

**Herring (Wanai) and Well-being: Accounting for Heiltsuk values to
inform future resource management and economic development
opportunities**

by

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ABSTRACT

HERRING (WANAI) AND WELL-BEING: ACCOUNTING FOR HEILTSUK VALUES TO INFORM FUTURE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES

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This thesis explores relationships between human well-being and herring in Bella Bella, British Columbia. Building from literature that argues that Western thought and contemporary approaches to coastal economic development and resource management neglect to acknowledge let alone understand other ways of knowing and interacting with the sea, the research gathers and presents interpretations, meanings, and values that members of the Heiltsuk First Nation give to the ocean and herring. Interviews and ethnographic investigations reveal how the harvest, management, and trade of herring roe, which herring spawn on blades of kelp, are integral to individual and collective well-being. These findings highlight that community practices are externally influenced by contested fishery management options between industry and Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) and influence efforts to put Aboriginal fishing rights into practice. Findings highlight a range of benefits accrued through community harvest of commercial herring spawn-on-kelp licenses and demonstrate that the Heiltsuk local management system reflects Heiltsuk perspectives on well-being and sovereignty in territorial ocean space. Drawing upon these findings, a case is made for stakeholders invested in the

fishery to think about, and manage, the commercial fishery as an opportunity to improve collective/community well-being, rather than just accumulating wealth.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Introduction

As I walked down the road in Bella Bella (Waglisla), a small and isolated community on the central coast of British Columbia (BC), I tried to avoid the rain forming in the potholes on the road and smiled as the ocean air touched my face. I waved at people who I recognized and stopped to talk to some along the way. I broke out in a grin when I arrived at the cultural centre, a small room tucked in the community high school, because today I was going to conduct my first interview about herring. Pacific herring (*Clupea pallasii*) are a small migratory species of forage fish whose size and position in the food chain make them important to a variety of larger species. They have also been culturally and nutritionally important to many coastal First Nations in BC, including the Heiltsuk First Nation, since time immemorial.

Bella Bella is at the heart of the un-ceded territory of the Heiltsuk. During the summer of 2013, I spent approximately three months there conducting qualitative and ethnographic research with the aim of identifying the contribution of herring spawn to individual and collective well-being. Like many coastal First Nations, Heiltsuk peoples are renowned for their intimate knowledge of, and respect for, their ocean territory and the marine life within it (Powell 2012). The Heiltsuk are also known for having successfully defended their Aboriginal commercial right to herring spawn in the 1996 Supreme Court of Canada case *R.v. Gladstone*. However, decades of commercial fishing, likely in combination with broader changes in ocean conditions, have reduced the number and extent of herring in the waters off of BC (Davis 2011; Powell 2012). Both before and after the Gladstone case, management decisions by the Federal Department of Fisheries

and Oceans (DFO), particularly with respect to license allocation and area openings/closings, have influenced local access and generated controversy (Harris 2010; Powell 2012).

Growing up on and around the ocean of the Pacific Northwest afforded me ample opportunity to not only be out on the water, but also to learn about, consume, and appreciate a variety of ocean food. I have always found stories of herring spawn especially fascinating. Harvested and traded along the central coast of British Columbia and south in the Georgia Strait for millennia, herring spawn remains a revered cultural food amongst coastal First Nations, including the Heiltsuk (Powell 2012). I find the crunch of roe interesting to my palette and I am always excited to see it served at potlatch events or ceremonial feasts. I know that I am not alone in my affinity for this marine resource because when herring aggregate to dispatch their milky white spawn in bays and coves along coastal BC in the late winter months, my Twitter and Facebook feeds brim with happy messages and images showing harvesters -- several of whom participated in this project-- with hemlock and/or kelp laden with spawn. Like on the day of my first interview, I am grateful to have had the opportunity to conduct this research and to learn from participants and community-housed documents about the importance of herring spawn to Heiltsuk people and well-being.

Walking into the kitchen of Blake and Rhona Humchitts later on in the day of my first interview, I was greeted with the smell of cooking bacon and the laughter of little children. After sitting down at the kitchen table with a hot cup of coffee and before turning on a tape recorder, Rhona explained to me who she was and where she came from, and that this information was important to share in order for us to establish a

respectful relationship. During this interview, and many others, I was also asked who I was and from where I came. It is important to root my introduction in this thesis in solidarity with those that shared their stories with me. I grew up in Lil'wat territory in Pemberton, BC and identify with both my Penelakut First Nation and European ancestry; I have relatives who have participated, and in some cases still participate, in commercial and subsistence fisheries harvests. Providing this sort of personal introduction is important in Indigenous communities, as family lineage is central to governance, and there has been a long history of knowledge appropriation and assimilative policies (Atleo 2008; Bannister et al., 2011). The explanation of who we are and where we come from is rooted to identity. For the Heiltsuk First Nation, and other First Nations communities, this positionality is connected in relation to lands and waters where intergenerational teachings through stories and practice help support the transmission of values and laws central to governance (interview, 2013). The Heiltsuk First Nation maintains an original system of government that organizes how they function as a society. This is not a federally-imposed system of Indian Act governments but is exemplified by hereditary chiefs who have been groomed from birth to be right holders and uphold ways of the people. Further, these rights uphold a duty to ensure well-being of the lands, waters and ocean within their territory for future unborn generations. These storied spaces connected to identity are not always understood through a western worldview.

