

Tape 7, Side 1: November 20th, 2004

Session 3, 3:30 pm – 5:00 pm

Sonny – With regards to the question of protocol, especially in relation to going beyond tobacco, I think there's a couple of teachings that I'm aware of that I should probably share, would help that, that subject. One of the, one of the teachings is that elders who have knowledge, that knowledge, or anybody—not even just elders, I mean, even, even younger people—who have, who retain a certain expertise in certain areas of culture or tradition or history. That, that knowledge isn't anything important unless it's shared. Like, so, if you have the knowledge of certain things and if you just retain it and keep it to yourself, what's the importance of it? There's no use of it if you don't share it. So, if there's something that you have, then you have, then you're obligated to share it. And the story that comes to my mind is the one of our elders who was always helping us in terms of the language, in terms of stories. Like, she was, she contributed a lot of knowledge towards the, towards the *Atlas* and towards the place names. And some of the, some of the other elders thought that she was telling us too much, like they even approached her and said, “You know, you don't have to tell him everything. Like, you should hold some of the stories back or hold some of the teachings back. You don't need to tell them everything.” And, of course, she got upset at that other elder and said, “Well, how are, how are my grandchildren going to learn all about our culture and our history and our language if I don't tell them everything? Well, I have to tell them everything.”

So she was, played a big role in the language program and in—as part of the language program, of course there was protocols established where there needed to be some, some funds set aside to ensure that any of the elders who contributed in that program were to receive certain dollars. And also, as the head of my department working with all the different people in my department who use the elders as resource people, it was our protocol, as well, to ensure we had some sort of an honorarium to, to pay to the elders. Because when you look at the way things are arranged, I mean, we have experts who are coming in, high paid consultants, and that who are asking questions and they were asking questions and they expect the elders to just answer these questions and not have, you know, anything for it. So we recognized that. So, whenever we had some sort of a project in mind where we needed to consult with the elders, we always ensured that there, there was a budget, you know. we did pay them a daily, an honorarium, for their time.

But there're also cases where—now, when I talk about that one elder who was always willing to give, like, she did, she didn't demand an honorarium. Like she, she said it didn't matter. I mean, if you have, if you have a budget, if you had the money, she'll accept it because that's part of our teaching as well. Because some of our, like, spiritual people who do work for us, they're not allowed to ask for, for money. They can't, they can't do some spiritual work for us and say, "Okay, give me this much money." And, and you can insult them by offering them money, all depending on how you offer it to them, too, right. You can offer it to them and say, "This is my way of thanking you," and you can put the money in their hand. And then, of course, our other teaching is that when people offer us something, we're supposed to take it, we can't turn it down, okay. So, then, so those two teachings kind of match together. So, same with the, with the elder. I mean, they can't turn down the money if we offer them money.

But there are some elders who were even, you know, who felt that we're disrespecting them by offering money, so we had to be very cautious with that as well. Okay, so there're some elders who, we would at the end of their interview we would ask them, you know, "We'd like to shake your hand and thank you and, you know, but we want to very respectful of, you know, your teachings and that and whether or not you'd accept it." And if they said it was fine, then, then away we went and we followed the process that we had established to ensure that person got an honorarium. But the better way that we found was to actually get coupons or gift vouchers, and, and just hand it to them and then thank them for, thank them, you know. And then that, that allowed us, you know, with that other teaching where they couldn't turn things down, and it wasn't really being disrespectful if we're thanking them and shaking their hands with a gift at the same time.

But, on the other hand, there are other elders who were a bit more demanding but who do carry a lot of knowledge that, you know, would be, that we would appreciate using. But at the same time, like, this one elder was asking for an enormous amount of money per day. She wanted three times we were giving the other elders. And, of course, if we had the budget, probably, but for the most part, whenever that, that time came about, well, we didn't really, we really couldn't offer, offer her the amount that she was having. So, in the end we ended up relying on other elders who carried the same knowledge that she did that were willing to, willing to work with us.

Keith Carlson – I guess when I think of, when, when Sonny and I were working on a, what do you call it, the protocol for when I used to work at Sto:lo nation on what should a researcher do when they go to meet with an elder. And one of the issues that came up, of course, was, you know, the difference between a forest company asking an elder for information that might lead to resource development that would alienate land and resources from Aboriginal people, because, of course now, recent court decisions, if you don't participate in the consultation process, they can just take it all. So you can't just say we're not doing anything. So the point was to get something reasonable for that elder, and sometimes elders would also ask for consideration about something else. They would like you, rather than money. It was like, well, I'm interested also in this thing down there, or my cousin down there was saying they don't know enough about their uncle's genealogy and you've got those old Oblate archives copies, could you do something for them? And so you might compensate them in a way by doing them a favour, to help somebody else in their family was something that we would try to encourage people to do.

