Ozaaweshiinh Ləkʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ-aking: An Ojibwe Language and Culture Needs Assessment in Victoria B.C.

by

Carmen Wiigwaas Craig
B.A. (honours), University of Victoria, 2016

A Thesis Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

In the department of Indigenous Education

Supervisory Committee

Ozaaweshiinh Ləkʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ-aking: An Ojibwe Language and Culture Needs Assessment in Victoria B.C.

by

Carmen Wiigwaas Craig
B.A. (honours), University of Victoria, 2016

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Jean-Paul Restoule, Department of Indigenous Education
Co-Supervisor

Dr. Li-Shih Huang, Department of Linguistics
Co-Supervisor

Abstract

This multi-method project explores the language learning needs, wants, and responsibilities of the urban Ojibwe (Anishinaabe, Nishnaabe) community currently living in Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, British Columbia). The purpose of this research is to discover what is needed and wanted in order to rebuild the Ojibwe language (Ojibwemowin, Nishnaabemwin, Anishinaabemowin) relationship for the urban Ojibwe community living on these territories. The study employed a survey, a talking circle, and an interview with a local language practitioner to gather knowledge. In sharing their dibaajimowinan, or stories in circle or through survey or interview, participants identified various responsibilities and strengths of the community, including learning and using some basic phrases/place names in SENĆOŦEN or Lək̓ʷəŋən languages and that the community provides a strong and important sense of safety, belonging, connection, and affirming of identity for people who are a part of it. Participants also shared their needs and wants for support, people, spaces, and opportunities to gather, as well as their goals related to speaking, understanding, reading, and writing Ojibwemowin. However, they also identified barriers to their language and culture learning, such as living far away from traditional territories, not having access to structured learning, feeling conflicted about learning on this territory, and having emotional and/or confidence issues related to learning. Overall, the findings of this project highlight the importance of investing in safe and supportive spaces, offering diverse and accessible language and culture learning opportunities that address the identified needs and barriers, and supporting the ongoing efforts for urban Ojibwe people to reclaim their language and culture whether near or faraway from homelands.

Keywords: urban Ojibwe, urban Anishinaabe, Ojibwemowin, Anishinaabemowin, language learning, mixed methods, needs assessment, Indigenous languages, Indigenous language reclamation, Indigenous language resurgence, Indigenous language revitalization, urban Indigenous language and culture access.

Table of contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Preface and Acknowledgements:

W̱SÁNEĆ-aabeg miinwaa Lək^{w}əŋən-aabeg

The people who were involved in this knowledge seeking project, including all the knowledge keepers, survey respondents, advisors, and I, reside on the territories of the Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ peoples. Many of us were displaced from our own homelands for one reason or another and so I am grateful that we are able, not only to live here, but to learn and share our language and culture with one another. I am truly grateful to the stewards of this beautiful place. And I am grateful that as a part of this project, I can share some suggestions from a local language practitioner on how we can support local languages while learning our own. W̱SÁNEĆ-aabeg miinwaa Lək^{w}əŋən-aabeg Nimiigwechiwenimaag.

Nimiigwechiwendan

Ozaaweshiinh nimiigwechiwendan noojiikwaagowiing.
I am grateful that ozaaweshiinh visited us.

Ndaanikoobijiganag nimiigwechiwenimaag.
I am grateful for my ancestors.

Nookmisba miinwaa nimishoomisba nimiigwechiwenimaag. Ngitiziimag nimiigwechiwenimaag. Nishiime nimiigwechiwenimaa. Niwiijiwaagan nimiigwechiwenimaa.
I am grateful for my nana and my papa. I am grateful for my parents. I am grateful for my sister. I am grateful for my partner.

Ieronhienhawi, Karhowane, Tipiziwin, Tisholas, WENWONELWET, Wuxwaxtunaat, Leateequia, Willow, Simon, Rohahiyo, Geri, Nacole, miinwaa Peter nimiigwechiwenimaag.
I am grateful for my cohort.

Ekinoomaagenhyig nimiigwechiwenimaag.
I am grateful for my teachers.

Ojibweg Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ-aking nimiigwechiwenimaag. Ojibwe anishinaabe-akiing nimiigwechiwenimaag.
I am grateful to Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands. And I am grateful for Ojibwe people living on our homelands.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Niin yaawiyaan: Who I am

Aanii boozhoo. Wiigwaas ndizhinikaaz nishnaabemang miinwaa Carmen ndizhinikaaz zhaaganashimang. Michi-Saagii Nishnaabe ndaaw. Jijaak ndoodem miinwaa Pemdashkoodayang ndoonjiba. Nookmis-ba Casey Jones Cowie zhinkaazo-ba, Pemdashkoodayang oonjiba. Nimishoomis-ba David Craig-ba zhinkaazo-ba, Irish-aking oonjiba. Ngitizimag Jude Neun miinwaa Terry Craig zhinkaazowag; ɬəʔamɛn-aking daawag. Ndaa Ləkʷəŋən -aking noongom miinwaa ngiidaa ɬəʔamɛn-aking. Nimiigwechiwenimaag ɬəʔamɛn-aabeg miinwaa Ləkʷəŋən -aabeg miinwaa W̱SÁNEĆ-aabeg apiji. Niminwendaanan apiji Ləkʷəŋən -aking miinwaa W̱SÁNEĆ-aking miinwaa *ɬəʔamɛn-aking.*

Gaawiin gegoo ngikendansii.

Ndoonjiba: My source

I am from Hiawatha First Nation, Rice Lake Reserve, or Pemdashkoodayang, in what is known today as Southern Ontario. I am Mississauga Nishnaabe. I lived in a village called Roseneath near Rice Lake until I was ten years old. At that time, my mother was offered a job on ɬəʔamɛn Territory, located in what is known today as British Columbia. Because my family was experiencing financial insecurity then, the same as many others, my mom, dad, little sister, and I made the nearly 5,000 km move West, away from home.

ɬəʔamɛn-aking

This move west meant that my sister and I no longer had access to our community, and it seemed as though we no longer had access to our culture because much of what is cultural was invisible to us as kids. Hearing and speaking our language were also paused at that time being

that neither of our parents spoke Ojibwemowin at all, and if there were any speakers on ɬəʔamɛn Territory, I didn't know how to find them or even that I should look for them.

In B.C., I entered grade 6 and was given the option to study either French or ɬəʔamɛn language and chose ɬəʔamɛn language, Éyɔ́ɔjuuthem, because it seemed right. I am so grateful that I did and to my teacher, Gail Blaney, who taught me a lot about language and language acquisition. This learning, related to the land and to the people who belong to it, kept me tethered in many ways. It kept me conscious of my Ojibwe identity especially in relation to the people who keep the land and water there, even if it sometimes felt like it might be easier to forget where I come from and who I am.

I've now been a visitor on a lot of territories: ɬəʔamɛn, Nehiyaw, Mi'kmaq, Blackfoot, Ukrainian, Korean, and Lək^{w}əŋən too. After completing high school on ɬəʔamɛn Territory, the first on my father's side of the family to ever do so, I started to roam around a bit. I lived overseas, I lived in Saskatchewan, Lunenburg, Halifax, the Rockies, and then moved to Toronto and stayed still for a while.

Ngiigiiwegoz: Going home

One of the first days I was in Toronto, I held the subway door for a man who was running, and when he got on, he looked at me and said *miigwech*. I felt the thank you deep in my stomach, and then he was gone.

In Toronto, I had some access to Ojibwemowin. There were moments when I would hear words like *miigwech* on the subway or see a street sign, directing me in my language, take a class at the downtown Friendship Centre, but it still, ultimately, felt pretty far away. My parents and my sister felt far away too, even while my grandparents, my aunties, uncles, and cousins

were closer than they had been in many years. So, I eventually made my way back to B.C. and started looking into university studies.

That's when I arrived in Lək̓ʷəŋən-aking and enrolled in school at Camosun College. Initially, I studied creative writing and English literature because I like stories. I also took some French classes and did some French immersion in Quebec. I started speaking French okay after just a few courses and some talking to people.

When I finished my diploma, I made plans to visit a friend in China. To prepare for that, I took a teaching English as an additional language (EAL) course from a language practitioner named Maureen. While taking this course, I was prompted to think about my experiences learning languages— ɬəʔamɛn language with Gail and Ojibwemowin with Mr. Knott, Mrs. Cameron, and with Lily Osawamick, and more recently, French from Brigitte Augeard, in just a couple of years.

Just as that course ended and I was preparing to leave for China, my nookmis, my nana, walked on.

My *nookmis-ba*, my nana-ba, always reminded my sister and I of who we are. Her departure from earth was the beginning of me really coming home to my language.

Ojibwe Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ-aking: Ojibwe on Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories

At my EAL instructor Maureen's suggestion, I enrolled in linguistics at the University of Victoria (UVic) to explore why it was so easy to learn French, a language I didn't really care about, and so difficult to learn my language and the ɬəʔamɛn language, two languages I care deeply about.

During my time at UVic, I found the Ojibwe language table where I met several relatives and Ojibwe people from all over *Anishinaabe-aking*.

This is when I learned that, not only was I a part of the Mississauga Nation, I was also a part of an urban Ojibwe community. Over time here, many questions have surfaced for me related to being Ojibwe on these Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ lands. Many of these questions have echoed around in the urban community, and so I know they are important. Questions such as, "What does it mean to be Ojibwe in the city?", "What does it mean to be Ojibwe on Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ lands?", "How do I reclaim my language in a city?", and "What does it mean to be a part of an Indigenous community in the city?".

I took a few years to work and grow after I finished my undergraduate degree. Throughout that time, I continued to build connections in the urban Ojibwe and Indigenous communities in Lək̓ʷəŋən-aking.

Nmbi-yaa: I am here

In 2020, I enrolled in the Master of Indigenous Language Revitalization program, again at UVic, hoping to become more useful to my language, to my urban community, and to the people of my nation in my homelands. I have had several ideas for projects along the way, but throughout my time in MILR, it has been ever present that whatever I do, it should be useful.

Wiigwaas ndizhinikaaz: My name is silver birch bark

There's this story about wiigwaas, silver birch, that one of my teachers, John, told me. He said there was once a time when wiigwaas was beautiful to the eye. Wiigwaas had the most silvery, shiny, and flawless bark without a single mark on it. But wiigwaas was also very proud, bragging a lot and loudly about that bark. About everything really. One day when wiigwaas was bragging particularly loudly, the west wind overheard and blew up a big gust causing other trees nearby to blow over and into wiigwaas, scratching up that beautiful shiny bark and making it look the way it looks today, with deep dark gashes in snowy smooth covering.

It has always seemed to me like this story is about becoming humble about what we are born with, and I have hoped that's not why I was given this name, although I know there have been times when I have needed more humility than I have had.

There are other stories about how wiigwaas got those gashes in her bark. One such story chronicles Nenaboozhoo being chased by animkii-bineshiwag, thunderbirds, who clawed at the bark of the wiigwaas log where Nenaboozhoo was hiding. Those birds left their marks there on that log to commemorate their little ones who Nenaboozhoo had killed. The Ojibwe people are reminded by those marks of how wiigwaas will always be there to protect and help the people.

Many stories about wiigwaas have to do with how useful she is and has been for the Ojibwe people, sustaining us by providing bark for boats, baskets, houses, containers, paper scrolls, and much more. This is what I aim to live through what I do. I'm hoping that this work at the University of Victoria can be like a wiigwaas-kookbinaagan, birchbark basket or wiigwaas-jiiman, birchbark canoe, to carry the efforts that are to come. And I also hope that I can live the teaching of dibadendiziwin, humility, knowing myself as a sacred part of creation, as I work. I aim to live dibadendiziwin by remembering throughout that I am equal to others, and never better.

1.2 Niwiigwaasonaaganike: I'm building a birchbark basket

When I was first exploring what I want to know and help with, I thought I wanted to do something for all the Mississauga Ojibwe communities at home. And then Dr. Wanosts'a7 Lorna Williams told me that she "hopes [I] look at the people who aren't home because we need to hear from them." And I refocused from Mississauga Ojibwe communities to urban Ojibwe ones because it's true; we don't get a chance to talk about what we need often.

All that which I have said so far is to say, eventually, I would like to build a *kookbinaagan*, some sort of a metaphorical wiigwaas basket, which we can use to carry the things that my urban Ojibwe community and the seven generations to follow us, need in order to reclaim our languages. To know what that *kookbinaagan* should look like, I need to know what will end up inside of it (the wants and needs and responsibilities of the community). And that is where I found myself when I first began this research. At the beginning of a project to discover what our basket will carry.

The purpose of this multi-method qualitative and quantitative study is to explore the language learning needs, wants, and responsibilities of the urban Ojibwe community currently living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, B.C.).

1.3 Research Question and Goals

This project's research question is, **what do urban Ojibwe people, living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, B.C.) need and want in order to rebuild our relationship to our Ojibwe language?**

The goals of this research are:

- To explore what Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories want to know of their language
- To explore what Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories need in order to meet their language learning goals
- To explore what Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories consider to be their responsibilities to their community here in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories, to the Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ people, and to the Ojibwe language.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Why urban people?

There is little research I could find on how to support urban Indigenous people in learning their languages. This is an important area to research because the majority of Indigenous people in Canada live in urban areas, have a strong desire to learn their languages, and lack access to learning them. Learning our languages is a right that is both inherent and enshrined in law.

Most Indigenous people in Canada live in urban areas. The annual Report to Parliament 2020 states that, as of 2016 "about 40% of Registered [First Nations] live on reserve, 14% live in rural areas (off reserve), and 45% live in urban areas" (Indigenous Services Canada). Those status First Nations living off-reserve make up the majority of status First Nations people in Canada. These numbers do not include non-status First Nations who are a significant additional percentage of First Nations people living in urban areas and off-reserve.

Approximately half of Indigenous people who are living off-reserve in Canada indicate that it is somewhat important or very important for them to learn their language (Indigenous Services Canada, 2020). Despite this, there is a lack of access to Indigenous language and culture for Indigenous people living off-reserve. To illustrate this, the Government of Canada and Indigenous Services Canada (2020) shows that while 44.9% of First Nations people living on-reserve can have a conversation in their language, only 13.4% of First Nations living off-reserve can do this. This study aims to explore why, if Indigenous people living in urban areas express that it is important to learn our languages, we are not doing it. What do we need that we are not getting? What is causing this language speaking gap between on-reserve and off-reserve Indigenous people, and what can we do to fill it?

Rights

These numbers, representing Indigenous people living off reserve and with less access to their Indigenous languages and cultures, as high as they are, are beside the point when we consider our inherent individual rights to our Indigenous languages and cultures as well as rights enshrined in international, Canadian, and provincial laws. The United Nations has declared our Indigenous rights to language and culture law (UN General Assembly, 2007) which British Columbia and Canada have adopted, creating legislation such as DRIPA as well as enacting Bill C-15, UNDRIPA, to align Canadian law with the United Nations declaration (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, 2019; Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2019).

Therefore, it is both an inherent and legal right of Indigenous people, living both on reserve and urban, to have access to our languages and cultures.

These are only a few reasons why it is important to conduct this type of knowledge gathering.

Needs assessments

In his work *Overview: A rationale for needs analysis and needs analysis research*, Michael H. Long writes that "just as no medical intervention would be prescribed before a thorough [exploration] of … a patient… no language teaching program should be designed without a thorough needs analysis" (p. 1, 2006). This is true of individual courses and also true of language planning within communities. Needs analyses are important for examination of what communities have, do not have, want, do not want, believe, do not believe, know, do not know, care about, do not care about, and how they picture the future of their language and community. Community language needs analyses also help to "build community awareness

around language" which is often considered the first step of community language resurgence (First Peoples' Cultural Council, 2022).

Gaining insight from a community needs analysis has provided insight into what types of programs and supports this urban community needs so we might begin to make plans around how to construct a basket to hold the tools to carry out our plan. It is the first step towards urban Ojibwe language reclamation on Lək^{w}ənən-aking.

Terminology

Ojibwe people are known by a lot of different names. I have chosen to use Ojibwe to describe my people and Ojibwemowin to describe my language. I decided to use these names because this is what I grew up using and what all of the people around me said. It is what my nookmis-ba, my grandmother used to call us. Participants in this research use Anishinaabe, Anishinaabemowin, Nishnaabe, or Nishnaabemwin sometimes as well. They all refer to the same people and dialects of the same language, generally.

Other terminology that I use somewhat interchangeably is homelands and our or their territories. I use homelands and territories recognizing that no term necessarily fits for everyone. Some people have never been to their territories so "homeland" doesn't seem quite right. And "territory" itself is defined by Oxford Languages as "an area of land under the jurisdiction of a ruler or state." This doesn't fit well for what we are discussing either. We are talking about oonjiba—our spiritual source, the land we come from, not about land that is ruled. Similarly, we are not talking about reserve or First Nation necessarily, as some of the respondents and participants are not members of a First Nation and/or have never lived on

their reserve. Due to having no better terminology, I have opted for a mixture of the words "homelands" and "territories."

Chapter Three: Methodological Perspectives

Dibaajimoninan: Stories

In her book, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts,* Margaret Kovach describes the "inseparable relationship between story and knowing" (pp.94-108, 2009).

I am Anishinaabekwe and was raised to be a storyteller. This makes sense because Ojibwe people use story to measure and understand reality. Our word for a particular type of everyday story is dibaajimowin. Dibaajimowin translates into English more literally as *a measurement of something*. And in this way, I use my own story as an urban Anishinaabekwe as well as the stories of other Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}əŋən-aking to guide this work and our understandings of our needs.

In her book, *Otter's Journey Through Indigenous Language and Law*, Lindsay Keegitah Borrows writes that "stories invite us to enter into different worlds. They can figuratively transport us from wherever we are… to places we had never imagined" (p. ix, 2018). A needs assessment is an opportunity for our urban Ojibwe community to imagine and tell a story about a future for ourselves and the next seven generations so that we can draw out some sort of a map for all of us to journey there on. It is hard for us to imagine learning a language like Ojibwe when those of us who don't know our language have never learned it before. It's a new journey that needs telling.

The journey needs telling because, as Trish Rosborough writes in her 2012 dissertation, "we understand and give meaning to our lives through story" and "relating to the storyteller and recognizing aspects of [ourselves] in the story can move [listeners and readers] to taking action" (p. 40, 2012). I hope that through this work, our stories can do this for each other; I

hope they can motivate us to take actions and movements forward on our paths to reclaiming Ojibwemowin, especially in this urban, far-away setting.

Jijaak giibasweweshin

As a jijaak or crane clan person, I carry responsibilities. Some of those responsibilities are related to our leadership and impact how I have carried out this learning and the sharing of this learning. You see, jijaak doodemag are also known as *baswenaazhi doodemag* or echo-makers for our voices. Crane clan people listen and then share the voices of the people out to those who need to hear it. I am not a loud-speaking person so, in this writing, I hope I have echoed out the knowledge of the people who shared with me in the best and most accurate and honouring way I can. It is my responsibility that you hear the voices that are gathered here in this work in the way that they were meant to be heard.

To ensure that these voices are echoed out in the way that the speakers intended, a draft of my analysis has been shared to all of those involved in my circle for review and approval.

Ngiimnidooke: I had a ceremony

During an intensive studies week in November 2021, my Indigenous languages M.Ed. cohort came together for the first time to learn in person. On that first day we met together, IED graduate students Karhowane, Ieronhienha:wi, Simon Bird, and niwiijiwaagan, and I ate together and then went out for a walk. On that walk, we were visited by ozaaweshiinh, a goldfinch. Before that day, I had never seen a goldfinch in Victoria, B.C. And because I am crane clan, bird observation is something I do often. We watched ozaaweshiinh together until she flew away.

At that time, I had not ever heard any stories about ozaaweshiinh and so when there was time, on the last day of our intensive week together, I opened Ogimaagiizhig, Charles Grolla's

book *Binesi-Dibaajimowinan: Ojibwe Bird Stories,* and I found a story about ozaaweshiinh. In the first paragraph of this story, Ogimaagiizhig writes that "ozaaweshiinh is well known for its association with the Ojibwe language, as it often represents it, especially in teaching and revitalizing the language" (p. 169, 2019). He goes on to describe ceremonies where ozaaweshiinh came to the people, a language spirit, and how to show this visiting spirit respect in ceremony (p. 170). As a part of this research, I follow tradition and feast this bird, make and hang tobacco ties with yellow fabric and yellow and black ribbon, and I leave an offering where I saw ozaaweshiinh that day.

This part of my process is inspired not only by ozaaweshiinh, but also by Shawn Wilson, who writes about research as ceremony, how "it must be respected as such", and how "an integral part of any ceremony is setting the stage properly" (p. 60, p. 69, 2008). This feasting and honouring is setting the stage for good and respectful work and knowledge gathering.

Gaawiin gegoo-ngikendanzii: I don't know anything

I am Ojibwe. Another name we have for ourselves is Anishinaabe and one translation of Anishinaabe is "the good people". So, being Anishinaabe means that I should go by my teachings to live (and therefore do research) following niizhwaaswi gagiikwewinan*,* the teachings of the seven grandmothers and grandfathers, teachings of mnaadendamowin (respect), zaagidiwin (love), debwewin (truth), gwekwaadziwin (honesty), nbwaakaawin (wisdom), aakdewin (bravery), and dbadendizwin (humility). I am guided by cultural and personal values as well as doodamowin, which Rene Meshake describes as actions or commitments that motivate me to consider my community's needs in all things that I do (p. 149, 2019). This project is no different, as in conducting this learning, I am seeking to better know my community's needs and therefore, how to respond to them within my doodamowin.

Have you ever heard a crane's voice on the water? Jijaak ndoodem. As a crane clan member, some of my doodem responsibilities are to listen to what the people have to say and echo that out. Because this is a responsibility of mine within my doodem, I am careful to listen to everyone's own experience and consider it as that. We all have our own truths based on our experiences, and story provides a space for us to understand those truths. As such, it is important for me to note that what I share in this project writeup is filtered through my lens. It is my interpretation of what was shared to me.

In this project, as in all projects I could be involved in, mnaadendamowin, respect, will be important. Here, I am seeking to help us all understand a little bit better what everyone in the Ojibwe community on Lək^{w}ənən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories cares about in relation to our language. To see and to love others for what they care about is my understanding of mnaadendamowin.

Chapter Four: Methods

Before beginning this research project, I held a small ceremonial feast to honour the language spirit, ozaaweshiinh, who visited me here on Lək^{w}əŋən territory. Three Ojibwe people came who I sometimes practice and learn Ojibwemowin with. We feasted ozaaweshiinh and shared that same food together. This was an important part of my process in thinking about research as ceremony and in starting this work in a good way (Wilson, 2008).

I also connected with a language carrier and practitioner, WENWONELWET Katia Olsen, who is from this territory (W̱SÁNEĆ), in order to explore doing this work in a good and reciprocal way.

The methods I used to conduct this study, a language needs assessment within the Greater Victoria Area urban Ojibwe community, were a SurveyMonkey survey (see Appendix A for questions) and a follow-up talking circle (see Appendix B for the talking circle guide) (Wilson, p. 41, 2008).

Survey is an effective method for research when it fits the purposes of the research and is designed well. “A survey is a means for gathering information about the characteristics, actions, or opinions of a large group of people” (Pinsonneault & Kraemer, 1993). My research aims to gather information about the opinions and actions of Ojibwe people in Victoria, B.C. Surveys also help to elicit “information about attitudes that are otherwise difficult to measure using observational techniques” (Glasow, 2005). Pimsonneault and Kraemer (1993) explore some of the disadvantages of using survey. Those disadvantages reported are like the disadvantages shared for questionnaires in work by Dörnyei (2003). While there are many important advantages to questionnaires in language research, Dörnyei cites “simplicity and superficiality

of answers, unreliable and unmotivated respondents, respondent literacy problems, little or no opportunity to correct respondents' mistakes, social desirability bias, self-deception, acquiescence bias, … and fatigue effects" as disadvantages. Dörnyei also urges that there are ways to overcome these disadvantages and make the method of questionnaire advantageous (2003, pp. 6-9).

I explored Dörnyei's suggestions as I crafted my survey questions and made plans for my circle. I was able to address the concern around superficiality and simplicity of answers to my survey questions as well as that there would be little or no opportunity to correct respondents' mistakes, by planning a circle to gather deeper knowledge and clarity from six participants, representative of three generations. Additionally, since Dörnyei explains that asking a respondent to express themselves on a scale may lack the complexity and richness of the human experience, in any place where I asked respondents to share on a scale or in multiple choice format, I always provided an option for a written response for elaboration or explanation. It was not a great concern for me that my respondents would be unreliable or unmotivated because the subject is important to most potential respondents, and our community people do not often have the chance to share our voices on this subject. To address concerns around participant literacy problems, I offered in my letter of invitation to have a phone conversation instead of having participants fill out the survey on their own and I also provided audio recordings of each question and the introduction to my survey if they did prefer to complete the survey on their own. I also attempted to keep vocabulary choices basic, avoiding any academic jargon where possible. In order to address the potential problem of social desirability bias in surveys, I made efforts to assure participants of the confidentiality and

anonymity of their survey responses. To address the potential problem of self-deception, I provided open-ended questions and encouraged participants to reflect on their motivations. Dörnyei suggests that this can lead to participants uncovering underlying biases or bind spots. In terms of addressing acquiescence bias in my survey, I provided very few statements with which respondents could simply agree. Many questions required respondents to think and write responses out in their own words. Finally, in order to address the potential for fatigue effects, I attempted to keep my survey under thirty minutes long. This is still a long survey; however, since the topic is important to most people in our community, I held the belief that most people would finish it and remain engaged to the end (2003, pp. 6-9).

Through this process, I have come to view the method of survey as inherently Ojibwe in how it allows us to hear and honour many voices as opposed to the voices of only a few. This, to me, is living both the teaching of wisdom, nbwaakaawin, and of humility, dbadendizwin. Survey is living humility because, as Ojibwe people, we know that a few cannot speak for everyone as no one person can know on behalf of all. And survey is wisdom because wisdom is related to visiting. The more we visit, the wiser we are. Surveying allows me, in a sense, to visit with many.

Ceremony and story both revisited me in this work when I planned for and conducted my research circle. I invited my participants to join me with a gift of semaa, tobacco, an offering for knowledge that may be shared. In Maggie Kovach's Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts (2009), "Laara Fitznor explains that the tribal protocol around the social encounter within a circle differs from the epistemological underpinnings of a focus group" (p. 124). She goes on to describe how in a research circle setting, "it becomes less about

research participants responding to research questions, and more about the participants sharing their stories in relation to the question" (p. 125). Bringing participants together to sit in a circle is ceremonial story sharing. Additionally, our circle held seven people. This is ceremonial because our grandfathers and grandmothers sit in madoodoswan as seven. Our original teachings are seven. And our original clans were seven. And of course, we opened and closed the circle ceremonially and moved through it in rounds. These rounds that occur in circle, allow "people to relate their stories in a holistic fashion that [is not] fragmented" because they aren't ever interrupted (Kovach, p. 99). Everyone speaks once per round and is really listened to.

4.1 Data collection instruments and interview protocols

I chose to limit the size of my talking circle to six members of our urban Ojibwe community. One reason for choosing six people to participate in this circle, was that with the inclusion of myself, the circle would include seven. Seven is a sacred number. We have seven grandfathers, seven grandmothers, seven sacred teachings, and seven primary doodemag (clans). Also, by limiting the number of people involved in our talking circle, I aim to explore depth more than the breadth of knowledge present within our community. In this study, I seek meaning and measurement from dibaajimowin, stories of individuals, rather than broad generalizations about a diverse community that shares much in common as Ojibwe but also comes with unique stories from which we can learn much.

4.2 Data collection procedures

4.2.1 Interview

My interview was with a local language practitioner named WENWONELWET Katia Olsen. I chose to speak with a local language practitioner because I wanted to know about what our responsibilities are as visitors here to the local languages and people. First, I contacted

WENWONELWET and asked if she had time and/or was interested in meeting to answer my question. She said she was and so I sent my letter of invitation to participate over email. Shortly after that, we met over Zoom so that she could answer my one question. I took an audio recording of the interview and later transcribed it.

4.2.2 Survey

My survey was crafted with my research question and goals as well as Dörnyei's (2003) warnings about the potential disadvantages of surveys in mind. Once written, I loaded it into SurveyMonkey and had two urban Ojibwe community members pilot it for me and provide feedback. The first to pilot the survey was my advisor, Dr. Jean-Paul Restoule, and the second was Estrella Whetung. I made changes based on their feedback as well as feedback from my additional advisor, Dr. Li-Shih Huang.