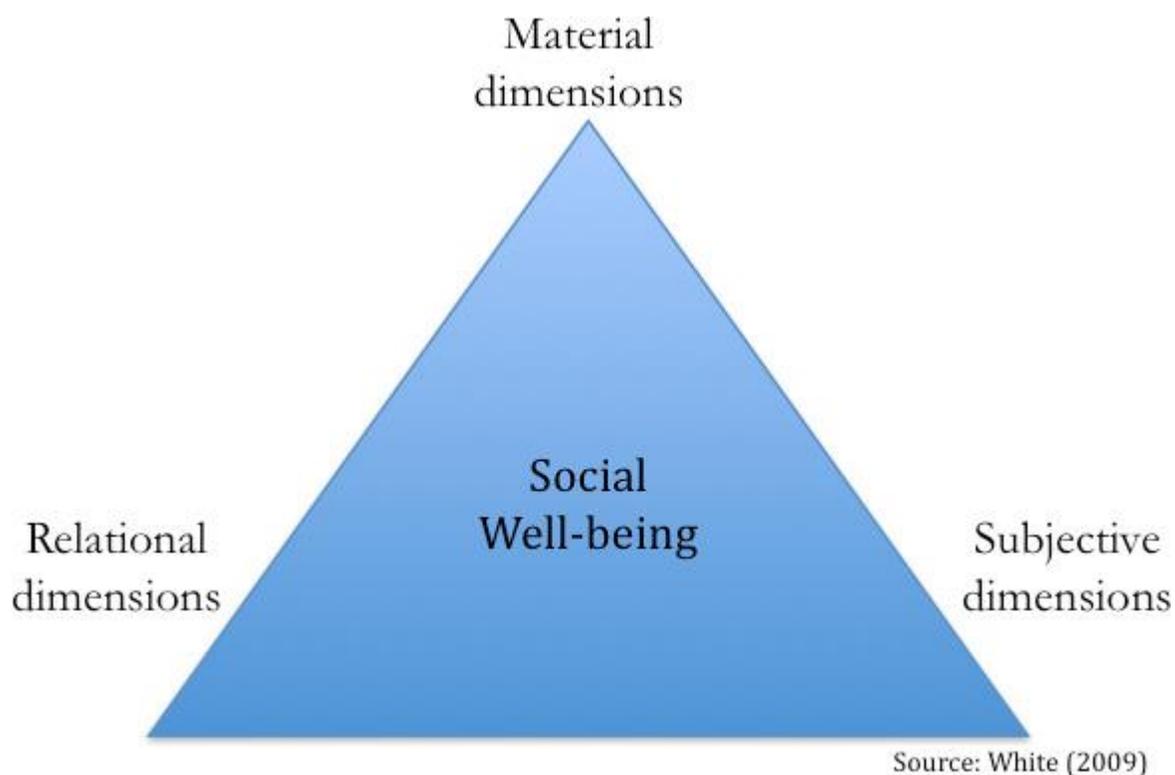
1.2 Scholarly Context

Steinberg (1994, 2001) shows that Western society tends to understand oceans as empty spaces free of social conflict, and thus, particularly well-suited to transport, commercial, and military activity. Highlighting the longstanding existence of alternative perspectives (particularly amongst communities of small island states), the increased use

of marine space, and stressing the fragility of the global ocean in which there has been intensified social conflict, regulation, and degradation, Steinberg (2001) argues that human geographers should pay more attention to the social and cultural dynamics of the ocean. With regards to fish specifically, St. Martin (2001) demonstrates how small-scale fishers and coastal communities have tended to be marginalized through the application of scientific knowledge and management practices underpinned by bio-economic understandings of fish as a resource best managed through private access and property regimes.

By attending to Heiltsuk perspectives on ocean space and the contribution of a marine resource to local well-being, this thesis adds to geographical literature on oceans while also connecting it to literature regarding well-being. The definition of well-being employed in this thesis draws upon McGregor (2008) as cited in Armitage et al (2010): “well-being is a state of being with others, which arises where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one’s goals, and where one can enjoy a satisfactory quality of life” (McGregor, 2008). Figure 2 demonstrates a conceptual view of social well-being explained in detail by Armitage et al (2010) that was constructed by White (2009).

Figure 2. Conceptual View of Social Well-Being



Authors such as Coulthard et al. (2011) stress how millions of people globally are connected and dependent upon fishing for their livelihoods and as a basis for their food security (Allison and Ellis 2001; Coulthard et al. 2011). Moreover, Pomeroy (1995) and Jentoft (2000) find that the significance of fisheries resources to coastal communities leave fishers and their organizations interested in and well suited for participation in fisheries management. If fishers and coastal communities are disconnected from adjacent marine resources and/or management processes, material and socio-cultural well-being stands to decline (Coulthard 2010). For example, Anne Zalewski (1997) argues that the Canadian Supreme Court *Sparrow* decision partitioned and disconnected First Nations' subsistence and cultural harvest practices from commercial ones. Court decisions remove

fishery activities from their traditional economic relations and work to re-fashion and regulate them in terms of bio-economic ontologies and management paradigms.

S.E Jackson (1995) uses the Australian Mabo case as evidence to understand different geographic and economic extents of Indigenous marine interests. Importantly, Jackson highlights how Indigenous peoples have been excluded, and in some cases, criminalized, from economic activities and resource management. Jackson's argument parallels findings in the R vs. Gladstone [1996] case by demonstrating that, although trade, subsistence and commercial economy are often intertwined in the minds of Indigenous peoples, the courts and fisheries management regulations often work to keep them separate. This is particularly visible in the separation between Food Social and Ceremonial Fisheries (FSC) and the commercial regulation of fish in Canada (as also argued by Harris and Millerd, 2010).