I think of the word protocol and it's perhaps not an ideal word in some ways, because when I think of protocol I think of rituals, you know. the protocol when you are speaking to the queen is to do this or this. And, I guess, somewhat of the interview-interviewee relationship is, is structured in a ritualistic sense. You tend to go to their place. You introduce yourself. There is, there is a ritual that is expected, but I think it's different than the formal ritualized context that we typically see. But, on the other hand, it's more than manners, I think, and that's something else. I've heard some people say, "Well, it's just manners." Especially because the idea of manners doesn't always translate across cultures and across genders. What might be good manners when you're in the company of other loggers is different when you're in the company of a grandmother or something. But I think that is part of it, and another part of, part of it is sharing, strikes me. And for some reason—it was only a few years ago, like five or six years ago—that I was reading a definition of sharing in an economic history, talking about trade and exchange and bartering, and they said that in sharing, when you give something in sharing, it's with the expectation of getting something in return and I guess that was true. But it struck me as odd because whenever I think of sharing, it's giving, right, and the best sharers are those people who, who give without expectations of getting something back, you know. I think of, you know, the people in my family I respected the most were the, you know, the great aunt who would just give,

but, of course, she was expecting something back. Maybe it was good behaviour from her grandson or something to that effect or commitment to lifelong learning or to pursuing something. So I, I think it is, there is an aspect, an aspect of sharing that in many ways trumps the ritual and the manners aspects of what protocol is.

And part of that process of sharing, I found, even among the Sto:lo who are relatively closely situated to some major universities. And therefore, you know, a lot of the elders there get a reputation of being a good elder and people will come to interview them, so they kind of know how it works. It's still, I think, a very good idea for students especially, but for all of us to explain to the elder not only what our project is but what our anticipated outcomes are—"I'm doing this because I want to improve my lectures or seminars" or "I'm doing this because I'm anticipating writing an article and publishing it in this format" or "I'm hoping this will turn into part of a chapter in a book, and in which case the book will be in this way. Or if the book does get published I'm hoping that, or my intention is to not have royalties, that any royalties generated will go into a scholarship fund for the community." I mean, you can explain how you may be giving back without handing a cheque at that moment. Or, or, you know, what you have to share to give back in exchange for that. And some of it, of course, is, I think, Winona was talking earlier to as well, giving them the ride into town to do the grocery shopping. Really pragmatic things. And so a form of compensation is inherent in this idea of sharing.

One, one of the things that strikes me, too, as difficult, the protocols often get tied up in ethics reviews. That becomes part of the protocol that, and I think it's important to talk about that. Probably more so for Indigenous scholars than people like myself who are outsiders but working for a period, a long period of time in a particular community. How do you get your grandmother to sign an ethics release form? How do I, and how do I get Sonny to sign one if I meet with him. At least with Sonny I could, I could, I could anticipate he would know what I'm talking about because his department has ethics concerns that they have when their own researchers go out for treaty research. But when I meet with some of the elders who are my friends, that I became friends with, and they'll be sharing often times not in a formal interview session. And this is where I think so often that those ethics forms are designed for sociologists who are accustomed to doing the questionnaire type thing or, but that, or that sort, that side of the social science, sciences that lead to statistical analysis or check box or quick answers. It's not designed for sustained conversations. Yesterday,

Richard was using, used the term, deep listening. Sonny mentioned deep thoughts yesterday. Winona mentioned deep reading. And I used the term sustained conversation. I think, in some way, maybe that's a deep conversation that carries on over time. An ethics form doesn't work for that, it can't work. And you can't expect to bring it up every time you talk to them. Bring up another ethics form, or get them to initial, you know, again, again and again. And those are real problems, and I think and they're being, they're being raised continually by people in the academy who work within the academy that are concerned with legal implications, potential legal implications to the institution. Will we get sued because one of our faculty members goes out and behaves unethically or a student working in a class for a faculty member behaves unethically? And I can understand that that's a concern.

On the other hand, I think that all of us, whether it's, and whatever the discipline is—Native Studies as a new emerging discipline or history or anthropology—we have, we have protocols that exist already within the discipline to be accurate and honest to your sources. That's why we do citations, we have peer review processes. I think part of it is incumbent on us to take that risk and some ways, in some ways absolve the university, you know. If I go out and really screw up because I wasn't careful or I was rude or I was, I misused an elders information or hadn't advised them of what I had in mind, I, I deserve what I'm going to get. Certainly there could be times where a misunderstanding occurs and you want some kind of protection. I guess. You don't want people just turfed into the street. But I imagine that would be, to the extent that it is a concern for myself, I, it has to be a bigger concern for Indigenous people working in their own communities where it just isn't polite to bring out that ethics form and have them sign it. And especially one, good lord, the one at the University of Saskatchewan is four pages long. The one I got approved. It's four pages long. They have to initial in three places and sign at one place and then have it witnessed. And what if you're meeting the elder and she's by herself, and who can witness it? Only you, that then puts a whole another dynamic on it.