Once finalized, the survey was distributed to the urban Ojibwe community in the Greater Victoria area via email listserv, university and college student societies, by word of mouth, via the Victoria Native Friendship Centre, via and Surrounded by Cedar Child and Family Services (See Appendix C for Letter of Invitation to participate in the survey, Appendix D for Letter of Invitation to Talking Circle, and Appendix G for a Assent Script for Youth Participating in Circle).

The survey was conducted for one month between June and July 2022, and 23 people responded to it. The survey had an 83% completion rate and took approximately 27 minutes to finish. Only Ojibwe respondents could take the survey. If any respondents indicated that they are not Ojibwe, the survey concluded for them at that moment. Additionally, two surveys completed were removed because they did not fit the inclusion criteria of being Ojibwe *and*

residing in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories (or the Greater Victoria Area). As a result, there was a total of 19 useable surveys explored as a part of this study.

4.2.3 Circle

I invited six people to participate in my knowledge sharing circle: two youth, two parent-aged people, and two grandparent-aged people to represent[1] the different generations of Ojibwe people living within our community. I invited people who I know are living in this urban Ojibwe community and interested in language and culture. It took me a few months to gather everyone because of busy schedules and at the last minute, one participant was unable to attend due to illness. Thankfully, another participant asked me if she could bring her friend, another youth from the community, also at the last minute. This meant our circle still held seven people, including myself. The circle came together for approximately two hours. We met at the University of Victoria in the First Peoples' House.

A sharing circle is similar to but differs from a focus group in that a sharing circle is opened ceremonially and with self-location. It is also different in that when discussing and answering questions, participants answer in rounds, moving in the circle like seasons. There is no back-and-forth dialogue. The circle is sacred and respected. The people in the circle respect one another and do not interrupt nor speak out of turn. This eliminates some of the concerns of the focus group method which relate to power structures and the concern that participants may move towards consensus as opposed to voicing their own true opinions. The source of each participant's answer is their self-location which is shared in the first round of

[1] A representative sample is not the goal in this research. I am working within an Indigenous paradigm where it is important to explore perspectives from all generations and not leave any ages out.

introductions. They answer and share knowledge based on their experiences, who they are, and where they come from.

4.3 Data analysis

I explored the survey and talking circle knowledge shared using both quantitative and qualitative analyses processes. I collected and analyzed numerical data through my survey to determine such things as how many people consider themselves learners of Ojibwemowin or how many generations have respondents' families been living on these territories, etc. I conducted qualitative analysis by becoming familiar with the transcripts from my circle and survey responses through listening, reading, and then organizing my participants' words into patterns based on my interpretation. The survey findings are shared in section 5.2 and the circle findings in section 5.3 and in chapter six where I share more on needs and responsibilities based on these analyses.

From the audio recordings I took of our circle, I transcribed everything that was shared the evening that our circle came together at UVic. After I was finished transcribing what was shared, I sent copies to each of the knowledge sharers who attended, with their sections highlighted. As Maggie Kovach (2009) outlines, it is "the researcher's responsibility to ensure voice and representation. That participants check and approve the transcripts of the stories [they have shared] is essential for meeting the criteria of accurate representation as perceived by research participants" (pp. 99-100). Sharing transcriptions with participants before I began to work with what they shared was a way of showing participants respect.

I explored the transcripts after they were approved by each participant. I spent a lot of time reading their words and thinking about what they said while walking at Thetis Lake. While

I worked, I was able to place myself in the room where we met, imagining each knowledge keeper's voice as I read and reflected.

When I had completed my draft analysis, I shared it with each participant for their approval before finalization. Eventually, I came to what you will see in section 5.3.

Chapter Five: Discussion

5.1 Local Language Practitioner: WENWONELWET Katia Olsen

Because the people involved in this research reside on W̱SÁNEĆ and or Lək^{w}əŋən lands, and this research is related to Ojibwe peoples' access to Ojibwe language and culture on this land, it is important that this project also considers what these Ojibwe peoples' responsibilities are to the people whose land this is as well as to the languages of this land. To learn about our responsibilities to the languages and people here, I spoke with a SENĆOŦEN language practitioner, WENWONELWET Katia Olsen. WENWONELWET Katia Olsen is a member of W̱JOŁEŁP and teaches SENĆOŦEN immersion to children at the ŁÁU, WELN̲EW̱ Tribal School in W̱JOŁEŁP.

Based on this conversation with WENWONELWET, I can share some of our responsibilities as language learners here, to the SENĆOŦEN language and people. One is to learn some of their basic words, for instance greetings and place names, and use them, especially on the land and so that the ancestors of this land can hear. Another is to know how to introduce ourselves in our own language on this land, and that we acknowledge the people of this land when we introduce ourselves. In those introductions, we should also share where we are from, even if we have never been to our homelands. It is also good to talk about how long our families have been living here, since some have been here for generations.

WENWONELWET Katia Olsen shared that she encourages visitors or people who have settled here to learn the basics of SENĆOŦEN. She said:

> It's not the people directly that are here that we are often speaking to [in SENĆOŦEN]. A lot of the time it's to the ancestors. Like when we speak in our longhouse, a lot of the people in the crowd won't understand the language that's being spoken but we use our

> language because we have ancestors there that are witnessing the work as well and they're understanding what's being said and what is going on. And the names are what they're recognizing—the place names and things like that.

Because of this, she said "it's important to just try to learn "ÍY, SȻÁĆEL" […] or "HÍSW̱ḴE" or whatever. Just the little things matter and the little effort matters." She shared that she also encourages people to learn place names for this land. She encourages this "just so that the ancestors are hearing it … [and she feels] like it brings life to those places as well." She went on to describe how:

> The trees are listening and that's something we often teach our students too. That's why we do our trips on the land, so that the plants and the animals can hear us singing in the language and telling stories in the language, enjoying ourselves the way we used to in our language because this land is where our language comes from. We didn't make it up. It came from the way that the wind blows and the way that the ocean tide is. Those sounds all come from the land and the animals and the plants.

WENWONELWET also said that it is important that visitors can introduce themselves in their languages and that they still "acknowledge the people of the land." She shared that it would be respectful to be able to share about where you're from specifically as well as who your parents are and where your parents are from too. When talking about acknowledging a homeland someone has never been to, she said:

> It's still something you need to acknowledge because that's where your roots are from even though you've never been there or you don't know anything about it. It's still where your spirit's from.

Additionally, she said it would be good to talk about how many generations you have been here for, because it's important for people to know about that.

And so, as Ojibwemowin learners here, it is our additional responsibility to learn basic SENĆOŦEN and/or Lək^{w}əŋən words such as greetings and place names. And we need to use them too, especially on these lands and for the ancestors here to hear. We also need to make sure that we continue to acknowledge, not only our parents and where they come from, but the local people, in our introductions of ourselves.

5.2 Survey

5.2.1 About the survey

The Ojibwe Language on Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ Territories: A Language and Culture Needs Assessment Survey (see Appendix A) was open for one month between June and July 2022, and 23 people responded to it. The survey had an 83% completion rate and took approximately 27 minutes to finish. The first question on the survey asked respondents to identify whether they are Ojibwe. If any respondents indicated that they are not Ojibwe, the survey concluded for them at that moment. Additionally, two surveys completed were removed because they did not fit the inclusion criteria of being Ojibwe *and* residing in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories (or the Greater Victoria Area). As a result, there was a total of 19 useable surveys explored as a part of this project.

Most respondents were between the ages of 18 and 65 with one respondent between the ages of 13 and 18 and another two over the age of 65. Respondents include *niniwag* (men), *kwewag* (women), and two-spirit people.

5.2.2 Oonjibaawag: Their sources

There is an unknown total number of Ojibwe people living on Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ Territories, so it is not possible to say what percentage of the population responded to this survey. Respondents report being from and/or a member of many different communities, nations, and treaty areas including Mississauga Nishnaabe Nation, Alderville First Nation, Hiawatha First Nation, Curve Lake First Nation, Mnjikaning/Chippewas of Rama First Nation, Georgina Island and Snake Island, Long Plain First Nation, Sagkeeng/Sandy Bay First Nation, Wikwemikong, Lac Seul First Nation, Bawating, Whitesand First Nation, Neyaashiinigming/Cape Croker, and Swan Lake First Nation.

5.2.3 When respondents came to Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories

Respondents report a mix of having had their great-grandparents, grandparents, or parents move here (or away) before they were born, their parents move here (or away) with them after they were born, or moving here (or away) on their own/with their own child and/or children. Some respondents included stories about their grandparents/parents moving and living in between their reserve and multiple other places including Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories while growing up before finally staying on Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands.

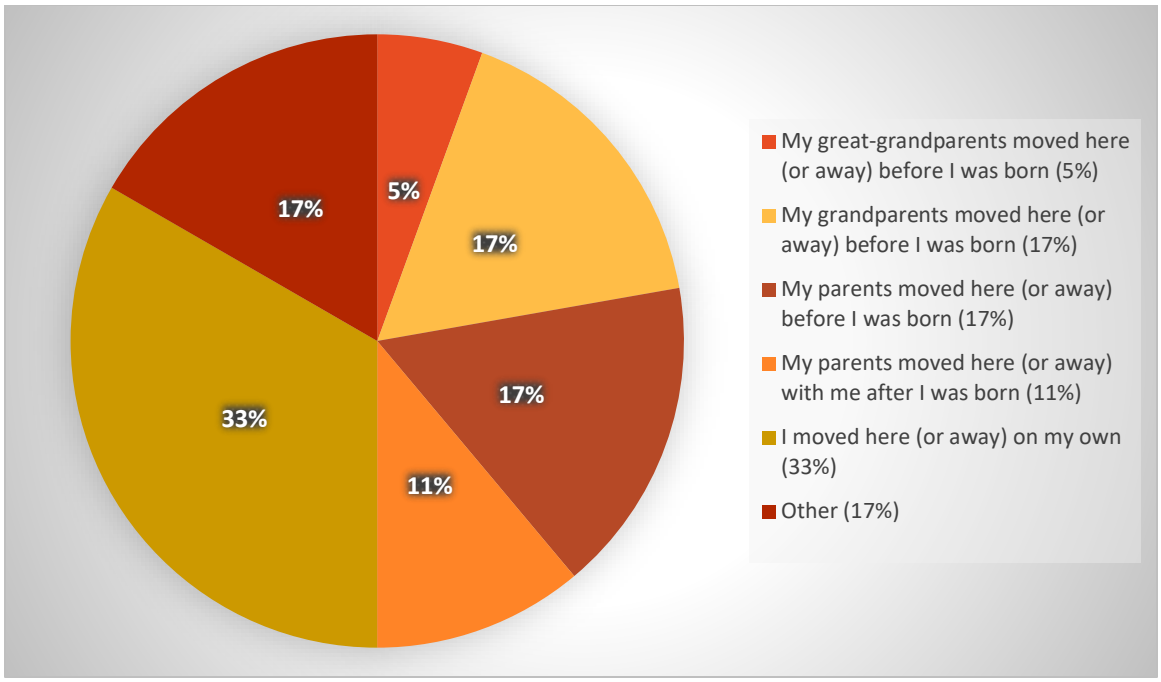

Figure 1: How we came to be away

5.2.4 Staying in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories

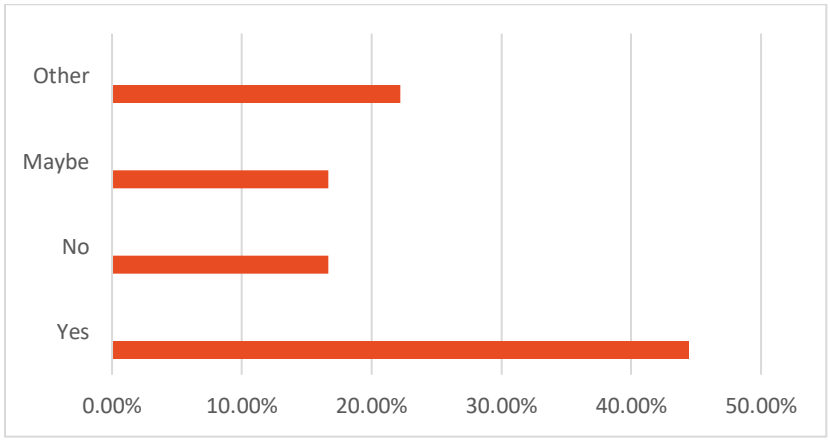

Figure 2: Do you plan to remain away from your territory?

Just over 44% of respondents indicate that they plan to remain away from their territory, nearly 17% indicate that they are unsure, and 22% describe not having an intentional plan to remain away or that they hope to visit their home territory to reconnect and build more relationships and then see if this leads to staying on their territory.

Nearly 56% of respondents indicate that they plan to stay on Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories, almost 6% do not plan to stay on Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories, while nearly 39% are unsure.

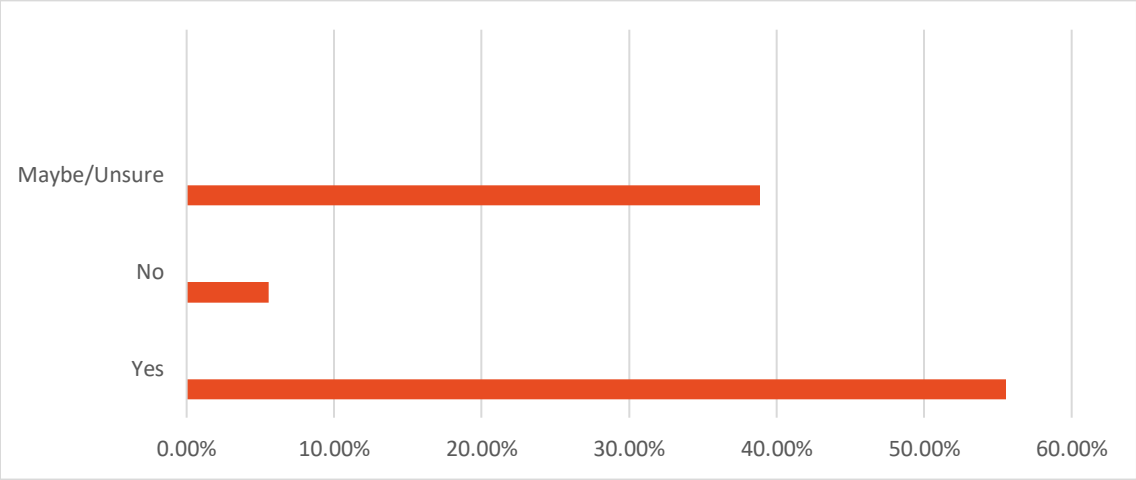

Figure 3: Do you plan to stay on Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands?

Reason for staying

Many respondents share that their families, friends, careers, and community are reasons to stay in Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories. One respondent writes that she may stay because:

> I grew up here and it's what I know. My parents, most of my aunties and uncles, and all my closest friends and cousins live in Lək̓ʷəŋən land or their neighbours' lands. The urban Indigenous community here is deeply interwoven into my life. My career is based here. I feel safe here. (Respondent #19)

Another respondent adds that his "work is here, and [he likes] it and [he likes] the land and the people, [and his] family is happy here" (Respondent #15). A third respondent says she "mostly came [to Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories] to reconnect with [her] family that are a part of the Ojibwe side [because she] grew up away from them [and they are here so she is too]"

(Respondent #21). Another respondent writes about having made her home here and having "nearly no family or connections left in [her] homeland" (Respondent #18).

Reasons for leaving

Some respondents share that they plan to or are considering leaving Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories at some point. Reasons cited for moving away primarily revolve around the cost of living being too high or a desire to return home to connect with culture, language, and land. Another respondent shares that "[she] also sometimes feel drawn to regions that have a higher percentage of native people, because Victoria …is still really white" (Respondent #19).

Reasons for being unsure

Many of the respondents (Nearly 40%) were unsure about whether they would move away from Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories at some point or not. One respondent shares that she "think[s] that possibly in the future, once [she has] established a connection to people living on reserve, and if they are accepting of [her], [she] would consider living there [instead of here]" (Respondent #7).

The next five years

Regardless of if they indicated they were planning to leave or stay, all respondents believe they will be here for at least the next five years and many of the respondents have or do plan to make their permanent homes in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories. These respondents are some of the people who make up the urban Ojibwe community on Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands.

Many respondents are building or have built lives and careers in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands. They have brought up, will bring up, or are bringing up families here. For these reasons, if respondents desire connection to language and/or culture, it needs to be

made available to them on Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories as per their inherent and legislated rights to language and culture (United Nations General Assembly, 2007; Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, 2019; Indigenous Languages Act, 2019).

5.2.5 Ojibwe community in Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories

A part of the urban Ojibwe community

Just over 61% of respondents indicate that they *do* consider themselves a part of the urban Ojibwe community in Victoria, just over another 11% are unsure due to "a lot of internal challenges" or due to not being aware of gatherings or events that occur, and nearly 17% responded that they do not consider themselves a part of the urban Ojibwe community in Victoria.

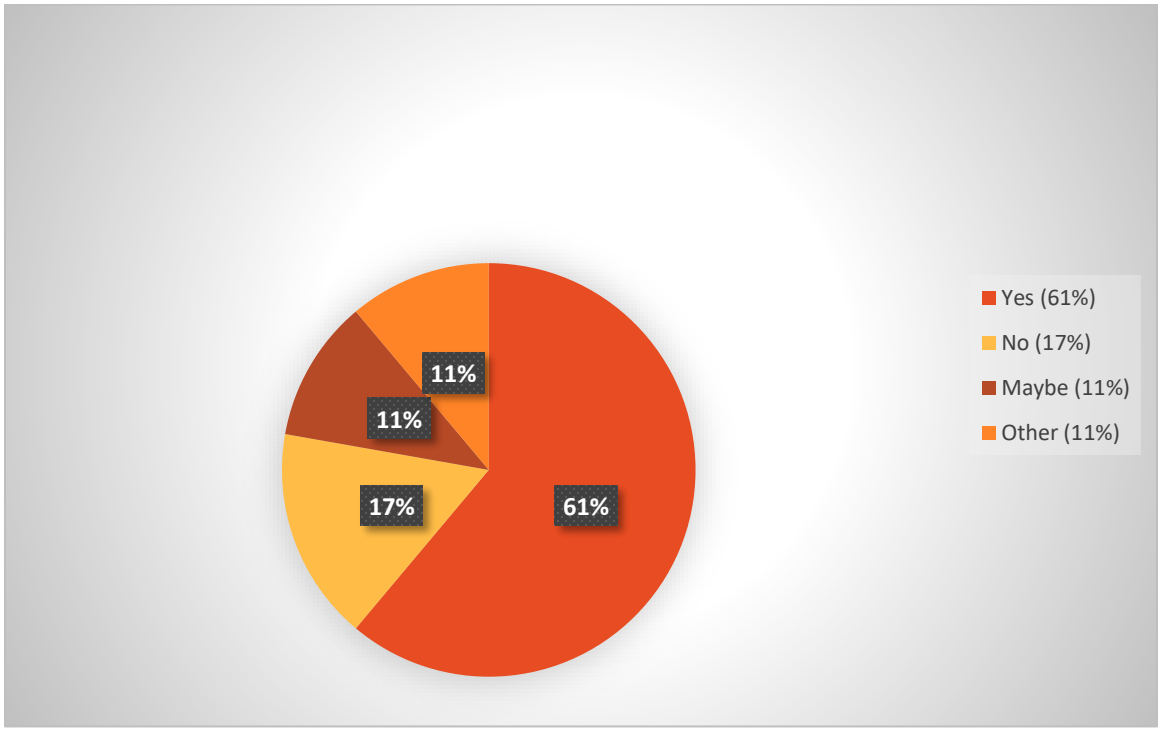

Figure 4: Do you consider yourself a part of the urban Ojibwe community in Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories?

Respondents indicate that they are members of the urban Ojibwe community here because they have a sense of belonging, identity, or pride; they are known; they have

community and family relationships; they have access to and participate in cultural teachings and experiences; they are a part of a supportive community, and they feel safe because of it; and they are aware of other Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands who are aware of them too.

One respondent shares:

> I spent most of my life as an 'out-group' member, but as soon as I began connecting with the urban Ojibwe community in Lək^{w}əŋən-aking, I knew I was an in-group member. This community gave me a sense of belonging and pride in my identity. (Respondent #19)

Another respondent shares that she is a part of this community because she feels "100% certain that [she] would be available to help out with anything in this community and/or support people in it." Another respondent indicated that she feels she has "a social safety net made up of Nishes living here. That is something [she] survived without for a long time" (Respondent #19). This indicates that one aspect of being a part of a community is to feel that you can and would provide for the others in your community and you feel safe and cared for. Another aspect seems to be having a sense of belonging and being able to feel proud of who you are.

Some respondents indicated that they are not members of the urban Ojibwe community here because their connections are limited and/or the word "community" was left undefined in the survey, so they are unsure of whether one exists.

Some respondents indicate an uncertainty around being a member of the urban Ojibwe community because they are in the process of connecting and/or learning to connect to community due to never having done so before.

All in all, there is an urban Ojibwe community here on Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands because people see themselves as belonging to it and to one another and it remains a space for Ojibwe people to feel safe and like they can contribute to each other's safety needs being met.

Urban Ojibwe gatherings

Nearly 56% of respondents indicated that there are not enough opportunities to gather with Ojibwe people in Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories and just over 22% of respondents indicated that there are enough opportunities while another 22% expressed uncertainty.

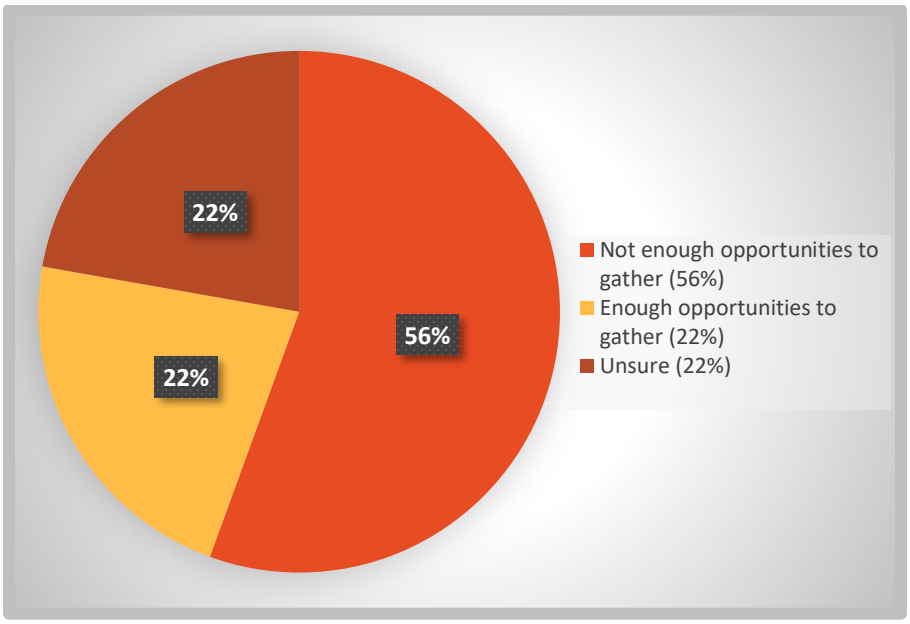

Figure 5: Opportunities to gather

One respondent who expressed a contentment with the amount of opportunity to gather further shared that she can connect with other Ojibwe people when she chooses to due to her former job and knowing thousands of Indigenous people in the city. She also shared that due to being introverted and not requiring a lot of social engagement to feel connected, she acknowledges that the response she gave may only be true for very few Ojibwe people living in Lək̓ʷəŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands.

Respondents expressed that the types of urban gatherings that they enjoy and are happening in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands currently include the language table at the University of Victoria (UVIC), art events, in-person language learning classes, casual gatherings organized by people in the community, ceremonies, family gatherings, personal ceremonial practice, and urban *Indigenous* (not specifically Ojibwe) gatherings generally.

Most respondents mention going to the language table at the University of Victoria and it being an important part of their experience in community. Some respondents suggest that it is the only urban Ojibwe gathering that they know of currently occurring in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands.

When asked to share about the types of gatherings they would like to see occurring, respondents wrote that they would like more language learning opportunities at language circles, language tables, and immersion camps, and other gatherings to share language, stories, songs, and food; more physical culture including art, dance, drumming, beading, and moccasin making; more feasts; more outdoor gatherings; more fires; more workshops; gatherings to talk about culture; youth gatherings to meet other youth; events honouring academic achievements; and more opportunities to gather in general.

One respondent shared that these things, things like art and dance and drum-making, they "enrich our spirits and help us to stay strong." This can be important in Indigenous language learning contexts where the task of learning and reconnection may feel immense and weigh on us heavily.

One respondent, felt that Ojibwe people on these lands need not take up more space as they "think there are already a lot of public events that include or centre Anishinaabe on this

territory" (Respondent #5). It is important to note that this respondent indicates traveling to homelands regularly and having strong and consistent access to language and culture where many other respondents indicate having no or little access and never or rarely visiting homelands. These differences are important to note because all Ojibwe people have a right to access their language and culture, and those who don't have the opportunity to engage with their language and culture on their own territories because they are not able to visit them, need to be able to get that access somewhere if they want to. Though this is the only respondent who shared in this survey that there is no need for public events that include Anishinaabe, there are likely some more Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories who do not desire or need to access language or culture while here because they can and do return to their reserve communities often enough and maintain connection to them where others do not or have not been able to. In short, it is important to note that not all Ojibwe people who live on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories want or need more access than they currently have while others indicate a great need and desire.

Overall, there is a strong indication that Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands desire *more* opportunities to gather for reasons ranging from language and culture learning and sharing to food sharing and community building.

5.2.6 Respondents visiting their territories

Some respondents were born on Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ territories and have never visited their territory before (Nearly 28%). Others have been to their territories but rarely visit (Nearly 17%). Respondents who do visit Anishinaabe territories go relatively infrequently with nearly 17% reporting not going often and just over 11%, every few years. Of all respondents, just over

11% go to Ojibwe territory annually or more than once per year. Reasons cited for not visiting at all or not visiting often are financial capacity and the COVID-19 pandemic. Among the reasons for visits, funerals are cited.

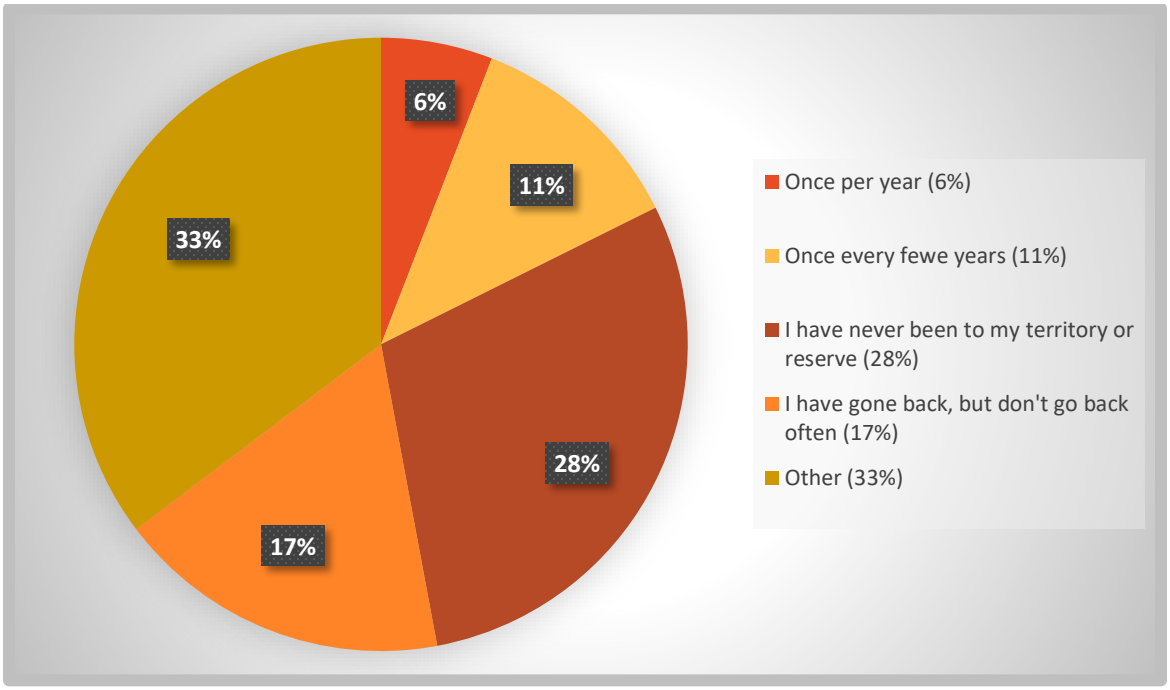

Figure 6: How often do you travel to your territory or reserve?