In Heiltsuk territory, fishermen have gathered and used herring for many generations (Powell, 2006). This has been recognized as FSC which was formally defined in the 1990 landmark Sparrow decision (R. v. Sparrow [1990]). This decision recognized that the Musquem First Nation had an Aboriginal right to fish for food, social and ceremonial purposes which took first priority after conservation. To address this decision and work to provide stable management, Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) created the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy (AFS) in 1992 (DFO, 2013). This strategy was applicable where DFO managed the fishery and where land claims had not already put fisheries in place. Unfortunately, as described by legal historians such as Douglas Harris (2005, 2008), Canada has a history of adopting mechanisms of dispossession and fisheries have been dispossessed in a manner similar to land. The legal regime, Douglas Harris argues,

took fisheries from native customs and traditions, and reconstructed them into capital with the power to make decisions about management resting in the hands of colonizers.

A challenge in articulating community well-being is giving *meaning* to alternate values in economy such as food security or trade. (O'Garra 2008). However, this is necessary to contribute to a more holistic understanding of well-being. In a study of fisheries on the coral coast of Fiji, O'Garra (2008) evaluated non-use values and demonstrated the importance of giving validity to alternate economic ways of understanding the environment in local traditional fishing economies. O'Garra's approach is employed in this thesis, as attention is given to the ways in which people understand herring to both subjective and collective well-being. Fisheries law and management in British Columbia does not reflect the complex ways that First Nations communities value marine resources and perceive and interact with territorial space. As I will argue, they produce conditions that have led to overfishing and contested ocean space in the context of fisheries decline and Aboriginal right.

Kevin St. Martin (2005) argues that fisheries science, represented by a dominant neoclassical discourse, tends to understand the commons as a site of tragedy, and look, to alternatives such as enclosure and privatization. Frustrated with representations of the commons as a site of invasive capitalism, St. Martin utilizes diverse economic analysis in New England fisher's communities to expand the range of solutions available to understand and address environmental and industrial crisis. St. Martin suggests that rereading the commons through multiple and economic processes can displace the binary of pre-capitalist past and present, to perhaps envision more creative alternatives to economic futures. Becky Mansfield's (2007) work takes on another approach. Mansfield

explores property in the context of the Alaskan Community Fisheries, as something that once “expanded beyond orthodox notions of bounded spaces of independent ownership” (Mansfield 2007, 483) can be understood to include multiple logics without being incoherent. Privatization through property and enclosure she argues fosters better care for resources that can benefit certain groups. Fishing quotas are seen by Mansfield as a way in which residents were brought into the capitalist market as powers to avoid complete dispossession. Mansfield exposes how with the Community Development Quotas (CDQ) native communities can treat quotas as property. Mindful of these two scholars, this thesis recognizes the ways in which neoclassical economics has informed the management of fisheries and looks to this body of literature as a guiding methodology to seek out alternative understandings of ocean space. This is particularly important as marine resources are valued for a diversity of contributions and as highlighted in this chapter are significant to community well-being in the broadest sense.

Drawing from the literature now reviewed, this thesis provides a case study in Bella Bella, British Columbia that demonstrates this history of dispossession but places power back into the community through the lens of well-being to offer a more nuanced and holistic understanding of ocean space that can be reflected through community management. Armitage et al. (2012) argue that more attention placed on the social component such as well-being can contribute to more appropriate management and policy actions. Further scholars such as Richmond et al. (2005) argue that autonomy over environmental resources allows local communities the choice and opportunity to empower the community, thereby impacting community health and well-being (p.13). Similarly, Feit and Beaulieu (2001) explain that “good health and well-being is

dependent not only on economic development, but also on participation in the political decision making that undermines environmental resource management” (p.13).

1.3 Research aim and objectives

This thesis is motivated by the research question: what is the relationship between Heiltsuk well-being and herring, and might it enable more culturally appropriate resource management and foreground Heiltsuk perspectives regarding ocean space? Consistent with this research question three objectives are pursued:

- (1) gather and present how the local use and management of herring contribute to Heiltsuk well-being;
- (2) shed light on the full range of benefits accrued through the community use and management of commercial herring spawn-on-kelp fishery licenses and determine the degree to which this system reflected Heiltsuk perspectives on well-being and sovereignty in territorial ocean space;
- (3) Informed by findings from 1 and 2, offer suggestions that might allow current resource management and economic development planning along the BC coast within the unceded territories of the Heiltsuk Nation to account for a range of benefits beyond monetary income.

1.4 Outline of thesis

This thesis contains four chapters that, taken together, address the research objectives. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 details the research approach, study site, data collection, and methods of data analysis. Chapter 3 consists of a Manuscript, which identifies the lived experience of Heiltsuk herring harvesters and community members, and details how a community-designed and implemented management plan oversaw commercial herring spawn harvests for a few ‘post-Gladstone’ years. This chapter also outlines the full range of benefits accrued through the community use and management of commercial herring spawn-on-kelp licenses and the ways in which the community-designed management plan reflected Heiltsuk perspectives of well-being and territorial ocean space. The final chapter concludes with suggestions on how this research contributes to gaps in geographical literature surrounding the cultural and territorial politics of the sea and well-being.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

2.1 Research Context

Ocean spaces are integral to Heiltsuk territory and identity. This is reflected in the affinity people express for coastal and ocean areas and the strong presence of ocean places and marine resources in oral history and shared stories. Fishing is, and has always been, a significant contributor to people's sustenance, culture, and livelihoods and herring spawn has been integral to Heiltsuk diet and ways of life for thousands of years.

Oral history is deeply connected to Heiltsuk ways of knowing and understanding the world, and thus, knowledge about social relations, culture, and land/ocean territory is shared from one generation to the next. Like land, territorial waters and ocean places (e.g., particular passages and currents) are intimately known, partially because they have been managed through longstanding and resilient Heiltsuk systems of rights, responsibilities, and access (Powell 2012, 10). These systems have, of course, long been in contact and conflict with colonial actors and governance institutions (Harris 2008; Newell 1993; Powell 2006), including those imposed and that have evolved for fisheries management.

