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Salmon Farming and Salmon People: Identity and Environment in the Leggatt Inquiry

DOROTHEE SCHREIBER

INTRODUCTION

In October of 2001, the Leggatt Inquiry into salmon farming traveled to four small communities (Port Hardy, Tofino, Alert Bay, and Campbell River) close to the centers of operation for the finfish aquaculture industry in British Columbia (see fig. 1).[1] In doing so, it gave local people, particularly First Nations people,[2] an opportunity to speak about salmon farming using their own vocabularies, styles of speaking, and forms of knowledge.[3] Their testimony, however, was about much more than salmon farming. In fact, most of the talk at the inquiry focused upon people's sense of place and community, and their understandings of their way of life. In particular, the inquiry brought to light the legal and political context in which the salmon farming industry operates.

This paper focuses on narratives that in technical and scientific circles would probably be considered rambling, anecdotal, and off the subject.[4] Much of the background needed to make sense of these accounts of fish farming lies hidden in the colonial context of the industry and the ongoing struggles of Native people in British Columbia for recognition of their rights to land and resources. In particular, the material practices of the colonizers seem to produce Native identities quite different from the ones Native people themselves know and rely on. My analysis of the Leggatt Inquiry tries to give voice to the Native people who appeared at the inquiry by showing that, while they are certainly the victims of continued intrusions into their territories and ways of life—and, as I hope to demonstrate, salmon farming represents such an intrusion—they are not passive bystanders in the process. Instead, the

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aboriginal people who spoke about salmon farming at the inquiry creatively and strategically employed a variety of devices that would help others see the controversy over salmon farming as they themselves did.

People evaluate situations using particular vocabularies that are known to be unquestioned explanations for behaviors or attitudes.[5] Thus, First Nations people may encounter resistance or misunderstanding when justifying their rejection of fish farming to non-First Nations people. The theoretical work on how people use accounts in social interaction suggests that at this point, aboriginal opponents of salmon farming can use two strategies: either (1) reassure the listener about the type of person they are, as members of a First Nation, or more rarely (2) switch identities and provide an account that accords with who they think they are expected to be. In the first instance, witnesses strive to reset the social stage on which the drama of the account is played out to reflect an identity more favorable to their situation.[6] The second instance places testimonies within the context of an identity that might honor only very different types of accounts. In this way, people's accounts of their behavior generally correspond to the expectations associated with this identity.[7]

While I structure my analysis of the speakers' identities around these two strategies, it will soon become clear that these categories—"affirming" identity and "negotiating" identity—are more fluid than is sometimes supposed. I challenge the assumption that "aboriginal peoples have yet to significantly affect the construction of their own identities within mainstream Euro-Canadian contexts."[8] Although Native people at the Leggatt Inquiry seemed to recognize that they were constrained by outsiders' understandings of who they were, they transformed those constraints into opportunities for resistance. In the course of interpreting what it means to be aboriginal, the witnesses seemed to be actively selecting, checking, and transforming both the meanings that were ascribed to them by non-aboriginal people, and those they had previously constructed on their own. As a result, aboriginal people were able to speak about salmon farming in terms of uniquely Native identities.

This perspective on identity is relevant to much of the recent work on the subject. The symbolic interactionist point of view generally considers identities to be symbols in their own right. These symbolic identities imply relationships between people that must be negotiated through interaction.[9] Thus, identity is never a predetermined and stable feature of the self, but rather something that is always in progress and constructed within discourse. Joane Nagel, for example, observed that ethnic identification as an American Indian seems to lie at the boundary between ascribed and self-created identities; indeed identities *become* the context-specific negotiations that make up these clashes in meaning.[10]

In recent years, the David Suzuki Foundation, along with other environmentalist organizations in British Columbia, has raised serious questions about the environmental impacts of salmon farming. In addition, most coastal First Nations in British Columbia seem opposed to or suspicious of salmon farming in their territories, even though one First Nation on the north coast, the Kitasoo/Xai'xais, operates its own salmon farm. The Salmon Aquaculture Review, conducted by the British Columbia government's

Environmental Assessment Office in 1995, did not appear to answer adequately either Native or Euro-Canadian people's questions about this new industry. The Leggatt Inquiry, although organized and funded by the Suzuki Foundation, was part of a public relations battle over salmon farming that has been raging for many years. The Coastal Alliance for Aquaculture Reform, which includes the Suzuki Foundation, has been trying to raise public awareness of the potential for salmon farms to transmit disease to wild, Pacific salmon, and the polluting effects of high concentrations of fish and feed at farm sites. In addition, the reality of farmed Atlantic salmon that escape into the wild has outraged environmentalists who, like many British Columbians, respect salmon as a part of the region's natural heritage and fear for the continued survival of the wild species.[11]

British Columbians, aboriginal and non-aboriginal alike, frequently become involved in intense controversies over logging, fishing, and mineral exploration. In 1993, for example, environmentalists took part in large demonstrations against logging practices and committed acts of civil disobedience in Clayoquot Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. In addition, many aboriginal groups in the province have been deliberately challenging their continued exclusion from, and lack of control over, resources and territories that were never ceded by treaty or otherwise. These legal challenges, though not always successful, have placed strong pressure on government fisheries regulators to recognize preexisting Native rights.[12]

The David Suzuki Foundation, an environmentalist organization with a strong focus on the oceans and sustainable fishing, initiated, organized, and financed Stuart Leggatt's inquiry. Stuart Leggatt, a retired British Columbia Supreme Court judge, was appointed inquiry commissioner. Leggatt's terms of reference, however, stated that the inquiry was independent and would provide a much-needed opportunity for people to speak publicly about salmon farming. Judge Leggatt not only allowed these sorts of personal testimonies, but actively solicited them. In doing so, he followed in the footsteps of Judge Thomas Berger, who led an inquiry into the proposed MacKenzie Valley Pipeline in 1974. Berger had been interested in hearing from more than expert witnesses; he wanted to come to grips with different ways of understanding the environment, and with people's hopes and fears about their continued relationship with the land.[13]

CONTESTED IDENTITY, CONTESTED NATURE

When Native British Columbians at the Leggatt Inquiry spoke about fish farming, they tended to emphasize their firsthand knowledge of people, territories, and ways of making a living, rather than restricting their explanations to secondhand, scientific "facts." Much of the evidence placed fish farming within the context of memories about colonial attempts to destroy a way of life. Art Dick (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation, hereditary chief, Mamalilikulla tribe), said that

