

Mapping the Unmappable in Indigenous Digital Cartographies

by

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BA, Anthropology, University of Victoria, 2014

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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## Abstract

This thesis draws on a community-engaged digital-mapping project with the Vancouver Island Coast Salish community of the Stz'uminus First Nation. In this paper, I discuss the ways in which conventional cartographic representations of Indigenous peoples are laden with methodological and visual assumptions that position Indigenous peoples' perspectives, stories, and experiences within test-, proof-, and boundary-driven legal and Eurocentric contexts. In contrast, I frame this project's methodology and digital mapping tools as an effort to map a *depth* of place, the emotional, spiritual, experiential, and kin-based cultural context that is routinely glossed over in conventional mapping practices. I argue elders' place-based stories, when recorded on video and embedded in a digital map, produce a space for the "unmappable," that which cannot, or will not, be expressed within the constructs of a static two-dimensional map. This thesis also describes a refusal to steep maps *too* deeply in cultural context for a public audience. I detail the conversations that emerged in response to a set of deeply spiritual, cultural, and personal stories to mark how the presence of Coast Salish law, customs, power structures, varying intra-community perspectives, and refusal came to bear on the production of "blank space" (interpreted colonially and legally as *terra nullius*) in this project's cartographic representation. Finally, I conclude that Coast Salish sharing customs are embedded within networks of Coast Salish customary legal traditions, which fundamentally affects tensions that arise between storytelling and digital mapping technologies, between academic and community accountabilities, and between collective and individual consent.

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## Introduction

Between 2013 and 2016, the Stz'uminus First Nation and the University of Victoria's Ethnographic Mapping Lab put into motion the Stz'uminus Storied Places project, a collaborative, community-based project to create a public, online, and interactive digital atlas of important places in Stz'uminus First Nation territory (Becker, Louie, and Thom 2014; Becker 2014). In this thesis, I draw on this project to discuss the ways in which conventional cartographic representations of Indigenous peoples (often called "Traditional Use Studies" in Canadian contexts) are laden with methodological and visual assumptions that position Indigenous peoples' perspectives, stories, and experiences within Eurocentric test-, proof-, and boundary-driven legal contexts (Bryan and Wood 2015; Eades 2015a; Thom 2009; Thom 2014a). I argue these contexts confine Indigenous mapping<sup>1</sup> efforts to dualistic and superficial representations within the ontological framework of the state. In contrast, I frame this project's methodology and digital mapping tools as an effort to map a *depth* of place, the emotional, spiritual, experiential, and kin-based cultural context that is routinely glossed over in Traditional Use Studies (McIlwraith and Cormier 2015). In this thesis, I argue elders' place-based stories, when recorded on video and embedded in a digital map, produce a space for the "unmappable"—that which cannot, or will not, be expressed within the constructs of conventional cartographic practices.

At the heart of this paper, however, is another "unmappable": the dialogue that emerges during the process of making the map and in response to the map itself. In this thesis, I

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis, I use "Indigenous cartographies" and "Indigenous Mapping" synonymously to refer to the process of creating a map that engages a European cartographic format but that represents the interests and worldview of an Indigenous community (which can in some cases extend to a format quite un-familiar to

detail the conversations that emerged during this project’s video-vetting phase. In particular, I detail the conversation that developed in response to a set of deeply spiritual, cultural, and personal stories an elder knowingly and willingly shared on video for this project. Through these conversations, we witness a reluctance, a hesitancy, to steep maps *too* deeply in cultural context for a public audience. I evoke the lens of refusal to interpret this hesitancy (Simpson 2007; Tuck and Yang 2014), and I write *around* the stories (instead of reproducing them in text) to mark *presence* in absence—the presence of Coast Salish legal traditions, customs, and intra-community power dynamics, and how these dynamics come to bear on the sharing of digital heritage. I also link these conversations to the production of “blank space” in indigenous maps. I argue that by bringing into view community-based expressions of power over what is shared and what is not shared during the map-making process, this thesis interrupts and re-stories “blank space” in indigenous cartographies, interpreted colonially as *absence* (absence of occupancy, use, social organization, culture, and ownership). Finally, I draw on these conversations to explore the tensions that arise between the risks and benefits of sharing digital heritage publicly, between academic and community accountabilities during community-based research processes, and between collective and individual consent.

### ***Project Background and Study Area***

In the fall of 2013, I received an undergraduate award to begin a research project under the supervision of Dr. Brian Thom at the University of Victoria. At that point during my undergraduate degree, I had acquired significant technical skills in computer-mediated communication, particularly in website, content management, and geographic information systems design, and I had become increasingly interested in applying those

skills in a real-world research context as opposed to the classroom. Brian, drawing on his connection to the small southeast Vancouver Island community of Ladysmith, BC, and the local Stz'uminus First Nation, suggested we connect with his partners and colleagues involved in a local initiative called Project REEL Life. Project REEL Life was a local digital storytelling program designed to connect youth with mentors in the Town of Ladysmith and the Stz'uminus First Nation communities (Project: REEL Life - About n.d.), and Brian thought they might be interested in a collaborative research project. Further, Brian introduced me to a map produced by the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, which was largely based on the re-compilation of Island Hul'q'umi'num' place names recorded in the 1970s by David Rozen (HTG 2005; Rozen 1985) then expanded on by Hul'q'umi'num'-speaking elders in the 2000s (Thom 2005:227-8; 237). He suggested a local area of this map would be a good focus for more in-depth research into the Stz'uminus peoples deep understandings of place (see Figure 1).

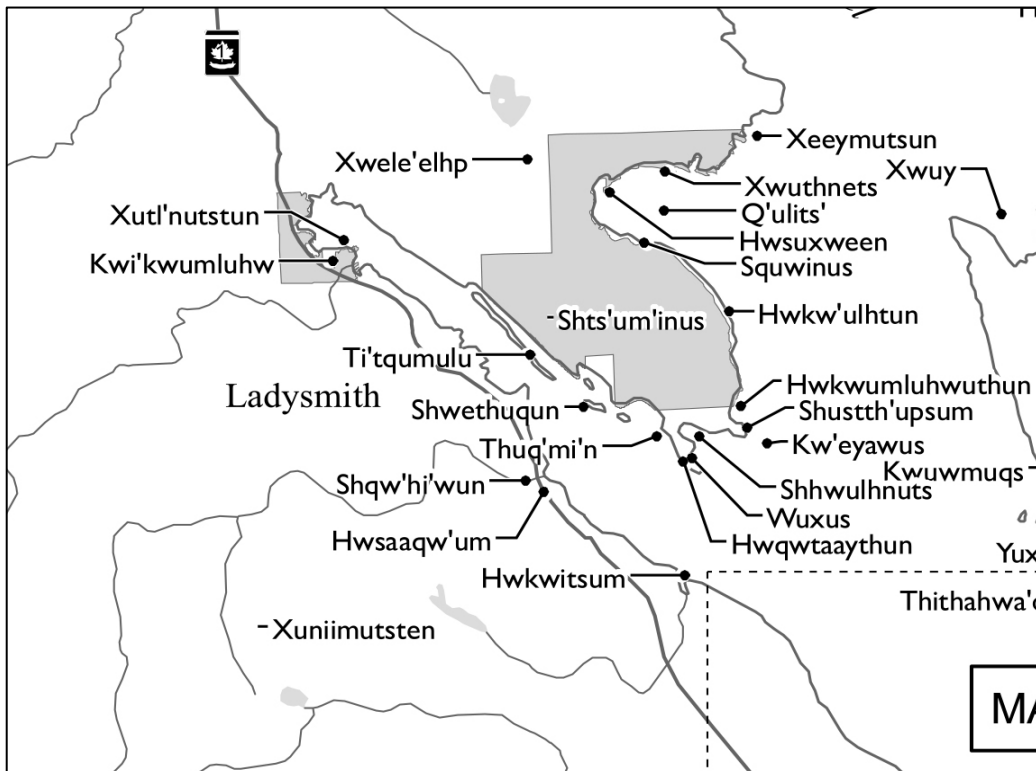


Figure 1: Project Study Area.

This map represents a small section of 22 Hul'q'umi'num' place names in and around two of the Stz'uminus First Nation's on-reserve communities, Oyster Bay IR12 and Chemainus IR13 (in grey) for which became our study area. There are hundreds of Hul'q'umi'num' place names recorded within the Stz'uminus First Nation's traditional territory (HTG 2005; Rozen 1985), the whole of which is *not* represented in the above map. We focused on a small, manageable, and accessible study area for this project, represented in the above Figure 1. This map is a section of a larger place-names map produced by the Hul'q'umi'num Treaty Group (HTG 2005:5). Stz'uminus First Nation elders Michael David, Alfred Louie, and Alexis Louie told anthropologist David Rozen the majority of the 22 place names pictured in this map.

With that in mind, we convened with those involved in Project REEL Life, including Stz'uminus First Nation member and Recreation Coordinator Shirley Louie (who became the community lead on this project and was foundational to its implementation) and local Stz'uminus First Nation elder Ray Harris. At this informal meeting, we suggested collaborating on the creation of a multi-media embedded digital map that focused on a manageable study area of 22 Hul'q'umi'num' place names in and around

the Stz'uminus First Nation's on-reserve communities of Oyster Bay IR12 and Chemainus IR13, which is near the Town of Ladysmith (Figure 1). This study area was logistically practical and not a representation of the entirety of the Stz'uminus First Nation's traditional territory. Chemainus IR 12 and 13 are where central community hubs are located. Chemainus IR 13 includes several community schools, a health centre, and the recreation centre where the after-school youth programs that were linked with Project REEL Life continue to be delivered by Shirley Louie and her staff. As such, we saw this focused study area as a practical way of navigating recreation and school schedules, connecting with elders in their homes, and allowing an easy visit to the places we were asking about.

During our first introductory meeting, we discussed as a group how a mapping project could carry on the Stz'uminus First Nation's Project REEL Life efforts to connect with elders and record histories and stories. We identified an opportunity to work with the previous project's footage by re-framing it with a geographic focus. We thought a digital map could help do the work of representing the significance of the local area to the Stz'uminus First Nation through video-stories plotted to a digital landscape. Further, a digital map could be used as an educational tool in the local schools as well as a tool for the Stz'uminus First Nation to share their history with the non-aboriginal community in and around Ladysmith, BC. Shortly after that meeting, we shared our project ideas during an elders' dinner organized by Shirley at the recreation centre, an event held to share videos created through the Stz'uminus First Nation's Project REEL Life collaboration. The elders at the dinner expressed their support and interest in a tool that would be available for community members to engage with local Hul'q'umi'num' place

names. While we waited for an opportunity to share the project idea with the Stz'uminus First Nation's Chief and Council, we focused on building a map prototype using Google mapping programs and the previously-shot Project REEL Life footage. By the time Shirley and I spoke to Council (Becker, Louie, and Thom 2014), I was moving on to graduate studies, and we proposed our collaboration could be extended into my graduate field work for which I would pursue funding to support the ongoing project. Council made suggestions regarding the research methodology, including for us to try to speak to as many people as we could and to establish a vetting process to review the information that would be posted online. They passed a unanimous motion in support of us carrying forward with the work, and so we began the field work stage of the Stz'uminus Storied Places project.

### *Activities, methods, and tools*

This project employed community-engaged research approaches to storytelling, digital video, and digital cartographic tools within a collaboration of Indigenous and non-Indigenous academic actors.



Figure 2: Manny Sampson and Shirley Louie share a laugh while Mr. Sampson cooks salmon over the fire during his interview on March 13, 2018.

In this section, I outline the project's main activities, methods, and tools. In the next section, I provide a theoretical framework for our methodological approach. The field work phase of this project took place intermittently during a two-year span between the fall of 2014 through to the end of the summer of 2016. This two-year span of field work

does not include the work completed during the Stz'uminus First Nation's collaboration with Project REEL Life, which took place between 2012 and 2013, and the recordings from which were also integrated into this project's outcomes. Shirley Louie, Stz'uminus First Nation member, Recreation Coordinator, and this project's community lead, coordinated visits with local knowledgeable community members and elders. Local youth, some enrolled in the Community Centre's after-school program, and some simply volunteering their time at the Community Centre, were invited to participate in the visits. The youth were asked to manage the recording devices and partake in the conversation if inclined. For each interview and project meeting, I drove one-and-a-half to two hours along Island Highway from Victoria

to the Stz'uminus First Nation's recreation centre on IR13. My distance from the community affected our ease of coordination, which I reflect on in the discussion of this thesis. Still, our original goal was to complete 10 in-depth interviews with community



Figure 3: Melanie Sampson and Makayla Daniels shoot b-roll footage during an interview with Ray Harris on his fishing vessel (September 18, 2015).

members, and we completed 13. In addition to those interviews, we completed three two-hour video-review sessions with two knowledgeable community members, which were recorded with audio only. We also completed two collaborative editing sessions and three filming and editing workshops with the youth involved in the after-school program.

### *Interview Methods*

Our visits with community members and elders varied from a semi-structured interview style to a more dialogical, conversational format, to sometimes even an elder taking complete control over what they wished to share while allowing us to ask a few questions before the visit concluded. We began



Figure 4: Manny Sampson and I review the consent form before his interview on March 13, 2015.

each interview by reading in detail our project consent form (Appendix I) and clarifying any questions the interviewee had. We took a flexible approach to speaking with community members with the intention to make space for community members to decide what they thought was important and were comfortable sharing on camera. Furthermore, our questions and interests developed not only through the process of visiting with elders but also as those of us involved in the project became more aware of one another's and the community's interests. Moreover, prior to visiting, we often considered each community member's known expertise, which helped us tailor our inquiry to that which we thought each person might be particularly insightful or interested in talking about. Finally, Shirley regularly checked in with her network of elders and mentors to gain an idea of their interests, which we then integrated into our conversations.

Where possible, we began each visit by sharing our pilot map and playing some of the audio and video embedded at Hul'q'umi'num' place-names' locations in the study area. We also had a paper copy of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group's place-names map (Figure 1) on hand to guide our conversation and to mark-up manually when places were

identified. However, we found using a more conversational format worked best during our visits where, if emplaced stories emerged, we would ask for the locational aspects of the stories to be pointed out on the map if possible, or described via community-known waypoints (e.g., streets, community members' homes, businesses, power lines, points, streams). It sometimes proved difficult to engage community members in pinpointing the locations of their stories on the map. At times, it was disrespectful, irrelevant, or foreign, to ask a community member to try to define their story on a paper-map medium. The map would disrupt the flow of visiting, listening, and conversing, where pinpointing specific places sometimes seemed at times incongruent with the movement and dynamisms of the stories.

Furthermore, some of the people we spoke to had lost their eye sight and were unable to see the map. A few of our visits were combined with another



Figure 5: Joe Harris tells stories about fishing, hunting, historical battles, ghosts, and sasquatch (October 22, 2015).

activity, such as preparing and cooking fish outside by the fire, which made it difficult and impractical to roll out a map where there was not a flat surface, and when elders were engaged with a showing and telling activity. Overall, during interviews, we put an emphasis on listening to stories and engaging in conversation and less of a focus on defining and pinpointing exact locations unless we were very unsure of where they were talking about. Thus, instead of the map as the central prompting device during the interview, the map became a locating tool subsequent to the sharing of a story or experience. Our prioritization of the story over the map during interviews with elders

was not incidental. This methodological element is in stark contrast to classic Traditional Use Study (TUS) mapping (Tobias 2009) and emerged as a result of our collaborative research process, the goal for which was not proof or evidence but a *depth* of storied experience emplaced.

### *Recording Methods and Tools*

During the visits, we almost always had two cameras and at least one audio device recording, the latter of which was connected to a lapel mic and attached to the collar of the person we were visiting with. Having learned about the importance of reducing



Figure 6: The title clip from Harvey Seymour's video about *Ma'uqw* (ducks) at *Q'ulits'* (Kulleet Bay) (June 16, 2016).

background noise and the consequences of failing recording devices during our previous multi-media projects, Shirley and I invested a significant amount of effort towards recording clear, unobstructed audio during this project. The cameras recorded in high-definition format, and the varying angles were helpful backup files if one camera failed (ran out of battery, space, etc.). Further, the different angles added visual interest to the final videos and were an important resource to smooth visual transitions where pieces of the conversation were removed for various reasons, such as condensing the story. The cameras belonged to the Community Centre, having been acquired through the Project REEL Life initiative. We borrowed audio equipment from the University of Victoria's Ethnographic Mapping Lab, which supported this project's activities through its 2015-

2016 Social Sciences and Human Research Council grant called *Innovations in Ethnographic Mapping and Indigenous Cartographies* for which Dr. Brian Thom is the principal investigator. Our project was one of the key case studies in his overall ethnographic mapping research agenda (which aimed to create politically relevant and powerful maps that prioritize indigenous knowledge processes and ontologies). After each visit, either I or one of the youth volunteers uploaded the audio and video recordings an external project hard drive. We organized the recordings in folders, first by date and interviewee name then by device (i.e., camera 1, camera 2, audio). Transcripts, editing program files, and finalized video files were later added to their respective folders. We regularly backed up the external project hard drive to an on-site hard drive at the recreation centre.