What I do on my territory

Those who can and do travel to their territories share that in relation to language and culture, when visiting their territory and/or reserve, they visit relatives and attend funerals, participate in ceremonies, take language courses, go to powwows, visit community organizations, connect with the land, pick medicines, go to language tables, visit with speakers, go to local events, visit family grave sites, visit buffalo, and visit sacred sites.

Just being on our land is being Anishinaabe

One respondent shares that when home, he tries "to connect with the land. Just being there gives [him] energy" (Respondent #14). Another respondent shares:

> Just being home is being Anishinaabe. Just being in the natural world of our territory and reconnecting with place and the beings of a place is being Anishinaabe. Being home for me is just being in place, but in terms of doing things that are legibly 'cultural', I do whatever there is to do—if there's a sunrise ceremony or a sweat being led by someone I trust, I go. If there's a powwow and I feel like going, I go. If I'm around during sugar bush season or ricing or harvesting berries or bark times, I do that as well with people, or alone. I do whatever there is to be done. (Respondent #13)

These respondents express a familiar sentiment that being on our land is being Indigenous. To these respondents, this is an important aspect of their Ojibwe identity. Other respondents have never been to their territory (see figure #6) and so may have ideas about this but would not be able to say for sure whether it is true for them or not. If there is a possibility that this is true for all, or even most Ojibwe people, although a huge challenge, it would be important for all Ojibwe people living off their territories to have the opportunity to visit, be on their land, and experience this. This opportunity is not currently something that all Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories have as evidenced by the responses provided.

There is no space for language/culture during visits

Another two respondents write about not being able to identify spaces for language and/or culture during visits home. One writes that when she has been home, there was "no obvious space of language and culture available to [her]" (Respondent #18), and another shares that "although [she] participates in cultural events when [she] visits, there haven't yet been language opportunities during visits" (Respondent #22)

Though this is low reportage, with only two having shared anything along these lines, it is two of fourteen respondents who have ever been to their territories. It makes sense that language and culture could be or feel hard to access on visits to Ojibwe territories, especially if those visits are short. Classes and language learning opportunities tend to be offered over longer-term periods unless they are offered in an immersion camp, which respondents would likely very intentionally visit for. In many communities, language is not spoken in day-to-day environments or in family homes, so this is another reason that respondents visiting home may not have had a chance to engage with language (Statistics Canada, 2022). Respondents may feel that in terms of culture, they do not have access when visiting due to the fact that it is not always clear what is cultural, and they may spend most of their visiting time with family and not at community gatherings which may seem more obviously cultural. It may also be that the people who respondents are visiting do not live on reserves where culture is often more obviously present than say in cities or towns.

I never have been to my reserve and have no expectations

Another respondent, one who has never been to her territory, shares about not having an expectation around receiving teachings, learning language, or experiencing culture when she finally does visit her territory:

> I have never been to my territory or reserve. But when I finally do go, I will have no specific expectations about access to culture and language. I have hopes, yes. I would love to hear my people's dialect. I would love to experience my people's ceremonies, to learn from knowledge keepers. I hope for these things to emerge when I go home but recognize they may not. (Respondent #19)

It is interesting that this respondent is hopeful but not expecting connection because there is a chance that when she does go to her territory, she may not have access as others have stated in their survey responses. This is something that is talked about in our urban diasporic community as well, and so it may be that this respondent has heard and considered this and does not want to be disappointed.

5.2.7 Access to language and culture

When you have a question related to Ojibwemowin, how often do you have a person you can go to, a place you can go to, or a process you can follow to learn more?

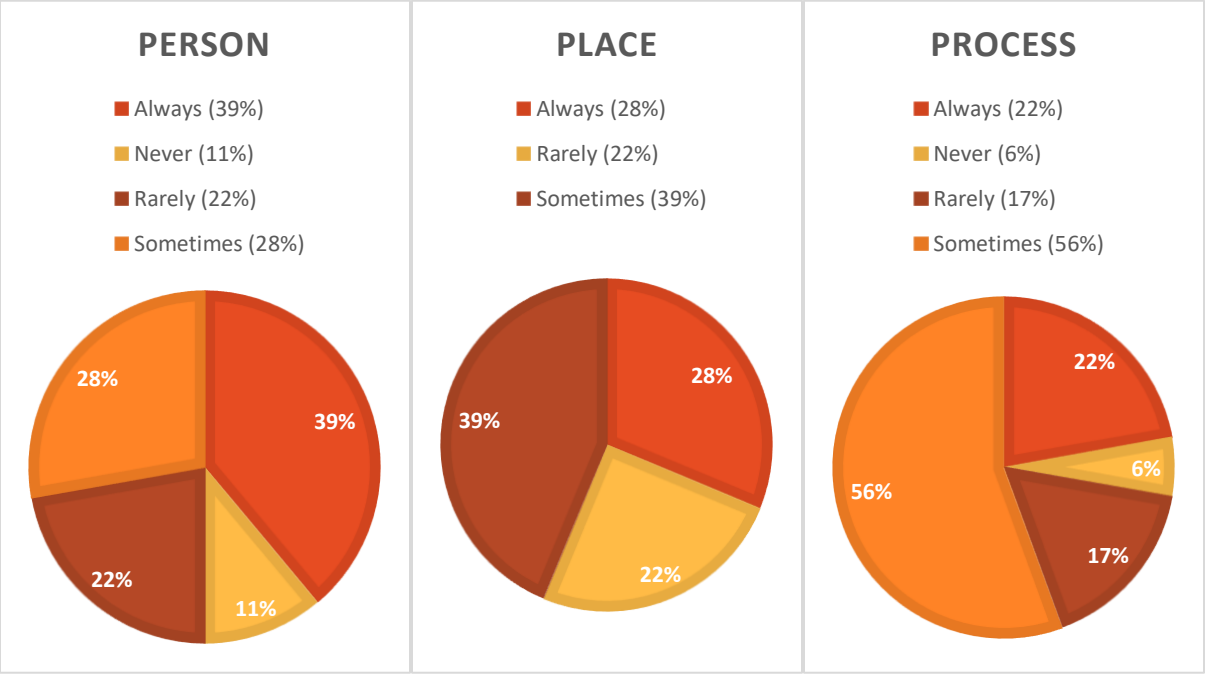

Figure 7: How often do you have a person to go to, a place to go to, or a process to follow when you have a question about Ojibwemowin?

Person

Nearly 39% of respondents shared that they *always* have a *person* to whom they can go to learn more when they have a question related to the Ojibwe language while the remaining respondents shared that they *never* (11.11%), *rarely* (22.22%), or *sometimes* (27.78%) have someone they can go to. When asked to describe who they can go to, most respondents identified specific individuals within the urban community here in Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ (none of

whom are fluent speakers), family members and/or elders from and living in home territories, old language classmates, language teachers who teach out of the Pacific Association for First Nations Women in Vancouver, and friends from home territories. Most respondents share that the people they can visit with are not fluent.

Place

Nearly 39% of respondents indicated that they *sometimes* have a *place* they can go to learn more when they have a question about the Ojibwe language. Nearly 28% of respondents indicated that they *always* have a place they can go to learn more and 22% indicated that they *rarely* have a place they can go to learn more. Some of the places identified were online and print dictionaries, thesauruses, databases, Ojibwe language Facebook groups, online classes, YouTube lessons, pre-recorded videos on social media and from language influencers, the UVIC language table, and other online resources.

Process

When asked how often they have a *process* they can follow to learn an answer to a question nearly 56% of respondents said they do *sometimes*. Another 22% said they *always* do, 17% said they *sometimes* do, and nearly 6% said they *never* do. When asked to elaborate, respondents shared that they do research, ceremony, or prayer. Several respondents explained their research processes including cross referencing using print and online resources as well as tapes and CDs and then, if possible, consulting a language knowledge keeper.

One respondent shared that their process is “prayer and research as lived ceremony, traditional knowledge gathering, and the less interesting standard approaches to research” (Respondent #20). Another respondent shared that they “(usually) listen to their internal cultural voice to figure out what to do” (Respondent # 18).

When you have a question related to Ojibwe cultural knowledge, how often do you have a person you can go to, a place you can go to, or a process you can follow to learn more?

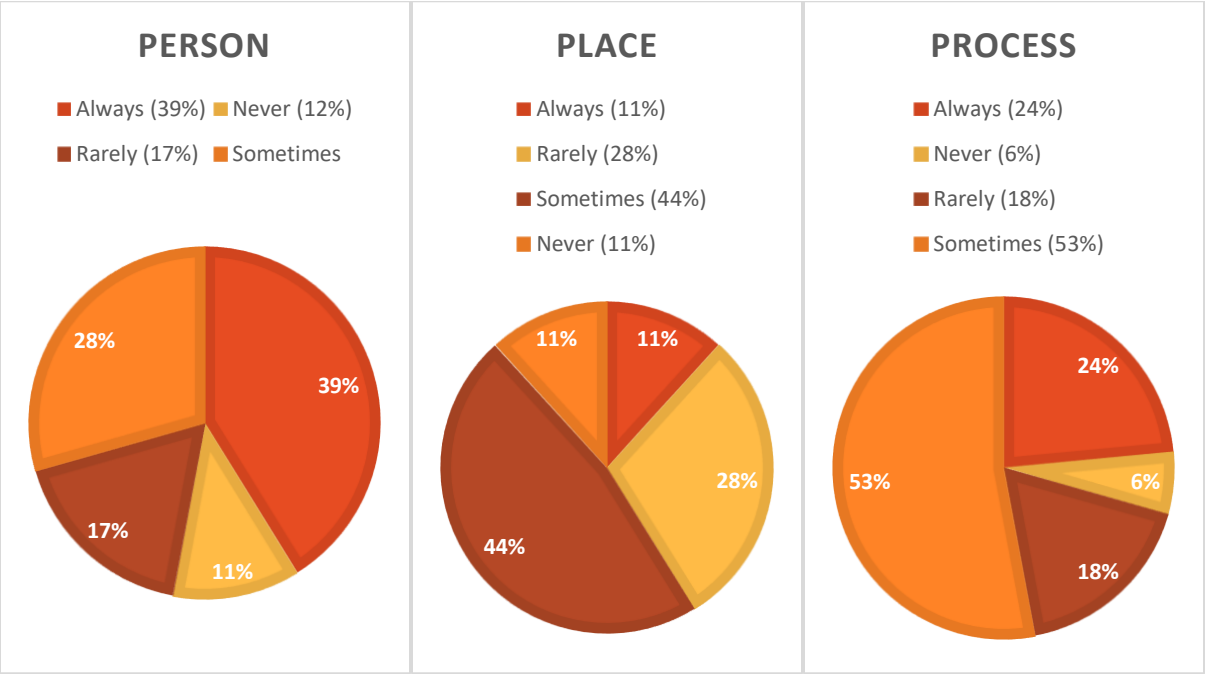

Figure 8: How often do you have a person to go to, a place to go to, or a process to follow when you have a question about Ojibwe culture?

Person

Nearly 39% of respondents indicate that they *sometimes* have a *person* they can go to if they have a question related to Ojibwe cultural knowledge while another 11% indicate they never do, 17% indicate they rarely do, and 28% indicate they always do.

Respondents share that they go to family members, friends, speakers, online teachers, knowledge keepers who live here, Elders, and Anishinaabeg who live elsewhere. One respondent explains that she “has people here in Victoria but also back home in [her] territory. [She is] also fifty and has been building relationships with fellow Anishinaabe for thirty years" (Respondent #12). Not all of the respondents share that they are able to connect both with Ojibwe people here and/or on their territory, but some are able and it is good that they can share their connections and the knowledge that they have as a result of those relationships with people who do not have similar access.

Place

Approximately 44% of respondents indicate that they *sometimes* have a ***place*** they can go to when they have a question related to Ojibwe cultural knowledge while another nearly 28% indicate that they rarely do, 11% indicate that they never do, and 11% indicate that they always do.

Respondents share that the places they go to include their territory or community, online (websites, YouTube videos), use books, social media, classes, and online workshops.

Process

Nearly 53% of respondents indicated that they *sometimes* have a ***process*** they can follow to find an answer when they have a question related to Ojibwe cultural knowledge while another nearly 24% always do, nearly 18% rarely do, and nearly 6% never do.

Respondents describe doing research, praying, and giving offerings to ancestors to ask for help, engaging in ceremony, participating in sweats, spending time with the land and listening to interior knowing, being open to learning, and having sacred fires as processes they follow when they want to find an answer to a cultural question they have.

One respondent articulates that she asks "people [she] knows, but sometimes no one has anything resembling an answer [and she] accepts there are some things [she] can't learn without going to [her] territory and that's okay," she shares, she doesn't "need to know everything, nor can [she]. [She] just [tries] to do [her] best" (Respondent #18). Another respondent references her internal knowing and how when she has learned new cultural knowledge from people at home it has reaffirmed what she knows already of her "teachings [and] crumbs of knowledge." She shares that it helps her understand she carries "a strong intuition." Learning from home has helped her "gather up [her] bundle and to see [her] true

nature... When [she experiences] that, [she wonders] if this is what it's like to feel whole" (Respondent #10).

Barriers to language/culture access

Respondents identified a number of barriers to finding answers to questions they have about Ojibwe language and culture. Respondents shared that barriers include scheduling conflicts, distance to culture and language gatherings from home or work, confidence issues when approaching people online or posting on social media with questions, a desire for a distance from social media despite it being one of the best places for people who live away from their territories to find answers to questions they have, struggling to use social media to find answers due to its inaccuracy in dialect and/or having to figure out what they can trust, language and culture knowledge keepers being busy and wanting to respect their time, and living away from the territory where their language is spoken.

Respondents identified struggles finding places to go for answers when they have language questions including that the language table at UVic is inaccessible to them due to the time or location of it.

Another respondent shares that she experiences some barriers such as embarrassment to ask questions online. This respondent describes joining an "online Ojibway Facebook group but have yet to ask questions [in it]." She shared that she is "still a bit embarrassed about not knowing [her] language beyond simple introductions." And that "although the zoom classes [she has] done during the past two years have been very helpful, it's been a couple of months and [she] can feel [her] confidence waning" (Respondent #10).

Other respondents shared that although social media is a place they could or have gone for answers in the past, it is sometimes a challenge because they want to limit their social media use for mental health reasons or that it's a challenge because they "want to be accurate to [their] dialect so finding resources is difficult" (Respondent #7).

Another learner shares that they have "tried to do research online at times but [they] tend to take what [they] find with a grain of salt because [they] don't always trust the sources" (Respondent 13). Another learner agrees and shares that they "go to social media first because it is more accessible [than most options], but [they] have to do a lot of filtering because of differences of location and misinformation" (Respondent #7).

Some respondents also identified barriers to being able to go to people when they have questions related to cultural knowledge including that the people they rely on sometimes get busy so it can be hard to ask, and some shared that they were able to ask teachers when they lived on Anishinaabe territory but aren't able to now that they live on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories.

Many of the comments shared in response to this question elaborate on barriers to accessing places to learn cultural knowledge. One respondent described not really having "a physical place to go to learn about our culture except when language table is happening in person" (Respondent #19). Another person wrote that they "don't know where to go" (Respondent #8).

Most learners shared responses that identify distance from their traditional territory as a barrier to their being able to find answers to questions they have about language and/or culture. One person wrote that though she "will spend time with the land and try to listen to

[her] interior knowing [or] sometimes buried learning from childhood." She explains that "there is a lot there, but it sometimes takes a long time to have it confirmed." This respondent goes on to express that her nation "is doing more cultural and language initiatives, but for someone who lives far away there isn't anyone to reach out to." And so "whenever [her nation does] a survey [she] promote[s] the idea of language and culture residencies/camps" (Respondent #10). Another person shared that they are "lucky in that [they] have access to [their] home territory a few times per year. But in Victoria, [they have] nothing really" (Respondent #14).

Place and process or people?

While some respondents shared that they do not know anyone that they can go to, some shared that they find places to go or follow processes to find answers when they do not want to bother the people who they know can share about language. They also find places to go if they believe they are able find the answers without help.

When commenting on not wanting to overuse the time of those with higher language proficiency, one respondent shared that they "also recognize that our learning process is collective and relying on texts alone is not appropriate" (Respondent #19). Another person responded that they "would love to have more in-person options where language sharing is also centred around relationship. [They] want to know more about what our language communicates about worldview than a direct translation" to English (Respondent #13).

It is important to note that while it is good that learners seek answers to questions on their own through research, for example, finding answers to questions about Ojibwe language can be incredibly difficult, especially as a novice learner. One aspect that is a challenge is finding good resources for learners. Another aspect that is challenging is if learners do not know basic

grammar already, they will not understand how to use our dictionaries and databases which often provide verbs in 3rd person singular, ready to be conjugated in specific ways depending on their verb type, when searched. In addition, the metalinguistic language used to describe Ojibwemowin is niche and not equivalent to the language we use to describe English or other more commonly studied languages. Doing solo study without understanding these things can be incredibly time consuming and may lead to the practice and sharing of incorrect language. When learners indicated that they often opt to search for answers on their own, I wondered how providing good learner resources as well as tools to help learners understand our dictionaries and databases, some of the language we use to describe our grammar, and of course the grammar basics generally, could empower learners to continue to grow their knowledge on their own more effectively.

These are interesting and important responses that underline the need for more opportunities for Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories to have access to a variety of different in-person language learning that occurs at different times and in different locations and covers different topics including how to identify, find, and use good Ojibwemowin resources effectively.

Dialectal differences

There are five main dialects and several subdialects of Ojibwemowin. These dialects can vary a lot from each other phonologically, syntactically, morphologically, and in terms of vocabulary. Several survey respondents identified dialect and not being certain about the dialectal accuracy of materials or classes provided online and/or in person as a barrier to learning Ojibwemowin.

Identifying dialect can be incredibly difficult for novice learners, but what may actually be more of a barrier than identifying accuracy of materials to dialect, could be that it is overwhelming as a novice learner to find many versions and pronunciations of most, if not all, words and phrases, especially without understanding how the dialects pattern differently.

There are a few ways that this barrier could be surmounted by learners and Ojibwemowin administrators and teachers. One is to learn/teach about how dialects pattern differently, another could be to focus on one dialect in a class and be clear about what that dialect is (this often happens in multinational online classes I have attended), and another is, when possible, share information with learners about the utility of learning many dialects as well as how to identify their own. Learning multiple dialects enriches ones' learning experience. For example, as an Eastern Ojibwemowin learner, when I learn more expanded Western Ojibwemowin versions of words I learned in Eastern dialect, I can identify morphological pieces and changed/unchanged initial vowels that I would not otherwise be able to tell were there.

As a new learner, it can be overwhelming, especially when learning in a place with multi-cultural Ojibwe people and making use of resources from a number of dialects, to begin to feel confident, but with good insight and knowledge sharing this could be seen as an asset as opposed to a barrier.

Cultural knowledge in its own time

Several learners identified that, when it comes to culture and sometimes language too, they practice patience and wait for knowledge to come to them in its own time. One respondent explains that she "actually rarely seek[s] cultural knowledge, waiting for it to come to [her] in its own time" (Respondent #18). This respondent describes that she "read[s] a lot

and learns so much that way. [She] rarely [points herself] at particular knowledge but [does try] to remain open to it revealing itself. It's a kind of gentle dance" (Respondent #18). Another respondent describes that they "don't always have questions. Often [they] just try to be open to what is coming [their] way. Sometimes answers come before we know the question is even there" (Respondent #19). Another shares that they "tend to be patient and to listen to those around" them (Respondent #21). Finally, one respondent shares that she "wasn't raised in the culture and feel [she has] a lot to catch up with" and so she doesn't "so much [have] questions as curiosity and hunger for more experience and relationships" (Respondent #9).

These responses exemplify something common to many Ojibwe people and that is having patience, humility, and being good listeners. These are skills that may serve us well in our language and culture reclamation journeys but could also hinder us. Reading these responses, I could not help but wonder about how important asking questions and seeking answers to questions is in language learning and especially in places where we do not have many immersion opportunities.

5.2.8 Learning the language

Are you an Ojibwemowin learner?

Just over 72% of respondents to the survey identified themselves as current learners of Ojibwemowin while nearly 17% identified themselves as past learners, nearly 6% as wanting to begin learning the language at some point in the future, and nearly 6% as interested in trying to learn a few words but not interested in becoming fluent.

Twenty-two percent of respondents chose the option 'other' and shared a little bit about why. One respondent describes her relationship with Ojibwemowin as "tied to a lot of traumas," and so she "know this limits what [she] can learn, but [she loves] to sit with it, hear it,

speak the few things [she feels she is] permitted to speak" (Respondent #18). Another respondent describes themselves as "a jaded adult learner," having had some negative experiences with esteemed elder language teachers. She describes a need to "heal and come back [to learning] it." She also shares that when she does come back, she wants to focus on learning her language from her family and from her mother's homeland (Respondent #12).

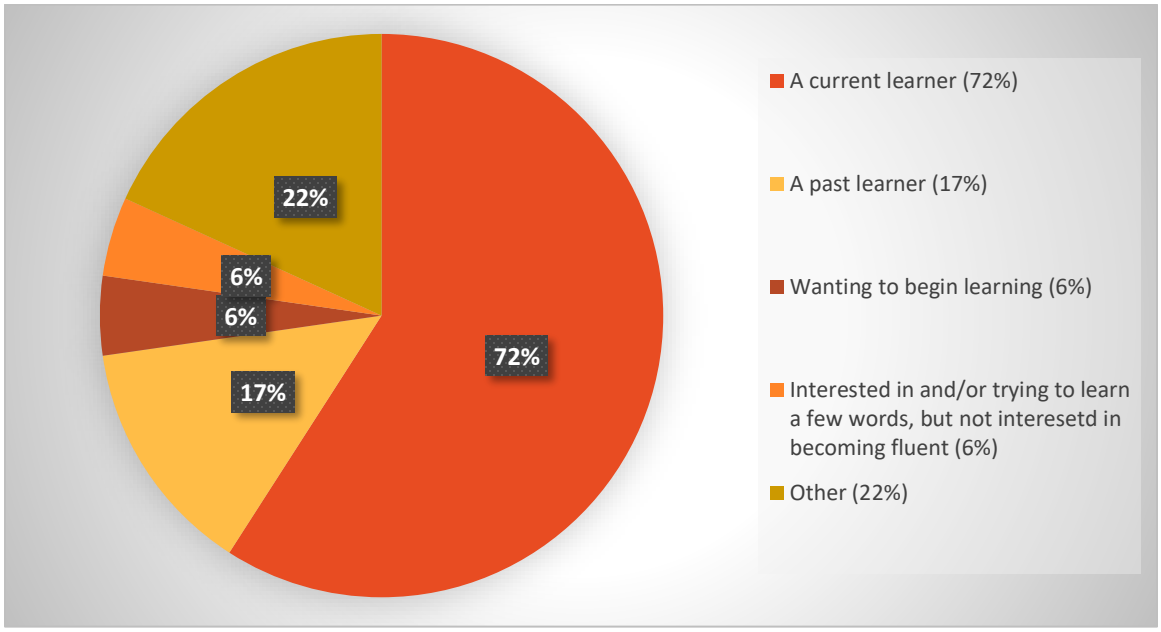

Figure 9: Who are you?

Ojibwe Language Learning on both Lək^{w}ənən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories or on traditional territory

No respondents report having ever taken Ojibwemowin courses in Lək^{w}ənən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories or on their territories despite making references to courses they have taken in the past in other parts of the survey. This may be a survey error or an error in how the questions were written.

What would make your ability to access your language and culture easier for you while living in Lək^{w}ənən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories?

On the survey, learners were provided with a list of ideas that may make their language and culture more accessible to them while living on Lək^{w}ənən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories. Each

item on the list was identified as useful by at least 62% of respondents. The items identified as most useful, by nearly 94% of respondents were “having someone to talk to *about* language/culture” and “having more time to gather/go to community events.”

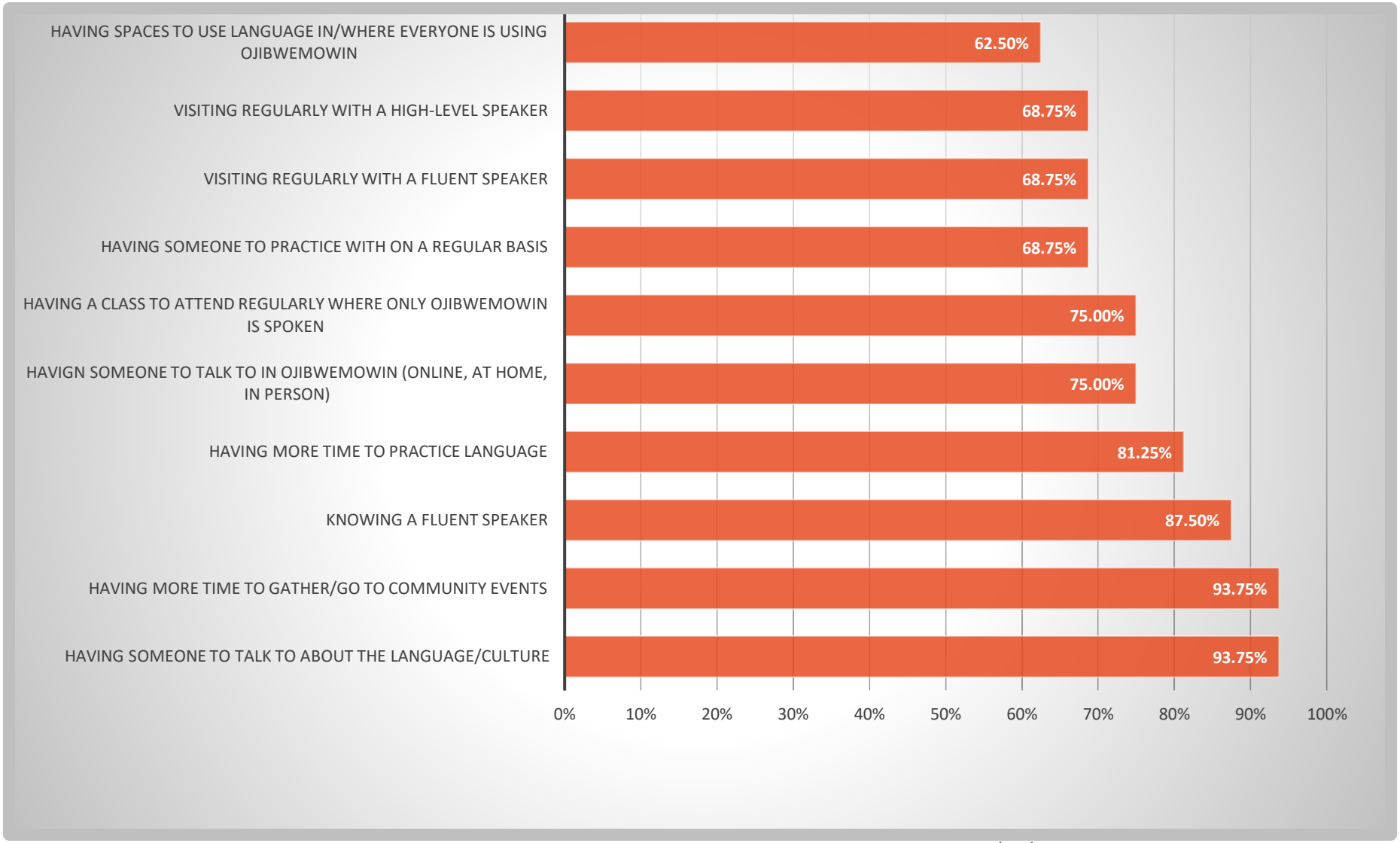

Figure 10: What would make your ability to access your language and culture easier for you while living in Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories?

Respondents additionally shared that “having more cultural events that weave language into other activities like dancing, song, art, history lessons, eating, and storytelling, etc. would help provide context for the language” (Respondent #19). Another respondent shared that while she is not currently a learner, once she has returned to her learning, she believes each of the options “would definitely help.” She also shared that she “would attend an online Ojibwemowin immersion class for beginners where only the language is spoken if [she] had the curriculum and tools for it” (Respondent #12). Another respondent shares that they want the opportunity to play games in Ojibwemowin. They share that they “miss going to the Ojibwe language table at UVic and hope to be able to return” (Respondent #9).

One respondent commented that if there is a space for us to gather that’s “too far into town,” they would not be able to attend due to living far away from there. They did say that “There are lots of spaces to gather…at the [Victoria Native Friendship Centre (VNFC)]” and explained the VNFC is not too far away for them.