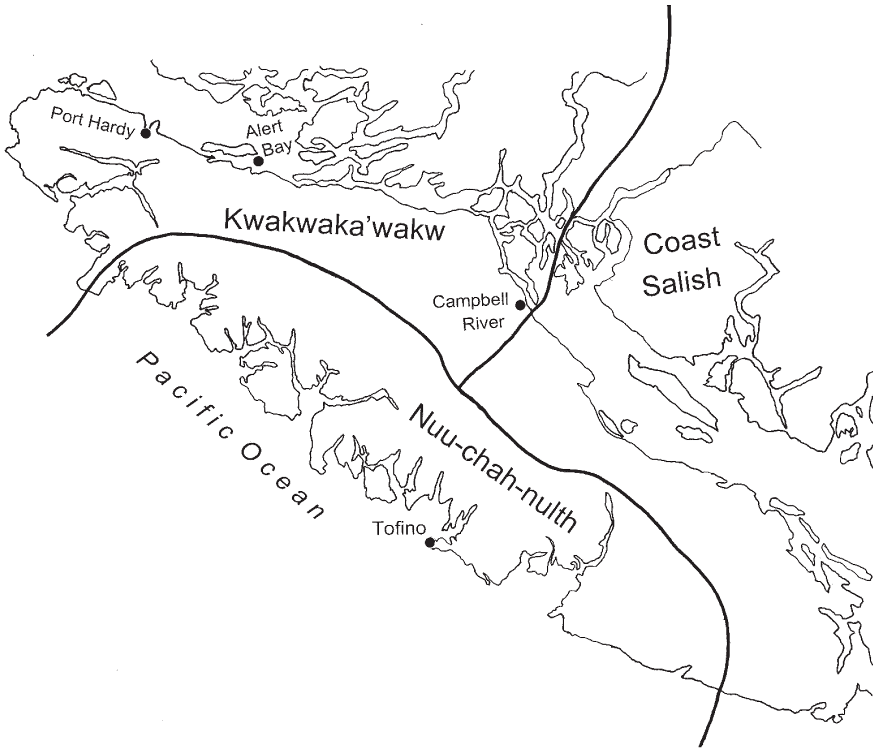

FIGURE 1. *Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland of British Columbia, roughly divided into aboriginal culture areas. The locations of the Leggatt Inquiry are indicated.*

> it all started with the banning of the potlatch. And then they implemented the residential school because this government of ours has a hundred year plan for Canada . . . and Natives are not included. . . . That wasn't successful, what other option do they have? They are going to the very substance that sustained us throughout our history: our food supply.

The importance of social lives is a thread that wove itself through much of the opposition to fish farming and appeared to be inseparable from the discourse on the natural lives of fish and other marine resources. Distinctions between culture and tradition on the one hand, and economy and industry on the other, so often made in non-aboriginal society, were not raised by any of the First Nations witnesses at the inquiry. Fish farmers, on the other hand, typically talk about controlling a valuable yet separate nature in order to tap its "productive potential."[14] For Rod Sam (Tofino, Ahousaht

First Nation), as with many of the witnesses, people's reliance on the productive capacity of the environment is the very thing that makes them human. This understanding is in direct contrast to that of the authors of the *Salmon Aquaculture Review*, who, he said "had stated that there is little or no impact to the environment and to humans. Basically stating that First Nations people aren't human, because we are impacted. You cannot even begin to put a price on the resources we have lost."

First Nations people have unique ways of understanding their relationship with the environment that differ from those of their colonizers. However, the huge diversity of indigenous ways of life calls into question the usefulness of easy generalizations about Native environmental understandings. Claude Lévi-Strauss tried to characterize the "savage mind" by saying that indigenous people operate at a different "strategic level" of thought—one that is "adapted to that of perception and imagination."[15] Some contemporary anthropologists have argued that non-agriculturalists relate to resources differently than do agriculturalists,[16] and have a tendency to endow elements of nature with subjectivity, in the same way that non-aboriginals endow humans with subjectivity.[17] These sorts of conclusions probably have more to do with Euro-Canadian problems in understanding the nature of objectivity than with the cultural worlds of exotic or peoples.[18] It seems most useful to focus on differences in these understanding as they apply to particular social situations at specific times and places.

The witnesses at the Leggatt Inquiry highlighted the reliance of their meanings and understandings of salmon on contemporary, real, and productive fishing economies, rather than on vague notions of traditional values. Euro-Canadians have imposed this divide between the cultural and the economic as a powerful way of telling First Nations people who they are: traditional people who know nothing about the economy. Michel Foucault has suggested that power turns people into subjects—that it tells people who they are in relation to each other and the material world.[19] In the particular context of British Columbia, the appropriation of First Nations lands by colonists has gone hand in hand with the relegation of First Nation people's ways of understanding those lands. According to Foucault, power is not so much a confrontation between two adversaries as it is a question of government, and as a result,

> the things with which in this sense government is to be concerned are in fact men, but men in their relations, their links, their imbrication with those other things which are wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, etc.[20]

What counts as material production—as opposed to social production—determines the types of access that Native people have to resources in their territories. This is also the view of Bruce Braun, who found that the colonial history of British Columbia is being kept alive through a kind of "silent colonial violence" that separates understandings of Native people from understandings of modernity and culture.[21]

ACCOUNTS: AFFIRMING FIRST NATIONS IDENTITY

Identity and Fishing

First Nations witnesses, most of whom had fished all their lives, seemed to understand fishing as inseparable from their identity as individuals. Fishing was not just described as an activity among many others; instead witnesses spoke of a dynamic and active nature in which the continuity of people is linked to the renewal of natural resources. This renewal takes place through *use*: "Our access to our traditional foods is a major link to our traditional way of life, and our culture. To watch this being destroyed is to witness genocide" (Bill Cranmer, Alert Bay, elected chief, Namgis First Nation). Fish are therefore not an entity to be acted *on*, but *with*: "To me, this wild fish is who we are, what we are" (Stan Hunt, Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation). In this view, fishing should not be viewed simply as the extraction of consumables, but as an activity that recreates people and their so-called "traditional" knowledge, at the same time as it recreates the environment.

First Nations speakers talked about how, in their societies, people take care of the environment not simply by talking about culture, but by actively engaging with the material world so that knowledge of resources, and the resources themselves, will endure into the future. In much the same way that fishing recreates nature, it allows for continuity in the identity of these First Nations people despite the drastic changes they have faced during the past century. Coast-wide buyback programs, individual quotas, and other moves towards privatization of commercial fishing have eliminated all but a handful of salmon licenses in Alert Bay. Although the federal government continues to isolate fisheries from community life, the Namgis people are committed to maintaining the possibility of a wild fishing economy for generations to come. This commitment is expressed in cultural terms, as something that

> commands . . . the sacred duty of stewardship of the land, sea and air resources for future generations, and the ability to harvest those resources for food, ceremonial, and social purposes has been ongoing for years and years for [Native] people. (Bill Cranmer)

For the aboriginal people of northern Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland, expectations about how people should behave towards and with natural resources come not from idle thoughts of past cultural ideals, but from fishing—by active engagement with present-day resources. Fishing makes it become difficult to discern where the fish stops and the human begins. As Mike Stadnyk (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation) put it, "the salmon fishing industry is responsible for everything I am today." This is consistent, even today, with Franz Boas' documentation of the metaphorical use in the Kwakiutl language[22] of salmon as people:

> The guests of a person as well as wealth that he acquires are called his "salmon" . . . a great many guests a "school of salmon" and the house

> or village of the host his "salmon weir" into which he hauls his guests.[23]

When Darrell Campbell (Tofino, Ahousaht First Nation) talked about the survival of fish stocks over millennia, he pointed out the fact that "Since time immemorial, the Ahousaht First Nation managed the fish, the aquatic resources, and the environment under their own laws, law systems. The law is respected, the fish, aquatic resources and all its environment surrounding it [are also respected]." This is how he introduced himself and his testimony. All his later claims were subordinate to this fundamental social fact: his people have always managed and harvested salmon precisely because these fish are so valuable. By making extensive use of references to fishing, Campbell explained his practical knowledge of fishing as *itself* a cultural resource that integrates present realities with traditional practices.