Unknown – Shades of the treaties.

Keith Carlson – It is, it's very troublesome. And, and so I think we need to move away from that need to, you know, the onus should be on us to behave properly, and that means

the consequences need to fall on us if we misbehave, unless, you know, with the accidents that are always there.

The last thing I'd like to mention in relation to that is where the money comes from. I heard an Aboriginal scholar recently talking at a conference and he mentioned that he was pursuing this project that he was working on, and how it really meant something to him. And he's pursuing it, and he doesn't even have a grant and he's pursuing it. And I think I know what he was getting at, the idea that this is important to him and he doesn't need some outside funding source to motivate him to go into his community to do research. So I, so I think I know what he meant. On the other hand, probably would be really great if he had a grant because he could pay some honorariums to the elders and, you know, or perhaps spend more time doing the research. But I get troubled when I go into the Sto:lo community in the summers. I return every summer for a while now that I'm living here, and I'll meet friends, acquaintances and others. Some I will ask to formally interview and some will just have dinner conversations, or we'll go up to the fishing site or something. And I want to give a gift, but—part of my upbringing before I became an academic and had anything was that you would bring a gift if you're visiting someone, especially if you haven't seen them in a while. I don't want that gift to be bought by grant money if it's for my friend. And yet I don't want to say, "Oh, Sonny, here's a new, a U of S sweatshirt I brought for you. I bought it myself, though." You know, that seems so gauche and heavy handed and, and improper, but at the same time I'd hate to leave and have people think, *Oh, here comes Carlson. He dropped in, he's got his grant, and he's flashing money or wealth around in a way*, right. Because it could be seen that way. So those are things that I haven't negotiated very well yet. I'm trying to work those things out.

And I think, again, getting back to the idea of protocol as ritual, the rituals here are too complex and nuanced, and they occur on too many levels for us to have real protocols in a ritualized sense. And yet it goes beyond manners. And I think the one, the idea of sharing is probably the most important one. And we need to explain to the elder, the informant, the consultant, there's all the terms of people we use, the interviewee, that we are going to try and give back in another way. Part of our giving back is simply contributing to this idea of the advancement of knowledge, this, this academic idea. Part of it is that we would like it to be meaningful to their community. Part of it is that I'm going to internalize what you said and try and be a better person for it, and learning from you and I appreciate it and respect it.

And then part of it may also be a cheque, a food voucher, a tea, tea cup. Like, a lot of Sto:lo elders, tobacco isn't a big part of the culture there, it's becoming so. But a lot of elders, they want, if they're women, they want tea towels. That seems to be the thing. And they must have, you know, mountains of tea towels, and, of course, you do see them being giving out at potlatches, too. So maybe, you know, they're saving for the family for tea towels. Men often want, or the things that work well are ball caps or coffee mugs. And those are things that a student can afford, generally speaking, especially if we follow Roger's idea, which I think is so very important that, if you can form a relationship with one or two community members, you're doing really well. And, and, and that is different than interviews. And there is something different, I think, in Native Studies—I like to think in anthropology and history—than say sociology has typically done in the past. The idea of just questionnaires and popping in and compensating you—here's fifteen dollars, fill out this form, and then you go into a computer database.

So, those are the things, oh actually one other thing occurs to me if I could, I'm sorry. I was struck by Dick's comments on the paper about the poetics, ethno-poetics and, and I think Winona used the term, something like that when she was talking about the coded words and, and Maria about, you have to bring out what the meanings are behind those things. Which I think is, is so important. I know, and, and that's where, the ideal, the Indigenous scholar going in can usually, those insights emerge so much quicker. They can be very dangerous things, I think, though, too. And there's an experience Sonny and I had where there was an outsider, a non-Sto:lo person who was doing research in the Sto:lo community that we were associated with in various ways, who got information from an elder that could have been very important for stopping a development in, in a place. But the person felt, or appears to have felt anyway, that the information the elder gave didn't do it quite the way they wanted to. And so, the words, the quote from the elder were actually changed. And it went beyond this idea of ethno-poetics where you're trying to better communicate the meaning behind the words—and I think that's such a fuzzy line and for, for students and junior scholars, especially, I think it's such a dangerous place to go into that. I would, I would love to leave it to people like, like Dick who are, in a way, you know, but people, or Maria, they've been in the communities and they can say, "Ah, you know this is how this works in this community," in a way. For myself to do, to do that. I mean I'd love to try and I'd love to think that I could maybe do it, but I'd be very, very scared as an outsider

to, to try to deviate much more than to say here's what I think the elder may have meant by some of this if it's a bit ambiguous or within this context. Because I think this idea of poetic license can be a slippery slope as well for someone, a careless person.