It is of note one of the most popular items identified as something that would make their ability to access language and culture easier is “having someone to talk to *about* language/culture.” This was identified as useful by nearly 94% of respondents. It is interesting that in contrast, “having someone to talk to *in* Ojibwemowin” was only indicated as something that would aid access to language and culture by only 75% of respondents. Speaking exclusively from my own experience, this distinction between speaking *about* the language and speaking *in* the language may be a difference between beginner language learners and more advanced learners. As a very beginner learner, I felt it was easier to talk about the language until I had more confidence and experience with the language, at which point, I began to feel that

speaking in the language is more helpful to my building knowledge and skills, though it remains easier to speak about the language as opposed to in it, as an adult learner.

How well do you believe you can learn Ojibwemowin?

The majority of respondents indicate that they could be able to speak and understand most of what fluent speakers are saying (29%) and that they could be able to speak and understand sentences (29%). Another nearly 18% indicated that they believe they could be able to fluently share most or all of what they want to say and understand most or everything of what they hear. Only 6% responded "not at all" able to learn Ojibwemowin and another nearly 18% responded that they could be able to speak and understand a few words here and there.

One respondent commented that "the idea of being fluent feels so far away right now but one day [they] would love to be" and another that she is "fairly sure if [she] put [her] mind and practice daily, [she] could learn it fairly well" (Respondents #12 and #13).

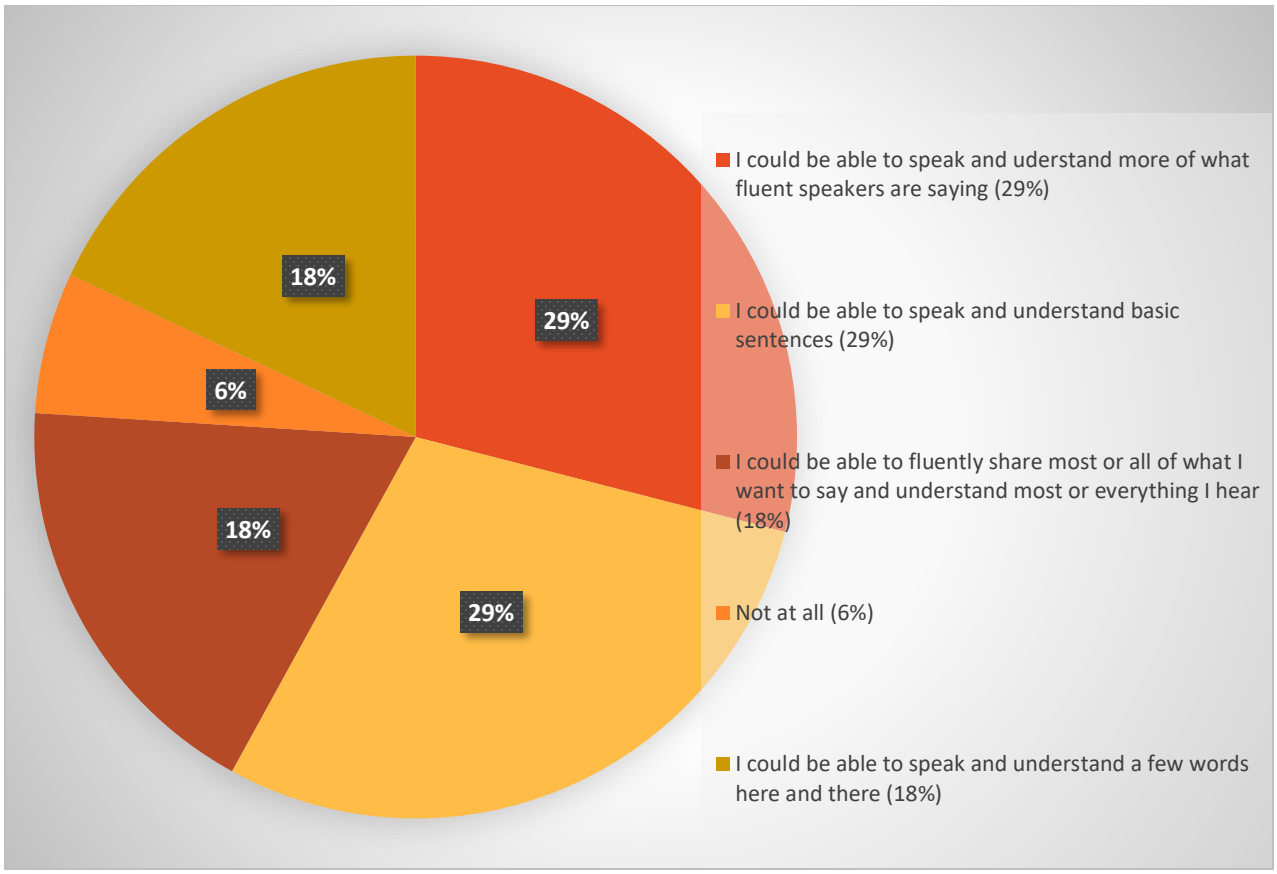

Figure 11: How well can you learn?

How much time weekly do you or would you be able to spend formally learning Ojibwemowin?

Respondents indicated that they could spend anywhere between less than one hour (nearly 12%), one hour (nearly 24%), two hours (nearly 24%), and three hours (nearly 12%) formally learning Ojibwemowin weekly. Twenty-nine percent chose 'other' and explained that the time they could spend varies seasonally in relation to energy expended and freedom and that they could do up to three hours if they decided to commit. Another respondent shared that he has spent four or more hours learning for the past ten years, and another respondent indicated that she currently spends four hours per week learning but plans to "devote more time" once she retires at the end of the year (Respondents #6 and #10). This respondent also

shared that she has considered applying for Mentor Apprentice Program through the First Peoples' Cultural Council of B.C. so that she could spend more time learning.

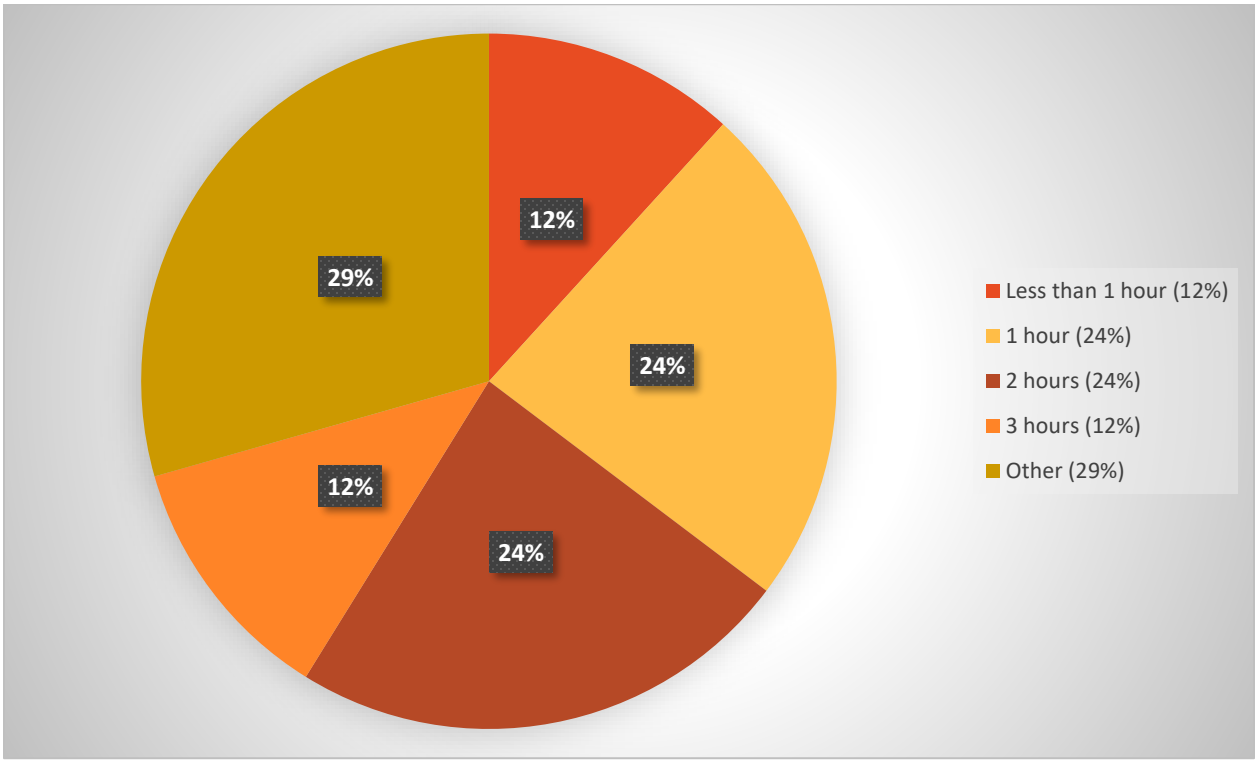

Figure 12: Formal learning time

How often do you or would you be able to practice Ojibwemowin on your own weekly?

Respondents indicated that they could spend anywhere between less than one hour (nearly 12%), one hour (nearly 12%), two hours (just over 29%), and three hours (nearly 6%) practicing Ojibwemowin on their own weekly. Nearly 12% of respondents indicated that they do or would be able to practice Ojibwemowin on their own weekly for more than four hours.

Some respondents elaborated that they currently use Ojibwe words in their daily speech, count when they are stretching, and pray in the language daily. One respondent shares that their practice "varies a lot right now depending on how busy [they are] but if [they] had more people to practice with, [they] think [they] would be encouraged to make more time for

it" (Respondent #13). Two respondents also indicated that they intend to devote more time to learning and practice with more time and space in retirement.

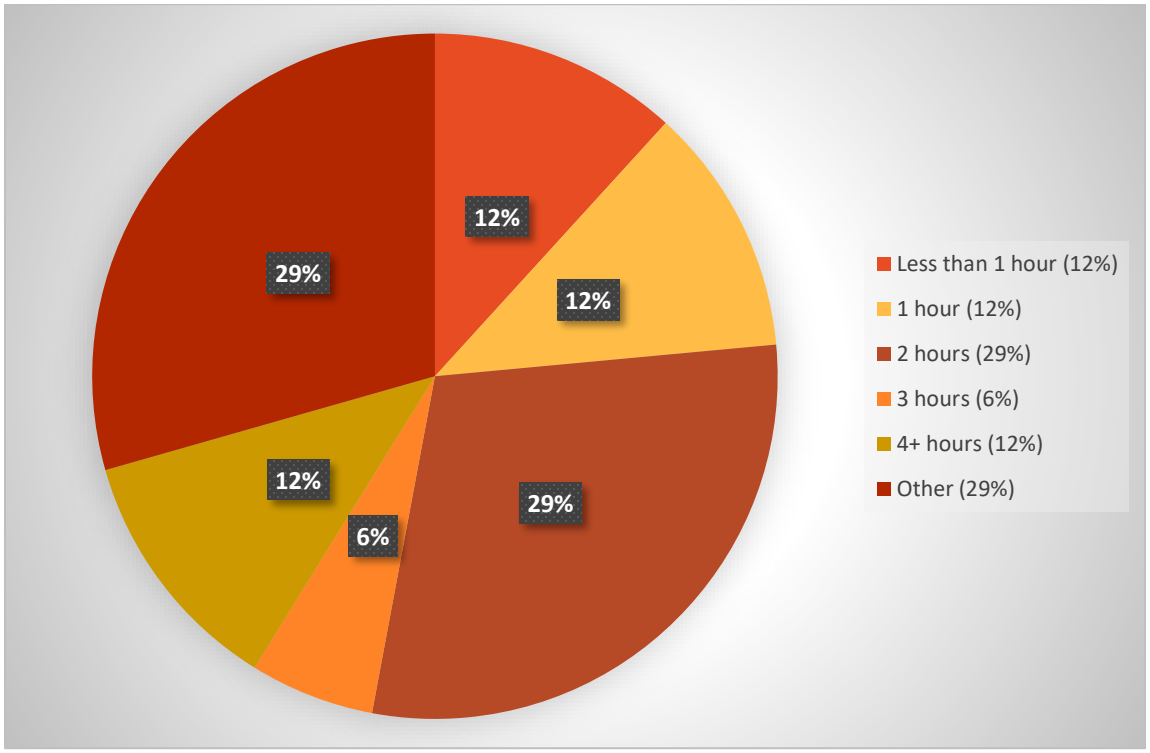

Figure 13: Informal learning time

5.2.9 Fluent Speakers

Do you know any fluent speakers of Ojibwemowin?

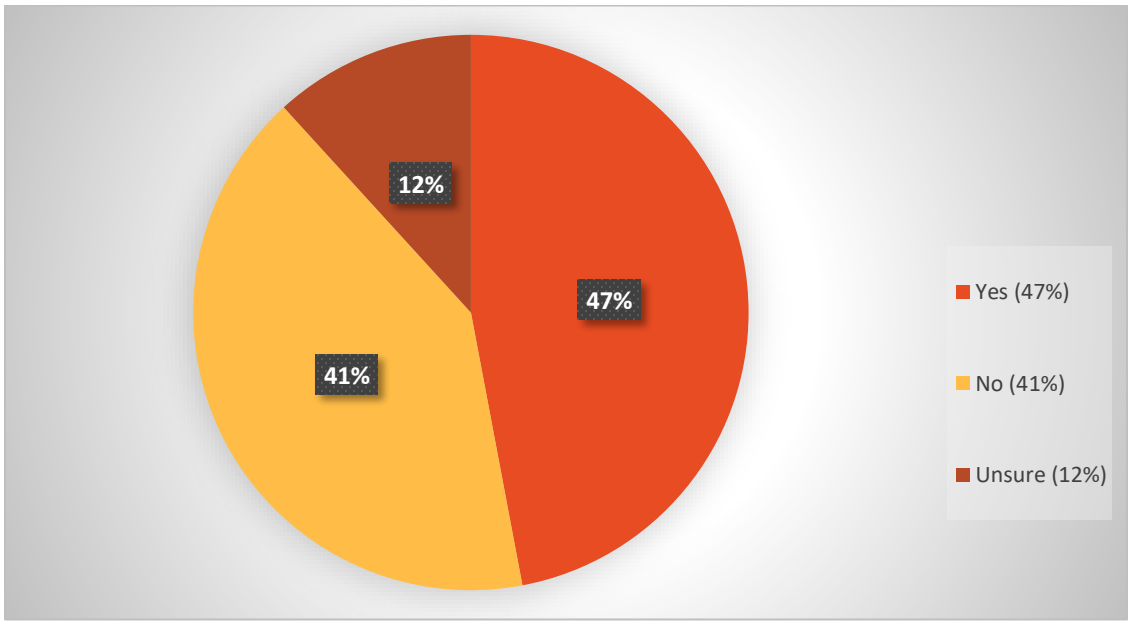

Figure 14: Fluent speakers

Forty-seven percent of learners indicate that they know fluent speakers of Ojibwemowin while another 41% indicate that they do not know any fluent speakers of Ojibwemowin. Nearly twelve percent of respondents were unsure whether or not they know any fluent speakers. One learner indicated that they know a fluent speaker who lives on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories.

How often do you have the opportunity to interact with fluent Ojibwemowin speakers?

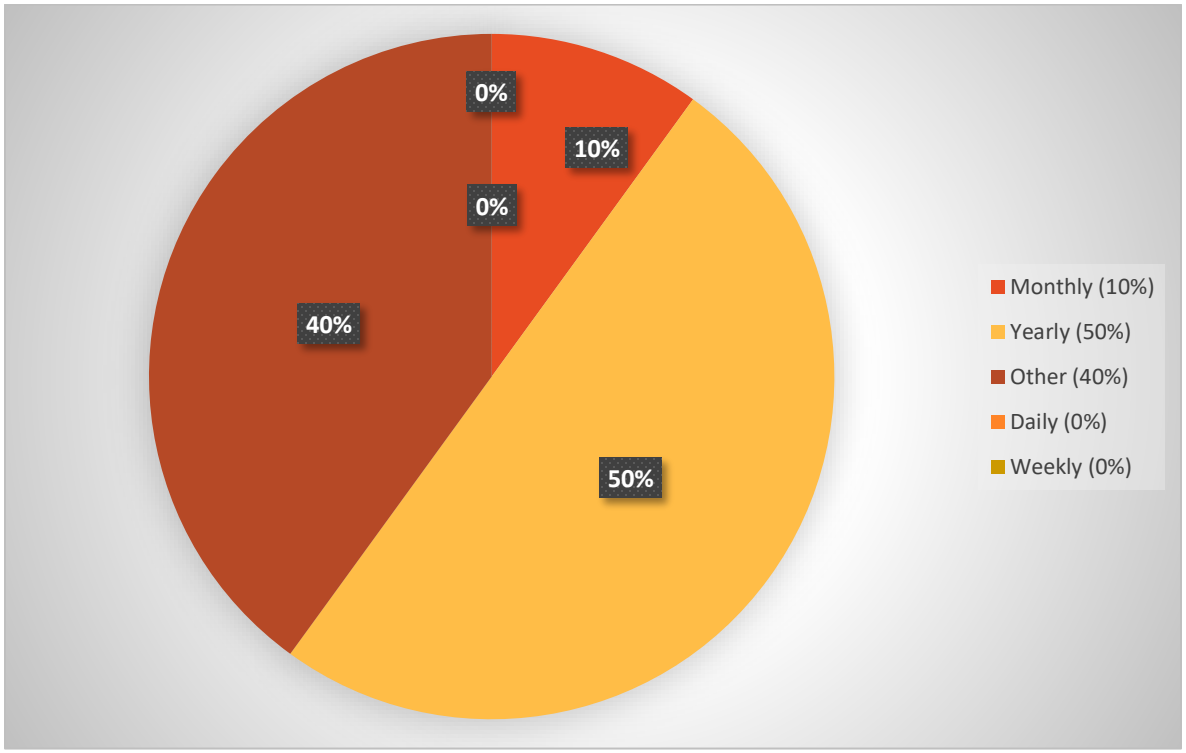

Figure 15: Time Interacting with fluent speakers

Of the respondents who know fluent speakers of Ojibwemowin, ten percent indicated that they have the opportunity to interact with fluent Ojibwemowin speakers on a monthly basis while 50% indicated that they have this opportunity yearly. Forty percent of respondents chose 'other', sharing that they aren't sure, or they have hardly ever had this opportunity since moving to Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories. Another respondent said they have this

opportunity rarely if at all, and another said that she used to have weekly opportunities when classes were happening online. She wrote that she expected this to change with classes beginning again in September.

Knowing and being able to interact with fluent speakers or high-level learners is very useful for learners to have the opportunity to listen to and interact casually with someone in Ojibwemowin. It is especially useful for more intermediate or advanced learners to be able to ask questions about Ojibwemowin to fluent speakers when they are unable to find answers on their own.

5.2.10 Speaking, understanding, reading, writing

This section relies on self-assessment and so there are possible biases that needed to be considered. The survey asked respondents to rate their confidence in speaking, understanding, reading, and writing Ojibwemowin on a scale. Some respondents may be overstating their confidence and others understating it. Further, the understanding of what "confidence" means may be different from respondent to respondent. One respondent causes this consideration by sharing that although she indicated that she is confident in her ability to *speak* Ojibwemowin, she meant that she is "pretty confident that [her] ability to speak Ojibwemowin is poor." She went on to explain that she does not feel bad about this because she knows she will get back to learning in due time. This is an unanticipated understanding of the question, and it is not clear whether other respondents read the questions similarly or differently to this respondent as others did not always share detailed explanations to their indication on the scales.

Because some studies have suggested that learners have a clear idea of their own language-learning needs (Ferris, 1998), the most applicable knowledge shared in this section

comes from respondent elaboration on what they would need in order to grow their confidence in each area. This is useful information and hopefully what is identified can be explored and provided to learners one day.

How do you feel about your ability to speak Ojibwemowin?

When asked on average how respondents feel about their ability to *speak* Ojibwemowin, respondents indicated they feel somewhat unconfident with answers ranging from 1 (confident) all the way to 100 (unconfident). The average was 70 (much closer to unconfident).

When asked to share about what they would like to have to increase their ability to speak, respondents wrote that they need more confidence, practice, opportunities to listen to speakers and then repeat what they are hearing, visual aids, classes, dedicated learning time, people to speak with, better understanding of sentence structure, regular local classes in person with a mentor, more knowledge of grammar, prioritizing language learning, a book to refer to, and having their children speak Ojibwemowin with them more.

How do you feel about your ability to understand Ojibwemowin?

When asked on average how respondents feel about their ability to *understand* Ojibwemowin, respondents indicated they feel somewhat unconfident with answers ranging from 41 (closer to confident) all of the way to 100 (unconfident). The average was 75 (closer to unconfident).

When asked to share about what they would like to have to increase their ability to *understand*, respondents wrote that they would like to have podcasts or songs to listen to, practice, more frequent exposure to Ojibwemowin spoken by fluent speakers, classes, more listening, having a teacher, dedicated and regular learning time, having more people to talk with who are patient

and don't mind explaining, to apply myself to learning, slow speaking teachers who enunciate carefully (like Pimsleur classes), online resources, and one-on-one conversation opportunities.

How do you feel about your ability to write Ojibwemowin?

When asked on average how respondents feel about their ability to *write* Ojibwemowin, respondents indicated they feel somewhat unconfident with answers ranging from 40 (closer to confident) all of the way to 100 (unconfident). The average was 75 (closer to unconfident).

When asked to share about what they would like to have to increase their ability to *write*, respondents wrote that they would like to have a lettering template to practice on (I am interpreting that this may be for syllabics, but was not clear in the survey response), more adult-oriented workbooks, more practice, talking to others who know more about writing Ojibwemowin, exercises to create simple sentences, classes, better understanding of grammar and language nuances, support learning the different styles of writing (Saulteaux, syllabics, double vowel), having someone to help me, someone to write to, time to practice, and opportunities to engage with writing through the fields of mathematics and sciences.

One respondent indicated that learning to write is not a current focus for them, but it would be lovely to be able to write for their work.

How do you feel about your ability to read Ojibwemowin?

When asked on average how respondents feel about their ability to *read* Ojibwemowin, respondents indicated they feel somewhat unconfident with answers ranging from 40 (closer to confident) all of the way to 100 (unconfident). The average was 72 (closer to unconfident).

When asked to share about what they would like to have to increase their ability to *read*, respondents wrote that they would like to have more time to practice, more self-discipline, more time to be with others and share in reading Ojibwemowin, simple stories to

gain confidence, classes, more material to read at a beginner level, something to help with vocabulary building, more knowledge of grammar, and opportunities to hear the language while reading it at the same time.

Overall reading, writing, speaking, understanding

Overall, respondents were most confident about their ability to speak and least confident about their ability to write Ojibwemowin. Understanding, reading, writing, and speaking all had average confidence levels near each other's (between 70-75).

There was overlap for learners in what they felt would help them feel more confident about speaking, understanding, writing, and reading. The following chart displays the overlap:

Description	Speaking	Understanding	Writing	Reading
Overlap with other core areas				
Classes/mentorship	• Classes • Regular local classes in person with a mentor	• Classes	• Classes	• Classes
Understanding grammar and how sentences work	• Better understanding of sentence structure • More knowledge of grammar	x	• Better understanding of grammar and language nuances	• More knowledge of grammar
Time	x	x	• Time to practice	• More time to practice
Practice	• Practice	• Practice	• More practice	x
Dedicated time for learning on a regular basis	• Dedicated learning time	• Dedicated and regular learning time	x	x
Having help and/or a teacher and/or mentor	• Regular local classes in person with a mentor	• Having a teacher	• Having someone to help me	x

Having conversation	• People to speak with	• One-on-one conversation opportunities • Having more people to talk with who are patient and don't mind explaining	x	x
Prioritizing the language	• Prioritizing language learning	• To apply myself to learning	x	x
Resources	• A book to refer to	• Podcasts or songs to listen to • Online resources	• Exercises to create simple sentences • More adult-oriented workbooks	• Simple stories to gain confidence • More material to read at a beginner level
Listening	• Opportunities to listen to speakers and then repeat what they are hearing	• More frequent exposure to Ojibwemowin spoken by fluent speaker • More listening	x	• Opportunities to hear the language while reading it at the same time

Unique to helping with this core area				
	• Having their children speak Ojibwemowin with them more • Visual aids • More confidence	• Slow speaking teachers who enunciate carefully	• A lettering template to practice on • Support learning the different styles of writing • Opportunities to engage with writing through the fields of mathematics and sciences • Someone to write to • Talking to others who know more about writing Ojibwemowin	• More self-discipline • More time to be with others and share in reading Ojibwemowin • Something to help with vocabulary building

Table 1: Overlap and differences in confidence building for speaking, listening, reading, and writing

The overlap demonstrated by this chart demonstrates that there are specific areas that could be focused on to grow learners' confidence in speaking, listening, writing, and reading all at once. These areas include having regular classes, building better understanding of grammar and structure, providing opportunities to practice, having someone available locally to help with learning, having someone to talk to and practice with, having more frequent exposure to the language, and having more language learning resources.

5.2.11 Barriers to learning

When asked to identify barriers to learning Ojibwemowin and/or about their culture, respondents indicated that disability, style of education available, emotional barriers, travel costs, no access to in-person classes, not enough access to fluent speakers, scheduling, lack of time/needing to focus on survival instead, not having anyone to practice with, feeling embarrassed or unconfident about language level, lacking opportunities to be immersed in the language and culture based on geography, lack of focus, being displaced and/or disconnected, and personal emotional experiences all amount to different barriers to learning.

A few respondents identified that hands on learning is preferable to them, whether due to having learning disabilities or due to preference. One respondent writes that in terms of "learning style", courses that they have viewed advertisements for online read as very academic with "lots of reading, lectures, writing, homework, memorization, and sometimes even exams." They go on to explain that while they can "force [themself] to do academics" it doesn't make them happy to "swim around solely in the intellectual." They want to be "emotional, social, creative, and physical" in their learning. They want to "experience culture with [their] hands and heart, not just [their] ears and eyes." They finish by explaining that they

would prefer to be able to engage in learning experiences such as immersion camps where they might learn language while also learning birch bark biting, for example. This is where the travel costs are referenced in the survey. It is expensive to fly back to our territories and stay there while taking time off work. Based on a number of responses, it may be a good idea to explore the possibility of having immersive learning experiences such as camps on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories or finding ways to connect Ojibwe people living here with those experiences on their territories and/or reserves.

Another factor that a number of respondents referenced was time and needing to focus on work and survival as a key barrier to being able to focus on language learning. This seems to be a significant barrier for most, if not all, of the respondents to this survey, as it is mentioned throughout in response to a number of questions, especially under the self-assessment section. This is notable because the US Foreign Service Institute's research suggests that it may take over 720 hours of learning to reach basic fluency in a language that differs significantly from English when English is the learner's first language. Of course, this number is also dependent and varies based on how effective the type of study learners are able to engage in is among other factors (age, aptitude, access to immersive experience, etc.) (Hadley, 1986). It may take a lot longer to learn a language like Ojibwemowin because, among many reasons, a lot of our resources are difficult to use, understand, and access and it is hard to find places to experience Ojibwemowin immersion.

Regardless, 720 hours is a significant amount of time to spend away from work and other responsibilities when trying to survive; It amounts to 18 weeks of full-time employment. In sections 9.9.5 and 9.9.6, most learners indicate being able to spend between one and three

hours per week on language learning (Less than 1 hour, 12%; 1 hour, 24%; 2 hours, 24%, 3 hours, 12%). This is why, in some places, communities pay their adult language learners full-time wages to study and learn their language (See Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa Our Language Society); Syilx Language House Adult Program; First Peoples' Cultural Council Mentor Apprentice Program, 2023). Based on these survey responses, paying adult learners could help eliminate at least one significant barrier for many Ojibwemowin learners as well, whether living on or off-territory.

Emotional experiences and trauma are referenced throughout the survey. One respondent identifies it as a barrier that may change over time and with healing. Another respondent discussed their personal emotional experience as it relates to their past experiences learning being male-centred and involving using power to gatekeep and control women. This is important to consider. In Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories most of the learners who have historically attended language table at UVic and other classes as well have tended to be women or non-binary people. I wonder if this minimizes the chances of this experience of gatekeeping and male-centred learning occurring here.

Perhaps the most difficult-to-overcome barrier identified by this survey is trauma. When thinking about trauma and Indigenous language acquisition it is important to note that many studies show how language learning is a healing experience. A study based on the impacts of Mentor Apprentice Program learning method by Jenni et al. (2017) shows that adult language learning affects both individual and community wellbeing. The study specifically identifies that when learning our languages, Indigenous people can gain a healing sense of identity, connection to community and ancestors, and groundedness. The same study identifies that the

Mentor Apprentice Program for learning Indigenous languages in B.C. additionally "supported at least three apprentices in their [journeys] to recover from drug and alcohol addictions or break alcohol dependency patterns in their [families]" (p. 32). Overall, the area of health and healing as it relates to Indigenous language revitalization is understudied but does suggest there is a link (Jenni et al., 2017).