By explaining who they are as fishers, First Nations witnesses generally sought to create expectations in the listener with regard to fishers' behavior. Mano Taylor, a clam digger from Alert Bay (Namgis First Nation) can "just look at the beach and know what's there, whether it is a butter beach or a littleneck beach." He checks up on the condition of clam beds near fish farms because he "like[s] to find out what our old people used to do and where they used to go." One of the few seafood harvesters who continues to hold a commercial license in Alert Bay, Taylor argued that the practical implications of his knowledge assure its validity: "Clams," as he went on to point out, "are a renewable resource enjoyed by most people. . . . I don't know anybody in this room [who has eaten] a farmed fish."

When fishers talk about the ocean, their firsthand knowledge is regarded as true not because it is "cultural," but instead because generations of fishers have used it down to the present day. Art Dick remembered how he learned about pit lighting "as a herring fisherman with [his father] on the mainland thirty-five years ago":

> We used to pit light. . . . And when we did that we attracted herring plus everything else that lives in the ocean came to that light. And when we made our set to catch these herring, it was quite a common occurrence for us to catch 50, 70, 125 spring salmon that were in the areas at the time.

When he saw that fish farms were using lights at night, it bothered him, because he knows "what happens when the lights get turned on to these little fish that are escaping the rivers and heading out to sea." In his presentation, Dick "chose not to have a title." He has several—hereditary chief of the Mamalilikulla people of Village Island, a councilor of the Namgis First Nation, and senior fisheries guardian at the Kwakiutl Territorial Fisheries Commission—but instead, he testified "on behalf of [his] family," who were the people with whom he fished and who taught him to make a living through fishing.

Like the environment experienced through fishing, the environment in which fish farming takes place is fundamentally social. Willie Moon (Alert Bay,

elected chief, Namgis First Nation) found that when outbreaks [of fish disease] erupt [on salmon farms], it is not the fish that are quarantined, but the *people*: "We the Tsawataineuk Nation, our travel mode is basically by boat. If they have an outbreak in our territory that basically means we are quarantined in our community." This is because fish farming, like tree farming, precludes many other, uniquely Native, economic activities. According to Art Dick:

> Everybody knows the effect that fish farms have on a cultural way of life of the Native. Up at the head of Knights Inlet, where I go to make grease on a yearly basis . . . there's tree farms.[24] We no longer have access to that land to hunt.

Kingcome Inlet is the home of Willie Moon's people, the Tsawataineuk, just as Knights Inlet lies in the traditional territory of Art Dick's ancestors, the Mamalilikulla. Both these locations are geographically removed from the reserve in Alert Bay to which government Indian agents moved many Kwak'wala-speaking tribes.[25] However, these two men continue to be "from" those areas as long as they continue to *fish* in those inlets, thus recreating their families' culture in real and productive ways.

As with fishing, fish farming is not considered to be separate from social life. Joe Campbell (Tofino, band manager, Ahousaht First Nation), for example, observed at the fish farm at Bare Bluff that: "The dogfish come around and it creates dependency [on the feed]. Just like when there's a free meal, lots of people go there." Ultimately, Campbell says, the dependency of wild fish on fish pellets is "going to be at the cost of the public." He wonders whether "the government [is] going to be liable . . . for any damage to the environment and to the lives of [his] people?" His comments relate directly to the economic condition of his community, Ahousaht, where—unlike Alert Bay, which remains more or less steadfastly opposed to any involvement in the industry—as many as sixty people work at, and have slowly become dependent on, the nearby fish farms and processing plant. In fact, fish farming is the only major employer in the community besides the band administration. Like other aboriginal communities along the coast, the licensing schemes and other governmental fisheries regulations deprived the Ahousaht of commercial access to their adjacent, wild fisheries and many Ahousaht work as wage laborers unconnected to the fishing economy.

Just as wild salmon are closely intertwined with First Nations as people, so farmed salmon are thought to represent the beliefs and agendas of non-aboriginal people. In fact, Native witnesses often described fish farming as part of a larger program to either exterminate or assimilate aboriginal people. "This is all being done, this genocide of a race, being done under the guise of farming, under the guise of economic development" (Art Dick). This statement interprets fish farming as an extension of the colonizers, just as wild salmon are viewed as an extension of his people.

The Namgis people are particularly sensitive to the cultural violence that comes from attempts at assimilation. Vera Newman (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation) is no longer able to dig clams because she "live[s] in a different world.

. . . we are told to get educated . . . we come home with an education and we don't get the jobs." What Newman points out is that her inability to harvest wild marine species is a direct and material consequence of non-Native intrusions into Native understandings of people and the environment. In other words, non-Native understandings of fishing, when imposed on Native people, are more than mere discourses: they damage the lives of real people.

When fishing is no longer an option, people are starved of their life and meaning. Says Newman, "I sit here and I watch our [fishing] boats, I feel like crying. I feel like our community has just laid down and died." Here, cultural meanings are understood not as mere beliefs or attitudes, but as resources critical to survival. In it is U'mista Cultural Center, the Namgis Nation remembers the potlatch ban of the early twentieth century in a display of the seized and repatriated items. The fall 2000 edition of *U'mista News* explains that the center is designed as a place for people to "inform themselves about the genocide that is our history."[26]

Identity and Place

The aboriginal testimonies at the Leggatt Inquiry were filled with references to the traditional territories of particular bands and nations. Witnesses discussed places in highly specific ways, with locations always associated with their people. Each day's proceedings opened with a statement welcoming the audience and the speakers to a particular territory, thus letting the non-Native listeners know what sort of place was hosting the inquiry. Pat Alfred (Namgis First Nation) introduced the Port Hardy meeting by stating that his mother is Kwagiulth:

> She lives here in this village, and the land that you sit on today I welcome you to come share with us on the land of the Kwakiutl people, the traditional territory. . . . In following the proper protocol, I had to do that scene as you [Judge Leggatt] didn't—someone should have explained the protocol . . . they [First Nations people] should always be there to welcome.

Alfred went on to explain that, "the first thing you do when you arrive at Port Hardy" is "you go and meet the chief and council of that village because you're in a traditional territory." Bill Cranmer from Alert Bay pointed out that the testimonies given on that day "will address only our territories."

These welcoming procedures created an environment in which First Nations meanings of place and, by extension, people's meanings of who they are as people in those places, could permeate the discussions about salmon farming. Consequently, the welcoming speeches gave authority to a method of thinking that understands places in a quite different way from salmon farming interests. It is not surprising that the notion of place plays such a central role in the debate over First Nations and salmon farming, given that conflicts over land have always been the primary point of contention between aboriginal groups and their colonizers. Historically, colonizers have failed to

recognize the specificity of First Nations notions of place: George Alfred (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation) testified:

> according to the province, Indians didn't need land because they owned everything in the sea, so they gave us [Indians] basically ten acres per family of five as opposed to 350 for every British subject when they allocated land.

The colonial emphasis on space, rather than place, treats fish farms as though they operate in a generic coastal environment. As Bruce Braun has pointed out, non-Native people often construct nature as empty space, with only particular actors authorized to speak for it. Viewing nature as a separate object of environmental contemplation and scientific calculation puts indigenous people under colonial control, and places them in, around, or outside carefully delimited places.[27] The treatment of places as homogenous spaces allows the separation of land from its original inhabitants and its reconfiguration in ways that satisfy colonial agendas. Braun has discovered such expressions of place-as-space in the public relations materials published by the MacMillan Bloedel forestry company operating in British Columbia.[28] Thus, it should come as little surprise that salmon farming companies in the province construct place in much the same way.