Winona Wheeler – I just remembered a story just on that point. When I was, when I was on the witness stand in Sampson, we were talking about, I was being cross-examined by the Crown on a translation of an interview done with an old man out here. And in one of the translated excerpts that I had concluded in my evidence was his discussion about being a young man when his elder took him on to be a student, and the elder was an old man when he went to go live with him, when he was twelve. And that he had worked with that elder for seventy years. And that's how it was translated. And I didn't think anything of it because I just made an assumption about the context in it. Well, the judge said, "Just a minute. He said he was an old man when he went to work with him and worked with him for seventy years." And I went, "Uh-huh." And it didn't dawn on me that, it was just an assumption, I just didn't think, okay. And so the judge looked really confused. And it dawned on me later, *Oh, oh, what the old man meant was that he had worked with that pipe for over seventy years that that old man had brought him under. Oh, no wonder the judge looked so confused.* But it's that kind of thing when you are immersed in it, sometimes you don't pick up on things that are really important in the translation process. And I missed it. So, yeah, you got to be real careful. Poor judge. Must have thought I was an idiot. Uh-huh, uh-huh, seventy years.

Ida Moore – Following up on what you were saying Keith about being in the community, and how for me over the years it's changed, like when I initially went to Nelson House and started working with Jackie and her grandfather. How my role has changed in, in even, I went there as a graduate student doing research and now in the community, when I'm in the community helping out with the, with the work that does Jackie does in the community. And what, what I found is that people will give you teachings, you know, and things that you need to, that you need to know. Spontaneously and, and yet because even though I'm not, I'm not a student anymore, I'm still learn, I'm still learning and still wanting and still working on developing the, the framework for helping students learn how to do Cree counseling. Some of the, some of the teachings behind that. So I'm, I'm still learning those things, but, and a lot of times it will happen and somebody will give me a story, or they will give a

teaching and I wasn't even expecting it, you know. So, so then, like, and I know that at some point I'm going, I'm going to use that teaching.

This summer we were doing this retreat with women and what we, what we had decided to do was to work with, to take some women who were interested in healing and addressing their issues of abuse and, but using sacred, the teachings of respect and, but from a totally Cree perspective. Totally Cree based format of teaching and talking about those words. Talking about life in, from a Cree sense, like respect, kindness, love, you know.

(Speaks in Cree) I'm talking about those words on a daily, each day. And then, one day one of the women gave me this teaching about the teachings that are, that, our Cree prayers and songs that are hidden in that Evan's[?] hymn book. And she taught me how to use the hand drum to figure out which of those songs actually had those teachings. And she, she took, she took my hand drum and said, "I know, I got something for you." And she told, and she gave this story, and she took the hand drum and said this is how you beat it and this is how it goes. So now I have to go and buy one of those books and find all these things, eh. But, and, but it was, it just blew me away that she gave, she gave me this, such an important teaching. And so, where's protocol? So, and so, I, I, what I did was I, I, I thought, *Well, I gotta, you know, she's given me such an important gift I've got to give her something.* So I went to my, my, my bundle and I went and found something that was really important to me, which is this beautiful bag that Winona gave me and I said well this is the most beautiful, precious thing I have with me right now, and it means a lot to me, so I went and took it to her after. And I, I, I publicly acknowledged her for the teaching that she gave me and said, you know, "I thank you so much or giving me this," you know. And I gave her this bag and she said, "Well, you don't have to give me that. I said, "But I want to because, you know, what you gave me is so important to me." So.

Keith Carlson – Reminds me of one, one time, one time a fellow was talking about how he was hoping that I would be a role model for his kids, and I thought what a huge weight that was, right, you know., I can't cuss and swear and spit in front of them anymore. All these things. But I felt, too, well if I could in someway even try to live up to that, because he was saying, you know I want my kids to, to, you know, to go to school, to go to university, to get in a marriage and love their kids and their wife, and, you know, all those kinds of things. And I thought, *Well, that, that's a way that I can give back in a way to. If I could, you know, when, when*

things are going bad at my house and I'm thinking maybe, you know, I'm not going to be a good father or a good spouse or a good person at this time, well, that I need to role model to, that it's a, even if they're not in vision at the time. Because I think elders are constantly role modeling for us and, and if, if they're sharing then, it, you know, he has to transfer out as well.

Maria Campbell – I remember, oh, no, go ahead.