Figure 7: An example of b-roll footage from Harvey Seymour's video about *Ma'uqw* (ducks) at *Q'ulits'* Kulleet Bay). Mr. Seymour's *Hul'q'umi'num'* pronunciation for duck species was edited to repeat three times against images of the relevant duck species.

## Video Editing Methods and Tools



Figure 8: An interview with Deloris Sampson Elliott (July 14, 2015) being edited in Adobe Premiere Pro. The timeline (bottom right) shows several layers of audio and video joined during the editing process.

While I completed the majority of video editing for the final digital map, Shirley and I and her staff at the recreation centre enjoyed two sessions of collaborative video-editing before the video-review sessions, which helped us understand each other's video-editing style, what visuals and narratives we valued and why, and some of the political aspects of sharing stories, which further informed my editing work when I was working alone. Initially, we had hoped to train local youth to edit all of the videos for the final map. As already stated, we completed 13 in-depth interviews with community members, ranging from one to three hours long. Because of the multiple cameras rolling during the visits, these interviews produced over 32 hours of video footage. Combined with the footage from the Project REEL Life collaboration, we had roughly 40 hours of footage to work with. During the video-editing phase, the audio files from the interviews were matched and joined to the varying camera angles using Adobe Premiere Pro editing

software. After joining the audio with the varying camera angles, short videos were edited from the full-length interview. In the end, we edited over 79 short videos, totaling roughly four hours. The b-roll footage included videos of the territory being talked about, which were created using Google Earth Tour and screen recording software. We

identified 42 additional stories in the footage (totaling almost three hours) that in the future may be good candidates to be produced as short videos. There is roughly eight hours of footage that still

needs review for story

identification. In general, it

requires an hour of editing time

for every one minute of video. Video-editing and reviewing was a highly time-

consuming portion of this project; well over 200 hours was spent on editing alone. Each

video includes a title and credits detailing the names of everyone present during each recording.

### *Video Vetting*

After the videos were edited, we engaged in a vetting process whereby a small committee reviewed the videos we created to assess and provide guidance about whether the videos were appropriate for a public, online platform like YouTube—the web-based infrastructural backbone of our intended webmap outcome. During three two-hour video-review sessions, two knowledgeable community members reviewed 65 of the 79 videos



Figure 9: Thumbnail from a Hul'q'umi'num' place name video. Each place name on the map includes a video of the name being pronounced in Hul'q'umi'num'.

we created for the purpose of the map. After watching each video, the reviewers described their feelings about the videos being released in a public forum. We recorded on audio all but one review session (due to device failure), and during each session, we kept a spreadsheet indicating whether the video was a “yes” or “no” for a public forum and we made notes on whether there were certain parts of videos the reviewers felt should be edited out. When possible, we asked where the reviewers could foresee the video being embedded on the map; however, due to project timelines, funds, and the large number of videos to review, we remained focused on the permissibility of the videos in a public forum during these sessions. We only uploaded the videos both reviewers expressly stated were okay for a public forum. We recorded the reviewers’ comments for videos that require further steps and consultation with more community members for the Stz’uminus First Nation to follow-up on at a later date.

#### *GIS Programs (digital mapping platforms)*

To explore and finalize the display of this work within its geographical context, we used geographic information system (GIS) programs and applications, which I sometimes refer to interchangeably in this thesis as “digital mapping platforms.” A GIS is a computer program or application that provides a user with a digital representation of a geographic area, which the user can then annotate using the tools and functionality belonging to that particular GIS program. While GIS programs can be highly complex, requiring significant education and training, and ask a high purchase price and maintenance cost, there are also simple, user-friendly, and free GIS options easily accessible and available, such as Google Earth and Google’s MyMaps. These less-

complex GIS options extend the powerful capabilities of a once expert-only tool to any interested person, community, or organization with basic computing capacity and skills.

The primary function of a GIS is the ability for users to add points, lines, and polygons (features or sites) to a base map and classify those features into descriptive categories which can then be grouped together to form a layer. A layer can be described as a folder that houses multiple sites of the same type, and the type is defined by the map-maker.

For example, a point could represent the location of a house, which could be grouped with other houses and buildings under an “historic buildings” layer; a line could represent the location of a trail route, which could be grouped with other routes to form an “easy hiking” layer; likewise, a polygon could represent a geographic area where a specific plant grows and could be grouped with other plants to represent an “invasive species” layer. A GIS also provides the user with an interface to add descriptive information to each site (often called attribute data). Attribute data traditionally takes the form of textual or table-based information but has been expanded in some applications to include photo and video information. Because of this project’s reliance on video as a recording method, we required a GIS that allowed us to embed a video as an attribute at the site. We also required software that was accessible, free, and easy to maintain and use over time.

### *Google Mapping Tools*

We explored two GIS applications for our pilot map, both of which are included in Google’s suite of mapping tools available online free of charge: (1) Google MyMaps (formerly called “Maps Engine” and herein referred to as MyMaps) and (2) Google Earth Desktop (herein referred to as Google Earth). Both mapping platforms give users the

capability of creating points, lines, and polygons (features) and embedding videos, images, and text (attribute data) within each feature. Each program varies in its flexibility and control over how those attributes are compiled and displayed. One of the key differences between the two mapping tools is privacy and sharing controls. Maps created

using MyMaps are hosted on a cloud-based server, enabling ubiquitous access and convenient sharing capabilities. Maps

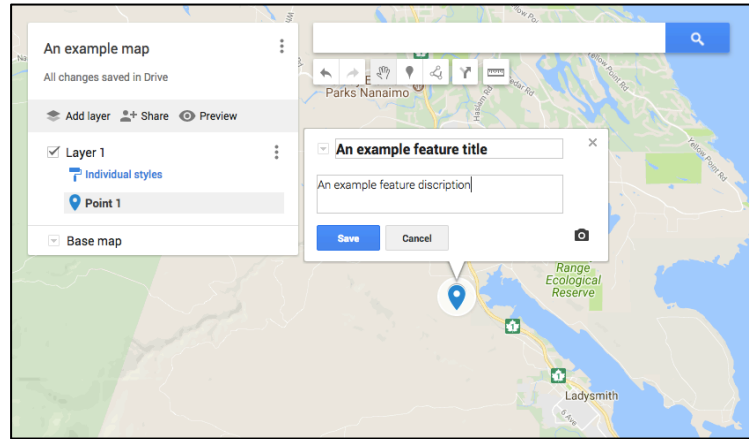


Figure 10: Google MyMaps editing interface. The interface is straight-forward, easy to use, and easy to share.

created using Google Earth are hosted on a local computer hard drive, enabling restricted access and more complicated sharing capabilities. “Cloud-based” means that the application is hosted on a server (often based in the US) and accessed on the internet, and any maps created using the application are also server-hosted and accessed on the internet. Every time a new map is made using the MyMaps application, a new web address is created for the map’s location on an internet-linked server. While MyMaps is easily shareable due to its being hosted in the cloud, the application does offer three access/sharing options: (1) “public on the web,” which means anyone on the internet can find the map and access it with no sign-in required, (2) “anyone with the link,” which means anyone who has the link can access the map, with no sign-in required, and (3) “private,” which means only the creator can access the map when signed into their Google account, but the map-creator can invite other collaborators

to access the map, as long as those collaborators are also signed in to their respective Google accounts.

Google Earth Desktop on the other hand, is not hosted in the cloud, which means the creator of the map has control over how and with whom the map is shared. This enables Earth Desktop to have restricted access and more limited version-controlled sharing capabilities. Earth is a free, downloadable desktop program that is hosted on the local user's hard drive on their personal machine. Because the maps a user creates using Google Earth Desktop remain on their local machine (much like a saved Word or Excel document), this option Earth offers the user more options, settings and tools and, therefore, flexibility, which is extremely useful but also more entails more complex functionality and, in comparison to MyMaps, is less user-friendly.

We tested a version of our pilot map in both Google Earth Desktop and MyMaps. Google Earth presented barriers to sharing straight away while MyMaps presented some initial technical difficulties with embedding videos, but those problems were resolved as Google made updates to the application. The updates were actually based on our feedback, which was a remarkable connection for a small First Nation based community project. During the piloting phase, it was clear that attempting to share a Google Earth file, and expecting the receiver to download the program to view the file properly, was a barrier to sharing the map. We were also conscious of the way each mapping platform displayed on a mobile device since we knew the map would likely be viewed and shared on personal mobile devices. Because of its ease of use and sharing, ability to host video, and update with fairly limited technical knowledge, we decided the MyMaps platform

would have the most impact on increased community access to the resource, which was one of our main goals of the project.

### *The Cartographic Outcome*

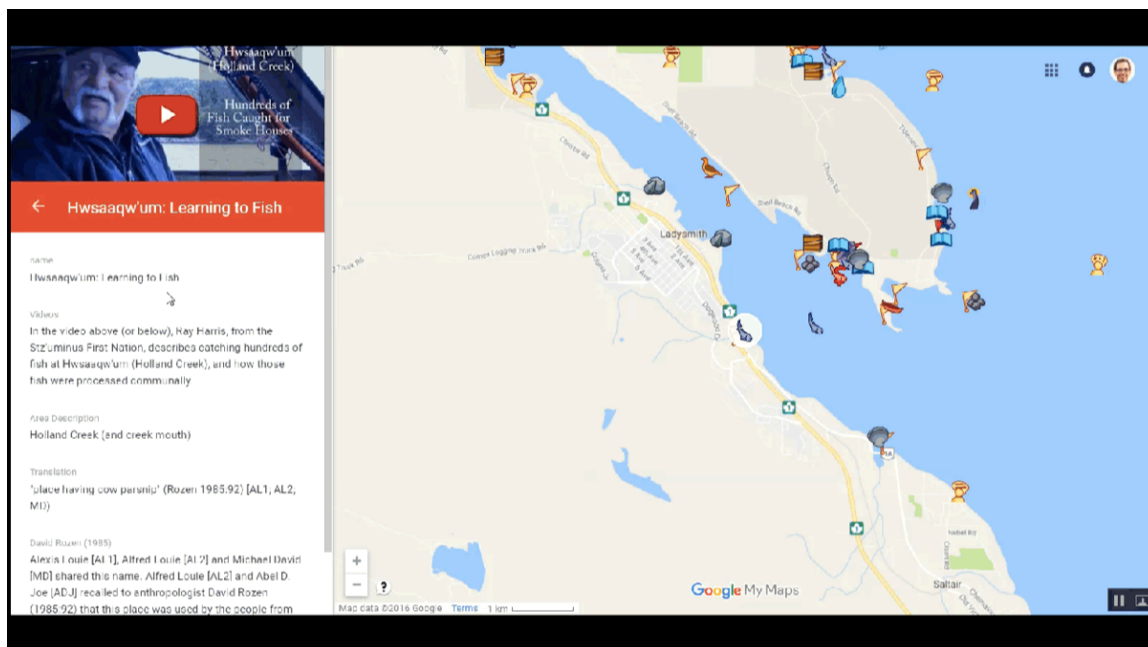


Figure 11: Screenshot of the Stz'uminus Storied Places Map. An icon at *Hwsaaqw'um* (Holland Creek) is selected (a white halo appears around the small fish icon). When an icon is selected, a panel appears on the left-hand side of the page with the associated archival details and videos.

The final digital map for this project included only stories considered permissible for a public forum by both video-reviewers. These stories were represented on the map with 53 icons (small designs representing clams, fish, ducks, canoes, and general place-name markers) (Figure 11),<sup>2</sup> organized into six different “layers” that could be used to navigate different topics and interests:

- Place-names Pronunciation and Meaning;
- Fishing, Marine Harvesting, and Hunting;

<sup>2</sup> We used the icons freely available for download and reuse at UVic’s Ethnographic Mapping Lab: <https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/ethnographicmapping/resources/Indigenous-mapping-icons/index.php>

- History and Stories;
- Petroglyphs and Archaeology;
- *Snuw'eyulh* (Teaching); and
- Environmental Change.

Despite our initial goal of this map being made available to the public online, the digital map and its embedded videos are not at this time available online. Nearing the end of this project, there emerged a need to consider the risks and benefits of publishing this content, particularly from a lens that considers the Stz'uminus First Nation's ongoing political and legal entanglements (Branch 2008; Salish Sea Sentinel 2014; *Cowichan Tribes v. Canada* (Attorney General) 2016a; *Cowichan Tribes v. Canada* (Attorney General) 2016b). This was not a lens we took explicitly during the video-review sessions but was identified later and is still in the process of being considered by the Stz'uminus First Nation's Chief and Council.

## Mapping the “Unmappable” in Indigenous Digital Cartographies

*They drew lines on paper and hammered pegs into the ground, cutting the land into hard shapes ... No matter if the lines went through spe:nxw [sic spaanhw] field or a berry patch. No matter if there was no line to see. The new people said it was there and you must not step over it. They showed paper. (Eagle Power: A Legend as told by the Chemainus First Nation Elders p. 10.)*

Once mapped, much is lost. On the east coast of Vancouver Island, where our project took place, early colonial inscriptions tell the story of surveys and pre-emptions, of drawing boundaries around the lives of local Coast Salish Hul’q’umi’num’ people, “mapping out” their presence in official cartographic documentation, and therefore alienating families and communities from their traditional territories (Arnett 1999), their resources, and their socio-political systems of land tenure (Thom 2009; Thom 2014a). Colonial powers justify this alienation and land acquisition through philosophical and legal tenets rooted in Western-European thought, and maps manifest and validate these tenets through the “coding or partitioning [of] the world using mathematical mechanisms [such as] grids and lines” and foreign place names (Eades 2015b). In the colonial mind, cartography is a tool of the highly valued mathematical and scientific stance, the disembodied “objective” knowledge acquisition that claims authoritative logic, fact, and therefore truth. This is the kind of knowledge that presents itself as universal and claims to see everything from nowhere (Haraway 1991; Kindon 2003; Kwan 2007; Rose 1997).

In this thesis, I situate this project’s mapping process as a challenge to the proof- and test-driven hyper-legalized and political contexts that currently dominate cartographic representations of Indigenous peoples in Canada. I argue that this project’s community-engaged, Indigenous-academic collaborative approach, in combination with our

commitment to storytelling and digital video and maps, is an effort to make space, both methodologically and cartographically, for the “unmappable” in Indigenous mappings. The “unmappable” are the phenomena that cannot be expressed within the constructs of a two-dimensional map, that become lost when reduced to dots and lines; they are the oratory quality of the speaker, the emotional and spiritual aspects of land use, the socio-cultural and experiential context. The “unmappable” is the methodology and dialogue that emerges through the community-engaged map-making process, and the response that emerges through the circulation of the materials generated. Finally, the “unmappable” may also be represented as “blank space,” generated not by a lack of agency but by a refusal to be mapped and the agency and autonomy of community voices within that refusal. This project created space for these “unmappables” by responding to community research interests and striving to embody and respond to values of respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility in both methodological practice and cartographic production.

### *Cartographic Representations of Indigenous Peoples*

*Indigenous identity in Canada is implicated in and by mapping and mapmaking practices. In other words, to be Indigenous in Canada is to be mapped, often in a very binary way (Eades 2015a:163).*

Historically and contemporarily, Eurocentric cartographic practices, in conjunction with the legal tenets of British common law, have aided in the designation of much of the Canadian landscape as *terra nullius* (“nobody’s land” or blank slate), a concept that “provided the necessary legal conditions for Indigenous communities to be forcefully excluded and marginalized from their traditional territories” (Castleden, Morgan, and

Lamb 2012:161). In the cartographic medium, *terra nullius* is visualized as blank, white space, symbolizing empty lands free for improvement, cultivation, settlement, and discovery (Eades 2015b:81). The application of *terra nullius* to the landscape is part of the argument that lands acquired by settlers and colonial governments were “previously unoccupied or not recognized as belonging to another political entity” and thus legally acquired under British common law, an argument on which Canada continues to rely to justify its “settlement thesis” (Asch 2002:23–24). When talking about these deep philosophical histories of seeing and knowing, Simpson (2007:69) writes, “And so it is that concepts have teeth and teeth that bite through time.” Concepts such as *terra nullius* continue to fundamentally affect land claims in Canada (Borrows 2015). As recent as 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission made several calls for the repudiation of “concepts used to justify European sovereignty over Indigenous lands and peoples such as the Doctrine of Discovery and *terra nullius*” (TRC 2015:5).