Cole Harris has noted that in British Columbia, the allocation of reserves, the opening of land to settlers, and curtailment of Native rights of usage, custom, and law all contributed to a particularly oppressive form of colonial power.[29] Reorganizing Native space severely restrains Native people's possibilities for action. As a form of disciplinary power, the alienation of Native people from their land was an attempt to rid people of knowledge about who they were. Not only do seasonal rounds now lie outside reserve boundaries, but the spatial control of aboriginal people has enabled colonizers to attempt to force assimilation into mainstream Euro-Canadian culture. As Daniel Clayton has pointed out, the redefinition of Native space, particularly its redefinition as Crown land, played a key role in the imperial fashioning of Vancouver Island.[30] Thus, the idea that Native culture cannot be reinvigorated without the restoration of ancestral lands lies at the center of present-day rights claims.

For many of the Native people who appeared at the Leggatt Inquiry, salmon farming represents a direct infringement on their right to use and occupy particular ocean territories. This sense of loss was articulated by Russell Kwakseestahla (Campbell River, hereditary chief, Laich-Kwil-Tach First Nation) who said that "some of those areas are our homeland and we don't want to lose our clam beaches and fishing reefs et cetera to fish farms." These places are not at the frontier, near the edges of the territorial boundaries, from which resources are extracted and transported to the center. Instead, homelands are at the center of wealth, and the fishing spots and other resource-gathering sites that make up these homelands provide people with a way of life. Witnesses seemed to consider themselves to be at the very center of places, many of which are now occupied or affected by fish farms, and they saw no difference between physical and cultural marginalization. Robert Joseph (Alert Bay,

Namgis First Nation, hereditary chief, Gwawaenuk tribe) explained this marginalization by referring to his people's traditional territories:

> If it does indeed . . . impact our access to these resources we are going to see more and more of our people marginalized and more and more of our people moving into places like downtown east side Vancouver and to other places of poverty living on the periphery of the wealth that other people are accustomed to.

Russell Kwakseestahla's presentation began with a statement about the alienation of his people's lands without treaties, and his past work in a "society [created] six years ago on fishing in the commercial fishing industry and fishing rights for critical issues with Laich-Kwil-Tach people." "We still enjoy 100 percent sovereignty and we own 100 percent of our homelands," he said. The present crisis over salmon farming is in his view an extension of "the crimes against humanity acted upon us by the colonial pirates and thieves that invaded our homelands." Without the wealth of his people's territories, "people have suffered since … [other] people feel or assume that they have jurisdiction in our homeland." Chris Cook (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation), as president of the Native Brotherhood, a fishers' union and the oldest active Native organization in Canada, saw the same thing from a more general point of view. He emphasized the discrepancy between the "fishing opportunities in our ocean" and the adjacent people's lack of access to those riches, concluding that, "today, I've never seen so much poverty as I travel up and down the coast."

Fish farming takes place not at abstract spots "out there" in the wilderness, but at specific locations that are intimately known. The status of these places, *as places*, seems to come from their involvement in the fishing economy. Sydney Sam, Sr. (Tofino, Ahousaht First Nation) was a herring fisherman who discussed the differences between Cypress Bay, "where there was about three or four farms, which used to be at one time one of the best spawning areas for herring," but which hasn't "had a spawn there for years now," and Sydney Inlet, "where there's no farms at all" and "herring [have] come back."

This type of detailed knowledge of place is central to the "protocol" agreement, signed in the fall of 2002, between the Ahousaht First Nation and Pacific National Aquaculture. The agreement recognizes, at least in principle, traditional Ahousaht territories (*ha-hoolthee*) and the hereditary chiefs who own them (*ha'wiih*). Ahousaht agreed to allow existing salmon farms onto its territories in exchange for influence over siting decisions and farming practices. For Ahousaht, the consequences of fish farming are specific and anticipated at named and known locations:

> I guess the reason I say local knowledge plays a key role is—a good one is the Bare Bluff issue—We told them. "No, we don't want that farm there [Bare Bluff]." Despite our opposition, they went and did it anyway. Lo and behold this year what happens? The biggest mortality rate you've ever seen. We're told 20 feet of dead fish on the bottom, maybe even more, plus floating fish on top. (Darrell Campbell)

The signing of this agreement might address Campbell's concerns and could represent a significant attempt by both parties to move the salmon farming company towards an understanding of fish farming locations as *places*, rather than mere *spaces*.

Bays, inlets, and other types of fishing spots are not simply backgrounds, but are well-known characters that participate in a social life made possible through the harvesting, processing, and consumption of fish. Places invite, allow, and facilitate a way of life centered upon a fishing economy, and seem to contain the essence of what it means to be a First Nations person. This seems to be true also of northern, interior First Nations in the Arctic. Judge Berger, in the report of his inquiry into the proposed MacKenzie Valley Pipeline, wrote that "the relationship of the northern native to the land is still the foundation of his own sense of identity. It is on the land that he recovers a sense of who he is."[31]

Although non-Natives often equate agriculture with place and hunting and fishing with the lack of place, First Nations people tend to come to the opposite conclusion: that a way of life based on fishing is closely tied to locations, while agriculture (like fish farming) does away with the need for specific places.[32] Finfish aquaculture is a form of farming, and Atlantic salmon can be cultivated in waters from Chile to British Columbia (assuming a set of constant temperature, salinity, and ocean current conditions). Fish farming, like agriculture, is tied to places, in that rows of net pens occupy particular ocean leases. Fishing places, on the other hand, are less visible to the outsider. This contradiction between the importance of a place and its outward appearance to non-Natives led Stan Hunt to compare the destruction of fishing places to the destruction of farms. He used a vocabulary he thought his listeners would understand, when he said:

> It is almost akin to you having a farm and you have certain crops that you are planting and then I come in without telling you what I was going to do and uproot everything that you have got and plant something else. That's basically what these fish farms have done to us. They have absolutely ruined the way we lived.

As the speakers at the Leggatt Inquiry explained in detail, places along the coast are not occupied by people as colonizers of a non-human nature. Instead, salmon and people *together* lay claim to places. Commitment to a homeland precludes people from moving on to other places because salmon too are constrained to particular rivers, runs, and habitats: "People have come and gone in our area, and no matter how bad it is been, we've still been here . . . we are the salmon people, Kwakwaka'wakw" (Mike Stadnyk).

Dan Smith of Campbell River (Laich-Kwil-Tach First Nation), also a Kwakwaka'wakw, concurred:

> The wild stock have a *homeland*. They have their respective streams, their respective rivers to ensure that they continue. And they do not

> want to be dislocated or disenfranchised or pushed out by the exotic or foreign species that are being introduced.

Smith used the same vocabulary to discuss both biological invasions and the intrusion of people into his territories. Because there has been "a desire of many people to move into these areas, [the traditional territories of the Laich-Kwil-Tach people, they] extended the hand of friendship and hospitality as [their] ancestors had." Indeed, Campbell River, with its abundance of pulp mills and other industries is the most urbanized of the four Vancouver Island communities visited by the inquiry. However, these industries have not made Dan Smith's people wealthy, and "the legacy that is now left . . . is a legacy of exploitation."