Jackie Walker – I just wanted to add a little bit to what Ida's saying, and reflecting on the elders that I work with. One of the elders that I work with provides me with a lot of teachings and provides me with, I guess, a lot of, I guess teachings. But one of his things, the reason why he does that is my grandfather had taught him. So by giving back to my grandfather he's giving, giving to me. So, just to add to that note on what Sonny and, you know, Keith and Ida are saying, you know., when we talk about protocol, with working elders, there's, we always have to give back what we're given. When I went fasting and I did it for my own well being and then, but my grandmother came to me and she said, "You've got to take care of your grandfather, you know. He's getting, he's getting old." And I thought, *How am I going to take care of my grandfather?* I view my grandfather as such a knowledgeable, strong man that could take care of himself. And then, so, by me taking care of him, I take him, the teachings that he had passed on to **(Unknown Word)**, and when I'm picking medicine and teaching I got back from that, I take those medicines and give that to my grandfather or anything that I, I—even fish that I learned how to fillet and smoke, and even the moose I was taught how to kill the moose. Cowboy style even. And that, and I take, you know, that meat from there, I take to my grandfather. Everything that I do I take to my grandfather. But I still felt because there's been a lot of teachings that's been given to me, I feel that there's a major responsibility put onto me that I have to pass that on. But I don't think I'm ready for that point where I'm going to pass it on. Especially because I'm thinking about the little kids, you know, passing that information on to the little kids in our community. And so, when I take this stuff to my grandfather and I tell him who, who teaches me, and that's when he, you know, he's very grateful, very thankful, but at the same time I still feel like I need to give more. And there were some elders in my community that were there doing some ceremonial work that were actually from Saskatchewan area. And I

thought they heard about my grandfather and they wanted to go see my grandfather. And we also had this black man from Texas. Do you remember him?

Ida Moore – Yeah.

Jackie Walker – And my grandfather wasn't doing well. He had, he had a heart problem. He was at the northern and he fell. So I was really concerned for him. I had to do something for my grandfather. So I figured this would be a good opportunity to take these people to my grandfather and do some prayer for him. And so we did, and that, a week before that I had borrowed my grandfather's lawn mower. And when I got there, he was upset that his lawn mower was returned all beaten up because my brother had picked it up and used it, right. So he's talking to me about this lawn mower, and I'm saying, "Grandpa, I brought some people here to see you." So they went into the room and then, they started doing prayer with him and, and the power that was in that room was so over-whelming. And I knew right there and then that that was what I had to do for my grandfather. And after they were done, and my grandfather looks at me, he says, "Ah, you can forget about the lawn mower." So, so it's, you know, from, like that's more from a Cree perspective. And when you try and take that in a western approach it becomes very difficult, like Keith was saying. It does. And because when things are passed on to me, it's passed on for a reason, you know. Because of the responsibility that I'm going to have in the future. But for other people when they're writing literature, they're using the literature to teach other people. So that's how it's passed on, there're, you know, there're certain things that the old people don't say. To protect, you know, especially our historical sites. So, and not only that. Maybe I shouldn't go there. I don't have the permission of my husband, so I'll just leave it at that. Thanks.

Ida Moore – One of the things that I've learned over the years is how, what you were talking about, the accuracy of, even when I'm in a, when I'm in a counseling session, and I'm going to share a story with someone that, that the story that I share be accurate. Because when it's not accurate, then it's like it has a totally flat effect, eh. But when I, when I, like when I share stories of, that my father passed on to me on, say, parenting and how he used nature. When people go, "Oh!" it's like a light bulb goes on, and that tells me that I've shared that, I've shared the story accurately and it, it's done the job that, of why it was given

to me to share and, you know. The, the power of that story continues to live, I guess. But it's, it's not a, I guess I kind of recorded it a little bit but not a whole lot.

Jackie Walker – Yeah, we also give money to our, our elders that we work with, with the Rediscovery of Families project. We don't say it's employment or anything like that, it's like an honorarium. And the money we give is not much because even our people, like our elders need to survive, and they can't just survive on the little income or pension that they give, get, eh. So we, we do give them money as a means for the teachings that they passed on to the families that are there. But there are some elders like my grandfather who would not accept money, you know. And a gift is good. Feeding him is good. Giving him medicine. Those are things that he appreciates because it comes from the earth. It comes from our creation. Yeah, so. And, and just visiting him is really good for an elder because nowadays, with our young people that are getting involved in a lot of the new technology like Nintendo, they don't visit anymore, you know. And when you just visit with an elder, that's telling them, you know, that's a lot. Yup. That's a lot for them because they have a lot to share, and they have a lot to, that they need to pass on. Because they, too, I think have that responsibility to pass that knowledge and that information on. So just visiting with one of them is one of the great things that we can do.

Sonny – You reminded me of something else, because not only do we have our own protocols to deal with, but I find that even as an organization within our own financial department or record keeping department, they have their own established rules as well, you know. Where they have to meet requirements of the audit and that sort of thing. And we found that, the required, whenever we paid honorariums, they said that we couldn't use the word honorariums because, as soon as you said honorarium, automatically that kicked in some other rule where it said that the honorariums could only be paid to elected officials. Okay, so we had two elders who were working for us and we thought, *Okay, well, how can we do this?* So we got a letter from their band saying that they're, they've been elected by their band to represent their band within the language program. But that didn't work as well. And finally it got to the point where we had to put them on payroll, but then the elders were a bit concerned about how much income they were getting, and they were concerned that it was going to affect their old age pension. So we ended up hiring a lawyer to look into that

question. And I'm not sure if anybody else has done this, but this might be useful information for you, is that our lawyer found out that, that elders on pension they can make up to fifty, I think it's around fifty-four thousand dollars a year before it even affects their pension, okay. So up to fifty-four thousand dollars a year and then they start taking it, taking so much off their pension, and they don't lose their whole pension until they actually make over eighty thousand dollars a year. And, man, our honorariums won't ever get up to that. So most of the elders are pretty, pretty safe.