In summary, though some of the barriers identified in this survey may be difficult to overcome, none are insurmountable. Other communities have found ways to make languages accessible to the people in them, and we can do the same by looking at what has been done elsewhere and by coming up with new solutions as a community.

5.2.12 Summary

In summary, 19 survey responses from urban Ojibwe people currently living on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ lands, originally from a number of nations and treaty areas, were explored. The survey finds that, as is the case for most Indigenous people, access to language, culture, and community is important to urban Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories, though not all urban Ojibwe people living there have access to those things. Many respondents may, out of choice or not, continue living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories indefinitely (83%), and all respondents expect to be here for at least the next five years.

There are many Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories though it is impossible to know exactly how many. All these people have inherent and legislated rights, as per the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Federal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, and B.C.'s Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous

Peoples Act, to their languages and cultures, and not all the respondents share that they are having their rights to language and culture met while living on Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories.

This survey shows that language and culture rights could be met for Ojibwe people living here by working to build up access to language, culture, and community, and offering more opportunities for community to gather.

Some respondents describe a supportive and important urban Ojibwe community on Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands that many respondents, though not all, engage in. Respondents share that in this community there are or have been language learning opportunities at UVIC and at private homes, ceremonial experiences collectively and privately, and social experiences with other Ojibwe people as well. But most of all, respondents share about a sense of belonging, identity, understanding, and care for one another within the urban Ojibwe community. There is a strong sense that the people within this urban diasporic community are here for one another and will continue to be as long as they are able to connect.

Some respondents share that they have access to Ojibwe language and culture only in Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories while others share that they only have access to Ojibwe language and culture on their own land when they are able to go back. Other respondents report that they are able to access language and culture both on their home territories and on Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories.

In the survey, respondents describe barriers to their learning and most notably outline geography and lack of time due to life's obligations for survival as holing them back. These are two surmountable challenges. It is possible to build up different language learning

opportunities for urban Ojibwe people living both on these Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories and help them to travel to Ojibwe territories to engage in learning when possible. It is also worth noting that other communities on Turtle Island have found funds to pay adult learners so that they can engage in full-time language learning so that learners can take time away from other employment and focus most of their working hours on learning language. This may be beneficial to any adults learners wanting to learn their Indigenous language.

In conclusion, the survey suggests that most Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories plan to be here for the rest of their lives, and all of those who responded to the survey plan to be here for the next five years. Of the people living here, some wish to learn their language fluently while others are either unsure or only wish to learn words and phrases here and there. Most respondents also indicate that language and culture access is important to them, and they want to have more. This means that we need to find ways to overcome barriers to language and culture access that are identified in the survey, create spaces for people to go to live the Ojibwe language with other Ojibwe people, fluent or not, help respondents grow their language confidences, explore and share about what it means to be fluent in a language and what it takes to become a speaker, and connect the community more so that everyone has access to language and culture as per inherent and legislated rights.

5.3 Circle

In this chapter, my goal is to share the words and ideas of circle participants as best I can, so you can imagine you are sitting in the circle with us, taking in words as they were given, and thinking about who you are in relation to the stories shared. Being that I cannot share all that was said, verbatim, I have filtered some of it through my lens, in summary. I hope this method honours you and your perspective as a participant in this learning.

5.3.1 Our Circle

I planned to gather for my research circle with six knowledge keepers on the evening of September 20th. Six participants would mean that two grandparent-aged people, two parent-aged people, and two youth could come, and that with me, we would sit in a circle of seven, and as I mentioned before, seven is a significant number to Ojibwe people.

The day before our circle, one person scheduled to attend shared that she was not well and could not come. Almost simultaneously, another circle attendee contacted me and asked if she could bring her friend, another young Ojibwe person. And so, the circle would move forward with seven of us sitting in it.

I approached the First Peoples' House of Learning at UVic that night in the leftover light of the early autumn day, the sun still warming the campus so that neither my niece, Magda, nor I needed a jacket. There was no wind, and the school was quiet. I was grateful for Magda's help carrying everything I had with me: seven mugs, two teapots, snacks, gifts, an assortment of recording devices, and two jars of tea prepared by niwiijiwaagan.

I pushed open the heavy cedar doors of the First Peoples' House with some effort, and a familiar scent welcomed me: red cedar wood. Memories washed over me as I made my way

past the ceremonial hall and down the corridor lined with art by Indigenous people from across Turtle Island, to our meeting room.

It is just by chance that the room we ended up gathered in is the room that many of the circle participants first met or had come to be with our language for the first time. The room was host for many years to the Ojibwe Language Table that has been referenced throughout this project. We stopped gathering in person in it when the COVID-19 global pandemic began. It felt right and good to be back in this room, especially on this occasion, to talk together about our language.

Magda and I were there early to set up snacks and boil water for tea. I laid out the gifts I brought, and we waited.

One by one, invited knowledge keepers arrived after Magda and me: Cathi, Zofia, Rowan, Mackenzie, and Doodooshaabo-bimide-waabooz. One of the participants asked me to use a pseudonym as you may have guessed, although, later, he said that he does not need to remain anonymous. He just thinks it is funny. I am going to shorten Doodooshaabo-bimide-waabooz's name to DBW henceforth, but as you read, you should remember that he requested to be referred to as "Cheese/milk fat rabbit".

Before we began, I shared medicine and an opening. Everyone in the circle then introduced themselves. Many participants introduced themselves in both Ojibwemowin and in English. When we finished introductions, I began my recording.

In typical Ojibwe fashion, just as I pressed 'record', DBW said, "I don't see any scrolls here for recording" and I responded that I should have brought birch bark. Zofia suggested we must be "nishtanographers" and by then we were all laughing. This is something that happened

throughout our time gathered together. The room so often filled with our laughter in the past, full again that night.

Later in the evening, Zofia would say "that's how we are as Anishinaabe people. We laugh, and my family laughs, and if you look at one of our dictionaries for 'laugh' there's 100s of verbs for laughing." This could not be more true, and I hope that our laughter that night honoured the room because it is cited many times in this work as an important place for a lot of our people who live here, in our language and life journeys.

My first question asked participants to describe their experiences with Ojibwemowin or Anishinaabemowin.

5.3.2 Can you describe your experience with Ojibwemowin or Anishinaabemowin?

In response to this question, circle participants shared about family disconnection and family connection, language that was passed down through generations, friends, family and even places of work encouraging their learning, other times in life not being right for learning, learning barriers they have experienced, needing to engage with others to learn, having relied on internet resources and classes for learning, experiencing joy and gratitude while learning, and always being fascinated by and appreciative of Ojibwemowin.

Family

Several participants shared about family connections to language. Mackenzie talked about how her mother, "in particular… has been getting these language [cassettes] and sometimes, when [she goes to her house, they] will bead and listen to them." Rowan talked about her connection through both her mother and her auntie. She described how her mother used to be an Ojibwemowin learner, but at that time Rowan was not ready to learn and did not join her mother. She shared about how her mother has now moved away and Rowan is finally

learning. She said that she “does have an auntie who lives on [her] territory.” She described talking to her on the phone, how it’s an important connection, and how when practicing language and learning phrases on her own, she feels proud, but also emphasized how important those conversations are to her learning community-specific vocabulary. Zofia said that her “experience with our language is definitely, as both [Rowan and Mackenzie spoke to], connected to [her] family… [because her] late grampa was a fluent speaker.” Magda is another person who referenced her family’s connection to language and culture. She talked about how a big part of it “has been because of [her] aunt, Estrella.” Finally, Cathi shared about how her dad used to “teach [her] words.” And about how he gave [her] a dictionary when [she was] really young, and [she] wore it out.”

Three participants also described how their families were disconnected from language which is why they are learners today. Zofia shared a little bit about her grandfather being a speaker, and his parents, although also speakers, not wanting Zofia’s mom and aunties to “have Indian accents.” They also “had internalized the belief that [Anishinaabemowin] was unchristian and dangerous spiritually.” This meant that when Zofia was growing up, she was only able to have a few words that were passed down to her from her grandfather through her mother. Those were ‘miigwech’ or ‘thanks’, ‘kaa’ or ‘no’, and ‘aandeg’ or ‘crow.’

Cathi described her family having left Rama, the First Nation where she is a citizen, when her father was twelve. She shared that though he was a fluent speaker when he was young, they “left [the reserve] for the promise of the great life that was out there, and part of that was really living a life in English.”

Magda outlined a complicated history for her family that saw her great-grandfather survive residential school and World War II. Because of being in the war, her family was enfranchised. This meant that Magda's grandfather spent most of his childhood living in between Alderville First Nation and Buffalo, New York. Magda's grandfather was an Anishinaabemowin speaker when he was younger.

Magda is the second generation in her family to be born on Lək^{w}əŋən territory. Magda's grampa was thankfully able to share a lot of Anishinaabe teachings with his children, one of whom was Magda's mother, so Magda was raised with her culture ever-present via her mother, her grandfather, and her extended family. She did not, however, have as much access to her language.

Most circle participants, while sharing about family disconnection, also shared about how their families and/or friends have encouraged or supported them in their language and culture connection and learning. Zofia described her mother encouraging her to attend the Ojibwe language table at UVic, even though she was resistant. She shared that her "mom never pushes [her], but with [the table, she] could see why [her mom] was bugging [her] about [it] constantly [once she finally went]." Cathi also described feeling encouraged by her father and his giving her a dictionary when she was a child, and Magda shared about encouragement from her aunties. Mackenzie explained that Rowan, who is a close friend, has been trying to get [her] to learn for … a year now." Mackenzie went on to say that she appreciates the "peer pressure [from Rowan] because [she needs] that… having other people to [learn and practice] with."

That most participants described the importance of their family in their connection to language is not that surprising, and in fact, research supports the important role of family in

language revitalization and maintenance as well. In *Bringing our Languages Home: Language Revitalization for Families,* Hinton (2013) describes how family and language in the home plays a critical role in language maintenance efforts. Hinton explains that "the most important locus of language revitalization is not in the schools, but rather the home, the last bastion from which the language was lost, and the primary place where language acquisition first occurs" (p. 11). Other authors included in the book, also share about their experiences of language in the home.

Another angle to consider for Ojibwemowin in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories is that this language community is diasporic, and this may make family an incredible source of encouragement and access since community is spread out across the city, from different dialectal and cultural Ojibwe groups and not necessarily well connected.

Considering family is thought of as one of the best places for language revitalization and maintenance, our community is diasporic, and participants cite family as a strong source of both connection and encouragement, employing more strategies to support language in the home could be help to language revitalization and maintenance among Ojibwe people living here.

Learning through connections

In addition to family, Cathi explained that having people to practice with in her life at one time meant she was learning consistently. She emphasized how that person leaving meant that she stopped learning for a while. She shared:

> In the early nineties, another Anishinaabe woman that worked here at UVic, we became good friends. We got materials from Lakehead University, and we used to practice. We would get together once a week and then when her mom would visit, she would laugh at

> us and correct our pronunciation and stuff. My cousin was also living here at the time, so she started joining us too, and then when that friend moved away, I kind of stopped, I guess.

Magda similarly shared about how learning Anishinaabemowin has been different for her than learning French at school and Spanish, another one of her family languages, in that "you can learn them from textbooks whereas Ojibwe, you have to… really search and make connections and engage with other people."

These anecdotes about the importance of learning through connections with others, suggests that it may help Anishinaabe people living away on this territory to be connected to others through one network. It may also help to alert Ojibwe First Nations that this network exists so that they can help to connect their people who are living here to this network. None of us should be alone while living away unless we are choosing to be.

Economic encouragement

Cathi also shared that she was able to connect with language at work. She said that although her workload was heavy, she was encouraged to learn and use language there. And so, she "was able to introduce [herself in Anishinaabemowin] …because …it was kind of encouraged because the organization [she worked for] supports languages… So, [she] was fortunate in that way, that it was encouraged, or … accepted and embedded."

Most people have no other choice but to spend around 40 hours per week working and so being encouraged to use and/or learn our Indigenous language at or for work may have a huge impact on language revitalization and access.

Barriers to learning

Both Cathi and Rowan shared about some of their barriers to learning Ojibwemowin. Cathi described how moving out west and then staying here meant that "even though [she] had this desire that [she] would learn the language one day, [she] made a lot of choices that made that harder and harder." Both Rowan and Cathi also described being ready to learn now but not at other times in their lives. Rowan shared about how her mom had tried to learn while Rowan was in high school, but that she maybe wasn't ready to join her because she was a teenager. It was just in the past couple of years that she decided to start learning on her own. Similarly, Cathi talked about how heavy her former work was and how retirement will allow her to focus on her language again.

It may be important for community people who are putting together programming to be aware that not everyone is ready to learn their language.

Not having a lot of experience learning

Rowan, Mackenzie, and Zofia talked about their experiences with our language being unstructured. Both Rowan and Mackenzie said that they had little or no experience learning Ojibwemowin. They also shared that the experiences they have had have not been "very structured." Zofia claimed the same. She has never been in any formal language class before.

Though it is unclear whether not having participated in structured learning opportunities before is being evaluated by participants as negative or as positive, it is clear that structured language learning opportunities are desired by some participants. It may be useful to provide more opportunities for structured language learning to Ojibwe people living here.

Relying on internet for learning

Both Rowan and Cathi described their most recent experiences with Anishinaabemowin learning being primarily online. Rowan said she relies on internet resources mostly and Cathi explained that "when the pandemic started, [she began] doing lessons through the Pacific Association of First Nations Women in Vancouver. They started doing their classes online [at that time]."

According to McIvor et al. (2020) "the COVID-19 pandemic pressed language learners and advocates to turn toward technology as a means to continue in their language revitalization efforts" (p. 410). For some learners, including Cathi, this meant an opportunity to participate in online classes for the first time. This online learning provided a space for her not only to participate in a class, but she could do so from the comfort of her own home and break through her self-consciousness around learning. It may be worth advocating for continued online language learning access post-pandemic if this access returns to a pre-pandemic state where there were far fewer classes available online. This is something we may not yet be able to predict but worth remaining aware of since it seems to have had an impact on at least some urban and/or displaced Ojibwe people.

A joyful and playful language

Several participants described the joy that they have found in Anishinaabemowin and learning it. Magda shared that she has "been enjoying that aspect of language learning that is new to" her in terms of having to "make connections and engage with other people." Cathi described having "a lot of fun [learning Anishinaabemowin]." She said that "it didn't feel heavy or sad or anything like that. It was really good." And finally, DBW shared that "the teaching [his]

mom gave [him] is that you're not learning the language if you're not laughing." He said that he "really like[s] the playfulness of what is in the language." DBW went on to say:

> I think my experience of learning the language is the fun of it … I find the way the morphemes go together is just suited to puns, and I really find it's just a lot of fun to do that. And I also appreciate the […] liveliness of the language. It feels uplifting and encouraging and I'll use the word fun again. I feel like it's a joyous thing to even know a little bit. And the more I learn, which is still not a lot, I get that sense … Then of course I just make mistakes constantly and making mistakes is part of the fun because they're kind of interesting too.

This concept of joy in our language relates back to my experiences learning Ojibwemowin which have almost always featured laughter. When not laughing, I am often struck by the beauty of Ojibwemowin. Other times, I will admit, that learning is difficult and emotional for me, and so having those moments of levity and joy are all the more important to highlight and encourage. Both learners and instructors can and should do the work of encouraging this type of joy in our learning environment because it will help learners to have that laughter when the times come where learning feels heavy or hard, which it often does when we are challenged to learn something difficult.

5.3.3 How do you feel about learning Ojibwemowin on this territory?

After going around in our circle once, answering the first question about our experience with Ojibwemowin, I asked my second question which was "How do you feel about learning Ojibwemowin on this territory?"

Participants answered this question in a few different ways. Zofia shared about how she feels a responsibility, not only as an Anishinaabe person, but as a visitor here, to learn

Ojibwemowin, at least enough to be able to introduce herself on this land. Participants also described feeling conflicted, nervous, guilty, excited, lucky and grateful, nourished and encouraged, a unique sense of joy, confused, without guidance, concerned about dialect, and hesitant to learn bad habits in regard to learning Ojibwemowin on this territory. One attendee also shared about never having been to their homelands and having a desire to visit. Other participants shared about online learning and how this and the availability of resources online has made distance less of an obstacle for learning Ojibwemowin on this territory than it has been in the past. Magda expressed that while it is good that there are resources and classes available online, she feels safer learning in person with people she knows and feels comfortable with than learning online with strangers. Some of the participants shared about how it would be helpful to their learning to have more people to practice with as well as more structure in their learning here.

A responsibility to the people of these lands

When it was Zofia's turn in this rotation of the circle, she talked about a time when she visited with Victor Underwood, a W̱SÁNEĆ old one, and he urged her to learn how to introduce herself, resulting in her feeling a responsibility to learn to speak Ojibwemowin:

> Many years ago, I was visiting Victor Underwood who is an elder from Tsawout and he told me and my cohort that it would be respectful to learn how to introduce ourselves in our own languages on their lands because that is the old way. So, I took that as a call to responsibility and action. And you know, Vic understands that actually gaining conversational fluency isn't necessarily going to be possible for everyone so he really did emphasize just if you can tell me who you are, and the language of your ancestors tells me who you are. And that you're being that open and sharing that language with me tells

me that –it speaks to being honest and coming with an open heart to these territories which is important to do as a visitor. So, I feel a responsibility to connect with my language, not only as Anishinaabe, but as someone who lives on W̱SÁNEĆ and Lək̓ʷəŋən territories, being given that directive from the people of these lands.

Along similar lines, Cathi said that "before the pandemic, [she] was thinking, [she was] going to start learning SENĆOŦEN because that's the land [she lives] on. [She's] going to live the rest of [her] life here. So that's what [she started thinking she would] do."

Responsibilities to the people and the languages of these lands can and should be respected in our classes and gatherings here. Learning some basic SENĆOŦEN could easily be incorporated into Ojibwemowin classes using tools like First Peoples' Cultural Council's FirstVoices tool. As for self-introductions, they are often one of the first things people learn when studying Ojibwemowin. And so this is something that many of us can do as visitors.

Emotions about learning

Circle participants expressed a range of feelings about learning Ojibwemowin on Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands.

Rowan described feeling conflicted about learning Ojibwemowin here since we are so far from our home territories. She said that she feels this way especially since she has never been to her territory. Mackenzie described feeling nervous about learning here but did not elaborate. Cathi explained that she has "felt guilty over the years" knowing about the language table at UVic but not being able to attend due to life commitments such as work and the travel time to and from her home and the university. Now she expressed that she feels "excited about the possibility that [she] could, in this next phase of [her] life, put more time and energy into it

because it's hard to take time—not find it—but take the time." Magda explained why she feels lucky and grateful to learn Ojibwemowin here:

> I think I would say that my feelings towards learning Ojibwemowin on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories is I feel really lucky. I'm young at a time when there's stronger more connective Nish community out here. And especially we're really lucky to have people like Carmen and Estrella who have done a lot of work, especially with our specific [Mississauga Eastern Ojibwe] dialect, which is a pretty small area, so I feel really lucky.

DBW described feeling nourished and encouraged due to being able to have relationships with others here, through Anishinaabemowin:

> I think my feelings about learning Anishinaabemowin here are feelings of getting to know people because it has been a smaller group… And then you see people come and go. Some people stay here through the years. And that's where you deepen friendships and connections and relationships. That is a wonderful nourishment to me. And then I have liked it when people have come through here and then they went back home, or they had to get on to other things, and I feel like those people hold a special place in my heart too. And I have felt encouraged by them; I hope they felt encouraged by us. And so, it's a real good interaction that grows my feelings of appreciation for other people—for other Anishinaabe people that come to the table, but some have not been Anishinaabe, and I have grown to really love and enjoy them and it's just good human activity to share. And so, the sharing of language is about sharing in many directions and many dimensions. And I feel like that's been uplifting for me and it makes me feel better.

Similarly, Cathi shared about feeling a unique sense of joy when learning about her language and culture. She said:

> I just feel like I'm excited about [our language]. And when I do participate in anything to do with the language and culture it feels—I have this joy inside of me *(touching her chest)* that I don't experience any other time. So, that tells me something. You know. I'm happy about it.

There are bound to be a range of complex emotional experiences when we interact with Ojibwemowin because it was taken from us. In a presentation at the 5th Annual International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC) in Hawaii, Lachler et al. (2017) explain that they "frequently encounter situations which make apparent the relationship between language revitalization and heightened emotional states." They go on to share that these emotions are sometimes beneficial but can also sometimes "impede language revitalization efforts" and suggest that "negative associations about language are conditioned responses stemming from past experiences" (whether those are intergenerational or from personal experience). Their work provides routes for exploring rerouting conditioned responses by having people engage "with language revitalization in a positive, supportive, and empowering context" to "help foster emotional resiliency." There are many positive emotions highlighted in those identified by participants of the circle which suggests that this urban community is creating positive, supportive, and empowering learning contexts, which anyone looking to create programming or courses could lean into and encourage for better outcomes and healthier environments.

Without guidance

Mackenzie shared a bit about asking for family support in her learning of Ojibwemowin here and not feeling able to receive the guidance she is looking for around what and how to learn. She shared about going to her grandfather because he is fluent and finding that he is "kind of reluctant to teach." She thinks that "might have to do with his past but also because [they've] never been really close."

Guidance around language and culture learning can be difficult to find when living far away from our territory. For this reason, it could be beneficial for learners to know of people they can go to for support in learning or finding someone who can help them to learn what they are looking to learn. One way to help with this may be to strengthen the urban community connections through more gatherings and a more official network of communication.

Concern around dialect and bad habits

Mackenzie, Rowan, and Cathi all mentioned dialect. Mackenzie explained how her mother emphasized for her that it was important to learn her own dialect, but she is unsure how to identify her dialect and is even unsure what her dialect is. Rowan explained that the resources that she can access are often many dialects put together. This makes her feel hesitant due to a fear of learning the wrong dialect or bad habits. She shared that she "even encountered that when [she] talked to [her] auntie on the phone and she said 'gaay' instead of 'gaawiin' [for 'no'] and [she] was like, 'I don't know what that means'" due to having learned a different word for 'no'. Cathi said that she's taking a course online and it's a different dialect from her own. "It's Saulteaux. So, it's different. It's a different writing system. It's not the double vowel system." She went on to explain that "it's at least making the sounds [and] speaking" so she is grateful for the opportunity to learn.

Because we live in a place where many Ojibwe people who come from communities that speak different dialects reside, we often end up learning a mixture of dialects when we come together, and also when we seek out resources online. It is hard for us to avoid mixing dialects and learning pieces from other dialects, nor do I really think we should, but it could be helpful for learners to know how to identify their own and other dialects when they find resources, simply because it can be overwhelming when you are not able to see that two words are the same and just pronounced differently. When you think each different pronunciation is its own word, the language appears to be a lot greater in size than it is and may be discouraged.

Desire to visit home

Both Cathi and Rowan expressed a desire to visit home, Rowan having never been before and Cathi not having visited in some time. Cathi said:

> I would like to be able to go home and do immersion stuff ... And it's something that when my nation has asked for suggestions from community through surveys … I've suggested doing more cultural and language stuff, not just for people who live in the community but for those of us who live away to be able to participate.

Many diasporic Ojibwe people have never visited or rarely visit their territories. It would be helpful to support urban Ojibwe people living here to visit their homelands, especially for language and culture activities with their nations, such as language and culture immersion camps.

Internet resources and online learning

Despite having a desire to visit home, Cathi shared about feeling "like there are more resources available now because of the internet." She said that "it's not the same as being with people," but also explained that she feels "really fortunate that [due to the internet and

resources available on it] the distance in some ways becomes less of an obstacle." Both Mackenzie and Cathi shared about having taken courses online. Mackenzie was even able to take a course from someone who is from her area.

As stated above, especially since the COVID-19 pandemic began, many more Ojibwe language resources and courses have been offered online than ever before. This was and is helpful for people who live in their own communities, but it is especially helpful for those of us who live far away from our homelands since oftentimes what is being taught online is not something we would have the opportunity to learn while living here.

Learning and human connection

Conversely, Magda, Rowan, and Mackenzie all shared about the importance of in-person human connection in learning Ojibwemowin. For example, despite the internet and its resources and classes being useful to some, Magda said that:

> It's a lot of fun for me to be able to do things in person [because] it's a lot easier to have a community that you feel safe and comfortable practicing with because online resources are great, especially zoom classes, [for example], but they're super anxiety-inducing for me. And so, I really like that human connection of learning and we're lucky to have that here.

Both Rowan and Mackenzie feel that they would benefit from having more people to practice with in person here. They said that this would help them to be consistent in their learning.

Of course, internet learning can never fully replace the feeling that we can get when we gather with other Ojibwe people in community, whether that is on our own territories or here. In my own experience, it is an especially wonderful feeling to find that there is a community of Ojibwe people here when you didn't realize there was. Once I was connected to this

community, learning my language felt a lot easier because I was not doing it alone, and I could share what I learned with people who cared as much about it as I do.

"Seize the day"

Finally, Rowan described overcoming feelings of hesitancy and conflict and shared that she did so because she doesn't "have any plans to move across the country any time soon…[and]… We only have so much time in a day and in a year and yada yada… so it was better just to start trying with what [she] could and so that is how [she] got to where [she is] now."

The lesson in what Rowan shared is that it's never too late to start learning. I hope that others feel the same and we continue to meet people of all ages who are beginning and/or well into their language learning journeys.

5.3.4 Can you describe your access to and how you connect to Ojibwe culture and language here, as well as what would make that connection better or stronger for you?

My third question asked circle participants to share about their *access* to Ojibwe culture and language on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories. As they spoke, they opened up about their access in both the present and the past. They shared that their access is related to family: impacted when family moves away and strengthened by family who are near and sometimes far. Rowan shared that one of her learning motivations is that she feels a responsibility to connect to culture for her family. Similarly, Cathi expressed connecting to culture and language being a responsibility of hers for her to become a good ancestor. Mackenzie outlined how she accesses culture through the internet and on her own in addition to with her brother and her mother. Zofia explained that her access is amazing considering how far we are from our home territories. Zofia went on to describe how as Ojibwe people, we are our culture, we carry it, and

we create it, so we can never be separate from it, and, in that way, she explained, she has access to culture. Both Cathi and Zofia talked about how they did not always know how much of their culture they carry and that, for Zofia, it was not until she started to spend time with other Ojibwe people that she realized how her family culture and her way of being is Ojibwe. DBW shared about his access to language and culture being through his work, teaching Anishinaabe law, and through relationships with people here and across Turtle Island. Magda talked about how she has her grandpa and her great-uncle in her life and they are two people who share language and culture with her. Magda also explained that some of her family found each other through academia and how the space that her family has in academia has provided learning and connection opportunities for her family. Cathi described her access to culture through prayer. She shared that this is one healing way she can practice our culture on her own. Some participants also shared about the negative impacts of Christianity on their access to language and culture.

Participants also talked about the future and suggested several ways to strengthen their access to Ojibwe culture and language here including having a space to meet in, motivating themselves to attend events and learning sessions, having more speakers and learners around, hosting language and culture experiences at their own homes, helping make language and culture accessible in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories outside of academia, and building community.

Describing Access

Negative Impacts

Rowan and Mackenzie shared about some of the ways that their access to culture has been impacted, including by foster care, religion, and family moving away.

Rowan shared that her connection to language and culture was impacted by her mother moving away and that "now [she feels] a responsibility to connect so that [she] can bring the culture back to [her mom]—which is also difficult because she's [living] in Alberta."

Both Rowan and Mackenzie also talked about the impacts of Christianity on their access to culture and/or language. Rowan described having trauma related to religion due to being in the foster care system. She also shared about losing access to sweats due to the incorporation of church hymns:

> I remember we used to sweat and then we stopped going to sweat because my mom didn't like that they were singing church hymns in the sweat lodge. And, you know that was the only place that I knew to go to sweat. And I was a teenager. So, I haven't been since. And sometimes I feel like it's difficult to connect on your own because I want to make sure that I'm learning the right things. So many things are Christianized or lost in their full understanding.

Similarly, Mackenzie described struggling to learn about Anishinaabe culture through a Christian lens from people in her life. She shared that she is not interested in tying her spirituality or experience of culture to Christianity.

One way that we may be able to help with countering impacts of Christianity and foster care on our access to culture is by talking about it within our urban community spaces. Just because we talk about it, doesn't mean we will necessarily untangle the impacts from our culture, but it may help people to know that they can talk about and explore it with others. I have found that often when I am unsure of something, if I share about my uncertainty with friends and family, they often hold knowledge that I did not know existed which sometimes

helps me to understand something more about our language or culture. Being able to explore our language and culture with others, in more of a community-like setting, may also help with impacts of being far away from family, as in cases like Rowan's and many others in our urban community, since urban Indigenous community often provides family-like support through kinship systems that extend beyond biological family members.