In the 1970s, Indigenous counter-mapping, most often called in Canadian contexts Traditional Use Study (TUS) mapping or Use and Occupancy Mapping (UOM), gained intensity. These cartographic practices became part of the work Indigenous groups undertook, and continue to undertake, to counter the colonial-state’s expansion and encroachment on their traditional territories (Peluso 1995; Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005:622-624; Eades 2015b; McIlwraith and Cormier 2015:40-42; Natcher 2001:116-117). The intensity in this kind of mapping followed over a hundred years of the Nisga’a Tribal Council and their predecessors’ ceaseless action that eventually led to the 1973 Canadian Supreme Court ruling that pre-existing aboriginal title exists, extinguishable

only by treaty with the Crown (*Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia* 1973; Bryan and Wood 2015).

In the following excerpt, Brian and Wood (2015:199) identify the specific language in the *Calder* ruling that led to the initial intensity of TUS mapping in the 1970s:

The Proclamation,<sup>3</sup> *Calder* implied, meant that any group that had not signed a treaty continued to enjoy the aboriginal title that flowed “from the fact that the owners of the interest have from time immemorial occupied the areas in question and have established a pre-existing right of possession.” *It’s this clause that led to the land use and occupancy studies and the map biographies* [emphasis added].

For First Nations in Canada to counter the state’s claims of *terra nullius* and establish their Common Law “pre-existing right of possession” to “the areas in question” (as per the language in *Calder* outlined above), cartographic inscription (TUS maps) became an integral tool. Indeed, TUS maps visualize pre-existing rights in a way familiar and visible to the Canadian legal system, and First Nations continue to be compelled by the state to participate in providing this kind of evidence against state and private interests. Rigorous mapping methodologies that respond to court tests have been developed (Tobias 2009), and TUS mapping continues to play a crucial role in the litigation, negotiation, and in some cases settlement of land claims in Canada (Natcher 2001; Tobias 2009; Willow 2013; Bryan and Wood 2015; *Tsilhqot’in Nation v. British Columbia* 2014). Indeed, after a long history of colonial maps aiding in legitimizing and asserting control and claim over territories, Indigenous counter-mapping has been an

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<sup>3</sup> Here, Brian and Wood (2015:199) are referring to the Royal Proclamation of 1763, in which King George III officially claimed North America as British territory while explicitly stating that aboriginal title exists until ceded by treaty (Indigenous Foundations (UBC) n.d.]. One of the *Calder* Supreme Court justices dated the existence of aboriginal title to the 1763 Proclamation.

important tool for First Nations to communicate their interests within rights and title discussions.

Despite cartography's role in empowering First Nations to counter the idea of their traditional territories as *terra nullius*, the mobilization of Indigenous counter-maps since the 1970s did not sever positivist representations of Indigenous peoples' lives in cartographic practices. Counter-maps still remain a primary response to court tests and legal criteria based in a non-Indigenous legal system. As Thom (2005:8) describes, "criteria for establishing the *primaefacie* evidence for Aboriginal title have led to projects of varying degrees of theoretical sophistication ... much of which occupies the 'grey literature' of unpublished consultants reports and factums used in court cases." He continues, "This literature seldom more than superficially engages ontological perspectives of Aboriginal relationships to land, favouring instead site and activity specific descriptions of historic or contemporary practices of land use."

Mapped traditional use and occupancy data has conventionally taken the form of dots (also called points), lines, or polygons (a closed loop creating a shape). Together these data are called features and, in short, they are drawn from a statement or assertion that someone has made, and then plotted to a two-dimensional map. This process, however necessary, remains a reductionist practice. It is a process of unitization, a parsing of intricate stories, life histories, and ancestral landscapes, distilled into a dot or a line. Often, TUS mappers painstakingly deduce a measurement of geographic extent from the particulars of a described activity, a process that feels like binding a dynamic experience to a visual indicator completely inadequate for what it represents.

The TUS mapping practice reflects the conversation for which the resulting map is used, a critical communication tool which is argued to work within a conversation defined by the epistemological assumptions of the state (Bryan and Wood 2015:73; Thom 2009). However, the state's assumptions flow from logics of categorical exclusivity and binary opposition, which materialize in the mapping medium as fixed and rigid features: points, lines, and polygons (Eades 2015c:137). As Pearce and Louis (2008:107) assert, mapping techniques and technologies in Indigenous representations "have overwhelmingly been used to present positivist representations of space". Points, lines, polygons, areas and surfaces that represent borders, people, peoples' activities, and perceptions of place and space become fixed and problematic (Crampton & Krygier 2006; Louis *et al.* 2012). Using a point as a place-marker on a map, for example, becomes problematic for named places when the conception of the named place actually expands over a specific (or non-specific) area; therefore, a simple point may diminish the representation of extensivity of use, occupancy, or connections for that place. However, a polygon outlining the area to which a named place refers is also problematic because it visualizes borderlines that may not reflect Indigenous perceptions of boundaries, which are often thought of as fluid (Louis *et al.* 2012; Thom 2009). Further, in all of these representations, the significant meaning and relational ontologies that inform land use and occupancy practices are confined to a narrow scope of questions, namely the "who," "when," "where," and "what," reducing peoples' deep connections to place even further in favour of documenting as many points, lines, and polygons as possible.

### *Extending Indigenous Cartographies into Digital Depth*

In recent years, several scholars have begun to re-conceptualize our notions of space and place by acknowledging the role of the body and experience *within* space and place (Casey 1996; Ingold 2000). Leading scholars of the theory of ‘place’ like philosopher Edward Casey have argued, “we are not only *in* places but *of* them” (Casey 1996:19). The idea that we are inextricably bound to place in a dialectical relationship is in contrast to the long-held assumption that the world is empty space in which we populate with the cultural particulars of place (Casey 1996). The assumption that “empty space” is separate from “cultural place” is fundamental to Western scientific (geographic) thought and European legal tenets. It leads to an objectification of the world outside of the body and has very real implications (Cronon 1996). As Thom (2005:5) points out, “the empty ‘wilderness’ imagined in western thought [is] part of the rationale for the colonization of ‘empty lands’ and the people who live within them.” It leads to the idea that the land is passive, and that we can mathematically parse it and categorize it with borders and fences.

By embedding video-stories into our map, we challenge binary categories, and present more nuanced cartographies that help us understand the interrelatedness and intersubjectivity of significant places in the Stz’uminus First Nation’s territory. By embedding videos of elders telling stories into a digital map, we are trying to move past the base, descriptive data that is characteristic of proving territorial claims in the language of the law, to showing the engaged, experienced, embodied, and entirely contextual discourses about places. It is the digital mapping technology and its ability to

embed various types of media that offers a potentially unique representational tool for communicating Coast Salish senses of place.

While digital mapping, as opposed to static, two-dimensional paper maps, does not necessarily transcend the problems of cartography, it provides multiple entry points for representing a depth of place characteristic of Indigenous senses of place. To better represent depth of place in maps, scholars are calling for representations of embodied senses of place—visualizing emotions, time, ambiguity, and nuance (Caquard & Cartwright 2014; Caquard 2013; Kwan 2007; Pearce & Louis 2008). Kwan (2007) argues that “geospatial practices need to be embodied and attentive to the effects of emotions” (Kwan 2007:23). One way of doing this is through “story maps,” maps that embody personal experiences of the environment (Caquard 2013; Kwan 2007). So called story maps are thought to be emotionally charged and portray a deeper sense of place (Caquard 2013; Kwan 2007).

We valued storytelling as an important and relevant approach to this research due its epistemological roots in Indigenous methodologies and the ways in which storied knowledge remains grounded in the people and places in which it originates (Archibald 2008; Cajete 1994; Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, and T’lakwadzi 2009; Cruikshank 1990; Iseke 2013; Kovach 2009; Larsen 2013; Thomas 2005; Sium and Ritskes 2013). Our flexible, conversational approach to speaking with community members about places and topics that mattered to them was intentional to make space for community members to decide what they thought was important to share. Storytelling in tribal communities regularly takes experiential and situated form, “relat[ing] the experience of life lived in time and place” (Cajete 1994:136), and therefore resists colonial silencing through the

splintering of disembodied colonial epistemologies that homogenize Indigenous experiences of history and mobilize damaging stereotypes. Sium and Ritskes (2013:ii) succinctly summarize, “stories in Indigenous epistemologies are disruptive, sustaining, knowledge producing, and theory-in-action. Stories are decolonization theory in its most natural form.” Iseke and Moore (2011:26) point out, “film-making reaffirms the story-telling tradition” and resists the privileging of text to explain space, which dominates cartographic representations. Garrett (2010:534) argues that integrating video into geographic research “is an effective medium for recording conversations and geographic experiences of place, situated in and around the videographer’s field of vision.” He further argues that video is underutilized when it comes to representing culturally rich senses of place—that video can potentially act as a “bridge between what we experience and what we produce” (Garrett 2010:534). Similarly, Kwan (2007) argues that “practitioners can draw on the emotional power of moving images ... to tell emotionally provocative stories.”

In our initial conversations about how to record stories for this project, video emerged as a rich medium for honouring Stz’uminus community members’ stories as they were told, and video was considered a better medium than audio or writing alone for its ability to stay true to the performative, contextual, and phenomenological aspects of storytelling. Indeed, oral traditional can become limited in textual form, where it “cannot portray the storyteller's gestures, tone, rhythm, and personality” (Archibald 2008:17) losing key aspects of texture and liveliness (Bierwert 1990a; Kroeber 1997). Likewise, text implies a fixidity in the representation of the story; whereas the video rendition of a community member’s story intervenes through embodied movement in the speaking and performing

of emotions and ideas, opening a space in which we can witness the speaker's "immediacy of the heart" (Bierwert 1990a) and personal experience.

Furthermore, recording stories in textual form becomes susceptible to the interpretive layering of the researcher and the researcher's tools, potentially reframing the story in a way that pulls it from the social context for which it is deeply embedded. In her discussion of oral tradition as evidence in court, Cruikshank (1992:33-34) frames this idea well:

Aboriginal oral tradition differs from western science and history, but both are organized systems of knowledge that take many years to learn. Oral tradition seems to present one way to challenge hegemonic history. It survives not by being frozen on the printed page but by the repeated retellings. Each narrative contains more than one message. The listener is part of the storytelling event too, and a good listener is expected to bring different life experiences to the story each time he or she hears it and to learn different things from it at each hearing. Rather than trying to spell out everything one needs to know, it compels the listener to think about ordinary experience in new ways. Storytelling is possibly the oldest and most valued of the arts and encompasses a kind of truth that goes beyond the restricted frameworks of positivism, empiricism, and "common sense."

Kroeber (1997:3) draws on the framework of Robert Dundes, which recognizes the interrelatedness of three levels of oral narrative: texture (all features of the verbal form), text (a single telling of a story), and context (the specific social situation in which the story is told). The context of a story includes interrelated aspects of the storytelling that bear influence on the rendition, such as the specific occasion, the audience present, and the time of the telling. Therefore, Kroeber (1997:11) posits, "a story is a social transaction" and "stories enable audiences to join with the storytellers in assessing the significance of what they tell"—"a story does not exist without a response to it." The relationship between the speaker and the listener becomes particularly relevant in

contexts of Coast Salish relational epistemologies (Thom 2005:124). As Larsen (2013:97) describes, stories extend the realities of inherently relational knowledge through the telling of “encounters with fellow dwellers past and present, real and unreal, human and nonhuman.”

Our digital-video method was a medium for visualizing the immediate research context of the storytelling: the house or the beach in which we had our conversation, the listeners present (if they were not too camera-shy), people asking questions, lack of clarity in questions and responses, the sometimes fumbling of words—our collective laughter at a punch line, or even an awkward moment. Video also allowed us to adapt to elders who felt more comfortable showing their story rather than speaking it; it allowed us to capture non-oral stories—events of place making, emplaced—such as, for example, cooking and tool-making demonstrations occurring with youth at the often-attended home and carving shed of well-known Stz’uminus First Nation master canoe-maker Manny Sampson.

A powerful aspect of video is its ability to reach a more general, non-academic audience (Menzies 2015:104) and, coupled with storytelling, it can be a potent tool for empathy and understanding. Kroeber (1997:11) argues that “stories enable us to understand without fitting our perceptions to some abstract system of explanation.” And in a landscape dominated by non-native property relations and histories, our storytelling and video methodology supports the circulation of Indigenous perspectives of territory while also mobilizing a middle ground between the often either ultra-negative or ultra-positive representations of First Nations in the media, which can impose stereotypical depictions of traditionality on Indigenous peoples.

The word “traditional” is fraught with stereotypes and tensions when applied to Indigenous people’s lives, and the ways in which the word “traditional” has been politicized and legalized in this context is even more of a study (Merlan 2006). European-derived categories of thought attempt to form boundaries between what is “traditional” and what is “modern,” and anthropological discourse has been active in reproducing these categories historically (Fabian 1983). Indeed, “anthropology contributed above all to the intellectual justification of the colonial enterprise” (Fabian 1983:17). The structuring of mutually exclusive temporal classifications in the colonial operation make the continuous complexities and dynamisms of indigeneity<sup>4</sup> easier to understand within Western-European epistemological framings and expectations, and, therefore, easier to govern and control. The problematic application of traditionality can become particularly relevant in the context of Indigenous land claims (Merlan 2006) and cartographic representations where defining Aboriginal use and occupancy is steeped in temporal boundaries that attempt to define what is traditional and what is not.

So, while this project intended to honour the storytelling tradition, our approach did not value something one might consider “traditional” over something one might consider “non-traditional.” We did not search for legends, drumming, and songs, although we did hear some. Certainly, we spoke to people seasoned and trained formally in the Coast Salish storytelling tradition who told us stories threaded tightly with teachings, tradition, and ceremony (Bierwert 1996; Bierwert 1990b; Boyd 2006; Holden 1976). But our focus

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<sup>4</sup> Simpson (2011:209) defines Indigeneity as “Indigenous difference”—“fundamentally the condition of ‘before,’ of cultural, philosophical, and political life that connect to specific territories and of the political exigencies of this relatedness in the present.”

was also on life history and impromptu storytelling (Larsen 2013:85); we spoke to people who told us stories of what it was like to grow up where they grew up, the things they remembered, the way of life and the environment they remembered, and undeniably, how things had changed. But people also talked about life now, the good, the bad, the political, and the mundane. All the stories we recorded are testimonies to lived experiences of Stz'uminus First Nation members and reflect present understandings of history and experience tied to place, while also bringing to light complex identities that transcend the boundaries of the oppressive colonial application of traditionality, which denies Indigenous peoples' coevalness (Fabian 1983).

Whereas a static, two-dimensional paper map promotes a sense of finality, a freezing of cultural geographies, a digital map has the potential to represent the landscape in process; it can be changed, added to, subtracted from, and, as we have realized, turned on and off even after it has been made. It is representative of the subjectivity and interrelatedness of the land and the people dwelling within it. Rundstrom (1991:6) argues that maps need to be viewed as “artifacts indicative of a *process* still in motion.” His conception of “process cartography” situates the map within the mapmaking process and within a context of “intracultural and intercultural dialogues” occurring over a long period of time (Rundstrom 1991:6). Pearce and Louis (2008:110-111) argue that Rundstrom's notion of processual cartography is particularly important for representing Indigenous knowledges because Indigenous cultural knowledge is “processual, situated, and incorporated into the landscape through place names and stories expressed in the meanings, connections, and interrelationships of those place names” (Pearce and Louis 2008:108). Processual cartographies of Indigenous experience differ from dominant

positivist representations of space because they emphasize “experienced space” as opposed to “depicting space as universal, homogenized, and devoid of human experience” (Pearce and Louis 2008:110-111) and they recognize the interconnection between places and people.

### *Community-Based Research Methodologies*

As much as this project was about creating a digital map, it was equally if not more about participating in and committing to a process of collaborative, community-based research with the Stz’uminus First Nation community. Scholars define and conceptualize this kind of community-based engagement in different ways with varying language and terms (such as community-engaged research, participatory research, participatory action research, or community-based participatory research). The process is sometimes framed as falling on a spectrum of participation, with informing and consulting at one end and collaboration, co-creation, and empowerment at the other (Reed 2015:124; Office of Community-University Engagement 2017:18–19). The intention behind the community-based approach originates in an effort to “deconstruct power imbalances within research processes” to ensure equitable decision-making power, ownership, and benefit for the communities involved (Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb 2012:163). In community-based research, there is an underlying process of mutuality in the researcher-community relationship (Office of Community-University Engagement 2017:19).

