

RE-CREATION THROUGH RECREATION:
EXPLORING CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES
OF INDIGENOUS LEISURE

by
Britta S. Peterson



VANCOUVER ISLAND
UNIVERSITY



**RE-CREATION THROUGH RECREATION:
EXPLORING CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES OF INDIGENOUS LEISURE**

Britta S. Peterson

Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management
Department of Recreation and Tourism
Vancouver Island University

17 April, 2019



Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada

Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada

Canada

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

DECLARATION

This thesis is a product of my own work and is not the result of anything done in collaboration.

I agree that this thesis may be available for reference and photocopying at the discretion of Vancouver Island University.



Britta Seline Peterson

THESIS EXAMINATION COMMITTEE SIGNATURE PAGE

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Department of Recreation & Tourism Management for acceptance, the thesis titled *Re-creation through recreation: Exploring contemporary perspectives of Indigenous leisure* submitted by Britta Peterson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management.



Suzanne de la Barre, PhD

Co-Supervisor

University College Professor, Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management Program

Department of Recreation and Tourism Management

Vancouver Island University



Ha-Youly Sharon Hobenshield, EdD

Co-Supervisor

Director, Aboriginal Education

Office of Aboriginal Education

Vancouver Island University



Audrey Giles, PhD

External Reviewer

Professor, Faculty of Health Sciences

University of Ottawa

17 April, 2019

Date Defended/Approved

ABSTRACT

Indigenous populations within Canada have suffered generations of systemic oppression as a result of colonization and assimilation. Forced attendance at residential schools, dispossession of lands, loss of political self-determination, eradication of cultural practices, language and ceremonial practices have had destructive impacts on Indigenous peoples. During most of the twenty-first century, Indigenous people in Canada have been fighting for recognition of their human rights, specifically their right to self-determination and land. While there remain compelling political and socio-economic inequities, during the last decade Indigenous people in Canada have experienced some political advancement of their agenda, and through reconciliation are also experiencing a measure of cultural revitalization, including language and other cultural practices.

The following study employs Indigenous methodologies and a qualitative approach to explore the *Snuw'uy'ulh* (sacred teachings) of *Hul'qumi'num* speakers to investigate the role leisure plays in the development of cultural identity, specifically of the *Snuneymuxw Mustimuhw* (The people of *Snuneymuxw*). Archeological and oral histories position the *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw* (people) as the inhabitants of South Eastern Vancouver Island, the Gulf Islands, and the Lower Fraser River for more than 5,000 years. Ten semi-structured interviews with *Snuneymuxw* Elders, cultural leaders and knowledge holders were used to solicit stories and teachings that were analyzed, shaped by a framework integrating the seven teachings of *snuw'uy'ulh* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014), and concepts relating to identity and leisure. Using a case study of *Snuneymuxw* First Nation, this research supports our understanding of how leisure activities can contribute to the development of cultural identity for Indigenous communities in Canada and enhances theoretical conceptualizations of leisure as a variable in the production of Indigenous identity.

KEYWORDS: Leisure, Identity, Cultural Revitalization, Indigenous, Hul'qumi'num, Indigenous Methodologies, Snuneymuxw

Dedicated to the past, present and future members of the Kw'umut Lelum Canoe Family.
You are the definition of resiliency.

I hope you grow up in a world where your teachings are honoured and respected.

Huy cep qa xe' xe' shhw'a'luqw'a'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“If research doesn’t change you as a person, then you haven’t done it right.”

-Wilson, 2008, p. 135

I would first like to acknowledge the *Snuneymuxw* First Nation for allowing me to live, learn and play on the traditional territory of their people. I am grateful to the original stewards of this land.

Thank you Counsellor Chris Good, and Education Committee members *Saleatunat* (Emmy Manson) and *Sho’qu’pux* (Nancy Seward) for making this study possible. Thank you for having faith in me to do this work in a good way.

I would like to acknowledge each individual study participant and recognize the vital roles that each plays within their families, communities and nations. From the bottom of my heart, *huy cep qa siem mustimuxw*.

It would be difficult to overstate my gratitude to *Squtxulenuxw* (George Seymour), *Kwul’lh’uts’tun* (Willie Seymour) and *Tsuluqinum* (Roy Daniels) for accepting me as your own, for investing your time and your teachings in me, and for seeing the gifts in me that I couldn’t see in myself. I would not be the woman I am today without your guidance, love and support.

Thank you, Suzanne, for challenging me and for pushing me deeper into your world of academia than I had ever experienced. Thank you for forcing me to ask questions that I was scared to ask, and for providing me with opportunities to explore some of the most beautiful places on this globe that I have seen. Your lessons both inside and outside the classroom have made me a stronger, more aware global citizen, scholar and human.

Thank you, Sharon, for providing a calm, balanced and reflective voice to this study. I greatly respect and appreciate your contributions as a strong *hwuhwilmuhw slhunlheni* to this research, but also to the community of Vancouver Island University.

Thank you, Aggie Weighill, for walking this journey beside me for nearly 13 years and motivating me to pursue further education. I am grateful to have started in 2006 as your student, and to now consider you a friend.

Thank you to the faculty of Recreation and Tourism Management: Joanne Schroeder, Amanda Johnson, Rob Ferguson, John Predyk, Nicole Vaugeois and Kelly April. I am fortunate to study in a department where the staff make the extra effort to support their students. It is more than a job to you, and it is obvious.

It is an honour to have Audrey Giles agree to contribute to this study as my external supervisor. Thank you, Audrey, for your support on this study, and for your contributions to the field of health promotion in and with Indigenous communities.

Thank you Mom, Dad, Erik, Kirsten, Ari and Vaughn. The paths I have chosen to walk in my life have sometimes been scary and uncomfortable, but your unconditional love and support has been my rock. Thank you for always giving me the chance to stop, pick myself up and catch my breath, before diving headfirst into my next adventure.

Thank you to “my girls” for always inspiring me to dream bigger, work harder, speak louder and love deeper (and for providing outlets to vent my frustrations on the rugby pitch and by gorging ourselves on questionably healthy snacks).

Thank you Mālidās, Kawaya7, Xwaluputhut and 'Maḡw'mawidz̄amga for helping me to believe that who I am is enough. You have seen me at my worst. You have seen me at my best, and everything in between. Every tear we have cried together has been worth it; the happy and the sad.

Thank you Dr. Jerome Singleton for the consistent check-ins during my educational journey and for always reminding me to “have fun today!”

Thank you Lise Haddock for instilling in me the value of identity and belonging for Indigenous youth. Your teachings have been (and continue to be) a guide for my actions and interactions when working in and with communities.

Thank you to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) for supporting this study.

And, thank you to the staff at The Buzz coffee shop for free Wi-Fi, toasted Baffled Egg sandwiches with chipotle mayo, and for never questioning the amount of time I spent in their business just staring out the window.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
THESIS EXAMINATION COMMITTEE SIGNATURE PAGE.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF MAPS.....	xii
LIST OT TABLES.....	xiii
LIST OF HUL’QUMI’NUM TO ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS	xiv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xvi
PREAAMBLE.....	xvii
Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part One.....	19
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	20
1.1 Background of this Research.....	20
1.2 Indigeneity.....	22
1.2.1 Indigenous People – International.....	22
1.2.2 Indigenous People – Canada	23
1.2.2.1 Defining Indigenous – Canada.....	26
1.2.2.2 People of the Hul’qumi’num Territory	27
1.2.2.3 Snuneymuxw Mustimuhw - A Great Strong People.....	28
1.3 Research Questions, Purpose and Significance of the Research	29
1.4 Locating Myself in My Research.....	30
1.5 Organization of the Thesis.....	34
Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Two	36
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	37
Introduction	37
2.1 Identity and Cultural Identity	37
2.1.1 Identity	37
2.1.2 Racial and Ethnic Identity	38
2.1.3 Culture.....	38
2.1.4 Cultural Identity	39
2.1.5 Cultural Identity and Indigeneity	40
2.2. Cultural Revitalization and Indigenous Peoples.....	41
2.3 Conceptualizations of Leisure, Practice and Cultural Empowerment	43

2.3.1 Leisure.....	43
2.3.2 Indigenous Leisure	44
2.3.3 First Nations Leisure – North American Perspective.....	46
2.3.3.1 Truth, Reconciliation and Leisure.....	49
2.4 Ensuring Authenticity	50
Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Three	53
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	54
Introduction	54
3.1 Research Paradigms.....	54
3.1.1 Positivism and Post-Positivism	55
3.1.2 Ontology: Constructivist	56
3.1.3 Epistemology: Snuw’uy’ulh.....	57
3.1.4 Methodology: Indigenous Methodologies.....	58
3.2 Qualitative Research Approach	60
3.3 Methods	60
3.3.1 Document Analysis	61
3.3.2 Conversational Method	62
3.3.2.1 Storytelling.....	63
3.3.2.2 Participant Selection	64
3.3.2.3 Transcription.....	66
3.3.3 Accidental Ethnography.....	67
3.4 Data Analysis Process.....	68
3.4.1 Thematic Analysis.....	69
3.4.2 Significant Theoretical Frameworks	70
3.4.2.1 Snuw’uy’ul.....	70
3.5 Axiology: Ethics, Considerations and Practices in Indigenous Research.....	71
3.5.1 Trustworthiness	74
3.5.1.1 Reflexivity in Research.....	76
3.6 Study Limitations	77
Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Four	78
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	79
Introduction	79
4.1 Participant Profiles.....	80
4.1.1 Document Analysis and Accidental Ethnography Profiles	81

4.2 Objective One	83
4.2.1 Sts’lhnuts’amat (Kinship or Family).....	86
4.2.2 Si’emstuhw (Respect)	88
4.2.3 Sh-tiiwun (Responsibility)	89
4.2.4 Nu stl’I ch (Love).....	90
4.2.5 Hw’uywulh (Sharing or Support).....	91
4.2.6 Mel’qt (Forgiveness).....	92
4.2.7 Thu’it (Trust).....	94
4.3 Objective Two	95
4.3.1 Transcendent Teachings	96
4.3.1.1 Relational Interactions	96
4.3.1.2 Traditions and Teachings	98
4.3.1.3 Independent Identities.....	98
4.3.1.4 Authentic Engagement.....	99
Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Five	100
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION	101
Introduction	101
5.1 Authentic Indigenous Leisure	101
5.2 Leisure and Identity	103
5.3 The Role of Leisure in Reconciliation	106
5.4 Recommendations for Future Research	107
5.5 Conclusion	108
References	110
Appendix B: Participant Consent Form	129
Appendix C: Conversational Interview Guide	132
Appendix D: Central Vancouver Island Community Counselling Options	134
Appendix E: Snuneymuxw First Nation Agreement/ Approval to Conduct Research	135

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Paradigm Triangle

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: *Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group Territory

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Significant Events in the Indigenous Canadian Relationship

Table 2: Documents Included in Document Analysis

LIST OF HUL'QUMI'NUM TO ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

'Aant	To agree, or give permission
'La'lum'uthut'	Taking care of oneself
'Nuts'amaat shqwaluwun'	People working together with one mind respectfully
Hul'qumi'num	Coast Salish Indigenous language
Hw'uywulh	Sharing or support
Hwq'ey'tth'uxut	Putting things together
Hwuhwilmuhw sne	Ancestral (Traditional) Name
Hwunitum	A person with white skin
Kweyulutstun	Opening in the ceiling for smoke to go out
Kw'umut	Raise (children)
Lelum	House
Lumutoo	Sheep
Mel'qt	Forgiveness
Mustimuhw	People
Nu stl'I ch	Love
Punelxutth'	Penelakut Island, BC
Qux'miin	Wild celery seed
Qwa'pulhp	Devil's club
S-amuna	Somena, Cowichan, BC
Saysutshun	Newcastle Island, BC
Schuck-hyuka	A jigging dance
Sh-tiiwun	Responsibility
Shak wum	Cultural bath
Shq'aphthut	A gathering place of cultural, academic, recreational, and social activities
Si'emstuhw	Respect
Slhunlheni	Woman
Sni'niw	Means you know the knowledge of <i>snuw'uy'ulh</i>
Snuneymuxw	Nanaimo, BC
Snuw'uy'ulh	Sacred Teachings
Sti'ilup	Departure Bay (Nanaimo, BC)
Sts'lhnuts'amat	Kinship or family
Sul-hween	Elders
Sum'shathut	The sun
Suwa'lkh	New Beginnings
Sway' a' lana	Maffeo Sutton Park (Nanaimo, BC)
Swayxwi	Traditional sacred mask
Swuyqe'	Man
Ta't mustimusw	Olden day people
Teet'qei	Shingle Point (Valdez Island, BC)
Tetuxtun	Mount Benson (Nanaimo, BC)
Thu'it	Trust

Thuq'mi'n	Shell Beach (Chemainus, BC)
Ts'uubaa-asatx	Lake Cowichan First Nation
Uy'shqwaluwun	Having a good mind and a good heart
Wuhus	Frog

ABBREVIATIONS

ANBT	All Native Basketball Tournament
BC	The province of British Columbia
CIHR	Canadian Institute for Health Research
IAPH	Institute of Aboriginal People's Health
INAC	Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada
ISPARC	Indigenous Sport, Recreation and Physical Activity Partners Council
LWM	Leisure Well-Being Model
NAIG	North American Indigenous Games
OCAP	Ownership, Control, Access and Possession
SFN	<i>Snuneymuxw</i> First Nation
RCYBC	Representative of Children and Youth, British Columbia
TCPS	Tri-Council Policy Statement
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on The Rights of Indigenous Peoples
VIUREB	Vancouver Island University Research Ethics Board
QOL	Quality of life

PREAMBLE

“Stories are teacher[s]. Stories [are] telling you something. You learn when you get old; you’ll be happy that you have listened because someday you [are] gonna use those.”
- Mary Rice & Tommy Pielle (Arnett, 2008, p. 17)

Between 1931 and 1935, *Daily Colonist* journalist Beryl Mildred Cryer visited distinguished *sul-hween* (Elders) on Vancouver Island and *Punelxutth’* (Penelakut Island) with the intention of documenting oral traditions of the *Hul’qumi’num* Central Coast Salish. It is said that all contributing *sul-hween* were aware of Cryer’s intention to publish the stories shared and that they were all financially compensated for their time. Chris Arnett compiled 60 stories collected by Cryer and published them in 2007 in an anthology titled *Two Houses Half Buried in the Sand: Oral traditions of the Hul’qumi’num Coast Salish of Kuper Island and Vancouver Island*. The title of ‘two houses’ is a reflection of several meanings. One such meaning comes from a metaphor for two people: the colonial *hwunitum* (non-Indigenous) newcomers, and the local *hwuhwilmuhw mustimuhw* (Indigenous people) (Arnett, 2007). The era these stories were recorded had seen three generations of colonial influence in the area, and despite these oral histories being presented, they are ‘half-buried’ by *hwunitum* language and culture (Arnett, 2007).

Considering this study speaks to participant self-identities as *hwuhwilmuhw mustimuhw*, I find it pertinent to introduce the *Snuneymuxw mustimuhw*, the ‘great people’ as dictated by one of their respected *sul-hween* (Elders). Throughout the presentation of this thesis, the origin story of the *Snuneymuxw* First Nation will be presented to you, the reader, as shared ‘half-buried’ to Cryer by *Tl’utasiye’* [Jennie Wyse] of *Snuneymuxw* First Nation. “I will tell you,” said *Tl’utasiye’*, “about the beginning of our people and how they grew to be a great tribe.”

The eradication of Indigenous names and language was imposed by colonial “Indian Agents,” or government appointed officers who were responsible for the surveillance, identification of location, and recording of Indigenous populations (Kappler, n.d.). Considering that complete assimilation was the ultimate goal of the government regimes, Indigenous names were often times neglected to be recorded correctly. It was also common for government agents to substitute Indigenous names with biblical names, or the family name of the Agent.

Names are generally at the forefront of individual identity. Although cultural naming traditions survived the attempted cultural genocide of colonialism and residential schools, systemic shame and hate towards Indigenous persons were imposed. Where feasible, throughout this research, I used Indigenous names of study participants and authors in an effort to break the systemic cycle of colonialism, support the return of lost traditions and reclamation of Indigenous intellectual property.

The spellings of many *hul'qumi'num* words can be a contested issue in some communities. The spellings and meanings of these words can differ in various contexts and communities. The spellings in the glossary reflect the use of the people who contributed to this study, rather than representing a unified orthography.

Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part One

In the beginning – as you know – the Sun, Sum’shathut, made little people in different places – sometimes one, sometimes two. Now, away back at the foot of Tetuxtun (Mount Benson) the Sun made a man and his wife. There they lived, all alone, and after a time they had three sons. At about the same time another man and his wife were made at Sti’ilup (Departure Bay), and these people had three daughters. They lived in a little cabin made of split cedar, with one small door, and in the roof was one board left loose, so that it could be lifted up to let the light in and the smoke go out – ‘kweyulutstun’ we call it.

One day, when those girls were nearly grown up, the man at Sti’ilup heard a Voice in the air calling to him.

“Get some cedar wood.” Said the voice, “and make yourself a swayxwi (mask).”

“That,” explained TI’utasiye’, “is a mask – a very good kind of mask. Only certain people may use it, and it must stay in the same family always. It has a big face and has swan feathers standing up from it; and hanging down over the shoulders is an old-fashioned Indian blanket. It was easy to get the swan feathers in those days, for every year lots of swans would come and feed at the mouth of the river.

“Well, the Voice told him to make this mask, but he must never let anyone see it or know what he was doing. So, every day the man would send his wife and three girls out to find food; then he would shut the door of his cabin and get to work.

Now up at Tetuxutun the three boys were getting grown up, too, and one day the eldest said to his brothers, “I wonder whether there are any more people in the world? Let us go and see what we can find!” So, the three began getting ready to go and see the world. Now these people did not know how to make blankets, they used no clothes, but, as the boys were going away they thought they would cover themselves a little. They got deer skins to hang on their backs, and on their legs, they put the skins of deer. Then they took the little hard, black toes (hoofs) of the deer, cleaned them and made them shine, and these they put down the sides of their leggings like buttons. Then they started off. By luck they went in the direction of Sti’ilup, and, after walking for some days, they came to the beach.

Bye-and-bye on said, “Listen! What’s that?” All stood quiet, listening.

Soon the noise came again. “It is something being hit,” said the oldest. “Come quietly!” On they went, and soon through the trees they saw a little cedar cabin. They had come to the house at Sti’ilup!

(Cryer, 2008, p.194)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Shni' – That is why

1.1 Background of this Research

Indigenous populations within Canada have suffered generations of systemic oppression as a result of colonization and assimilation. Through imposed Eurocentric ideologies, the postulation of European cultural superiority over non-European cultures, and involuntary enfranchisement, colonial ambitions, and systems attempted to eradicate cultural beliefs and practices, take control of land, extort resources, and impose trade agreements (Hedican, 2014; Regan, 2010). The cultural eradication-oriented aggressions of colonization are now well-documented and include, but are not limited to the displacement of communities, language suppression, broken treaties, forced attendance of Indigenous children at residential schools, and making the participation in traditional celebration or ceremony illegal (Barker, Goodman & DeBeck, 2017; Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Kubic, Bourassa & Hampton, 2009). Failure to comply with enforced colonial practices and policy resulted in extreme forms of punishment, commonly including violent physical assault and incarceration. These strategies have had profound effects on the spiritual beliefs, traditional practices, ancestral knowledge, self-expression and identity of the traditional Indigenous inhabitants of the land (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015). The results have also included and continue to include devastating and systemic problems at individual, family and community levels that influence the overall health, and physical and emotional wellbeing of Indigenous populations in present-day Canada.

Recently, systemic health and wellbeing issues of Indigenous populations have garnered attention from all levels of government, from municipal to federal, and including First Nation government bodies. At the centre of current Canadian national policy is the acknowledgement of the historical injustices experienced by Indigenous populations, and recommendations for movement towards reconciliation. The federally created Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada documents injustices committed and recommends ninety-four “calls to action” in an attempt to honour lived experiences, reconcile the atrocities committed, and support resurgence of Indigenous culture. Moreover it, guides settlers and Indigenous people on a new path forward in solidarity (TRC, 2015).

Anthropological literature suggests that at an individual level, the establishment and maintenance of a strong sense of identity can be an effective protective factor when having faced, or facing, discrimination and marginalization (Barker *et al.*, 2017; Chandler, Lalonde, Sokol & Hallett, 2003; Firmin, Luther, Lysaker & Salyers, 2016; Lee, 2005; Stein, Kiang, Supple & Gonzalez, 2014). Collectively, research findings demonstrate that lacking a sense of identity, or cultural continuity, in one's life greatly increases the likelihood of experiencing self-destructive behaviours including self-harm and thoughts of suicidal ideation. Across what is known as North America, community-based programs are targeting the diverse needs of Indigenous populations through the development of "culture as treatment" frameworks to support healing and well-being through ties to the land and cultural revitalization. This approach acknowledges and supports the Indigenous interconnectedness of healing and traditional values including community, balance, meaningful roles, family, spirituality (Barker *et al.*, 2017). It has been widely argued that, if modern Indigenous communities are to thrive, they must demonstrate a sense of continuity and identity (Chandler *et al.*, 2003). Significantly, research suggests that Indigenous communities achieving cultural continuity through language, settled land claims, self-governance, and Indigenous controlled and informed education, health care, cultural facilities, and infrastructure, record higher health and wellbeing statistics, including lower suicide rates than those communities that have not (Barker *et al.*, 2017; Chandler *et al.*, 2003; Hallett, Chandler & Lalonde, 2007). For instance, in a ground-breaking study on the effect of language preservation on Indigenous health and wellbeing, Chandler *et al.* (2007) identified that in communities where at least fifty percent of the members spoke their traditional language at a minimum of a conversational level, the suicide rates dropped to zero. In a scoping study by Rowan *et al.* (2014), a 'Two-eyed seeing' technique incorporated Western social science methodologies with traditional Indigenous knowledge to measure the effectiveness of culture as a treatment for addictions within Indigenous populations. The Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) and the Institute of Aboriginal Peoples Health (IAPH) (Rowan *et al.*, 2014) have since adopted this 'Two-eyed' approach. It has the potential to create a better understanding of Indigenous health issues by drawing together the strengths of Western and Indigenous knowledge for assessment purposes.

Empirical evidence has identified that participation in leisure can be an efficient catalyst to, or contributing factor of, the formation of one's identity (see for instance, Jun & Kyle, 2012;

Kivel, Johnson & Scraton, 2009; Iman & Boostani, 2012). Leisure scholarship suggests that variables of identity, such as self-development, occur through the autonomous selection of, and participation in, leisure activities (Iman & Boostani, 2012). Of the 94 “Calls to Action” identified by Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015), recommendations 87 through 91 fall under the sub-heading “Sports and Reconciliation,” thus acknowledging that leisure-like engagement has the potential to play a significant role in the restoration and revitalization of Indigenous culture and the reparation of a traumatic history in Canada.

Hinch and de la Barre (2007) identify that for Indigenous populations in northern Canada, participation in leisure activities that are embedded in culture give meaning to daily life. Traditional games derived from subsistence and land-based lifestyle once educated the inhabitants of the land on valuable skills required to survive and trained them in such areas as endurance, strength and dexterity. Organizations, such as the *Northern Games Association* (<http://www.northerngames.org>) are positioned to revive traditional relationships with the land (COPE, 1978; Hinch & de la Barre, 2007). In an alternative context, Downey and Neylan (2015) acknowledge that the athletic experiences of Coastal Indigenous communities become multifaceted: “Sports defy simple characterizations as either colonial intrusion, or conversely, vehicles for cultural persistence” (Downey & Neylan, 2015, p. 443). Movements like the *All Native Basketball Tournament (ANBT)* and the *North American Indigenous Games (NAIG)* are creating opportunities for cultural revitalization through an organized sport introduced to Indigenous communities post-colonization.

1.2 Indigeneity

1.2.1 Indigenous People – International

According to World Bank Statistics (2017), there are approximately 370 million Indigenous peoples worldwide, making up approximately 5% of the global population (“Indigenous Peoples”, 2017). Inconsistent in the literature is a definition of the term Indigenous that is all encompassing of the multiplicity of rural and urban contexts and distinct sovereign nations fails to capture exact statistics. The most meaningful approach for understanding who Indigenous people are is based upon the “fundamental criterion of self-identification” (Sanders, 1999; Who are Indigenous Peoples, n.d.). The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2017) base its understandings of Indigenous upon the following positions:

- Self-identification as Indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the

community as their member

- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/ or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.

1.2.2 Indigenous People – Canada

The history of Indigenous people within Canada dates back to time immemorial.

Archaeological evidence position Indigenous occupation of the land for thousands of years before European explores first arrived. Oral histories describe this era as a period of rich and diverse interactions including flourishing organized trading systems and fierce conflict between neighbouring communities for control of land and resources. As a direct result of the arrival of colonial forces to Canada, Indigenous populations have suffered a complex and traumatic history. Significant events, including those presented in Table 1, have created a delicate political and social situation for all inhabitants of the county. Section 35 of The *Canadian Constitution* (1982) identifies the three distinct Indigenous populations of First Nation, Métis, and Inuit by the term Aboriginal. The constitution explained that the collective term Aboriginal “obscures tremendous cultural, historical, and legal complexity” (Peters & Anderson, 2013, p. 22). A foundational complexity arises from this amalgamation under the one term. All three groups own very distinct and separate identities, teachings and practices. More recently, the term First Nations is used to define predominant Indigenous people of Canada living south of the Arctic Circle. The Inuit are the Indigenous people of the Arctic territories in Canada, Alaska, Greenland and Russia (“Indigenous peoples”, 2017b). The Métis are defined as the descendants of European and First Nations people, who established their own unique political and cultural regime in Central Canada (Peters & Anderson, 2013).

In 1876 the Canadian *Indian Act* was introduced. Between the years 1876 and 1927, the *Indian Act* become one of the most frequently amended legislative documents, being amended nearly annually over the 51 year period (“Indigenous peoples”, 2017b). The Canadian *Indian Act* was used to dictate legislation pertaining to status First Nations populations in Canada and is not

held applicable to Inuit or Métis populations. Further, the *Indian Act* presents the eligibility criteria, which includes blood quantum, residency, lineage and proof of membership to a First Nations community (Gray, 2011; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015). The *Indian Act* of 1876 prohibited cultural sharing, and displaced communities from their traditional lands. By the late nineteenth century, a reserve system had been implemented forcing relocation for First Nations communities. Reserves were created along settlement patterns and well-established trade routes supporting newly introduced diseases to flourish and spread at a rapid rate; simultaneously, removing the traditional healers from familiar plants and medicines (Egan, 2012; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015; Peters & Anderson, 2013). The approval of Bill C-31 in 1985 removed many discriminatory provisions of the *Indian Act* of 1876, including the automatic loss of status for Indigenous women marrying non-Indigenous men, and introduced bands the control and registration of membership (“Indigenous peoples”, 2017b).

Arguably one of the most traumatic impositions of Canada’s colonization began in the 1870s, with the passing of legislation, which enforced the physical removal of children from their parents. That legislation also forced attendance at church and government run residential schools. For many of the students attending these schools, their daily reality included severe physical and mental abuse due to sexual assault, starvation, and extreme corporal punishment (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2014; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015). Students were also forbidden to speak their traditional languages, and sibling groups were separated. As Osborne and de la Sablonniere (2014) explain:

[Indigenous] people had a formal European education system thrust on them but were not provided with a complete understanding of its purpose, function and implicit meritocratic structure (Taylor, 2002). At the same time, the traditional educational system, which involved learning by example, was largely destroyed through the colonization process. Broadly speaking, Aboriginal peoples were left with an unclear array of norms, values, and behaviors with which to construct their personal identities. (p. 442)

The last residential school in Canada being closed in the mid 1990’s (Bombay *et al.*, 2014). The degradation of parenting and family skills has intergenerationally resulted in on-going child protective service interventions and the continued removal of youth from their communities and placement in non-First Nation homes (Representative of Children and Youth British Columbia, 2017). As at December 31, 2016, there were 4,367 First Nation youth recorded to be living within the foster care system in the province of British Columbia (RCYBC, 2017). That number

equates to 62.7 percent of the children in care in the province of British Columbia identifying as Indigenous (Sherlock, 2017). On a national scale, the staggering numbers suggest three times the number of Indigenous children and youth in government care than at the height of the residential school system (Blackstock, 2003). As such, communities are presently being forced to navigate the devastating intergenerational impacts on the descendant of residential school students.

YEAR	SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
1100s	First attempt at European colonization in North America- Norse settlement in L'Anse aux Meadows.
1500s	European settlements made of the Eastern Coast of North America.
1600-1700s	Indigenous and European peoples clash over the exploitation of resources (i.e. furs and fish).
1763	A Royal Proclamation notes Indigenous claims to lands and says treaties with natives will be handled by the Crown.
1867	The British North America Act gives the federal government responsibility for Indigenous peoples and their lands.
1876	The Indian Act is passed, essentially extinguishing any remaining self-government for natives and making them wards of the federal government.
1870	The first residential schools open.
1885	The Northwest Rebellion was a brief and unsuccessful uprising by the Métis people of Saskatchewan under Louis Riel.
1951	Major changes to the Indian Act remove a number of discriminatory rules, including a ban on native consumption of alcohol, although it is only allowed on reserves.
1960	First Nations people are given the right to vote in federal elections.
1973	In the Calder case, the Supreme Court held that aboriginal rights to land did exist, citing the 1763 Royal Proclamation.
1984	The Inuvialuit Claims Settlement Act gave the Inuit of the western Arctic control over resources.
1985	Changes to the Indian Act extend formal Indian status to the Métis, all enfranchised Indigenous living off reserve land and Indigenous women who had previously lost their status by marrying a non-Indigenous man.
1996	The last Residential School in Canada closes.
2000	The federal government approves the Nisga'a Treaty, giving the tribe about \$196 million over 15 years plus communal self-government and control of natural resources in parts of northwestern British Columbia.
2005	The Kelowna Accord called for spending \$5 billion over five years to improve First Nation education, health care and living conditions. Paul Martin's minority Liberal government fell before the accord could be implemented.
2008	Prime Minister Stephen Harper offers a formal apology on behalf of Canada over residential schools.
2010	Canada signs the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
2015	Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action are released.
2016	The federal Government of Canada becomes a signatory of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Table 1: Significant Events in the Indigenous Canadian Relationship

During most of the twenty-first century, Indigenous people within Canada have been fighting for recognition of their human rights, specifically their right to self-determination and land. While there remain compelling political and socio-economic inequities, during the last decade Indigenous populations within Canada have experienced some political advancement of

their agenda, and through reconciliation are also experiencing a measure of cultural revitalization including language and other cultural practices (Gray, 2011). Through the TRC and its “Calls to Action” (2015), the Government of Canada has issued a formal apology to the First Nations of Canada. The apology identified key actions to encourage reconciliation, including: child welfare, education, language and culture, health, and justice.