John Murdoch – I've got an executive problem because of the guaranteed income scheme with the James Bay Agreement. Honorarium gets deducted as salary, but the way around it is to pay their expenses so that it isn't on the balance sheet as a salary. So, for example, if a person was, they call it **(Unknown Word)**, it's hunting money, and they have to spend a minimum of a hundred and twenty days in the bush, and then everyday beyond that they get paid so much a day. But they're allowed keep their income, like if they sell game food they can keep that, that's not declared. If they sell handicraft or, or if they do anything that's related to the land. And these are managed by the provincial Minister of Social Affairs, and the best way is to pay the expenses. So, like, if they have the expense of, you know, natural gas heating for their, their home in town, then you can just pay as much of their bill as, as you want to pay, and it's not going to show on the balance sheet. That's, that's the easiest way. But this, you know, this is really why I got into the whole legal angle, is a lot of it goes back to whether or not they're regarded as experts within the context of education or whether they're regarded as experts within, within another context. Because if that matter is settled, then everything else falls into an easier place to deal with. Like, mostly I think what protocol, I understand it as is, is a system of respect, and, you know, you try to satisfy an attitude or system of respect. My relationship with Leroy, for example, has probably saved me about two million dollars in legal fees because Brian Slatery, Kent McNeil, all these guys aren't going to shun Leroy Little Bear's grad student. So I have an access to them that would not be available to me if I wasn't Leroy's grad student.

And I don't think that's terribly different in the Aboriginal community, where if people know that you're going to use the stories in a way that positively affects—I think Keith really spelled that out, too—that it changes the formula, it changes the dynamic. And, you know, by, by changing what it means to the person that you're dependent on. And same

thing with Leroy, before I went home I sat down with him and I told him, I said I know very well that nobody would give me the time of day if I wasn't your grad student. So, I said, "If there is ever any time when I start getting into something potentially awkward or embarrassing for you, you don't need to offer me reasons, you know. You just tell me and, you know, I'll find something else interesting to, to get into." And he said, "Oh, no." He says, "I wouldn't do that," he said. "This is fun you know." But it was important to me to make sure that he knew that he controlled the relationship. Well, I was using his good name to get access to people who would normally not give me the time of day. It was important for my sense of protocol in dealing with Leroy, who is really between two worlds. Leroy's credibility is cited by the Supreme Court for his Aboriginal title publications, but it's also his credibility within his own blood community. So, sometimes you're caught between protocols. You can't be, you can't do the right thing because you know the one world that you're meeting this person in with one foot in, and the other world they're not in any kind of an agreement.

But I found that as long as the, the bottom line of respect and not putting, not putting the person in an awkward position for having, having helped you—kind of like the legal definition of fiduciary responsibility of an employee leaving an organization, which is another protocol—that I've really come to believe that court is really about the guy who tells the best story wins. And the rules of the court are really, provide you the, the basis of respect. It's not a really different problem, then, in an Aboriginal community, you know. When I'm doing field work in an Aboriginal community, very often one that I have no relatives, or no connections in, but I very quickly try to develop connections with people that have a vested interest, in whose interest it is to have me understand the criteria of respect so I can behave in a competent fashion while I'm collecting stories in that community. And I, I find those standards are much higher than, and much more exacting, and you're a lot less likely to be lonely when you make a mistake than some of the ones on the four pages from a from a university.

Brenda Macdougall – So, maybe one of the ways we can bring in a sort of a closure for today—we've got about fifteen minutes, twenty minutes or so left—is to address that final student question from yesterday that we didn't deal with. It sort of ties in here. How can students as researchers give back to the community in a way that is reciprocal and

meaningful, as we're now training Native and non-Native students to, to do the kinds of work that you've already set patterns for? Sonny?

Sonny – Pardon me?

Brenda Macdougall – You look like ... (inaudible due to chatter)

Winona Wheeler – Deep in thought!