Community-based research methodologies emerged in no small part due to the critique by Indigenous communities around the world of conventional research practices (Smith 1999; Kovach 2009), where “the need to not only involve, but also collaborate with, communities through all stages of the research project was put forward as a way to

address the colonial legacy” (Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb 2012:162). The history of objectifying, extractive, and damaging research within Indigenous communities, research that breaks cultural protocols, negates Indigenous values, appropriates knowledge, and provides little to no benefit to source-communities, has been well articulated (Smith 1999). Indeed, the concept and practice of research in Indigenous communities is rooted historically and was complicit in the colonial project to facilitate European expansion and control (Deloria Jr. 1969; Schnarch 2004:82; Simpson 2011; Smith 1999; Starn 2011). Anthropology played a central role in defining the Indigenous “other” in its difference against the omniscient and “stable ontological core,” the “unquestioned ‘self’” that flows from the Western worldview (Simpson 2007:70). Anthropology’s definitions and objectification of culture are bound up in temporal assumptions that freeze Indigenous peoples within Euro-conceived notions of traditionality and authenticity (Fabian 1983), and continue to place them in the position of having to *prove* traditionality within the temporal assumptions defined by the European logics of the state (Merlan 2006).<sup>5</sup>

Community-based research is situated “within a broader movement towards self-determination and re-assertion of Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies in research involving Indigenous peoples” (Castleden et al. 2015:5). Instead of research *on* Indigenous peoples, the goals of community-based research emphasize research *with*, *for*, or *by* Indigenous peoples, where knowledge production and community representation is informed by the community’s perspectives, ontologies, and

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<sup>5</sup> See Abramczyk’s (2017) tracing of the ways in which the ethnographic narrative of “seasonal rounds” and “ephemerality” has been reproduced in the configuration of Coast Salish territories and territoriality.

epistemologies (Kostar, Baccar, and Lemelin 2012). As de Leeuw, Cameron, and Greenwood (2012:188) write, “participatory, community-based research is fundamentally driven by relationships.” It “emphasizes the importance of relationships ... co-learning, mutual benefit, and long-term commitment” (Wiebe and Taylor 2014:7). Researchers from the engaged community are integral in this process (Mikesell, Bromley, and Khodyakov 2013:e8), directing the inquiry to what is relevant to them, their colleagues, their families, and their nations as a whole. The Office of Community-Based Research Canada considers “community relevance” a “determining indicator of excellence” in community-based research (Wiebe and Taylor 2014; Taylor and Ochocka 2017), and argues that “community relevance honours the Indigenous research tradition that stresses self-determination” (Wiebe and Taylor 2014:6; Kovach 2009). Values such as the “four R’s”, respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility (Kirkness and Barnhardt 1991) are also integral to community-based research processes with Indigenous communities.

Principles of ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) are considered “self-determination applied to research” (Schnarch 2004:80). Similar to the four R’s, “OCAP is not a doctrine or prescription” but instead an evolving set of principles (Schnarch 2004:81). The principle of *ownership* asserts a community’s *collective* ownership is valued alongside individual ownership in its relationship to cultural knowledge, data, and information. The principle of *control* is a community’s right to “control all aspects of research and information management processes which impact them,” which extends also to “the control of resources and review processes, the formulation of conceptual frameworks, data management and so on” (Schnarch 2004:81). *Access* asserts that “First

Nations Peoples must have access to information and data about themselves and their communities regardless of where it is currently held,” but it also “refers to the right of First Nations communities and organizations to manage and make decisions regarding access to their collective information” which in practice may be achieved through “standardized, formal protocols” (Schnarch 2004:81). Finally, *possession* is the practical application of ownership, a “mechanism by which ownership can be asserted and protected” and is also related to stewardship, which is the care-taking of the information and which may be done by an outside institution accountable to the owners; however, OCAP acknowledges that data owned by one group but in the possession of another may increase the risk of breach or misuse (Schnarch 2004:81). Overall, in response to knowledge production that reproduces colonial relations, OCAP “opens up new avenues for the expression of self-determination and self-governance in the areas of research and information” (Schnarch 2004:81).

As I outlined in the introduction of this thesis, Chief and Council were highly supportive of this project. The project aligned with their commitment to the Nation’s information capacity and the gathering of the Stz’uminus First Nation’s history in the context of their ongoing internal interests as well as their ongoing partnerships with neighbouring communities (Town of Ladysmith and Stz’uminus First Nation 2012:6; Town of Ladysmith 2016:10). The videos are the property of the Stz’uminus First Nation, and the documentation was housed, as a unit, at a centre within the community for future research and educational purposes. This project’s community lead/researcher, Shirley Louie, was integral to the successful implementation of this project and the culturally relevant processes and tenets that guided it. She invited and organized youth and elders

to participate during interviews and workshops. She participated in this project on top of her regular job and duties, and sometimes outside of work hours to accommodate all of our schedules. Shirley is a researcher in her own right, passionate about documenting the Stz'uminus First Nation's history, and throughout the project, she continually met with her network of elders to gain guidance when we needed it and to decide on and tailor research questions and processes based on community interests.

While I believe our project falls well within the spectrum of collaborative, community-based research, it is important to acknowledge the ways in which engaging the “perfect” collaborative, community-based research process between non-Indigenous academic researchers and Indigenous community members is far more attainable in theory than in practice (Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb 2012; de Leeuw, Cameron, and Greenwood 2012; Fritz 2017; Sylvestre et al. 2017). As Schnarch (2004:88) points out, “doing respectful research in Aboriginal communities takes more time, more money and, arguably, moral fibre.” Researchers committed to the tenets of community-based research will inevitably come up against the ways in which “the need to develop long term, ongoing, meaningful relationships with communities can directly conflict with institutional and disciplinary expectations around academic productivity and timelines” (de Leeuw, Cameron, and Greenwood 2012:187).

Indeed, there are significant pressures for graduate students to complete their programs and theses before they become overwhelmed by debt (Schnarch 2004:84). Furthermore, while time and trust are inextricably intertwined with truly collaborative research, funders will not allow a researcher to “spend the first year drinking tea” in order to build the necessary foundation of trust and consultation with Indigenous community partners

*before* any data collection has started (Castleden, Morgan, and Lamb 2012; Coombes, Johnson, and Howlitt 2014:849). For graduate students and other academic researchers, the issues of time and trust are exacerbated by the sometimes-large distance between researchers and the Indigenous communities they are working with, coupled with academic schedules that often confine field work to the summer months. Of course, this project benefitted greatly from the fact that Brian Thom, the principal investigator on this project, had a prior relationship with the Stz'uminus First Nation, which facilitated a foundation of trust and rapport that Shirley extended to me when I became involved in the project. This project also started during the last year of my undergraduate degree, meaning I had an extra year to get to know Shirley prior to data collection. As such, the long-term commitment university faculty have to the communities they work with, supports long-term relationship building that exists before and continues after a graduate student's involvement.

Stz'uminus First Nation members, including staff, elders, and youth participated in a number of ways throughout this project. As we participated together in recording stories with elders within the complex dynamics of the community, we necessarily shared experiences and exchanged knowledge, and our decisions became based within the realities we faced together on the ground. We came to understand each others' responsibilities, whether it was to others, institutions, or ourselves, and through that understanding we became *accountable* to each other's responsibilities. The process of community-based research during this project was not without its challenges, and I reflect on those challenges in the discussion of this thesis, many of which are related to the obstacles I outlined above.

But also important is the idea of non-participation, or refusal, as a kind of participation, or resistance. Indeed, Milne (2012) reminds us that non-participation and non-compliance are valid and effective ways communities participate in emancipatory and empowering action. In this sense, the “unmappable”—that which is not permissible by the community to be mapped—is evidence of the community’s jurisdiction over their research and community values guiding research, for which space was made during the community-engaged research process. This project created space for these “unmappables” by responding to community research interests, and striving to embody and respond to values of respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility in both methodological practice and cartographic production. In the next section, I trace the emergence of the “unmappable” during the critical collaborative moments of this project. A prominent story-teller, for whom we recorded many stories, passed away during the project, rendering his stories and images of him unusable in a public forum out of respect for his family and the community’s grieving time (usually four years following Coast Salish customs). Furthermore, some of his videos were considered to require more review and conversation with his family due to their sacredness. Finally, ongoing political and legal risk management (including for instance the ongoing legal contexts cited above) created another sense of non-participation in the final mobilization of this project’s web map.

## **Tensions in Posting Publicly: The “Unmappable” Response**

In this section, I describe this project’s video-review sessions. This engagement provided us with critical insights into the tensions surrounding posting the results of this project online. In the section that follows this one, I describe the ways in which this engagement was integral to ensuring that the community’s cultural values around privacy and sharing were elemental in our decision-making process while at the same time not necessarily providing us with any easy answers. Instead this process revealed tensions between individual and collective consent during research processes and further affirmed meaningful engagement with Indigenous communities during research processes such as these will produce significant opportunities for critical dialogue.

### *Overview of Video-Review Sessions*

During the summer of 2016, we organized three video-review sessions with two Stz’uminus First Nation community members, Anne Jack and Harvey Seymour. Shirley had sought advice from her network of mentors regarding the design of the video-review process. Based on the advice she had been given, she felt Ms. Jack and Mr. Seymour were well-positioned to give us guidance regarding the kinds of videos from our project that would be suitable to mobilize in a public forum. Both Ms. Jack and Mr. Seymour are active in Coast Salish bighouse-related activities<sup>6</sup> as well as in tune with band-level politics due to their long-term positions as Stz’uminus First Nation council members. Ms. Jack and Mr. Seymour graciously agreed to participate in the video-review process, where their strong community involvement and knowledge of the Stz’uminus First

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<sup>6</sup> For a list of ethnographic accounts of the Coast Salish winter dance, see Thom (2005:142), footnote 22.

Nation's community and history undoubtedly informed the grounded perspectives they offered with a humbleness that was an invaluable contribution to this project.

Before we shared the videos with the committee, Shirley and I engaged in an editing session that drew our attention to the challenging process of parsing the ongoing fluidity of stories told in a conversational, dialogic setting into meaningful, yet palpable, storytelling units of video. We decided it was best to ensure there were an organized list of videos that were short enough to absorb during the two-hour sessions but were not over-edited. As we reviewed the footage, we discussed and noted the stories we considered important to have reviewed by the committee. I was eager to focus on footage from the project that I suspected exhibited more sharing-sensitive cultural knowledge than videos I suspected were more obviously sharing-safe. I was eager to elicit clear answers for whether or not to circulate the videos and why. But as we reviewed the videos, Shirley emphasized the importance of the *process of showing* the videos to the committee. She pointed out that the videos I was focusing on displayed an emotional gravity that needed to be balanced with videos that exhibited lightness and humour, and that striking this balance during the video-review sessions was an important part of taking care of the immediate audience, to ensure we were not over-burdening them with emotional heaviness.

When the conversation turned to what to edit-in and what to edit-out of each story, Shirley further emphasized the process. To me, there were parts of the footage where I thought the story ran too far aside, or the speaker was distracted by something in the environment and said something that I perceived as random, and I thought those were opportune pieces to remove for the sake of brevity and a complete product. But Shirley

pointed out that those random moments made us laugh, and laughter was an important part of the culture, how people lift each other up (see Bierwert 2008), and she wanted the reviewers to benefit from that laughter just as we did. Furthermore, she suggested that even though we may not understand the relationship of the asides to the main narrative, one of the reviewers might, and that might lead to us all learning more about Stz'uminus history. We should not be quick to remove something we do not yet understand.

As best I knew how, I integrated the insights from our collaborative editing sessions into 65 short videos, anywhere between 30 seconds and 20 minutes in length, which we reviewed with Ms. Jack and Mr. Seymour during three two-hour sessions. For each session we gathered in the computer lab in the evening and played and discussed each video while we ate a meal. After each video, the reviewers provided their thoughts about whether they felt the video was appropriate to be posted in a public forum, in this case on YouTube and embedded in a digital map. The majority of the videos we watched the reviewers felt without hesitation were appropriate for a public forum. Of the 65 videos we reviewed, 53 were considered to be okay for a public forum.

#### *Due Consideration to Particularly Sensitive Stories*

While the majority of the videos reviewed during the review-sessions were considered by our reviewers, often without hesitation, appropriate for a public forum and celebrated for the ways in which they promoted Stz'uminus peoples' historical perspective and community-held values, there remained a significant set of remarkably interesting and evocative videos that they advised would require more care in how they would be held and shared. These videos drew from the reviewers more concern because they were considered to contain sacred knowledge held and passed down through networks of kin

(Suttles 1987a) and because of Coast Salish protocol respecting the fact that the speaker had recently passed. However, this set of videos also brought forth the acknowledgement by the reviewers that the storyteller featured in these videos was well aware of the purpose of the camera and purpose of recording, to publicly share stories on a webmap. These issues brought up the complexities of individual ongoing consent within collective ownership networks. This particular set of stories were further complicated by the fact that this storyteller had passed away within the previous year and, for this, due consideration and respect needed to be given to the family's and community's grieving process. For some families, images and audio of the deceased are not circulated until after the memorial, which in Coast Salish traditions can occur several years after the passing of a loved one, often four years or more. The video-review sessions brought up issues of ongoing consent and a shifting of the decision-making process from our project's structured video-review committee to a family unit within the local community. These sessions also evoked the community's right to control its representation on its own terms and to slow and control academic deadlines within graduate study and SSHRC research (grant funded) processes.

There was one story shared during this project, which, in my view, was one of the most significant and profound representatives of our work to record the ongoing and deeply relational sense of place of the Stz'uminus peoples. The story evokes the ways in which that sense of place is practiced and experienced in the landscape, then re-performed, re-learned, and re-circulated through an event of storytelling. In this case, the event of storytelling was embedded within a context of ongoing community relationships of trust and incited by the speaking of a Hul'q'umi'num'-language place name. Here, in an effort

to exemplify the movement of stories told, recorded, and shared during this project's evolving Indigenous-academic collaboration, I trace the movement of that particular story, and others, without sharing the story itself. Instead of extracting and reproducing the story in text and on a map, I use this written thesis to elevate the interlocutor voices of this project's collaborative process in relation to the stories, resisting the extractual nature of research, and further mapping the "unmappable" in Indigenous cartographies.

The story I am referring to was shared by the late Willie Seymour, a Stz'uminus First Nation elder who passed away a year after we began to work with him for this project. Willie shared the story when Shirley and several youth from the Community Centre's after-school program had taken a drive with him to talk about important places in the immediate territory. The footage of the story is shot from the perspective of a young lady sitting in the first row passenger seat of the Community Centre's van. Willie is in the front seat holding his personal copy of the same Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group map that was a catalyst for this project (Figure 1). Out of the front window we see a house, and beyond the house, we see the ocean. During this visit Willie read from the map the 21 Hul'q'umi'num' place names we focused on for this project, repeating the pronunciation several times and if possible describing the translation of the name in English. Often, he was moved to tell a story related to the named place he was describing, sharing in intimate and powerful detail. While I was not present during this recording (though Willie told this story with relatively the same amount of detail on camera on several other occasions), Willie had given his consent to use this particular recording, and all of his previous Project REEL Life recordings, in our storied-places mapping project. With

his permission, I worked to integrate his footage into drafts I had edited for the video-review sessions which were also linked to a draft webmap.

From the back seat of the van, we watch Willie methodically recite each name on the map until he reaches a place called *Xeeymutsun*, from which he was moved to tell a story that detailed a spiritual and ceremonial grieving practice undertaken by community members who were going through the loss of a loved one, in this case when they had lost their parents or spouse. The story walks through the landscape, like so many of Willie's stories do, next to the people who are in the midst of practicing an important grieving journey, ignited by their loss. Willie's story about *Xeeymutsun* is a detailed account of how this place is deeply connected to the Stz'uminus people, and how the Stz'uminus people take care of, support, and help one another through times of profound sorrow.

While the transcript of that story is absent from this thesis, here is a brief overview of the public ethnographic record about the place called *Xeeymutsun*. In the Hul'q'umi'num' language, *xeem'* is "crying." At some point between 1974 and 1978, Stz'uminus First Nation elders Alfred Louie and Alexis Louie shared with anthropologist David Rozen that *Xeeymutsun* translates to "crying on beach" or "(one who is) crying on the beach," and Cowichan (S'omena) elder Abraham Joe offered the information that this place was the last place the *xwul'tup* spirit power, known for its special cry and ability to fly, had been seen (Rozen 1985:81). Willie's English translation for *Xeeymutsun* was "the crying place," and while Rozen recorded that this name applied to a specific area of land, Willie's story cross cut that tract of land and extended that name to another place in the

landscape, connected by a trail of spiritual walking, ceremony, and grieving. Several times in the video, Willie is moved to sing a song of lament.<sup>7</sup>

Below is an excerpt from our video-review committee's conversation after we watched the 13-minute video:

AB: So, is that something you would think could be public?