1.2.2.1 Defining Indigenous – Canada

The “appropriate” collective noun for the traditional inhabitants of the land has been under debate since the arrival of Christopher Columbus to North America in 1492. Columbus initially assumed he and his crew had landed on the shores of India; as such, he referred to the inhabitants as “Indians,” which became the collective noun used to identify the original inhabitants of Canada for centuries.

In 1982, the Constitution Act collectively identified Indian, Métis and Inuit under the auspices of the term “Aboriginal” (Joseph, 2016; “Indigenous peoples”, 2017b). This distinction was made legal where at Section 35 (2) of the Act states, “Aboriginal peoples of Canada includes: the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada”. In May of 2016, Canada officially accepted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), without qualification, nearly ten years after being accepted by the General Assembly (Fontaine, 2016). As was explained by Canada’s Indigenous Affairs Minister Carolyn Bennett (Fontaine, 2016), adoption of the Declaration will require significant and transformational changes to Section 35 of the country’s *Constitution Act*, whereby the Federal Government will be forced to support Indigenous peoples collective and individual rights, including the right of existence, living free of discrimination, and entitlement to self-determination under international law. In 2017, and under the Justin Trudeau Liberal government, Canada’s federal agencies and its Crown Corporations have transitioned from the use of “Aboriginal” to “Indigenous,” for example: “Aboriginal and Northern Affairs” to “Indigenous and Northern Affairs” (INAC), “CBC Aboriginal” to “CBC Indigenous,” and the “Aboriginal Tourism Association of Canada” to the “Indigenous Tourism Association of Canada” (ITAC). Despite positive shifts including the signing of the UNDRIP, and title transitions from “Aboriginal” to “Indigenous,” the country has fallen under some criticism by Indigenous advocates that decolonization and change is not happening fast enough.

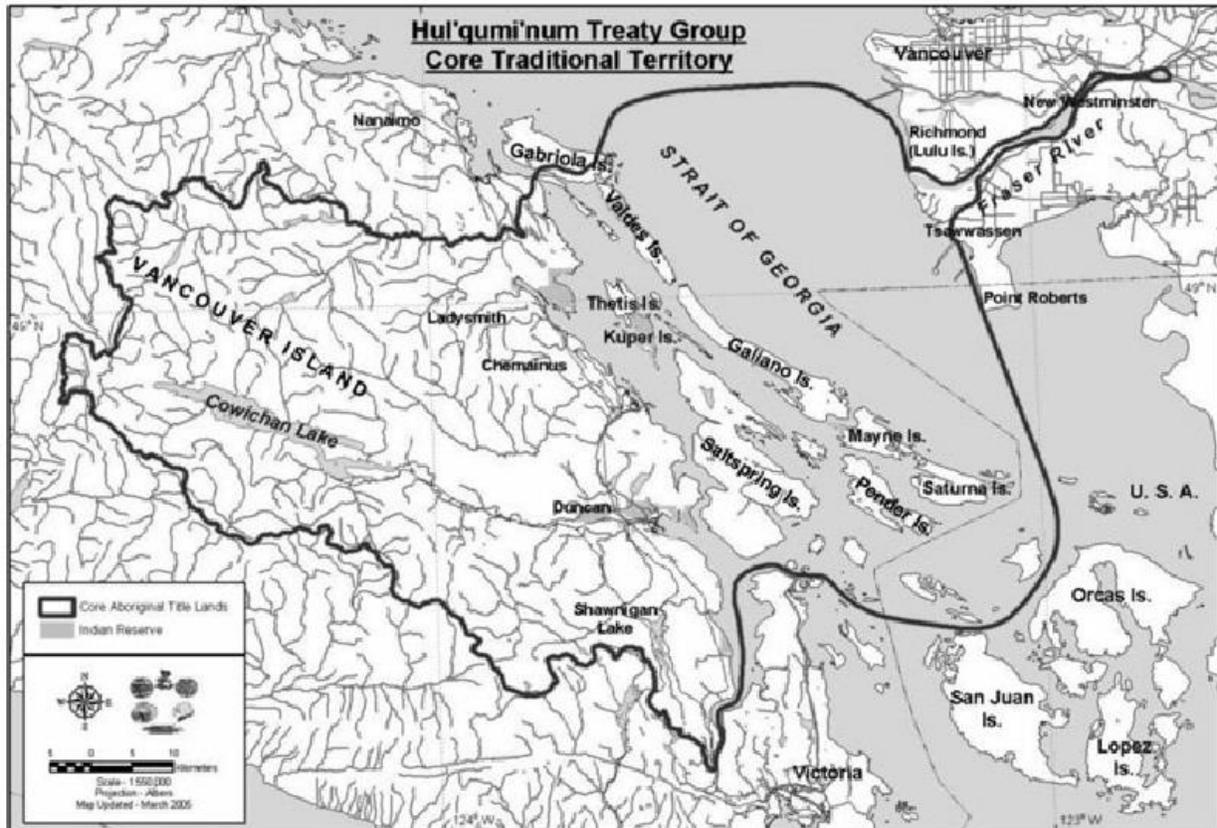
1.2.2.2 People of the Hul'qumi'num Territory

According to Canadian census (2016), there are approximately 172,520 people who identify as First Nations (not Inuit or Métis) in the province of British Columbia (BC), which is 17.7 percent of the country's total First Nations population. There are a recorded 203 distinct First Nation Communities within the geographic borders of the Province of British Columbia ("About British Columbia First Nations", 2010; First Nations People Language Map of BC, n.d.). Approximately 30 percent of Indigenous people in BC are Métis, and approximately eight percent of Indigenous individuals in the province are under the age of 19 (including Metis), representing the fastest growing child population in BC (BC Statistics, 2013). BC has the greatest diversity of Aboriginal cultures in Canada. For example, seven of Canada's 11 unique language families are located exclusively in BC - more than 60% of the country's First Nations languages ("About British Columbia First Nations", 2010).

The *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw* (people) are identified as those who speak the *Hul'qumi'num* language and are members of the larger Indigenous population of the Coast Salish (Cowichan Tribes, n.d.; Egan, 2012; "Hul'qumi'num People," 2017; Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014). As shown in Map 1.1, these communities cover South Eastern Vancouver Island, the Gulf Islands, and the Lower Fraser River, which includes the land and waters of Cowichan, Chemainus, Nanaimo and into the Strait of Georgia, the Juan de Fuca Strait and the upper Puget Sound (*Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group, 2017). Archeological and oral histories position the *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw* in the area at ancestral sites, including *Thuq'mi'n* (Shell Beach) and *Teet'qei* (Shingle Point) more than 5,000 years ago. It is recorded that between the years of 1853 and 1856, Governor James Douglas led military expeditions into *Hul'qumi'num* territory, and the area was opened for "white settlement" (Egan, 2012; *Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group, 2017). The first small-scale settlements in the area were created in 1859, and large-scale colonization began in 1862 (Norcross, 1959, as cited in Egan, 2012). Although it has been recorded that Douglas reached land claim agreements with fourteen Indigenous communities through documents known as the "Douglas Treaties," he failed to negotiate with any *Hul'qumi'num* peoples (Egan, 2012).

As of 2017, the *Hul'qumi'num* population on Vancouver Island is estimated well over 7,000 people (*Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group, 2017; Egan, 2012) inclusive of the communities of *Snuneymuxw* (Nanaimo), *Stz'uminus* (Chemainus), *Snaw-Naw-As* (Nanoose), *Quw'utsun* (Cowichan), *Lyackson* (Lyackson), *Xelaltxw* (Halalt), *Punelxutth'* (Penelakut), and *Ts'uubaa-*

asatx (Lake Cowichan). Many of these communities are known to share a strong bond through a shared language (*Hul'qumi'num*) and have been linked together through social, economic and political ventures under the umbrella of the *Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group (Egan, 2012; *Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group, 2017; Thom, 2005, 2009).



Map 1: *Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group Territory (*Hul'qumi'num* Treaty Group, 2017)

1.2.2.3 *Snuneymuxw Mustimuhw* - A Great Strong People

As *Hul'qumi'num* speakers, the home of the *Snuneymuxw* First Nation (SFN) is located in the central region of the Coast Salish people. Archaeological excavation has dated *Snuneymuxw* existence on the land over 3,500 years (Bush, 2013). Oral histories dictate that at that time, the population of the *Snuneymuxw Mustimuhw* (people) was in the thousands. The current population of *Snuneymuxw* is recorded at nearly 2,000 members (Pawson, 2016), making it one of the largest First Nations bands in the province of British Columbia. There are nine prominent families that comprise the population: the Manson, Wyse, Good, Seward, White, Wesley, Brown, Johnny and Thomas lineages (Carey, 2007).

Despite being one of the few bands in Canada to hold a pre-confederation treaty agreement with the Crown (1854), *Snuneymuxw* has struggled to receive land titles owed to them (*Snuneymuxw*, 2013). Prior to March 2013, SFN held the smallest reserve land base per capita of any First Nation in British Columbia, with land claims to only 266 hectares (*Snuneymuxw*, 2013). As part of a reconciliation agreement, in March 2013 SFN received three parcels of land in the Mount Benson Area totalling 877 hectares (Bush, 2013). SFN's on-reserve membership is geographically separated between four distinct reserve areas located in and around the city of Nanaimo and the township of Cedar.

1.3 Research Questions, Purpose and Significance of the Research

Global current events bear witness to a modern cultural revitalization movement by Indigenous populations, including those within Canada (e.g., Moore & MacDonald, 2013; Scott & Fletcher, 2014; Tulk, 2007). Many of these initiatives are employing culturally embedded leisure-like activities to gain strength and momentum: drumming (Tulk, 2007), language (Moore & MacDonald, 2013; Scott & Fletcher, 2014), and sport (Forsyth & Giles, 2013; Hinch & de la Barre, 2007).

This research employs a qualitative conversational method to examine the role leisure can play in the development of cultural identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous peoples. This study is concerned with the thoughts, experiences and teachings of participants, specifically *Snuneymuxw Mustimuhw*. The data collected were intended to provide a broader understanding of traditional beliefs and practices from the area, however, acknowledges that data collected during this study could not define collective beliefs of all *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw*, nor *Snuneymuxw mustimuhw*. The central research question was, What role does leisure play in the development of cultural identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous people? The research objectives were two-fold: 1) identify and analyze *Hul'qumi'num* culturally embedded perspectives on leisure; and 2) evaluate the role of *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous perceptions and practices of leisure on cultural identity.

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between leisure participation and cultural identity among *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw* (people) to support cultural revitalization and empower Indigenous identity. Specifically, the study seeks to identify *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous leisure definitions and practices and examine whether they support *Hul'qumi'num* knowledge

and promote *Hul'qumi'num* cultural revitalization, with specific reference to the community of *Snuneymuxw* First Nation. The study is concerned with if and how participation in cultural practice related to leisure assists in the development of a sense of identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous peoples. This research is significant in the enhancement of theoretical conceptualizations of leisure as a variable in the production of Indigenous identity. Further, given that the study occurred alongside a modern cultural revitalization movement, the findings can support grassroots service practitioners and cultural leadership and their ability to strengthen Indigenous identity through leisure participation.

1.4 Locating Myself in My Research

Before undertaking my study, it is paramount that I first located myself within my research. To identify oneself in the research is an Indigenous way of “ensuring that those who study, write, and participate in knowledge creation are accountable for their own positionality” (Absolon & Willett, 2005, p. 97). As identified by Absolon and Willett (2005), location is more than stating who you are, but is identifying “relationships to land, language, spiritual, cosmological, political, economic, environmental, and social elements in one’s life” (p. 98). I acknowledge my position as a *hwunitum shunlheni* (non-Indigenous woman), colonizer-perpetrator (Faimon, 2004; Regan, 2010), and scholar aspiring to work in solidarity with people who are *xwulmuxw* (Indigenous). I am unable to separate my identity from my experiences (Hobenshield [*Ha-Youly*], 2016; Kovach, 2009; Regan, 2010).

As a third generation Canadian, I come from multiple heritages, of which I feel claim to no cultural identity or traditions. Having relocated homes, schools and provinces of residence nearly every two years in my childhood and adolescence, I struggle to identify with a specific community, culture, and geographic location. I seek answers to the question of what determines a ‘Canadian cultural identity.’ Regan (2010) identifies:

Canadians are on a “misguided obsessive, and mythical quest to assuage colonizer guilt by solving the ‘Indian problem’. In this way, we avoid looking too closely at ourselves as the collective responsibility we bear for the colonial status quo. The significant challenge that lies before us is to turn the mirror back upon ourselves and to answer the provocative question posed by historian Roger Epp regarding reconciliation in Canada: How do we solve the settler problem? (p. 12)

Regan’s statement, and my relationships within the communities I live and work within force me to consistently turn the mirror back upon myself to deal with my own colonizer guilt.

As a somewhat “culturally void Canadian,” I constantly attempt to situate myself – an unsettled settler (Regan, 2010) – within the current decolonizing struggle of this country. Regan (2014) claims that “settlers cannot just theorize about decolonizing and liberatory struggles: we must experience it, beginning with ourselves as individuals and then as morally and ethically responsible socio-political actors in Canadian society” (p. 23). In his address at the First Nations Crown Gathering in February 2012, Matthew Coon Come, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations presented:

Clearly a new way of doing things is called for if we are, once and for all, to change the nature of the relationship between ourselves and Canadian society as a whole, then we must start thinking about things differently. The Federal Government, the provinces, and we ourselves, must all have the courage to “think outside the box” and to find the workable and practical solutions this country needs now, and to do so in a way without jettisoning an understanding of, and adherence to, aboriginal rights.

In making this statement, Chief Coon Come acknowledged there is a reciprocal responsibility in reconciliation.

It is these foundations that guide and require me to further position myself in this study. I unknowingly began this research in 2009, when I was hired as the Certified Therapeutic Recreation Specialist (CTRS) for a delegated agency and, as such, was invited into nine Coast Salish First Nations communities: *Qualicum* (Qualicum), *Snaw-Naw-As* (Nanoose), *Snuneymuxw* (Nanaimo), *Stz’uminus* (Chemainus), *Lyackson* (Lyackson), *Xelaltxw* (Halalt), *Punelxutth’* (Penelakut), *Malahat* (Malahat) and *Ts’uubaa-asatx* (Lake Cowichan). My job was to support youth from these communities who were placed in the foster care system. My employment objectives were to support improved holistic health, quality of life and well-being through recreation and ‘leisure-like’ participation for these youth. Over the course of seven years in that position, the youth and I were ‘students of life’ together in an undefined number of life changing relationships, unforgettable experiences and Coast Salish cultural teachings. One example of the unforgettable experiences I had was the opportunity to participate in eight Tribal Journeys throughout the Pacific Northwest. I feel eternally grateful to have been included in the experiences and learning we undertook together. I am equally grateful to have been given roles and responsibilities by the communities with which I worked. These were the individuals who claimed me as one of their own, and greatly influenced how I now conduct my work, research and life. It is those experiences and teachings that both compel and motivate me to pursue my

role as an unsettled settler Canadian and contribute to the process of reconciliation through advocating Traditional Indigenous Knowledge as credible within Eurocentric academic discourses in the development of relationships and the building of healthy communities through recreation and leisure activities.

The critiques of non-Indigenous scholars and activists serve as a cautionary tale for those of us who would define ourselves as ‘settler-scholars.’ Regan (2010) warns researchers about the importance of “truth telling in our own work and in collaborative Indigenous-settler coalitions and partnerships” (p. 26). However, I view this cultural interface as a space that is synergistic and dynamic, a place of creation, innovation and reconciliation. Working in the Maori context in New Zealand, the scholar Bishop (2004) urges: “From a Maori standpoint, non-Indigenous researchers should be involved in Indigenous research. For us to leave it all to First Peoples is to abrogate our responsibility as partners on earth” (as cited in Fox, 2006, 406). At the intersection of my insider-outsider position in my work with Coast Salish communities, I have had the privilege of learning by working **with** local Indigenous culture rather than learning **about** the local Indigenous culture. Yet, I situate myself in this research not as an expert, but as a learner who is committed to conducting decolonizing research.

Critical theorist Moosa-Mitha (2005) presents the value in positioning oneself in research in the way of a learner:

The researcher holds the attitude of a learner, of one who is a ‘not knower,’ but through the act of empathetic imagination and by possession of critical self-consciousness, comes to gain a sense of what the Other knows. The researcher is reflexive in her practice, whereby the knowledge of the subaltern or subjugated is used to reflect dominant practices and assumptions in which the researcher herself is complicit... Anti-oppressive theorists... make a connection between knowing and doing, and research as ‘praxis’... Knowledge, therefore is not conceived of as neutral, nor is it abstract in nature. (p. 67)

It is Moosa-Mitha’s approach that I took towards my role as a researcher and a guest within local Indigenous communities.

As a non-Indigenous researcher conducting research in and with Indigenous communities, I can never observe “through the eyes of the colonized” (Smith, 1999, p. 2); however, I can ensure that the virtues of this research process reflect those of an Indigenous research paradigm. Throughout this research, I strove to be mindful that I am responsible for reconciling multiple protocols, obligations and responsibilities from the teachings I have received while being immersed in two worldviews (Euro-Canadian and Indigenous). These teachings came from the

people and families of the communities who have accepted me and shared their lessons, stories and traditions with me. I have been given insight into many topics that must not be left unsaid outside of the government-imposed boundaries of the reserves, and cautions regarding ceremony which must remain secret. The interface between the worlds in which I have lived and continue to live are proving to be challenging to navigate in fear of causing offence, assumed disrespect or appropriation. As a student and a researcher, there have been many moments during this journey where I have considered denying responsibility and accepting ambivalence. I will undoubtedly continue to be challenged by this insider – outsider position throughout the duration of my life.

Throughout the findings and discussion, I have presented quotes from every *xwulmuxw mustimuhw* (Indigenous person) interviewed, and whether it was intentional or not, all drew connections between teachings of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings) and the concept of leisure. Many of the stories were full of positivity and optimism, but several of them shared lessons of great pain and trauma. As I wrote chapters four and five, I struggled with many internal conflicts: Who am I to share these messages? And in doing so, how can I do the stories and experiences of the study participant's justice? I struggled to look at the 'data' with the critical eye of a researcher in an attempt to present the *snuw'uy'ul* and the narratives of the participants in a respectful and articulate way. I understand that as both an outsider and a student, I have a lot to learn. I feared that my 'superficial' understandings of the messages I received would discredit or show disrespect to the teachings.

Further, I was challenged to create a document, fluid in its presentation, when the collection of the data, at times, presented such contrasting definitions and methodologies. As the reader, you may have become aware of the conflicting presentation between 'academic discourse' and 'narrative.' This by no means was by accident, but rather my intention to demonstrate that there are still two distinct systems still at play, and several challenges to be addressed between communities, government and academic institutions.

I felt challenged to meet (and exceed) expectations from various audiences; the study participants, the community, those who have invested their teachings in me over my learning journey, my colleagues in the academic community, the university, my supervisors and myself. I was daunted by the task of creating something that was "good enough." Through the lessons from my teachers and the unwavering support of my friends and family, I sat and started to write. I began to intertwine narratives from memories created throughout my own personal journey in

an attempt to grasp an understanding of the messages from those who shared their stories and teachings with me, attempting to unite the conflicting narratives of my outsider reality with the identities of the *xwulmuxw mustimuhw* (Indigenous people) represented in my study.

Indigenous populations within Canada are still forced to live within two worlds, the Indigenous world and the Western world. Through this research, I have attempted to break the mold, to take a step forward in solidarity presenting the stories I received of those working to live, learn and thrive in two worlds. I have attempted to understand, as best I can, the struggles of uniting the two. In doing so, I am reminded of the *wuhus* (frog), who is a messenger sent to encourage preparation for a new season. The *wuhus* is a strong communicator and survives in two worlds, the land and water, and although the frog may at times stray off its course from side to side, the frog is never seen travelling backwards.

Su-taxwiye (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014) cautions, “teachings and instruction within the *Hul’qumi’num* community take place incrementally” (p. 218) and, as such, I am mindful that this research only begins to explore the surface on the potential learning in regard to culturally embedded perspectives of leisure. Therefore, it would be ignorant of me to assume that the teachings collected throughout my experiences, and throughout this research process, are remotely representative of the vast amount of knowledge held by the *sul-hween* (Elders). Nonetheless, I am honoured to be able to act as a messenger, sharing the lessons passed on to me by my *si:em* (respected one[s]).

I am not Indigenous, and I will never be Indigenous. However, this research – guided and upheld by ethics, and created through relationships of responsibility and respect – is my attempt at telling my truths as a witness, in recognition of intergenerational learning and teaching of protocol, and oral transmission of knowledge and laws. For me, this research seeks to support the reconciliation process by honouring and reciprocating – through written word and actions – the gifts I have been given and that I continue to receive from members of the local Indigenous communities.

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis includes five chapters: 1) Introduction; 2) Literature review; 3) Methodology, and Data Analysis, 4) Findings, and 5) Discussion and Conclusion. Chapter 1 aims to provide the necessary context for the study, introduce the research question and explain the significance of

the study. Chapter 2 is organized under the four main literature themes that inform the study: 1) Culture and Cultural Identity; 2) Cultural Revitalization; 3) Conceptualizations of Leisure and Practice; and 4) Ensuring Authenticity. Informed by the past scholarship presented in the literature review, the methodology chapter provides a rationale for the use of qualitative research, presents what Indigenous methodologies are, their significance and use in this study, describes how conversational methods are used to “decolonize” research, and explains how they are used in this study. The data analysis section included in Chapter 3 identifies the theoretical framework to be employed for thematic analysis in conjunction to an Indigenous methodology to offer a “relational intersection with Indigeneity” (Kovach, 2009, p. 45). Chapter 4 highlights key findings divided by sub sections derived by concepts of Social-Identity Theory and shaped by the seven teachings of *snuw’uy’ulh* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014), and presents four fundamental theoretical propositions emerging from the data. Lastly, Chapter 5 includes discussions emerging from the data and outlines the recommendations for future research and conclusion.

Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Two

Now the noise was louder, coming from the house, and the three boys walked around it, trying to find some way of looking inside, but there were no holes in the cedar boards. Then, looking up, they saw that a board on top of the cabin was lifted up, so very quietly they climbed to the roof and, lying flat, looked down into the cabin.

Now that day the man had, as usual, sent his wife and daughters out to dig for roots that he might be alone and get on with his swayxwi. He lifted up the board in his roof to let the light come in and getting out his things set to work. As he held up the mask to look at it a shadow fell across the big face! Quickly he took a skin, lying near and threw it over the swayxwi and – “Ahn! Ahn!” He called loudly.

Here, Tl’utasiye’ paused. “I never heard what ‘Ahn’ means,” she said, “but I remember, I used to ask my old grandmother when she told me this story, and she said it was something the Voice had told the man to say if at any time he should be seen making the big face.

Not until he had covered the wooden face, did the man look up and there he saw the boys looking down at him.

Ah, but he was troubled! Going outside, he called to them, “Who are you?” he asked. “We are your nephews,” the eldest boy told him. “Come down that I may look at you,” he said, and he took them into his cabin.

“Now,” he said, “I am the first man ever made – I am the head of all. Your father must be younger than I, so he does not matter much.”

“No,” they told him. “Our father is older than you – he is head of all.” Well, they talked about this for a long time, and, as it was growing dark, the boys said they must be going home again. “We are looking at the world,” they said, “to see how many people there are in it, now we will go and tell our father of this place, and then we will start off again.”

The man shut his door and stood beside it. “You cannot go from here,” he told them, “because you have looked upon the thing that I am making; you must stay.”

Now in the cabin were four beds, one for the man and his wife, and one for each daughter.

“Which of you is the eldest?” asked the man. “I am,” one told him. “Then go and sit over there,” said the man, pointing to his eldest girl’s bed, “and which is the middle?” “I am,” said another. “Go and sit there,” pointing to the middle girl’s bed. “Now that you have come here, you must marry my three girls, and make your homes here with us, for you must never tell any man of the thing I am making.”

So, the three boys married the man’s three daughters, and all lived in the little cabin.

(Cryer, 2008, pp.194-195)

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Shq'apthut- A Gathering Place

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between leisure participation and cultural identity among *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw* (Hul'qumi'num people) to enhance the theoretical conceptualization of leisure as a variable in the production of Indigenous identity. This chapter aims to contextualize the study by presenting relevant and significant past scholarship on culture, leisure and identity in an Indigenous cultural context. Given the central role of the concept of identity in conceptualizing leisure as a variable in its development, this chapter gives attention to identity in the context of definitions and within an Indigenous framework. The next section of this chapter is devoted to addressing leisure in both Western and Indigenous contexts. This chapter will also briefly address the history of acculturation and assimilation of Canada's First Nations People and the movements being created to promote cultural revitalization. The final section of this chapter discusses the concept of seeking authentic Indigenous experiences within a contemporary context.

2.1 Identity and Cultural Identity

2.1.1 Identity

The term 'identity' implies the distinct features of individuals making them distinguishable from others, a construct of shared characteristics and the allegiance established based upon this foundation (Amoamo, 2007; Hall & du Gay, 1996). An interesting concept associated to identity is that it is the identification of an attachment to a community, created by the diversity from others. It is through the process of self-categorization or self-identification from which an individual's identity is formed (Stets & Burke, 2000). In Social Identity Theory, one's social identity is an individual's understanding of oneself based upon one's accentuation or interpretation of one's perceived similarities to other individuals within his/her same grouping or category, and one's accentuation or interpretation of one's perceived similarities to other individuals outside one's grouping or category (Stets & Burke, 2000). Upon identifying within a grouping or category, one's sense of self, and self-understanding, comes largely from the social grouping or category from which s/he resides, including one's defining values and behaviours.

Therefore, one's behaviour can be considered as a product of social identification (Haslam, Cruwys, Haslam, Dingle & Chang, 2016; Turner, Oakes, Haslam & McGarly, 1994).

Using identity work as a frame may be especially useful when analyzing how identity meanings can be re-inscribed and redefined (e.g., an immigrant) or when an individual chooses to change their meaning (e.g., an adoptee) (Laybourn, 2017, p. 4). Identity formation is the intersection of various factors: affective, social, cognitive, and physical within various contexts including: family, peers, institutions and leisure.

2.1.2 Racial and Ethnic Identity

Racial identity is considered a psychological process referring to how individuals experience racial categorization, commonly related to racial socialization, racism and discrimination. Racial identity is often considered interchangeable with ethnic identity. However, ethnic identity is the psychological process of how people incorporate their ethnic background or ethnic culture into their self-concept (Laybourn, 2017, p. 1). Empirical studies relating to racial identities present that negative racial identities, discomfort with physical appearance and adjustment are correlated to experiences with discrimination (Feigelman, 2000; Juffer, 2006; Laybourn, 2017).

2.1.3 Culture

The concept of 'culture' has been identified as a key theme in the study of anthropology, and as a cornerstone of social science (Chick, 2009; Wagner, 2016). The term is derived from the Latin verb *colere*, which translates as "to cultivate" in reference to the tilling of soil ("Culture", 2008; Wagner, 2016). In the Middle Ages, the term was employed to define the "process of progressive refinement in the domestication of a particular crop" (Wagner, 2016, p. 24). The contemporary definition was born of an elaborate and subjective metaphor of the "progressive refinement" or "domestication" of oneself (Jahoda, 2012; Wagner, 2016). The modern use for the word culture in the English language still maintains associations to the natural sciences, horticulture and biology, and therefore increases a sense of ambiguity rising from the many metaphorizations in sociological and anthropological contexts (Wagner, 2016).

Culture can be defined as "information capable of affecting individuals' behaviour that they acquire from other members of their species through teaching, imitation, and other forms of social transmission" (Richardson & Boyd, 2005, p. 5 as cited in Chick, 2009, p. 307). Or, in layperson's terms, the sharing of values, belief systems and practices and reinforced by in-group members (Ajibade, Hook, Utsey, Davis & Van Tongeren, 2016; Shepherd, Delgado, Sherwood

& Paradies, 2017). Contemporary anthropological definitions of culture rely heavily on the concept of behaviour and meaning, in relation to concepts, such as: the arts, literature, religion and education (Chick, 2009; “Culture”, 2008; Gray, 2011; Jahoda, 2012; Wagner, 2016). Chick (2009) addresses a fundamental flaw to this definition as “culture cannot be used to explain these phenomena since it is the phenomena [itself] under study” (p. 306). Further, many scholars acknowledge that contemporary anthropological definitions of culture are highly situational and context dependent rendering the definition useless for comparative purposes. It should be suggested that selection of one definition, when used as an independent variable, could mitigate some assumptions of cultural variance across contexts and validate the empirical issue of cultural difference.

2.1.4 Cultural Identity

Culture may be defined as a specific social identity, all-encompassing of defining characteristics of a group (Haslam *et al.*, 2016). One of the first social scientists to explore the fundamental role of culture in shaping the identity of an individual was Durkheim (1895) (Usborne & de la Sablonniere, 2014). Following Durkheim, many anthropologists have sought to demonstrate the value of culture in defining the distinguishing values, belief systems and practices of individuals (i.e., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Swider, 1986). As such, culture has become widely accepted as a “critical element in the construction of an individual’s identity” (Usborne & de la Sablonniere, 2014, p. 437). Drawing on Social Identity Theory, normative behaviour within social contexts is guided by one’s self-identification within one’s culture. Lavallée and Lévesque (2012) identify “the spiritual aspect of “self” is tied closely to one’s cultural understanding of identity” (p. 218). Significant research asserts that maintaining a strong understanding of one’s cultural identity has been found to promote resilience, enhance self-esteem, develop coping styles and has served as a protective factor against mental health systems (for example: Dockery, 2010; Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Houkamau & Sibley, 2011; Hughes, Kiecolt, Keith & Demo, 2015; LaFromboise, Hoyt, Oliver & Whitbeck, 2006; Neblett, Rivas-Drake & Umana-Taylor, 2012; Shepherd *et al.*, 2018; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Usborne & de la Sablonniere, 2014). Berry (1999) proposed that: “A positive cultural identity can provide an individual with a sense of belonging, purpose, social support and self-worth” (as cited in Shepherd *et al.*, 2018, p. 1). Further, it has shown that culture can influence many psychological processes, such as “spontaneous self-description, self-enhancement, self-criticism, and personal

emotional experience” (for example: Kitayama & Cohen, 2007; Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto & Norasakkunkit, 1997; Matsumoto, Kasri & Kooken, 1999; Rhee, Uleman, Lee & Roman, 1995; Usborne & de la Sablonniere, 2014, p. 437). As such, the concept of culture and identity are intricately interwoven.