Identity and Groups

Fisheries regulated by local people are considered legitimate because they "respect the fishing right of the Ahousaht First Nation, their people, houses and chiefs" (Darrell Campell). In practice, however, Campbell says that the "DFO [the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans] manages the fisheries—there is no respect either for the fish or for the rights of the First Nations." Group life is disrupted when "other people come into our area" and "make rules and regulations about how things are going to work" (Stan Hunt). The changed rules include decisions determining rights of access to resources. Traditionally, Art Dick was able to make ooligan grease at a specific location, his access granted by the owners of the fishing spot: "I thank the Tanakteuk and the people from Knights Inlet to allow me to do this," he said. Around the same area, there are tree farms in hunting territories to which Dick's people "no longer have access . . . because someone has decided in their lofty towers that this is what they are going to do."

Leaders of bands and organizations in particular expressed a great deal of anxiety over what fish farming would do to their people as a whole. Percy Williams (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation, hereditary chief, Kwicksutaineuk tribe), for instance, remarked that the biggest insult that salmon farming brings to his people is its effect on group life: "Our territory and our people have endured the worst impact, above all calling into question our traditional way of life, an issue that we will not tolerate."

Russell Kwakseestahla (Campbell River, Laich-Kwil-Tach First Nation) spoke of fishing for family members who were unable to fish for themselves: "A couple of years ago I fished at the Kakweiken in Thompson Bay … on the Cape Georgia—I was fishing for my baby brother—we had 35 of these Atlantic salmon in one catch." Generally, the speakers wondered not about their own future, but about "what's going to happen to us" (George Alfred). Concern about the survival of First Nations as distinct groups of people was common among the witnesses at the inquiry. They voiced fear that they would not be able to pass on knowledge about their way of life to their descendants. As Darrell Campbell said, "the reason we are fighting here . . . it is not for us, it is for our children's children."

It appears as though fish farming is in conflict with fishing, not only because it constitutes an altogether different form of *production*, but also because it implies a very different type of cultural *reproduction*. Campbell was dissatisfied with the prospect of having to "go to the Clam Bucket in Port Alberni and pay whatever for that little bucket of clams" because his "little girl alone can eat twice that amount." The combination of lost fishing opportunities with the rise of the salmon farming industry implies a significant loss of knowledge. When people are no longer engaged in fishing, they are unable to teach their children the things they know about salmon through their everyday involvement with the fish. As a case in point, Willie Moon described the impacts of government fishing regulations:

> The Davis Plan came and took all our licenses away. . . . Fifty years from now when I talk to my kid about a salmon, it is just going to be a picture I'm going to have to show him. And I don't think that's what we want as First Nations people as that is part of our everyday life is the salmon.

Others have made the observation that cultural production, like fishing and other economic activities, and cultural *re*production are interdependent and work together to sustain and create images, ideas, and symbols. Carolyn Merchant, for example, notes that when the biological and social manifestations of production or reproduction come into conflict, the social whole can be transformed in profound ways.[33] The change for the salmon people from wild salmon capture to industrial fish farming seems to be inseparable from changes in the transmission of knowledge. The arrival of fish farms in their area signals the imminent incompatibility of a new kind of fish production and social and cultural reproduction that, for generations, has allowed people to teach children about salmon in relation to daily life.

ACCOUNTS: NEGOTIATING FIRST NATIONS IDENTITY

The preceding sections suggested that First Nations speakers at the Leggatt Inquiry frequently spoke proudly as aboriginal people whose everyday, common-sense realities attach unique sets of meanings to fish and people. These accounts were believable because they provided the listener with information about the cultural context in which the testimonies are good reasons for speaking against salmon farming. The speakers at these hearings seemed to anticipate discrepancies between the identity under which they oppose salmon farming, and the identity imposed on them by non-aboriginal listeners: "like we're cavemen, like we're running around in the bushes throwing rocks at birds and bears was the vision they had of Indians" (George Alfred).

Alfred also recalled his experience during meetings in the early 1970s with forestry companies that wanted access to the traditional territory of the Namgis. At that time, the First Nations representatives were unable to get their point across to the industry: "every time we came to a meeting they said: 'oh, no, no, you guys got your facts wrong. This is scientific.' You know, 'You

guys don't know what you're talking about.'" As a result, Alfred used a different identity to strengthen his own preferred self-definition by pointing out that only science would make his testimony believable. He described this process and pointed out its transferability to the case of salmon farming:

> So we thought, well, okay, we'll go play their game. So we started getting scientific information trying to fight facts with facts, you know. So hopefully we are going to come out ahead on this [salmon farming]. . . . When we saw what happened with open net-pens, well, it wasn't right.

In other words, science can serve to defend aboriginal people's conceptions of who they are as people. However, promoting the use of science to solve resource-related controversies might endanger the ability of First Nations people to maintain their identity. A focus on science can easily cause the dismissal of First Nations claims to knowledge because Native people know that Euro-Canadians often consider their oral history to be the opposite of "objective" science. For example, Bill Cranmer related his experience sending letters to government ministries that had a hard time accepting First Nations accounts: "At times replies were received informing us that our concerns did not have scientific evidence and were only oral history, and the fish farm application would be approved." Witnesses at the inquiry seemed to know that, despite the recent flurry of interest in traditional ecological knowledge, the ways in which local people understand their adjacent resources is not considered altogether credible, unless this knowledge can be translated directly into a scientific vocabulary. Even explicit attempts to integrate harvesters' local knowledge with fisheries science, such as that of Rowe and Feltham,[34] seem constrained by the constant need to assess the truth of these alternative understandings of ecosystem processes through scientific data.

Nevertheless, most First Nations speakers clearly saw the need to have science on their side to legitimate their claims based on traditional knowledge. Chris Cook (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation), for instance, believed that Canada has an obligation to First Nations people to give them access to a science that could help them continue existing as distinct people. He argued that

> Somebody said here earlier about the fiduciary obligation that the government has . . . that they have for my people. . . . I don't see Indian Affairs or the Department of Fisheries and Oceans saying, "We should be giving you money, we should be helping you people to have whatever kind of biologist or whatever you need to help you."

Similarly, Rod Sam used his knowledge of place as a way of underlining the need for scientific studies to corroborate his people's knowledge:

> "Our traditional territory is unique in itself and different from each and every other area. That's why we've been asking and pushing for these different studies to be done from industry and government, and it is a slow process."

Pat Alfred was also not afraid to assert what he knows about places, and by extension about himself and his people, as a way of redirecting science to help protect his identity. He noted that a federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans study, in which they "sent in a dragger to go in to do some test fishery [for fish infected with sea lice] in the seine boats," was useless because "none of those test fishing of the mainland inlets were actually done where the problem was—they were done outside those places." Alfred contends that this type of science stands in contrast to the "Guardian Program within the Kwakiutl Fishery Commission, which patrols the mainland inlets" that is the "eyes and ears of [his] people."[35] Robert Joseph (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation) also made a close connection between a science that is based on First Nations ways of knowing about themselves, and the ability of that science to prevent his people from becoming marginalized. He looked forward to a day "when we can have a complete dialogue and we have a whole science including traditional knowledge."[36]

A few witnesses emphasized not only their position as First Nations people, but as individuals found on both sides of the Native/non-Native divide. Vera Newman, for example, came to give her presentation at the Leggatt Inquiry with her eighteen-month old granddaughter Gwinkilag. She began her speech with a declaration of her hereditary position—"I'm Gwitmolas. I come from Mamalilikulla and Namgis"—and she lamented the ways in which her community's inability to fish has endangered her ability to be a First Nations person. She did this by continually referring to her granddaughter, and to the fact that she is a grandmother. Her granddaughter's lost opportunity to take part in and benefit from the fishing industry caused her distress, and she pointed out that "this young girl's grandfather doesn't belong in the industry anymore."