HS: I don't know, I don't think so. I think it's okay with our Hul'q'umi'num', our First Nation people, but—

AB: Can I ask why? Why is there a concern about it being seen by, um, a more general audience?

HS: I think, you know ... that's kind of an important history that not too many people know right. It was like a ... treatment land for the people that needed that form of treatment, like becoming a widow or widower or losing siblings, you know. It was like a treatment place for our First Nations people. ... it's important to know, so I say it's for the benefit of people knowing how people were, how people lived at that time. I think it could be out there, yeah. Because they should know what people did for treatment, you know, the next people. Nowadays, young people go through different treatments, like treatment centres, and they don't hide that.

AJ: I feel the same. I felt the same about, like, the singing and the songs and stuff like that, you know that stuff is, that's for us, that's not for public, the world, to see and to hear. We grieve in our own way, and we have our own traditions of what we do when we become orphans and a widow, and, to us that's sacred, that's our own sense of belonging, what we do. And, for the mapping and stuff, yeah it's okay to identify, but we don't have to get into depth with it. ... Like Harvey said, in the community for our own people to see. ... I think there should be guidelines to who can have access to this footage and the audio. Like, you have to be Stz'uminus, you have to have some guidelines to who can access this. Have permission, consent forms that they can't just go write a book about it after.

HS: That song he sang, I don't know whose song ... it must be theirs, his family. That song belongs to someone.

AJ: That was my point, too. Not just anybody could go and sing a song like that. They have to belong to it. You can't just go and sing something and say, oh yes, I heard it from Willie Seymour, he sang it so I can sing it to my family. We don't want something like that happening and then having the

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<sup>7</sup> Readers who are community members and wish to have access to the recording should check with the Stz'uminus First Nation for permissions and access.

family up in arms about it after saying, you know, who gave you permission. Everybody who sing songs, they have their own, each family has their own connection. If that makes sense. ...

HS: ... what he is singing ... that belongs to probably his family or his kin. Another sacred part of culture. So, just making you aware the songs are a sacred part of what we do and we still practice today, for hundreds of years.

As Ms. Jack (AJ) and Mr. Seymour (HS) discuss, at potential risk here are the rights and responsibilities for inherited property, or possessions, within Coast Salish communities, which are strongly entrenched in Coast Salish customary legal traditions. Such possessions may be termed “intangible property” or “intangible cultural heritage” and includes rituals, songs, stories, legends, myths, knowledge, hereditary names, and others, and these kinds of property may have very specific and well-respected criteria for their display and use (Thom 2003). Some inherited possessions may only be shared publically by members of the family from which the property came, and there is palpable tension and concern where the possessions are at risk of being misused by people who do not belong to them. Suttles’ frames private knowledge in Coast Salish society as relating to social class, that practical and ritual knowledge is associated with hereditary rights and the possession of hereditary rights are a form of wealth (1987a:8–10).

In the conversation above, we also sense an undercurrent of negotiations between audiences, communities or groups, who may have appropriate access to Willie Seymour’s recordings and teachings. Indeed, a webmap is no longer so straight forward. Mr. Seymour uses “Hul’q’umi’num’ people, our First Nation people” as a potential audience group, while Ms. Jack offers a more defined audience: “you have to be Stz’uminus, you have to have some guidelines to who can access this. Have permission, consent forms that they can’t just go write a book about it after.” Yet, Mr. Seymour also

acknowledges that, for the benefit of the younger generation knowing what their ancestors did for treatment, “it could be out there,” and that when young people go to different treatment centres nowadays, “they don’t hide that.”

During the same video-review session, we watched another video of Mr. Willie Seymour sharing a story of walking through the forest with his grandfather, the transcript for which is, again, not shared in this thesis. As with the previous story, Mr. Willie Seymour sings a song of lament during the story, and after watching the video, Mr. Harvey Seymour and Ms. Jack grapple again with the same issues relating to sharing these ancient wisdoms.

AB: So, was that one that you guys would think would be a good one to be public?

AJ: No. My own personal feeling, that one is a little bit personal, sacred, ceremonial. I don't know about that one. I don't know how Harvey feels.

HS: I think it's something the younger people disregard nowadays is using nature as a, like, walking into the bush or up in the woods ... you know, it cleans the body, the mind, the spirit, when you're walking in the bush and being one with nature, is what it is. It cleans your spirit. Same as being in the water, in the ocean, the salt. On the boat, it's the same thing, you know, it kind of cleans the mind, I guess, mostly, and it makes you feel better after being on the boat. You know, people that are used to that kind of life, if they're not on the water or with nature, they don't feel well. They become sickly, so, you know, I think it's important that, like he talked about, it's part of his training as young person, prepared for what he was going to be, and it's, you know, and it's important that people know that. There's sacrifices being made to do things like he's done. So, that's my feeling.

AB: So do you feel like that story that we just heard should only be listened to by the community, or do you think it's something that, like, the people in Ladysmith should hear about?

HS: Maybe the community, I think, for now, I just, it's kind of hard, you know. It's good for people to know, but, at the end of it all, it still depends on his family, the daughters, children, the son.

AB: Yes, okay.

AJ: Maybe some part like at the beginning when he talked about being with his grandfather and then going collecting and how the community—we still do it today—how we help each other in a time of sorrow, mourning and stuff like that. That still happens today. That could be shared, how we all take care of each other, right.

AB: Right.

AJ: But I am just feeling like that one small little piece should be just kept for—

AB: And that is the end piece where he talks about his learning to be, or becoming a Speaker [an honoured and significant position in Coast Salish ritual life] or—

AJ: No, the lament.

AB: The lament, okay.

AJ: Yes, that part is—like not all families do that, not all people know about it, like he is a Speaker, and his people are trained to do these things.

In this discussion, Mr. Seymour acknowledges the difficulty with making a decision regarding the appropriate forum for the recording in question and directs the authority back to the family unit, while Ms. Jack offers an editing solution which mitigates concerns regarding the song featured in the story and highlights an appropriate messaging for a public forum, one which reflects the ongoing community value and practice of togetherness and taking care of one another in times of need. Again, there is concern for the song of lament that Willie sings in the video we watched, yet, as Mr. Seymour describes in his response, the message, the teaching about using the forest to cleanse the mind and spirit, is important for young people to know. Notably, as an outsider, I truly did not know, without it being explicitly stated, that the lament, the song in the video, was of concern. This discovery pointed to my ignorance of these concerns at the time, the potential ignorance of other outsiders, and the critical importance of having these conversations during research processes.

Before closing the session, Mr. Seymour and Ms. Jack's final comments echoed their perspectives again.

AB: I'm really hearing that anything to do with the big house is a no. Lamenting I feel like is not a place to go—

AJ: —yeah, not publicly, you know, like you said at the beginning he wouldn't have shared these if he didn't want to broadcast it. So, I think privately, yeah, within family, within community ...

HS: It's important for our younger people to know how the old people were in self-healing or a treatment to help another person that's grieving. You know, it's all about caring, you know, you're concerned about another person's well-being, and they did it in a community way. So, that's important how younger people should be, you know. So I think it's important.

AJ: It's a teaching, it's a teaching that's handed down right. We know that, we practice it, and it's a teaching that's been handed down from generations, right, because, you know, he obviously practiced it and it was handed down from his grandfather.

HS: I think, you know, he probably wanted it known, so that's why he told it, you know.

AJ: ... Just keep in mind informing the family too, so they're not like shocked or anything, always inform family, like Harvey is saying, inform family members of what you are doing. Obviously, these people gave consent, they've given consent to do the audio, but just keep in mind, there are grieving family members out there still from their passing.

HS: ... In some cases like this it wouldn't be put away forever. You know, in time it can be brought out. Usually after a memorial, they kind of lighten up, you know. The memorial is letting go, you know, of his spirit, you know, and let him continue on his journey, so the memorial, that's what it's for.

The stories Mr. Willie Seymour shared with us were from the perspective of himself, as a growing boy, under the guardianship of his grandfather. They were true stories (in the sense of Coast Salish *syuth* [Thom 2005:80]) that weaved together profound lessons and ancient wisdoms taught, learned, and practiced by his tight-knit community on the shores of Kulleet Bay and beyond. A concern that became particularly clear during the video-

review sessions is that the song of lament that Mr. Willie Seymour was sometimes moved to sing during his stories may be of particular proprietary value within what we could call by shorthand as Coast Salish intangible property dynamics (although the English term ‘property’ detracts from the local Coast Salish senses of property, power, honour, and privacy involved with this kind of knowledge), and could potentially be susceptible to misuse. At the same time, both reviewers acknowledged the individual consent given by those we interviewed and the fact that Willie was deliberately passing his teachings down to the next generation. Mr. Seymour’s comments consistently centered around how important it is for younger generations to understand what it was like for the old people, how they grieved and healed in a community way, and that the information in late Willie’s videos is good for people, particularly people in the Hul’q’umi’num’, First Nations community, to know. Mr. Seymour also consistently reminded us that, considering the recent passing of Willie, the decision of whether to share these recordings publicly will be made by his family. At the same time, Ms. Jack’s comments pointed to a more conservative view of sharing Willie’s stories, asserting that there are processes of inheriting around this kind of knowledge, and there should be clear guidelines around who has access to it. She felt some of the information in the stories Willie shared was too private, too ceremonial, to share publicly. She reminds us that while the speakers who have now passed gave consent to do these recordings, we must also respect the reality of grieving family members who may wish to keep this information private.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> I have had an extended family member to Willie Seymour thank me for the vigilance we have taken in not circulating images and videos of him after he passed, citing proper cultural protocol and their personal

Later, after we had completed all of our video-review sessions, I remembered Willie talking about consent during our first interview with him where I was present. I went back to that video. In the video, I'm kneeling next to Willie who is sitting in a chair in the youth room at the community centre, and I'm holding the consent form on a clipboard and looking up at him as he speaks. While it is not visible in the shot, Shirley and two youth volunteers were sitting in chairs in a semi-circle around us. The video starts mid-conversation:

—different atmosphere. She was welcomed in there, you know; they were happy to see her. And real open-heart discussions. And I was telling her, well that's the difference between board room meetings and community. In our community, it's based on holistic value, spiritual value. And that is something that I really see a need for our communities to revisit. Yeah, revisit that holistic value, and not be reluctant to share it. So, and I was talking about board meetings. They go and they have agendas; they follow an agenda. And it's really intellectual. There's not emotion to it. Talking about a group of people. That's it. You know. Without any real solution, or understanding of the nature of people. And I think this is where [gestures to consent form] we can lead in some of this stuff. And, like I say, I have no problem. You know, I've got a lot of taping. Did for Donna Gerdts, [professor of linguistics from] Simon Fraser. CSETS, Victoria, Nanaimo, I got material all over. I just say *if it's acceptable, and you ask a few people, a few elders*, by all means, use it, you know? I believe that we need to understand each other as nations to, to, for one it's reconciliation. So you know, like, consent I have no problem with [emphasis added].

In this passage, Mr. Willie Seymour draws attention to the multitude of materials that have come from his work with researchers and activists in the community. He connects his recordings to the emotional, holistic, and open-hearted discussions that in his view are in need of revisiting by his communities and a part of allowing different nations to

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pain in seeing images of him posted too soon on Facebook. On the other hand, community members have also expressed their concern to me that keeping the recordings “locked up” is a form of censorship and not what the elders would have wanted.

understand one another in the process of reconciliation. He clearly states he has no problem with consent. And yet, he says, “if it’s acceptable, and you ask a few people, a few elders, by all means, use it.” As such, it seems that even Mr. Willie Seymour himself, quite open with his knowledge and happy to share freely, acknowledged the role of the community in dialogues of consent. Furthermore, during our sessions with Willie, he did acknowledge and draw some boundaries between sharing publicly and privately. Before sharing a song in one of his interviews, he requested the recording of the song be kept private. At this point, I asked him, “Do you want me to turn off the cameras, or?” He replied, “Oh, I don’t mind it being recorded, you know, it’s just that it can’t be used.” His distinction suggests to me that he recognized that others have a stake in what can circulate. Very much in the Coast Salish sense, the rights around these “intangible properties” (as Thom clumsily called them) don’t strictly vest with the individual, but with some collective of the community, however imprecisely defined that may be.

When the world lost Willie, his interlocutors experienced the re-distribution of the power of consent over his recordings, and we are now even more aware of how we walk the unclear and sometimes contentious grounds of possible harms, benefits, and criticisms that those who share stories from within the power dynamics of contemporary Coast Salish spaces (and the research processes entangled therein) may ultimately face.

Willie’s absence from the ongoing consent process during this project illuminated his family unit as an ongoing fundamental power structure within Coast Salish peoples’ distinct practices for sharing cultural possessions (Suttles 1987a; Suttles 1987b). The engagement in discussion regarding the use of these items in the absence of Willie,

interrupted, textured, and slowed our reliance on the initial written consent as the ultimate consent-giving act in research.

### *Refusal in Community-Based Indigenous Mapping Research*

Our commitment to a *detailed* community-based review of the material we had gathered during this research project produced space for something of an “ethnographic refusal” (Simpson 2007; Tuck and Yang 2014; Simpson 2016; Simpson 2017). Simpson (2007:72) describes ethnographic refusal as involving a “calculus ethnography” of “what you need to know and what I refuse to write in.” It is a process through which research participants avoid or outright refuse discussing certain topics, and the researcher refuses in solidarity to publish the details of those topics, thereby contributing to indigenous sovereignty and de-colonial research outcomes (Zahara 2016). I suggest the video-reviewers engaged in this kind of “calculus ethnography” by sharing their perspectives on what to share and what not to share, and this thesis participates in solidarity with those perspectives by not re-circulating certain stories for which consensus was not clear. Ms. Jack frequently suggested with clarity and precision the specific parts of stories that should be left out of public versions of the videos. In particular, she noted the private nature of inherited songs being sung and suggested those be edited-out of final versions. Her comments also represent a challenge to our methodological focus on *depth* of place in Indigenous cartographies. She says, “for the mapping and stuff, yeah it’s okay to identify, but we don’t have to get into depth with it.” It is an expression of power to refuse our project’s insistence on *depth* of place for the purpose of the map, for the purpose of the research project. Ms. Jack expresses that it is not necessary for the public to gain a insight into the sacred dynamics of the community at a *detailed* level. But also

present was Mr. Seymour's hesitancy at times to provide any kind of decision regarding the proper forum for Willie's videos, referring back to Willie's family as the decision-makers. We sensed Mr. Seymour's hesitancy when he said, "I think, for now, I just, it's kind of hard, you know. It's good for people to know, but, at the end of it all, it still depends on his family, the daughters, children, the son." Tuck and Yang write "refusal is not just a 'no,' but a redirection to ideas otherwise unacknowledged or unquestioned" (2014:224). Mr. Seymour's and Ms. Jack's comments about family owned songs, and their re-direction of our decision-making process to Willie's family made visible the shortcomings of relying on the video-review sessions as our final decision-making process, while also making visible the unquestioned assumption of individual consent in academic research.

As Tuck and Yang (2014:242) describe, "refusal challenges the individualizing discourse of IRB [Institutional Review Board] consent and 'good science' by highlighting the problems of collective harm, of representational harm, and of knowledge colonization." During this project, we sought a kind of consensus between the individual consent-giver and the committee-like forum. The video-review sessions were meant to represent the varying perspectives of the Stz'uminus First Nation community, but what these review sessions brought into view was that this by itself was somewhat of an inadequate process from the lens of truly *collective* consent, and that collective consent is complex.

Brown and Ljubcic describe similar challenges in their discussion of consent during cybercartographic projects in the Arctic (Brown and Ljubcic 2014). They point to the book "The Inuit Way" by the Pauktuutit Women of Canada which discusses the traditional process of consent and decision-making, whereby "major decisions affecting

the group would be discussed among the adults. People would voice their views, discuss the issues and compromise until the final decision was one everyone could accept” (Brown and Ljubcic 2014:272). I have heard stories of similar processes in the Stz’uminus First Nation community where major decisions regarding resource use, for example, were discussed by all the adults in the community for *days* until a consensus was met. Of course, as Brown and Ljubcic point out, reaching this kind of consensus could prove difficult due to the specificity of information and varying perspectives within a community. Their experience is that most projects of this kind “reported relying on small, representative groups to make decisions” (Brown and Ljubcic 2014:272). However, they summarize well how these representative groups still cannot constitute collective consent:

Within this approach [small committee representation], informed consent is still provided on an individual basis, and the knowledge is attributed individually, even when knowledge holders may emphasize how certain aspects of the knowledge they share were passed on from older generations or their extended family. Within the standard consent form protocols there is no easy way to deal with the issue of collective consent effectively, and indeed, to determine who would need to be involved to provide consent at a family level, much less a community level. Working with various individuals to represent broad community perspectives was the best middle ground to achieve these goals, but the limits of this must still be recognized, in that it can never reflect truly encompassing collective consent ... the suggested emphasis would be to ensure strong working relationships, with extensive community consultations, and the involvement of key experts as identified by knowledgeable community members, to ensure the more representative results and the closest approximation to community consent (Brown and Ljubcic 2014:273).