2.1.5 Cultural Identity and Indigeneity

The *Indigenous Australian Framework of Health* (2004) states, “an [Indigenous] identity can be cultivated and maintained through participating in cultural events and developing a connection to family, community and traditional lands” (Gee, Dudgeon, Schultz, Hart & Kelly, 2014). One’s perception of cultural strength supports the development of resilience and positive coping mechanisms, thus facilitating protection against the challenges of life; for example, ‘the impact of history in trauma and loss’ (Gee *et al.*, 2014; Shepherd *et al.*, 2018). Further, a strong awareness of one’s personal identity and engagement within one’s culture has been identified to foster greater self-assessed health, improve educational and employment outcomes, increase life satisfaction, and promote effective responses to stigma, discrimination and the ongoing impacts of colonization (Gee *et al.*, 2014; Shepherd *et al.*, 2018). Early and foundational research conducted by Ratner (1996) studied urban Indigenous youth in downtown Vancouver (Canada) many of whom were experiencing difficulties such as homelessness, drug abuse, or involvement in prostitution. The research participants interviewed were identified as being in a state of “cultural limbo”. Outreach workers cited a “lack of identity” as one of the youth’s primary challenges (as cited in Usborne & de la Sablonniere, 2014, p. 442).

Shepherd *et al.* (2018) suggest that it is plausible for Indigenous people to maintain a strong sense of Indigenous identity despite limited opportunity or engagement in cultural activities or expression of ‘typical cultural behaviours’. Strong consideration must be paid to Indigenous political and epistemological perspectives being generally inconsistent with Eurocentric practices, research and beliefs (Fox, 2006; Rehman, 2002). A lack of cultural identity, or cultural involvement beyond basic affiliation may also be demarcated as a legacy of government sanctioned assimilation policies, such as forced removals of children and relocation of communities (Gray, 2011; Shepherd *et al.*, 2018). Some may prefer their cultural identity to be purely nominal while others still may have high levels of cultural engagement without an expressed and explicit cultural identity, or with an identity that is hidden or repressed” (Shepherd *et al.*, 2018, p. 2). However, regardless of the level of engagement in cultural activities, it is still

possible to feel a nominal sense of identity or belonging within a culture.

2.2. Cultural Revitalization and Indigenous Peoples

In the year 1956 the Canadian born anthropologist Anthony Wallace published an article in the *American Anthropologist* journal entitled “Revitalization Movements.” His seminal work describes the process of how cultures are capable of major cultural – system innovation through uniformed process. He defined a revitalization movement as a “deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture” (p. 265). His work materialized from studying the revitalization movements of those whom he defined as “primitive groups” of North America, Europe, Africa, Asia and South America. Wallace’s (1956) model identifies that revitalization movements consist of five overlapping stages. They are:

1. Steady State: a group’s natural environment;
2. Period of Individual Stress: alterations and adaptations within the natural or social environment prevent some individuals within the group from obtaining their needs,
3. Period of Cultural Distortion: alterations and adaptations in the groups’ social or natural environment drastically decrease the capacity of most members of the group from obtaining their needs. At this stage of prolonged stress, some individuals within the group turn to psychodynamically regressive innovations such as alcoholism, ambivalent dependency, intragroup violence, etc.
4. Period of Revitalization: revitalization movements must perform these six reformative tasks:
 - i. Mazeway reformation, or reformation of the cultural pattern,
 - ii. Communication systems of leadership garnering momentum and gathering supporters,
 - iii. Organization of a reformulated cultural pattern,
 - iv. Adaptation of the reformulated pattern to better meet the needs and preferences of the group,
 - v. Cultural transformation,
 - vi. Routinization, when the adapted reformulated cultural pattern becomes the standard cultural behaviour of the group,
5. New Steady State: new period of generally satisfactory adaptation to the groups changed social and or natural environment.

In recent years, Wallace's model has come under much scrutiny and criticism. Harkin (2004) goes as far as to suggest British colonial and ethnographic works, such as Wallace's, arise from the "inability, and indeed, active unwillingness, on the part of colonial subjects to achieve a culturally valid performance of the norms of the ruling society" (p. xvi). It is suggested that Wallace's model "attempts to achieve an explanation, rather than or in addition to an interpretation, of human behavior" (Harkin, 2004, p. xvii), and requires criticism of the position of the observer, gender bias, and the "politics of textual inscription" (Harkin, 2004, p. xx). However, revitalization theory has proven itself as a beneficial tool to understand ethno-history and contemporary cultural movements, as "chains of causality and influence [that] transcend linguistic, regional, and national boundaries" (Harkin, 2004). Harkin (2004), however, maintains the position that revitalization [theory] is a generic colonial construct requiring significant critical analysis.

Broad and significant research is being conducted to explore Indigenous inequities resulting from marginalization, in addition to protective factors impacting health status (i.e. Bombay *et al.*, 2014; Iwasaki, 2007; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015). Much of this research strives to balance power, and incorporate Indigenous philosophies and ethics, in many different thematic areas, including culture and the arts, language, health, governance, and leisure. Despite compelling inequities, First Nations populations in Canada are working "against and beyond colonialism" (MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015, p. 33). Post-colonial perspectives are influencing a change in practices and shaping economic and socio-political agendas (Barker, 2015; Gray, 2011; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015).

During most of the twenty-first century, Indigenous activists have been fighting for recognition and rights, primarily asserting ownership to reclaim a specific site or location. However, the political scene was shaken in Canada in the winter of 2012, like never before, by a variety of protests under the name 'Idle no More,' which were organized primarily by Indigenous peoples in Canada in response to legislation and an assertion of sovereignty (Barker, 2015). As a grassroots movement, it swept across the country and social media advocating for First Nations rights and resisting against the marginalization and disempowerment of Indigenous peoples within the Country. It was a political movement Canada could not ignore. Although the rallies were juxtaposed in society; there was no debate that the 'Idle no More' events brought Indigenous issues into Canadian mainstream dialogues and discussions.

Large-scale events are targeting the promotion of physical health and wellness of First Nations communities such as the *Arctic Winter Games* (Hinch & de la Barre, 2005), and the ‘First Nations Olympics,’ and The *North American Indigenous Games* (Gray, 2011). The 2017 *North American Indigenous Games (NAIG)* hosted in Toronto, Ontario (Canada), brought together over 5,000 athletes, 2,000 volunteers, and countless spectators, to the traditional lands of the Huron-Wendat Nation, the Scugog First Nation and the Six Nations of Grand River (NAIG, 2017). Athletes competed in 14 different sporting events, making *NAIG* the largest Indigenous sporting and cultural event in North America (Gray, 2011; NAIG, 2017). For the first time since 2014, Team British Columbia (Team BC) returned home from the games with the Overall Team Title Award, which is granted to the team with the highest overall medal count. Team BC athletes won a total of 179 medals in 12 of 13 events competed in. Team BC also earned the John Fletcher Spirit Award (Indigenous Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation Council, 2017). Another Indigenous movement involving elements of recreation and sport is the Tribal Journey canoe gathering. The Tribal Journey movement has been identified as the largest self-mobilization of Indigenous people in the modern world. It is an open going canoe journey held annually, culminating each year at a pre-determined host destination for a week of cultural sharing, feasting and celebration bringing together crowds of up to ten thousand people (Gray, 2011; Marshall, 2011).

The mobilization of First Nation peoples to assert their inherent right to practice culture, speak traditional languages and advocate for sovereignty is forcing a change in the political and social discourses of Canada. In contemporary social and political environments, Canada’s Indigenous peoples are mobilizing to operate under new, or revitalized, forms of identity.

2.3 Conceptualizations of Leisure, Practice and Cultural Empowerment

2.3.1 Leisure

Seminal leisure literature has most commonly defined the term ‘leisure’ as the experience of free time (See for example: Kelly, 1996; Neulinger & Breit, 1969; Wilson, 1980). The sacrosanct element within the most commonly cited definition appears to be the notion of “choice” (Kelly, 1990). The concept of leisure as meaningful activity can be traced in philosophical literature back to the era of Aristotle. He suggested that a life worth living involved activities of purpose, a rationale for being, and meaning. Foundational to Aristotle’s theory was

that these activities must be “desirable for its own sake,” and intrinsically motivated. Contemporary scholars have since expanded the definition to include elements of freedom, ‘play’ and acknowledging a ‘work’ and ‘free time’ component. The concept of leisure is derived from a Eurocentric context. Contemporary leisure researchers are employing culture as a variable for leisure motivations, behaviours and attitudes; however, the definition of leisure remains as inconsistent as a standard definition of culture. Juniu and Henderson (2001) suggest that “leisure activities are socially structured and shaped by the inequalities of society” (p. 8), and that the variable of freedom within leisure is about personal perception, rather than objective standards.

In 1982, leisure scholar Robert Stebbins coined the term ‘casual leisure’ in reference to the “popular leisure of the twentieth century” (Stebbins, 2001, p.54). He suggests that although ‘casual leisure’ experiences produce immediate, short lived satisfaction, he noted that the actions may illicit a sense of listlessness “rooted in the unsettling realization that one’s life is unfolding in a way largely, if not entirely, devoid of any significant excitement” (p. 53). Evidence from leisure science suggests that repetition of casual leisure habits can create a sense of psychological dyspepsia. This information propelled Stebbins to present the concept of ‘serious leisure,’ which can be described as participation in something that is “profound, long-lasting, and invariably based on substantial skill, knowledge, or experience, if not on a combination of these three. It also requires perseverance to a greater or lesser degree” (Stebbins, 2001, p. 54). As such, serious leisure is the persistent pursuit of satisfying and substantive participation in an activity or activities.

2.3.2 Indigenous Leisure

In leisure literature, the relationship between culture and leisure has predominantly been dominated by Western ideals (Iwasaki, 2007). These gaps, or oversights, create a research opportunity – as identified by Chick (2009) – to explore a more concrete understanding of leisure through the use of culture when appropriately defined and operationalized. Only when defined in a subjective context can researchers begin to understand leisure as a cultural domain and to use culture to explain leisure behaviour and related variables. Contemporary epistemologies, philosophies and methodologies privilege the Western world and risk appropriating or misrepresenting Indigenous knowledge (Fox, 2006; Iwasaki, Bartlett, Gottlieb & Hall, 2009; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015). Comstock (1984) suggests that the issue with definitions “does not lie with what is to be defined, but with an inadequate grasp of what a definition is supposed

to accomplish” (as cited in Fox, 2006, p. 405). Fox (2006) identifies that the elements of time and choice are always defined and/or implicated in leisure discussions. An extensive literature review conducted by McDonald and McAvoy (1997), revealed that elements of pervasive worldviews on traditional activities consistent with contemporary Western definitions of leisure included:

- (a) The belief in the sacredness of life, emphasizing the spiritual aspects of individuals, communities, and the nature;
- (b) A reciprocal and interdependent relationship with all creations that values harmony and balance;
- (c) A heightened sense of place or connection to the land/ environment, with the centrality and meaning of place;
- (d) The cyclical pattern of life exemplified through cultural rituals and traditions.

Therefore, it is suggested that context be set, and descriptive language be employed to avoid assumptions of similarities in terminology and promote a more accurate investigation of differences in understandings and definitions of the concept of leisure.

An additional challenge is that the term ‘leisure’ creates idiosyncrasies within many cultures and languages, or that the term was previously “altogether not there” (Fox, 2006, p. 404). Contemporary literature predominantly constructs leisure scholarship in a linear and structured manner misconstruing the ancestral holistic and harmonious aspects of life at the core of Indigenous ways (Fox, 2006). Failure to acknowledge Indigenous definitions and practices of leisure further perpetuate colonialism, reinforces historically imbalanced power relationships (Fox, 2006; Iwasaki, 2007), and pathologizes Indigenous well-being or livelihoods (Iwasaki *et al.*, 2009). An example of such challenges is presented by Wearing (1998) in her book *Leisure and Feminist Theory* where she argues that the Indigenous women of Australia had no use for the term leisure, as it was “woven into their everyday lives as a physical and metaphorical, personal and communal space which has a meaning for them” (p. 167). Another such example can be drawn from leisure research in a Polynesian Indigenous context. The term *Manawa nanea* is translated most commonly to represent the westernized view of the term leisure. However, when translated back to the Hawaiian language, the literal meaning is “laying in a stream while birds are chirping” (Fox, 2006, p. 404). Iwasaki (2009, 2007) suggests a potential ‘remedy’ to this challenge of terminology is to employ the term “leisure-like” in the Indigenous leisure context as

an approach to acknowledge activities with similar nuances, without imposing a Eurocentric concept of leisure (Iwasaki, 2007; Iwasaki *et al.*, 2009).

Leisure-like engagement can generate a sense of purpose, meaning and attachment, which “intersects time and activity” (Iwasaki, 2007, p. 232). Standeven and De Knop (1999) suggest that sport is a ‘cultural experience of physical activity’ (as cited in Hinch & de la Barre, 2005, p. 260). A study conducted by Iwasaki *et al.* (2009) with urban dwelling Métis and First Nations individuals living with diabetes acknowledged that leisure-like pursuits were viewed by study participants as “lived culture,” or “meaningful activities,” which facilitated a “culturally contextualized understanding of leisure-like phenomena that [were] integrated into people’s everyday lives” (p.172). A 2008 review of “leisure-like meaning making” relevant articles, with a non-Westernized perspective, published in five leisure journals between the years 2000 and 2005, identified five key themes: positive emotions and well-being; positive identities, self-esteem and spirituality; social and cultural connections and a harmony; human strength and resilience; and learning and human development across the lifespan (Iwasaki, 2007).

Scholarship on culturally embedded leisure-like activities identify Indigenous cultures as having rich leisure repertoires including dance, music, art, sports and spiritual practices and emphasizes the numerous healing and positive effects on personal well-being (Iwasaki *et al.*, 2009) and “personal, communal and political growth” (Iwasaki, 2007, p. 233). Forsyth and Giles (2013) propose that sport has the potential to create both positive and negative experiences for individuals within many diverse cultures and sporting activities.

Central to all Indigenous ‘ways of life’ is the acknowledgement of the interrelatedness and harmony of beings in and with all variables of nature (McAvoy, McDonald, & Carlson, 2003). This idea includes the family structure within a community and the environment, which is essential to the contextualization and living of life (Gray, 2011; Iwasaki, 2007). Wearing (1998) suggests that “leisure has potential for empowerment both individually and collectively and, ultimately, for social change, and through this empowerment and transformation process people can gain important meanings of life” (Iwasaki, 2007, p. 240). Indigenous sport, in its most typical application, has been and is utilized to educate people about personal, cultural and social values (Canadian Heritage, 2003, as cited in Forsyth & Giles, 2013).

2.3.3 First Nations Leisure – North American Perspective

First Nation populations of the Pacific Northwest of Canada hold deep spiritual meanings

to locations that directly influence all aspects of life, including leisure-like participation (Iwasaki, 2007; McAvoy *et al.*, 2003;). Literature presented by Fox and colleagues (1998) identified that “leisure is integral to [Indigenous] culture and cannot be separated from the spiritual, cultural, social, and physical connections” held of value to Indigenous people (p. 152). However, as described by Young (1990) and cited by MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015), the colonization of people “inhibit[s] people to play and communicate with others to express their feelings and perspective[s] on social life” (p. 41). Speaking to Indigenous empowerment processes in the United States, Witko (2006) noted that “[Indigenous] people today are still struggling with the development of their own sense of ethnic identity in a society that does not acknowledge that they exist” (as cited in Iwasaki & Byrd, 2010, p. 102). Many Indigenous teachings hold sport and physical activity in the realm of medicine when looking holistically at the concept of well-being (Forsyth & Giles, 2013). The National Recreation Roundtable on Indigenous people, held in February 2000 in Maskwachees, Canada sought to identify an approach integrating the holistic understanding of Indigenous cultures and traditional lifestyles, in collaboration with recreation and leisure as an intervention to preserving traditional culture, promote balance and enhance individual quality of life (Karlis, 2004). Within the pages of the Maskwachees Declaration, it is clearly presented that leisure and recreation are viewed as integral components to addressing social issues faced within Indigenous communities, in addition to creating positive benefits for health, wellness and cultural survival.

A 2016 study by Tang, Program and Jardine, explored the importance of Indigenous culture and tradition to physical activity practices within a Dene First Nation community program. The research findings suggested a definition of ‘physical activity,’ which enforced the theme of cultural identity, suggesting an Indigenous perspective that “to be physically active was to be culturally active and to actively contribute in the community” (p. 211). A 2010 study by Iwasaki and Byrd, explored the contributions of cultural activities participated in by Urban American Indians. This study corroborates previous research identifying cultural activities such as Powwows, Sweat Lodge ceremonies, traditional arts and crafts and storytelling positively affects Native identity in American Indians. Activities classified as ‘leisure-like’ suffered negative adaptations to their practice due to colonization, such as: the dramatic disrupted physical activity through the alteration of traditional hunting grounds and thus forcing a more sedentary lifestyle upon the traditional inhabitants of the land, the introduction of alcohol, sexual

transmitted infections, dietary changes, and European farming and grazing practices (Forsyth & Giles, 2013; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015) and commodification of cultural activities (Hinch & de la Barre, 2005).

For centuries, sport has played a valuable role in the promotion and preservation of cultural values, the articulation of Indigenous identities and unifying communities for Coast Salish people (Downey & Neylan, 2015). Prior to contact, cultural celebrations and communal events assisted in the maintenance of socio-political relations, reinforced local pride, and reflected teachings, morals and ethics. Many of these events incorporated aspects of athleticism, sport and competition. Indigenous practice promotes holistic balance between social, emotional, physical and spiritual determinants of health, as such, did not distinguish between sport, recreation and physical activity (*Sport Canada's Policy on Indigenous Peoples' Participation in Sport*, 2005). Activities played with sticks, bones or dice tested memory and required guessing. Downey and Neyland (2015) describe how coastal versions of rugby, soccer, canoe racing and lacrosse were commonly practiced. The authors propose that if society viewed 'traditional' games as "manifestations of culture rather than merely as forms of leisure or entertainment, the reorientation of Western-style sports such as soccer or basketball to Indigenous cultural norms certainly fit within the holistic understanding of physical culture" (Downey & Neyland, 2015, p. 447). Thus, perpetuating the value of leisure on the preservation of culture.

Post-European contact, the Coastal Indigenous people in British Columbia, which included the *Hul'qumi'num* people, were provided a vehicle for cultural persistence through sport, through athletic colonial intrusion (Downey & Neylan, 2015). In the beginning of the nineteenth century, government officials, wardens of the church and residential school administration introduce western concepts of sport through athletic clubs, church gatherings and school physical fitness clubs. Organized "Indian Sports Days" included sports such as soccer, lacrosse and baseball. Downey and Neylan (2015) inform that:

Researchers interested in the growth of Indigenous sporting traditions reject models that gauge Native involvement in Western sports as evidence of assimilation, especially when Indigenous sport history is situated within Indigenous sport cultures. They reason instead that Native people's involvement reflected their cultural identities, historical realities, and value systems. In the spaces that sport generated, cooperation, coercion, and confrontation occurred simultaneously. (p. 445)

In support of the Victorian conceptualizations of leisure, the activities were implemented to indoctrinate a level of civility or class and force Eurocentric socio-cultural norms.

Although the introduction of European sport practices was implemented to follow a colonized conception of leisure to support the development of morals and civility within the local Indigenous populations, the activities of sport were utilized as a powerful weapon to displace and resist colonial agendas. Forsyth, Lodge-Gagné, and Giles (2016) suggest that sport within Indigenous communities has allowed for the creation of individual identity formation, and become:

a vehicle to acquire, sometimes violently, highly valued rewards, such as the type of individual and community pride that comes from winning and representing a collective on a broader stage (e.g. the Indian Summer Games), opportunities to travel and meet people outside of one's community or region, or to even earn some income from sport – opportunities that might not otherwise exist. (p. 1957)

Contemporary Indigenous sporting events now display a wide spectrum reflecting both Indigenous and colonial perspectives.

2.3.3.1 Truth, Reconciliation and Leisure

The works of the Indian Residential System Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) outlined 94 recommended “Calls to Action” in order to address the legacy of the cultural genocide of the Indigenous populations of Canada. Of the 94 “Calls to Action,” Recommendations 87 through 91 fall under the sub-heading sports and reconciliation and are defined as:

87. We call upon all levels of government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, sports hall of fame, and other relevant organizations, to provide public education that tells the national story of Aboriginal athletes in history.

88. We call upon all levels of government to take action to ensure long-term Aboriginal athlete development and growth, and continued support for the North American Indigenous Games, including funding to host the games and for provincial and territorial team preparation and travel.

89. We call upon the federal government to amend the Physical Activity and Sport Act to support reconciliation by ensuring that policies to promote physical activity as a fundamental element of health and well-being, reduce barriers to sport participation, increase the pursuit of excellence in sport, and build capacity in the Canadian sport system, are inclusive of Aboriginal peoples.

90. We call upon the federal government to ensure that national sport policies, programs and initiatives are inclusive of Aboriginal peoples, including, but not limited to, establishing:

- I. In collaboration with provincial and territorial governments, stable funding for, and access to, community sports programs that reflect the diverse cultures and traditional sporting activities of Aboriginal peoples.
 - ii. An elite athlete development program for Aboriginal athletes.
 - lii Programs for coaches, trainers, and sports officials that are culturally relevant for Aboriginal peoples.
 - iv. Anti-racism awareness and training programs.
91. We call upon the officials and host countries of international sporting events such as the Olympics, Pan Am, and Commonwealth games to ensure that Indigenous peoples' territorial protocols are respected, and local Indigenous communities are engaged in all aspects of planning and participating in such events.

The inclusion of these “Calls to Action” within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) acknowledges that leisure-like engagement has the potential to play a significant role in the restoration and revitalization of Canadian Indigenous culture and the reparation of a traumatic history. However, missing from the dialogue are definitions or descriptions of such culturally relevant sporting programs and Indigenous sport.

In response to the sport related calls to action, the Government of Canada committed nearly 20 million dollars over a five-year period to support the ongoing hosting of and participation in the *North American Indigenous Games* (Government of Canada, 2017). It is intended for these funds to “strengthen sport leadership, improve availability and access to culturally relevant sporting programming, and increase partnership in Indigenous sport” (Government of Canada, 2017). Additionally, these funds are set to appease the Commission’s “Call to Action” number 88.

2.4 Ensuring Authenticity

Past leisure research suggests that the concept of ‘authenticity’ has been an ongoing area of interest within the field. In a Eurocentric context, references to “thine own self be true,” dates back to the Shakespearean era (1558-1603); however, it appears that a comprehensive definition for “authenticity” is challenging to locate. Umbach and Humphrey (2017) propose that “definitions of authenticity are constantly borrowed and adapted, across historical epochs, between opposing political ideologies, and between high culture and popular usage” (p. 1). Further, they present that “for every claim to authenticity there emerges a parallel argument debunking it as a myth or mask for illegitimate power” (Umbach & Humphrey, 2017, p. 1). In a postmodern interpretation, the notion of ‘authenticity’ incorporates understandings of

philosophy, psychology and spirituality fitting in constructivist, objective and existential epistemologies (Paulauskaite, Powell, Coaca-Stefaniak & Morrison, 2017; Umbach & Humphrey, 2017). According to Umbach and Humphrey (2017), to be authentic is “to identify with, or claim ownership of, a narrative of origins, or a sense of original and unadulterated selfhood” (p. 1). Implicit to the theoretical definition of authenticity is a genuineness, including how it manifests in a person’s relationship to self.

Two approaches to conceptualize the idea of authenticity are ‘objective’ and ‘experiential’ (Hinch & de la Barre, 2005; McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Wang, 1999). ‘Experiential authenticity’ is the assessment of whether an experience was authentic from the perspective of the participant (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; Wang, 1999), whereas ‘objective authenticity’ relates to the assessment of whether an object is real (McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Wang, 1999). Recognizing that culture is a dynamic and not a static phenomenon, the issue of authenticity of ‘traditional activities’ cannot be a consistent variable within academic study and beyond. One could question the potential to participate in ‘authentic traditional activities’ within a contemporary context considering the implications of colonialism on cultural practices by Indigenous populations within the political borders of Canada. Further, as society ages, First Nations people are forced to navigate “two worlds,” posing the question as to whether or not an authentic First Nations cultural identity can be developed and/or maintained through participation in activities becomes significant. Hinch and de la Barre (2005) assess that “major breaks from tradition in sport undermine objective authenticity” (Hinch & de la Barre, 2005, p. 263). However, the authenticity of a sporting experience can be considered more “resilient” in an experiential perspective, as sport “tends to engage participants physically, cognitively and emotionally” (Hinch & de la Barre, 2005, p. 263). As such, Hinch and de la Barre (2005) suggest that as a result of several variables, primarily commodification and globalization, authentic Indigenous activities have become modified.

In a leisure context, authenticity can be identified as a variable in what Taylor (2001) defines as the “production of value” (p. 7). His critique on the implications of employing the term “authenticity” in both leisure and cultural context presents “temporal implications” and has tended to “undermine experience and the [leisure] presentation of local identities” (p. 7). Thus creating a semantic issue of what is truly real and what is not. Taylor (2001) further questions the credibility of the term of authenticity as it, much like leisure, is a term rooted in Western

ideological discourse.

The question of authenticity in the context of this study is dependent beyond the concepts of objective and experiential authenticity considering it is not feasible to create a pre-colonial atmosphere to accurately replicate traditional actions. Wang (1999) suggests that in such a case 'existential authenticity' could provide an alternative platform for evaluating the authenticity of experiences. The notion of 'existential authenticity' was pioneered by such scholars as Berger (1973), Trilling (1972) and Heidegger (1962), who promoted the ontological position that existential experiences are the "authenticity of being" (Wang, 1999, p. 359), and as such, authenticity can be created and found through participation in activities and experiences. Therefore, in contemporary terms, authentic activity and experience is rooted in process and approach, rather than distinctively tradition. The notion of existential authenticity creates space for an authentic experience regardless of if the activity or experience being participated in is in fact 'authentic' or not and allows for a larger spectrum of authentic participant experiences.

Moving forward, it is pertinent to acknowledge the contributions made to the investigation of relationships between leisure and Indigenous identity, and the potential for its use within cultural revitalization movements. This potential includes developing a strong framework of knowledge and creating grounds for critique of gaps in understanding due to personal bias and limitations in scope and breadth of data collection and analysis. Much of the current leisure literature related to culture, more specifically Indigenous culture, has been created without employing Indigenous paradigms and methodology. Existing resources found in leisure literature require critical and de-colonialized reflection and caution. Yet, if defined appropriately, there is potential for the demonstration of a meaningful relationship between participation in leisure-like activities and the revitalization of Indigenous culture and development of Indigenous identities.

Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Three

After a time when the man had finished making his swayxwi, the boys thought they would like to take their wives back to Tetuxutun for a visit. "We will soon be back," they told the man, "for we will always make our homes down here." So the man let them go.

"Well, they started out, the three brothers going first, and their wives coming behind, and after they had been waiting for a long time, they came to a little trail and followed it.

Now, some time after these people from Tetuxutun and Sti'ilup had been made, the Sun made a man in a place not far from Tetuxutun. This man had no woman; he lived all alone, and one day, when he was out searching for food, he, too, heard a Voice calling from the air.

"Listen," it said. "I will tell you how to make a spear." Then the Voice told him to cut a pole and make it smooth and round, and it told him how to make a good spear head to fasten on the pole.

The man did just as the Voice told him and worked every day at his spear until the pole was the right size and the head shaped and very sharp. Then the Voice told him to light a fire, that he might burn the handle to make it smooth.

Now, the man put his fire close to a pile of shavings that had been taken from the pole, and it was not long before it had crept along the ground and started to burn the shavings. Suddenly, the man saw the whole pile of shavings begin to move. Up and down they went, as though there was something underneath. Then, from the air, clear and loud, came the Voice.

"Quench the fire," it said. "Be careful not to touch the shavings, but spit upon the fire and quench it."

Quickly the man reached up to a branch beside him, and taking the leaves from it, he put them into his mouth and chewed them. When they were well chewed and wet, he threw them upon the burning shavings. More and more leave he chewed until at least the fire was out.

Now the shavings moved and shook harder than before, and out from amongst them there jumped a man and a woman.

The man was frightened at first, but after a bit he felt so glad to have friends, and he asked them to live with him, and they all stayed together in the man's house. They were still living there when those three boys and their wives started out to visit Tetuxutun.

(Cryer, 2008, pp.195-196)

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

'*Aant* – To Agree, or to Give Permission

Introduction

Indigenous Methodologies was employed in the traditional territory of the *Snuneymuxw* *Mustimuhw* (people of *Snuneymuxw*) to gain an in-depth understanding of both the context and content related to the relationships between leisure participation and cultural identity among this *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous population. A multiple methods qualitative approach was used to collect data, explore relationships and allow for a comparative analysis of occurring themes thereafter. The approach utilized an Indigenous methodology based upon the *Hul'qumi'num* epistemology of *snuw'uy'ulh* (sacred teachings) and a non-Indigenous (or Western) thematic analysis. This approach was employed to identify past understandings and themes about *Hul'qumi'num* cultural identity related to leisure. Further, the study attempted to assume a decolonizing lens by employing a conversational method throughout interviews. A conversational method is described as a “dialogic approach to gathering knowledge that is built upon an Indigenous relational tradition” (Kovach, 2009, p. 44). Discussions within the conversational method was used to solicit the traditional art of storytelling, to investigate *Hul'qumi'num* teachings, conceptualizations and experiences of leisure in relation to the dominant Western perspectives of leisure. Throughout the course of the data collection, accidental ethnography became identified as an additional method of data collection, but also became a significant interpretation instrument. These methods and approaches allowed for different data collection strategies in different contexts, and thus supported a holistic approach congruent to Indigenous Methodologies.

The study collected qualitative primary data from semi-structured interviews with ten *Snuneymuxw* cultural leaders, knowledge holders and Elders. Interview data collected was then used to analyze the role leisure plays in the development of cultural identity and identify relationships between past and present understandings of the role of leisure in the development of cultural identity.

3.1 Research Paradigms

Paradigms are philosophical assumptions, which guide a researcher towards a suitable overarching framework for the study (Kuhn, 1962, as cited in Klenke, 2016). The word paradigm

is derived from the Greek word *paradeigma*, meaning model or plan. Klenke (2016) postulates that there is “no paradigm-free way of looking at social phenomena” (p. 12). Research paradigms dictate three pragmatic research positions: ontology, epistemology and methodology (Klenke, 2016). Ontology relates to the nature of reality, epistemology is how we construct our knowledge of that reality, and methodology identifies the most appropriate practices to attain that knowledge (Klenke, 2016). As such, research paradigm conversations must revolve around the “tripartite linkages between ontology, epistemology and methodology,” as displayed in Figure 4, which includes the axiological question.