By emphasizing her role as a grandmother, Newman appealed even to those who might not know what it means to be a First Nations person. Apparently, "everybody knows" that grandmothers stand for care and respect: "I just see our boats sitting here and I see this community hurting … and I just want to leave that statement as a grandmother that we have to start caring and start mayaxala-ing."[37] In much the same way, Chris Cook (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation) spoke to the inquiry as a "human," rather than as a member of his band or of the Native Brotherhood: "This is not all the position of my band, my Board of the Native Brotherhood, but these are the things that I see as a human being first."

Despite the many cases in which switched identities appeared to strengthen the speaker's position as a member of a First Nation, there were a few instances in which individuals seemed to reject outright the meanings that others in their band regarded as indicating First Nations status. This appeared to be the case for employees of salmon farming companies who worked as community liaison workers. Heritage Aquaculture has hired Ed Dawson (Alert Bay, Namgis First Nation) to relay information and concerns between the company and various First Nations communities. His view is that trade-offs between environment and employment exist, and that fish farming is acceptable as long as the environmental benefits lost do not exceed the benefits

gained through employment. "At present, I know the employment doesn't mean much compared to our environment, but I've tried, I've tried," he said.

Here, Dawson is using his employers' assumptions about the incompatibility of culture and economy. Other speakers' understandings did not separate the ways in which fish bring cultural and physical sustenance to First Nations people. Perhaps these conflicts over what it means to be aboriginal are the reason that Dawson has failed in building connections between the industry and his people: "I'm also there to really work for our people. People don't realize that. People have never used me." Elmer Frank (Tofino, Tla-o-quiaht First Nation), who works as the liaison officer for Creative Salmon, believes that his people lack the ability to evaluate whether salmon farms should be located in their territory. He acknowledged that, "as Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation does not have a full understanding of salmon farms, how they operate within our territory, it would be inappropriate to have opposition to something that we don't know about." This statement contrasts directly with the ways, explained earlier in this paper, in which many First Nations people talked about fish farming as an activity they understand well in terms of their knowledge of fish, places, and community. Dawson and Frank rejected the ways in which aboriginal people of their own and neighboring bands constructed the relations of salmon and people, in favor of other ways of understanding human/non-human relations.

IDENTITIES AS ADAPTABLE STRATEGIES

A detailed examination of the vocabularies of Kwakwala and Nuu-chah-nulth witnesses makes it difficult to rigidly separate the accounts that affirm Native identity as unique and separate from colonially imposed identity from those accounts that appear to make use of non-Native expectations about what it means to be aboriginal. In recent legal cases, the Native people of Canada have achieved tremendous gains in their struggle for recognition of their rights. Notably, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in the 1997 *Delgamuukw* case that aboriginal oral tradition and testimony should be taken into account in First Nations cases.[38] Many other court cases also established the duty to consult with Native people when their claims to rights and title conflict with plans for non-Native uses of the land. In some ways, the legal "tests" to determine what constitutes an aboriginal right and whether this right has been infringed upon severely constrain the ways in which Native people can talk about themselves, their lands, and their traditions. However, the Nuu-chah-nulth and Kwakwaka'wakw people who spoke at the inquiry seemed to be creatively adjusting, manipulating, and reinterpreting the legal tools they had in order to achieve their ends.

For example, Bill Cranmer noted that his First Nations' interest in salmon farming issues stems from the fact that, "according to the *Van der Peet* court case, there is a test to identify aboriginal rights that can be proven by showing that fishing in the area has been an integral part of our distinctive culture that existed prior to contact and has continued since the time of contact."[39] This statement expresses an identity that follows exactly the legal test for establishing an aboriginal right to a fishery or other resource. Although claims made

on the basis of the *Van der Peet* case must withstand the scrutiny of non-aboriginal standards about how Native and non-Native societies differ, Cranmer can use such decisions to gain a hearing for his people's appeals to remove fish farms from the territories represented by his tribal council. Cranmer also pointed out that Native reports of damage from fish farms to eel grass beds, fishing spots, and fish migration routes never received a fair hearing, but that with the law on consultation emanating from the *Sparrow* decision,[40] these claims can no longer be ignored. Similarly, Chris Cook, mentioned earlier in the context of negotiated identity, refers to the "fiduciary," or trust-like obligation of Canada to Native people in calling on the federal government to dedicate scientists to specific issues of Native concern.

Because expressions of identity are always directed towards the expectations of others, it is impossible to distinguish an identity taken on for a particular purpose from a "real" identity. In fact, it seems that an awareness of one's self comes only by directing one's attention outside oneself, and fitting one's self strategically into a particular social context. This way of understanding the relationship between talk and action is consistent with C. Wright Mill's theory that reasons, explanations, and claims can only become socially relevant when verbalized as part of social acts, and that socially constructed "vocabularies of motive" constrain the things that may be talked about.[41] Campbell's talk of the Ahousaht law systems that predate European occupation, described earlier in the context of identity and fishing, represents an attempt to expand Western legal definitions of property. At the same time, his claims of prior occupancy and the preexistence of distinct legal systems form the same sorts of justifications for aboriginal rights used by the Canadian courts.

In much the same way, place-based expressions of aboriginal rights reinforce the cosmological relationship between specific places, hereditary units, and resources in ways that can be voiced by referring to the same continuity of use, occupation, and meaning used to prove the existence of aboriginal title in court. Art Dick described the damage salmon farms have done to his herring and ooligan fishing spots by explaining the ways in which industrial development in the particular places he knows prevents his people from exercising their right to engage in traditional activities.

Furthermore, the right to fish on the Northwest Coast, once derived from kinship and connections to place, now depends on the ability to pay for a license or quota allocation. This source of a right to access fisheries is contrary to many First Nations members' understandings of property and fishing rights, and yet the infringement of those rights can be described in Western legal terms. Pat Alfred observed that "just the word 'lease' itself from the province is an infringement [on his aboriginal rights]" because he "has no access to the beaches on which [his] forefathers dug clams for years and years." This expression of identity inseparably links the rights of First Nations people to the places that make up their aboriginal homelands—and these places, in turn, are intimately tied to people's understandings of themselves.

CONCLUSION

In the report he released some months after the hearings, Stuart Leggatt recommended, among other things, a moratorium on further expansion of either new or existing open net-cage fish farm sites.[42] Much to the disappointment of many of the people who spoke at the inquiry, the provincial government has not adopted this recommendation and since the inquiry, the dispute over the industry has only intensified. In September 2002, British Columbia's new Liberal government lifted a seven-year moratorium on the expansion of the salmon farming industry. However, the province's First Nations have not been standing idly by as these events unfold. In the fall of 2002, for example, when record-low returns of fish to rivers in the Broughton Archipelago made it clear that pink salmon runs had collapsed, the Kwakwaka'wakw people living in and around Alert Bay pressured the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) to help protect the wild species from the diseases and parasites harbored by salmon farms. The DFO "action plan" included emptying salmon farms of fish for a few months, along certain paths known to be migratory corridors for wild fish, and initiating a sea lice monitoring program.