Strength from community

In fact, when asked to share about what would make their connection to Ojibwe culture and/or language stronger, both Rowan and Mackenzie shared about community. Rowan said she thinks "community is what makes everybody better and stronger." Mackenzie said she thinks "what would make [her] connection stronger would be… having a community that [she] can bounce off of because [she] can't seem to learn on [her] own."

This is a recurring theme throughout. Seeing it repeatedly points to a real need for a more strongly connected community of the many Ojibwe people who live here.

Access through family

Mackenzie shared that most of her connection to culture and language comes from her mom. She described recently starting to dance jingle again. She shared about how she and her mother are working on a jingle dress together with Rowan's help for some of the beadwork as well. Mackenzie also shared that she has done some learning and connecting with her brother, especially in relation to our stories since she and her brother have a podcast called *The Historical Natives* where they talk about "Indigenous lore, culture, history, [and share] a call to action depending on which nation" they are discussing. She added that they "even do a bit of language" on the podcast.

Family is another recurring theme as well. This points again to the importance of supporting language and culture in homes here on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ lands.

Access through relationships

Zofia explained that "in a lot of ways, [she feels] like [her] access to our culture is really quite amazing considering how far we are away from our home territories." Zofia shared specifically about her access to language and culture through the language table at UVic and relationships that grew out of the language table. She said:

> A good chunk of that is certainly the experience of having access to the language table here and the relationships that I've built through participating in that group. I always know that there are other Anishinaabe around me who I can reach out to and talk to and that's a big part of our culture.

DBW also considered sitting at the language table at UVic as a place where he has access to our culture and language.

The UVic Language Table has brought together Ojibwe people from all across Turtle Island: Some who are visiting and some who were born here and have raised or will raise families here. Based on how the table has been so important, not only for language and culture access, but for community connection and understanding, it should continue to occur and be supported within the community. At this point, support from within the community is on a volunteer basis, but it may at some point in the future require financial support as well. It may be beneficial to offer more opportunities like it as well since the dates and locations do not work for all Ojibwe people who are living here and everyone should be included and connected if they want to be.

We are our culture

Zofia explained that we are our culture. She shared that:

> I am a really firm believer in the idea that we are our culture, and our culture is us. And our culture is not static. It's a living thing. So, I can create Anishinaabe culture because I am Anishinaabe. And I can participate in modern Anishinaabe culture because that's who I am, and that's the people that I surround myself with.

This way of looking at culture means that our access to our culture is always there, even if we are not aware of it, because we are Anishinaabe and we are our culture. This is something we could talk about more, especially with our youth. The more we gather, the more people will likely see how they are Anishinaabe and have access to Anishinaabe culture by looking at, listening to, and being with each other.

Privileged to be connected

Zofia also described feeling privileged to be connected to her culture. She shared that she feels this way because of "how profoundly alone [she] felt earlier in [her] life." She continued:

> It's a huge contrast, and from the moment I stepped foot in this community that gathers in this room, I've never felt alone again. Not truly. And I know I don't have to feel alone, and to me that's a really big part of it.

Many people who undertake learning Ojibwemowin while living on this territory, may not become fluent, but certainly most who connect with other Ojibwe people here will experience a feeling of connectedness, and if they were ever feeling alone, may have the opportunity to feel the way Zofia describes above. This is another reason to encourage connection and networking between Ojibwe people living in these territories.

Reaffirming who we are

Zofia went on to explain how being connected to culture and language and other Ojibwe people has helped her to recognize how she and her family already are Ojibwe: What they know is Ojibwe and how they are is Ojibwe, even if she didn't always see it necessarily. She shared that it "allowed [her] to draw all the teachings that [her] family retained […] without saying, 'okay, sit down and I'm going to teach you Ojibwe ways now.'" She continued, saying that "those are just our ways" and that although she once "felt very disconnected from our culture, [… she] wasn't. It was an illusion." She elaborates:

> My family's sense of humor is very Anishinaabe. The way that I was raised—the particular ways in which my parents interacted with me when I was little and to this day are very Ojibwe. So, a lot of my experience with this has just been reaffirming that I am more who I am than I knew that I was.

Like Zofia, Cathi shared that sometimes we carry our culture even when we are not aware we do. She said:

> When I was younger and at university here and in art school, through my art, I realized that I carry knowledge and understanding that I didn't know I had that helped me to recognize it. Like, I would kind of get haunted by a shape or an image and then do something with it and then find out later that it was connected to the culture in some way and so I feel also a lot of my character and my values—a lot of that aspect of culture is definitely in me as a human.

Research echoes Cathi and Zofia's feelings. Jean Paul Restoule's 2009 article, "The values carry on: Aboriginal identity formation of the urban-raised generation" focuses on "how the urban-raised generation experience and learn Indigenous values from their families regardless

of the older generation's attempts to be silent about this identity" (p. 15). This article goes on to express that teachers of Indigenous students "should not assume that the learner has access to a wide Aboriginal community with knowledge of its history, ceremonies, language, and other cultural traits" but it does suggest, based on circles and interviews with seven Indigenous men, that urban Indigenous-raised people may still carry Indigenous values and worldviews (p. 16). Gathering to learn about our language, culture, and each other may help Ojibwe people living away from their territories, especially those who have never been on their homelands, realize these connections in the same way Zofia and Cathi, among others, have.

Work and study

DBW went on to say that he has a lot of access to language and culture through his work, teaching Anishinaabe law in the UVic law school. He shared that since he teaches Anishinaabe law, he has graduate students who come from all across the country, some of whom are Anishinaabe. He said that through his work he has "done cultural activities and language activities together with people out on the land as a part of Bawaajigewin, 'vision questing'… And [he] taught a course in Anishinaabe literature." All of this helps to strengthen his connection to language and culture while living here.

It would be so helpful to culture and language revitalization if all Ojibwe people, whether living here or on their home territories, could have this type of access and encouragement to connect to language and culture through their employment.

Prayer and ceremony

When discussing access, Cathi also said that "one of the main things for [her] currently, because [she's] also a little bit of a hermit, is in the mornings when [she prays, she uses] as much of [her] language as [she] can in [her] prayers." She goes on to describe that she became

very disciplined about her morning prayers in 2018 when her mother, who was living with her, was dying.

> Going outside, smudging, praying, using my language, being grateful to live in this beautiful place. For me that's a big part of being Anishinaabe. And I can do that. I don't have to go to someone else to do that for me. That was very healing for me when I started figuring that out.

Cathi also shared about how she used to be more involved in group ceremony. They used to do sweats and circles, for instance full moon circles. She shares that it was through doing those ceremonies with others that she learned she could do ceremony on her own.

These are important insights because prayer is something that can be shared with new learners easily. To pray, you don't have to know all of the words that you want to say. You can feel some of what you want to say and use the words that you do know. If this was healing for Cathi, it may be for others as well. It would also be beautiful to have more opportunities to do ceremony together here, and if what Cathi is saying may be true for others, it is also something that could be empowering for Ojibwe people living here too.

Family and academia

When it was Magda's turn to speak, she shared about her access to language and culture first "through [her] family and through [her] family's connection to academia." She described how Janice Simcoe, and the work she did at the local college, providing a space for Indigenous people, directly impacted her family's finding of each other and their exploration of identity.

Magda also shared about her connection to culture and language through the knowledge keepers in her life. She said those knowledge keepers are her grampa and her great-uncle. She

also said that her auntie, Estrella, is another knowledge keeper who she spends time with and who has made efforts to go back to their territory and connect with family and community.

Sharing about what would make our access better or stronger:

A space:

When asked what would make her access to our culture and/or language better or stronger, Zofia shared about having a space where we can gather:

> Sometimes it's just a matter of space. It's difficult to get around the town we live in, and it's difficult to access communal spaces in this town because everything is expensive, and we don't necessarily have home spaces that we can always open up to each other and stuff like that. So, some of it is just a physical challenge.

Having a more permanent physical space to gather would be helpful for many reasons, but especially for building a more connected urban community.

Internal choice to show up

Zofia also explained that something else that would make her access better or strong is being more active in our community. She shared that she "got really used to being a hermit during the pandemic" and is a hermit anyway. She said that she wants to start "being more disciplined" and remember that although being at home is nice, "being in a space like [the current research circle], for example, is deeply and powerfully enriching to [her] spirit and it wakes [her] back up and gets [her] back into the world." She continued, saying that going to culture and language events motivates her to do more art and beadwork and everything else that she does. Cathi similarly identified that part of making her access better is showing up and being motivated to go to language and culture events.

The way that community events here have grown and shrunk over time, has made me realize that there are always going to be times when people struggle to come together, but the more opportunities we create for coming together, the more likely there will be times that work for everyone. As we moved through the circle that evening, the importance of bringing everyone together often seemed greater and greater.

Becoming a good ancestor

Cathi went on to say that, since she is nearing retirement, and at an age where she's "realizing that [she] can make these [cultural] things happen too—like take a little more responsibility in figuring out how to step into being an older generation person and what that looks like," she will start looking into contributing in that way. She also shared that taking on that type of responsibility is for her ancestors and for her to "become a good ancestor and do [her] part to keep that alive in [herself] and [her] family." This is something she says that she could do to improve her access and the access of others to language and culture.

We are lucky to have many older generation Ojibwe people living here on Lək^{w}ənən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories who are willing to take leadership in these areas and help connect those of us who are younger in our culture.

Cross-country connections

DBW spoke second to last in our circle. He began by saying that he thinks that part of his access to language and culture comes from having connections to Anishinaabeg across the country and in his own community. He shared that he feels "encouraged by them and there are resources that flow back and forth and that just keeps getting easier with the electrification of the world."

Supporting Ojibwe people living here to connect to people in their own communities and across Turtle Island may be important so that they can both feel encouraged in a way like DBW is and have a flow of resources back and forth that will improve everyone's access to our language and culture, even those living on our territories.

A teacher

DBW went on to say that in terms of making our connection to language and culture better or stronger, he thinks "we need an Anishinaabe language teacher to be on campus or more accessible in the community and who would agree to spend some time with us." He also explained that just generally, having language and other knowledge holders visit or move here has continued to grow connection for this community. DBW referenced Heidi Stark, in particular. He said that "when Heidi Stark came along that made a big difference to this language table, for instance, and also to some of the ceremonial work that we do."

In the past, people who attend the language table have talked about bringing an Ojibwemowin immersion instructor to Lək^{w}ənən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories for an immersive language learning opportunity. And so, even if no one fluent in Ojibwemowin moves here and is able to share with our community, this is something that we may still be able to do. Alternatively, there are several young Ojibwemowin learners living here who may wish to pursue Ojibwemowin studies elsewhere, become fluent, and return to this territory to share knowledge with others. Of course, we can and should always support young learners on their language learning paths.

Culture and language outside of academia

Magda talked about how lucky she is to have had family members who have been able to be in academia. She shares:

> That's a big privilege I have to have a community connection through academia. I think it would be really important to try and bridge out of this academia culture and into community culture too because there's so many other Nish people probably out there who I don't know because I'm a little bit limited to who I am connected to through academia.

This is salient because more recently, since I began this research, the language table has moved to the Victoria Native Friendship Centre which is located downtown. I believe that we are making an impact there now, outside of academia, for people who were not able or did not feel able to visit campus for our language table there. I also believe that people who are attending the table are building strong connections to one another, whether they are students and faculty at UVic or live/work in the urban space but do not come to campus.

Going to my homelands

Finally, Magda explained that for her to have "a stronger, better, tangible connection to" language and culture would mean her "going to be on [her] territory for the first time and meeting other relatives who [she] has not just met through academia."

I would love to see our urban community able to support, especially young people, to return to their homelands when they have never been there before. The support I would like to see could be financial or emotional or both, depending on what the person visiting their homelands needs.

5.3.5 About Ojibwemowin

What do you know and how did you come to know it in Ojibwemowin but also what do you want to be able to say in Ojibwemowin? Why do you want to know Ojibwemowin? Where do you want to be able to use Ojibwemowin? With whom do you want to be able to use Ojibwemowin? How do you see Ojibwemowin being a part of your life?

Next, I asked participants, “what do you know and how did you come to know it in Ojibwemowin? What do you want to be able to say in Ojibwemowin? Why do you want to know Ojibwemowin? Where do you want to be able to use Ojibwemowin? With whom do you want to be able to use Ojibwemowin? And how do you see Ojibwemowin being a part of your life?”

In answer to the first part of this question, *what do you know in Ojibwemowin*, most participants shared that they either don’t know anything or know very little. Many participants also chose to share about the specific words they can say, the first words they learned, that they have a lot of individual words memorized, or that they know some words or phrases that family members used when they were children. Many participants also specifically shared that they can introduce themselves.

Some participants talked about word or morpheme recognition. Rowan and Zofia both shared about how they sometimes see or hear a morpheme or a word they recognize when listening to or reading in Ojibwemowin. And in Zofia’s case, she sometimes hears these recognizable morphemes even in other Algonquian languages. Cathi said that she can often recognize parts of what other people are saying, but not usually everything. DBW said that his comprehension is pretty good when listening or reading, and Cathi shared that she is pretty good at reading Ojibwemowin.

DBW said that while he used to consider himself an intermediate level speaker, he now feels his abilities have diminished due to being immersed in Ojibwemowin less often. He shared that even while he considered himself intermediate, he still struggled to speak because he didn’t understand all the many ways verbs could be conjugated.

In terms of struggles, Zofia talked a little bit about how the grammatical structure of Ojibwemowin is so drastically different from her first language, English, that learning the grammatical structure of Ojibwemowin has been difficult for her. She asserted that she does not understand the grammatical structure of our language. This is a barrier that she would like to overcome.

DBW and Magda talked a little bit about *how they came to know what they know*. DBW said that he learned a lot of what he knows in Minnesota, from Basil Johnston resources, and from listening to the bible in Anishinaabemowin. Magda said that she learned what she knows from self-study, the language table at UVic, and from the community class that I taught out of my home, on a weekly basis, for just under a year.

When answering the part of the question related to *what they want to be able to know and do in Ojibwemowin*, participants spoke about having conversations with grandparents or other people, learning words and phrases that shed light on our worldview, being able to write artist statements in our language, being able to communicate with animals in our language, being able to have text conversations in our language, being able to speak in our language with our ancestors when we move on from this earth, becoming fluent, getting over grammar barriers, and refreshing their Ojibwemowin abilities to be as strong as they were in the past. In terms of fluency, Rowan said though she wants to be fluent, she's not sure she ever will be. Zofia said that even if she's never able to become fluent in Ojibwemowin, she hopes that one day she will be able to think conceptually in our language.

Zofia, Mackenzie, Cathi, and Magda shared a bit about *where and with whom they would like to be able to speak Ojibwemowin*. Mackenzie and Zofia said they would like to use their

language with family. More specifically, Cathi shared she would like to use Ojibwemowin more with her adult son. Magda and Mackenzie also said they would like to use Ojibwemowin with their grandfathers. Additionally, Magda talked about using Ojibwemowin with her younger cousins and how she hopes she will be able to use it with any future children in her family. Zofia said she would like to use Ojibwemowin with other Ojibwe people and other people just generally. Mackenzie said she wants to use it with kids at work and wants to use our language at home too.

Zofia and Cathi both talked a little bit about *how they see Ojibwemowin being a part of their lives*. Zofia said that she thinks it would be cool to be able to listen and understand Ojibwemowin stories. And both Cathi and Zofia said that they want to be able to think conceptually and dream in the language, though they are not certain what is possible.

Some participants also talked about *why they want to learn Ojibwemowin*. Zofia said that she wants to be able to introduce herself on this territory in our language and shared that she feels it is resistance to learn and speak our language. Zofia asserted that she wants to learn for her family and also because she is proud and wants others to know that we are worthy of feeling pride in who we are. Cathi talked about how she wants to learn because it is a part of who she is and because she wants to do her part, focusing on what's important to her as an older person. Magda said she wants to learn so that she can pass her language down to the next generations in her family, as something tangible for them to have since they may not have access to our land. She also talked about wanting to learn so that she can begin to understand the way her great-grandparents and their parents thought.

What I know

We returned to the start of our circle and Mackenzie shared that in terms of her language and how she came to know it, she doesn't "really know anything." She interrupted herself at that point to say that she knows owl, knows how to say see you later, how to say hi, how to say thank you, how to say her name, and some of the phrases her mother used when she was growing up.

Rowan spoke second again. She shared that she knows "very little Anishinaabemowin." She knows how to introduce herself, how to count to three, the names of some animals, and the names of some plants. She also sometimes sees words and recognizes them.

Zofia also explained that she doesn't know a lot. She said she can do a basic introduction of herself and that she has a lot of individual words memorized. She said:

> That's easy for me because that's how English functions—individual words but they're not compacted into sentences in the same way so like, I can memorize animal names really well—I'm pretty good at that—but actually turning that into any kind of conversational—even just trying to read conversational Ojibwe is really baffling to me.

Zofia elaborated, saying that she doesn't understand the grammatical structure of Ojibwemowin and that's an important next step for her. She explained that though she has tried and is better than she used to be at the very beginning of her learning, because "the word order is fundamentally different" and "the way sentences and ideas are structured" differently than the language she grew up speaking, it's "challenging and a barrier to [her] ability to hear the language and understand what is being said."

Zofia also shared that, despite not fully grasping how Ojibwemowin grammar works, she is excited to be able to hear morphemes that she is familiar with, even when listening to other Algonquian languages. She said:

> I grew up listening to a rock band called Kashtin who are Innu and it just sounded like a foreign language to me when I was a little kid but now when I listen to it it's like, 'you just said something about your daughter.' I know those morphemes. I know why those sounds are happening in a row even if I can't quite tell what they're trying to say and that is like so cool to me whenever that happens.

Cathi spoke after Zofia and explained that she also doesn't know very much. She can introduce herself, she knows some words, she's pretty good at reading and can make the Ojibwemowin sounds, and she even recognizes parts of what people are saying when they talk.

In the circle, after Cathi, sat DBW. DBW said that in 2014, he considered himself an intermediate learner. He said he thinks his ability to speak and understand has slipped since moving to Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands, though he has developed his vocabulary further in that time. He has pretty good comprehension now, but even back at that time, when living in Minnesota and regularly immersed and both hearing and practicing conjugation, he shared that he "couldn't get […language] back out because [he] didn't understand some of the conjugations of verb forms with all of the various pronouns in A- and B-forms that just go on and on."

Magda, the final person in our circle before we would begin again, shared about her first word in Ojibwemowin. She said it was 'migizi', or 'eagle'. She shared that in addition to that first word, she can now say 'hello', introduce herself, and conjugate verbs basically. Her interest in

our language started when she started using it and “first started to recognize sounds of the language.”

Participants were able to share that they know a lot collectively and that they want to know more. I am not certain how to encourage conceptual thinking in Ojibwemowin without fluency, but it may be worth looking into whether this is possible. In the meantime, aiming to continue building on language knowledge towards the goal of fluency may make sense.

Something that struck me when listening to what Zofia knows is that memorizing words is easy for her because she sees English as a language you can learn by memorizing individual words. This makes me wonder if it would be helpful for early learners of Ojibwemowin to understand Ojibwemowin word formation more deeply. There is a finite version of morphemes that go together in many, nearly infinite ways, which may make Ojibwemowin seem more difficult to learn because it seems so vast. This makes me think learners might find morpheme memorization easier at an earlier stage of learning as opposed to having thousands of fully formed words to use readymade and waiting until later stages of learning to begin to understand how words are created. This may help learners to be able to know the meanings of future words they encounter by knowing the word’s parts as opposed to by having memorized its meaning as a completed word. It is hard to say when this type of learning would fit in. Maybe it could fit in at the stage of learning about how to conjugate each verb type. For example, learners could learn how to conjugate animate and intransitive verbs at the same time as learning how to build them. This may be something to explore with Ojibwemowin learners in and out of Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories in future research and/or classrooms.

How I came to know what I know

After describing what they know, both Magda and DBW shared a bit about how they came to know what they know.

Magda said she knows what she knows now due to self study, the language table, and classes that I ran on a weekly basis for just under a year. She said that it was in those classes that she "was able to start to understand how to use verbs a little bit and weave simple sentences together."

DBW explained that he came to know what he knows using Basil Johnston, who is from his reserve's, resources. Johnston published "tons and tons of language materials that are electronic" and so DBW has had him in his "ear for about fifteen years most mornings when [he goes] running." DBW also listens "to the bible in Anishinaabemowin, and that is a complicated text and so to be able to hear all of that complication has helped [him] quite a bit as well."

DBW and Magda's experiences suggest that self-study, attending classes, and listening to recordings regularly can help build language abilities. This could be encouraged by making classes and recordings available for anyone who wants to learn.

What I want to know

In answer to what she wants to know, Rowan said it would be amazing to be fluent, though she's not sure she ever will be. She went on to talk about the things that she loves to learn being those that "shed light on our worldview":

> I love making those connections. Like 'giizheba', 'spin'. I know that one because I'm teaching my cat tricks. I love the correlation between that and the word 'day' and the word for 'sun'. Or words that have stories with them because I think that is the stuff that I

> remember the most as opposed to just trying to memorize words. I mean, I can barely count in English, so I think getting up to 'nswi', [three], is maybe good for me.

Rowan also said that if not fluency, she would love to be able to have a conversation, especially with the people around her in her life.

Zofia said that she wants to use Ojibwemowin in several ways. She shared that she first needs to get over the grammar barrier that she has. She said she would like to be "able to comprehend the grammar and sort of the way the words all wrap around each other and actually be able to make more than a very, very simple sentence." She also would like to be able to write her artist statement in Ojibwemowin and talk to animals. She explained:

> I don't necessarily mean like a full-on Dr. Doolittle conversation, but the ability to connect and communicate with animals is really important to me. I recognize that, for example, 'opichi', [robin], out here undoubtably has a different name, but I know that its name in our territory is 'opichi' and it means a lot to me to be able to acknowledge the four-legged and the flying ones and the crawling ones by the ways that our people know them. So that's one of the reasons I'm particularly interested in learning animal names and having them as a part of my regular vocabulary. I've had moments where I know I'll see 'waabooz' and I think of it as 'waabooz' first. And not rabbit. And it's like, 'yes! My brain is Indigenizing!'

Finally, Zofia shared that even if she "can't get to the point where [she] can have deep conversations or […do] conceptual thinking in the language, that ability to relate those names and to think of the nouns in our world as Ojibwe first and English second, those are goals that [she continues] to hope to work toward."

When describing his Anishinaabemowin goals, DBW shared five areas where he hopes to grow. Those are social, emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and physical. This is how he described his goals:

social	**emotional**	**spiritual**	**intellectual**	**physical**
"To have fun, to laugh, to connect with people, to feel encouraged, to encourage people. I just love that feasting and talking and laughing."	"It's grounding. There's a lot of mindfulness […] that comes with it because you're very much gathering your thoughts rather than having to necessarily dwell on the things that you might be anxious about or worried about. You're just in the moment. And 'in the moment' is good for emotional being."	"I appreciate using Anishinaabemowin in ceremony and I want to speak to my ancestors when I pass too. And so, I've always had that as a goal for learning Anishinaabemowin. At least, I can greet them and hopefully understand a little bit and then they can teach me some more."	"I teach Anishinaabe law and so I want to help people understand how that's connected to the language. So, it's important for me to introduce that in various ways in the work I do. And then of course I'm a writer, as a part of being an academic. And Anishinaabemowin changes the way that I look at my field and my writing and then sometimes when I use our words or phrases […], I feel like I can say things that I couldn't otherwise say."	"I run every morning, as I mentioned, and part of running is having the language as a companion so that when I look out at the birds and the trees and the sky and the water and I feel the air and my breath and just having that go through my mind at the same time is embodied. I'm not just learning language with my mind, I'm learning language with my body. And that feels like a really, really wonderful connection to this part of who I am."

Table 2: DBW's goals

DBW also explained that because his Ojibwemowin ability has slipped since 2014, and he has forgotten conjugation, he could use a refresher, he added.

Magda explained that she wants to be able to recognize differences between dialects, have more conversations with people, connect with others through the language, and speak to her ancestors when she gets to them. She also shared that her main goal is fluency. She said, she "just [needs] to figure out what kind of a path [she wants] to take to do that." She describes two options. One is an academic route, and another is a community learning route.

Participants shared a number of goals that can be supported on these territories, with the right support and connections. Interestingly, in seeming contradiction to what Zofia shared in the above section, 'What I know', about how memorizing individual words is easier for her than learning grammar, Rowan expressed that she prefers to learn words in context and with a story, struggling to memorize them on their own. In thinking about this more deeply, it seems like understanding how words are created, how verbs are created and sentence level ideas within a word, would be useful for both Zofia and Rowan. And maybe others as well. For Rowan, it may be useful because we get those stories about words, often by understanding each small piece that makes up a word. For Zofia it may be useful because the morphemes, the little pieces that make up an Anishinaabemowin word, are often more equivalent to an entire word in English and therefore may be more easily committed to her memory. It would be good, when classes are offered in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories, to share stories and vary the ways that vocabulary and grammar is shared in order to account for the many concepts people enjoy learning.

Why I want to know Ojibwemowin

Zofia also explained why she wants to learn Ojibwemowin. She said that, for one, as per what Vic Underwood shared with her and her classmates, it's important for her to be able to introduce herself on these territories. She also said:

> It's part resistance. It's part that my language got taken away from my family, and I want to get it back. Even if I can't ever learn big, deep fluency, I want to pull back what I can.

She also said that she's learning it for her family. She said that she feels that she owes "that to [her] mom's generation that couldn't and to [her] grampa who [she wishes she] could have spoken with." Finally, she shared that it's also "a pride thing" for her. She's "proud of being Ojibwe and [she] wants people to know that—that we are worthy of feeling pride in who we are." This is why she named her business in our language, too.

In answer to why she wants to know Ojibwemowin, Cathi explained that she wants to learn because it's a part of who she is and because she wants to do her part. She explained that she just feels "like [she wants] to do what [she] can to do [her] part to keep that alive." She explained that she has "a feeling of responsibility" to our language and to our people. She also said:

> The oldest generation in my Anishinaabe family have gone and so now I'm one of the older generation, which is a big shift for me to realize that because I don't feel like it. I still feel like a child in so many ways. So, I'm trying to look at that and do what I can and take action and focus on things that are really important to me as I become an older person.

Magda shared one of her main reasons for learning Ojibwemowin:

> One of my main goals is to be able to try and understand and think the way that my great-grandfather did. Or the way his parents did. And try to see the world how I would have

> seen it –I mean, there's also the difference of total modernization and that would be interesting to see through an Ojibwe lens which I think could be really important to where we move as a people—not only as Anishinaabe people but to have our traditional worldviews be solidified in this changing world and see what that looks like in terms of where we decide to go as people.

The reasons for learning our language, including those shared by Zofia, Cathi, and Magda, are always inspiring. Something to consider is that it may help learners to talk about why they are learning to inspire each other and Ojibwe people who are not yet learning. In her reason, Magda hints at the knowledge that lives in our language and how it could help to direct us in this complex and quickly changing world. Indigenous language revitalization scholars have talked about how the knowledge contained in our Indigenous languages may help us through catastrophes such as global climate change, for example (Gessner et al., 2018).

Why I want to learn and who I want to speak it with are the same

Magda, Mackenzie, Cathi, and Zofia's responses bridged the space between why people want to learn and with whom they want to speak Ojibwemowin. Their reason for learning to speak and with whom they want to speak are the same.

Magda said she sees herself speaking her language with her grampa, "to help him prepare for that journey" to our ancestors, her younger cousins because she is an older cousin and would "really like to be able to start teaching [her] cousins what [she] had to learn five years later that they could learn now", and down the road, she would like to be able to speak to her, her sister's, or her cousin's children as a way to pass something tangible on, since they can't pass down Indian status or land. She shares that it is important for her "to be able to pass down

a tool that will help contextualize stories and identity." Mackenzie said that she wants to be able to have a conversation with her grampa for his sake and for hers. For both her connection and to make him proud. She said:

> I want to know how to speak it so that I could have a conversation with my grampa. I think that's something that he's been missing in his life since my grandma died. And I'd like to bridge that. It's also really hard growing up here and living on this side. I have like no connection with my cousins or my aunties or my grampa so I think at least having the language would be something special for us. I just recently went hunting with my dad and he was so proud of me. So that really made my heart sing. So, I'd like to make him proud by learning our language so that we could converse with each other.