Dick Preston – I think that starts with something that goes on to what we've just been talking about. I didn't see this first-hand, but I was told, possibly by John, that a few years after I had stopped recording with John Blackned, a young fellow took a tape recorder and went in and said he wanted to record stories. And he did it in a rather casual way that indicated that maybe he wasn't too focused on what he was doing. And John Blackned said, "Well, I've forgotten them all. But Dick Preston's got them written down you can get them from him." Well, nice to hear the vote of confidence. But the problem, I think, was that if you're going to ask somebody to give you something, then you attend to what's being done. The first thing you can give back is respectful attention. And then it grows from there. But I think that's, that's really important. And I think, too, that, I don't know who this person was but maybe he was self-conscious. Maybe he thought, *I don't know how to do this. I'll take the tape recorder in.* So that, it, it wasn't a kind of deliberate snub. It was just lacking in manners, but, and maybe a little self-confidence as well. That'll be something, I think, for students to pick on right away, so that it's, it's clear when they're doing it. And it's not always easy. I can recall hot afternoons when my eyelids were getting heavy, and I thought, *Oh my god, I can't blink, you know, because it will look like I'm losing interest. Need toothpicks to hold them open.*

Maria Campbell – I worked with one old man that never stopped talking for three days and I never slept. Made me clear out a room and I sat at one end of the room and he sat in the other, and he talked and talked and talked and talked. And I had to try and stay awake. I don't remember a thing he told me. I kept my eyes open.

Jackie Walker – But I think also, like giving back to the community, like I said, it's always, it's always good to go back and visit them, let them know they're not forgotten. Like Ida does that. She goes to visit my grandfather, letting him know, you know, information was very valuable.

Maria Campbell – Keeping in touch.

Jackie Walker –Yeah, keeping in touch.

Maria Campbell – The other thing that, that ...

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Maria Campbell – ... generosity that, you know, some people won't take anything, but you give them tea or something. But it's your job then to—if somebody comes along and they're broke or somebody and comes into your house and they like something, that you remember that person who just gave you and so you give them that. And a lot of times, you know, somebody will come in and say, "Well, I really like that painting." So they go home with it. That's part of that same, that comes from, from, if, if somebody, if Roger's giving me something and I, and he won't, there's nothing I can give him back to make up for it, then it's my job to, because I've just received a million dollars that I should be able to give fifty thousand of that away. That, that's just a **(inaudible due to laughter)** ... somebody said, Ida said, "The most important thing I had was that, was that bag." That you don't look at you things to see, *Well, I don't mind giving this away but I won't give this away, that you give away.* And maybe the person's not even remotely interested, I mean, even remotely concerned about that. They're, they're just down and out, and they, you know, they just need, need something. So you give them something that makes them feel so good that maybe it opens a whole new door and changes the course of their life. And that original medicine came from that old person that gave you, or even a young person who gave you some knowledge, and you, that painting opens a door for somebody else.

But the other thing I wanted to just mention in a few minutes is, sometime you need to be formal. Like the protocol needs to be formal, and I don't like that word either because that's not the word in our languages. But I remember going to an old man at home, and I wanted specific songs to go with a story. And I did, I got all my, my gifts together because this was something that I had to make an exchange for. And when I went to him, he said "Why are you coming to me with this stuff?" He said, "You should be giving that to your father because he's the one that knows that stuff." He does? You know, I didn't know my dad knew that, and so, so then he explained to me and he said, "Well, how did you, did you ask him?" And I said, "Yeah, I asked him," and he was just, you know, go on with something else. So, anyway I came home and he reminded me, he said, "There's times." He said, "You knew you had to give me, you had to pay for, to come and see me." He said, "Just because he's your father that doesn't mean that you, you don't pay him." That you have be, meaning that I have to be formal about how I came to him. So, after all those years of my father listening to me, talking about how I wanted this, you know, this information and never breathing a word that he knew about it. He, I came in and, and I gave him all of these offerings at the kitchen table, and he sat down and he told me. I could have saved myself like fifteen or twenty years on that to start with. But, you see, he gave me all kinds of other information that he had to give me because that's a responsibility he has. Which is the same with a lot of stuff that, that I've been given. I don't know what it's for, it's not for me, but my responsibility is to, to, to pass it on to somebody else. Because if I don't pass it on, I'm not going to get anymore, you know.

So there's this whole, but there's some information that I have to be really formal about and, and give away. I had, had a horse that I had hand-raised from the time it was a baby, and it was worth a fortune. I could have, and, and I wanted something from an, from an, an uncle of mine who was a teacher. Every time he came to the house, he went out to the corral and sat out there and looked at my horse. And I knew what he wanted, and I didn't want to give, I didn't, to part company, and, and eventually I had to. And mind you he, he made a deal with me after I gave him the horse, and we ended up in partnership, but, but, you know, how bad, how badly do we want something, you know? But I think the, the most important one is, is, is that we have to be generous with everybody else. That sometimes giving that old guy on the street that wants five dollars to buy himself some wine, and you know that's what he's going to do instead of buying a meal, that you follow your

first instinct and you give it to him. And maybe that's, that's what's going to help him straighten his life out. Because people do that all the time. You can always tell a traditional home when you go into, homes, people will have nothing and they'll give you the most precious thing they have in their house. And then you feel like, you know, *I wished I hadn't looked at it*. But that to me is a, is a, a part of protocol to do that.