Although these gains might seem small and incremental, they represent the expenditure of a great deal of effort by band councils and other Native organizations. First Nations groups disagree about the best strategies for affecting change. While the Ahousaht First Nation has recently joined the BC Salmon Farmers' Association, and continues to reap employment and other monetary benefits from Pacific National Aquaculture in exchange for a say in farming operations, the Namgis First Nation maintains "zero-tolerance" for fish farming in its territories, and is preparing to bring its grievances against the industry to court. In September 2002, the British Columbia Aboriginal Fisheries Commission (BCAFC) hosted the first annual Fish Farming and Environment Summit. Because of the high profile of the BCAFC, industry and government representatives who appeared at the meeting were forced, at least to a small degree, to be accountable to the Native people in whose territories salmon is farmed. In these and other ways, Native groups continue to engage actively with the forces that threaten their resources, identities, and territories.

Many of the First Nations witnesses at the Leggatt Inquiry described salmon farming as a continuing assault on their ability to reconcile who they are and how they understand themselves with their opportunities for fishing, clamming, or otherwise acting in the real world. Native people rely on resource economies quite different from those of Euro-Canadians. Thus, understandings of identity are more than mere discourse; imposed identities disempower and damage the economies and lives of First Nations people. Speakers at the inquiry made it clear that even while giving their testimony, they faced powerful assumptions about differences between traditional culture and a modern economy. The expectation that First Nations are steeped in a non-economic culture dispossesses aboriginal people of access to the fish that have always been a central part of their systems of production and trade. As Douglas Harris puts it:

> Fisheries officials, cannery owners, and fly fishers, despite their differences, shared a set of cultural assumptions about progress, civilization, and the law. These shared discourses reproduced a set of relationships that excluded Native people from control of their fisheries.[43]

Based on the responses of the inquiry's witnesses to these unstated but unquestioned cultural assumptions, it is clear that salmon farmers also belong on Harris' list. The Nuu-chah-nulth and Kwakwaka'wakw identities, which revolve around place, fishing, and group life, can also be understood as inextricable parts of a subsistence economy. I use the word *subsistence* with some trepidation because the imagined separation between personal consumption and trade gave rise to the idea of the "food fishery" in the first place:

> The Canadian government's "invention" of an Indian food-fishing tradition in the late nineteenth century, which equated Indian fisheries strictly with subsistence harvesting is a far cry from either the past or present reality of the commercial importance of traditional foods for Northwest Coast Native communities. Pacific coast methods for what anthropologist Wayne Suttles calls "coping with abundance" . . . included establishing elaborate systems of resource exploitation, co-use of harvesting sites among groups, food preservation and storage, patterns of specialization, and inter-village and -regional exchange.[44]

However, the concept of a "subsistence" economy can help further explain the expressions of identity heard at the Leggatt Inquiry. "Subsistence" is best understood in the economic sense, as an integrative activity that rejects the fragmentation of harvesting activities into their cultural, manual, and biological components.[45] Many of the conflicts between Euro-Canadian and Indian identity referred to by the speakers could be understood as conflicts between a subsistence lifestyle—or at the very least a way of life that combines subsistence with commodity production—and the commercial production of marine resources. Other North American Native groups also see the subsistence economy as a key marker of Indian identity. The recent conflicts in Wisconsin over Ojibwe fishing rights, for example, involved a fundamental misunderstanding by anti-treaty rights groups of the nature of a subsistence economy.[46] The fact that particular types of people who interact with each other and with resources in a particular way always practice a certain type of production makes their identities and modes of production possible.

Canadians have long considered assimilation, unlike physical extermination, to be a morally acceptable solution to the "Indian problem." According to Francis, "assimilation was a policy intended to preserve Indians as individuals by destroying them as a people."[47] Suppressing Native economic life and assimilating Native people into the mainstream market economy strips individuals of their identities and assigns them new ones. Thus, the appearance of salmon farming in First Nations territories constitutes an attempt to culturally marginalize Native people by forcing them into an economy that prevents them from engaging in the material practices that guarantee their way of life.

Evidence presented at the Leggatt Inquiry strongly suggests that contemporary First Nations people are keenly aware of the cultural violence that stems from these assimilationist techniques. "They didn't do it to us with small pox . . . but they are going to do it to us with fish farms," says Vera Newman.

In their survey of the Kwakiutl of northern Vancouver Island, Weinstein and Morrell found that, despite the fact that people operate in a mixed subsistence-commercial economy, their core understandings of themselves still revolve around the principles of subsistence production. Three of the features of subsistence production that Weinstein and Morrell identified were: (1) the sense that places are specific and not interchangeable; (2) a management theory based on reciprocity between fishers and fish, rather than a technical, detached process; and (3) a strong sense that fishing is for the benefit of the group. These characteristics of subsistence production correspond closely with the themes around which the First Nations witnesses at the inquiry structured their explanations of who they were as people, and why those definitions of themselves were incompatible with fish farming.

The First Nations people described here understand themselves as subsistence harvesters who use specific places. Because of the importance of particular places in their understandings of how they should interact with their environment, it comes as no surprise that First Nations fishers prefer local ecosystem processes to larger, global, and interchangeable units of production. In their view, fish farms not only produce fish for sale in markets, but also seek to homogenize places so that they fit a particular set of criteria designed to maximize fish growth.

People also saw themselves as "living" fishing in much the same way as the in-shore subsistence fishery of rural Newfoundland encompassed "a whole culture—one in which ecology and economy worked hand in hand."[48] This sense of complete engagement with the resource is another characteristic of a subsistence economy. From this perspective, people do not see fisheries management as a technical exercise that rigidly separates "resources" from the social elements of fishing. This view, which implies that places are not so much known, as *embodied*, is reminiscent of Palsson's analysis of "traditional" Icelandic fishers, who, he says, are not "containers" that get filled with traditional ecological knowledge, but rather are active participants in the places and situations through which they experience their knowledge.[49] Similarly, witnesses at the Leggatt Inquiry talked about their fisheries in ways parallel to those in which they described who they were as people. As fishers, they expected their own behavior to be aligned with the behavior of the environment.

It might be the diversity of seasonally and spatially available resources that allows subsistence harvesters to develop this sense of reciprocity between themselves and fish. Subsistence-type fishing joins fish and people into an entity with a common fate: what happens to fish also happens to people.[50] That is not to say that wage employment has not long played, and continues to play, a vital role in First Nations economies. In fact, it appears that many First Nations people use part-time wage employment to subsidize the subsistence harvesters that they see themselves as being.[51] Thus, First Nations witnesses at the inquiry tended to oppose fish farming, not because they

objected to engaging in wage labor, but because they viewed fish farming as a direct assault on their identity. Salmon aquaculture appeared to constitute, for them, an interaction between fish and people that occurs in prestructured ways and in predefined environments very different from the ones with which they are familiar and identify as their own. Unlike subsistence fishing, in which stocks that are too small to yield a high catch per unit effort are left alone,[52] salmon farming does not allow for either species switching or for an adaptive relationship between the environment and the individual fisher. Furthermore, the speakers at the inquiry feared that salmon farming would make it impossible for them to engage directly with the resource. Salmon farming is not seen primarily as a source of income, but as an activity similar to other harvesting endeavors that involves far more than either food or money. As a consequence, First Nations people spoke of direct links between the introduction of fish farms into their traditional territories and the colonial assumption that First Nations people and their ways of life are disappearing.

NOTES

1. The BC Salmon Farmers Association, government agencies, and almost all salmon farming companies boycotted the inquiry.