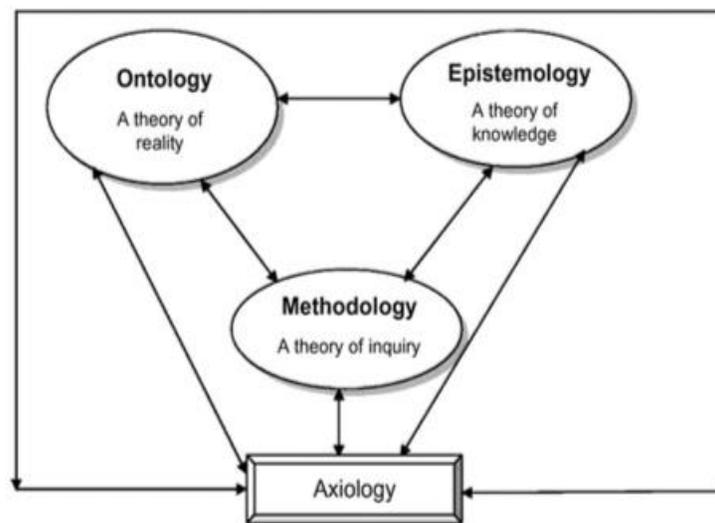


Figure 1: Paradigm Triangle (Klenke, 2016)

3.1.1 Positivism and Post-Positivism

The concept of positivism stems from the belief that the goal of knowledge is to describe a particular phenomenon (Trochim, 2006). Positivists postulate that knowledge is derived from experiences that we can observe or measure. As such, through the use of deductive reasoning, scientists are able to generate hypotheses to test their predictions (Phillmore & Goodson, 2004; Trochim, 2006). Alternatively, the concept of post-positivism recognizes that theory is revisable, and that observation and experiments are fallible. Henderson (2011) suggests that a post-positivist paradigm is often an appropriate position in leisure research given that “researchers are frequently interested in uncovering meanings from people about their multiple interpretations for reality” (p. 343). Therefore, post-positivists believe in multiple methods of observation and measurement (Trochim, 2006).

Recognizing an Indigenous perspective asserts that research is implicated in colonial discourses, I hesitate to argue that this research is framed in any specific research paradigm. A fundamental difference in paradigms is the dominant belief that knowledge is gained and therefore owned, whereas an Indigenous paradigm presents that knowledge is relational and shared (Steinhauer, 2002; Wilson, 2008). I do however, wish to acknowledge an explicit link between a post-positivist paradigm and Indigenous worldviews. Wilson (2008) presents that Indigenous reality stems from relational actions and interactions. As such, similar to a post-positivist view, an Indigenous worldview supports that as multiple relationships exist, so do multiple realities exist. Further similarities stem from the belief of post-positivist and Indigenous beliefs that one's background, knowledge and values influence an individual's understanding of the world around them, and subsequently the research process.

3.1.2 Ontology: Constructivist

Ontology refers to the first pragmatic question in research: "What is the nature of reality?" (Klenke, 2016). The philosophic response directly affects the form of inquiry of a research study. According to Klenke (2016), the most commonly used ontological positions in qualitative research are postmodernism, interpretivism, critical theory and constructivism. Constructivism is the belief that knowledge is subjective, created through lived experiences, and interactions within one's environment (Creswell, 2014; Gubrium & Holstein, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2013). A constructivist view presumes that reality varies dependent on an individual's experiences within their specific contexts (Klenke, 2016). Constructivism allows for participant lived experiences, actions, thoughts, feelings and reflections to be demonstrated in both meaningful and empowering ways. Further, the ontological constructivist position suggests that historical and cultural traditions and norms strongly influence how individuals subjectively structure their understandings of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Gubrium & Holstein, 2000).

Constructivist research is able to explore diverse experiences and understandings of realities for different individuals within the same group. As such, it is common for post-colonial researchers to challenge knowledge derived from a single view of an Indigenous population. It is argued that without allowing multiple views and voices of a culture, a simplistic and single view is presented thus reinforcing a sense of dominance or superiority of the predominant culture of the researcher (Phillmore & Goodson, 2004).

3.1.3 Epistemology: *Snuw'uy'ulh*

A paradigm can be defined as a 'world view' or the construct of beliefs as to how the world works (Slevitch, 2011). A paradigm can be further described as "a cognitive perspective or a set of shared beliefs to which a particular discipline adheres" (Slevitch, 2011, p. 74). Scientific paradigms are determined by our ontology, or our view of reality and our relationships amongst basic categories of being (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). It is the ontological position that establishes epistemology (Slevitch, 2011). Developing upon the ontological position of this research, which takes a qualitative constructivist approach, the epistemology sets the foundation for the second pragmatic question of research: what do we know and what is our truth? (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Klenke, 2016; Slevitch, 2011). It is the epistemology that sets the philosophical assumption of the "origin, nature, and limits of knowledge, which focuses on the relationship between knower and the known... beliefs about the certainty, structure, complexity and sources of knowledge" (Klenke, 2016, p. 15). As such, the epistemology seeks to justify or rationalize ones beliefs.

Manifestations of Indigeneity are rooted within spiritual and natural connections, and simultaneously conscious of strategic and pragmatic considerations of the world (Venkateswar & Hughes, 2011, 2013). Kovach (2010) argues that Indigeneity is an epistemological approach itself. It is contextualized within Indigenous philosophy. The focal Indigenous methodological discussion should revolve around an Indigenous worldview. For example, the concept of *Tsawalk* is the *Nuu-chah-nulth* "foundation of knowledge about the state of existence, and a guide for its interpretation" (Atleo, 2004, p. xi). It is this belief of *Tsawalk* that guides assumptions of knowledge and provides guidance for the practice of daily life of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* people (Atleo, 2004). Champagne (2015) proposes that "the diversity and presence of Indigenous nations are often not explicitly articulated in many theories and methodologies" (p. 59). Researchers conducting studies in Indigenous communities and among Indigenous peoples require looking at multiple worldviews, and to recognize Indigenous people's diverse understandings, values and ways of being.

This study is mindful to not assume homogeneity of cultures; therefore, I sought a parallel *Hul'qumi'num* concept to guide the foundation of knowledge for this study. The concept of *snuw'uy'ulh* (sacred teachings) is the traditional teaching model of *Hul'qumi'num* people. *Sulhween* (Elders) entails truths and rules that have been passed down to the next generations since time immemorial. *Snuw'uy'ulh* is the *Hul'q'umi'num* translation for using the "teachings of the

present to unite the past and future” (Marshall, 2011, p. 2). It is *snuw’uy’ulh* which dictates how *Hul’qumi’num* people should navigate the various stages of life, based on a concept of respect and cultivating a sense of self, personal identity and the identity within a larger collective cultural community (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014; Paige, 2009).

3.1.4 Methodology: Indigenous Methodologies

The ontological and epistemological assumptions directly affect the research methodology. It is the methodology that answers the third pragmatic question of, “how do we study the knowledge of reality?” The term methodology is described as the theoretical and philosophical constructs that dictates how research should be conducted (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Klenke, 2016; Slevitch, 2011). Commonly misinterpreted in research is the distinction between methodology and methods. The term methodology refers to the parameters set within the framework for research (Smith, 2013), whereas the methods are the tools utilized within the framework to answer the questions within the study (Smith, 2013; Smith & Heshusius, 1986). Indigenous Methodologies will be employed to set the principles that guide this study.

Indigenous Methodologies have been summarized as “research by and for Indigenous peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions of the peoples” (Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson & Sookraj, 2009, p. 894). Indigenous Methodologies are commonly a combination of Indigenous approaches and practices (Smith, 2013). Traditional Coast Salish protocol and literature demonstrate that dominant methodological approaches have proven incongruent with Indigenous worldviews (Kovach, 2009, 2010). However, Indigenous Methodologies are contextualized by a spiritual and cultural framework, acknowledging the interconnectedness and iterative processes of creation, and is characterized by relationships, responsibility and reciprocity (Burnette & Billiot, 2015).

Indigenous Methodologies are employed for their ability to embrace most appropriately the necessity for collaborative respect of Indigenous knowledge, culture and the research process (Burnette & Billiot, 2015; Champagne, 2015; Evans *et al.*, 2009; Kovach, 2009; Wright, Wahoush, Ballantyne, Gabel & Jack, 2016). There has been a significant amount of scholarship explicating the role and value of Indigenous knowledge (Castellano, 2000; Grenier, 1998; Kovach, 2009; Paige, 2004). As early as 20 years ago, Grenier (1998) explained how:

Indigenous knowledge [is] used synonymously with traditional and local knowledge to differentiate the knowledge developed by a given community from the knowledge generated through universities, government research centers, and

private industry (the international knowledge system, sometimes called the Western system) (p. 101).

Indigenous knowledge is viewed as relational teachings, co-created with nature and passed on orally over generations (Kovach, 2010; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015; Wright *et al.*, 2016).

The three processes, which encompass Indigenous knowledge, are empirical observation, traditional teachings, and revelations (Castellano, 2000). Traditional teachings refer to those concepts and beliefs, which have been passed down over generations. Empirical knowledge, gained through observations, is defined as “converging perspectives from different vantage points over time” (Castellano, 2000, p. 24). It is the converging of perspectives from different vantage points whereby validation is achieved in the post-positivist movement as each person’s perspective is held as a truth and as such, creating another explicit link between Indigenous knowledge and a post-positivist research paradigm.

Indigenous knowledge is usually described by Indigenous peoples as holistic, involving body, mind, feelings and spirit (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2014). Further, Indigenous knowledge is specific to place, usually transmitted orally, and rooted in the experience of multiple generations (CIHR, 2014). Indigenous knowledge is determined by Indigenous territory, environment, region, culture and language. Revelations, or revealed knowledge, is spiritual in origin and acquired through dreams, visions and intuition (Castellano, 2000; Lavallée, 2009). Revealed knowledge has been held under scrutiny by positivist western researchers as it cannot be measured or quantified.

It is these foundational understandings of Indigenous knowledge which form the hallmarks of Indigenous Methodologies. Martin and Mirraboopa (2003) describes the main features of Indigenous Methodologies as:

1. Recognition of our worldviews, our knowledge and our realities as distinctive and vital to our existence and survival;
2. Honouring our social mores as essential processes through which we live, learn and situate ourselves as [Indigenous] people in our own lands and when in the lands of other [Indigenous] people;
3. Emphasizing the social, historical and political contexts which shape our experiences, our lives, positions and futures;

4. Privileging the voices, experiences, and lives of [Indigenous] people and [Indigenous] lands. (p.205).

It is these cultural constructs viewed as theoretical and philosophical ideals which dictate how Indigenous research is conducted.

3.2 Qualitative Research Approach

A qualitative approach was used for this study. Qualitative research can be defined as any means of research not collected through statistical or mathematical processes (Creswell, 2014; Kovach, 2009; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). More specifically, qualitative research stresses the “socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 13); or the study of a “social phenomena within their natural setting or context... and relies on the direct experiences of human beings as meaning making agents in their everyday lives (Qualitative Research Network, University of Utah, 2009 as cited in Klenke, 2016, p. 6). Definitions of qualitative research are often utilized to draw on epistemological positions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Klenke, 2016).

Burnette and Billiot (2015) recommend qualitative research when conducting research with Indigenous populations because it facilitates “culturally congruent methods” (p. 9), such as storytelling and talking circles. Lavallée (2009) promotes the use of qualitative studies when working with Indigenous populations as it can account for and accept both the “physical and non-physical realms as reality” (p. 23). However, Lavallée (2009) cautions researchers of the challenge of data analysis in qualitative research, as dominantly accepted coding techniques could cause traditional stories to become fragmented and lose meaning, or collective value.

A benefit of qualitative research is that it allows for the identification of a culture-sharing group and studying how patterns of shared or similar behaviour can develop over time (Creswell, 2014). An additional benefit to a qualitative approach is that it promotes acknowledgement of cultural discourses (Burnette & Billiot, 2015), which aligns with the exploration of the relationship between leisure participation and cultural identity among *Hul’qumi’num* Indigenous populations.

3.3 Methods

Methods can be defined as the tools, procedures, techniques and strategies used to

investigate a specific inquiry (Smith, 2013; Smith & Heshusius, 1986). Key considerations when selecting appropriate research methods in Indigenous Methodologies are the “interplay between the method[s] and the paradigm and the extent to which the method[s], itself, [are] congruent with the Indigenous worldview” (Kovach, 2010, p. 40). Concerning the topic of methods, Mertens (2007) claims:

A researcher can choose quantitative or qualitative or mixed methods, but there should be an interactive link between the researcher and the participants in the definition of the problem, methods should be adjusted to accommodate cultural complexity, power issues should be explicitly addressed, and issues of discrimination and oppression should be recognized (p. 216).

The methods selected for this study is a multiple method qualitative approach, which used both document analysis, conversational methods and accidental ethnography.

3.3.1 Document Analysis

A qualitative approach to document analysis allows a researcher to utilize a collection of sources to track reoccurring words and themes (Altheide, Coyle, DeVriese & Schneider, 2008; Bowen, 2009). Qualitative document analysis is defined as “describing and tracking discourse, including words, meanings, and themes over time” (Altheide *et al.*, 2008, p. 127). The process requires “immersion in the subject matter, conceptually informed conversation with numerous documents and examples, and theoretical sampling for systemic and constant comparison” (Altheide *et al.*, 2008, p. 127). It is an appropriate method to identify past understandings and themes about *Hul’qumi’num* cultural identity related to leisure.

As identified by Marshall (2011), in addition to utilizing peer-reviewed research data to reference and conceptualize a study, it is vital to give ample regard to traditional knowledge, teachings and oral traditions. These are typically shared through alternative mediums within Indigenous communities such as cultural ceremonies, protocols, and situations of intergenerational sharing whereby knowledge is transferred to the youth from Elders and knowledge keepers.

This research draws upon the works of community ‘specialists’ whose compositions are specific to coastal Indigenous communities and employs eight documents, including documentaries, Master Thesis’, magazine articles, stories and videos relating to the identified criteria of: leisure, *Hul’qumi’num* and cultural identity. These documents, as presented in Table 2 includes two Masters’ thesis, one magazine article, three documentaries, and two video recorded stories.

Data were analyzed by thematic analysis, highlighting re-occurring themes, theories and statements. Such themes, theories and statements were recorded in a Microsoft Word document and used to identify, and support themes and ideas discussed in the conversational interviews. These include: statements of identity and connection to community, traditional teachings, identification of leisure activities, acknowledgement as a *Hul'qumi'num* person, etc.

Data collected through textual and alternate forms of media were used to inform the research process by providing insights into the questions asked in the conversational interview process and, as iterative understandings emerged, dictated areas of the literature review which required edits. Sources from the literature review and document analysis aided to support cultural understandings of shareable *hul'qumi'num* teachings and traditions and provided cautionary tales dictating expectations of respectful behaviour from a *hul'qumi'num* cultural perspective. Several of the sources further informed the findings by drawing emotional connections and eliciting situations of accidental ethnography.

No.	Data Source	Author	Year Issued
1	Master's Thesis: Marine Conservation from a First Nations' Perspective: A Case Study of the Principles of <i>Hul'qumi'num</i> of Vancouver Island, British Columbia	Cheri Anne Ayers	1996
2	Master's Thesis: A Tribal Journey: Canoes, Traditions, and Cultural Continuity	Tamara Marshall	2011
3	Cultural Survival Magazine: New Treaty, Same Old Problems	Robert Morales	2006
4	YouTube Video: A Young Man Comes of Age (Willie Seymour)	Si'em Multi Media	2014
5	YouTube Video: 125 th Cowichan Tribes Water Sports Celebration	Phil Ives	2015
6	Samaqan Water Stories S03E08	APTN	2012
7	YouTube Video: Story of Cedar, Cedar Hat Weaving & Bark Pulling Cowichan Coast Salish	Phil Ives	2012
8	<i>Tl'it'hwun'eq thu Siqaltunaat</i> - Salish's Victory	Donna Gerdts	2015

Table 2: Documents involved in Document Analysis

3.3.2 Conversational Method

The continuation of Indigenous cultures relies on oral tradition, as “knowledge, history, and teachings are passed down through spoken word and lived experiences” (Marshall, 2011).

As stipulated in the Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), the transmission of knowledge, history and teachings is an interpersonal and intergenerational process, and based on the relationship developed through verbal interaction. In respect of *snuw'uy'ulh* (sacred teachings), the second means of data collection in this study was conversational method. Conversational method is defined as “dialogic approach to gathering knowledge that is built upon an Indigenous relational tradition” (Kovach, 2010, p. 44). The conversational method aligns with Indigenous methodologies, as it “honors orality as means of transmitting knowledge and upholds the relational which is necessary to maintain a collectivist tradition” (Kovach, 2010, p. 42). This conversational method process aligns with the Indigenous traditions of sharing and transferring knowledge through oral histories and storytelling (Kovach, 2009, 2010). The process employed open-ended questions in a loosely structured interview directed by a research guide (Appendix C) to prompt for responses, while allowing for flexibility for both the researcher and the participant to contribute to the dialogue and create space for the participant to maintain greater control of their sharing in response to the research question (Kovach, 2009, 2010), thus, allowing a greater emphasis on “a sense of “empathy and imagination,” rather than on demonstrating a “deductive and calculative reasoning” (Charlesworth, 1996, p. 13). It is through the conversational method that this research solicited stories as a means of collecting data. Indigenous scholars have referenced the use of storytelling, as a conversational method in research, as an organic means of data collection (Bishop, 1999; Kovach, 2009; Thomas [Qwul'sih'yah'maht], 2002).

3.3.2.1 Storytelling

Paige (2009) shares the view that “For Aboriginal people, the significance of the world, worldview and environment are connected physically and spiritually” (p. 17). Kovach (2009) identifies that stories are active agents and allow for insight into relational phenomenon occurring within the physical and spiritual worlds. Story telling creates opportunities to value truth in multiple realities allowing participants to share the realities of their world through narrative inquiry (Smith, 2013; Wright, Wahoush, Ballantyne, Gabel & Jack, 2016). Yow (1994) identifies that stories allow the researcher to “learn about a way of life by studying the people who live it and asking them how they think about their experience” (p. 7 as cited by Thomas [Qwul'sih'yah'maht], 2000, p. 24). It is significant that many researchers and documents cite that the philosophical underpinnings of storytelling are congruent with Indigenous research

paradigms (see for instance, Kovach, 2010 and TRC, 2015). Furthermore, the method reflects a valued, traditional way to share knowledge and teaching within the Indigenous community (Kovach, 2010; TRC, 2015 as cited in Wright *et al.*, 2016, p. 2237). bell hooks (1990) shared that:

For us, true speaking is not solely an expression of creative power, it is an act of resistance, a political gesture that challenges politics of domination that would rather render us nameless and voiceless. As such, it is a courageous act – as such, it represents a threat. (p. 210)

For Indigenous people in Canada, and across the world, acts of resistance, or ‘speaking out,’ are combating issues of colonial domination, systemic and overt racism creating space for cultural resurgence and revitalization.

Kovach (2009) articulates that the storytelling process is a valid method of data collection, as it has been recognized as a legitimate method of knowledge transfer in Indigenous populations since time immemorial. In a contemporary context, The Supreme Court of Canada set precedence during the 1997 Delgamuukw decision when they recognized the act of oral testimony as significant presentation of evidence in the land entitlement case (Kovach, 2009).

Atleo (2004) shared the following on the validity of stories:

Consequently, there could be no ambiguity of the meaning to the story as the family gathered around the warmth of those ancestral fires. The evenings themselves could become an eternity that was not only timeless, unhurried and nonlinear, but also spatially motionless. While the storyteller and listeners’ experiences life without time in their physical bodies, their imaginations engage with the action found in each story. There is wonder and magic in stories that tell of the exploits and foibles of animal characters. There can be no resistance to lessons found in them because they are indirect. (p.4)

At its core, storytelling is holistic in nature and gives license to explore the interconnectedness of Indigenous knowledge and worldviews. Storytelling, as described by Cruickshank (1998), is an oral process of “open ended possibilities” (p. 72), which is congruent with Indigenous research paradigms and practices.

3.3.2.2 Participant Selection

Participants for conversational data collection were primarily selected through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a process whereby participants are selected due to being considered ‘information rich’ in knowledge and expertise (Klenke, 2016), or considered “experts” in their field (Creswell, 2014). A purposive sampling method dictates that participants are selected for the study regardless of probability, or mathematical distinction, but for other

means. Although, purposive sampling cannot be employed to provide conclusive data speaking for all members of *Snuneymuxw*, Klenke (2016) suggests “this lack of inclusiveness should not be taken as detracting from the value of the research, especially as generalizability of research findings is often not a concern within the qualitative research tradition” (p. 9). Purposive sampling holds value in the data collection process.

Acknowledging the scope of my study seeking to explore *Hul’qumi’num* perspectives was significant, the community of *Snuneymuxw* First Nation was identified as an isolated subject of analysis. As presented in Chapter 1, *Snuneymuxw* First Nations are traditional *hul’qumi’num* speakers ethnically and linguistically related to the Coast Salish of Vancouver Island and the Pacific Northwest. Limiting the scope to the community of *Snuneymuxw* First Nation acts to create general understandings of *hul’qumi’num* perspectives of leisure generalizable to this specific case. To find *Snuneymuxw* “experts’ on leisure, I employed existing social networks within *Snuneymuxw* First Nation by requesting to meet with contacts from the *Tribal Journey* Canoe movement and the Vancouver Island Regional Coordinating Group for the British Columbia Indigenous Sport, Recreation and Physical Activity Partners Council (ISPARC). Both organizations operate to empower Indigenous well-being rooted in traditional values, active communities and promotion of physical activity. The secondary method used to solicit for study participants was by snowball sampling. To employ this technique, I requested study participants to suggest other community members who may be willing to participate in the study. If the original participant was unwilling or unable to provide the researcher with contact information, I provided my contact information to be passed on. I also contacted members of Chief and Council and staff members of the band office.

Eligibility for participation in the conversational interviews was the ability to speak English, a registered member of *Snuneymuxw* First Nation, and be 19 years of age or older so as to not challenge the issue of legal consent by a parent or guardian as directed by law in British Columbia. The participant must be both willing and able to commit to the duration of one interview in its entirety and complete a review of his/her transcript, should the participant choose.

To ensure trustworthiness of the qualitative data, efforts were made to involve traditional knowledge holders (for example respected Elders and hereditary Chiefs), and cultural leaders (for example Chief and Council) (Sillitoe, Dixon & Barr, 2005). The involvement of Elders was

paramount due to the knowledge, traditional teachings, stories and ceremonies they impart (Lavallée, 2009).

The researcher attempted to approach contacts as per local protocol, through a personal visit inviting the individual to participate; however, the initial contact was often made via Facebook message or phone call given the busy agendas of many of the interview participants. When seeking out participants to the study, there was no coercion or deception in regard to the intent of the study. Upon initial contact with all potential participants, an information sheet (Appendix A) was provided, and details explained. The information sheet detailed the background information of the study, project purpose, research procedures, confidentiality, and next steps. Once the invitation to participate was accepted, the researcher confirmed a meeting date, time, location and any questions regarding the conversational interview.

Following protocol, each participant was provided with a small gift of *qwa'pulhp* (devil's club) lotion and *qux'miin* (wild celery seed) as a token of appreciation for participation. Some Indigenous scholars have suggested that the provision of a bundle of tobacco or cedar for each participant could replace the process of written consent, as it demonstrates respect for knowledge held by the study participant and ensures that the research is done in a good way (CIHR, 2014; Lavallée, 2009). In addition to the practice of *uy'shqwaluwun* (having a good mind and a good heart), the presentation of a gift in the research context can display respect signifying a commitment by the researcher to utilize the collected knowledge purposefully (Lavallée, 2009; Kovach, 2009).

Ten conversational interviews were conducted with *Snuneymuxw* Elders, cultural leaders and knowledge holders between the dates of May and September 2018. To diversify sources and enable different perspectives, an equal distribution of male and female respondents was selected. It was anticipated that each conversation would last approximately one hour, however interviews lasted anywhere between fifteen and seventy minutes. Each conversational interview followed an interview guide, starting with the introduction of the researcher and the study, and request for oral consent (Appendix C). The guide underwent slight alterations as each interview was completed and the researcher learned more about the role leisure played in the development of cultural identity and the *Hul'qumi'num* perspectives and understandings of leisure.

3.3.2.3 Transcription

With the permission of each participant, all interviews were recorded through a digital

audio device. The audio recordings created were then transcribed into a Microsoft Word Document. Data were transcribed verbatim, as pauses in conversation and repetition of statements sometimes implied information relevant to the study. It can be common for people who are Indigenous, especially Elders, to naturally pause, or repeat statements giving emphasis to certain teachings as a way of reinforcing key messages. First person narration was maintained in the transcripts to represent active voices of participant opinions and stories (Ferguson & Philipenko, 2015). I understand that once this work is published, it can never be retracted; therefore, it was vital to ensure that the stories and words presented were those of the participants. Activist and author Lee Maracle (1993) warns, "... everything you do and every word you speak, either empowers or disempowers" (p. 168). As such, participants were given the opportunity to review and provide edits to the transcript of their interview. Participants were also be given the opportunity to withdraw from the study up to two weeks from the time of being provided a copy of their transcript. If participants declined to review the transcript, they were given the option to withdraw up to two weeks from the date of their conversational interview. No participants chose to withdraw from the study within the identified time frame; however, they were informed should they choose to withdraw, all information provided, and data collected during the interview would be withdrawn from the study and destroyed. Four study participants made edits to their transcript and returned them to me.

Signed consent forms and paper copies of interview transcripts are currently stored in a locked file cabinet in my home. All electronic data are stored in password-protected files and folders on my personal laptop and on a password protected USB drive. In the spring of 2021, two years after this research was completed, all electronic files will be electronically deleted. At that time, any paper files documenting intellectual knowledge will be returned to the participant, or the family of the participant, should the participant have selected the option during their consent process. Paper files documenting data not requesting to be returned will be shredded.

3.3.3 Accidental Ethnography

During the data collection process, it became increasingly apparent that as the researcher, I was inadvertently employing an additional method of 'accidental ethnography'. This method is a "praxis-oriented method for practitioner-based research" (Levitan *et al.*, 2017, p.2). It suggests that practitioners who become researchers can utilize findings or pre-existing data from past experiences to contribute to scholarly discourse (Levitan, Carr-Chellman & Carr-Chellman,

2017). Accidental ethnography is a “reflexive, reflective, and praxical method of inquiry in which the researcher examines data that were gathered from day-to-day processes in the workplace in order to share important findings and to provide insights into educational practice” (Levitan *et al.*, 2017, p. 2). It utilizes data not collected as part of a predesigned study to provide insight “into a phenomenon, culture, or way of life” (Levitan *et al.*, 2017, p. 1). Such data can contribute to research knowledge if explored rigorously and reflectively (Eady, Drew & Smith, 2015; Levitan *et al.*, 2017).

Through accidental ethnography, my experiences living and working within *Hul’qumi’num* communities became part of data collected for this study, but also became a significant driver on how the analysis was conducted. These data, collected through an accidental ethnographic method, are not presented in a specific findings section. Instead, the data are presented to support and intersect interpretations, recollections, and experiences in the past tense that informs how I interpret the study findings. By doing so, accidental ethnography may not only be considered a method, but also a significant interpretation instrument. Throughout the research process, my cultural understandings and experiences became intertwined within every aspect of this study. Therefore, it was in the employment of accidental ethnography that I was genuinely able to employ Indigenous methodologies by truly recognizing Indigenous knowledge and realities; honouring social mores; emphasizing social, historical and political contexts; and privileging the voices, experiences and lives (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003) as presented and experienced within my own life.

During the writing of Chapter 4, I contacted all living individuals whom I identify as contributors to the accidental ethnographic data collection of this study presented in the findings section for their verbal consent to be mentioned in this paper.

3.4 Data Analysis Process

When selecting an evaluative theory for the data collected, Lavallée (2009) cautions researchers of the challenge of data analysis in qualitative research. She identifies that dominant coding techniques could cause traditional stories to become fragmented and lose meaning, or their collective value. Wilson (2008) further articulates that Indigenous knowledge is relational, and therefore, cannot be understood or analyzed through one specific lens. In the book *Research is Ceremony*, Wilson (2008) suggests the analysis of Indigenous knowledge cannot be a linear, or

a “one step leads to another” process (p. 116). When conducting Indigenous research, the data analysis method(s) must complement the data collection method(s), in order for “the research to make sense” (Wilson, 2008, p. 119). Wilson (2008) identifies that should researchers attempt to “use an Indigenous paradigm in analyzing the results of our research, the importance of relationship[s] must continue to take precedence” (p.118). As a “western” trained academic, I am programmed to analyze data in a systematic and logical order. Western academic discourse dictates to “separate our head from our hearts and our spirit as well” (Wilson, 2008, p. 119). However, the *Hul’qumi’num* teaching of *naut’sa mawt shqwaluwun* (working together with one heart and one mind), which I have vowed to abide by, prompts for relational data analysis acknowledging the interconnectedness of all variables in a dynamic and non-linear way.

For the purpose of this study, the data were first collected through document analysis, then secondly, through conversational interviews. The conversational interviews allowed for data to be collected from study participants, whereas I completed the document analysis by attaining data from various print and video sources. In order to analyze and bridge traditional Indigenous knowledge and contemporary leisure theory, I then attempted to incorporate a bi-cultural theoretical perspective through seeking relational accountability between subjective themes generated from participant responses and stories, in conjunction to seven fundamental teachings of *snuw’uy’ulh* (sacred teachings) as dictated by *Su-taxwiye* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2009).

3.4.1 Thematic Analysis

A modified thematic narrative analysis approach was conducted to analyze and interpret the conversations with the study participants. Thematic analysis was employed to code the data collected from the document analysis and conversational interviews. Thematic analysis is defined as an inductive approach (Flick, 2013), whereby emerging codes, themes and patterns are categorized into broad categories (Creswell, 2014; Flick, 2013). Riessman (1993) identifies that the process of narrative analysis requires “examin[ing] the informant’s story and analyzing how it is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener authenticity” (p. 2). It is through identification of the emerging themes and patterns in the data that will convey key findings (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009; Flick, 2013).

Data analysis in qualitative research happens hand-in-hand with the research process (Creswell, 2014; Wilson, 2008). As dictated by Creswell (2014) the process for thematic analysis of the data should occur in the following process:

Step 1: Organization of data, including transcription of conversational interviews and labeling and categorizing all data according to the sources of information.

Step 2: Re-read all data collected, while writing notes and ideas in the margins.

Step 3: Code data by separating thoughts and ideas into representative categories.

Theoretical category and thematic analysis will be employed to code the data. Theoretical category is a method to code data as per a framework (Flick, 2013). Thematic analysis is a method to code data into core themes where data is rich (Flick, 2013).

Step 4: Separate codes into descriptive themes.

It is through these steps that quantitative data analysis is separated from qualitative data analysis as researchers must consistently record themes and memos to analyze the data as it is being collected.

