time.
Participant data obtained through interviews can be withdrawn from the study, and will be destroyed. Due to the nature of a talking circle, participant data obtained through the

talking circles cannot be withdrawn. Participants will be informed of this during the consent process, and at the beginning of the talking circles.
Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality of any identifying information that is obtained in connection with this study. Participants' identity will not released, and participants will not be identified in any research publications or presentations connected to this research, unless the participant indicates through the consent process that he or she would like to be identified.
If requested, participants will have the opportunity to receive a plain language summary of the findings of this research project. Research findings will be presented to the community in a language and format that is clear and comprehensible to community members using community presentations, meetings and brochures or other means that are considered appropriate by the community.
During the research process, all audio voice recordings and electronic information will be stored on the researcher's password-protected, encrypted computer. Only the researcher and her advisor, Dr. Jeji Varghese (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph) will have access to the research data. All signed consent forms will be kept separately from all digital audio recordings and digital documents. All signed consent forms, research notes, digital recordings and digital documents will either be destroyed or housed by Jeji Varghese under lock and key at the University of Guelph following the completion of the research process. All documents and records housed at the University of Guelph will be destroyed after five years.

4. Expected Outcomes, Benefits and Risks

The project will benefit the researcher in the following ways:

- Contribute to Master's program requirements;
- Indirect financial benefit through enhancement of professional status.

The project will benefit the community (individually or collectively) in the following ways:

- Add to Nipissing First Nation contribution to Fish-WIKS partnership
- Offer the opportunity to create discussion and dialogue within the community on maintaining and creating community knowledge and bridging barriers to intergenerational knowledge transfer.
- Provide a space and place for building capacity in intergenerational knowledge transfer.

The project poses the following potential risks to the community: invasion of personal or collective privacy; and misappropriation of Indigenous knowledge.

The measures that will be taken to minimize these risks include clearing advising community members in all interactions (including posters and verbal conversations) that participation in the research is completely voluntary, obtaining either written or verbal consent from participants, secure storage and confidentiality of research data, keeping

participant identities confidential except where participants explicitly request to be identified, focusing on the process of Indigenous/traditional knowledge sharing in the research instead of gathering data on specific community knowledge; consulting with Community Liaison Coordinator and experts on research conduct/culturally appropriate methodology; and through the negotiation of a Collaborative Research Agreement.

5. Obligations and Responsibilities

External Research Partner (Lisa Blenkinsop)

• To do no harm to the community.

• To work with the Community Liaison Coordinator, Chief and Council, and to involve the community in active participation of the research process and to promote it as a community-owned activity.

• To ensure the research's design, implementation, analysis, interpretation, reporting, publication and distribution of its results are culturally relevant and in compliance with the standards of competent research.

• To undertake research that will contribute something of value to the community.

• To ensure that new skills are acquired by community members, such as research design, planning, data collection, storage, analysis, interpretation and so on.

• To be stewards of the data until the end of the project if requested or appropriate.

• To promote the dissemination of information to society at large if desired and appropriate through both written publications and oral presentations.

• To be involved in any future analysis of the data after the data is returned to the community, if requested.

• To abide by any local laws, regulations and protocols in effect in the community or region, and to
become familiar with the culture and traditions of the community.

• Within their respective roles as researchers and community representatives, to advocate and address health, social or other issues that may emerge as a result of the research.

• To ensure that the community is fully informed in all parts of the research process, including its outcomes through publications and presentations, and to promptly answer questions that may emerge regarding the project and its findings.

• To ensure that research carried out is done in accordance with the highest standards, both methodologically and from a First Nations cultural perspective.

• To support the community by providing resources as a matter of priority.

• To abide by their own professional standards, their institution's guidelines for ethical research and general standards of ethical research.

• To communicate with and provide project updates to Fish-WIKS on a regular basis.

Community Partner (Nipissing First Nation)

• First and foremost, to represent the interests, perspectives and concerns of community members and of the community as a whole.

• To ensure that research carried out is done in accordance with the highest standards, both methodologically and from a First Nations cultural perspective.

• To communicate the results of the research to other communities, and to share ideas as well as program and service development for mutual benefit and involvement.

• To serve as the guardian of the research data during and/or after completion of the project.

• To offer the external and community researchers the opportunity to continue data analyses before the data are offered to new researchers.