2. Indigneous people in Canada are usually referred to as the "First Nations" people.

3. A total of 102 oral submissions were made to Judge Leggatt. Of those, 71 were from individuals living in the communities of Alert Bay, Port Hardy, Campbell River, and Tofino or in areas surrounding those communities. Most of those testifying there were members of First Nations, particularly in Alert Bay and Tofino. Those testifying in Tofino were Nuu-Chah-Nulth, a cultural and linguistic grouping of 15 nations that extends down the west coast of Vancouver Island and includes the Ahousaht and the Tla-o-quiaht. Individuals testifying in Port Hardy, Alert Bay, or Campbell River were Kwakwaka'wakw. More specific affiliations, as well as any titles, if any, are included in parentheses after quotations. The towns associated with quotations refer to the places where testimonies were made, not necessarily to the witnesses' residences.

4. This paper focuses entirely on testimony given by First Nations people at the inquiry. Readers can obtain copies of the verbatim transcript by contacting the court reporting service Allwest Reporting Ltd, 814 Richards Street, Vancouver BC, V6B 3A7.

5. C. Wright Mills, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," in *Power, Politics, and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills* (New York: Oxford University Northern Frontier Press, 1963), 439–452.

6. Marvin B. Scott and Stanford M. Lyman, "Accounts," in *Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction*, ed. Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Farberman (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1970), 333–1.

7. Sheldon Stryker, "Contemporary Symbolic Interactionism: A Statement," in *Symbolic Interactionism* (Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin Cumming Publishing Co., 1980), 51–78.

8. Richard J. F. Day and Tonio Sadik, "The BC Land Question, Liberal Multiculturalism, and the Spectre of Aboriginal Nationhood," *BC Studies* 134 (Summer 2002): 5.

9. Judith A. Howard, "Social Psychology of Identities," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 367–393.

10. Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

11. See reports published by the David Suzuki Foundation, for example: Terry Glavin, *Last Call: A Report of the Pacific Salmon Forests Project*, Vancouver, BC Canada.

12. The Heiltsuk Indian Band, for example, unsuccessfully challenged the government's regulation of its roe-on-kelp fishery in *Regina v. Gladstone* 1993. However, the issuance of additional licenses to the band seems to have been a direct result of this campaign. For further details, see Dianne Newell, "'Overlapping Territories and Entwined Cultures': A Voyage Into the Northern BC Spawn-on-Kelp Fishery," in *Finding Our Sea Legs*, ed. Barbara Neis and Lawrence Felt (St. Johns, NF: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 2000), 121–144.

13. Thomas Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* 1 (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1977), vii–xxvii.

14. BC Salmon Farmers Association advertisement, *Vancouver Sun*, 18 July 1996, A12.

15. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 15.

16. Hugh Brody, *The Other Side of Eden* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2000).

17. Valerie L. Kuletz, *The Tainted Desert: Environmental and Social Ruin in the American West* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

18. Tim Ingold, "Hunting and Gathering as Ways of Perceiving the Environment," in *Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication*, ed. Roy Ellen and Katsuyoshi Fukui (Oxford: Berg, 1996), 117–155.

19. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

20. Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 93.

21. Bruce Braun, "Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post) Colonial British Columbia," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (1997): 3–31.

22. The Kwakwaka'wakw of northern Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland were in Boas' time known as the Kwakiutl. The Kwakwaka'wakw, who speak the Kwak'wala language, include, among others, the Namgis of Alert Bay, the Kwakiutl of Port Hardy, and the Laich-Kwil-Tach of Campbell River.

23. Franz Boas, "Metaphorical Expression in the Language of the Kwakiutl Indians," in *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: The Free Press, 1940), 232–239.

24. Art Dick is referring here to oil rendered from ooligans, small smelt-like fish of extreme nutritional and cultural importance to aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Coast.

25. In 1881, the Kwawkwelth Indian Agency was established in Alert Bay. By this time, the alienation of lands and fishing locations was already well underway, and government commissions and agents began allotting the Kwakwaka'wakw to restricted reserves.

26. Zoe E. Speck, "What Does the U'mista Cultural Centre Have to Offer You?" *U'mista News* (Fall 2001): 14.

27. Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

28. Ibid., 36-41.

29. Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

30. Daniel W. Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000).

31. Berger, *Northern Frontier*, 88.

32. Brody, *Other Side of Eden* [PAGE NUMBER?].

33. Carolyn Merchant, "The Theoretical Structure of Ecological Revolutions," *Environmental Review* 11:4 (1987): 265–274.

34. Sherrylynn Rowe and George Feltham, "Eastport Penninsula Lobster Conservation: Integrating Harvesters' Local Knowledge and Fisheries Science For Resource Co-management," in *Finding Our Sea Legs*, ed. Barbara Neis and Lawrence Felt (St. Johns, NF: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 2000), 236–245.

35. The Guardian Program of the Kwakiutl Territorial Fisheries Commission is funded by the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, to help deal with the clash between federal fisheries regulations and recent Native legal gains in the areas of self-government and resource rights.

36. A number of authors have observed that the disregard of non-aboriginal people for "traditional ecological knowledge" comes from ignorance of the context in which this knowledge is rooted. In particular, Paul Nadasdy has pointed out that while "traditional ecological knowledge" could, in theory, lead to greater cross-cultural understanding, its use by outsiders is often insincere and envelops Native people in webs of power not of their own making ("The Politics of TEK: Power and the 'Integration' of Knowledge," *Arctic Anthropology* 36/1–2 [1999]: 1–18). Julie Cruikshank has commented on the ways in which the compartmentalization of indigenous knowledge dangerously simplifies and objectifies it (*The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in Yukon Territory* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998], 58–70).

37. According to Vera Newman, the Kwakwala word *mayaxala* is roughly the equivalent of the word *respect* in English.

38. *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia,* [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010.

39. *R. v. Van der Peet,* [1996] 2 S.C.R. 507.

40. *R. v. Sparrow,* [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1075.

41. Mills, "Situated Actions," 442.

42. Stuart M. Leggatt, *Clear Choices, Clean Waters: The Leggatt Inquiry into Salmon Farming in British Columbia* (Vancouver, BC: David Suzuki Foundation, 2001).

43. Douglas C. Harris, *Fish, Law, and Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 205.

44. Newell, "Overlapping Territories," 122.

45. Martin S. Weinstein and Michael Morrell, *Need is Not a Number: Report of the Kwakiutl Marine Food Fisheries Reconnaissance Survey* (Campbell River, BC: Kwakiutl Territorial Fisheries Commission, 1994), 36.

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APPENDIX

Names and First Nations affiliation of witnesses quoted in the text:

Art Dick, hereditary chief, Namgis First Nation
Robert Joseph, hereditary chief, Namgis First Nation
Bill Cranmer, elected chief, Namgis First Nation
Willie Moon, elected chief, Namgis First Nation
Mike Stadnyk, Namgis First Nation
Mano Taylor, Namgis First Nation
Vera Newman, Namgis First Nation
George Alfred, Namgis First Nation
Chris Cook, Namgis First Nation and president, Native Brotherhood
Stan Hunt, Namgis First Nation
Percy Williams, Namgis First Nation
Pat Alfred, Namgis First Nation
Ed Dawson, Namgis First Nation
Russell Kwakseestahla, hereditary chief, Laich-Kwil-Tach First Nation
Dan Smith, Laich-Kwil-Tach First Nation
Joe Campbell, Ahousaht First Nation, band manager
Rod Sam, Ahousaht First Nation
Darrell Campbell, Ahousaht First Nation
Syd Sam, Sr., Ahousaht First Nation
Elmer Frank, Tla-o-quiaht First Nation