3.4.2 Significant Theoretical Frameworks

A theoretical framework can assist the researcher to better understand the data collected and to provide more effective and insightful findings (Flick, 2013; Gibson & Brown, 2009). However, one of the biggest challenges in entering into cultural research in the leisure field is the identification of viable theoretical frameworks (Floyd, 1998; Hutchinson, 2000; Walker, Deng & Dieser, 2005). Considering that *snuw'uy'ulh* is defined as the sacred teaching of the Elders to unite the past, present and future, I employed the seven fundamental teachings of *snuw'uy'ulh* as dictated by *Su-taxwiye* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2009) as my primary theory to structure the narrative thematic analysis of this study.

3.4.2.1 Snuw'uy'ul

The *ta't mustimusw* (olden day people) outlined instructions on how to live in a good way (Thomas [*Qwul'sih'yah'maht*], 2011). *Snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings) loosely translates to “our way of life,” and animates fundamental norms, customs and traditions of the *Hul'qumi'num* people. *Su-taxwiye* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014), identifies that *snuw'uy'ul* “organizes and guides one’s thinking, speaking, behaviour and interactions with people and the natural world” (p. 47). It refers to “a condition generated by the application of seven teachings” (p. 221) as follows:

Sts'lhnuts'amat (kinship or family);

Si'emstuhw (respect);

Nu stl'I ch (love);

Hw'uywulh (sharing or support);

Sh-tiiwun (responsibility);

Thu'it (trust);

Mel'qt (forgiveness).

Qwul'sih'yah'maht (Thomas [*Qwul'sih'yah'maht*], 2011) shares that as a result of colonization, much of the *snuw'uy'ul* of the *ta't mustimuxw* has been lost and that traditional protocols are not always followed, specifically in the realm of academia.

3.5 Axiology: Ethics, Considerations and Practices in Indigenous Research

Lincoln and Guba (2013) have broadened their view of paradigms from the tripartite linkage between ontology, epistemology and methodology to include the axiological question. They validate this addition to “make values (the branch of philosophy dealing with ethics, aesthetics and religion) a part of the basic foundational philosophical dimension of paradigm proposal” (p. 265). As such, they include into the pragmatic discussion the researcher’s values in the process of social inquiry (Romm, 2015). Mertens (2007) postulates that ethical considerations of research are more than “showing a commitment to University Institutional Review Board requirements” (pp. 222- 223) but extend into accommodations to ensure “active quests to further social justice” (Romm, 2015, p. 415). The ethical stance within axiology should be guided by the principles of accountability, responsibility, respectful representation, reciprocal appropriation and rights (Chilisa, 2012; Romm, 2015).

The Canadian Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (2010) dictates the governing rules for academic research. In response to the concerns of the historical injustices of the traditional people of the land, the Government of Canada developed the Tri- Council Policy Statement (TCPS2): Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis, Peoples of Canada, which identifies the accepted standards of practice for the data collection process of qualitative research as it respects cultural practices, values oral data, and promotes collaboration of research with the members of Indigenous communities being studied (CIHR, 2014). In particular, the OCAP Principles, and the 4 R’s of Ethical Research which acknowledge the Indigenous research principle that research must be conducted consistent to Indigenous ways of knowing and being (Kovach, 2009; Smith, 1999, 2013).

Paramount to the ethical considerations of this study has been consent and confidentiality. Academic policy stipulated by the TCPS2 (CIHR, 2014) identifies that informed consent must meet the following general principle guidelines:

- (a) Consent shall be given voluntarily.
- (b) Consent can be withdrawn at any time.
- (c) If a participant withdraws consent, the participant can also request the withdrawal of their data.

In the case of this study, document analysis provides little concern in terms of Ethics, as it is a non-intrusive method focusing on previously published materials (Shaw, Elston & Abbott, 2004). However, as addressed in the TCPS Tutorial, as required by all Vancouver Island University Student Researchers, ethical consideration for the participants of the conversational interviews are paramount. The Tri-council Policy asserts that all research involving Indigenous people in Canada involves active consent and a formalized research partnership with a Community Research Agreement (Appendix E). Prior to approval from the Vancouver Island University Research Ethics Board (VIU REB), I visited with Chris Good, *Snuneymuxw* Councillor, to discuss the nature and scope of this research and to seek consent to conduct research within the territory. It was agreed that before any interview took place, participants would be asked to give informed consent and their ability to terminate their participation in or withdraw from the study would be explained. To comply with university and Tri-Council research ethics policy, informed consent was discussed and obtained through use of a standardized form (Appendix B) approved by the Vancouver Island University Research Ethics Board. During the consent process, it was made clear to each participant and/or potential participant that the responses given, and stories shared are understood to be freely given on their behalf, and not on behalf of their ancestral nations.

The OCAP Principles were developed in 1998 and are sanctioned by the First Nations Information Governance Centre. The principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP) “enable self-determination over all research concerning First Nations” (First Nations Centre, 2007, p. 1). The primary goal of the OCAP Principles is to protect all information concerning First Nation traditional knowledge and culture, including “information resulting from research” (First Nations Centre, 2007, p. 1). OCAP applies to all research, data or information

initiatives that involve First Nations, and should encompass all areas of the research process.

According to the OCAP Report (2007, pp. 4-5), the principles of OCAP are defined as:

Ownership: Refers to the relationship of a First Nations community to its cultural knowledge/ data. Information. The principle states that a community or group owns information collectively in the same way that an individual owns their personal information. It is distinct from stewardship [or possession].

Control: The aspirations and rights of First Nations to maintain and regain control of all aspects of their lives and institutions include research, information and data. The principle of control asserts that First Nations Peoples, their communities and representative bodies are within their rights in seeking to control all aspects of research and information management processes which impact them. First Nations control of research can include all stages of a particular research project- from conception to completion. The principle extends to the control of resources and review processes, the formulation of conceptual frameworks, data management and so on.

Access: First Nations people must have access to information and data about themselves and their communities, regardless of where it is currently held. The principle also refers to the right of First Nations communities and organizations to manage and make decisions regarding access to their collective information. This may be achieved, in practice, through standardized, formal protocols.

Possession: While ownership identifies the relationship between a people and their data in principle, possession or stewardship is more literal. Although not a condition of ownership per se, possession (of data) is a mechanism by which ownership can be asserted and protected. When data owned by one party is in the possession of another, there is a risk of breach or misuse. This is particularly important when trust is lacking between the owner and possessor.

The Tri- Council Policy stipulates guidelines to be upheld when considering the confidentiality of each research participant. Lipson (1993) claims that researchers “should do everything in their power to ‘protect the physical, social, and psychological welfare of informants and to honour their dignity and privacy” (p. 335 as cited in Thomas [Qwul’sih’yah’maht], 2000, p. 29), unless it is the participant’s wish to be identified. Wilson (2008) supported this request by stating: “In a dominant system way of doing those ethics reviews, you are not allowed to name participants. But I think that in an Indigenous research paradigm, it is almost unethical not to name them” (p.115). It was requested in this study that each participant utilized their ancestral name in addition to their legal names when sharing, as traditional knowledge and stories are the property of those who own them.

When interviewing community members about their teachings and experiences, some traumatic experiences resulting from displacement or disrupted family dynamics (i.e. Residential school, Child Protective Services, substance abuse, negative personal-cultural associations, etc.) were uncovered. Additionally, depending on the teachings and stories the participant selected to share, and whether they chose to participate anonymously, there was a possibility that the information provided might cause scrutiny or lateral abuse within the community for sharing traditional knowledge for research purposes. To mitigate the risk of personal scrutiny, or lateral abuse, participants were given the opportunity to review the transcription of their interview, and to withdraw (and have their information withdrawn) from the study (even after participating in the interview process). To mitigate the risk of emotional disturbances and as a Certified Therapeutic Recreation Specialist, I had become educated in many systemic issues and challenges of community and family dynamics faced in *Hul'qumi'num* communities. Further, in cases of extreme emotional disturbances, I had a personal cell phone to call the Residential School Survivor Support Line, or the Vancouver Island Crisis line. If necessary, I was prepared to offer the option to accompany the participant to the Vancouver Island Health Authority Crisis Walk in Clinic, or the Nanaimo Regional General Hospital. All participants were provided with a list of community counselling options (Appendix D) with their written consent form, had any participant felt the need to seek support as a result of being triggered during participation in this study.

In understanding and employing the concept of rigor, or the enforcement of 'research rules,' ethics becomes an inherent concern for researcher. "Ethics are more than a set of principles or abstract rules that sit as an overarching entity guiding our research ... ethics exist in our actions and in our ways of doing and practicing our research" (Davies & Dodd, 2002, p. 281). Charlesworth (1996) further supports this premise by stating "Our approach to ethics, then, should be both flexible and contextual. There should be an emphasis on a sense of "empathy and imagination," rather than on demonstrating a "deductive and calculative reasoning" values more often equated with conventional descriptions of rigor (as cited in Davies & Dodd, 2002, p. 281).

3.5.1 Trustworthiness

The issue of trustworthiness in qualitative research refers to the scientific inquiry that demonstrates "truth value, provide the basis for applying it, and allow for external judgements to be made about the consistency of its procedures and the neutrality of its findings or decisions"

(Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993, p. 29). Addressing the trustworthiness of qualitative research can assist in making a study more rigorous (Decrop, 2004). The concept of rigor is foundational to methodological presentations in research scholarship and is discussed in many literary works (e.g., Connelly, 2016; Daly, 1999; Decrop, 2004; Neuman, 1992; Sarantakos, 1998). Yet, it appears that academia is lacking a definitive definition of what the term means (Davies & Dodd, 2002). The definition of *rigor* is presented in a literal sense in the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* as “severity, strictures, harshness, harsh measures, [and] strict enforcement of rules” (Sykes, 1985, p. 898 as cited in Davies & Dodd, 2002, p. 280). It could therefore be implied that the term refers to reliability of data based on “consistency in the application of research practices” (Davies & Dodd, 2010, p. 280), and that the methodology and methods used in each specific study are appropriate for the research questions and population of study. Davies and Dodd (2002) suggest that in qualitative research, the reliability of a study comes from the consistency and care in the “application of research practices” (p. 280).

Guba and Lincoln (2005) suggest that there is no single or universal process to measure the quality of qualitative research, because it is so diverse. Although quality criteria checklists, such as Lincoln and Guba’s (1985; 2005) typology of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, have contributed to increased confidence in the validity and acceptance of qualitative studies (Decrop, 2004; O’Reilly & Parker, 2012), it must be argued that uncritical adoption of criteria does not necessarily create quality research. The development of criteria to determine quality applicable to all qualitative approaches could not value the spectrum of qualitative research methodologies. Therefore, each separate approach should be idiosyncratically evaluated against quality markers that are congruent with their epistemological origins (Caelli *et al.*, 2003 as cited in O’Reilly & Parker, 2012).

To ensure fundamental trustworthiness and quality, this study will utilize transparency. The concept of transparency is a common marker of quality in qualitative research. Transparency means that a study provides sufficient detail about how and why the data was collected (O’Reilly & Parker, 2012). Charmaz (2017) speaks to the pivotal role language plays in constructivist research by sharing that “preconceptions are embedded in the very language we use” (p. 5). This point was extremely appropriate for the quality of data collection and data analysis of this study, as the term ‘leisure’ has been identified as a Eurocentric word, loaded with assumptions and meanings for both the researcher and the participants prior to this study. Through the data

collection and data analysis of this study, the researcher sought a sense of a broader view of the meaning of ‘leisure’ than implied by the shared English language.

3.5.1.1 Reflexivity in Research

To ensure the reliability, validity and credibility of research, the research must be framed upon the philosophical assumption of a pragmatic approach (Creswell, 2014; Klenke, 2016). In a constructivist paradigm, the researcher must be aware of potential bias (Lavallée, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 2013). As previously noted, I come to this research as a *hwunitum slhunlheni* (non-Indigenous woman), unsettled settler Canadian individual invited to live and work within several Coast Salish communities over the last nine years, providing me with sustained and intensive Coast Salish cultural experiences. Further, I have developed and maintained a position of mutual respect within the communities. Such relationships have the potential to build trust, shared understandings and enable a safe space to most accurately describe experiences, feelings, and thoughts (Davies & Dodd, 2010). Thus, creating a catalyst of a “collective social engagement and knowledge construction process, creating enriching and empowering research relationships” (Mao, Akram, Chovanec & Underwood, 2016, p. 1). However, being cognizant of power positioning, researchers should acknowledge counter-colonialism displayed through reflexive transparency in data collection and analysis (Nicholls, 2009).

The goal of reflexive research is to support researchers to “understand themselves both as ‘objective’ forces impinging on others and as subjects who have intentions and commitments they share with others” (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000, p. 579). In understanding and adopting the methods of rigor and ethics, it is the intent to collect and present data, which is accurate, meaningful and truthful in participant detail and information.

Throughout the process of this research, I tried my best to uphold the *snuw’uy’ulh* passed down to me from the late *Kwul’lh’uts’tun* of *Stz’uminus* First Nation and the discipline of *uy’shqwaluwun*. *Kwul’lh’uts’tun* defined *uy’shqwaluwun* as “having a good mind and a good heart.” He was quoted sharing: “Speak from your mind, speak from your heart. It is hard to separate the two, the mind and the heart; they are one.” (*Kwul’lh’uts’tun*, as cited in Marshall, 2011, p. 21). *Uy’shqwaluwun*, explains *Qwul’sih’yah’maht* (Thomas [*Qwul’sih’yah’maht*], 2011), is about “integrity and being in a good way” (p. 63). With this research, I also aim to perpetuate the cycle of teachings passed on to me in a good way. Chief Dan George (1974) shared the statement:

“Of all the teachings we receive
This one is the most important:
Nothing belongs to you
Of what there is,
Of what you take,
You must share” (p. 25).

The above are powerful words that inspire me to consider how to create reciprocity for this research and to return my gifts to the community in culturally relevant ways. It is my intention that this work is meaningful and contributes by advancing the current resources on theoretical conceptualizations of leisure as a variable in the production of Indigenous identity.

3.6 Study Limitations

Although the teachings of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings) are considered a universal *Hul'qumi'num* concept, the teachings are not prescriptive. The transcendent teachings of *snuw'uy'ul* find expression and meaning within each family unit and therefore, cannot be reflective of all customs and traditions of the *Snuneymuxw*, nor *Hul'qumi'num* people as a whole entity. The variability of teachings and family practices within the community could create a bifurcated picture of teachings and an agnostic consensus of community opinions and beliefs. However, working within a constructivist epistemology, this study acknowledges that each participant voice is valid in itself. During the research process, I reached out to 21 individual *Snuneymuxw* First Nation community members representing the 10 predominant familial lines within *Snuneymuxw*; 10 consented to sit and share their *snuw'uy'ulh* and 10 declined or were otherwise unable to share their teachings for various reasons including time commitments, personal beliefs and reasons not specified.

Considering the I am not formally part of the community, cultural differences between the study participants and the researcher may be considered a limitation to the study. I acknowledge that underlying cultural differences may have impacted the analysis of participant responses, potentially causing data to be misinterpreted or inaccurately portrayed through my own cultural lens as a researcher and a *hwunitum slhunlheni* (non-indigenous woman). My presence, as the researcher, may have influenced participant responses considering the roles and relationships I have held and currently hold within the community.

Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Four

Now as I told you, the boys found a little trail, and as they walked along, they heard a funny noise. All stopped to listen. "What can it be?" "Sounds like men's feet stamping," they whispered. Very soon they saw through the trees a small cabin, and through the open door could see people standing in a row, stamping with their feet.

"Let's go and see," said the youngest boy. "No, better not, our father would not like it. We know nothing of these people." The others told him, and they turned back on the trail. But the youngest would not leave. "We will go and watch," he told his wife, so they walked up to the door of the cabin and stood looking in at those strange people – the man who had made the spear and the man and woman who had come out of the fire.

There they stood in a row, holding their hands up and elbows at their sides, and jigging from their knees, turning their bodies about, and sometimes stamping with their feet. Those were the first people to make that dance, and they called it 'schuck-hyuka.'

For a long time, the young people watched, but at last they went on after the others.

Now the two oldest brothers and their wives at last got back to Tetuxutun and were welcomed by the old people. "Where is our youngest son?" they asked. "He and his wife stayed behind to see some queer people dancing," replied the others.

The old father threw up his hands. "My son has gone to look at those people," he exclaimed. "Does he know better than to mix with such low class. Why, they cannot be friends; these people were brought from a fire."

"You see," explained Tl'utasiye, "the old father and mother did not think people made from a fire were as 'good class' as people made by the Sun."

After some time, the youngest son came home with his wife, and would have walked into the house, but, "No," said the father, "you are no son of mine! Go away! Go back to those friends of yours who are making that dance." So, the two young people went away, and they walked and walked for many days and nights, looking all the time for a good place to make a home. At last they came to a big river, and walking along its banks, they found the best place that they had seen in all their journey. "Here we will stay," they said. And there they made their house. They named the place S-amuna, 'a resting place.' Later on, when children were born to them, they, too, built their houses at the same place, and so grew the tribe of the S-amuna Indians, who ever after have made their home beside the Cowichan River

(Cryer, 2008, pp.196-197)

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Snuw'uy'ulh – Sacred Teachings

Introduction

This qualitative study explores the role that leisure plays in the development of cultural identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous people. To achieve this, the research objectives are to: (1) identify and analyze *Hul'qumi'num* culturally embedded perspectives on leisure; and (2) evaluate the role of *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous perceptions and practices of leisure on cultural identity.

This chapter presents the data collected during conversational interviews, document analysis and 'accidental ethnography.' The results are based on 10 conversational interviews loosely directed by a research guide. The conversational interview data collection process resulted in 55 pages of transcription generated from over 250 minutes of recorded conversations. Additional data were gleaned through document analysis from eight sources and personal experiences from nearly a decade living and working within the community.

The analysis of the data was directed by a theoretical framework based upon an Indigenous research paradigm and the seven teachings of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings). The findings are shaped in relation to the concepts of self and social identity. The theoretical conceptualization of leisure as a variable in the production of Indigenous identity, was enhanced with past scholarship on culture, leisure and identity in Indigenous and non-Indigenous contexts. I believe it is paramount to give significant respect to the teachings found in oral traditions shared through alternative mediums to substantiate the empirical data referenced throughout the first three chapters of the study.

As a third generation Canadian, a *hwunitum slhunlheni* (non-Indigenous woman), educated in Eurocentric discourses, the analysis of my participant interviews was guided by Western scholarship. I consistently struggled to remain true to the Indigenous paradigm within the current decolonizing struggle occurring in Canada. I am aware of Wilson's (2008) reminder that Indigenous ways of knowing are "relational and, therefore, cannot be viewed solely through one lens" (p. 58). In terms of data analysis, he also suggests that "accuracy does not play as big a part in describing the phenomenon; but, is more important in describing the set of relationships that make up the phenomenon" (p. 122). In my analysis, I sought to identify relationships within and

because of leisure, and propose how each was meaningful to a *Hul'qumi'num* identity, specifically a *Snuneymuxw* identity as expressed by my interpretation of relationships supported by narratives, document analysis and my 'accidental ethnography.'

4.1 Participant Profiles

As an introduction at the beginning of each conversation, I asked the respondent the same question: "When meeting a new person, how would you introduce yourself?" I would like to introduce, through their own responses, and in no particular order, the ten participants to this study:

Slh'lhexul'luq: Hello, my respected friends and relatives my name is *Slh'lhexul'luq*. I come from *Snuneymuxw*. I am the child of *Xul-si-malt* i *Qwi'watha*. One important line that I always share is that I am connected to Nanoose, Nanaimo, and Shell Beach through the blood lines of my grandparents... I've been trying to embrace my language and go towards it with my dad. I am 39 years old and I have lived a pretty decent life. I have had my struggles but have always tried to keep a healthy way of living. Like everyone, I try to be as in shape as I can, and I like to play a lot of sports.

Xul-si-malt: My traditional name is *Xul-si-malt* and I am the child of *Slh'lhexul'luq* and *Tilil'tanaut*. I'm connected through my grandparents to the villages of Chemainus and Shell Beach and Victoria and Sechelt. I'm a well-grounded elder. I've not always been that. I've had my own little struggles through colonization and residential school. So, I'm a survivor of that. With that history I carry... that suppressive knowledge. I guess you'd say and survived it. I embraced culture in my 30s, and I consider myself pretty grounded culturally to hand down things to my children.

Sqwulutsutun: [As Indigenous people] we literally live in both worlds; The Indigenous world and the Western world. I'd describe myself as predominantly respected in both worlds. There's a lot of challenges to that, because both worlds pull you. I'm usually very positive, and strong when I need to be strong, but never the less, I'd describe myself as a people person. I also want to state it's very hard to talk about [myself], because as [a person who is] Coast Salish, it's part of our teachings to be very humble and not to really talk or gloat about oneself. I think there's a lot of positives about myself, but I'll leave it at that. Just following our teachings, because [otherwise] it's not natural.

Sahiltiniye': I write about our history that I've heard about, stories from my grandfather, my great grandmother. And I write about our culture, because I really want to educate our youth and empower them and make them proud of who they are and where they come from so, I'm a writer and educator. I'm a caregiver. I take care of my parents and I'm a single parent.

C'tasi:a: As someone new introducing myself [I would say]: Respected One, *Au Si'em*, my name is, *enth pe' C'tasi:a, ni Snuneymuxw* (from *Snunwymuxw*).

Marina: I come from *Dg'naxda'xw*. I've been living in the Coast Salish territory since I was 9 years old and I'm now married to *Snuneymuxw*, so Coast Salish. I have roots in *Nuu-chah-nulth* as well. I'm a residential school survivor. I really like to focus on wellness for my grandchildren, because I missed an opportunity with my children.

Sho'qu'pux: My traditional name is *Sho'qu'pux* and I'm from the *Snuneymuxw* First Nation. I am 56 years old. I am the Education Director for *Snuneymuxw*. I work with our Elders, language program, [and] the Adult Learning Centre. I oversee our band school *Qwam Qwum Stuwixwulh*. I am married. I have been married for 37 years and we have 3 beautiful children, and I have 4 grandchildren, well actually I have 6 grandchildren because I include my sisters' grandkids, because traditionally my sister's children are mine also. I have no living grandparents, so we are orphans. I have my mom who is amazing and on her side of the family, she has two living siblings, all her other siblings have passed. On my father's side they are all gone now. So, it's real[ly] sad when I reflect back. I'm only 56 and I don't have any grandparents and haven't had any for the past 15 years. My husband's grandfather just passed about five years ago, so it's real[ly] sad when I reflect and look and see how we don't have any grandparents. .

Sul'si'mus'tun: My name is *Sul'si'mus'tun*... that's my name handed down from my Grandfather. I'm very fortunate to be carrying that name. I am from *Snuneymuxw* Territory here on my father's side and Grandmother and Grandfathers side. And, also, I'm from the *Musqueam* First Nation. That's where my mother's from. That's who I am. My Great Grandfather – his father and his grandfather are from *Katzie* – up the river from *Musqueam*. That's where my other family is from. I acknowledge my grandparents and honour them, as that is who I am. I know in my heart that they're very strong people, very kind, loving, honest, generous, people; because, that's who I feel I am. I'm that type of person. That's who I work hard to be; an honourable person in my community and in the community around me and to everyone I meet and see in my daily journeys.

Si'tay-weah: My Coast Salish name is *Si'tay-weah*. I'm a mother of beautiful children and a grandmother of grandchildren. They're just beautiful children and I love them dearly. So, I think my focus is probably more [on them] at this time of my life than anything else. I went to residential school when I was really little- five- and I stayed there until I was ten. I'm from a tri-cultural background. Coast Salish, West Coast and Non-Native.

Hun'tcouwiyus: Well I guess first off, if it's a first meeting, I'd certainly need to introduce myself, let the people know that I'm Coast Salish and my cultural name is *Hun'tcouwiyus*, and that I've lived here for a long time and my forefathers have lived here for even longer. I think we come from back 10, 000 years. [That's how long] It's been said we lived here in this area. I think that's really great. I'm born and raised here. My father was chief at one time and my mother was a counsellor. So, we had a rich upbringing in athletics, but also politics.

4.1.1 Document Analysis and Accidental Ethnography Profiles

Included throughout the findings section are teachings shared by Coast Salish knowledge keepers garnered through the document analysis process and personal interactions throughout my life. The authors and individuals are referred to by *hwuhwilmuhw sne* (Indigenous name) in

keeping with my effort to break the cycle of colonialism and support the return of lost traditions and reclamation of Indigenous intellectual property. I would like to introduce the individuals who contributed to this study through sharing their stories in alternative studies, through their published writing and through personal communication with me throughout my life:

Qwul'sih'yah'maht (Thomas): *Qwul'sih'yah'maht* identifies her familial lineage as hailing from the *Lyackson*, *Snuneymuxw* and *Sto:lo* First Nations. She is the wife of *Pahyahutssen* and the mother of *Gigalis*, *Qwul'the'lum* and *Thi'ya'lat'sih* (Thomas [*Qwul'sih'yah'maht*], 2011). Since the time of her publication, she has become a proud grandmother. Her PhD dissertation research is focused on identifying and acknowledging the role that *xwulmuxw slhunlheni* (Indigenous women) play in leadership in a *Hul'qumi'num* context (Thomas [*Qwul'sih'yah'maht*], 2011).

Kwulasulwut: *Kwulasulwut* (1922-2018) was a respected *sul-hween* (elder) from *Snuneymuxw* First Nation. Throughout her life she held countless roles within her community, including that of a healer, a medicine woman, a knowledge keeper and a storyteller (Thomas [*Qwul'sih'yah'maht*], 2011; Dickson, 2018). She was a mother, grandmother, great grandmother and auntie to many (Thomas [*Qwul'sih'yah'maht*], 2011). She was bestowed the Order of Canada in December 2016, the Order of B.C. in 2011, and in 2006, she received an honorary doctorate from Vancouver Island University for her contributions as an elder and leader (Dickson, 2018).

Su-taxwiye (Morales): Identified herself in her research as being born of mixed ancestry: Cowichan (Coast Salish) and Mexican on her father's side and English, Scottish, American and Canadian on her mother's. Her PhD dissertation research is focused on the traditions of *Hul'qumi'num* law, both within and separate from, the Canadian legal system (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014).

Thiyaas: *Thiyaas*, Florence James, is identified by *Su-taxwiye* ([Morales], 2014) as being an elder from the *Penelakut* Tribe and is recognized for her contributions to revitalizing the *hul'qumi'num* language.

Kwul'lh'uts'tun (Sxweltun): *Kwul'lh'uts'tun* (1949-2015), late Willie Seymour, is identified by *Su-taxwiye* ([Morales], 2014) as being an elder from the *Stz'uminus* First Nation and is recognized for his contributions to revitalizing the *Hul'qumi'num* language. *Kwul'lh'uts'tun* was a well-known throughout the Pacific Northwest as a big house speaker and orator of the *Hul'qumi'num* language. He held many roles throughout his life including several terms on *Stz'uminus* council and service on the Assembly of First Nations in Ottawa. At the time of his passing, *Kwul'lh'uts'tun* was one of only 40 identified fluent *Hul'qumi'num* speakers.

Xwaluputhut: *Xwaluputhut* is a descendent of proud *Hul'qumi'num* people from *Stz'uminus* First Nation and *Penelakut* Tribes. Drawing upon his experiences of growing up in the foster care system and living with a physical disability, he now works as a youth advocate and

motivational speaker. *Xwaluputhut* is well known amongst participants of the ‘Tribal Journey’ movement for his infectious smile and composing ‘The Equality Song.’

Suliguye: *Suliguye*, Buffi Seymour David, is an elder from *Stz’uminus* First Nation and is recognized for his contributions to revitalizing the *Hul’qumi’num* language. She is an educator and has been held in a position of great admiration and respect as ‘Auntie Buffi’ by many children and youth within the *Stz’uminus* community for many years.

Tsus’tsa ‘sul’ ‘wulh: “My name is *Tsus’tsa ‘sul’*. There is an elder that lives on *Punelxutth’* who collects for funerals. His name is Frank. He has the male part of this name and it was adjusted to be a female name. My aunt gave me this name to share with her. It is a well-respected name that the men carry, and it is an honour for a female to have” (D. Aleck, personal communication, 2019). *Tsus’tsa ‘sul’ ‘wulh* is a descendent of *Stz’uminus* First Nation and *Quw’utsun* Tribes. She is a wife, mother and grandmother. *Tsus’tsa ‘sul’ ‘wulh* is held in a position of great admiration and respect as ‘Momalina’ by the members of the *Kw’umut Lelum* Canoe Family.

Stwu al’ ts ‘i’ e’ mia: *Stwu al’ ts ‘i’ e’ mia* is of mixed ancestry from *Stz’uminus* First Nation, *Quw’utsun* Tribes and Aztec of central Mexico. She is the daughter of *Tsus’tsa ‘sul’ ‘wulh* and *Yuri Raul*. *Stwu al’ ts ‘i’ e’ mia* is a wife and mother to *Juansimon*.

4.2 Objective One

This section aims to address the first research objective which seeks to identify the culturally embedded perspectives of leisure as expressed by the research participants. The findings suggest that there are some similarities and a noteworthy disconnect between the definition of leisure presented in historical and contemporary Eurocentric leisure scholarship and in Indigenous cultural perspectives. The findings of this will be presented as narratives dictating teachings and opinions around leisure, as shared by the research participants, relatable to *snuw’uy’ul* (sacred teachings). To analyze a correlational association between teachings surrounding the construct of leisure and practices of *snuw’uy’ul*.

I met with respondents individually in various locations including public offices, parks, coffee shops or at kitchen tables in their private homes. As a *hwunitum slhunlheni* (non-Indigenous woman) researcher, I tried to share the opinions and teachings passed on to me through direct quotations from the participants. Many of the participants struggled at times to find “direct” responses to the question around what teachings they received and how. “I guess [I did], but I didn’t know it,” said Marina. “Because of the suppressive history of residential school, my parents were very tight with cultural teachings,” shared *Xul-si-malt*. “In our culture,” said *Sahiltiniye’*, “we can’t approach an Elder and ask questions like this. I had to earn their respect in order to get teachings and I never, ever, asked about certain teachings. I just embraced what they

gave me.” However challenging it appeared to articulate responses, all respondents continued to share their knowledge and experiences.

As for the question of defining the term ‘leisure,’ the literature review, detailed in chapter two, supports that it is widely understood and accepted that contemporary definitions of leisure are not consistent with traditional, Indigenous views of leisure activities. McDonald and McAvoy (1997) presented elements of pervasive worldviews on traditional activities consistent with contemporary Western definitions of leisure. These definitions accept:

- the belief in the sacredness of life;
- emphasize the spiritual aspects of individuals, communities, and nature;
- a reciprocal and interdependent relationship with all creations;
- value harmony and balance;
- a heightened sense of place or connection to the land and environment, with the centrality and meaning of place;
- highlights the cyclical pattern of life exemplified through cultural rituals and traditions.