7. Dissemination of Results

Research findings will be disseminated to the Nipissing First Nation community in the form of newsletter and website updates, written reports, brochures, oral presentations and in a final report. The manner in which results are presented to the community will be developed in consultation with community leaders so that the method is clear, comprehensible, appropriate and accessible to community members.

Broad feedback will be invited by providing community members and leadership the opportunity to correct errors, make additions, and provide feedback on what may be perceived as incorrect interpretations. The researcher will solicit ongoing feedback and final approval of research results from Chief and Council, and community presentations will be available upon request.

Results will also be disseminated in the form of newspaper articles, oral presentations, policy recommendations, dissertation chapters, and academic publications to First Nation organizations, the academic community (i.e. conference presentations; peer-reviewed journal articles), the Fish-WIKS partnership, relevant government representatives, and the general public.

8. Data Ownership and Intellectual Property Rights

Guiding data collection is the principle of First Nations inherent right to govern their data and information as per the OCAP principles - Ownership, Control, Access and Possession, advocated by the Assembly of First Nations, one of the Fish-WIKS partner organizations. The extent of compliance with OCAP will be determined by Nipissing First Nation and communicated through this Agreement.

Individual participants own their personal information while Nipissing First Nation owns collective data. Nipissing First Nation retains all intellectual property rights (including copyright), as applicable, to the data offered under this agreement.

Nipissing First Nation will receive de-identified transcripts of semi-structured interviews and talking circles as well as the murals created in talking circles, once the research has been completed, for archival purposes.

The final thesis belongs to the researcher and the University of Guelph will own the copyright.

9. Communication

Communication on all aspects of the research, including progress reports to the community, will be ensured in the following ways: through the community newsletter, website and social media, oral presentations, written reports, and updates to Chief and Council.

In the case of media inquiries during or after the project, designated spokespersons are: Lisa Blenkinsop and/or the Community Liaison Coordinator.

The community will be the first to receive research results and the first invited to provide input and feedback on the results. The results will be presented in a format that is appropriate and accessible to the community. The research partners agree to participate in community meetings to discuss the results and their implications.

10. Dispute Resolution

In the event that a dispute arises out of or relates to this research project, both parties agree first to try in good faith to settle the dispute by mediation administered by an agreed upon neutral party before resorting to arbitration, litigation or some other dispute resolution procedure. A mediator will assist the parties in finding a resolution that is mutually acceptable.

If a dispute cannot be resolved to the satisfaction of both parties, the research project may be terminated according to the terms described below.

11. Term and Termination

This agreement shall have an effective date of 15 June 2015 and shall terminate on completion of the research project.

This agreement may be terminated by the written notification of either party.

APPENDIX III – Research Ethics Approval

UNIVERSITY of GUELPH

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARDS
Certification of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Participants

APPROVAL PERIOD: July 9, 2015
EXPIRY DATE: July 9, 2016
REB: G
REB NUMBER: 15AP014
TYPE OF REVIEW: Delegated Type 1
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Varghese, Jeji (varghese@uoguelph.ca)
DEPARTMENT: Sociology and Anthropology
SPONSOR(S): SSHRC Partnership Grant
TITLE OF PROJECT: Generational Perspectives on Indigenous Knowledge in Nipissing First Nation

CHANGES:

Date	Document Name	Version	Change Summary
26-Oct-15	Secondary Use of data form	1	New - completed
	Supplemental Cross Cultural REB form	3	Edited to reflect changes.
	Recruitment Poster Elders	2	Removed
	Recruitment Poster Youth	2	Removed
	Written Consent for Interviews	2	Removed
	Written Consent for Talking Circles	2	Removed
	Oral Consent for Interviews	2	Removed
	Oral Consent for Talking Circles	2	Removed
	Script for Introducing Consent	2	Removed
	Draft Talking Circles/ Interviews questions and script	2	Removed
	Script for Recruitment (email, phone, in person)	2	Removed
	REB-app-Blenkinsop&Varghese	2	Edited to remove all information except Sections A, G and H (which are required for the secondary use of data)
	InformationSheetforWorkshopParticipants	1	New

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human participants in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that researchers:

- Adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and **approved** by the REB.
- Receive approval from the REB for any **modifications** before they can be implemented.
- Report any **change in the source of funding.**
- Report **unexpected events or incidental findings** to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.
- Are responsible for **ascertaining and complying with all applicable legal and regulatory requirements** with respect to consent and the protection of privacy of participants in the jurisdiction of the research project.