Mackenzie shared that she would also like to use her language with other family members, with kids at work, and at home. She explained that it would be amazing to be fluent someday but is also aware that she has a ways to go. When asked about who she wants to be able to use Ojibwemowin with, Zofia said she wants to be able to use it with her family, and other people, whether Ojibwe or not. Finally, Cathi explained that she wants to be able to use Ojibwemowin with her son. She said:

> My son when he was growing up … I used to, you know, use some of the language with him and still do a little bit so I hope that he will become interested someday too. And I think if I became more conversational with it that that would just happen naturally.

Anyone thinking about preparing courses for Ojibwemowin learners on this territory will likely need to think about how to support learners in reaching their goals of being able to speak with specific people. To explore how to support learners in reaching these goals, we could ask

them questions about what topics they would cover with the people who they want to talk to, what do they do with those people, where do they see those people, etc., and then explore the vocabulary and structures needed to hold those desired conversations during classes.

How I see Ojibwemowin being a part of my life

Both Zofia and Cathi talked a bit about how they see Ojibwemowin being a part of their lives.

Zofia explained that she "would love to get to a point where [she] could turn on APTN and … watch Ojibwe translated stuff and know what it is saying without even needing subtitles. That would just be cool to [her]." Cathi also shared that although she is not sure what is possible, she sees Ojibwemowin being part of her life in her poetry, in her thinking, and in her dreaming. She said:

> Whether that's possible for me to get to that depth in the language? I mean, I guess it's happened in little ways. And it often has to do with creativity and imagination so I'm kind of interested in that part of it.

Zofia and Cathi's responses suggest that they would like to take in and create content in our language. As a way of supporting Zofia's goal, in classes, we could practice vocabulary and structures needed to take in media content and then watch/listen to it together, and discuss it. And as a way of supporting Cathi's, learners could be encouraged to create using the language they know at every step of their learning journey. Sometimes, content that is created by learners, could be used to support Zofia's goal of taking in content as well, especially since learners can create for their own level of comprehension, but are unlikely to make materials that are too complex for learners who are at the same level as they are.

5.3.6 Is there anything else you would like to say?

The final question I asked during our circle that night was for participants to share anything they felt they would like to say but did not get the chance to say. They re-emphasized that having people to speak to and practice with, having a class to go to, having immersion camps and opportunities, having a teacher, being able to practice daily/regularly, being able to visit home territories, implementing learning tools at home, and having a dedicated space to learn together would all be helpful to their learning and access to language and culture here on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands. Participants also added that there is strength in learning multiple dialects, and that this is a strength available to us as urban people living multination-ally.

Strength in Dialects

Both Zofia and DBW emphasized that there are strengths and opportunities in learning multiple dialects. Zofia shared that even if she ends up doing an immersion camp in Minnesota or Manitoba instead of in Rama, "those are still our people. They are still our relatives." She went on to say that she doesn't "see a big point in dividing us up into tiny micro communities—at least not all the time. Those structures of uniqueness do exist, but [she doesn't] think that they are full-on encapsulated with an airtight top […]. We can learn from Minnesota Ojibwe, and they can learn from us." DBW added:

> I really think learning different dialects is a strength in learning the language because if you get two ways of saying something that are close to one another it really cements the idea more firmly in your mind because you've got another reinforcing point like when we're talking to our friends who are Cree they talk about 'muskwa' and we say 'mkwa'. And so, we're like, 'oh yes. I remember that better because I can see that there's another

dialect that is engaged in this understanding of this beautiful animal.' And so, I love to embrace the dialectical difference and see that as a real strength in learning.

Learning multiple dialects of Ojibwemowin at once is absolutely a strength that may be somewhat unique to urban spaces. Open conversations about what dialects are, how to recognize them, and why it's good to learn multiple as learners, are useful conversations to have. These conversations may help with the overwhelm that can occur when learners begin to see how vast Ojibwemowin is among all of the dialects we have.

Having people to speak/practice with

Rowan, Cathi, and Mackenzie all re-emphasized how important "just having people to speak it with and practice" with regularly is. Mackenzie shared that she listens "to these things on YouTube" and with her mom, and this is good but then they go their separate ways, and she forgets what she was learning.

Rowan said that when learning on her own, most of what she is doing is reading and writing or trying to piece sentences together. She shared that this is "not great for retention in a lot of ways because you are not having the full context of where the words live […]." She went on to explain that she feels the need for more contextual and conversational learning as opposed to using flashcards and repeating words on her own and out of context. Cathi added that "it would be really great to keep meeting with people here and just" be with them. She said "it's helpful" and she'll be around.

A predominant theme throughout the circle was reinforcing community or coming together more often. Participants underlined this theme during the final round of our circle, which suggests it really is something we need to pay attention to in this urban community.

Finding regular time to practice

DBW also shared advice for how we can all improve our Ojibwemowin practice. He recommended that we all practice an hour a day and said that he did this in Minnesota. He said:

> I'm sure that we would all become intermediate at least and some of us, with our talents, would even go further. It seems like a lot when you think about an hour a day but it's only five hours a week. The cumulative effect is just transformative.

If we all followed this recommendation, we would certainly improve. It may be a matter of helping learners who are serious about growing their skills to come up with strategies for disciplined practice.

Gratitude

In our final rotation, each attendee finished with gratitude for the circle and for each other's words. Zofia said:

> I also just want to acknowledge all of the beautiful words everyone shared today. It was lovely to sit with all of you in circle and to learn from you and hear your stories and just be in a Nish space. Miigwech to Carmen for bringing us together. Mii'iiw [That's all].

5.3.7 Minobwaajigan: Goodnight

And with that, we closed our circle. We came out of First Peoples' House and into the night. Campus was dark and silent: Stillness left over from a global pandemic that continues to hold us in its wake. We were quiet too, as we parted ways. Though nookmis dibik-giizis (our grandmother moon) was a mere sliver, above me in the sky, my mind was full. So much was shared in our circle. It would take time to organize my thoughts fully.

Having summarized the evening that we met in our circle, in the following and final section, I will provide my insights based on what was shared in the interview with

WENWONELWET Katia Olsen, in the survey, and in our sharing circle. In section 6: Nibasweweshin, I am echoing what was shared and adding my thoughts, just like the crane does in her leadership ways.

Chapter Six: Nibasweweshin, I'm making echoes

The purpose of this study is to discover what the language and/or culture needs and wants of the urban Ojibwe community living in Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ territories are, in addition to our responsibilities. Based on my discussion with WENWONELWET Katia Olsen and the results from both the survey I shared and my research circle, I can not only identify several needs and wants within this urban community but can also identify many responsibilities and strengths felt. Seeing the strengths and responsibilities felt alongside our community needs and wants allows me to make recommendations based on the voices of this urban community.

61. Strengths and responsibilities

Through my conversation with WENWONELWET Katia Olsen, the survey, and the talking circle, a number of strengths and responsibilities that exist in this community became apparent.

WENWONELWET Katia Olsen, a SENĆOŦEN language practitioner, shared a handful of ways that we can be responsible visitors, respectful of the W̱SÁNEĆ people and local languages. Those responsibilities include:

1. Learning and using some basic phrases in SENĆOŦEN or Lək̓ʷəŋən language, especially greetings and names for places because using this language on the land is especially recommended so that the ancestors who keep this land may hear.
2. Introducing ourselves in our Ojibwemowin and including information about who our parents are and where they are from as well as how long we or our families have been living on these lands.
3. Identifying where our roots are connected even if we have never lived there.

We can live up to these responsibilities by learning some basic SENĆOŦEN using the FirstVoices platform on our own or at our language tables/in classes. We can also spend time learning to introduce ourselves in class and include information about where our parents are from and how long we have been living on these lands. This is already very commonly taught to early Ojibwemowin learners. To meet these responsibilities, it may also be useful to talk about the meaning of “oonjiba” which people often translate into English as “s/he is from.” What I understand it to mean is “s/he has this place as their source,” which allows people to use “ndoonjiba” when talking about a place that they have never lived, but their parents or their grandparents have, because that place is their spiritual source. It’s where their ancestors are. Understanding this word in the way I have come to know it may help people who, for example, were in foster care or had parents in foster care and so have never lived on their homelands, feel able to identify their roots.

During the circle and through the survey, participants shared many individual and collective strengths present in our urban community and I would like to take some time to celebrate these strengths. Participants talked about their families, describing how they connect to language through and because of them. They also detailed experiences of being encouraged by their family members and friends, to connect with Ojibwemowin. Some participants explained that they were/are even fortunate to experience support for learning Ojibwemowin through their employment and/or academia. Others described feeling excited, lucky and grateful, nourished and encouraged, and a unique sense of joy when learning our language. One attendee said she feels safe when learning Ojibwemowin in-person here. Participants also described having good access to Ojibwemowin through the internet and the sharing of

resources, visitors, and experiences that happens over the great distance between us and our homelands. One attendee described having an ability to connect to language and culture by herself and through prayer. Another explained that she can connect to our culture because since we are Ojibwe, we are our culture; Our culture is living.

Many participants referenced dialects when sharing in the circle. Some explained that they struggle to learn because there are so many dialects while other participants asserted that learning multiple dialects in the way that we can when living in a place that's far away from our home territories and filled with Anishinaabeg from all over who speak many dialects, is a strength. I agree that it is both a strength and a challenge. It is difficult as a beginner because there seems more to learn, and it is confusing to learn multiple dialects at once. However, when we can learn multiple versions of a word or of a form, we can build a stronger understanding of our language and we can communicate with more people. Our ancestors understood many dialects and could communicate in many places. Another reason it is beneficial to learn multiple dialects of our language, from an Eastern Ojibwe perspective, is if we only learned Eastern Ojibwe, we would not necessarily be aware of what all the underlying morphemes and/or vowels in a word are since we drop a lot of vowels, making it harder to break words apart into pieces. This also makes grammatical processes such as asking content questions (a question that elicits a response that is more than just a 'yes' or a 'no') more difficult when we need to know what vowel exists underlyingly to change the vowel properly. For example, if you want to ask someone, 'when are you going?', you would change the /i/ that appears at the beginning of the verb 'izhaa' (s/he is going) to an /e/, but in the Eastern Ojibwe dialect, that word is often pronounced simply as 'zhaa' without an /i/. So, learners may not

know that it needs to be turned into an /e/. Learners may instead change the second vowel /aa/ into /ayaa/ or they may guess that the word begins with a different vowel and change it incorrectly based on that.

In terms of strength, participants painted a picture of belonging, connection, and affirming identity. They shared about an urban community that has helped them understand themselves in relation to their culture and to the world, describing how being connected to other Ojibwe people here, has reaffirmed for them, who they and their family are. In particular, Zofia said that "from the moment [she] stepped foot in this community…, [she's] never felt alone again. Not truly. And [she knows she doesn't] have to feel alone." Others survey respondents describe a community where they feel safe and where they would offer support to others if they needed it and feel support would be available to them as well. What was shared regarding belonging highlights the deep importance of this urban community.

There are many other strengths in this community, apparent through the survey results. One is that a high number of respondents report always having a person that they can go to if they have a question related to their language or culture. Another is that many respondents share about understanding that our learning process is collective and because of that, it is important not to rely on texts alone. Another strength is that respondents show a high level of respect in how they describe seeking places or processes to go to find answers to their questions about language and culture so they do not lean too heavily on knowledge keepers in their lives. Respondents also exhibit humility and patience in waiting for knowledge to come instead of seeking it out. Other strengths include most survey respondents being current

learners or wanting to become learners in the future and most that respondents know fluent speakers.

In addition to strengths, circle and survey participants also identified several responsibilities related to language learning that they feel they have. Participants describe learning due to feeling a responsibility to their ancestors, families, and descendants. They also describe feeling a responsibility to local people to either learn SENĆOŦEN or to learn Ojibwemowin and be able to introduce themselves properly on this land, or to do both.

6.2 Needs and wants

Participants and survey respondents identified many needs and wants related to Ojibwe language and culture access on Lək̓ʷəŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands. They explained that the following would all help us reach our learning goals.

Support understanding/doing

Respondents identified a need for support to understand or develop processes.

- Support developing processes to find answers to language questions they have
- Support understanding dialect and being able to recognize differences in dialect (patterning)
- Support understanding grammar
- Support understanding what our language communicates about worldview/understanding how words break down into morphemes
- Support using dictionaries and databases
- Support understanding some of the language we use to talk about our language
- Discussions on how it is a strength to learn about and understand multiple dialects

People

Respondents identified that people are a big part of their language and culture connection experience.

- Having people to go to with questions about language and culture (for those who do not have someone)
- Having a teacher
- Having community and more people to practice with in person
- Having someone to talk to about the language
- Visiting regularly with high-level speakers
- Visiting regularly with fluent speakers
- Having someone to talk to in Ojibwemowin (online, on the phone, at home, or in person)
- Knowing a fluent speaker
- Having someone to practice with on a regular basis

Spaces

Respondents discussed spaces where language could be used to support their learning and access.

- Having a dedicated space
- Having a place to go with questions related to language
- Having spaces to use Ojibwemowin where everyone is using it
- Our language and culture being accessible outside of academia

Going to our homelands

Respondents shared about going to their homelands, sometimes for the first time and how that would help their language and culture learning/access.

- Language immersion opportunities on our homelands and on this territory
- Going to homelands more often or for the first time
- Being able to engage with language and culture when visiting homelands

More opportunities to gather as a community

Respondents identified a number of opportunities to gather that they would like to see here on Lək^{w}əŋən/W̱SÁNEĆ lands.

- Language circles and tables
- Immersion camps
- Other gatherings to share language, stories, songs, and food
- Celebrating physical culture together including art, dance, drumming, beading, and moccasin making
- More feasts
- More outdoor gatherings
- More fires
- More workshops
- Gatherings to talk about culture
- Youth gatherings to meet other youth
- Events honouring academic achievements
- More opportunities to gather generally

- Cultural events that weave language into other activities such as dancing, song, art, history lessons, eating, and storytelling
- More in-person language learning opportunities focused around relationship
- Having regular classes to attend where only Ojibwemowin is spoken

Fitting language and culture into our lives

Respondents shared about needing to find ways to make room for language and culture in their lives.

- Everyone having economic encouragement to learn
- Having more time to gather/go to community events

Respondents also shared about what they need/want to grow their speaking, understanding, reading, and writing skills in Ojibwemowin. They identified the following that is not included in the above lists:

Speaking

- More confidence
- Practice
- Opportunities to listen to speakers and then repeat
- Visual aids
- Prioritizing language learning
- A book to refer to
- Having their children speak Ojibwemowin to them more

Understanding

- Having podcasts to listen to

- More listening
- Having more people to talk with who are patient and don't mind explaining
- Slow speaking teachers who enunciate
- One-on-one conversation opportunities

Writing

- Having a lettering template
- Having adult-oriented workbooks
- Exercises to create simple sentences
- Support learning different styles of writing (Saulteaux, syllabics, double vowel)
- Having someone to write to
- Opportunities to engage with writing through the fields of mathematics and sciences

Reading

- Having more self-discipline
- Sharing reading in Ojibwemowin with others
- Having simple stories to gain confidence
- Having more material to read at a beginner level
- Having something to help with vocabulary building
- Having opportunities to hear the language while reading it at the same time

Participants also explained that they would like to be able to become a good ancestor by learning and sharing language, talk to our ancestors when we walk on, learn language that sheds light on our worldview, have conversations with family members, other Ojibwe people, and other people generally, write an artist statement in Ojibwemowin, communicate with

nature and animals in Ojibwemowin, think conceptually in Ojibwemowin, and some participants even explained that they would like to become fluent. DBW shared that he has social, emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and physical goals related to our language. His social goal is to laugh and connect in Ojibwemowin, his emotional goal is to be mindful through the language, his spiritual goal is to use Anishinaabemowin in ceremony and when he passes on, his intellectual goal is to understand and help others understand how Anishinaabe law is connected to language as well as to think and write differently than he would if he just knew English, and his physical goal is to continue to have Anishinaabemowin as a companion when he runs and therefore to hear Anishinaabemowin as he feels the world and learns Anishinaabemowin with his body.

6.3 Barriers

The circle participants identified several barriers to their accessing and learning language and culture. The barriers are listed here:

- Living far away from traditional territory
- Not being able to find the time to learn
- Not having access to structured learning (in a class)
- Feeling conflicted, nervous, and guilty about learning on this territory
- Being without guidance in learning or in knowing what to learn or how to learn it
- Being confused and concerned about dialect
- Never having been to traditional territories before
- Having family move away
- Foster care/Christianization impacting language and culture access

- Feeling overwhelmed by dialect
- Not feeling a part of the urban community
- Having no obvious opportunity to engage with culture or language when visiting homelands
- Having confidence issues when approaching people online with questions
- Scheduling conflicts with language and culture events that occur
- Too far a distance to travel from work or home to language/culture gatherings
- A desire for distance from social media where a lot of language and culture is shared
- A concern about validity of sources when finding information online
- Wanting to respect the time of busy knowledge keepers
- Not enough opportunities to interact with fluent or high-level speakers
- Having emotional barriers
- Feeling embarrassed about language level
- Having learning disabilities

6.4 Recommendations:

Based on the responses of circle participants, survey respondents, and my conversation with Katia WENWONELWET Olsen, and exploring needs, wants, barriers, and goals, I have identified some ways to strengthen Ojibwe peoples' relationships to language and culture while living on these Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands. Some of the following recommendations were made specifically by participants of the circle and/or the survey. Other recommendations are my own, based on barriers identified by participants of the circle and/or the survey. I have organized these recommendations into the following sections:

- Recommendations for urban learners
- Recommendations for urban instructors and/or curriculum developers
- Recommendations for potential urban language program administrators/organizers/volunteers
- Recommendations for those conducting an urban language revitalization needs analysis

The third category, recommendations for potential urban language program administrators/organizers/volunteers, is not aimed at any specific person within any specific organization since, as urban people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands, we are not governed collectively by any specific body. We often rely on volunteer efforts by people in our urban community to address community needs. Having a structure and people paid to support the type of access called for through this project, is in and of itself, an additional need.

Although I have chosen to organize recommendations under these categories, some may fit under multiple because, especially due to living urban, sometimes an individual is a learner,

an instructor, and an administrator or we only have learners and there are not instructors or administrators available to support the access to language and culture that is needed.

Recommendations for potential urban administrators/organizers/volunteers

In this section, I share recommendations for potential administrators, organizers, and or volunteers working toward language reclamation for Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}ənən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands. The recommendations in this section may also benefit urban leaners and/or instructors and curriculum designers. Most recommendations that come out of this project fall under this category which is compelling considering there is no formal body or individual to support language and culture access for urban Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}ənən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands. There are, of course, individuals who volunteer their time as well as the Victoria Native Friendship Centre which began hosting and supporting the Anishinaabe Language Table once per week in January of 2023. The volume of recommendations that fall under those for urban administrators, organizers, and/or volunteers, suggests that we do need some sort of formal body or role to support this important work on these territories.

Some of the recommendations made for potential administrators, organizers, and/or volunteers include needing:

- A teacher

Several participants suggested that having a fluent or high-level speaker available as a teacher here would help them reach their language learning goals.

- A dedicated space

Some participants expressed that having a space dedicated to Ojibwemowin language and culture would help them to reach their language and culture as well as community connection goals since gathering space is hard to come by and often expensive in this city.

- More community events

Throughout this circle, the need for a closer, more connected urban Ojibwe community here was made very clear. It could help individuals in the community access language and culture resources, feel more guided and supported, understand their identities more strongly, and feel less alone. These connections may also help to ease learners' feelings of nervousness, conflict, and guilt. Those participants who do spend time with urban community here expressed gratitude and feelings of encouragement and connection from doing so. They also expressed that in spending time with other Ojibwe people, they have come to understand themselves and their families and their identities better. This should be available to all Ojibwe people living here.

- Opportunities to learn in person together

Many participants shared about the importance of having people to speak with. This would help with motivation, language practice, building stronger fluency, creating more opportunities for immersion, and community building.

- Opportunities for language immersion

Some participants shared that immersion opportunities would help them learn more language and culture. They expressed that these opportunities could be here or on their own territories

or on other Ojibwe peoples' territories. Immersion is an extremely effective tool for language learning, and it is not something Ojibwe people, even living on their own territories, have enough access to. Creating opportunities for Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands to either visit immersion camps or have them here, would improve language and culture access for urban Ojibwe people.

- Language and culture accessible outside of academia

One attendee expressed that our language and culture needs to be accessible on this territory and outside of academia because there are many Ojibwe people living here who do not feel comfortable coming to the university.

- Guidance

One learner shared that she feels without guidance in her language learning. It would be good to have more people in community who individuals know can and will provide language and culture guidance to Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands, especially those who are living here without their families. Administrators, organizers, and/or volunteers could help with this by strengthening the network of Ojibwe people living on these lands and identifying people who want to share their knowledge and guidance with others.

- Support for visits to home territories more often and/or for the first time

Some participants have never been to their home territories. Some have been but do not go often. Those who are not able to make it often expressed that going more often would help strengthen their language and culture access. Those participants who have never been to their

territories explained that they believe going would improve their access to language and culture. There are many variables at play here. One is that there may or may not be legibly cultural experiences occurring at the time of a visit. Another is that it may not be easy for everyone to return to their home territory and/or reserve and be welcomed, but if Ojibwe people want to visit their land, they should be able to. Though no participants who have visited their nations before specifically mentioned needing monetary support to be able to do it more often, it may be the case for some Ojibwe people living here. Sometimes not visiting may also be due to needing emotional support as it can be difficult to return to home territories. Both emotional and monetary support may be helpful to Ojibwe people who want to visit their territories. If administrators, organizers, and/or volunteers can provide this, it may make a difference to many Ojibwe people living here.

- Support urban Ojibwe connections to home territory/community

It may not be realistic for urban Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands to travel to their home territories regularly. Because of this, it could be alternatively useful to support relationship building and connections for people to their home nations/lands even if from a distance. This will also help with the flow of resources to and from this territory.

- A stronger urban Ojibwe on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or WSANEC territories network

Participants identified the importance of being connected to one another for cultural, linguistic, and social reasons. It would be useful for Ojibwe people living here and for their communities at home to know about this network so that they can connect to each other for resource and support sharing.

- More/varied opportunities to gather to learn Ojibwemowin

Based on how important the language table has been to Ojibwe people living on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands, experiences like this should be available to other Ojibwe people who cannot come to the table based on where it is located or when it is held.

- Support for older generation Ojibwe people in sharing their knowledge

One of the participants expressed wanting to provide cultural and ceremonial opportunities to urban Ojibwe people here now that she has retired and sees it as one of her responsibilities. This should be supported because we need more people who are able to support our community to engage in culture and ceremony, and we need our elder people to know that they are valued. Administrators, organizers, and/or volunteers in these types of positions could work to identify older community people who want to share their knowledge and guidance, visit with them, and support them to find ways to share.

- Support Ojibwemowin learners to pursue studies/fluency elsewhere

It may help to have Ojibwe people living here go to places where they can become fluent. Some of them may return and help to create more speakers here or they may do work on language elsewhere or in the places where they become fluent. Either way, supporting learners to go where they need to so they can become fluent, ultimately helps our language and our communities. This is something that could be supported by administrators, organizers, volunteers, and/or teachers and curriculum designers.

- Arrange for elders and knowledge keepers who know Ojibwemowin to teach and share with learners

This may help Ojibwe people living here to learn more about our worldview through our language. Teachings about worldview will naturally emerge. This is something that could be supported by administrators, organizers, volunteers, and/or teachers and curriculum designers.

- Economic encouragement to learn

Two participants expressed that they are lucky that their places of work have encourage language learning. I believe that economic encouragement is important for effective language learning. Learning Ojibwemowin is a huge commitment, and it can be hard for people to commit the type of time that is needed to become proficient in a language if they must work full time in addition to carrying out other responsibilities (to family, community, etc.). Therefore, having employers be supportive of language learning and/or being able to provide monetary support to language learners so that they can afford to take time off, would be helpful to language and culture access for urban Ojibwe people living here in Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands. This support could include allowing employees to use professional development time for language learning or allowing flexibility in scheduling to allow employees to take language courses online at times that would otherwise conflict with work. Potential administrators, organizers, and/or volunteers may consider advocating for this type of support for learners.

If Ojibwe people living on these territories are to have their rights met in terms of language and culture access, much of the above would require more formal support than what can come from volunteers.

Recommendations for urban learners

In this section, I share recommendations for urban Ojibwe language learners living on Lək^{w}ənən and/or WSANEC lands. I recognize that oftentimes, urban learners are responsible for meeting most of their language learning needs, especially those of us who live both urban and far away from our homelands. This is an additional burden put on learners of our language, but it can also be seen as a strength when we are able to share what we have learned with one another.

The following are recommendations for urban Ojibwemowin language learners living on these lands:

- Learn language through prayer

One attendee expressed that she practices language through prayer and that when she learned that this is something that she can do on her own, for herself, she felt empowered. If learners are open to prayer and/or already praying regularly, it may be helpful/empowering to practice prayer in our language.

- Enroll in online classes

There are many Ojibwemowin classes being offered online, especially since the COVID-19 pandemic began. It is a good idea for anyone interested in fluency but not able to travel to

Ojibwe territory on a regular basis, to enroll in online Ojibwemowin courses if they are able to spend time learning online.

- Practice language in the home

Since we are a diasporic community, many of our urban Ojibwe people are spread across a large geographic space, and we do not meet together regularly, it may help to learn and practice language and culture in the home.

- Develop disciplined practice for language learning

Learning a language requires hundreds if not thousands of dedicated hours. There are currently no estimates published for how long it can take to learn Anishinaabemowin as an additional language for a first language English speaker, however, since the two languages are drastically different, it will certainly require a lot of dedicated practice and study. If any learners want to become speakers, they will need to develop discipline for their Anishinaabemowin learning.

Recommendations for urban instructors and curriculum developers

In this section, I share recommendations for urban Ojibwemowin instructors and/or curriculum and materials developers. Urban instructors and/or curriculum developers may want to keep the following in mind when designing materials and/or lessons and curriculum, or instructing classes in urban spaces:

- Provide opportunities for practice conversations in Ojibwemowin

Provide opportunities to practice conversations (for example in classes or at other gatherings).

- Provide opportunities for immersion

Help learners connect with immersion opportunities or create immersion opportunities on this territory.

- Teach dialect recognition

Many participants talked about dialect in different ways. One attendee expressed that it would help her to recognize different dialects when using resources or listening to speakers. This would be helpful to learners so that they can confidently use all the resources they find. Urban instructors and curriculum developers could consider providing workshops classes or materials that share about structural/phonological/vocabulary differences as well as where to learn more about dialects.

- Support learners to build a greater understanding of strength in learning multiple dialects

Two participants discussed some of the different strengths that exist in learning different dialects while others seemed focused on figuring out what one dialect to learn/how to learn it. It is a strength to learn multiple dialects, a strength that is readily accessible while living far away from our territories around multinational Ojibwe people. This is something that we could focus on to uplift and encourage learners in their learning.

- Support learners to build greater understanding of language acquisition/fluency

Each of the circle participants mentioned fluency and then many also mentioned that they were not sure whether this is possible for them or not. With more of an understanding of language acquisition, especially Ojibwemowin or Indigenous languages acquisition, these learners may be able to set clear language learning goals and come up with strategies to meet them.

- Explore topics and vocabulary that learners express interest in

One attendee talked about teaching her cat tricks using Ojibwemowin. It's possible other learners would be interested in cat/dog training language and/or other equally specific topics. It is important to explore what learners want to be able to say/do in Ojibwemowin. It may also be useful to ask learners with whom they want to speak Ojibwemowin and explore what they might speak to those people about.

- Have classes where learners use Ojibwemowin sentences and understand how they work

When asked about their experiences with Ojibwemowin, many learners shared about all the individual words they know but also expressed that they do not know a lot of grammar. If there is a desire to become fluent or to be able to think conceptually, creatively play with Ojibwemowin, or converse in Ojibwemowin, as was mentioned, then learners will need to move past this stage of knowing some vocabulary and begin to use Ojibwemowin in full sentences.

- Support learners to compare English and Ojibwemowin

Participants shared about how the differences between English and Ojibwemowin are so great that it makes it harder to learn Ojibwemowin. A greater understanding of the differences *and* similarities between English and Ojibwemowin may help learners to overcome the fear of the differences.

- Help learners build an understanding of Ojibwemowin grammar

One attendee expressed that they need to get over the barrier they have of understanding Ojibwemowin grammar. Though difficult, this is important to all learners who want to progress their language skills to start to understand Ojibwemowin grammar. It may also be worth considering, in future research, what aspects of Ojibwemowin would benefit from an implicit instructional approach and what specific aspects would benefit from form-focused type of instruction.