Strong connections were identified by the study participants regarding the definition of recreation and leisure that were consistent in a Eurocentric contemporary sense. For instance, *Slh'lhaxul'luq* viewed the nature of leisure as “your own personal free time,” *Sqwulutsutun* said leisure was “choosing to do something ‘cause you enjoy it. Marina viewed leisure as “any activity that gives me joy.” *Shi'qu'pux* defined leisure as activity that “doesn’t feel like a chore,” and *Sul'si'mus'tun* said it is “just as a time where I would be enjoying myself.” However, other responses indicated an inconsistency with Eurocentric contemporary definitions contriving deeper connections to place, spirit and culture. “Leisure,” said *Sqwulutsutun*, “is [a] chosen, rewarding, fulfilling, activity. But, it’s much more than an activity when you think about it.” Additional corroboration included, “I do disagree with it just being free time or whatever... We need it” (*Sahiltiniye*), “I think it’s really important that mix always be there between leisure and culture, because that’s who we are, and it’s something we need to maintain and carry on” (*Hun'tcouwiyus*). “You can’t separate leisure and culture. It’s just a part of what our lives are. Very rich, and a part of everyday of what you do and what you think. It’s hard to separate these things” (*Si'tay-weah*). “It’s not just a sport. It’s about family. It’s about community. It’s about teamwork. It’s culture with sport, and the two go together” (Marina). As such, there was no definitive response on the definition of leisure.

Being mindful of the challenges offered expressing a disconnect of Indigenous definitions of leisure and recognizing that prior to colonization there was definition of the term ‘leisure,’ I find it important to share the statement: “[Cultural activities were] never about leisure,” postulated *Sahiltiniye*. “It’s about... I think knowledge. It’s a strength. And our children need that knowledge.” *Sahiltiniye*’s response echos the value of exploring conceptualizations of leisure further.

After providing an introduction of themselves and defining what ‘leisure’ meant to them, conversations were directed towards *Snuw’uy’ul* (sacred teachings) and its relationship, if any, to leisure in each participant’s life. Author, researcher and *hwuhwilmhw slhunlheni* (Indigenous woman) *Qwul’sih’yah’maht* is of mixed ancestry from *Snuneymuxw*, *Lyackson* and *Sto:lo* First Nations. She explains that *snuw’uy’ul* animates fundamental norms, customs and traditions of the *Hul’qumi’num* people, and as such, is a strong component to *hul’qumi’num* culture and dictating behaviour (Thomas [*Qwul’sih’yah’maht*], 2011). She adds that these cultural teachings are “a way of life based on and rooted in our traditions” (Thomas [*Qwul’sih’yah’maht*], 2011, p. 73). “*Snuw’uy’ul* teaches us how to get through difficult times and situations, how to take care of ourselves... how to raise our children, how to transition through the various life stages, how to live and how to die. The teachings provide family and community structure” (Thomas [*Qwul’sih’yah’maht*], 2011, p. 74). Author, researcher and *hwuhwilmhw slhunlheni* (Indigenous woman) *Su-taxwiye* is from mixed ancestry with paternal ties to Cowichan Tribes. She identifies that *snuw’uy’ul* refers to “a condition generated by the application of seven teachings” of: *sts’lhnuts’amat* (kinship or family), *si’emstuhw* (respect), *nu stl’I ch* (love), *hw’uywulh* (sharing or support), *sh-tiiwun* (responsibility), *thu’it* (trust), and *mel’qt* (forgiveness) (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014, p. 221).

The teachings of *snuw’uy’ul* transcend age and status, they “begin while in the womb and are fostered and built upon even after death” (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014). Over a breakfast, interview, *Si’tay-weah* shared with me her belief in the connection between culture and leisure as passed on by her Grandmother:

Culture is always there. It’s what you do. It’s intertwined in your being like you’re taught it from the time you’re young what’s going on, who’s doing what, what’s happening in the community. My grandmother used to do that constantly-talk about all these things... it’s not a separate thing from culture. It’s hard to separate these things. When you talk about one, it involves everything, and you can’t separate it.

Much like *Si'tay-weah*, *C'tasi:a* shared the construct of intergenerational learning being a fundamental component to the passing on of teachings. She identified leisure as an element of the intergenerational teaching process, and a vital facet to the learning of *snuw'uy'ul*:

This is leisure, [it's] recreation. From the youngest they would be observing, sitting there watching their mothers and grandmothers. The grandmothers would be teaching their daughters how to make what they were making and the same role with the grandfathers and the fathers and the young sons. They would be passing their teachings down. This is leisure, [it's] recreation.

The teachings collected in the conversations were multifaceted, presenting opportunities to permeate more significant conversations than the Eurocentric contemporary definition of 'leisure.' The statements of the participants suggest that leisure is inextricably interwoven within the *snuw'uy'ul* teachings of the *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw* (*Hul'qumi'num* people) and cannot be separated from the *Hul'qumi'num* worldview. Examples of leisure were communicated in participant responses regarding culturally embedded conceptualizations of leisure through the sharing of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings), suggesting relationships between leisure and the applications of the seven teachings as presented throughout this chapter.

4.2.1 *Sts'lhnuts'amat* (Kinship or Family)

The Cambridge English dictionary defines the term kinship as "a feeling of being close or similar to people or things; a relationship between members of the same family." The notion of kinship, fostering familial ties, and interpersonal relationships are inherent components of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings). In our conversation, *Xul-si-malt* shared, "I think leisure for me is just being with family." "For me," shared *Sho'qu'pux*, "I would have to say [leisure is] being with my grandkids." Family time is regularly identified as a key component in many Eurocentric and Indigenous definitions of leisure.

Lineage or kinship connection is a vital identifying factor for people who are Indigenous, as displayed by cultural protocol. Throughout my experiences in Coast Salish communities I have learned, before anything, it is customary to first identify who you are and where you come from. It is a way of presenting oneself respectfully with *uy'shqwaluwun* (good mind and good heart). I have been told by the *sul-hween* (Elders) that when you enter a new place you not only identify yourself and your family for those present, but for the *ta't mustimuxw*, the old people who have gone before us. It is believed that although they are physically gone, you announce your presence, so their spirit knows you are there, because you may be descendants of their family.

Si'tay-weah laughed as she recalled memories of 'leisure time' with her grandmother, prior to leaving for residential school as learning her lineage:

My grandmother was patient... she'd sit me down on her lap and she'd say 'Putnin' we're going to talk... We lived on a river road which was the river was right there and the people from the community used it. She'd [point] to each person walking down the street. She'd [tell] me who I was related to. I got that lesson every day of the week. "This is how you're related to them," she'd say and then start the family tree... So, my leisure was sitting being lectured by my grandmother about who I was related to. Then we were able to play after, which was very rare, but we could play out[side] and explore outdoors.

For the *Hul'qumi'num mustimuxw* (Hul'qumi'num people), family is viewed with the upmost importance. *Su-taxwiye* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014), describes how "family is what holds us in relationship as individuals and bridges us as individuals into our communities and nations" (p. 223). Acknowledging that leisure can also play a link in uniting families within the community, *Hun'tcouwiyus* shared:

I think leisure in the community is something that combines everyone together. It keeps the people together. It keeps family together... I think that leisure has always been an important part of our community probably in a lot of different ways than any other place would be because ours is very specific as to how we do leisure and enjoy leisure. So yeah, I think it's something that binds the community together for sure.

These examples help to demonstrate the significance of connections to kin, but also the importance of intergenerational familial ties within the community.

Sports were identified as one positive type of leisure experience that provides the opportunity to strengthen familial bonds. Eight of the participants spoke fondly of developing bonds with family members or creating familiar connections. *Slh'lhaxul'luq* shared the direct link that participation in leisure created to developing kinship bonds:

My dad wanted to bring me towards my culture, towards more of the First Nations community, so he started the Nanaimo Snipers soccer team. When I came towards soccer, it was against all other First Nations communities, and all of a sudden, I'm starting to mingle and hang out with other First Nations from other communities like our ancestors did. It brought me towards the First Nations people.

It was through the sport of soccer that *Slh'lhaxul'luq* came to recognize himself as a contributing member of his family and community. Recalling his experiences playing competitive lacrosse, *Hun'tcouwiyus* shared with me, "I know for one thing that [sports and leisure] most certainly identifies us as *Snuneymuxw* and the pride we take in winning and definitely competing."

Hun'tcouwiyus was inducted in the Nanaimo Sports Hall of Fame in 2009 for his contributions to the sports soccer, lacrosse and football. *Slh'lhaxul'luq's* great-grandfather, and *Xul-si-malt's* grandfather and traditional namesake, Harry Manson (*Xul-si-malt*) was inducted into the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame in 2015 for his contributions to the sport of soccer as an Indigenous man in the early 1900s participating - and winning - in non-Indigenous competitions. The recognition of these *Snuneymuxw* athletes has created a proud legacy for their community and families to celebrate their successes for generations to come.

4.2.2 *Si'emstuhw* (Respect)

When I first began working amongst the Coast Salish, I entered into a relationship of great mutual respect with the late Willie Seymour. Willie carried the traditional names *Kwul'lh'uts'tun* and *Sxweltun*. Although he was registered *Stz'uminus*, he had family ties and was highly respected throughout the Coast Salish territories of the Pacific Northwest. Between 2009 and 2013, I had the great pleasure of travelling with him on *Tribal Journeys* to communities by land on Vancouver Island, the lower Mainland, Washington State, and on the ancient ocean highways throughout the Puget Sound. In the summer of 2012, before we left for Tribal Journey Paddle to Squaxin Island, USA, he was recorded by the Aboriginal Television Network (APTN) sharing teachings of respect to the youth. "Respect," *Kwul'lh'uts'tun* said, "that's the only rule you're going to need in life. Respect. Respect for yourself. If you can learn to respect yourself fully, you can learn to respect other people." Respect is a fundamental teaching of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings).

While sitting at his kitchen table during an interview, *Sul'si'mus'tun* gifted me with some of his *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings) about respect:

When you have a lot of respect and you're an honourable person, you're like an ambassador not only to our community but to our ancestors, our grandmother and our grandmother before her, because they struggled to teach us these things and they're not written down with your hands. They were passed down verbal. That's what we live by today. That's why I'm teaching you. That's why I'm telling you. You have to listen to what I'm saying, because you have to remember. And so, they learn respect and honour, who they are. They're honourable people, very respectful people and pleasant to be around.

Hun'tcouwiyus's late mother *Kwulasulwut* is remembered as a strong and honourable woman from *Snuneymuxw*. She is quoted in the writings of *Su-taxwiye* that respect means "respect for others and their differences and for the power of love. The teachings [*snuw'uy'ul*] show that we are all different, but the power of love and commitment transcends all differences" (Morales [*Su-*

taxwiye], 2014, p. 226). Coast Salish children are taught the proprieties that perpetuate respect; respect of self, respect for other animate and inanimate beings. *C'tasi:a* shared some of her teachings of respect during my interview with her. Her teachings exemplified the practice of respect between the natural worlds when going on a hike:

So, you have to understand animals when you go. When we brought the girls up the mountain (She gives a bird whistle) [we had] to call the birds, let the birds know [that we're] here. [We'd] go sit down low to acknowledge [to the bird] that you're going up to visit. You don't just go walk into the forest make a bunch of noise. You've got to knock, call the birds to let them know you're here, make a noise so you acknowledge the spaces where you're going. You knock on the door when you go in someone's house, don't you? Well, when you go into the mountains acknowledge your presence and they'll accept you. So that's what we do.

These are just two of many examples of how *Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw* demonstrate respect in all areas of life.

Sqwulutsuntun shared how he believes modern cultural revival sporting events are an opportune location to share the teaching of respect to the youth:

The first nations basketball tournament is phenomenal, thriving, for just not *Snuneymuxw*, but all First Nations coming together, so, sport and leisure connect those two to bring resilience, and I see the community's bonding and being on the same page. Families that may have been at war for centuries and not support each other, come together in leisure roles amongst not just us, by all sport.

Regardless of the context of the experience, such as sport, hiking, ceremony, or celebration, respect is a vital component of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings). "I feel that culture is just respect when you look at it," shared *Sho'qu'pux*. "To others from the outside it may look like its [just] leisure, because you know it's fun - the drumming, singing, dancing, going to dances, and then paddling- but there's discipline." For me, the concept of discipline goes hand-in-hand with the concept of responsibility.

4.2.3 *Sh-tiiwun* (Responsibility)

Each summer, when our canoe family reached our destination on *Tribal Journeys*, we would culminate our journey by sharing songs and dances with the host nation. *Kwul'lh'uts'tun* would gather us together to stand in a circle with our Canoe Family and dressed in regalia. "*Lemut tun 'thele*" (look within your heart), he would say, "*Nilh uw nuwa*" (this is who you are). And in that moment, every member of the family was proud of who they were and how far they had come. "Now, go rock the house," he would yell, followed by resounding cheers of "whoo

hup!” and “whoop!” The drum beats would vibrate, and the Canoe Family would take to the protocol floor to show the community who we were. In that moment, the pride within the canoe family and the sense of responsibility to present our dedication was un-wavering. Much like our experiences dancing on the protocol floor, *Slh’lhexul’luq* recognized the sense of pride and responsibility when representing his community in sport: “I’ve seen [community members] take such great pride,” he said, “when they put on the jersey from their own community.” He elaborated by saying: “There’s a lot of pride that comes out of certain communities when they get out on the field and they’re representing their community, and they’re representing First Nations people. They will always carry that pride with them.”

Slh’lhexul’luq also recognized that a sense of pride is contagious: “The pride that comes from all of these people - you encourage so many more fans to come together to cheer on everyone being healthy... Everyone being competitive in a healthy way. And those fans on the side are feeling that joy of that person scoring the goal. It brings them together as a community.” In a sense, he was sharing that through the athlete’s immense showing of pride and skill, they held an innate responsibility for uniting the community in a positive way. *Sqwulutsutun* has also observed leisure and sport uniting the community in a positive way. “And we’re here and leisure, it is here today... It was here in our past and it will be here in our future. On the soccer field, to canoeing, to walking the shoreline together – [leisure] has kept our community together amongst every obstacle of trying to disconnect and assimilate and, in some cases abolish us as peoples.” Acknowledging the role that leisure can play in the passing on of *snuw’uy’ulh* (sacred teachings) “Leisure,” stated *Sqwulutsutun*, “has been a survival tool – a mechanism – a natural fit for all that *snuw’uy’ulh*.” As a community coach, *Sqwulutsutun* shares the responsibility of passing on the healthy teachings to the next generation of young men and women from *Snuneymuxw* through facilitating sport participation.

4.2.4 Nu stl’I ch (Love)

Love is another teaching of *snuw’uy’ul*. When I think of the teachings of love and leisure I am again brought to memories travelling on *Tribal Journeys* with my Canoe Family. I am reminded of nights under the stars listening to the ocean lull our canoe family to sleep while *Tsus’tsa ‘sul’ ‘wulh* and her daughter *Stwu al’ ts ‘i’ e’ mia*, cherished members of our canoe family, sing to us in *Hul’qumi’num*. One of my personal favourites was always a song written by Stz’uminus Elder *Suliguye*. For many years *Suliguye* worked at the community pre-school taking

care of the *munu* (children). Many years ago she told me that when the children left to go home for the night, they would call to her, “Auntie, I love you!” So, *Suliguye* composed them this song in reciprocal admiration.

Nu sti'l'ch u tu netulh
Nu sti'l'ch u taxw skweyel
Nu sti'l'ch u tu hith snet
Nu sti'l'ch uw yath
Nu sti'l'ch tuna kweyul
Nu sti'l'ch u tu muxw skweyel
Nu sti'l'ch, Nu sti'l'ch, Nu sti'l'ch

I love you in the morning
I love you in the afternoon
I love you in the long evening
I love you all the time
I love you today
I love you everyday
I love you, I love you, I love you
(Composed and translated by *Suliguye*)

There are many stories and songs in *hul'qumi'num* tradition illustrating that love is a key teaching. During our interview *Sahiltiniye'* shared the value of storytelling as both leisure and education, sharing her love to the community through passing on her stories to the next generation:

Anytime I heard stories it gave me strength. So, I really want to do the same for our children and our children's children. I really want to lift them up and empower them and make them proud of who they are. So, I story tell any chance I get and that's why I write the way that I do – the passion to write and tell stories.

The teaching of love defines relationships and can be demonstrated through activities such as art as leisure, much like *Sahiltiniye'* sharing her stories and *Tsus'tsa 'sul' 'wulh* singing her children to sleep.

4.2.5 Hw'uywulh (Sharing or Support)

Many years ago, when I first started working in the communities, I was fortunate to sit with *Xul-si-malt* in structured *hul'qumi'num* language classes hosted in the community of *Snuneymuxw*. After learning the protocol of how to introduce myself, my name, and where I come from, I was educated to say “*uy'ye'thut ch 'u'suw ts'its'uwatul'ch,*” which loosely translates to “treat each other well and help each other.” This phrase articulates the fundamental teachings of sharing with and supporting others. Nearly ten years later, sitting at the *Sway' a'*

lana (Maffeo Sutton Park) entrance to *Saysutshun* (Newcastle Island), *Xul-si-malt's* son *Slh'lhexul'luq* shared with me an example of how leisure is one way he is able to support his community:

It's very satisfying for me... when I see this young talented player grow into this amazing soccer player... I witness what happens in my community and I witness a lot of sad and harsh things, but when I see the happiness of this young man dribble past two or three defenders, shoot and score, and he's just beaming. For me - that's all the satisfaction I need. To see how much it changes their life in such a good way and creates good memories.

Sqwulutsuntun also sees the value of sport in the community as an opportunity to share and support others. He explained this by sharing that sport “has brought our people together for hope and resilience. And the teachings around coming together as one could be leisure, sharing meals and the prepping. All the prepping that goes on for huge gatherings and meals is leisure.”

Sharing and support is the basis for reciprocity.

Su-taxwiye (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014), builds upon *Sqwulutsuntun's* comments on cultural gatherings by addressing that the teachings of sharing and support are reinforced through kinship systems and through ceremonial practices, such as naming ceremonies, memorials and weddings (p. 233). *Si'tay-weah* described her experiences with ceremonies requiring extensive amounts of labour, food, money, supplies and support.

We have various different times in life when things have to be done, and a potlatch has to be held. In our way it's a must. That's just the way we are. From that day when you know about it [the ceremony] you do something about it for a whole year and then you have – whatever it is a ceremony or the event. It's not a separate part of your life- I have to keep saying that- but to me it's still leisure.

In a sense, *Si'tay-weah*, *Sqwulutsuntun* and *Su-taxwiye* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014), have identified that through sharing with and supporting others, leisure plays a role in ceremony.

4.2.6 *Mel'qt* (Forgiveness)

Over the years, I have had countless conversations about both the words “forgiveness” and “reconciliation” with *Xwaluputhut*. *Xwaluputhut* is a descendent of proud *Hul'qumi'num* people from *Stz'uminus* First Nation and *Penelakut* Tribes. Although he is only a year older than I am, he is my teacher. He is also my best friend. *Xwaluputhut* has a heart wrenching story about living with cerebral palsy, and childhood trauma arising from the intergeneration effects of residential school. As a young adult, he struggled with addiction. But, he is more than his story, he is a warrior. He does not let his negative experiences define him, only to help him develop as a

human, stronger and more aware. He has taught me that it is not my role to criticize, condemn or discipline the actions or words of others, because I myself am also sometimes guilty of ignorance. He has taught me my responsibility is to enter into respectful dialogue with others, to seek to understand and to educate.

A few short years ago *Xwaluputhut* was gifted a drum. The drum beat it provided opened the door for his personal healing, which started with forgiving many people in his life, including himself. He now supports youth who are struggling with forgiveness through his gifts of songs and stories.

During our conversation, *Sqwulutsutun* shared with me his beliefs on the role that leisure plays in combating the effects of racism within Canada:

I think leisure plays the healthiest, happiest role when I see our people through colonization: residential schools, poverty, Indian Hospitals, the Indian Act and all the stuff [created by] colonization sort of held people back and ... has oppressed the people. Leisure has been the medicine of resilience. Leisure has brought hope. Leisure has brought health, and leisure has brought vision, and leisure has brought survival.

Much like *Xwaluputhut*, *Sqwulutsutun* believes that leisure plays a role in reconciliation. Where *Xwaluputhut* uses a drum and his voice, *Sqwulutsutun* utilizes a soccer ball. In addition to being a community coach, *Sqwulutsutun* holds responsibilities in the political world, and has seen the good, the bad and the ugly of people. In a statement of hope, he mentioned to me, “we see communities come together and it’s through leisure. It’s great. There’s no politics. There’s no histories.” He elaborates by saying:

Leisure is the way to get [the] teachings and medicines to these individuals that may be struggling... Leisure is the way for healing for our people and all peoples. Leisure is also a way ... of connecting communities, cultures and peoples. And it’s a way of bringing peace amongst peoples.

In a local coffee shop at the end of a long day, Marina shared with me a beautiful story about her history and her journey to forgiveness through sport:

I know that to be true really true beyond words and that is there’s a healing component, a natural healing. I say that because 22 years ago - today actually - I lost my son to suicide. He was the most magnificent athlete you ever saw. It didn’t matter what sport, he was fabulous. And what offered healing and a place for me to move out of that - because it was tragic, and it was so unexpected - is the land, the water, the cultural activities that came with it.

Marina volunteers at the North American Indigenous Games as the manager of the British Columbia Boys Lacrosse team. She explained that she is able to honour her late son’s legacy by

supporting the next generation of athletes to train, travel and compete. She shared with me a story demonstrating how she knew the young men were accepting the teachings: “There was one team there,” she said, “who we were beating by a lot of goals. Our coach called the boys in and said, ‘let’s not blow this team away, because we want to respect the integrity and respect whatever’s going on for them and honour the game of lacrosse.’” As a result of that action, she believes the team ultimately placed in the bronze medal bracket instead of gold. “But,” she said, “the teachings themselves were so significant that it was more meaningful than you know, had we played for the silver and gold. Just those teachings alone being in the bronze bracket was worthwhile.” This is one example of sport being utilized to instil the young men with the *snuw’uy’ul* (sacred teachings) they need to be successful in and out of the lacrosse box.

4.2.7 *Thu’it* (Trust)

Su-taxwiye (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014), identifies that the teaching of trust is “intertwined with the teachings of responsibility and respect” (p. 236). *Sul’si’mus’tun* shared his personal cultural journey with me, detailing how trusting in his teachings, trusting in his culture and trusting in himself has created positive changes in his life:

Nothing but good has come my way since I started to focus[ing] on my culture, and help[ing] my grandchildren with sports and schooling, just understanding and knowing who I am, and believing. Believing in those words, understanding that I am one person, but I come from many generations of very respectful people, honourable and strong people.

As described above, the teachings of *snuw’uy’ul* are the fundamental rules of life for *Hul’q’umi’num* people which dictate protocol and behaviour. These teachings are critical to family and community structure. *Thiyaas*, Florence James, a *sul-hween* (Elder) from *Punelxutth’* (*Penelakut* Island) was quoted sharing with *Su-taxwiye* (Morales [*Su-taxwiye*], 2014, p. 235):

Once you are passed down the traditional teachings you have to believe it in your heart – all the rules and ways to live... It’s not just about saying it. You have to live it for it to be creditable. When you just say it, then it won’t have meaning if you aren’t living it in your heart. So that is what makes us authentic when we tell you the law... *Sni’niw* means that you know the knowledge of *snuw’uy’ul*.

The Merriam Webster dictionary defines the word ‘trust’ as the “firm belief in the reliability, truth, ability or strength of someone or something.” Considering this definition, *Thiyaas*, *Sul’si’mus’tun* and *Su-taxwiye* spoke about living in accordance with the *snuw’uy’ul* they have been given was to trust in the sacredness of their culture.

4.3 Objective Two

This section aims to present findings associated with the second research objective of this study, which was to evaluate the role of *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous perceptions and practices of leisure on cultural identity.

Sul'si'mus'tun identified himself through the practices of his ancestors. Through learning the process of a *shak wum* (cultural bath), he expressed learning more about himself as both a grandson and a grandfather:

We would bath in the sand on the edge of the water to wash the negatives off of our bodies and the cedar was to brush the negative off our back. And you would pray to the creator and our ancestors and all the people who have gone to the spirit world ahead of us, and we speak to them through prayer. Then once we've done that, then we dip ourselves into the river into the cold water four times, and then we stand in the water brush off one more time with the cedar and then we take the cedar bough and we throw it out into the river as far as we can. Throw it, and we watch it go down [the river]. It's the physical, the physical happening, of just being able to see that cedar land in the water and watch it go down the river and know and believe and understand that the negatives that we carry are now gone, gone down the river. [The bough] will make its way out to sea and be gone. It gets taken away and we know at that time our ancestors will be very proud of what we're doing because it's their teachings. It's the way that they cleansed themselves thousands of years ago they did it; my grandfather, my father, I'm doing it and I'm teaching my own grandsons.

Sul'si'mus'tun's identity as a *xwulmuxw swuyqe'* (Indigenous man) is derived from the activities, actions and teachings which he conducts and, as such, his identity contributes to his actions.

Many of the *xwulmuxw mustimuhw* (Indigenous people) I met with shared through their introductions that they come from many nations: "I'm also from the *Musqueam* First Nation," said *Sul'si'mus'tun*. "[I'm] connected through my grandparents to the villages of Chemainus and Shell Beach and Victoria and Sechelt," shared *Xul-si-malt*. *Si'tay-weah* identified, "I'm from a tri-cultural background. Coast Salish, West Coast and Non-native." Regardless of the number of communities each individual's lineage linked them to, everyone identified themselves as being connected to an Indigenous community and as a member of their immediate family (i.e. Mother, grandmother, father, grandfather) before identifying themselves in association to a specific activity (i.e. storyteller, soccer player, etc.).

The interviews held during this data collection process created space for honest conversations. Many of the participants shared stories identifying examples of 'leisure' activities they had once participated in that caused negative experiences and reactions. However, in the

cases of *Sho'qu'pu* and *Sqwulutsutun*, these negative experiences became lessons of hope. In a genuine moment, *Sho'qu'pux* shared how culture and leisure allowed her to re-create her identity:

In our community in the days of the 1970s, 1980s there was chronic drinking that was like leisure – drinking in those times... You'd say, "What are we doing?" "Drinking." And that was the leisure. And then all of a sudden, we come to this day and age where drinking isn't the leisure of being who we are. Now, we have to just shift it. Like you hear people losing their kids, and then you hear people are getting abused, and then you hear all the reality part comes up. It's all talked about now... For me, the leisure part shifted when I gave up alcohol... And I think that's where the shift [happened] and that's where we... I feel that we became ready to deal with the using or dealing with the demons or dealing with whatever. And the part that helps us deal with that is our leisure and our culture: the longhouse, the paddling, the mountain baths. All that stuff all slowly heals the community.

While sharing some of the 'demons' he has battled in his life, *Sqwulutsutun* spoke of how culturally relevant leisure activities created resilience and safety for him and sending a message of hope and resiliency:

Leisure kept me alive. If it wasn't for leisure, I would be six feet under, 'cause I would have killed myself. I would have OD'd... From the bottom of my heart, if it wasn't for leisure, I just would have been another dead Indian...

Through narratives like *Sho'qu'pux* and *Sqwulutsutun*, it becomes increasingly apparent that there may be a strong relationship between the role of leisure in the development and maintenance of a cultural identity.

4.3.1 Transcendent Teachings

Through the data analysis process, with particular reference to the transcendent teachings of *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings) and the participant narratives around their personal sense of cultural identity, four main thematic relationships arose: 1) Relational interactions between people and places are integral to the development of cultural identity; 2) Traditions and teachings are communicated through leisure interactions and actions; 3) One's cultural identity and leisure identity are not independent of one another; and 4) Authentic engagement in culturally motivated leisure activities contributes to an increased salience of one's cultural identity.

4.3.1.1 Relational Interactions

The first thematic relationship arising from the data analysis process was the belief that relational interactions between people and places are integral to the development of cultural identity. Over the past several decades, attachment to place has been researched extensively.

Raymond, Brown and Weber (2010), assert that “individual connection with place is not just a function of experience with nature or social interaction with friends and family in setting, but also how individuals construct their own identity through their ... histories” (p. 422). Feelings of belonging and community are elicited through social bonding and emotional connections based on shared history (Raymond *et al.*, 2010; Sampson & Goodrich, 2009; Trentelman, 2009). A study in British Columbian park lands by McAvoy, McDonald and Carlson (2003) presented that people who are Indigenous create “deep emotional, symbolic and spiritual meanings of places that... influence their lifestyles, environment, and perceived quality of life” (p. 100).

This relationship is exemplified by the teachings of *C'tasi:a*, who shared, “My traditional name, *C'tasi:a*, it came from my great grandmother and that was placed on me back in 1990.” She turned to a large map displaying the land referred to as the Regional District of Nanaimo, waving her hand across the land of the *Snuneymuxw* people and shared, “Now the old people way back in the day of - I don't know when; but, can't put a date to it - placed these names on here, and I have the meaning for all of these names and why did they give these place names?” Addressing the importance of connection to place, she continued, “It needs to be known to the youth of our community so when they go to these sites, “Ohh!” could have been their great- great- great grandfather or great grandmother that gave these places names. It will have more meaning.” She took a deep breath and shared:

Our [history] is connected to the land and that's what I say from the mountains to the rivers, to the ocean and back to the land and the environment it embraces. Understanding the importance of all those resources and what each contains. Everyone breathes life, and it's up to you to understand and why the old people said that. I was young when they said that (she starts to whisper) from the mountains to the rivers to the ocean and back to the land, and the environment that it embraces. It's up to you.

The centrality of place in meaning making amongst Indigenous populations presents a vital relationship creating significant influences all aspects of life.

At the end of every conversation, I asked each individual if there was anything else regarding leisure and their *Snuneymuxw* identity that they wished to express. *Sul'si'mus'tun* went silent for a moment, and presented his desire to connect to the land as an “urban Indian”:

We definitely need to have a place for our Elders. A place built for them that is comfortable and there's culture - you know - by culture, I mean built by cedar logs. Beautiful cedar. Lots of cedar. Our people know that cedar is medicine, so when you're sitting in a place that has cedar beams and cedar posts and a cedar

roof, they know they're in a safe place already. Just knowing that its built by that, the strength is there. So, it would be a comfortable place. That's one thing.

Just as *C'tasi:a* says, "from the mountains to the rivers to the ocean and back to the land, and the environment that it embraces." In an Indigenous perspective, everything is connected and everything has purpose.

4.3.1.2 Traditions and Teachings

The second thematic relationship arising from the data analysis process was that traditions and teachings are communicated through leisure interactions and actions. "The leisure activity is the tool to bring the peoples from all our communities together," said *Sqwulutsutun*. He suggested participation allows for individuals to "absorb some form of medicine they can take from the leisure activities. It's intertwined. It's weaved together. It's a beautiful fit."