Indeed, the video-review process slowed and interrupted our reliance on individual consent, but it also slowed and interrupted our reliance on the review-committee as representing the community’s collective consent because we were re-directed to yet

another community authority—the family. This brings into focus all sorts of assumptions, including the assumption in community-based research that “communities” represent a single, agreeable, homogenized unit (Suttles 1987b)<sup>9</sup>, or the liberal assumption that more participation in community-based research processes leads to equitable decision-making (Nakamura 2015:170; Tuck and Yang 2014:231). Through the video-review processes, we ended up with neither an affirmative “yes” nor an affirmative “no” on some of the videos which illuminates the contractual mechanisms built into university research processes to elicit “easy answers.” The hesitation, and refusal, by the reviewers to mobilize some of the stories we recorded re-directed the research process from eliciting easy answers to instead focusing on further relationship-building, a long-term commitment that is often at odds with academic research processes and deadlines.

This project’s video-review sessions represented a valuable community-based research method of ensuring decision-making processes, and therefore power—not without its complexities within the context of Coast Salish power dynamics and on-going colonialism—were located within the Stz’uminus First Nation community, but it did not represent the community in its entirety. Indeed, this process inevitably generated the need for more discussion regarding potentially sensitive recordings, much in line with Brown and Ljubicic’s suggested emphasis on extensive consultation and close working relationships (2014:273).

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<sup>9</sup> I would also like to point out that, for First Nations, the idea of “community” is complicated by “Indian bands.” Indian bands are formed of membership and land (Indian Reserves), both of which are complicated by the fact that immediate and extended families transcend Indian-band boundaries (Thom 2009). For example, it is not uncommon for siblings to be members of different Indian Bands. This raises questions regarding access to recordings and archival policy and management because history and family teachings will inevitably transcend band membership.

### *Risks in Indigenous Cybercartographies*

In the beginning of this thesis, I framed this project as a community-based research effort to represent a *depth* of place in Indigenous cartographies—a seeking of thick, rich descriptions and community-based perspectives of places, represented on an easily-accessible and interactive online map. We aimed to produce content that unsettles colonial understandings of place, to mobilize the deep cultural context and history (the videos/stories) within a local geographic framework (the map) for both an Indigenous and non-Indigenous audience. However, by representing *depth* of place in our digital map, we also produced “blank space,” and blank space can be considered risky within title and rights contexts. As I described in the framework of this thesis, “blank space” in Indigenous cartographic representations may be interpreted as *terra nullius* “nobody’s land,” that is, land devoid of Indigenous “occupancy,” which gives rise to title. “Blank space,” therefore, brings with it a connotation of “empty wilderness,” legitimizing colonial assertions of property and jurisdiction. Even with the Supreme Court of Canada’s recent repudiation of the “small spots” theory of aboriginal title (*Tsilhqot’in Nation v. British Columbia*, [2014] 2 SCR 257), there remains the strong potential for Indigenous territories to be viewed as “empty,” and this continues to be the default argument of the state and other actors throughout Indigenous worlds.

In this section, I argue that the “blank space” produced during this project is evidence not of *terra nullius* but of a community-based decision-making processes and methodology; a process of agency, self-determination, and culturally relevant research that emerged from our participatory research methodology. However, I also contend that the concept of *terra nullius* is so potent in its relationship to Indigenous peoples and map-making

that, regardless of the purpose of a map representing Indigenous cartographies, we cannot assume a level playing-field of interpretation when the map is viewed. Therefore, a consideration of the risks involved in the mobilization of such maps must be included within community-based research processes (including any kind of video-review or vetting processes). As such, I suggest that the map and its videos need to be further reviewed by Stz'uminus First Nation members with the anticipation of risks and benefits clearly in mind, before releasing it out to the public.

This thesis may inform the Stz'uminus First Nation, and other Coast Salish and Indigenous communities, in the development of a research and information sharing/access policy. Assessing risks and benefits necessarily requires a review of the local land-claims context balanced with the desires of the First Nation. During this project, these details were not at the forefront of our minds during the video-review sessions and, therefore, we did not clearly define those risks for the reviewers. Instead during the video-review process, we focused more on risks involved in intra-community sharing dynamics, with the view that the map would be used within a context of educational, awareness, and cultural-preservation. Thus, the different lenses required to ensure the whole of the Stz'uminus First Nation's interests were being met was a major point of learning and insight for us during this project.

The first process through which “blank space” was visualized during this project was our focus on depth over extent in Indigenous digital cartographies, which was also linked to our commitment to conducting community-based research. The focus on depth and community-based research practically resulted in a small study area in and around the Stz'uminus First Nation's largest reserve lands (on which the majority of on-reserve

members live) to facilitate the ease at which we could involve youth and elders and visit the places that were being talked about. The second process through which “blank space” was visualized during this project was through the video-review process, which resulted in a filtering of information grounded in community values and embedded within processes of customary law and hereditary rights, which in turn also resulted in the absence of populated space on the map to represent where those stories occurred.

“Blank space” becomes entangled with considerations of risk when employing a community-based mapping project within cartographic contexts representing Indigenous peoples. As Engler *et al.* (2013:195–197) describe, while “rich multimedia cartographic atlases can offer many benefits to communities” (such as records of traditional knowledge, preservation of Indigenous language, and training and education in digital technology), “these atlases are not without risks to communities, and these risks must be anticipated and mitigated.” Engler *et al.* (2013) articulate some potential risks faced by First Nations in publicly circulating their digital atlases, such as maps being used in a way that counters community interests. For example, commercial exploitation of traditional knowledge is a risk facing Indigenous communities internationally (WIPO 2007). Furthermore, there is a risk involved in uploading digital content (audio, video, or text) to cyberspace “where it may be copied, reproduced elsewhere, altered, mashed up, or otherwise used in entirely unanticipated ways.” The ability to remove content from its original context in cyberspace is similar to content potentially being “used out of context to support arguments or points of view that are not in the interest of the community” (Engler *et al.* 2013:196). For example, digital maps may be used “to bolster national

government sovereignty claims that may or may not assist communities in their own struggles for sovereignty and self-determination” (Engler *et al.* 2013:195).

In the context of the Stz’uminus Storied Places project, the limited study area (in and around IR 12, 13, and the Town of Ladysmith) produced a map of intensely storied places (visualized as points) *only* within that study area, which in turn produced an abundance of “blank space” surrounding the study area. Of course, this is a reasonable outcome in any study with an defined study area, but for anyone wishing to counter the Stz’uminus First Nation’s claims to their traditional territory outside of the study area of this project, this kind of material may be interpreted or used as evidence of absence when viewed from a legalistic lens that prioritizes “tests” and “proof” of use and occupancy in Indigenous cartographies. This is where the concept of *terra nullius* rears its head and presents a risk in the interpretation of Indigenous cartographies, and may further compel Indigenous communities not to share their history within a cartographic context if it does not represent a “full” territorial picture. It also may compels First Nations to take an extent-based approach to mapping, which this thesis argues risks missing the deep contexts and true histories required for understanding Indigenous conceptions of land in the first place (which may include Indigenous conceptions of land tenure and law).

Thomas King writes “... while the relationship that Native people have with Canada and the United States contains both historical and social aspects, the primary relationship is legal” (2012:223). I wonder, does the primarily legal relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state monopolize and impede Indigenous communities’ processes of exploring history and telling stories freely, on their own terms, thereby further perpetuating the need for communities to rely on outside “experts” who are entrenched in

the state's legal standards? Does this take Indigenous peoples' stories out of their own hands and work against the capacity building produced through community-led research processes and which are necessary in terms of self-governance and self-determination? By focusing on a *depth* of place during this mapping project, we attempted to disengage with the pressure to show the full extent of the Stz'uminus peoples' traditional use and occupancy in cartographic representations (indeed, that was one of the fundamental priorities that motivated the project at the outset—to tell stories that would not be ensnared in the state's legal gambits of denial of title and rights). Instead the stories that were shared in a webmap illuminated the Stz'uminus First Nation's presence in the study area in a way that resists the often ultra-negative or ultra-traditional portrayal of First Nations in the media (for an example, see Thom 2014b), while simultaneously highlighting the perspectives of the participants.

Maps are visually potent documents. Despite the benefits of Indigenous digital cartographies for education, preservation, engagement, and awareness, if Indigenous cartographies were developed within legal and political frameworks (as I discussed in the framework of this thesis), then it is naïve to try to divorce maps from those legal and political contingencies in methodology and expect that viewers will do the same when engaging with the outcome. When discussing her “calculus” ethnography, Audra Simpson writes considers what would happen if she were to “lay it bare” in her writing, divulging complex realities of her Mohawk community. She says, “let us not pretend that there is an even playing field for interpretation. Let us not pretend that ‘the Iroquois’ are not already pre-figured, that their actions are going to be interpreted fairly ... that potential readers ... would give it a fair read” (Simpson 2017:23). Indeed, this sentiment

can be extended to all Indigenous communities in Canada who are defined within the terms of outsiders. We cannot pretend that the Stz'uminus First Nation's maps would be interpreted fairly, be given a fair read. Indeed we are well aware that in the general community there are strong sentiments that pre-figure local First Nations (Thom 2014b; Thom 2014c). We need to ensure that well-intentioned community-based mapping engagements between universities and Indigenous communities consider any potentially damaging interpretive dissonance when the outcome of the project is made public, which, due to academic publishing expectations to fulfill thesis and tenure requirements, it will. This includes considering the "message" of a public map that is not populated in a way that represents the entire asserted territory of a First Nation.

As Schnarch (2004:93) points out, "the key challenge in data sharing is how to maximize benefits while protecting First Nations information. There are no right answers, only options to explore and practical decisions to be made considering the nature of the information and the interests of the parties." It is good practice for communities to develop their own policies that address gathering and sharing information, policies that have explored, addressed, and respected internal cultural protocols around potentially sensitive information and considered the risks of external interpretations and uses of that knowledge. This is largely an Indigenous governance issue. As Schnarch (2004:85) writes, "First Nations governance and self-government imply jurisdiction and control over a full range of institutions and processes, including research and information." However, considering that a number of Indigenous communities face capacity constraints, if these policies are not in place, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants in community-university research engagements need to do their due

diligence in ensuring that risks and benefits are explored throughout the course of the project. Meaningful community-based research processes are well-positioned to for these kinds of “checks and balances” to be integrated into the process both organically and structurally, such as with our video-review sessions.

All risks considered, I argue that we need to re-story “blank space” in Indigenous mapping, which does not necessarily mean populating said “blank space” on maps that represent Indigenous perspectives. It is done instead by making visible the processes behind map-making and the historical contingencies, power dynamics, and Eurocentric assumptions that govern interpretations of Indigenous maps. If decided through an ethical process of review, and a rounded consideration of risks and benefits particular to the First Nation that a map which does not engage with the imposition to show territorial extent is within the nation’s interest to mobilize for reasons that the nation defines, engaging with a *depth* of experience in a small study area may reveal Indigenous senses of place that re-story “blank space” by questioning the legitimacy of *terra nullius* in Canadian conceptions of property and ownership. This idea is in line with McIlwraith and Cormier's (2015) *Making Place for Space*. Cormier’s perspective on the inadequacy of conventionally shallow map-making in relation to this Secwepemc community’s culture help to illustrate this point:

I realize now that the broader ethnographic contexts of our history and culture are rarely considered. Such information does not easily conform to what I see as Eurocentric presentations of our history ... Our perspectives, which unite our understanding of the land with our social and community activities, differ fundamentally from the compartmentalized views of knowledge that come out of Western Science ... More to the point, I find that traditional use studies identify the locations of activities and minimize the importance of our places, our activities on our lands, and the

complexities of our family-based connections to these places (McIlwraith and Cormier 2015:39)

In detailing the conversations and responses around Mr. Willie Seymour's stories, which intertwine the importance of place into healing, grieving, and community, this thesis reveals a situation of place-making that exists in the so-called "empty" space on our Stz'uminus Storied Places map. The absence of Mr. Willie Seymour's stories on our map is not an absence of evidence for use and occupation as the conventional, legalistic view of Indigenous maps would have us think, but evidence of a meaningful process of engagement during map-making, a process of grappling with and taking seriously the ongoing power and self-governing dynamics in Coast Salish society. I would argue that it is entirely possible that many Indigenous maps include "empty" space for the same reasons as we see here, as well as many other social and political reasons that have to do with the *process* of map making, the *relationships* between the actors involved, and the *enactment* of Indigenous law.

### *Elevating oral history in cartographic representations*

While I have focused this thesis primarily on the dialogue that emerged during the video-review sessions in relation to the more sensitive videos, it is important to remember that 53 of the 65 videos the committee reviewed were considered, without hesitation, great stories to represent the Stz'uminus Peoples and to mobilize on a public online map. These stories represent the success of “deep mapping,” of representing indigenous perspectives of place in a way that the video-review committee found permissible for a public forum. On our final map, these stories became represented by the 53 icons (see figure 11) (small designs representing clams, fish, ducks, canoes, and general place-name markers). Furthermore, these sites/stories were also organized into six different “layers” that could be used to navigate different topics and interests:

- Place-names Pronunciation and Meaning;
- Fishing, Marine Harvesting, and Hunting;
- History and Stories;
- Petroglyphs and Archaeology;
- *Snuw'eyulh* (Teaching); and
- Environmental Change.

The videos that were approved for the map were supported for various reasons. The reviewers often said the videos were good because “it’s part of our history” and “it shows how the old people were.” When I asked Mr. Seymour his perspective on reviewing the videos, he expressed that the videos were representative of his experiences:

I like it you know. It's kind of the real thing, well for me. Like, some of that I witnessed, like the herrings and the ducks, you know, when I was a boy. I guess it was the good life to see that, those herrings and ducks, all the food, the seafood they wanted to get. Special days were those herring seasons for the old people.

Likewise, Ms. Jack expressed the importance of the stories shared:

I think it's important to keep our traditions alive. It's important to keep our culture alive. These stories go way back, hundreds of years back. Right. Because they're from, like, our great grandfathers and their grandfathers. And these are our Stz'uminus people that are sharing ... to me they're passing them on. They're passing this, the culture, and like Willie said, it's a legacy. It's being passed on. Because we practice it still today. So it's important.

While this project found that there were stories that were considered permissible in a public forum and stories that were considered of more private nature, we did not necessarily emerge with a schema of the *kinds* and *categories* of stories that may be considered more permissible than others. Of the 53 videos approved, some were stories shared by elders who had passed and were thought to be great stories to share as long as Willie's family was consulted. Furthermore, some of the 53 stories included songs, teachings, and personal experiences, so we could not necessarily consider all songs and teachings as non-allowable. Indeed, after listening to a story about the training processes involved in canoe racing, and how those training processes are related to teachings about cleansing, cedar, and the sacredness of the canoe, Mr. Seymour pointedly suggested that we needed a category on the map for *snuw'eyulh* (teachings) in order to capture that particular story. Furthermore, there were stories Shirley and I were entirely surprised were considered by the reviewers to be okay for public view. Thus, the perspectives on

sharing or not sharing are derived from the nuances known only through living within community dynamics, further emphasizing the importance of the video-review process.

The “Petroglyphs and Archaeology” layer of the Stz’uminus Storied Places map puts into practice the valuing of local indigenous communities’ interpretations of their material culture alongside archaeologists’ interpretations. The scientific community increasingly recognizes the significant contribution indigenous peoples’ oral histories make towards strengthening scientific enquiry and vice versa (Cruikshank 2001). This layer of the Stz’uminus Storied Places map emphasizes, first, videos of community members providing their understanding of the site and, second, excerpts from public archaeological studies and reports that detail the site in question in text fields below the videos.