Ida Moore – One of the things that my, my, in terms of giving back, my, my father, one of the teachings that he left me was it, when he, when I started doing research in the formal sense, he said, he, he spent one evening talking to me about remembering to keep the name of, of the people, you know. You don't, you don't just say that's a Cree person because that's not just a Cree person that like, you, you're Muskego, you know. You're, you're not, you're not just a Cree person, you're Muskego and, you know, those people, you know. Like my brother-in-law was from **(Unknown Word)** that's, he's a **Sini (Unknown Spelling)**, a **Sini (Unknown Spelling)** Cree, you know. A **(Unknown Cree Words)** he said. I mean, in naming that person you, you pay respect to who they are and where they come from and, and, their connection to the land, and it, it gives you a whole history of that person. And their relationship and...

Roger Maaka – Just on the, oh sorry. This, this, this last point about giving back. I was thinking about it as people were talking and I've been thinking about it in terms of other research projects that I've been involved in the recent, in the last sort of six months or so. Maybe there's a need to shift to not taking out, and so the giving back becomes less of a problem. In other words, you go into a community with a community and say, "Look, why don't we, here's an idea of information sharing, research," whatever word you want to have. So that they are partners with you at the beginning, and so you're not taking out, and therefore the, the, the whole position of giving back changes because they're with you. Whatever the end product might be, be it a book, be it a film, be it a policy, be it a way for, for their community, so that is the giving back there. It is a not a conscious, *Well, now I've taken something from you, I've got to give you something back*. Is the kind of thing that the students, so that means, then, we shouldn't send students, or anybody else, into communities unless they're prepared to work with those communities and, and do something. And, that, that doesn't answer the question of gift giving now, but it's, inside it. But I was just thinking of

the more, the blunt way that the student put this question: *How do I give back after I've got sort of, assumes I've got something?* Now, payback time. I'll get rather than if you walked it together, the journey, it would come automatically in sort of, in formal ways. It might be physically giving of goods, money, or it might simply be in the working together.

Winona Wheeler – But I think, Roger, that's, that should be an assumption that we train students in.

Roger Maaka – Yup.

Winona Wheeler – That if you're gonna be going to a community and asking for teachings, you need to be prepared to commit yourself to that community for the next decade or two or however long they think you might be useful to them. And that's a research method that, that's a really hard one for the mainstream to address. You guys are in an enviable position because you are inherently in a place that gives back. You were created to retain and give back, and that's a really beautiful place to be in. And I've, what I'm finding is that the kind of stuff that I've done in the past that's not meaningful to me is that similar stuff you know where, where my band that I married into, that I wasn't born into, put me through three university degrees. I have a lifelong commitment to that community. So much so that I've—even though I've been in my home territory for almost a decade, over a decade, I still can't bring myself to transfer my band membership, you know, back over here from there because they were, they looked after me with such love. And they did so as an investment.

And I can get a phone call. I just got another one last week, as a matter of fact, you know. I mean, there were times over the past ten to fifteen, twenty years where I received a box in the mail, and it's a 350 page new proposed policy coming out of INAC and the chief wants a one page summary from a Treaty 5 perspective, right. Okay, right, so you buckle down, you do this. It kills you, you've got other things you're working on, but you make time because you know, this is something you're good at. This is, I can do this, I can do policy analysis, really well. My chief knows it and he has that expectation that he can call upon me to do these things at will. I got a phone call last week, you know. There's a flooding issue on the reserve. The river's, is flooding now more than ever because of damming and irrigation happening all over. And he wants me to come in and, and do some historical research on,

you know, the banks and the rising and, and, what the condition of the land was like when they first took treaty and built a reserve there. This is something I can do, this is, this is a tangible skill I have that I can give back as they need it. And I've done it over the years, you know, and it's, it's, to me it's rewarding that, that I, I, you know. I'll be fifty-five years old and some sixty-five to seventy-five years old, and some young chief will have my name on a piece of paper: "Oh yeah, this one, we can call this one to do that." And that's okay to me.

So, you know, when I think of protocol and, and, and the whole western conceptualization of it as ritual, as, as a, almost like two strangers coming together and negotiating that relationship for the moment, I mean, in our context I think it, it goes beyond that. I think it's, it's about establishing a lifelong relationship. And I don't know how it is with the elders, see your elders are in your community. So I, I would sense that they, they've invested in you and in your projects by the stories they shared with you, and they feel totally comfortable coming into your office at any time they want and asking for something or hinting. Sometimes they just sit there for a long time until you finally ask them, "What can I do for you?" you know. You know, and I, I suspect that that's probably the case. That they know that there's a reciprocal relationship there and that's something that our students need to be trained in. That, *Don't stick your faces in people's lives unless you're willing to give some commitment to them. Otherwise stay out. We don't need it.*

Maria Campbell – Yeah, that's, that's really, really important.

Brenda Macdougall – I think that's where we wrap for the day.

(Lots of chatter)