The Principal Investigator must:

- Ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of facilities or institutions involved in the research are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.

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- Submit a **Status Report** to the REB upon completion of the project. If the research is a multi-year project, a status report must be submitted annually prior to the expiry date. Failure to submit an annual status report will lead to your study being suspended and potentially terminated.

The approval for this protocol terminates on the **EXPIRY DATE**, or the term of your appointment or employment at the University of Guelph whichever comes first.

Signature: Date: October 26, 2015

L. Kuczynski
Chair, Research Ethics Board-General

APPENDIX IV – Participant Information Sheet

Capacity Development and Extension
School of Environmental Design and Rural Development
Landscape Architecture Building

Information Sheet for Workshop Participants

Hello, my name is Lisa Blenkinsop and I'm a graduate student at the University of Guelph working in partnership with Nipissing First Nation on my research project on traditional knowledge. I'm working with Clint Couchie, who is my Nipissing First Nation liaison for this project.

My research is funded by a grant through the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and is part of a larger project called "Fish-WIKs". "WIKS" stands for "Western and Indigenous Knowledge systems. The project includes four First Nations communities, four Aboriginal organizations across Canada and four universities. These include Nipissing First Nation and the University of Guelph.

I will be assisting Ryan McMahon, the facilitator for the "Stories from the Land" workshop. Part of the funding for this workshop is from my research funds from the Fish-WIKS project.

For my research study, I will be using the recordings taken by Ryan during the workshop, during interviews, circles, other workshop activities and the resulting digital podcast. The recordings that I will have access to will have information that will have been shared publicly by participants at the workshop. I will not identify you by name and any identifying information that discloses your identity will not be released or published in the results of the study and any research publications or presentations resulting from the study.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me in person, or contact me at lblenkin@uoguelph.ca or 519 824 4120 x56383.

APPENDIX V – Stories from the Land Workshop Questions

Youth Session, November 4, 2015.

1. What does that mean to you when you say I am Anishinaabe, what are you saying?
2. What about the word Anishinaabe in the language, when you say Anishinaabe? What does that word mean? Do you guys know the definition of Anishinaabe?
3. How do you, today, young people, how do you enact, how do you live that way of being Anishinaabe, what are the things you try to do to be Anishinaabe?
4. What prevents you, what are the things that prevent you from being Anishinaabe. What is it in your way? What are the things that stop, either literally stop you, or metaphorically stop you? Maybe it's the ideas you carry, maybe it is the Indian Act, you know, what are things that prevent you from being Anishinaabe?
5. What it means to be from this territory? What does it mean to be from Nipissing First Nation? What does it mean to be here, to be who you are, who are you?
6. What are our responsibilities as Anishinaabe people to the land, to the lake, to the animals?
7. What are you willing to do to promote life and that sustainability that we're talking about as young Anishinaabe people?

Elder Session, November 5, 2015.

1. What does it mean to you to be Anishinaabe?
2. So the big question that has to be answered, and where we got stuck last night is now what? How do we return to these things? How do we return to our language, our governance, our relationship with that lake? And where we're going to go tonight is to talk about getting this lake healthy again. Getting the community thinking about the health of this lake and trying to understand again our relationship with it. So how do we get there, what are those mechanisms or