Interestingly, the video-review committee did not consider any of the videos related to petroglyphs and archaeology too private or inappropriate for the public although the BC Government considers these kinds of maps absolutely confidential, providing very limited access to approved users to webmaps of these locales through the Remote Access to Archaeological Data Application (RAAD) system. They acknowledged that information about some of these sites was already “out there,” likely referring to some of the sites, particularly petroglyphs, having been “discovered” by settlers in the early 1900s and subsequently reported in public forums (books, theses, newspapers, etc.) since.<sup>10</sup> The publishing of archaeological sites on this project’s digital map, however, should not be viewed as an invitation for the public to visit these sites. The Stz’uminus

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<sup>10</sup> There is also a well-known history in the community of non-native collectors and curio-seekers looting sacred sites (such as burials) in the Stz’uminus First Nation’s traditional territory (on and off reserve).

First Nation community has a strong sense of ownership over their petroglyphs on-reserve, and there are certainly concerns for their protection and privacy due to their spiritual significance. Therefore, archaeological sites in this map layer are intentionally buffered, revealing only the approximate area of the site, and each site includes text to ensure viewers of the map understand the site is approximate and to protect the site from public degradation. To exemplify community-based perspectives regarding their archaeological history, below I include excerpts from four videos, each with a different community member, that describe the significance of what some call the “Sea Wolf Petroglyph,” a vitally important site for the Stz’uminus peoples. Each story includes unique details which community members will find interesting, with threads worth investigating in the community’s future research projects.

On the southern shores of Kulleet Bay, there is a large sandstone boulder into which two figures are carved. The most prominent figure is a large, deeply carved creature. Some community members call the figure “the Sea Wolf”; some refer to it as a creature, or sea monster. In the 1930s when the boulder was “discovered,” it was recorded by local settlers as being called the “Rain God” by a local community member (Hill and Hill 1974:96). In their book *Indian Petroglyphs of the Pacific Northwest*, Beth and Ray Hill describe this petroglyph as “the most complex and carefully made petroglyph of Vancouver Island” (1974:96), and point out that the petroglyph is “an example of the use of natural holes and rock fissures as part of the design” (1974:20).

According to the oral histories carried by the following four community members, the purpose of the Sea Wolf petroglyph was to guard and alert the territory from northern tribes who raided villages on the Salish Sea. Furthermore, some community members

perceive the fact that the creature has turned from its original position as a potential source of misfortune. We have found during this project that every time a story about the petroglyph is told, new details emerge to form another thread in a complex web of community knowledge. As such, it is important to remember that more knowledge and stories emerge through the mobilization of the stories captured by this project; therefore, the nature of the knowledge about this site is processual and dialogical, always in movement within the current context and the people involved. Moreover, as I detail below, the archival and historical record adds more pieces to the story of the sea wolf, which will likely continue to trigger community members' memories (but for which we did not have the information at the time of the interview).



Figure 12: Jerry Harris recalls the meaning behind the Sea Wolf petroglyph.

Mr. Jerry Harris:

The sea wolf represents Stz'uminus First Nation. It's been here for hundreds of years, and I think, as a carver, that's where we start. Many of us young carvers really have a chance to showcase Stz'uminus First Nation, and there's a place in the history for that petroglyph, what's called the

sea wolf ... As Poppa Ed has said before, it's very important what the sea wolf is about. The sea wolf is a protector of our people. Many, many years ago, we used to have wars where we would fend the northern people, and we would have to fend for our women, because that's what they were after, they were here after our women. But as Poppa Ed has said to me, is that sea wolf was always there for us, and when they came paddling into these shores, that sea wolf would make out a howl, would warn all of the other dogs, and the dogs started barking, and all the warriors would get up and get ready to get on canoes and fight for our women and fight for our rights. But if it wasn't for that sea wolf we wouldn't be here today, and I believe that is true. Poppa Ed said that we should go down there and look at it because in all the years that that petroglyph has been there and through wind and erosion it's managed to turn that whole big rock around where that sea wolf is no longer protecting our people ... that we have a chance to

turn that big rock around again, facing the ocean, and that we will start to get really good luck again if we done that. He explained to me that we had many sicknesses way back, and that's when it turned around. Instead of getting sick people were dying off by the hundreds and that even claim that residential school because that sea wolf had turned around and no more protecting its people. That's a story that Ed had told me, and I've always went down there to visit that rock when I can, to try to figure out what I could do as a carver to make that come true and make it come to life and be part of Stz'uminus First Nation arts.



Figure 13: Ray Harris describes the history of the Sea Wolf Petroglyph.

Mr. Ray Harris:

It's not really a story, to say, a story or a legend—this is the way it was. This is really what it used to do. Around the corner here in this bay. It's called Kulleet Bay now, Stz'uminus really, that's where our name comes from. When we were growing up, there was six long houses there,

when we were kids—still lots of people there. But our stories go that there was like two or three thousand people there. Because of this richness of territory I described to you, there was lots of people there and here. But, the story of the petroglyph was ... we had sentries all the time guarding our territory and our villages. We had a very strong, what's called a medicine man now, a *shne'um*. We had a very strong *shne'um*. He wasn't a mean man, but he knew that to have sentries put up and guard our entrance ways was costly, and it affected the attitude and stuff, so he decided that he could do that with a spirit, spiritual being, spiritual—so he made this figure of a, what we call a sea wolf, and it's actually got antennas, like antennas as described by an extra-terrestrial something, and it's at that point there. So any approach to us—there's no way you could surprise us Chemainus people, either Shell Beach or Kulleet Bay. So he would be in constant contact with the spirits there, protection, and never needed to exhaust the stores and the effort to have sentries out all the time.



Figure 14: Terry Sampson describes the significance of the Sea Wolf petroglyph.

Mr. Terry Sampson:

There is a rock, a stone that's about four or 5 feet high that had a petroglyph of a sea wolf and I think that would be a significant symbol, a strong symbol of our people, the Stz'uminus people, because the sea wolf was a guardian and a protector. It came on land like a wolf and went back in the water as a killer whale so it was

a combination of both being on land, a protector on lands and a protector in the waters. A Shaman or a doctor added certain power to that stone here, to that rock, and because it also told him there was oncoming invasion of, say, the Haidas probably coming in to war with our people or there was, what do you call that, red tide, a red tide also told him that that the beaches are not safe for harvesting sea life or shellfish. So, it had many powers and it probably had more powers than what I'm telling you now because we were so strongly connected to all life, stones, trees, plants, life, just all life, whether they are insects, they all meant something to our people ... we had our own doctors for that, we had our own scientists, we had our teachers, we had everything. We were a civilization, even though some people thought we were uncivilized because we didn't practice their religions or practice their ways of life. We were a civilized people. We had a civilization just like everybody else, and they say, oh you're not civilized, you know ... it meant that we weren't civilized in their ways of life.



Figure 15: Harvey Seymour describes the powers of the Sea Wolf petroglyph.

Mr. Harvey Seymour:

The Sea Wolf, it was put there by the Nation, Stz'uminus Nation, because this resource was so valuable to them, they believed that they put that there and it was a protection for the water. Everything was going to be pure, not to harm people that ate the food. So I guess that mean like red

tide and all that. So that's why it was put there. It was a protection. To chase away any bad spirits or bad things away from our resources, food. That's the story I got about that Sea Wolf.

As described by Stz'uminus community members recorded during this project (and other projects<sup>11</sup>), the Sea Wolf petroglyph has the power to affect the environment and the people around it, demonstrating the strong interrelatedness between humans and non-humans dwelling in the Coast Salish landscape. Thom (2005:188), in his discussion of Coast Salish senses of place, similarly provides several examples of people from the Hul'qumi'num community who describe spirit power being emplaced in large boulders or rocks that are "capable of social action." Community members recognize the incidental re-orientation of Stz'uminus's Sea Wolf petroglyph as potentially having an effect on the experiences of the community because the Sea Wolf was intentionally placed through social and spiritual practice. Currently, the sea wolf faces the land with its back towards the sea and is no longer submerged as deeply in the bay as it once was.

Mr. Harris's comments point to the inadequacy of terms like "story" or "legend" to describe Indigenous peoples' experiences, challenging us as listeners to check our assumptions and think critically about the automatic ways we may come to interpret his words. The powerful properties of the Sea Wolf petroglyph are not so much a "story" or a "legend," as Ray Harris stresses at the outset of his account, but *the way it was*. Mr. Harris's comments are a reminder of the need to take care when using colonial categories

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<sup>11</sup> See Thom (2005:188) for a short excerpt of Peter Seymour's understanding of the Sea Wolf petroglyph. Mr. Seymour says that "one of the elders who is gone now said that rock must have turned" and that in conjunction with another petroglyph at Deer Point (which he [Seymour] has never been able to find), the petroglyphs "would protect the bed, the whole of Kulleet Bay, stopping red tide [the common description for the algae bloom that causes paralytic shellfish poisoning] and different things like that."

of thought to attempt to capture the historical truths of the Coast Salish landscape and the Stz'uminus peoples'.

Jerry Harris's oral history attributes the boulder's change in position to environmental conditions, such as wind and erosion, elements that have caused a change in the boulder's position since it was carved. In my review of historical and archival records and petroglyph studies, details point also to a re-positioning of the boulder in the early 1900s. Hill and Hill (1974:97) write about this site in their study of Pacific Northwest petroglyphs that "in its original location, below the low tide line at the same place, the boulder snagged booms of logs and was such a nuisance that the loggers moved it to the top of the beach." As such, it may be that when the boulder was moved to the top of the beach by the loggers in the area, the Sea Wolf petroglyph was incidentally reoriented to face the land instead of the sea, and this is the source of its reorientation, which considering Stz'uminus's understanding of the intent and power of the boulder, has had an effect on Stz'uminus since.

Ray Harris and Terry Sampson's understanding that the Sea Wolf as being carved by a *shne'um* is consistent with the written oral history record from Hul'q'umi'num' people living on the Salish Sea. In 1933, when another petroglyph site in Kulleet Bay was first "discovered" and publicized,<sup>12</sup> Beryl Cryer visited Tl'utasiye' (Jennie Wyse) and asked her about petroglyphs recently found in Kulleet Bay:

"Can you tell me what these are, Tl'utasiye'?" I asked, showing a picture of petro-glyphs, or Indian Rock carvings, uncovered a year or so ago at Kulleet Bay. "Ah, yes." She took the picture and looked closely at it. 'I

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<sup>12</sup> See also Hill (1988:35–37) for a stone rubbing and detailed discussion of this site.

know about those things; those pictures are the same as the white man's prayer.' She stopped knitting and spoke very earnestly. 'You know, in our tribes are men called 'Shamans.' Those are the men who go far away from all people, eat nothing, only wash and sing and pray, waiting for the Voice or Spirit to come to them. Sometimes, while they are waiting, they make these prayers on the rocks, but more often it is after the Voice has spoken. Any things that the Shaman wants he cuts on the rocks, sometimes for himself, sometimes for all his tribe, like this:" Tl'utasiye' raised her voice in a peculiarly monotonous wail: "We are wishing and hoping for a deer for our tribe, for no sickness and for good luck fighting. Whatever is in the prayer, that is what the Shaman wanted for his people, and often in the prayer he would make a picture of the Spirit that his prayer was for" (Cryer 1933 in Arnett 2007:200-202).

Likewise, (Bell 1982:69) writes that a "Mr. Louie of Camp Kumalochashun" "related that in ancient times the power of the people was such that it was possible to make rock like clay, hence the deep carving of the Kulleet Bay sea wolf."

By integrating oral histories into a mapping database that elevates local community interpretations to prominence alongside archival and archaeologists' interpretations, decolonization is put into practice. To some, oral histories may appear to contradict with the archival record about this petroglyph; however, in my experience, community members tend to view additional information regarding the petroglyph as illuminating and interesting, simply another layer of information to which the connection will become more clear the more places you look and the more people you talk to. For example, according Hill and Hill (1974:96), this petroglyph was at one time called a "Rain-God" by "the Indians who knew nothing of its origin." The authors then question "why any part of the west coast would require a rain-maker." They offer an interpretation, however, drawing from an account by and E.L. Keithahn who said that "a Haida Indian states that the old people had told him that petroglyphs were made to cause rain.

Keithahn says that the salmon, returning from the sea to spawn in the streams, often

school up in salt water and wait for a heavy rain before ascending the streams” and thus, “it is possible that the ‘Rain-God’ was carved to invoke supernatural powers to assure the annual return of salmon.” I have shared this quote with several people in the community, and they see it not as a contradiction to their own interpretation but another layer of possible truth. Interestingly, Lundy (1974:298) draws on Keithahn as well when discussing rock art in Coast Salish territory: she draws on his interpretation to note that the function of petroglyphs in southeastern Alaska were created as supernatural fishing aids, and “the common occurrence of such carvings” was “on the seaward faces of boulders ... wholly or partly submerged by the tides.” She writes that Keithahn “speculated that the carvers, deliberately choosing such sites were appealing to the ‘salmon people’”. Considering Hill and Hill (1984) report the Sea Wolf petroglyph’s original location was below the low tide line, and the community is well aware that the Sea Wolf is now facing the wrong way, the map’s aggregation of both oral history and archival history may be particularly informative.

From a cartographic perspective, embedding the videos that we recorded during this project within the points on the digital map elevates oral history in cartographic representations. I have witnessed the immediacy at which the Hul’q’umi’num’ place names audio, embedded in the map we created, affects youth listening and watching. I had the opportunity to walk through some of the map’s content with several classes of students during the Stz’uminus First Nation’s primary school’s end-of-year cultural rotations. Every name that was played on the map was immediately repeated by the students in the class without prompting. After the session, a teacher asked me where she could gain access to the audio and video for teaching purposes. The effort we put into

ensuring this map was interactive, accessible, and developed with deep context and stories for the purpose of *outreach* and education was significant. The live, performed oral history embedded within the map powerfully elevates oral history and the Hul'q'umi'num' language within cartographic representations. By integrating oral histories into a mapping database that promotes local community interpretations alongside archaeologists' interpretations (in the case of the petroglyphs and archaeology layer, for example), we challenged the singular superiority of conventional cartographic systems that value "scientific" knowledge.

The live, performed oral history embedded within a map resists positivist cartographic representations of Indigenous life-worlds by complicating the binary and quantitative quality of points, lines, and polygons with situated, emplaced, and emotive cultural perspectives. While conventional mapping methodologies representing First Nations request site- and activity-specific descriptions of people's historic or contemporary practices of land use in order to respond to court tests, our community-based methodology and privileging of video led to a broadening of the site-specific, colonial inquiry.

#### *Relocating Cartography in Indigenous Representations, and Other Options*

This community-based research project generated an opportunity to continue considerations regarding the most beneficial forum for the map we created and the stories we recorded considering the challenges we faced. What we have learned through this process will now inform another lens through which to process an additional review of the map we created and the stories we recorded. This is not a failure, but an opportunity for additional dialogues. As Rundstrom (1991:6) argues, maps need to be

viewed as “artifacts indicative of a *process* still in motion” within a context of “intracultural and intercultural dialogues” occurring over a long period of time. Considering the risks and benefits realized during the course of this project, below I contemplate potential options, with their own advantages and disadvantages, for mitigating these challenges.

The most obvious option when considering the challenges associated with making Indigenous maps public is to instead keep the maps private, with only Stz’uminus First Nation community members having access. The potential disadvantage of a limited audience is that it inevitably complicates the sharing process from a web-based, open system, where anyone with the required link can watch and share the videos, to a controlled system, with guidelines and permissions as to who may have access to the videos.<sup>13</sup> A limited audience would likely require the development of a policy and archival and custodial management process (which was not within the scope of this project). Further, this more regulated system of access would require the allocation of resources to the management of such a system (or, indeed, simply the locking up of these recordings, as has been done in the past), something that we had hoped to avoid with the online tools used during this project. It is our experience that any kind of logging-in and/or permission-getting and/or downloading apps in order to view content is a significant barrier to the use of and access to the map in the community. The advantages of creating the digital map using an online platform (Google’s MyMaps in conjunction with YouTube) is that community members can easily and freely share the information

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<sup>13</sup> As I pointed out earlier (p. 57), history and family teachings will inevitably transcend band membership, which raises questions regarding an archival policy and archival management that is governed and housed by a single “Indian band” responsible for providing services to only its own membership.

by re-posting on Facebook pages, sharing links through email, and easily navigating the map and playing videos on their phones. These online mapping and video-hosting platforms are also free, which means there is virtually no cost to the nation in their upkeep.

Although they come at a price, including internal capacity for their use, there are many mapping and content management database options available and, indeed, they may afford First Nations with the most control over how their mapping databases are organized, managed, accessed, and circulated. Many of these mapping systems come integrated with governance-supporting functions for referrals management, all varying in their particulars and functionality. For a good review of the kinds of custom referrals and mapping software available, Ecotrust Canada has prepared a recent analysis (Ecotrust Canada 2017). Their advice is focussed on the governance needs of First Nations and not necessarily the objectives of education and the philosophical intent of “deep mapping.”