Three waves of commercial herring harvest/management came prior to the Gladstone decision: the reduction fishery (1937-67); sac roe fishery (SRF) in 1972; and, the spawn on kelp fishery (SOK) in 1975. The SRF began after partial stock recovery following the reduction fishery in the early 1970's. This fishery persists today and is controversial because adult female fish are killed to obtain roe before spawning occurs in late February through April. The SOK fishery is a *non-destructive fishery* that re-emerged in BC in the late 1970's (Harris 2001, Powell 2012). There are two main methods. In the

open-pond method, herring spawn is expressed naturally by free-swimming herring guided through open weirs. This method reflects Heiltsuk traditional methods described by Powell (2006) as herring spawn on kelp, or hemlock boughs placed into the water. The spawned-out adult fish are able to recruit back into adult stocks and continue to participate in subsequent year's spawn therefore providing a more ecologically and culturally appropriate management system. In the closed pond method predominantly used by non-First Nations license holders. Some mortalities may occur from physical stress during seining, transport, and release into the kelp ponds. However, this is completely avoided in the open-pond method, which the Heiltsuk now use exclusively (Harris 2001).

The licenses that permit fishers to engage in the SOK fishery (including the open pond method) are called J-licenses. (Harris 2001). J-Licenses are issued to geographically defined areas and are quota-based. Specifically, each license allocates a percentage of the total allowable SOK catch (determined each year by the DFO) to the open-pond and closed-pond operating systems. The Heiltsuk nation did not receive a J-license until 1978, and at this time they only received one. The Heiltsuk Tribal Council (HTC) pushed for more licenses during this time as they wanted to expand opportunities for community members to participate in the spawn on kelp fishery. The Heiltsuk nation envisioned owning and operating a number of community-held licenses that would enable Heiltsuk fishers to commercially fish SOK in Heiltsuk waters (Harris 2000, 220). However, while the Heiltsuk did successfully defend their commercial Aboriginal right in this fishery, the court decision sought to avoid an exclusive Heiltsuk SOK fishery in Heiltsuk waters. This meant a limit to the number of licenses allocated to the Heiltsuk and that non-Heiltsuk

fishers would continue to fish for herring in Heiltsuk waters (Harris 2000, 226). Here we see how difficult it is to reconcile Heiltsuk territorial claims and sovereign governance authority with Federally-imposed management regimes.

After the Gladstone decision, five more J-licenses were handed down to the Heiltsuk nation in 1997, and two more in 1998 (Harris 2000, 234). As Douglas Harris (2000) describes, DFO has hesitated since then to allocate more licenses. Within traditional Heiltsuk territory, which includes DFO management areas 7, 8, and 9 on the central coast, the Heiltsuk hold 9 licenses that account for a small percentage of the total herring fishery (Harris 2000, 235).

The struggle to gain and operate more licenses is an important and understudied element of this time period. In particular, there is a gap in literature about how the Heiltsuk managed and allocated access to local fishers under the commercial J-licenses that they did have. As the manuscript in this thesis will explore, collectively-held Heiltsuk J-licenses for the SOK fishery were managed so that harvest opportunities were community members in the form of sub-quota (percentages of the total quota on a single J-license). The manuscript recognizes and addresses a 2007 Heiltsuk Management plan as an important community document in governance and explores the extent to which it addressed values of territorial ocean space and Heiltsuk well-being that arose through interviews, community-housed archival data, and participant observation. Motivated by both the scholarly and practical context, and as a part of a larger community-driven and interdisciplinary project to gather and integrate Heiltsuk perspectives into regional herring management, this thesis explores the relationship between herring and Heiltsuk well-being.

2.2 Study Site

This research presented herein was conducted in Bella Bella (Waglisla), British Columbia (BC). Bella Bella is a community of approximately 1500 people at the heart of the territory of the Heiltsuk First Nation. Figure 1 (see Manuscript A) contains a map that outlines Heiltsuk territory and shows the location of Bella Bella on BC's central coast (Black 1997, Harris 2001). Heiltsuk territory extends over 6000 sq. miles, and of relevance to this thesis, contains over 13 distinct herring spawning grounds (Brown and Martin, 1986).

Bella Bella is accessible by Pacific Coastal Airlines or a ferry ride from Port Hardy on the northern tip of Vancouver Island. There are limited services available, but enough for the community to sustain itself. A post office, small hospital, band store, Brown's convenience store, and a few restaurants are available and offer employment, as do as an Elders center, an elementary and high school, and an economic board and natural resource management department. The location called Shearwater is a 20 minute water taxi away, and it is home to a few more local stores as well as a fishing resort and some non-First Nations residents. Beyond the local businesses and services, Nusi Seafoods (a local fish-plant), fishing, and logging also offer some resource-focused livelihood opportunities.

The Heiltsuk people assert sovereign claims to their territories and manage economic and environmental affairs through the Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department and the Heiltsuk Tribal Council. Gvi'las (the laws that govern Heiltsuk people) are central to these institutions and their mandates and decisions are centrally informed by seven fundamental truths or core values that reflect Heiltsuk

worldviews about biodiversity, sustainability and stewardship (Brown F., and Brown, K. 2009).