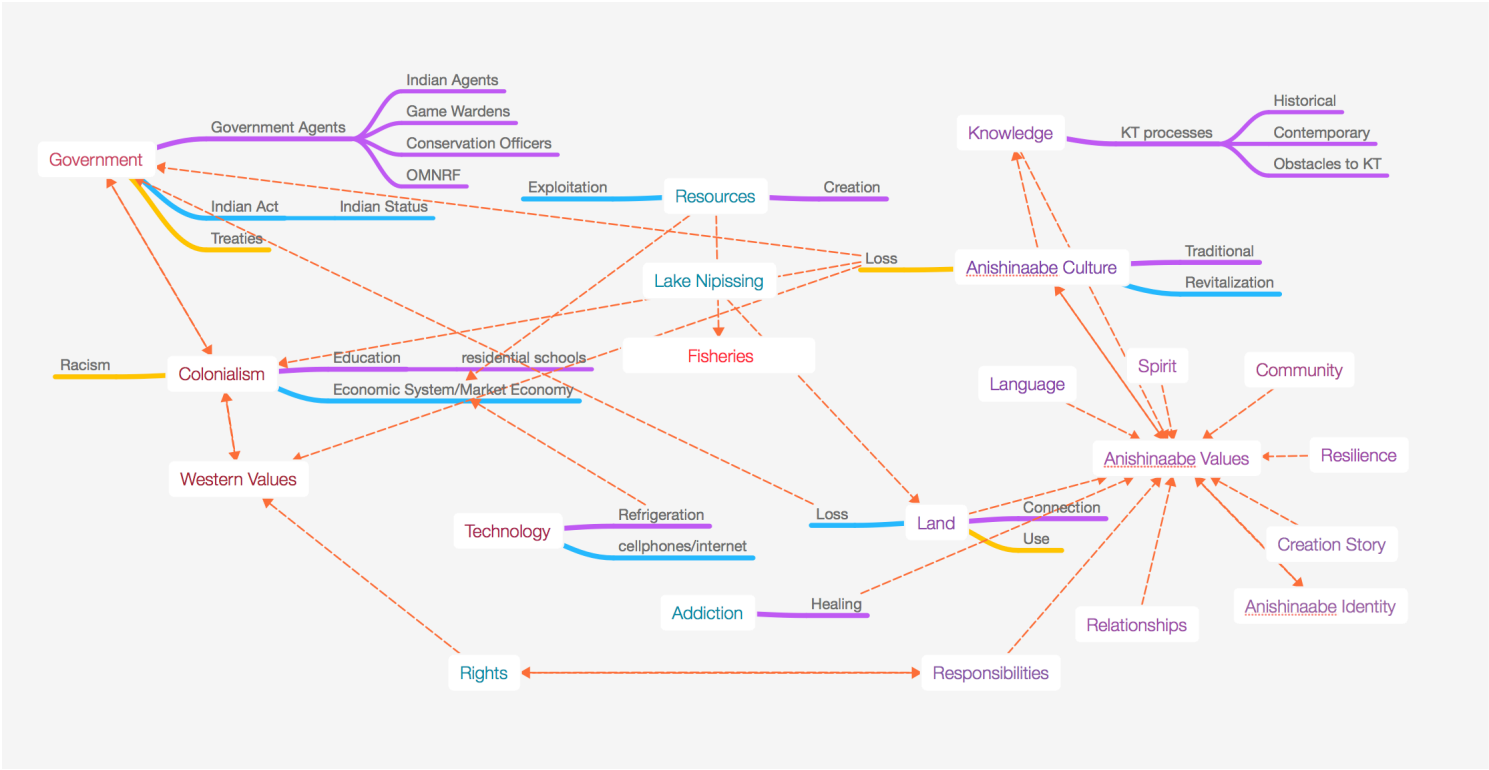
systems that maybe were once here but are no longer? What that gap? Where that knowledge isn't being transferred?

3. How do we really reinvigorate that knowledge? And pass it on to our young people. How do we do that? Is there a place to do that? Is there a you know, a time where teaching lodge goes up?
4. How do we get them understanding that connection to the lake, how do we get them understanding that connection to that delicate balance with the health of our water, and our land? What are, what is missing there that can help bring people back to this circle?
5. And gone are the days where you just hear that knock on the door, and come in. And you know, you're visiting. So long time ago when you guys were younger, how was this information shared with you by your Elders, by the people that would teach you?
6. What are you hopeful for, what do you seeing coming that is good? Somethings that are good. Something that you're working towards, something that you're hoping for in terms of your community here?

Youth-Elder Session, November 6, 2015

1. Can somebody please tell us about the community picnics and when they started, what they were like, when they were happening, and why we think they're not around as much as they used to be?
2. How much art and crafts do you want to know? How much of all of that of that stuff do you want to learn? Who's down to learn more?
3. What stops you from seeking teachings? What stops you from sharing your stories or your teachings?
4. Was the water different before and how?

Youth-Elder Session, November 7, 2015

1. Tell us about Mosquito Creek.
2. What do you remember about fishing as a kid?
3. Do you think if, there's a process that can be put in place to get fisherman to sit and talk opening and honestly?
4. Were Nipissing First Nation residents forcibly removed from Mosquito Creek?
5. Of the 8 communities that are recognized locally, were there always 8 communities, were there more, were there less?
6. What is your favourite memory on Lake Nipissing?

APPENDIX VI – Data Analysis: Major Themes