- Provide opportunities to learn Ojibwemowin grammar without focusing on grammar

Support in practicing Ojibwemowin without focusing on grammar, may help learners to worry less about the differences between English and Ojibwemowin and the difficulty of learning Ojibwemowin and instead learn the structures intuitively.

- Provide opportunities to learn using additional language acquisition methods such as Task Based Learning and Teaching

This method will help build fluency for learners who are interested in fluency and can create classroom immersion-like experiences.

- Explore models for Ojibwemowin learning where learners begin with understanding the morphemes that make up each word

Because there are so many ways that Ojibwemowin morphemes can come together and create new concepts/words, it can seem like there are infinite words in Ojibwemowin. This can be overwhelming, especially to beginner learners. Based on some sharing in the circle about

wanting to be able to memorize words as in other language learning contexts, Ojibwemowin teachers could consider exploring whether teaching how to build words at the same time as learning our grammatical structures would be useful or not. An example of teaching this way may be when a class is first learning about verbs that are animate and intransitive (VAI), they may also learn at that time how to build VAIs.

- Support learners to develop strategies for disciplined practice of language learning

Participants identified that they are sometimes not able to take the time needed to learn Ojibwemowin. Based on this, it could help to support learners to develop strategies for disciplined language learning and practice.

- Acknowledge and discuss the impacts of Christianity and colonization on our language and culture

Because Christianization and colonization impacted Ojibwemowin language and culture, there is a concern for knowing what knowledge/resources come from our culture and which are more heavily influenced by Christian thought. Some circle attendees expressed a desire to be able to tell what is more influenced by our Ojibwe worldview, unimpacted by Christianity, and what has been impacted by Christianity. This may be difficult and sometimes impossible, but including conversations about colonization and Christianity's impact on our language and/or culture could help learners to feel more comfortable exploring our language and culture and these impacts together.

- Encourage learners to share about why they are learning Ojibwemowin

Sharing our reasons for learning Ojibwemowin may inspire current or non-learners to learn more or become learners.

- Encourage learners to create and share teacher-corrected content with each other in Ojibwemowin

In classes, learners could be encouraged to create and share content with one another that has been corrected by their teacher. This will help learners to play and be creative in our language as well as take in level-appropriate content in our language.

- Provide opportunities for learners to practice writing in Ojibwemowin

One learner expressed a desire to write their artist statement in Ojibwemowin and another, to write poetry in Ojibwemowin. Providing opportunities for learners to practice writing in Ojibwemowin, using vocabulary they are interested in exploring, may encourage creativity and help learners to meet their writing goals.

- Provide learners access to people who can help with finding vocabulary and creating neologisms

There are many words that we use today that did not always exist. It is important that learners can express everything that want to express as they learn. Neologisms will help with this. Not everyone is able to create neologisms so it may be useful for learners to know someone who can help with neologism creation.

- Encourage learners to explore words related to the outdoors

One circle attendee expressed that one of their goals is to communicate with nature and animals in Ojibwemowin. Instructors and curriculum designers could consider sharing words related to the outdoors to support this goal. It may also be useful to hold classes outdoors. Outside of class time, learners could practice using language to speak with animals and then in class, they could share their experiences in the form of stories.

- Encourage laughter during classes

Curriculum designers and instructors can encourage levity during language learning opportunities because laughter is an important part of learning our language. This can be encouraged through having learners create and tell jokes together and/or by the vocabulary shared in classes. Maintaining humour throughout learning is also helpful because although learning our language is important and often feels good, it can also be heavy and/or emotionally difficult at times.

- Provide exercise opportunities in Ojibwemowin

One circle attendee shared that one of his goals is to continue to feel Ojibwemowin in his body. One way other learners could do this is by attending exercise opportunities that are shared in Ojibwemowin or practicing exercise using language at home. There are also guided exercise opportunities available online in Ojibwemowin (for example, yoga classes). Instructors and/or curriculum designers may consider providing exercise opportunities in Ojibwemowin.

- Share language recordings with learners

Another way learners can experience Ojibwemowin in their bodies is by listening to the language while exercising. This is also useful generally so that learners can start to get a feel for the sounds of Ojibwemowin.

- Provide opportunities to practice prayer and ceremonial language in classes

Some respondents expressed a desire to use Ojibwemowin in ceremony. Practicing prayer and using ceremonial language in class can help prepare learners for these opportunities. Instructors and/or curriculum designers may consider creating curricula that includes ceremonial language use.

- Explore routes to becoming fluent

Because the route to becoming fluent in an Indigenous language is almost never straightforward and there are almost never two identical routes, it may be useful to have learners explore the routes of those who have come before them in learning. Doing this may help learners to choose paths for themselves on their journeys to fluency. It also may be encouraging for learners to see and learn from the experiences of other Ojibwe people who have become fluent as adults.

Recommendations for those conducting an urban language revitalization needs analysis

For any individual, organization, or community group looking to conduct a similar needs analysis for their urban Indigenous community, I have compiled a short list of recommendations based on my experiences conducting this project.

- Streamline survey questions

Consider what questions are best suited to survey vs. a circle or interview format and remove any that may not work as well in survey format.

- Consider rewriting the questions related to confidence speaking, listening, writing, and reading Ojibwemowin

Consider using a word other than “confidence” for these questions related to how confident respondents are in each of the four core language acquisition areas. If opting to use the word, consider defining what you mean by confident to avoid confusion for respondents.

Recommendations conclusion

Finally, there is one recommendation that certainly applies to all potential urban administrators, organizers, and volunteers as well as to urban learners, instructors, and curriculum designers. And that is that we must celebrate our language and who we are as Ojibwe people. And we need to do this together. Participants shared about the importance of pride for our language and for being Ojibwe and how this has helped them feel less alone. They explained that they feel this way because of being with other Ojibwe people. Based on this, it is important that we have opportunities to celebrate who we are as Ojibwe people, together.

Some of what was shared in the above recommendations can be implemented quickly. For example, we have already moved the Anishinaabe Language Table at UVic out of academia and to the Victoria Native Friendship Centre which is situated in the community. However, there are also barriers to implementation in an urban community such as this. One barrier, as outlined throughout the recommendations, is that though we are all Ojibwe, we come from different First Nations and therefore no single First Nation governs us or takes care of us. As a result, it can be difficult to know where to find money or administrative support for language

and culture reclamation efforts like these. At this time, almost all Ojibwe language and culture revitalization work occurring on Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands is happening supported by volunteers. The sheer volume of work that is needed, as evidenced by this community needs assessment, would require people who are paid to do this work on a full-time basis.

An additional barrier for the Ojibwe community on this territory, is that our traditional lands exist outside of BC's provincial boundaries and so many of the funds which are administered to support in-province language work, are not available to Ojibwe efforts. The same goes for funding available to language efforts in provinces where our language is naturalized. Because we are not residing within those territorial boundaries, we may not qualify for many of the funds that are available to support language revitalization efforts. Therefore, we urban Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}əŋən and/or W̱SÁNEĆ lands, fall through the cracks.

At this time, while the provincial and federal governments are deciding how to bring the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People into Canadian and provincial law, urban Indigenous advocates are pushing for urban people and our rights to language and culture to be considered. We need to make sure that our rights are considered so that our needs, many of which are identified in this research, are met.

6.5 Nikookbinaganimin: Our basket

As a part of this study, I talked to a local language practitioner to learn about our responsibilities to her people and to her language, conducted a survey within the urban Ojibwe community living here, and held a research circle, all to learn about what our community's needs, wants, and responsibilities are as they relate to language and culture. This project has allowed me to think about what nikookbinaganimin, our basket that we will use to hold all of

these things, could look like, could be made up of. It has also allowed me to think about my process in gathering all of this knowledge and what others could learn from it if they choose to do something similar.

It is hard to say what our basket ought to look like based on this work, but we do know that we need one to hold all of these many needs, wants, and responsibilities identified by our urban community in this project. Our basket, in part, could be made of the strengths identified in section 6.1. *Strengths and responsibilities*. We have a lot of strength as an urban community, and we should lean into that to address some of the needs identified in this work.

One of those strengths is how much the people in our community care for and support one another. We will need to lean into this strength especially since as urban Ojibwe people, we are not generally supported in our in-person language and culture access by our home communities/nations, especially living so far away. We often rely on organizations like Friendship Centres and the kindness and dedication of individuals in our community to do work to organize and share knowledge with us. If we plan, as an urban community, to meet all of the needs, wants, and responsibilities of our community as identified in this project, we will likely need more than what we have now in terms of people doing work to support our community's learning and access to language and culture. I struggle to identify what more people doing work to support our community could look like without input from my community on that specifically, but I know that our access to culture and language is an inherent right and important for our wellbeing as individuals and as community so it is important that we think about it as next steps.

Finally, in my search to find other needs assessments to look to and learn from while developing this one, I found no other needs assessments conducted and written about for urban Indigenous communities like ours. Thus, I hope that this project may serve as a template, and a stepping-stone for other communities like ours, meaning to do similar work. Our people live in cities. We live away from our reserves. We still have rights, both inherent and legislated, to our languages and cultures. Assessing needs is a first step with many more to follow so that we may address gaps in access to our languages and cultures.

As a Mississauga Nishnaabe and a crane clan person, I hope that this work, based on a conversation, a survey, and a research circle, echoes out the words of our urban people here and maybe in other places too, so that it can be heard by the people who need to hear it. I also hope that what I have echoed honours the people who shared in this work and the people who wanted to but didn't get a chance. I hope that it honours my ancestors who have been and who will be too. Chi-miigwech bizindawyeg. Gaawiin gegoo ngikendansii. Mii'iiw.

Appendices

Appendix A: Survey questions

Read and/or listen to the following before you begin the survey:

There is an audio recording of the following so that respondents were able to choose to either read or listen or do both.

About the knowledge seeker:

Aanii boozhoo! Carmen ndizhinikaaz zhaaginaashimang miinwaa Wiigwaas ndizhinikaaz Nishnaabemang. Jijaak ndoodem. Pemadashkoodayang ndoonjiba. Michi Saagii Nishnaabe ndaaw. Lək^{w}əŋən-aking ndidaa noongom. Ngiidaa ɬəʔamɛn-aking miinawaa. Nookmis-ba Casey Jones Craig zhinkaazoba. Gaawiin gegoo ngikendansii.

My name is Carmen Craig in English and Wiigwaas in Nishnaabemwin. I am a crane clan member from Hiawatha First Nation on Rice Lake in Ontario. I am Mississauga Nishnaabe. I have been living as an urban Ojibwe person for most of my life now, and much of that time I have spent on Lək^{w}əŋən Territory (Victoria, B.C.).

About the survey:

The survey is a part of my final project for the Masters in Indigenous Language Revitalization program at the University of Victoria. The responses I receive will inform and guide what I share in the final write up of this project.

The purpose of this knowledge seeking project is to explore the language learning needs, wants, and responsibilities of the urban Ojibwe community currently living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, B.C.).

About your participation:

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary and all your responses can be anonymous if you choose. None of the responses will be connected to identifying information unless you provide your name in the question that asks if you wish to share your name.

This survey will take **approximately 20-30 minutes** to complete.

Benefits of this study may be numerous and include:

- The survey may prompt you to consider your needs and wants in relation to our language and culture and therefore how you are meeting or could be meeting your needs and wants
- This survey will help us to explore what urban Ojibwe living in Lək^{w}ənən Territory know, want to know, and have access to in relation to Ojibwemowin so we can identify gaps between wants and needs and access and make plans to fill them
- This survey and study may serve as a template for other urban Ojibwe and other urban Indigenous communities to conduct similar needs assessments for their urban communities

Risks may include:

Language and culture resurgence and reclamation are positive and affirming journeys but with resurgence and reclamation come the feelings that are associated with our reasons for not knowing our languages and parts of our culture. If at any point during this survey, you feel you require support, know that the following crisis lines are open 24-hours to support Indigenous people and you can stop answering questions at any time:

- KUU-US Crisis Line toll free number is 1-800-588-8717

- Native Youth Crisis Hotline toll free number is 1-877-209-1266

Contact me:

If you have any further questions about this research, please feel free to reach out to me via email or by phone.

If you would prefer to answer survey questions orally, over the phone, please reach out to me by email to arrange a time to talk. If you decide to answer questions over the phone instead of via this survey tool, I cannot guarantee that I will not recognize your voice or that you can remain completely anonymous, but I will not knowingly share any of the answers you provide to anyone outside of our conversation with information that could identify you as being the respondent.

I am so grateful to you for your knowledge, story sharing, and participation in this survey.

Gimiigwechiwenim.

Other contact information related to this study:

The contact information for the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria is 250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca.

The co-supervisors for this project are Dr. Jean-Paul Restoule and Dr. Li-Shih Huang.

Questions: For an up-to-date list of questions, please view this SurveyMonkey link https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/Preview/?sm=kUj25xHMmH3wTRjoWUT2sDpQFl8DPFW6H

0m2vCsgonyygGcWVkgJliCMD6eDY5P8

or download this .PDF 

Appendix C: Letter of invitation to participate in survey

Aanii boozhoo _____,

Carmen ndizhinikaaz zhaaginaashimang miinwaa Wiigwaas ndizhinikaaz Nishnaabemang. Jijaak ndoodem. Pemadashkoodayang ndoonjiba. Michi Saagii Nishnaabe ndaaw. Lək^{w}əŋən-aking ndidaa noongom. Ngiidaa ɬəʔamɛn-aking miinawaa. Nookmis-ba Casey Jones Craig zhinkaazoba. Gaawiin gegoo ngikendansii.

My name is Carmen Craig in English and Wiigwaas in Ojibwemowin. I am a crane clan member from Hiawatha First Nation on Rice Lake in Ontario. I am Mississauga Nishnaabe. I have been living as an urban Ojibwe person for most of my life now, and much of that time I have spent on Lək^{w}əŋən Territory (Victoria, B.C.).

I am writing to request your participation in a survey related to Ojibwe language and culture on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories. This survey is for urban Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories. The survey is a part of my final project for the Masters in Indigenous Language Revitalization program at the University of Victoria. The responses I receive will inform and guide what I share in my final write up of this project. The survey is also an opportunity for you to share about what you need and want and contribute to a story about the future of urban Ojibwe people.

The purpose of this knowledge seeking project is to explore the language learning needs, wants, and responsibilities of the urban Ojibwe community currently living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, B.C.).

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary and all your responses are anonymous. None of the responses will be connected to identifying information unless you choose to identify yourself.

If at any point during the survey, you decide you would prefer not to answer a question, you can skip that question. You can also quit the survey at any time.

This survey will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete.

To participate in this survey, please click on this link. (hyperlink)

If you have any questions about the survey, or difficulty accessing or completing the survey, please contact me by email or by phone.

If you would prefer to answer survey questions orally, over the phone, please reach out to me by email to arrange a time to talk. If you decide to answer questions over the phone instead of via this survey tool, I cannot guarantee that I will not recognize your voice or that you can remain completely anonymous, but I will not knowingly share any of the answers you provide to anyone outside of our conversation with information that could identify you as being the respondent.

Chi-miigwech. Thank you so much for your participation and knowledge sharing. I am so grateful to hear and care for your story through this survey and project process.

Weweni, Carmen Wiigwaas

Appendix D: Letter of invitation to participate in talking circle

Aanii boozhoo _____,

My name is Carmen Craig in English and Wiigwaas in Nishnaabemwin. I am a crane clan member from Hiawatha First Nation on Rice Lake in Ontario. I am Mississauga Nishnaabe. I have been living as an urban Ojibwe person for most of my life now, and much of that time I have spent on Lək^{w}əŋən Territory (Victoria, B.C.).

I am writing to request your participation in a sharing circle on Ojibwe language and culture on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, B.C.) on (insert date, time, location). The circle will include approximately two Ojibwe youth, two Ojibwe adults, and two Ojibwe Elders who are currently living on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories and will take no longer than one and a half hours. This circle is a follow-up to a survey that was conducted on the same topic and is a part of my final project for the Masters in Indigenous Language Revitalization program at the University of Victoria. The circle sharing will inform and guide what I share in the final write up of this project. I would be so grateful for your insight and knowledge.

The purpose of this knowledge seeking project is to explore the language learning needs, wants, and responsibilities of the urban Ojibwe community currently living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories. In this circle, I would like to hear more about your experiences related to practicing and learning about your language and culture on this territory.

Your knowledge will help us to learn more about the needs and wants of the urban Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories and how to support our community to have our needs and wants met.

Because the knowledge that you will share in the circle is tied to and influenced by your identity as an Ojibwe person, I would like to provide the opportunity for you to choose whether you are

represented in my study anonymously or not. If you choose to be represented anonymously, I will do my best to maintain your anonymity in my study by creating group agreements that include keeping your identity confidential, and when I do my writeup I will use a pseudonym for you of your choosing. In line with circle protocols, participants will be asked to maintain the confidentiality of the circle, however, I cannot guarantee anonymity due to the presence of other circle attendees.

The transcripts and knowledge that you share will be kept under secure password protection. If there is a name that you would like me to use for you in this work, please share it as soon as possible before or within a month of the sharing circle.

The transcripts that I create based on the circle discussion will be shared with you after our circle for your commentary and/or correction and you may keep them if you wish. I will be deleting the transcripts from my computer once my research is complete, likely in September, 2022.

During the circle discussion, you may share as much or as little as you would like, including choosing to skip a question or a turn and leaving the discussion at any point. Your participation in the circle would be completely voluntary.

There will be a token gift provided in recognition of your time and the knowledge that you share on the day of the circle. It will be provided regardless of whether or not you are able to remain in circle for our entire discussion.

The following questions will be discussed:

1. Getting to know each other

- Circle introductions

2. Discuss circle protocol and share about whether we want our participation to remain confidential/make agreements around this

3. Share about ozaaweshiinh

4. Share about the project/ethics and circle guidelines

5. About the language – what we know

- Can you describe your experience with Ojibwemowin?
- Can you describe what Ojibwemowin you know and how you came to know it?

6. About the language – what we want to know

- What does it mean to be fluent in a language?
- What would it be like to be fluent in Ojibwemowin? What would you be able to say/understand?
- How do you see Ojibwemowin being a part of your life?

7. About the language – what we want to see more of on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories for our language

- What would help make Ojibwemowin being a part of your life a reality on Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories?

If you have any questions about the circle or if you would like to participate, please contact me by email or by phone.

Chi-miigwech. Thank you so much for considering sharing your knowledge and stories with me.

Weweni, Carmen Wiigwaas

Appendix E: Script for conversation invitation to local person

In my conversation with a local person, I will share:

About myself:

My name is Carmen Craig in English and Wiigwaas in Ojibwemowin. I am a crane clan member from Hiawatha First Nation on Rice Lake in Ontario. I am Mississauga Nishnaabe. I have been living as an urban Ojibwe person for most of my life now, and much of that time I have spent on Lək^{w}əŋən Territory (Victoria, B.C.).

An invitation:

I am hoping that you would be willing to have a conversation about urban Indigenous people learning their languages on your territory and what we can offer reciprocally to your community and personal language learning work.

The purpose of my work and why I want to speak with them:

The purpose of this knowledge seeking project is to explore the language learning needs, wants, and responsibilities of the urban Ojibwe community currently living in Lək^{w}əŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, B.C.). Some of our responsibilities while living and learning here are to your nation and, I believe, to your language learning efforts.

About anonymity and confidentiality:

Because the knowledge that you may share with me is tied to and influenced by your identity as a W̱SÁNEĆ person, I would like to provide the opportunity for you to choose whether you are represented in my writing anonymously or not. If you choose to be represented anonymously, I will do my best to maintain your confidentiality using a pseudonym for you of your choosing. The transcripts and knowledge that you share will be kept under secure password protection

and shared with you for approval before I use them. If there is a name that you would like me to use for you in this work, please share it.

Appendix F: Questions for local person

1. Can you share about how you see the responsibilities of urban Ojibwe people learning Ojibwemowin on your land to your language and your land?

Appendix G: Assent script for youth participating in circle

Aanii boozhoo _____,

About Me:

Carmen ndizhinikaaz zhaaginaashimang miinwaa Wiigwaas ndizhinikaaz Nishnaabemang. Jijaak ndoodem. Pemadashkoodayang ndoonjiba. Michi Saagii Nishnaabe ndaaw. Lək^{w}ənən-aking ndidaa noongom. Ngiidaa ɬəʔamɛn-aking miinawaa. Nookmis-ba Casey Jones Craig zhinkaazoba. Gaawiin gegoo ngikendansii.

My name is Carmen Craig in English and Wiigwaas in Ojibwemowin. I am a crane clan member from Hiawatha First Nation on Rice Lake in Ontario. I am Mississauga Nishnaabe. I have been living as an urban Ojibwe person for most of my life now, and much of that time I have spent on Lək^{w}ənən Territory (Victoria, B.C.).

Why I'm writing:

I am writing to request your participation in a survey related to Ojibwe language and culture on Lək^{w}ənən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories. This survey is for urban Ojibwe people living in Lək^{w}ənən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories. The survey is a part of my final project for the Masters in Indigenous Language Revitalization program at the University of Victoria. The responses I receive will inform and guide what I share in my final write up of this project.

About the research:

The purpose of this knowledge seeking project is to explore the language learning needs, wants, and responsibilities of the urban Ojibwe community currently living in Lək^{w}ənən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories (Victoria, B.C.).

I am writing to invite you to participate in this survey because your voice as an Ojibwe youth living on Lək^{w}ənən and W̱SÁNEĆ territories is important to include. We need to know what you

want and need to connect with your language and culture if that's something you desire so that we can work towards making our language and culture accessible to everyone in our community.

You don't have to fill out the survey, but your responses will be anonymous if you do:

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. If you do not wish to participate, you do not have to participate.

All your responses to questions are anonymous. I will not know who you are unless you specifically tell me or use information that makes it easy for me to know who you are (for example, using your name in answering a question or your hair/eye colour and where you work –If I happen to know this information about you, I could then guess you answered the question even if I didn't want to guess).

You can quit once you start:

If at any point during the survey, you decide you would prefer not to answer a question, you can skip that question. You can also quit the survey at any time.

Risks of the study:

There are no known risks to you for participating in this survey, however our histories and relationships to our language and culture are often emotional. If you do find any survey questions difficult emotionally, the Native Youth Crisis Hotline is a toll-free number and is available 24/7. They can be reached at 1-877-209-1266.

Benefits of the study:

The survey is an opportunity for you to share about what you need and want and contribute to a story about the future of urban Ojibwe people not just here in Victoria, but in other cities as

well. This is an opportunity for your voice, how you feel about your language and culture, to be heard.

Survey Logistics:

This survey will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete.

To participate in this survey, please click on this link. (hyperlink)

You can get help with the survey if you want:

If you have any questions about the survey, or difficulty accessing or completing the survey, please contact me by email or by phone.

If you would prefer to answer survey questions orally, over the phone, please reach out to me by email to arrange a time to talk. If you decide to answer questions over the phone instead of via this survey tool, I cannot guarantee that I will not recognize your voice or that you can remain completely anonymous, but I will not knowingly share any of the answers you provide to anyone outside of our conversation with information that could identify you as being the respondent.

Chi-miigwech. Thank you so much for your participation and knowledge sharing. I am so grateful to hear and care for your story through this survey and project process.

Weweni, Carmen Wiigwaas

References

Absolon, K.E. (2011). *Kaandossiwin: How we come to know*. Winnipeg: Fernwood.

Baker, C. (1997). Survey methods in researching language and education. In N. H. Hornberger & C. Corson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of languages and education*, Volume 8: Research methods in language and education (pp. 35-46). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.

Bill C-15: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act. (2019). www.canlii.org/en/bc/laws/stat/sbc-2019-c-44/latest/sbc-2019-c-44.html.

Borrows, L.K. (2018). *Otter's Journey Through Indigenous Language and Law.* UBC Press: Vancouver.

Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, SBC 2019, c44. www.bcdripa.org/bc-declaration

Dörnyei, Z. (2003). *Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction, Administration, and Processing*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers: Mahwah, New Jersey.

Elliot, J. (2023, March 30). *FirstVoices SENĆOŦEN. First Peoples' Cultural Council*. www.firstvoices.com/explore/FV/sections/Data/THE%20SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN%20LANGUAGE/SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN/SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN/learn

Ferris, D. (1998). *Students' views of academic aural/oral skills: A comparative needs analysis. TESOL Quarterly*, *32*(2), 289-317.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing Language shift. Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

First Peoples' Cultural Council. *Language Revitalization Planning Program*. 2022. https://fpcc.ca/program/language-revitalization-planning-program/.

First Peoples Cultural Council. *Mentor-apprentice program*. (2023, January 24). Retrieved January 27, 2023, from fpcc.ca/program/mentor-apprentice-program/

Franks, S. & Gessner, S. (2013). *A Guide to Language Policy and Planning for B.C. First Nations Communities*. Brentwood Bay, B.C., Canada: First Peoples' Cultural Council.

Gessner, S., Herbert, T., Parker, A. (2018). *Recognizing the Diversity of BC's First Nations Languages*. First Peoples Cultural Council. fpcc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/DiversityOfBCLanguages-February2018.pdf

Glasow, P.A. (2005). *Fundamentals of Survey Research Methodology*. MITRE, Washington C3 Centre. www.mitre.org/sites/default/files/pdf/05_0638.pdf

Government of Canada; Indigenous Services Canada. (2020). *Annual Report to Parliament 2020.* www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1602010609492/1602010631711.

Hadley, A. O. (1986). *Teaching language in context : proficiency-oriented instruction*. Heinle & Heinle.

Hinton, L. (2013). *Bringing Our Languages Home : Language Revitalization for Families* (L. Hinton, Ed.). Heyday.

Indigenous Languages Act, S.C. c. 23 (2019). www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/corporate/transparency/open-government/standing-committee/dm-transition-material-2021/indigenous-languages-act.html

Jenni, B., Anisman, A., McIvor, O., & Jacobs, P. (2017). An Exploration of the Effects of Mentor-Apprentice Programs on Mentors' and Apprentices' Wellbeing. *International Journal of Indigenous Health*, 12(2), 25–42. https://doi.org/10.18357/ijih122201717783

Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. University of Toronto Press.

Lachler, J., Snoek, C., & Aschenmeier, L. (2017, March 03). *Fostering Emotional Resiliency in Language Revitalization: Training Insights from Social Work and Trauma Recovery* [Audio recording]. 5th Annual Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC), Hawaii. scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/items/6fbeded1-2eee-42ec-ac63-3bff69c8846a

Long, M. H. (Ed.). (2006). *Second language needs analysis.* Cambridge University Press.

McIvor, O., Chew, K. A. B., & Stacey, I. (Kahtehrón:ni). (2020). Indigenous language learning impacts, challenges and opportunities in COVID-19 times. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*.

Meshake, R. & Anderson, K. (2019). *Injichaag My Soul in Story: Anishinaabe Poetics in Art and Words*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Ogimaagiizhig, Grolla, C. (2017). *Binesi-Dibaajimowinan: Ojibwe Bird Stories Unique to Northern Minnesota*. LLTC Design & Print Shop: Leech Lake Tribal College.

Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa (Our Language Society) . (n.d.). *Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa*. Retrieved January 27, 2023, from https://onkwawenna.info/

Pinsonneault, A., & Kraemer, K. L. (1993). Survey research methodology in management information systems: An assessment. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 10, 75-105.

Restoule, J.P. (2009). The values carry on: Aboriginal identity formation of the urban-raised generation. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 31, 2, pp. 15-33.

Rosborough, P.C. (2012). *ḴA̲NGEX̲TOLA sewn-on-top: Kwak'wala revitalization and being Indigenous*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia].

Saunders, S. (2015). *A language survey of northern Métis languages: a community-based language revitalization project*. Master's Thesis, University of Victoria, British Columbia.

Statistics Canada. *Table 98-10-0275-01*. Indigenous language spoken at home by single and multiple responses of language spoken at home and Indigenous identity: Canada, provinces and territories, census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations with parts. DOI: doi.org/10.25318/9810027501-eng

Syilx Language House Adult program. *Syilx Language House*. (n.d.). Retrieved January 27, 2023, from www.thelanguagehouse.ca/adult-program.html

UN General Assembly, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly*, 2 October 2007. www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

Willie, F.Y. (2021). Can you feel your language? An exploration of Indigenous urban language learning and the restorative possibilities for mind, body, and spirit. *WINHEC: International Journal of Indigenous Education Scholarship, 16*(1).

Wilson, K. & Peters, E.J. (2005). "You can make a place for it": Remapping urban First Nations spaces of identity. *Environment and Planning D: Society in Space,* 23, 395-413.

Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods.* Fernwood Publishing.