2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

To achieve the three outlined research objectives this research involved qualitative investigation and analysis. Fishery scholars such as Kevin St. Martin (2001) and Becky Mansfield (2007) also use qualitative approaches. For example, St. Martin (2001) conducted participant observation and a series of interviews with fishers from New England to understand local fishers' perceptions of marine space. Additionally, he conducted a discourse analysis examining fisheries science, texts, government and management documents and newspaper articles. These methods helped inform and provide ethnographic details on what he argues is a re-mapping of community based attempts to reclaim rights, access and use of resources (Lewis as cited in St. Martin 2001, 95).

I conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants and undertook participant based observation in Bella Bella between June 2013 and August 2013. Research was based out of a floathouse and several key informant interviews happened there. Key informants in this research (i.e., herring SOK fishermen/women) are defined as such because other community leaders and members suggested them as holding unique knowledge about and/or as having actively participated in herring spawn-on-kelp fishing (Henry 1990). Using key informants is a technique in the qualitative social sciences whereby sampling strategy seeks to identify and speak at length with people who have rich and/or distinctive perspectives to offer about the topic of study. An appropriate sample size for a qualitative study focused on key informants is one where answers to the

research question emerge and begin to be repeated across interviews (Marshall, 1996, 522). I followed this technique, and where possible, also tried to gain interviews women and youth involved in the fishery to have more diversity in fisher perceptions.

In addition to connections I made on my own, a ‘gatekeeper’ in Bella Bella (a Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department cultural coordinator, hereafter HIRMD) also guided me in making connections with those within her personal and professional network. Through this connection, seventeen supplementary transcripts locally housed in the cultural center in Bella Bella were compiled to fill knowledge gaps. This was particularly important as the summer I was conducting field research a devastating fire burned down the local band store, several potlatches were held, and many members of the community were out fishing or taking vacation making it harder to conduct interviews. Supplementary documents, literature, and logbooks helped to compile a coherent account of cultural perceptions of ocean space.

To examine the downfalls/ benefits of the commercial fishery license allocation semi-structured interviews were conducted with 9 key informants (7 men and 2 women) from different families and ranged from 0.5-2 hours in length. These semi-structured interviews examined details of how J-licenses were managed by community leadership and community members were granted fishing access under them according to multiple economic objectives (household need, even distribution of opportunity, money for community projects etc.). A sample of interview questions is attached in Appendix B. Additionally, participant observation supported by active research notes in a daily journal gave more in-depth insight on what was occurring in the community. In particular, these notes helped inform written material on ocean space.

Analysis began by identifying key themes through open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) where emergent phrases, themes, and commonalities were identified once all data was transcribed. In September 2013, all data was coded using NVIVO, a qualitative software program. This qualitative software program was used to gather, organize, analyze, and visualize themes, results, or trends in order to answer research aims and objectives. Supplementary to this, research was colour-coded manually to various themes that were identified as significant. In the analysis for example, tenets such as ‘access to ocean space’ ‘food security’ and ‘trade’ were used to denote certain relationships. These tenets helped evaluate the changes to the fishery before and after the Gladstone decision, and how Heiltsuk worldview did or/did not inform or parallel management of the commercial fishery. When information from these interviews discerned similar and overlapping themes with no new emerging themes, I achieved data saturation.

2.4 Ethics and Reflexivity Considerations

In many instances, research about and/or involving Indigenous communities has been tied to colonial processes whereby understanding of Indigenous peoples and cultures is employed for the purposes of criticism, ‘development’, or even assimilation (Smith 1999; Battiste and Henderson 2000). While the awareness and objectives of many researchers may be changing, Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999; 2000) asserts that research remains a power-laden intervention, and therefore argues that it is “critical that researchers recognize the power dynamic which is embedded in the relationship with their subjects” (Smith 1999, 176). Mindful of this history and ongoing processes of colonization, I was attentive to literature regarding Indigenous methodology (Little Bear 2000; Kovach 2005) throughout the conceptualization, data collection, and analysis

phases of the project. As someone who identifies as Indigenous (Penelakut/European ancestry), I strove to identify and situate myself during fieldwork. Being aware of the exploitation that has occurred and being reflexive of my own position as a researcher within an academy is important to my methodology and professional approach as an Indigenous scholar.

Collaborators in broader networks of herring researchers working on the Central Coast, including the Tula Foundation, the Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department, Heiltsuk Tribal Council, Gladstone Reconciliation Society, and Simon Fraser University, have developed a protocol agreement in acknowledgement of the problematic role of research in colonial processes and to identify shared interests and objectives. Researchers working with the Heiltsuk, including myself and my supervisor, are guided by the protocol, and graduate student projects in particular have been developed through conversation with community members and leaders.

My thesis project also received approval from the Research Ethics Board at the University of Guelph, and all research participants gave their informed consent for interviews and use of quotations in the manuscript. Following the University of Guelph ethics protocol, interviewees were given an overview of the project orally at the time of interview. They were then offered time to read through consent forms before starting and the opportunity to withdraw at any time was clarified (see Appendix A). Finally, interviewees for this project have had the opportunity to review the manuscript in Chapter 4. Methodologically, semi-structured interviews were chosen to allow participants more flexibility in answering questions about ocean space, well-being and herring. Storytelling is integral to Indigenous epistemology (Kovach 2005) and semi-

structured interviews enabled participants to have more freedom in telling their own narratives surrounding ocean space. Martha Nandorfy (2011) describes that it is important to understand “community identities as evolving out of storytelling” (p.333). Drawing from this literature, interview questions in this study in Bella Bella allowed for stories to play an important role. Nandorfy (2011) has suggested that community voices can work to break down dualisms and equalize power relations. Findings from this research suggest that stories revealed uncomfortable truths about the effects of colonialism and ways that Aboriginal rights have been understood and interpreted throughout time.