Sqwulutsutun proposed, "all the *snuw'uy'ulh* that comes with paddling and respecting the canoe and the water and when you're paddling that can be viewed as a leisure activity. But," he continued, "there's so much culture engrained in that activity: the sacred teachings around the water, the sacred teachings about building the canoe, being in the canoe, about the water, prepping for the water, prepping for the canoe, and the culture how you sing to the creator." It became increasingly apparent during the course of the conversations that leisure has become a key intervention for educating teachings and traditions within the community.

4.3.1.3 Independent Identities

The third thematic relationship arising from the data analysis process was that one's cultural identity and leisure identity are not independent from one another. When sitting with *C'tasi:a*, I asked her, "why do you participate in leisure?" Her response was almost immediate, "It's our history," she said. "It's rich history... our leisure, recreation and culture is linked together." The idea of inter-relations between culture and the practice of culture was consistently expressed during the course of all the conversations. *Si'tay-weah* shared:

Culture is always there. It's what you do. It's intertwined in your being like you're taught it from the time you're young what's going on, who's doing what, what's happening in the community. My grandmother used to do that constantly-talk about all these things and so it's a part of – it's [leisure] not a separate thing from culture. It's hard to separate these things. When you talk about one it involves everything, and you can't separate it.

Much like the teachings of the medicine wheel, there is an inter-relation recognized between culture and cannot be isolated from one another. Two of the study participants

expressed this relationship as variables in the creation of personal balance. For example, Marina shared:

I think there's a real balance, because you can be the best athlete in the world but if you don't have spirit and you're not connected to who that is, and you're not connected to who you're intended to be, then I think that's when our kid's kind of fall off the wayside. And then they're lost, but if they're supported and they have that foundation culturally and they know who they are and who they're meant to be, then there's so much endless possibilities but with that comes the need for education.

This quote resonates with me after my experiences participating in *Tribal Journeys* and witnessing the celebration of the *All Native Basketball* tournament. It becomes increasingly apparent to me at events, such as these, that one cannot easily determine what element of the event is more important to the participants, the cultural engagement or participating in the activity itself.

4.3.1.4 Authentic Engagement

The fourth thematic relationship arising from the data analysis process was that 'authentic engagement' in culturally motivated leisure activities contributes to an increased salience of one's cultural identity. As discussed in Chapter 2, the question of authenticity in the context of this study is dependent on an alternative context, the definition of whether an activity is 'existentially authentic' and based in process and approach. Discussing the process of practicing culture, *Si'tay-weah* shared the responsibility of practicing culture, and how the actions become engrained in all aspects of life:

From that day when you know about it [the ceremony] you do something about it for a whole year and then you have – whatever it is a ceremony or the event. It's not a separate part of your life- I have to keep saying that- but to me it's still leisure. I love it. It's beautiful. There are teachings that are handed down. There is ceremony where you get to see from ancient time ceremonies.

It is largely the role of the elders and traditional knowledge keepers to pass on authentic teachings. The sacredness of intergenerational roles and responsibilities are held with the highest regard within the community. *C'tasi:a* explained how leisure is included in this process by sharing:

That's leisurely activities in our culture; bringing the children together before they make those, they understand where it came from – where did this wool come, from what animal? 'Lumutoo', the sheep. And where did the paddles come from? Came from grandfather tree. You tell a story to the children then you bring them to the mountain where it came from or where it is still living. That's leisure to get them excited to be part of the activity.

Origin of the Snuneymuxw: Part Five

“Sometime after, the other brothers and their wives went back to Sti’ilup, and the old mother and father went, too, so that there was no one left at Tetuxutun. “But, as I told you in my last story, the tribe at Sti’ilup grew so big they had to build three rows of houses and have a name for each row, but the name for the place was Sti’ilup.”

“Those people,” added TI’utasiye, with a look of pride, “were my own people – my tribe. My old granny lived at Sti’ilup before they all moved to this place where we now have our homes. So, you see, those people at Tetuxutun, and the man and woman at Sti’ilup, were the very first of our tribe that is now called the Snuneymuxw Tribe.”

(Cryer, 2008, p. 197)

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Hwq'ey'tth'uxut – Putting Things Together

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the role leisure plays in the development of cultural identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous people. To achieve this, research objectives were to: 1) identify and analyze *Hul'qumi'num* culturally embedded perspectives on leisure; and 2) evaluate the role of *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous perceptions and practices of leisure on cultural identity. Four thematic relationships emerged suggesting the strong interconnectedness between leisure and the development of cultural identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous people. They are: 1) Relational interactions between people and places are integral to the development of cultural identity; 2) Traditions and teachings are communicated through leisure interactions and actions; 3) One's cultural identity and leisure identity are not independent of one another; and 4) Authentic engagement in culturally motivated leisure activities contributes to an increased salience of one's cultural identity.

This chapter will discuss relationships between key findings presented in the previous chapter to relevant literature on creating authenticity in contemporary Indigenous leisure, leisure and identity, and the role of leisure in reconciliation. This chapter also includes recommendations for future research and a conclusion.

5.1 Authentic Indigenous Leisure

The concept of authenticity is “grounded in meaning,” and as such, “permeate[s] the basic assumptions that persons make about ‘who’ they are” (Erickson, 1995, p. 133). In her seminal work regarding identity and self, Erickson (1995), suggests that authenticity is “not an either - or experience,” and that the concept of authenticity assumes an existence of a trans-situational and “somewhat stable aspect of self,” which is not reducible to it (p. 122). She further postulates that issues of authenticity have become a pervasive part of culture. As such, individual identities – including authentic identities – are multi-faceted, dynamic and often inconsistent. The concept of authenticity creates multiple ideological elements questioning both analytical and empirical values (Umbach & Humphrey, 2017). It is through these persuasive forces of Western ideological

discourse that the term ‘authenticity’ has generally sought to define “other peoples’ realities” (Taylor, 2001, p. 8). In the leisure field, the notion of authenticity seeks to present objectivisms. Theorizing about the authenticity of Indigenous leisure experiences outside the realm of Indigenous epistemologies further enforces Eurocentric discourse and undermines the moral and ethical obligation of respectful research with Indigenous populations. Taylor (2001) suggests that in adopting the notion of “sincerity” scholars can “shift in moral perspective: away from that which would locate [leisure] value in the successful re-production of ‘objective truths’ -authenticities- and towards a view of [leisure] as embodying communicative events involving values important both to the social actors involved, and in themselves” (pp. 8-9). In situations of the re-creation of authentic activities, homage must be paid to originality (Taylor, 2001); however, history has created barriers for acts of complete replication.

The tumultuous history of the ability of Indigenous populations in Canada to practice their culture, in addition to what Wang (1999) identifies as “the existential conditions of modernity” (p. 360), begs the question of what leisure activities are considered authentic to *Snuneymuxw* Indigenous populations. It is unlikely to assume that ‘authentic’ Indigenous culture remains “primitive and pure, uncontaminated by Western values” (Vredevelde & Coulter, 2018, p. 12). The ‘hyperreality’ of replicating traditional practices creates an unconscious approximation of action. The narratives shared by the study participants largely corroborated the literature review, detailed in Chapter 2, supporting the notion that contemporary Eurocentric definitions of leisure are not consistent with traditional Indigenous views of leisure activities; however, all but two participants acknowledged non-traditional leisure activities consistent with contemporary definitions. Unlike ‘objective authenticity’ (as described in Chapter 2), which stresses strict historical accuracy, participants of this study shared experiences participating in what Chhabra (2012) identifies as ‘negotiated authenticity.’ Negotiated authenticity strikes a pragmatic balance advocating for elements of both historical representation and social constructivism; in other words, activities which have genuine cultural and social significance. These relationships demonstrate that a singular, objective tradition does not necessarily need to be accounted for, because the value of history can be redefined. When traditional accuracy is compromised meaning making can contextualize negotiated

authenticity. Meaning making variables such as connection to place and community coherence can allow for an individual to fill in knowledge gaps and process personal mental outcomes. This allows individuals to create meaning from their own teachings and experiences, and create their own authenticity. Authenticity cannot be defined simply by the principles of objective or constructive authenticity. Therefore, it is possible to create existential authenticity through accurate history and teachings, perceived meanings and individual understandings. Thus, Indigenous populations can find authentic cultural engagement in non-traditional experiences and activities. Participant narratives from this study show a degree of specificity to cultural connection and engagement when describing ‘non-traditional’ activities such as soccer (*Slh’lhexul’luq*, *Xul-si-malt*, *Sqwulutsutun*, *Sul’si’mus’tun* and *Hun’tcouwiyus*) and basketball (*Marina*, *Sqwulutsuntun*, and *Sul’si’mus’tun*).

At the nexus of social-psychological conceptualizations of self, culture and their interrelationships are the effect of sociohistorical events. In a Coast Salish context, social contradictions created through intergenerational trauma and systemic racism have, in many situations, played pivotal roles in altering societal and cultural elements. The development of character and one’s sense of self, for instance, contradictions reinforced by external factors outside the community, exacerbated negative effects on both the leisure and cultural identities of community members within *Snuneymuxw* First Nation, as identified by study participants. The pervasive effects of substance use and abuse within Indigenous communities has been a common theme in the narratives around negative leisure identities. However, the strong cultural revitalization movement is creating opportunities. The movement involves events associated with leisure, such as *NAIG* and *ANBT*, allowing for individuals to engage in and re-create salient cultural identities. Terms such as “automaton conformity” (Fromm, 1941), “other-directedness” (Riesman, 1950), and “social ethic” (Whyte, 1956) account for such shifts or developments in authentic identities (Erickson, 1995).

5.2 Leisure and Identity

Historically, leisure research has sought to explore and understand motivations for leisure behaviours regarding defined activities and situations. Therefore, most literature

has focused on the individual as an isolated entity “impermeable to societal influences having little bearing on their decision-making process” (Jun & Kyle, 2012, p. 367). The findings of this research questions the usefulness of literary presentations of both historical and contemporary leisure theories as it explicitly ignores the effects of Indigenous social structures and context on behaviours. In a contemporary Indigenous context, the construct of leisure and the subsequent theories of behaviours and motivations can be deemed credible when conceptualizing Indigenous leisure as activities of ‘negotiated authenticity’. Once redefined, leisure can encompass a pragmatic balance advocating for elements of both historical representation and social constructivism in an Indigenous perspective.

Jun and Kyle (2012) refer to the seminal Identity Theory work by Burke and Tully (1977) by defining identity as the “set of meanings [that] applies to the self in a social role or situation, [and] defining what it means to be who one is in that role or situation” (Jun & Kyle, 2012, p. 355). There is significant literature supporting the concept that an individual’s behaviour, and subsequently, their activities, are motivated by one’s identity (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Foote, 1951; Jun & Kyle, 2012). The underlying assumption within identity research is the acknowledgment that self is a primary motivator for behaviour (Jun & Kyle, 2012; Stets & Burke, 2003).

Consistent with the work of identity theorists, leisure researchers have postulated that the “essence of an individual’s commitment to leisure lies in the opportunity to express and affirm the self” (Jun & Kyle, 2012, p. 354). An example of this is how the participants of this study justified their activity selection and leisure participation because they could identify their chosen activities as being symbolic or significant to the *Hul’qumi’num* culture. Leisure literature often discusses leisure identities within the context of “serious leisure” (see Chapter 2); however, beyond the serious leisure literature, few studies directly examine the effect of leisure identity on leisure behaviours (Jun & Kyle, 2012).

Early research suggests, “in full sense, internal commitment exists when the person defines himself or herself in terms of the line of activity, role or relationship he or she is committed to” (Shamir, 1988, p. 244). Pritchard *et al.* (1999), suggest that, “the highest form of commitment is evidenced when identity-related meanings associated with the

brand are positive and the individual considers (and or aspires) them to be consistent with their own conception of self' (as cited in Jun & Kyle, 2012, p. 356). Jun and Kyle (2012) present that people can incorporate leisure activities, and the meanings associated to those activities, into their definitions of self and, therefore, in defining self in terms of leisure activity (Jun & Kyle, 2012).

The concepts of 'salience,' 'coherence' and 'authenticity' in identity addresses why and how some facets of one's identity takes precedence. Given that the meanings associated with one's identity can overlap with the meanings of another aspect of one's identity, the identities that a person embraces are not independent of one another. Salience refers to the likelihood of one's identity becomes activated over another identity in a given situation (Jun & Kyle, 2012; Stryker, 1968). More salient identity aspects such as those associated with culture, race, gender and age, are more likely to become invoked more regularly in day-to-day situations. Burke (2003) suggests that higher ranking identities can make salient or ambivalent lower ranking identities. According to Phinney (1996), in situations where one's membership within a group is evident, skin colour for example, it plays a stronger contribution to a person's sense of self than for persons with no visible identifying features. Phinney's (1996) work on ethnic identity was strongly influenced by the works of Erickson (1968) and Marcia (1980) and proposes that one's ethnic identity is manifested through the processes of "exploration" and "commitment." "Exploration," as defined by Marcia (1980), is the "degree to which individuals consider various identity alternatives (as cited in Syed & Juang, 2014, p. 176). "Commitment" is defined as when an individual derives a sense of "belonging and positive feelings" about their ethnic group (Syed & Juang, 2014, p. 176). This sense of identity is embodied in the words of late *Kwul'lh'uts'tun* while he told our canoe family stories of the ancestors and gifted us his *snuw'uy'ul* (sacred teachings). "*Nilh uw nuwa*," he would say. "This is who you are."

According to Social Identity Theory, when members within a group perceive a level of 'threat,' their ability for identity salience is dramatically affected (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Syed & Juang, 2014, p. 177). In an Indigenous context in Canada, historical and systemic oppression, manifested as abuse and racism

leading to institutionalized inequality present potential influencing factors on the development, maintenance and salience of an Indigenous cultural identity.

5.3 The Role of Leisure in Reconciliation

Sport has been used as an intervention for conflict resolution, social cohesion and reconciliation. One widely recognized contemporary example is the case of South Africa and its successes through sport since the country's rise and coming together post the apartheid (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). Höglund and Sundberg (2008) suggest that sport has the potential to “break down stereotypes and negative attitudes,” “utilize symbols and symbolic acts of reconciliation,” “create fair representation,” and promote “individual development” (p. 806). Through this perspective, reconciliation can be viewed as more than a “process of forgiveness at the political level, but also as integration of separate racial, ethnic and socioeconomic groups” (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008, p. 806). After South Africa's infamous win of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, President Nelson Mandela was quoted saying “Sport can create hope, where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination” thus acknowledging a monumental shift in the divide between the ‘black revolution’ and ‘white supremacy’ within South Africa. Although there has been much literature published on the truth and reconciliation process in South Africa, Höglund and Sundberg (2008) suggest that there has been little research into the role of sport within the process.

The discourse of leisure within the Canadian population has been set by the discursive power of Eurocentric based ideologies and practices and has been proven to be inconsistent with Indigenous ideals and perspectives. The Truth and Reconciliation “Calls to Action” 87 through 91 (see Figure 2, pp. 47-48) fall under the sub-heading ‘Sports and Reconciliation.’ Sports are generally included under the auspices of the term leisure, which permeates the definition of Indigenous culture. This study suggests that the sacred teachings of *snuw'uy'ul* transcends the term leisure, and that leisure activities represent more than sport in an Indigenous context.

For me, reconciliation isn't as much about the past as it is about the future. It is about how we as Indigenous and non-Indigenous global citizens can move forward

together in mutual respect. It is about challenging the systemic racism that society has come to accept as a 'normal' facet within our institutions. The movement towards reconciliation requires a great amount of respect, forgiveness and trust. Acknowledging the great spiritual and sacred reciprocal and interdependent relationships that sport and leisure can represent for people who are Indigenous.

5.4 Recommendations for Future Research

The potential for future research in the area of Indigenous culture, leisure and identity is virtually limitless given the identified relationships between these variables in creating authenticity in the social, economic and political pursuits of people who are Indigenous. This study validates the need for future inquiry into the intersection of leisure and cultural identity in an Indigenous context, and only skims the surface in the discussion of the usefulness and applicability of leisure theories within an Indigenous context. Exploration of the relationship between culture, leisure and identity formation, in specific community contexts, could help identify ways to intentionally cultivate positive outcomes within the community. Moreover, it could be valuable to further investigate the role of one's cultural identity in the formation of both individual and community leisure behaviours, including activity selection and participation. In a specific context, new research could inform more effective interventions within recreation and leisure settings within specific communities. For example, the role of canoeing, drumming, or language reclamation within specific Indigenous communities. On a broad scale, this study could be developed on by the investigation of the production of new cultural identity constructs, including understanding the differences in the process and outcomes of cultural change, and creating authenticity in a contemporary context. Moving forward, there are notable gaps being created in the literature on the discussion of existential authenticity within contemporary lived experiences of people - Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

Transformational change is occurring within educational systems; however, there is still much work required to support the development of sound and respectful practices for research of and with Indigenous populations. Moving forward, it is vital to recognize opportunities to incorporate principles for ethical research occurring on unceded territory through employing traditional Indigenous ways of knowing, inclusion of *sul-*

hween (Elders) and community leadership. In order to conduct effective research in all fields in the future, action is required now to develop respectful reciprocal relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Further research could be employed to investigate how culture, leisure and identity formation informs cultural resurgence including, but not limited to, self-determination, language revitalization and economic development.

5.5 Conclusion

This qualitative study aimed to explore the role that leisure plays in the development of cultural identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous people. To achieve this, the research objectives were to (1) identify and analyze *Hul'qumi'num* culturally embedded perspectives on leisure; and (2) evaluate the role of *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous perceptions and practices of leisure on cultural identity.

Indigenous methodologies were employed in the traditional territory of the *Snuneymuxw Mustimuhw* (people) in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the relationships between leisure participation and cultural identity among this *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous population. This study used a qualitative approach and collected data using multiple methods: document analysis, accidental ethnography and conversational interviews with *Snuneymuxw* cultural leaders, knowledge holders and Elders. The approach utilized an Indigenous methodology based upon the *Hul'qumi'num* epistemology of *snuw'uy'ulh* (sacred teachings) and a non-Indigenous (or Western) approach for thematic analysis.

Within this study, I have outlined research on conceptualizations of leisure and cultural identity and demonstrated how existing research lends itself to sociological inquiry into leisure contributions of identity formation. Within the data analysis process of this study, it was suggested that leisure actions and interactions play an essential role of communicating cultural traditions and teachings. Moreover much seminal scholarship on identity formation has taken place outside the realm of leisure contexts, this study has important implications within the leisure field for understanding cultural identity development through processes involving recreation and leisure practices. On a global scale, these findings seem to support the research on and with various Indigenous

populations worldwide (Fox, 2006; Iwasaki, Bartlett, Gottlieb & Hall, 2009; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015).

By presenting the findings through the interactional assumptions of traditional beliefs and concepts of identity formation, the study was better positioned to present fundamental theoretical propositions that emerged from the data. These propositions illuminate a potential relationship between leisure and the development of cultural identity for *Hul'qumi'num* Indigenous people, with specific focus on the *Snuneymuxw* First Nation. Recognition of cultural affiliations and lived cultural practices can occur through participation in leisure activities. The alleviation of cultural dissonance can define a process of re-culturation, cultural revitalization, or re-creation of culture for people who are Indigenous. To better understand the strong interconnectedness between leisure and the development of cultural identity across other Indigenous populations, more research will be required.

References

- About British Columbia First Nations (2010). *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada*. Retrieved from <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100021009/1314809450456>.
- Absolon, K., & Willett, C. (2005). Putting ourselves forward: Location in aboriginal research. In L. Brown & S. Strega (Eds.), *Research as resistance*. (pp. 97 -126). Toronto, Canada: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Ajibade, A., Hook, J., Utsey, S., Davis, D., & Van Tongeren, D. (2016). Racial/ethnic identity, religious commitment, and well-being in African Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 42(3), 244-258.
- Altheide, D., Coyle, M., DeVriese, K. & Schneider, C. (2008). Emergent qualitative document analysis. In S. Nagy Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Handbook of emergent methods*, (pp. 127-154). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Amoamo, M. (2007). Māori tourism: Image and identity—a postcolonial perspective. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 10(3-4), 454-474.
- Ashmore, R., Deaux, K. & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, 130(1), 80-114.
- Atleo, E. (2004). *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth worldview*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Babbie, E & Benaquisto, L. (2009). *Fundamentals of social research* (2nd Canadian ed.). Toronto, Canada: Nelson Ed. Ltd.
- Barker, A. J. (2015). 'A direct act of resurgence, a direct act of sovereignty': Reflections on idle no more, Indigenous activism, and Canadian settler colonialism. *Globalizations*, 12(1), 43-65.
- Barker, B., M., Goodman, A., & DeBeck, K. (2017). Reclaiming Indigenous identities: Culture as strength against suicide among indigenous youth in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 108(2), E208-E210.
Doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.viu.ca/10.17269/CJPH.108.5754>
- BC Stats. (2013). *2011 National Census: Aboriginal population*. Retrieved from <http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/StatisticsBySubject/Census/2011Census.aspx>.

- Bishop, R. (1999). Collaborative storytelling: Meeting Indigenous peoples' desires for self-determination in research. In *Indigenous Education Around the World: Workshop Papers from the World Indigenous People's Conference*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 1996.
- Blackstock, C. (2003). First Nations child and family services: Restoring peace and harmony in First Nations communities. In K. Kufedlt & B. McKenzie (Eds.), *Child welfare: Connecting research policy and practice*. (pp. 331-342). Waterloo, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2014). The intergenerational effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the concept of historical trauma. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51(3), 320-338.
- Bowen, G. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27-40.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32(7), 513.
- Brown, P. (2008). A review of the literature on case study research. *Canadian Journal of New Scholars in Education/ Revue Canadienne des Jeunes Chercheuses et Chercheurs en Education*, 1(1), 1-13.
- Burke, P. (2003). Relationships among multiple identities. In P. Burke, T. Owens, R. Serpe & P. Thoits (Eds.), *Advances in identity theory and research* (pp.195-214). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Burke, P. & Reitzes, D. (1991). An identity theory approach to commitment. *Social Psychology Quarterly* (1991), 239-251.
- Burnette, C. & Billiot, S. (2015). Reaching harmony across Indigenous and mainstream research contexts: An emergent narrative. *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*. 4(1), 1-15.
- Bush, C. (2013). Land transferred to Snuneymuxw, *Nanaimo News Bulletin*, Nanaimo, Canada, retrieved from <https://www.nanaimobulletin.com/news/>.

- Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. (2014). *Tri-Council Policy Statement 2: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. Retrieved from http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/pdf/eng/tcps2/TCPS_2_FINAL_Web.pdf.
- Carey, M. (2007). *Snuneymuxw justice as an alternative to the Canadian justice system* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Victoria: Victoria, Canada.
- Castellano, M. (2000). Updating Aboriginal traditions of knowledge. *Indigenous Knowledge's in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of our World*, 21-36.
- Charlesworth, M. (1996). What's the use of bioethics? In Daly (Ed.), *Ethical intersections: Health research, methods and researcher responsibility*. (pp. 5-14). St. Leonards, Australia: Allen and Unwin.
- Champagne, D. (2015). Centering Indigenous nations within Indigenous methodologies. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 30(1), 57.
- Chandler, M., Lalonde, C., Sokol, B. & Hallett, D. (2003). Personal persistence, identity development, and suicide: A study of Native and non-Native North American adolescents. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 68(2, Serial No. 273).
- Charmaz, K. (2017). Special invited paper: Continuities, contradictions, and critical inquiry in grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1), 1-8. Doi:10.1177/1609406917719350.
- Chhabra, D. (2012). Authenticity of the objectively authentic. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), 499-502. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2011.09.005.
- Chick, G. (2009). Culture as a variable in the study of leisure. *Leisure Sciences*, 31(3), 305-310. Doi: 10.1080/01490400902837902.
- Chilisa, B. (2012). Postcolonial Indigenous research paradigms. *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 98-127.
- Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) (1978). In S. Shewan (ed.) *Inuvialuit: 1978 Special Edition Northern Games*. Ottawa, Canada: Campbell Printing.

- Creswell, J. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE Pub.
- Cruikshank, J. (1998). *The social life of stories: Narrative and knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Cryer, B. (2008). Origin of the Snuneymuxw. Arnett, C. (Ed.). *Two houses half-buried in sand: Oral traditions of the Hul'qumi'num Coast Salish of Kuper Island and Vancouver Island*. Vancouver, Canada: Talon Books.
- Culture. (2008). In W. A. Darity, Jr. (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social sciences* (2nd ed., Vol. 2, pp. 202-204). Detroit, USA: Macmillan Reference.
- Davies, D. & Dodd, J. (2002). Qualitative research and the question of rigor. *Qualitative Health Research, 12*(2), 279-289. Doi: 10.1177/104973230201200211.
- Decrop, A. (2004). Trustworthiness in qualitative tourism research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative research in tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies* (pp. 156-169). London and New York: Routledge.
- Denzin, N. & Lincoln, S. (Eds.). (2003). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE Pub.
- Dickson, L. (2018, August 9). Obituary: First Nations elder Ellen White put focus on education. *Times Colonist*. Retrieved from <https://www.timescolonist.com>.
- Downey, A. & Neylan, S. (2015). Raven plays ball: Situating "Indian sports days" within Indigenous and colonial spaces in twentieth-century coastal British Columbia. *Canadian Journal of History, 50*(3), 442. Doi: 10.3138/CJH.ACH.50.3.003.
- Eady, S., Drew, V. & Smith, A. (2015). Doing action research in organizations: Using communicative spaces to facilitate (transformative) professional learning. *Action Research, 13*(2), 105-122. doi:10.1177/1476750314549078.
- Egan, B. (2012). Sharing the colonial burden: Treaty-making and reconciliation in Hul'qumi'num territory. *The Canadian Geographer, 56*(4), 398- 418.
- Erickson, R. (1995). The importance of authenticity for self and society. *Symbolic Interaction, 18*(2), 121-144. doi:10.1525/si.1995.18.2.121.
- Erlandson, D., Harris, E., Skipper, B. & Allen, S. (1993). *Doing naturalistic inquiry: A guide to methods*. Newbury Park, USA: Sage.

- Evans, M., Hole, R., Berg, L., Hutchinson, P. & Sookraj, D. (2009). Common insights, differing methodologies: Toward a fusion of Indigenous methodologies, participatory action research and white studies in an urban Aboriginal research agenda. *Qualitative Inquiry Online*. 15(5). 893-910. Doi: 10.1177/1077800409333392 .
- Faimon, M. (2004). Ties that bind: Remembering, mourning, and healing historical trauma. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 28(1), 238-251.
- Ferguson, L. & Philipenko, N. (2015) I would love to blast some pow music and just dance: First Nations students' experiences oh physical activity on a university campus. In *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*. 8(2), 180-193, Doi: 10.1080/2159676X.2015.1099563.
- Feigelman, W. (2000). Adjustments of transracially adopted young adults. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 17(3), 165-183.
- Firmin, R., Luther, L., Lysaker, P. & Salyers, M. (2016). Veteran identity as a protective factor: A grounded theory comparison of perceptions of self, illness and treatment among veterans and non-veterans with schizophrenia. *American Journal of Psychiatric Rehabilitation*. 19(4), 294-314. Doi: 10.1080/15487768.2016.1231642 .
- First Nations Centre. (2007). *OCAP: Ownership, control, access and possession*. Sanctioned by the First Nations Information Governance Committee, Assembly of First Nations. Ottawa: National Aboriginal Health Organization.
- Flick, U. (Ed.). (2013). *The sage handbook of qualitative data analysis*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Floyd, M. (1998). Getting beyond marginality and ethnicity: The challenge for race and ethnic studies in leisure research. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30, 3-22.
- Fontaine, T. (2016). Canada officially adopts UN declaration on rights of Indigenous peoples. *Canadian Broadcast Council*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/>.
- Foote, N. (1951). Identification as the basis for a theory of motivation. *American Sociological Review*, 16, 14-21.

- Forsyth, J., Lodge-Gagné, V. & Giles, A. (2016). Negotiating difference: How Aboriginal athletes in the Maritimes brokered their involvement in Canadian sport. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33(16), 1943-1962.
- Forsyth, J. & Giles, A. (2013). *Indigenous peoples and sport in Canada: Historical foundations and contemporary issues*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Forsyth, J. & Wamsley, K. (2006). Native to native we'll recapture our spirits: The World Indigenous Nations Games and North American Indigenous Games as cultural resistance. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(2), 294-314. Doi: 10.1080/09523360500478315.
- Fox, K. (2006). Leisure and Indigenous peoples. *Leisure Studies*, 25(4), 403-409.
- Fox, K., Ryan, S., Dyck, J., Chivers, B., Chuchmach, L. & Quesnel, S. (1998). Cultural perspectives, resilient Aboriginal communities, and recreation. *Journal of Applied Recreation Research*, 23, pp. 147-191.
- Gee, G., Dudgeon, P., Schultz, C., Hart, A. & Kelly, K. (2014). Social and emotional wellbeing and mental health: an Aboriginal perspective. In P. Dudgeon, H. Milroy & R. Walker (Eds.), *Working together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health and wellbeing principles and practice*, (pp. 55-68). Australia: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.
- Genier, L. (1998). *Working with Indigenous knowledge: A guide for researchers*. Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre.
- George, Chief Dan. (1974). *My heart soars*. Vancouver, Canada: Hancock House Publishers, Ltd.
- Gibson, W. & Brown, A. (2009). *Working with qualitative data*. London, UK: Sage.
- Government of Canada. (2017). *Sport and Reconciliation*. Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/indigenous-games/sport-reconciliation.html>.
- Gray, L. (2011). *First Nations 101: Tons of stuff you need to know about First Nations people*. Vancouver, Canada: Adaawx Publishing.
- Guba, E. & Lincoln, Y. (2005). *The sage handbook of qualitative research*. (3rd Editions). Thousand Oaks, USA: Sage.

- Gubrium, J. & Holstein, J. (2000). Analyzing interpretive practice. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd Edition, pp. 487-508). Thousand Oaks, USA: Sage Publications.
- Hall, S. & du Gay, P. (1996). *Questions of cultural identity*. (1st ed.). Thousand Oaks, USA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Hallett, D., Chandler, M., & Lalonde, C. (2007). Aboriginal language knowledge and youth suicide. *Cognitive Development*, 22(3), 392-399. Doi: 10.1016/j.cogdev.2007.02.001
- Harkin, M. (2004). *Reassessing revitalization movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*. Lincoln, USA: University of Nebraska Press.
- Haslam, C., Cruwys, T., Haslam, A., Dingle, G. & Chang, M. (2016). Groups 4 health: Evidence that a social identity intervention that builds and strengthens social group membership improves mental health. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 194, 188-195.
- Hart, L. (2007). Authentic recreation: Living history and leisure. *Museum and Society*. 5(2), 103-124.
- Hedican, E. (2014). Eurocentricism in Aboriginal studies: A review of issues and conceptual problems. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. 34(1), 87-109.
- Henderson, K. (2011). Post-positivism and the pragmatics of leisure research. *Leisure Sciences*, 33(4), 341-346.
- Hinch, T. & de la Barre, S. (2005). Culture, sport and tourism: the case of the Arctic Winter Games. In Higman, J. (Ed.) *Sport tourism destinations: Issues, opportunities and analysis*, (pp. 260- 273). Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann
- Hinch, T. & de la Barre, S. (2007). Sporting events as tourist attractions in Canada's northern periphery. In Muller, D. & Jansson, B. (Ed.) *Tourism in peripheries: Perspectives from the far North and South*, (pp. 190-201). Wallingford, UK: CABI.