It is worth considering that the relocation of the cartographic representation in the aggregation and representation of place-based stories may be an appropriate way to “integrate” what could be seen as potentially incommensurable ontological and epistemological frameworks for representing land-based perspectives (Nadasdy 2003). By “potentially incommensurable frameworks” I mean Indigenous perspectives expressed through a storytelling framework and Indigenous perspectives expressed through cartography. I discuss earlier in this thesis how storytelling is a methodology rooted in tribal epistemologies (Archibald 2008; Cajete 1994; Cornassel, Chaw-win-is, and T’lakwadzi 2009; Cruikshank 1990; Iseke 2013; Kovach 2009; Larsen 2013; Thomas 2005; Sium and Ritskes 2013). I also discuss how cartography is a methodology

rooted in “Western” epistemologies. This project worked to integrate the two by embedding storytelling within the framework of a digital map.

I have been told, time and again, different families have different stories; different families have different versions of the same story, and within those versions they will have their own delicate details. It is incredibly disrespectful to compare one story to another and insinuate that one is more *right* or *true*. There are some people in the Hul’q’umi’num’ community who will not share stories for this exact reason, that instead of accepting, listening, and learning from their story, their story is contradicted against another. One elder told me that the true way is that all the people would gather together, and they would each share their story, and that is when you understand the bigger picture. Everyone has a piece, and when all the people come together, so would all of the pieces. Perhaps we could say we are doing the same, putting all the pieces together by aggregating the stories together on a digital map. But it is the *process* that is completely and utterly different. Instead of people coming together under one roof to share with one another, their stories are recorded separately. The digital map in this case creates the relationship between the stories by providing a framework for them, but that relationship is created in a distinctly Western ontological framework (cartography). What is missing in the process is the relationship between people and an event of gathering and sharing. Thus, the map is a risky forum, for instead of one person’s story prompting another’s, the map converts the story to an object and places it beside another story in a framework that is more likely to create a comparison between the stories than make space for the audience to accept the stories within a relationship of reciprocity and respect. This is the main problem with trying to “fit” a culture of orality into a culture of inscription.

If it is only when these stories and perspectives become aggregated on a map that they are subject to the concept of *terra nullius*, the perception of boundaries, and the translating of stories and experiences into positivist and dualistic terms, and if, still, the cartographic representation is deemed by the map-makers an important and useful element in the representation of their place-based perspectives; and if, further, the map-makers wish to mobilize their place-based perspectives using online, free, and easily shareable tools while also mitigating the risk of interpretive damage; then, certainly, one option is to shift the story's cartographic element to another location in that story. In practical terms this means that instead of embedding place-based stories within a map, the *map* is embedded within place-based stories. In even more practical terms, this means

integrating clips of relevant digital landscapes into the videos in which people are sharing their stories. Google Earth Desktop is



Figure 16: A screenshot of a video clip that simulates virtual "flying" through a digital landscape.

a wonderful tool for virtually "flying" through

a digital landscape and recording videos of those flights. Those short video clips of the 'virtual Earth' can then be integrated into other videos produced to share the stories that frame the cartographic representation of the territory. We applied this editing methodology to the videos we produced, and our reviewers were happy with the way that

the territory was highlighted cartographically not only in the digital map but also within the videos themselves (see figure 16).

In his ethnography of Coast Salish Hul'qumi'num communities on the east coast of Vancouver Island, Thom (2005) argues that meaning and power are experienced and embodied in place in a phenomenology of dwelling. In addition to experience, the meaning of places is also taught, explored, understood, and remembered through the sharing of stories. In many ways, the story *is* the map. Therefore, we must consider that by organizing stories, which are representative of Indigenous senses of place, into a cartographic framework, which is rooted in western ontology, we are making an attempt at "knowledge integration" that may not effectively do the work that is needed to foster cross-cultural understandings (Nadasdy 2003). As I have already discussed, maps are assumption- and value-laden, especially in Indigenous contexts. Positioning the map as the entry-point to Indigenous perspectives therefore positions the audience to make an interpretation *before* hearing the story. If, instead, the story (the video) is the central framework in which cartographic representations are organized, then the audience of the mapping project enters into their interpretation of Indigenous cartographies *first* as a listener and arrives at their understanding of the centrality of place within Indigenous cartographies alongside the speaker.

So while we focused this project on a mapping (GIS) database to organize the video-stories we recorded, if a GIS database is considered by a First Nations leadership as not the most optimal content-organizing system due to the challenges I have outlined in this thesis, it is worth considering available content-management software developed specifically for Indigenous organizations looking for the functionality to enact local

protocols for their digital cultural heritage. This would likely mean a move towards Indigenous knowledge systems support that are focused less on mapping and GIS functionality and more on cultural heritage archiving. For Indigenous institutions, there is no easy answer, no technical magic bullet.

I am not suggesting that removing stories from the framework of a digital format is the best way to mediate the risks I have outlined in this section. I am offering this argument as something for communities and researchers to consider as an option in their community-based mapping research and projects. At the same time, while shifting the centrality of the map as an entry-point to learning about Indigenous place-based perspectives may mitigate the potency with which maps mobilize unfavourable interpretations, the potential for favourable interpretations due to that same potency is lost.

## Conclusion

*“In a sense colonialism has reduced Indigenous people to making claims and assertions about our rights and dues ... Our audience is the formal court or the tribunal audience, which is mainly non-Indigenous; another is the general non-Indigenous populations; and a third is the people themselves ... It may be that in time the histories have to be rewritten around other priorities” (Smith 1999)*

There is a fundamental Hul’q’umi’num’ teaching *‘uy ye’ thut ch ‘u’ suw ts’its’uwatul’ ch*, be kind and take care of one another (Flowers 2014:37, 42, 69–79; Thom 2017:156). Flowers (2014:72) writes that *‘uy ye’ thut ch ‘u’ suw ts’its’uwatul’ ch* is intimately connected to another fundamental Hul’q’umi’num’ teaching *nuts’a’maat shkwaluwun*, meaning “everything is one, connected or related” (5), and that these teachings are core to Coast Salish *stlun’uq* (potlach) protocols of gratitude, respect, gift-giving, and *good relationships*—something we may also call Coast Salish legal traditions. The practice of “taking care of one another” came through during this project in several ways. Our focus on ensuring we honoured Elders’ stories as they wanted to tell them (instead of focussing on pin-pointing them on a map); our emphasis on “deep mapping” instead of a superficial engagement with the Stz’uminus peoples’ relationships to the land; Shirley’s insistence that we take care of the audience of the videos by not editing out random moments of humour and lightness within stories of emotional gravity; the video-reviewers’ concerns for making sure family and community grieving time and protocols are respected so no one gets hurt; even waiting to post the final map to allow for further in-depth consultation that takes into consideration the array of community, legal, and political perspectives that have a stake in this project; these were all actions of taking

care. We took taking care of one another seriously in this work, and it had implications for how the work was done and the outcomes of this project.

At the outset of this project, we set out to record stories, and we set out to embed those stories in a map on an online platform. We recorded and edited an extensive collection of content, and the map that aggregates that content is an interactive digital forum for engaging people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, in understanding a local, defined geographic context from the perspective of Stz'uminus First Nation members. Our small study area was not only logistically practical but also an effort to resist conventional methodologies for Indigenous cartographies—ones that elicit *proof* in the framework of Eurocentric legal tenets, *terra nullius*, that compel First Nations to display the extent of their territorial presence instead of documenting and communicating their deep, contextual relationships to the land for purposes of education and awareness. In contrast to *extent*-based TUS mapping, we aimed to show *depth* of place, where Stz'uminus First Nation community members' stories illuminated the embodied cultural context needed for us to respect the complex and dynamic history associated with just a small area of the Stz'uminus First Nation's traditional territory, and to further respect the complexities of any maps that simplify lived experience into a point, line, or polygon.

Our storytelling and video methodology attempted to get at depth of place by honouring oral traditions, challenging binary categories, and presenting more nuanced cartographies. By embedding the stories into a digital map, as opposed to conventional static, two-dimensional paper maps, we provide multiple entry points for representing a depth of place characteristic of Indigenous senses of place (Thom 2005; Ingold 2000).

Furthermore, this project's community-based, Indigenous-academic collaborative

approach, in combination with our commitment to storytelling and digital video and maps, is an effort to make space, both methodologically and cartographically, for the “unmappable”—the phenomena and lived experiences that cannot be expressed within the constructs of a two-dimensional map; the methodology and dialogue that emerges through the community-based map-making process; and the response that emerges through the circulation of the materials generated through the map-making process.

A key collaborative process during this project was the video-review sessions we facilitated with two knowledgeable Stz’uminus First Nation members. In this thesis, I have traced and interpreted the dialogue from those particularly insightful moments where reviewers grappled with the prospect of sharing stories told by an elder who had recently passed, and who, through those stories, shared deeply personal teachings and songs. There was not an easy answer to the question of whether to share these stories or not. Instead, the dialogue during those sessions shifted our attention to the customs around some community members’ belonging to songs and teachings, and the risk of having them be potentially misused if there was open access to them. At the same time, the dialogue illuminated the perspective that the elder shared his stories because it was what he wanted. There was the assertion that the decision will come down to the family, reifying the centralism of the family unit as an organizing power structure in Coast Salish life. The video-review sessions interrupted our reliance on individual consent as the ultimate consent-giving act in research, and our process of ensuring we engage with tensions around consent, through the community-based research process, is key to the Stz’uminus First Nation’s right to determining the direction of research in their community.

The video-review processes opened space for something of an “ethnographic refusal” in the research process (Simpson 2007), expressed through not just a “no” but also uncertainty and hesitancy, the fact that there is not an easy answer. Refusal “place[s] limits on conquest and the colonization of knowledge by marking what is off limits, what is not up for grabs or discussion, what is sacred, and what can’t be known” (Tuck and Yang 2014:225). At the same time, refusal during this project revealed that what can’t be known is also not always obvious and is continually grappled with, particularly when First Nations are asked to share their histories (and they are asked often). Refusal, brought out through our community-based research methodology, revealed tensions and the incommensurability between academic processes (such as thesis writing, knowledge dissemination) and the researchers’ and project lead’s accountabilities to the community (who ultimately emphasized restricting and holding close our cartographic representations). All of these critical moments highlighted the importance of academic institutions to support graduate students, faculty, and communities in the practice of meaningful community-based research with Indigenous communities.

In the end, there were 53 videos considered by the reviewers to be great representations of Stz’uminus First Nation history for an online forum, and the map we created is a wonderful piece that elevates the perspectives and interpretations of Stz’uminus First Nation members. The stories and the map were viewed as productive educational tools. Nevertheless, we found that we must consider the production of “blank space” in community-based mapping projects that represent Indigenous cartographies, and that consideration should be balanced with other risks and benefits during review processes. Maps are visually potent documents, especially in connection to Indigenous peoples, and

it would be naïve to try to divorce the legal and political contingencies of Indigenous maps, even if they are made for an educational purpose. All risks considered, we need to re-story “blank space” in Indigenous cartographies. This does not necessarily mean populating maps, but showing the ways in which maps are created through the determination and choices of the map-makers, and within those decisions, committing to a certain *depth* in Indigenous cartographies.

In conclusion, the different perspectives required to meet the whole of Stz’uminus First Nation interests during this community-based research project was a major learning outcome for us. If using Google’s MyMaps in conjunction with YouTube is considered too open, then what we learned will inform different options for mobilizing the content from this project, which may include a private content management system and a developing an access policy, or perhaps a re-location of the cartographic element of this project, from the stories being embedded within the map to the map being embedded within the stories. Through collaborative, community-based research, place-based storytelling and digital video and maps, this thesis is an effort to make space, both methodologically and cartographically, for the “unmappable” in Indigenous cartographies.

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## APPENDIX I: Participant Consent Form



### Participant Consent Form Stz'uminus Storied Places Project

You are invited to participate in the **Stz'uminus Storied Places Project**, a collaborative project between Dr. Brian Thom (UVic Department of Anthropology) and the Stz'uminus First Nation. Amy Becker (UVic Anthropology MA student) is the project's main Research Assistant, and Shirley Louie (Stz'uminus First Nation Recreation Coordinator) is coordinating the project within the community.

#### **Purpose and Objective**

The purpose of this research is to document and share stories about places of cultural significance within Stz'uminus territory. The stories you share will be plotted on an online interactive digital map for use by the Stz'uminus community and anyone else viewing it on the internet. The stories you share will be archived and remain the property of the Stz'uminus First Nation.

#### **Importance of Research**

This research will contribute to the passing of knowledge to future Stz'uminus generations as well as a greater awareness to the non-aboriginal community of Stz'uminus territory.

#### **Participant Selection**

You are being asked to participate in this project because of your knowledge of Stz'uminus territory.

#### **Procedures**

If you consent to participate, you will be speaking to us and your community's youth about Stz'uminus territory. If it is okay with you, your stories will be recorded on video, audio, and photographs. We may also take notes to help remember what you shared. You may consent to one or all of these types of recordings. We will provide a map with Hul'qumi'num place names on it to guide our conversation, or you can share about places you would like to talk about that are not on the map. You may decline to answer any questions. The work will last between 1 and 1.5 hours.

#### **Compensation**

To thank you for your time and participation, you will receive an honouraria of \$150, funded by the University of Victoria. If you would not participate if compensation was not offered, then you should decline.

#### **Benefits & Risks**

Through this research, valuable information about Stz'uminus culture, values, beliefs, and ways of life will be passed on to youth. The non-aboriginal community will gain an increased awareness and understanding of the territory and the Indigenous names for where they live. Stz'uminus Chief and Council have directed that an Elders Committee review the maps for any sensitive information. There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

#### **Relationship to Youth & Voluntary Participation**

The youth who participate in this project may have a relationship to you as granddaughter, grandson, niece, nephew, cousin, etc. To help prevent this relationship from influencing your decision to participate, please be advised that your participation in this research is completely voluntary, and if at any time you would like to stop the interview, you may. You will be asked if anything you shared should not be released to the general public. If there was anything you are uncomfortable with sharing with the general public, you may have that information removed from the final map, and your request will be honoured.

#### **Withdrawal of Participation**

You may withdraw from the project at any time. Should you withdraw, you will be asked what you have shared to date can be used for the project. If you decline, the recordings we made with you will be destroyed.

#### **Anonymity and Confidentiality**

Because you will be speaking in-person and on video to youth from the community, we cannot guarantee anonymity. If you wish, you may choose to not have your name associated with the video, audio, and images

when they are presented in their final form. However, even if no names are used, you may be recognizable in recordings.

I prefer to be recognized by **my full name** in project records and results: \_\_\_\_\_ (Participant initials)

I prefer to be recognized by **only my first name** in project records and results: \_\_\_\_\_ (Participant initials)

#### Data Storage/Protections

The information you share will be stored on a password protected portable hard drive or USB memory. The Stz'uminus First Nation will keep the recordings indefinitely, and will be the owners of those recordings. The researchers will hold a copy of the information for educational and research use under an agreement arranged between the Stz'uminus First Nation and University of Victoria researcher, Dr. Brian Thom.

#### Dissemination of Results

The video, audio, images, and notes from your interview may appear in some form on a **public, online digital map of Stz'uminus territory**. Before it is put on the map, the video/audio recording from your interview will be shown to you and an **Elders Committee**. In order for videos and audio to appear on the digital map, the recordings must first be uploaded to and made public on **YouTube**, a video-sharing website. You have an option below to decline to have the information you share to be put online. Results may also be used for **academic and educational purposes** in presentations at scholarly meetings, in published articles, chapters, books, or a thesis, dissertation, or class presentation. The information may also be used by participants as a **teaching tool**. After the research has been completed, the recording from your interview **will remain with the Stz'uminus First Nation indefinitely**. You have the option below to consent to use of this data in **future research (optional)** other than the proposed project; however, researchers will also be required to request approval from the Stz'uminus First Nation.

#### Consent

The following types of recordings may be taken of me for dissemination on the online digital map:

- Photos                       Videos                       Audio  
 Transcript                       Notes

The following types of recordings may be taken of me, but they may NOT be put online:

- Photos                       Videos                       Audio  
 Transcript                       Notes

I consent to the use of my data in future research:

- Consent       **Do not** consent       If my data is requested, I wish to be contacted

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant                      Signature                      Date

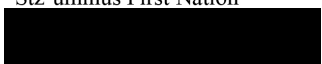
#### Contacts

If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact us:

**Brian Thom**  
Principal Investigator  
UVic Department of Anthropology

**Shirley Louie**  
Recreation Coordinator  
Stz'uminus First Nation

**Amy Becker**  
Research Assistant  
UVic Anthropology MA Student



*A copy of this consent form will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.*