3 MANUSCRIPT A

Abstract

This paper recognizes social, economic, cultural and political dimensions of ocean space in British Columbia, Canada and examines how herring contribute to individual and collective well-being within the Heiltsuk nation. Through interview data, I illustrate that many community members view fishing as more than a livelihood; it is a way of life learned and practiced in territorial ocean spaces. I then detail how the Heiltsuk Aboriginal fishing right clarified in Supreme Court of Canada case *R vs. Gladstone* [1996] was reconciled by allocating commercial herring spawn-on-kelp licenses to the Heiltsuk First Nation and how these licenses were used by the community. From these findings I argue that this form of Heiltsuk access to the commercial spawn-on-kelp fishery can be understood as a legal construct tied to the province of British Columbia's longer colonial history. This perspective helps to reveal a bio-economic understanding of herring and herring fisheries that does not reflect Heiltsuk perspectives of territorial ocean space. Drawing on Harris and Millerd (2010), I conclude that, rather than defining fishing rights as *either* commercial *or* food/social/ceremonial, re-framing 'the right to fish' more broadly may be more appropriate starting point for fisheries reconciliation and efforts to address community well-being.

Keywords: Ocean-space; Aboriginal right; Well-being; Fisheries management; Resource-management

Introduction

Fisheries support an estimated 120 million livelihoods globally (FAO 2012). With many fish stocks in decline and/or harvested to their maximum capacity (FAO 2012), questions about implications for human well-being circulate (World Bank/FAO/World Fish Center 2010; Coulthard 2012). While well-being has been understood in different ways, an increasing number of scholars highlight that it has complex personal and subjective elements, particularly for people living in isolated, resource-dependent, and/or Indigenous communities (Feit and Beaulieu 2001; Armitage et al 2010; Richmond et al 2014). With regards to Indigenous communities especially, individual and collective relationships with resources and territorial spaces are central to well-being (Turner et al. 2008; Turner et al. 2013). Despite this, ocean space in geographical literature remains

understudied relative to terrestrial space (Jackson 1995; Mulrennan and Scott 2000; Silver 2014).

While not as visibly marked as terrestrial places and spaces, oceans can also be understood as territorial spaces defined through human imaginations, stories, actions, and relationships (Johnson 2010). Within the Heiltsuk Nation, for example, years are kept track of on a moon cycle calendar. The names assigned to the months by the Heiltsuk reflect their seasonal weather and meteorological conditions as well as the importance of ocean spaces where species, such as herring, figure prominently. For example, *Xixsm* or ‘milky moon’ is the month of February (*neequnach*; sea water turbid), a time of the year to which herring are often associated. *Qpla* refers to when the moon is said to be loaded with herring and is trying to tip over, and *muliqvla* is right before it tips over and the weather becomes very windy and the seas become dirty (Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre 1989). Finally, March (*Tsooachascum*) is also known as *qmsista* or ‘moon tipped over’, which is a sign that herring are spawning all over.

Legal decisions around the world increasingly recognize longstanding Indigenous use and occupation of, and therefore collective rights to, terrestrial *and* ocean spaces (Jackson 1999; Harris 2001; Eruiti and Charters 2008). In BC, the 1996 Supreme Court of Canada ‘Gladstone’ case reaffirmed that the Heiltsuk First Nation has an inherent Aboriginal right to commercially sell herring spawn-on-kelp. This monumental decision reaffirmed an Aboriginal right that was exercised through complicated political, economic, and cultural relations on land *and* sea, and that this right existed prior to European settlement (Harris 2001). However, the fishery has been managed Federally through a bio-economic approach based largely on profit maximization and stock

numbers have declined over the last few decades (Powell 2012). As this article argues, a bio-economic perspective does not align with the experiences and outlooks of many Heiltsuk on their territorial ocean space.

This paper documents how Heiltsuk people have engaged with herring fisheries and Federal fisheries management regimes based on a case study that details how herring spawn-on-kelp licenses, which DFO officially calls ‘J-licenses’, won through the Gladstone case were managed through a Heiltsuk designed and implemented management plan. Findings show that, while affirming ‘the right to fish’, the Aboriginal right passed down in the Gladstone decision also narrowed and influenced management opportunities in ways that did not necessarily parallel Heiltsuk experiences of ocean space and worldviews on resource management. Drawing on well-being and ocean space literature (Feit and Beaulieu 2001; McGregor 2008; Armitage et al. 2010), I argue that the fishery has important potential to contribute to both subjective experiences of ocean territory and to material uses and benefits from it.

This paper follows in five further parts. In the next section I detail the background of the Gladstone decision. In section three I describe the study site and methods employed in this case study. Section four draws on literature about the colonization of Aboriginal rights to fish, and reviews scholarly sources on ocean space and community well-being. The fifth section articulates the findings of this case study, and the final and last section includes a discussion and conclusion.

Background

Pacific herring (*Clupea pallasii*), also known as *Wanai* in Heiltsuk language, are integral to the Heiltsuk nation (Turner and Garibaldi 2004). Herring feature in many oral stories, herring and herring spawn have been harvested and traded for thousands of years,

and both have remained important food and income sources since European arrival. In April 1988, William and Donald Gladstone, fishermen and members of the Heiltsuk nation were arrested for trying to sell herring roe captured in Heiltsuk waters without a license. They argued that they should be able to harvest and sell herring roe because Heiltsuk territory remained un-ceded and un-treated, and because their Aboriginal right was covered under section 35 (1) of the 1982 Canadian Constitution. The trial proceeded through the courts and found in favour of the Gladstones. However, rather than stipulate the terms and implementation of this specific commercial Aboriginal right to herring, the Heiltsuk Nation and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) were told to enter into negotiation to determine an implementation plan. An early outcome of efforts to reconcile the Heiltsuk right with DFO management principles and approaches was to grant the Heiltsuk several commercial licenses which would allow them access to, and participation in the commercial spawn-on-kelp fishery (Harris 2001).