- Hobenshield [Ha-Youly], S. (2016). *Haq wil la hlo is sim: walk slowly on the breath of your ancestors: An examination of gift giving within post-secondary education* (Doctoral dissertation). University of British Columbia: Vancouver, Canada
- Höglund, K., & Sundberg, R. (2008). Reconciliation through sports? The case of South Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(4), 805-818.
- hooks, bell. (1989). *Talking back: Thinking feminist, thinking black*. Boston, USA: South End Press.
- Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (2017). *Hul'qumi'num People*. Retrieved from http://www.hulquminum.bc.ca/hulquminum_people.
- Hutchinson, R. (2000). *Race and ethnicity in leisure studies*. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing.
- Iman, M. & Boostani, D. (2012). A qualitative investigation of the intersection of leisure and identity among high school students: Application of grounded theory. *Quality & Quantity*, 42(2), 483-499. Doi: 10.1007/s11135-010-9382-0.
- Indigenous Peoples (2017). Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/indigenouspeoples>.
- Indigenous Peoples (2017b). *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada*. Retrieved from <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100013785/1304467449155>.
- Indigenous Sport, Recreation and Physical Activity Partners Council (ISPARC) (2017). About Us. Retrieved from <https://isparc.ca>.
- Iwasaki, Y., Bartlett, J., Gottlieb, B. & Hall, D. (2009). Leisure-like pursuits as an expression of Aboriginal cultural strengths and living actions. *Leisure Sciences*, 31(2), 158-173.
- Iwasaki, Y. & Byrd, N. (2010). Cultural activities, identities, and mental health among urban American Indians with mixed racial/ethnic ancestries. *Race and Social Problems*, 2(2), 101-114. Doi: 10.1007/s12552-010-9028-9.
- Iwasaki, Y. (2007). Leisure and quality of life in an international and multicultural context: What are major pathways linking leisure to quality of life? *Social Indicators Research*, 82(2), 233-264.
- Jahoda, G. (2012). Critical reflections on some recent definitions of culture. *Culture and Psychology*, 18(3), 289-303. Doi: 10.1177/1354067X12446229.

- Joseph, B. (2016). *Indigenous peoples: A guide to terminology*. Vancouver, Canada: Indigenous Corporate Training Inc.
- Juffer, F. (2006). Children's awareness of adoption and their problem behaviour in families with 7-year-old internationally adopted children. *Adoption Quarterly*, 9(2/3), 1-22.
- Jun, J. & Kyle, G. (2012). Gender identity, leisure identity and leisure participation. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 44(3), 353- 378.
- Juniu, S. & Henderson, K. (2001). Problems in researching leisure and women: Global considerations. *World Leisure Journal*, 43(4), 3-10.
- Kappler, M. (n.d.). Claiming a name. In *Ryerson School of Journalism*. Retrieved from <http://trc.journalism.ryerson.ca>.
- Karlis, G. (2004). *Leisure and recreation in Canadian society: An introduction*. Toronto, Canada: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Kelly, J. (1990). *Leisure* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, USA: Prentice Hall.
- Kemmis, S. & McTaggart, R. (2000). Participatory action research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd Edition, pp. 567-606). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Killian, C. & Johnson, C. (2006). "I'm not an immigrant!": Resistance, redefinition, and the role of resources in identity work. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 69(1), 60-80. doi:10.1177/019027250606900105.
- Kivel, B., Johnson, C. & Scraton, S. (2009). (Re)theorizing leisure, experience and race. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 41(4), 473.
- Klenke, K. (2016). *Qualitative research in the study of leadership* (2nd ed.). Bradford, West Yorkshire: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Kovach, M. (2010). Conversational methods in Indigenous research. *First Peoples Child and Family Review*. 5(1), 40-48.
- Kubik, W., Bourassa, C. & Hampton, M. (2009). Stolen sisters, second class citizens, poor health: The legacy of colonialism in Canada. *Humanity & Society*, 33(1-2), 18-34. Doi: 10.1177/016059760903300103.

- Lavallée, L. (2006). Threads of connection: Healing historic trauma through cultural recreation programming. Paper presented at the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Aboriginal Capacity and Development Research Environments (ACADRE) Gathering Graduate Students in Aboriginal Health, Hamilton, June 22.
- Lavallée, L. (2008) Balancing the medicine wheel through physical activity. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*. 4(1), 64-71.
- Lavallée, L. (2009). Practical application of an Indigenous research framework and two qualitative Indigenous research methods: Sharing circles and Anishnaabe symbol-based reflection. *International journal of Qualitative Methods*. 8(1), 21-40. Doi: 10.1177/160940690900800103.
- Lavallée, L. & Lévesque, L. (2012). Trustworthiness in qualitative tourism research. In J. Forsyth & A. Giles (Eds.) *Aboriginal peoples and sport in Canada: Historical foundations and contemporary issues*. (pp. 206-228). Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Laybourn, W. (2017). Korean transracial adoptee identity formation. *Sociology Compass*, 11(1), Doi:10.1111/soc4.2444.
- Lee, R. (2005). Resilience against discrimination: Ethnic identity and other-group orientation as protective factors for Korean Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(1), 36-44. Doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.52.1.36.
- Levitan, J., Carr-Chellman, D. & Carr-Chellman, A. (2017). Accidental ethnography: A method for practitioner-based education research. *Action Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476750317709078>.
- Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (2013). *The constructivist credo*. Walnut Creek, USA: Left Coast Press Inc.
- MacDonald, C., & Steenbeek, A. (2015). The impact of colonization and western assimilation on health and wellbeing of Canadian Aboriginal people. *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, 10(1), 32-46.
- Mao, L., Akram, A., Chovanec, D. & Underwood, M. (2016). Embracing the spiral: Researcher reflexivity in diverse critical methodologies. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 15(1) Doi: 10.1177/1609406916681005.

- Maracle, L. (1993). An infinite number of pathways to the center of the circle. In J. Williamson (Ed.) *Conversation with Seventeen Women Writers* (pp.166- 178). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Marshall, T. (2011). *A tribal journey: Canoes, traditions, and cultural continuity* (Master's thesis) Royal Roads University: Victoria, Canada.
- Martin, K. & Mirraboopa, B. (2003). Ways of knowing, being and doing: A theoretical framework and methods for Indigenous and Indigenist re-search. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 27(76), 203-214.
- McAvoy, L., McDonald, D. & Carlson, M. (2003). American Indian/First Nation place attachment to park lands: The case of the Nuu-chah-nulth of British Columbia. *Journal Of Park & Recreation Administration*, 21(2).
- McDonald, D. & McAvoy, L. (1997). Native Americans and leisure: State of the research and future directions. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 29(2), 145.
- McIntosh, A. & Prentice, R. (1999). Affirming authenticity: Consuming cultural heritage. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26, 589-612.
- McLeroy, K., Bibeau, A., Steckler, & Glanz, K. (1988). An ecological perspective on health promotion programs. *Health Education Quarterly*, 10(1), 91-107.
- Mertens, D. (2007). Transformative paradigm: Mixed methods and social justice. *Mixed Methods Res.* 1(3), 212-225.
- Mertens, D. & Ginsberg, P. (2009). *The handbook of social research ethics*. Sage.
- Minister of Public Works and Government Services of Canada. *Canadian Heritage, Sport Canada's Policy on Indigenous Peoples' Participation in Sport*, 2005.
- Moore, D. & MacDonald, M. (2013). Language and literacy development in a Canadian native community: Halq'eméylem revitalization in a Stó:lō head start program in British Columbia. *The Modern Language Journal*, 97(3), 702-719.
- Moosa-Mitha, M. (2005). Situating anti-oppressive theories within critical and difference- centred perspectives. In L. Brown & S. Strega (Eds), *Research as Resistance*. (pp. 37 -72). Toronto, Canada: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Morales [Su-taxwiye], S. (2014). *Snuw'uyulh: Fostering an understanding of the Hul'qumi'num legal tradition* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Victoria: Victoria, Canada.

- North American Indigenous Games (2017). *Toronto 2017*. Retrieved from <http://naig2017.to/en/about/toronto-2017-naig/>.
- Nicholls, R. (2009). Research and Indigenous participation: Critical reflexive methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(1), 117-126.
- O'Reilly, M., & Parker, N. (2012). 'Unsatisfactory saturation': A critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 13(2), 190-197. Doi: 10.1177/1468794112446106.
- Paige, S. M. (2009). *In the voices of the Sul-hween/ Elders, on the Snuw'uyulh teachings of respect: Their greatest concerns regarding Snuw'uyulh today in the Coast Salish Hul'q'umi'num' Treaty Group territory* (Master's thesis). University of Victoria: Victoria, Canada.
- Patton, M. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *Health Services Research*, 34(5), 1189-1208.
- Paulauskaite, D., Powell, R., Coca-Stefaniak, J. & Morrison, A. (2017). Living like a local: Authentic tourism experiences and the sharing economy. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 19(6), 619-628. doi:10.1002/jtr.2134.
- Pawson, C. (2016). Snuneymuxw First Nation agrees to \$49M in compensation for downtown Nanaimo reserve. *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/>.
- Peters, C. & Anderson, C. (2013). *Indigenous in the city: Contemporary identities and cultural innovation*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Phillimore, J. & Goodson, L. (2004). Progress in qualitative research in tourism, in Phillimore, J. & Goodson, L. (Eds.) *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies* (pp. 3-29). London and New York: Routledge.
- Phinney, J. (1996). Understanding ethnic diversity: The role of ethnic identity. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(2), 143-152.
- Raymond, C. M., Brown, G., & Weber, D. (2010). The measurement of place attachment: Personal, community, and environmental connections. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(4), 422-434. Doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.08.002.
- Regan, P. (2010). *Unsettling the settler within: Indian residential schools, truth telling,*

- and reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press .
- Representative for Children and Youth British Columbia (2017). *Delegated Aboriginal Agencies: How Resourcing Affects Service Delivery*. Victoria: Representative for Children and Youth. Retrieved from <https://www.rcybc.ca/>.
- Rehman, L. (2002). Recognizing the significance of culture and ethnicity: Exploring hidden assumptions of homogeneity. *Leisure Sciences*, 24(1), 43-57. Doi: 10.1080/01490400252772827.
- Riessman, C. (1993). *Narrative Analysis* (Vol. 30). Newbury Park, USA: Sage.
- Romm, N. (2015). Reviewing the transformative paradigm: A critical systemic and relational (Indigenous) lens. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 28(5), 411-427. Doi: 10.1007/s11212-015-9344-5.
- Rowan, M., Poole, N., Shea, B., Gone, J., Mykota, D., Farag, M., Hopkins, C., Hall, L., Mushquash, C., Fornssler, B. & Dell, C. (2014). Cultural interventions to treat addictions in Indigenous populations: Findings from a scoping study. *Substance Abuse Treatment Prevention and Policy*, 9, 34. Doi: 10.1186/1747-597X-9-34.
- Sampson, K. & Goodrich, C. (2009). Making place: Identity construction and community formation through “sense of place” in Westland, New Zealand. *Society and Natural Resources*, 22(10), 901. Doi: 10.1080/08941920802178172.
- Sanders, D. (1999). Indigenous peoples: Issues of definition. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 8(1), 4-13. Doi: 10.1017/S0940739199770591.
- Scott, J. & Fletcher, A. (2014). In conversation: Indigenous cultural revitalization and ongoing journeys of reconciliation. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 34(2), 223.
- Shamir, B. (1988). Commitment and leisure. *Sociological Perspectives*, 31, 238-258.
- Shaw, S., Elston, J. & Abbott, S. (2004). Comparative analysis of health policy implementation: The use of documentary analysis. *Policy Studies*, 25(4), 259-266.
- Shepherd, S., Delgado, R., Sherwood, J. & Paradies, Y. (2018). The impact of Indigenous cultural identity and cultural engagement on violent offending. *BMC Public Health*, 18(1), 50.
- Sherlock, T. (2017). Disproportionate number of Aboriginal children in foster care.

- Vancouver Courier*. Retrieved from <https://www.vancourier.com/>.
- Sillitoe, P., Dixon, P. & Barr, J. (2005). *Indigenous knowledge inquiries: A methodologies manual for development*. Rugby, U.K; Dhaka, Bangladesh: ITDG Publishing.
- Slevitch, L. (2011). Qualitative and quantitative methodologies compared: Ontological and epistemological perspectives. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism*, 12(1), 73-81.
- Smith, L. (1999; 2013). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2nd ed.). London: Zed Books.
- Smith, J. & Heshusius, L. (1986). Closing down the conversation: The end of the quantitative-qualitative debate among educational inquirers. *Educational Researcher*, 15(1), 4-12. Doi: 10.3102/0013189X015001004.
- Stebbins, R. A. (2001). Serious leisure. *Society*, 38(4), 53-57. Doi:10.1007/s12115-001-1023-8.
- Stein, G., Kiang, L., Supple, A. & Gonzalez, L. (2014). Ethnic identify as a protective factor in the lives of Asian American adolescents. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 5(3), 206-213. Doi: 10.1037/a0034811.
- Steinhauer, E. (2002). Thoughts on an Indigenous research methodology. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 26(2), 69-81.
- Stets, J. & Burke, P. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(3), 224-237.
- Stryker, S. (1968). Identity salience and role performance: The relevance of symbolic interaction theory for family research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 30(4), 558-564.
- Syed, M. & Juang, L. (2014). Ethnic identity, identity coherence, and psychological functioning: Testing basic assumptions of the development model. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20(2), 176-190. Doi: 10.1037/a0035330.
- Tang, K., Program, C. & Jardine, C. (2016). Our way of life: Importance of Indigenous culture and tradition to physical activity practices. *International Journal of Indigenous Health*, 11(1), 211. Doi: 10.18357/ijih111201616018.

- Taylor, J. (2001). Authenticity and sincerity in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(1), 7-26.
- Thom, B. (2005). *Coast Salish senses of place: Dwelling, meaning, power, property and territory in the Coast Salish world* (Doctoral thesis). McGill University: Montreal, Canada.
- Thom, B. (2009). The paradox of boundaries in Coast Salish territories. *Cultural Geographies*, 16(2), 179-205.
- Thomas [Qwul'sih'yah'maht], R. (2011). *Protecting the sacred cycle: Xwulmuxw slhunlheni and leadership* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Victoria: Victoria, Canada.
- Thomas [Qwul'sih'yah'maht], R. (2000). *Storytelling in the spirit of wise woman: Experiences of Kuper Island residential school* (Master's thesis). University of Victoria: Victoria, Canada.
- Tight, M. (2010). The curious case of case study: A viewpoint. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 13(4), 329-339.
- Trentelman, C. (2009). Place attachment and community attachment: A primer grounded in the lived experiences of a community sociologist. *Society and Natural Resources*, 22, 191-210.
- Trochim, W. (2006). Positivism and post positivism. *Web Centre for Social Research Methods*. Retrieved from <https://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/positvsm.php>.
- Truth & Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *Canada's residential schools-the history: The final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Vol. 1). McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.
- Tulk, J. (2007). Cultural revitalization and Mi'qmaq music-making: Three Newfoundland drum groups. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*. 22(1).
- Turner, J., Oakes, P., Haslam, S. & McGarly, C. (1994). Self and collective: Cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20(5), 454-463.
- Umbach, M. & Humphrey, M. (2017). *Authenticity*. Charm, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan

- Usborne, E. & Sablonnière, R. (2014). Understanding my culture means understanding myself: The function of cultural identity clarity for personal identity clarity and personal psychological Well-Being. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 44(4), 436-458. Doi: 10.1111/jtsb.12061.
- Venkateswar, S. & Hughes, E. (2011; 2013). *The politics of Indigeneity: Dialogues and reflections on Indigenous activism*. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Vredeveld, A. & Coulter, R. (2018). Cultural experiential goal pursuit, cultural brand engagement, and culturally authentic experiences: Sojourners in America. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 1-17.
doi:10.1007/s11747-018-0620-7.
- Wagner, R. (2016). *The invention of culture*. Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press.
- Walker, G., Deng, J. & Dieser, R. (2005). Culture, self-construal and leisure theory and practice. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 37(1), 77- 99.
- Wallace, A. (1956). Revitalization movements. *American Anthropologist*, 58(2), 264-281.
- Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 349-370.
- Wearing, B. (1998). *Leisure and feminist theory* (1st ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Who are Indigenous Peoples? (n.d.). Retrieved from:
http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf
http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf.
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Black Point, N.S: Fernwood Pub.
- Wilson, V. (2016). Research methods: Triangulation. *Evidence Based Library and Information Practice*, 11(1), 66-68.
- Wright, A., Wahoush, O., Ballantyne, M., Gabel, C. & Jack, S. (2016). Qualitative health research involving indigenous peoples: Culturally appropriate data collection methods. *The Qualitative Report*, 21(12), 2230.

Appendix A: Participant Information Form



Re-creation through recreation: Exploring contemporary perspectives of Indigenous leisure

Background Information

Indigenous communities are forced to view leisure through a colonized lens. However, little is known about the Hul'qumi'num connection to leisure, and how *snuw'uy'ulh* (the teachings of the Elders) is different from Western practices.

Your voluntary participation is being requested to take part in this study carried out by myself (Britta Peterson), and supervised by Dr. Suzanne de la Barre and Dr. Sharon Hobenshield. This research project is being conducted through Vancouver Island University in partial fulfillment for the Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management program.

Project Purpose

This research, entitled "*Re-creation through recreation: Exploring contemporary perspectives of Indigenous leisure*" aims to explore *snuw'uy'ulh* related to leisure and investigate the role leisure plays in cultural identity within Hul'qumi'num populations. This research project is a case study on members of Snuneymuxw First Nation members.

Research Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to share your *snuw'uy'ulh* about leisure in a one-on-one conversational interview with me. It is estimated that the interview will take approximately 60 minutes of your time. The questions will revolve around what *snuw'uy'ulh* and stories that have been shared with you about leisure, your current leisure participation, and how you believe your leisure activities relate to your identity as a Hul'qumi'num/ Snuneymuxw person. With your permission, the interview will be recorded on an audio device. After the interview I will transcribe the key information in a Microsoft Word document to review and compare to the information collected in other interviews. The recording, transcript and any notes taken during our time together will be password-protected and stored in a secure location. Only my supervisor and I will have access to this information.

Depending on the teachings and stories you choose to share, and whether you choose to participate anonymously, I understand you might be scrutinized within the community for sharing traditional knowledge for research purposes. Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Should you choose to not participate, you will not be penalized, or adversely affected in any way. You may also choose to withdraw from this study at any time (even after giving consent), AND YOU CAN refuse to answer particular questions

or refuse to participate in portions of this study AT ANY TIME. Acknowledging that your teachings are your own intellectual property, you may also request to share your name, and if you have one and would prefer, that you use your *hwuhwilmuhw sne*.

What will happen next?

If you would like to participate, please let me know at your earliest convenience to coordinate a time and date for an interview. Prior to starting the interview, you will be requested to sign a consent form, as per the requirements of the VIU Ethics Board.

After completing the interview, I will contact you to follow up with you to confirm interpretations of your interview.

For more information:

Graduate Student Researcher

Britta Peterson, CTRS
Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure
Vancouver Island University
petersonb@shaw.ca

Research Supervisor

Suzanne de la Barre, PhD.
Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure
Management Program
Department of Recreation and Tourism
Management
Vancouver Island University
Suzanne.delaBarre@viu.ca

Research Supervisor

Sharon Hobenshield, EdD.
Director, Aboriginal Education
Office of Aboriginal Education
Vancouver Island University
Sharon.Hobenshield@viu.ca

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form



Re-creation through recreation: Exploring contemporary perspectives of Indigenous leisure

Graduate Student Researcher

Britta Peterson, CTRS
Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure
Vancouver Island University
petersonb@shaw.ca

Research Supervisor

Suzanne de la Barre, PhD.
Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure
Management Program
Department of Recreation and Tourism
Management
Vancouver Island University
Suzanne.delaBarre@viu.ca

Research Supervisor

Sharon Hobenshield, EdD.
Director, Aboriginal Education
Office of Aboriginal Education
Vancouver Island University
Sharon.Hobenshield@viu.ca

I am a student in the Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management program at Vancouver Island University (VIU). My research, entitled “*Re-creation through recreation: Exploring contemporary perspectives of Indigenous leisure*” aims to explore the relationship between leisure participation and cultural identity within Hul’qumi’num Indigenous populations. The primary significance of this research is to enhance the theoretical position of leisure as a variable in the conceptualization of Indigenous identity. This study has the potential to enhance Indigenous leisure definitions and practices, and support the sustainability of Hul’qumi’num knowledge, while also promoting preservation of the culture.

Research participants are asked to share your teachings and experiences of leisure in a one-on-one conversational interview. With your permission, the interview would be audio recorded. Your participation would require an estimated 60 minutes of your time. In recognition that your teachings are your intellectual property, you can choose how you wish to be identified in this study. It is requested that you *hwuhwilmuhw sne*. You may also choose your English name or a pseudonym.

I understand that the information you provide might cause you some scrutiny within the community for sharing traditional knowledge for research purposes. If you choose to participate under a pseudonym, all records of your participation would be confidential. Only my supervisor and I will have access to information in which your contact information is identified. I cannot promise that the details you share will not suggest your identity within the community. With your permission, the interview would be audio recorded and later transcribed into text.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time where practicable, for any reason, and without explanation. You will be given the opportunity to review and potentially make changes to the transcript of your interview. Following transcription of the recorded interview, and depending your preference, I will email or deliver a copy of your transcript for you to read. If you would like, I will review the transcript with you and make edits. You will have up to three weeks to complete and return any amendments of your transcript. If you do not return your transcript within three weeks, I will assume on-going consent and proceed with the study including your responses in the research. Once data analysis has begun, you will not be able to withdraw from the study. If you choose to withdraw from the study, within the identified time frame, all information you provided during the interview would be withdrawn from the study and destroyed.

Signed consent forms and paper copies of interview transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet in my home. All electronic data will be stored on a password protected USB flash drive. All electronic files will be electronically deleted and paper files will be returned to you (should you wish) in the summer of 2020, two years after the research is completed. If you do not want your interview returned to you after two years, the paper documents will be shredded.

The results of this study will be published in my Master's thesis, and may also be used for conference publications, presentations, and published in peer-reviewed journals. Additionally, it is anticipated that results of this study will be shared beyond the academic community. It is my intention to offer to share the results of the study to Snuneymuxw, in addition to the Hul'qumi'num Nations through organizations such as The Inter Tribal Health Authority, the Indigenous Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation Council and Pacific Sport. Once you have consented to your transcripts being used for this study, and the data is analysed, Snuneymuxw First Nation has requested to approve the study prior to public presentation.

I have read and understand the information provided above, and hereby consent to participate in this research under the following conditions:

I consent to the interview being audio recorded. Yes No

I consent to being identified by name in the products of the research. Yes No

I consent to being quoted in the products of the research. Yes No

I would like my transcripts returned to myself, or my family in 2 years, instead of having the documents destroyed. Yes No

Hwuhwilmuhw sne (Ancestral name) _____

Participant Name _____

Participant Signature _____

Please identify how you wish to receive your transcript for review:

Email to: _____

Mail to: _____

Deliver

If you wish to review a copy of your transcript, please return the document, including edits within three weeks (21 days) of receiving the document.

I, Britta Peterson, promise to adhere to the procedures described in this consent form.

Principal Investigator Signature _____ Date _____

If you have any concerns about your treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the VIU Research Ethics Board by telephone at 250-740-6631 or by email at reb@viu.ca.

Appendix C: Conversational Interview Guide

**Ah si:em sulxwen, si:em si: ye yu, si:em nu xwulmuxw, si:em mukw'lhwet
'imushne'tun mustimuxw.**

**Nilh nu skwish Britta Peterson. Tu ni cun utl s'niw's Snuneymuxw, Stzuminus,
Penelakut y Malahat.**

Huy ce:p qa kwuns'ulup sqaqip utuna kweyul.

Respected Elders, Respected friends, Respected First Nations People. All respected guests.

My name is Britta Peterson. My teachings come from Snuneymuxw, Stz'uminus, Penelakut and Malahat.

Thank you for meeting with me today.

Participation in this research is voluntary – you do not have to participate if you do not want to. If you choose not to participate, there will be no penalty and it will not impact our relationship, or your position as a respected member of Snuneymuxw First Nation. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to, and can end this interview at any time.

The information that you share will be used to explore the relationship between leisure participation and Coast Salish cultural identity. I will be using this information in my Master's Thesis "*Re-creation through recreation: Exploring contemporary perspectives of Indigenous Leisure.*" The research will be used to support our understanding of how leisure activities contribute to the development of cultural identity for Canada's Indigenous communities and enhance theoretical conceptualizations of leisure as a variable in the production of Indigenous identity.

I want to honour your intellectual property by using your *Hwuhwilmuhw sne* in this study, including the presentations of this research. If you are not comfortable using your name, you are invited to choose a different name to refer to you by, however, depending on what you share, it may not be possible to "hide" your identity, but I will do my best to avoid linking your identity to this study if you choose.

If you agree to participate, please respond to the following questions:

1. Do you agree to share your story?
2. Is it okay to record our conversation?
3. Would it be okay to use your name?

If Yes: Get correct spelling of traditional name, then English first and last name.

If, No: Please select a name that I can refer to you by.

Interview Questions/ Topics:

1. Can you tell me about yourself; how would you describe yourself and how would you describe yourself to others?
 2. Can you tell me about your leisure- how do you define the term?
 3. Are there any Hul'qumi'num teachings about leisure? Can you share some with me?
 4. What role does leisure play in Snuneymuxw?
 - What role does leisure play in Hul'qumi'num communities?
 5. Why do you participate in leisure?
 - What makes you want to participate in leisure activities (ie. cultural connectivity, social involvement, physical activity, etc.)?
 6. Is there a relationship between leisure and your Hul'qumi'num/ Snuneymuxw identity?
 - Does participating in leisure activities make you feel “more Hul'qumi'num/ Snuneymuxw”?
 7. Is there anything else that you think I should know to tell YOUR story about your ideas of leisure and your Hul'qumi'num identity?
-

Thank you for your time and for sharing your stories with me.

Please accept this gift of cedar as symbol of my appreciation.

After today I will transcribe our conversation. If you selected to review your transcript, please return the document to me, with your revisions, no later than two weeks after you receive the document from me.

If you declined to review your document, you have two weeks from today to notify me should you wish to withdraw from this study.

If you have any questions at any time please let me know.

Appendix D: Central Vancouver Island Community Counselling Options

Organization	Contact Information	Notes
Vancouver Island Crisis Line	1-888-494-3888 www.vicrisis.ca	Available by phone 24/7 for people in emotional crisis, including suicide and mental health issues. Public access point for the local Mental Health Crisis Response Teams in all Vancouver Island communities.
Residential School Survivor Support	1-866-925-4419	Provides free, immediate, confidential, non-judgmental support for Residential School survivors across Canada. Line open 24 hours / 7 days per week.
Tsoow-Tun-Lelum	1-250-390-3123	Kwunatsustul Trauma Program is a Second Stage Recovery program with a focus on trauma. This program is designed to address the multitude of Mental Health and Trauma issues being faced in community. Funded by First Nations Health Authority.
Crisis Text Service	1-250-800-3806	Available from 6:00 pm to 10:00 pm Pacific Time, seven days a week. If you have unlimited coverage for SMS text messages with your mobile service provider, the texting service will be free of charge.
Island Health Crisis Access	203-2000 Island Highway North (Brooks Landing Mall) Nanaimo, BC V9S 5W3 1-250-739-5710	Crisis counselling walk-in 10 a.m. to 6:15 p.m., Monday to Friday. No appointment necessary.

Appendix E: Snuneymuxw First Nation Agreement/ Approval to Conduct Research

March 21, 2018

To: Chris Good, Acting Executive Director + *Nancy Seemed, Educ. Director*
From: Britta Peterson

RE: Request to Conduct Research

Dear Chris,

My name is Britta Peterson, and I am currently a student pursuing a Masters of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management at Vancouver Island University.

I am contacting you because I wish to conduct a study working with the Elders and knowledge keepers of Snuneymuxw as part of my thesis research 'Re-creation through recreation: Exploring contemporary perspectives of Indigenous leisure.' The research involves ten conversational interviews with Snuneymuxw First Nation community members to better understand leisure and identity in relation to Hul'qumi'num teachings, conceptualizations and experiences of leisure in relation to the dominant Western perspectives of leisure.

I came to this research after working as the Recreation Therapist at Kw'umut Lelum from 2010-2016 and participating in 8 Tribal Journeys. I am a non-Indigenous woman, but feel passionately about the teachings and the traditions of this area. I believe this research can be significant to enhance theoretical conceptualization of leisure as a variable in the production of Indigenous identity. Further, given that the study occurs alongside a modern cultural revitalization movement, the findings will support grassroots service practitioners and cultural leadership and their ability to strengthen Indigenous identity through leisure participation.

I believe strongly that Snuneymuxw would find value in the findings being such an active community with the development of the recreation center, the building of the school and the past and present active community membership in many activities including soccer, lacrosse and canoe pulling.

It is my intention to present a summary of the findings to the community – in a brief report and through a community presentation. Findings may also be presented in peer-reviewed publications and at conferences.

I have received funding for this research project from the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and will not request any funding from Snuneymuxw to conduct this research project. I agree to interrupt the research project if Snuneymuxw First Nation leadership decides to withdraw participation, or if it is believed that this project will no longer benefit the community.

I am seeking support from Snuneymuxw First Nation to conduct this research within the community. Additional information, including progress reports, summary findings, will be available upon request by the leadership.

For additional information regarding the study's research methodology and consent process, please find the document attached.

Sincerely,



Britta Peterson, BTR CTRS
MA Sustainable Leisure Management Candidate
Vancouver Island University
250.667.8185

Signed by:



(Snuneymuxw First Nation Representative)

Name: Nancy Sevard
CHRIS GOOD
Position: Education Director
COUNSELLOR.
Date: March 23, 2018



(Signature of Researcher)

Name: BRITTA PETERSON
Position: RESEARCHER
Date: MARCH 23, 2018