Thus, while the Gladstone decision was monumental because it granted the Heiltsuk Nation the right to commercially sell SOK, it did little to address the fact that quite different perspectives on ocean space and values of the resource were at play. Similarly, Harris and Millerd (2010) provide a critique about the characterizations of Aboriginal fishing rights in Canadian law, focusing on the rights to fish for food, to fish commercially, and to fish to support a moderate livelihood. When Aboriginal peoples approach the courts for recognition of their rights to fish, they must work within a framework that separates efforts to provide food and practice culture from efforts to accumulate any degree of monetary wealth. Harris and Millerd (2010) argue that the simplest and broadest characterization would be the right to fish without restriction as to

purpose or use. The findings in this paper brings additional clarity to this argument through a grounded study that demonstrates the challenges of implementing court-defined commercial fishing rights, particularly in the way that it asks individuals and communities to re-think their relationship to territorial ocean-space and to work within the confines of a worldview that addresses fish as a resource to be managed through bio-economics.

Study Site and Methods

This research was conducted during the summer of 2013 in Bella Bella, a small community of 1500 people, located on British Columbia's central coast (Black 1997). Home to the majority of the Heiltsuk Nation, this location provided an ideal spot to speak with Heiltsuk people about herring management, including those who were involved in commercial fishing and/or who are currently involved with territorial governance and herring management decisions. This site location is within close access to the ocean environments where Pacific herring spawn every March and April in shallow bays and coves (Powell 2012).

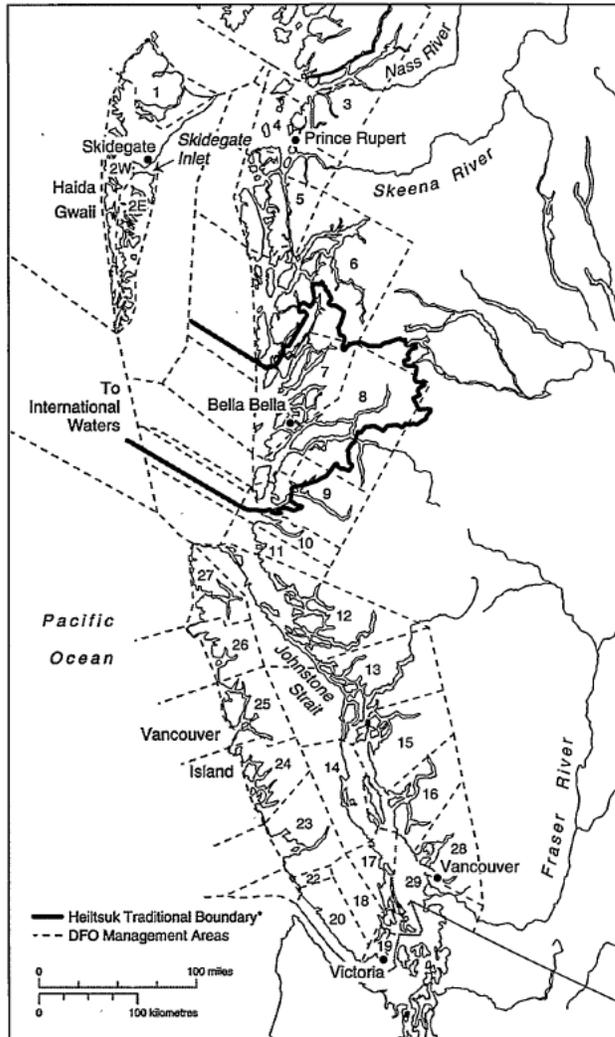


Figure 1. Heiltsuk Historical Boundaries and DFO Herring management Areas. From: Douglas C. Harris “Territoriality, Aboriginal rights and the Heiltsuk Spawn-on-Kelp Fishery,” *UBC Law Review* 34 (2000) 197.

Key informant semi-structured interviews and participant observation were conducted and recorded from June 2013 through August 2013. Potential interview participants were identified through networks and contacts, which was enabled through connections that the broader research team had formulated (Biernack & Waldorf, 1981). A technique of ‘chain referral’ can allow a researcher to gain insight into a group and is beneficial to this research as one fisherman was able to identify other participants that

were involved with the herring commercial fishery (Flint and Atkinson 2001). Furthermore, women and young adults involved in the fishery were targeted for interviews to gather more diversity in fisher perceptions. To examine the downfalls/benefits of the commercial fishery license allocation semi-structured interviews were conducted with 9 key informants (2 women, 7 men) from different families in Bella Bella and ranged from 0.5-2 hours in length.

These semi-structured interviews provided details of how Heiltsuk-held J-licenses were ascertained and how harvest opportunities under those licenses were managed for community benefit and according to multiple economic objectives (household need, distribution of opportunity, money for community projects). The Heiltsuk nation did not receive a J-license until 1978, and at this time they only received one license to fish. The Heiltsuk Tribal Council (HTC) pushed for more licenses during this time as they wanted to expand opportunities for community members to participate the spawn on kelp fishery. When the Heiltsuk did successfully defend their commercial Aboriginal right in this fishery through the Gladstone case, the details of the court decision sought to avoid an exclusive Heiltsuk SOK fishery in Heiltsuk waters. After the case concluded, five more J-licenses were handed down to the Heiltsuk nation in 1997, and two more in 1998 (Harris 2000, 234). As Douglas Harris (2000) describes, DFO has hesitated since then to allocate more licenses.

Participant observation of local fishermen, gave more in-depth insight on what was occurring in the community during my study as well as a sense for what SOK fishery openings used to be like (e.g., informal discussion with community-members, viewing photos and videos). In particular, daily journal entries helped a great deal to inform the

discussion of ocean space in this paper. Seventeen subsequent interviews collected from the archives and Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management department during fieldwork also provided contextual information about the ways in which ocean space was understood in the past to the present and the importance of this space for the harvest, collection and processing of herring roe. By talking with Heiltsuk nation members and fishermen from the community, themes were pulled together that examined well-being specifically according to Heiltsuk culture, values, and community. The research followed Heiltsuk research guidelines and approvals as well as an ethics protocol set out and approved by the University of Guelph Research Ethics Office.

In September 2013, the interviews were transcribed and coded using NVIVO, a qualitative software program. This qualitative software program was used to gather, organize, analyze, and visualize themes, results, or trends in order to answer research aims and objectives. Supplementary to this, research was colour-coded manually to various themes that were identified as significant. In the analysis for example, tenets such as ‘access to ocean space’ ‘food security’ and ‘trade’ were used to denote certain relationships. These tenets helped evaluate the changes to the fishery before and after the Gladstone decision, and how Heiltsuk worldview did or/did not inform or parallel management of the commercial fishery.

Placing Well-being and Ocean Space in Literature

This literature review examines: (1) the colonization of Aboriginal rights to fish and the pursuit of communal well-being through law and management; and, (2) ocean space and community well-being. Specifically, I trace how legal and bio-economic understandings of ocean space have limited the potential for management regimes to recognize and incorporate Indigenous views, and then demonstrate how understanding

Indigenous perspectives on ocean space contributes to a more holistic picture of well-being. By examining Indigenous perspectives of sovereignty and economy through the lens of well-being, my research helps to broaden how we think about the value of ocean space and marine resources to coastal First nations and align management and economic planning with Indigenous sovereignty. This is particularly important as fisheries law and management has/does not adequately recognize Indigenous sovereignty (both territorially and in terms of its collective and intra-generational qualities). As applied in BC, this has narrowed the opportunity for communities to achieve well-being.

A paradigm is defined as a “set of beliefs about a world and about gaining knowledge that help guide your actions” (Wilson 2001, 175). Wilson (2001) argues that western and Indigenous paradigms are grounded in very different worldviews. In Indigenous culture worldview lies in connection to nature, while relationships are often created and maintained through collective reciprocity and kinship (Weinstein 1994). Indigenous law emerges “from time immemorial, from creation, the land, animals, ancestors all inter-related in what anthropologists call *sacred geography*” (Fischlin and Nandorfy 2012, 35). In contrast, western worldviews increasingly value the environment through the lens of economics (Steinberg 2001; Jackson 1995; McAfee 1999; 2012).

Focusing on ocean space, Kevin St. Martin (2001; 2005) and Becky Mansfield (2005) have demonstrated how western fisheries management regimes have had limited recognition of diverse alternative and local values and objectives. St. Martin (2005) argues that fisheries science researched and represented oceans theory through a neoclassical lens and thus, understands oceans as a site of inevitable environmental tragedy in need of enclosure and privatization (St. Martin 2005, 79). Similarly, colonial

governments assert their authority through legal and political structures that took root after settler arrival and developed in an effort to support economic growth via the allocation of private property. Many legal historians argue that Western worldviews regarding the privatization of space and nature are engrained in English common law and contemporary legal rhetoric (Tennant 1990; Harris 2001; Asch 2002; Alfred and Corntassel 2005).

On the other hand, many Indigenous peoples understand their rights to exist as a virtue of being of a particular territory and because of longstanding and collective generational ties between people, culture, and that place (Kulychyski 2013). With regards to ocean space/territory, Augustine and Dearden (2014) emphasize that Indigenous peoples around the world rely on coastal ecosystems and that for many, the ocean has been essential to their culture and way of life for generations. Scholars such as Toledo (1992; 2002) and Jackson (1995) have brought to light the ways in which Indigenous worldview also includes cosmological and spiritual elements of what people do, their practices, and the collective and embodied nature of their knowledge and relationship to territory, both land and sea. For the Heiltsuk nation, names have been associated with places to gather herring roe or the times of the year in which to go and harvest. These toponyms are deeply connected to ownership/identity, and intimately entwined with oral histories of the ocean and the connections that are made with it.

Well-being is defined as “a state of being with others and the natural environment that arises where human needs are met, where individuals and groups can act meaningfully to pursue their goals, and where they are satisfied with their way of life” (McGregor 2008 as cited in Armitage et al., 2012, 1). The findings that follow suggest

that the complicated material implications of bioeconomic understandings of fish and of colonial legal systems that support capitalist resource economies can be better understood through a well-being framework attentive to how subjective personal, and even collective, experiences of perspectives on ocean space might influence individual and community well-being. For example, Coulthard et al. (2011) have argued that social well-being offers distinctive insights to policy approaches that can reconcile poverty reduction and ecosystem conservation in fishing approaches (p.1). Armitage et al., (2012) argue that more attention placed on the social component such as well-being can contribute to more appropriate management and policy actions. These authors argue that the intersection of well-being and resilience can have effects on governance in complex social-ecological systems, such as coastal-marine environments (Armitage et al., 2012, 9).

Findings

Ocean Space as a Place of Knowing and Belonging

When Carl Humchitt showed up at Martin's floathouse in Bella Bella I knew that I would be learning from his many years of experience on the ocean. One of the questions asked during interviews was: "What does the ocean mean to you?" Carl had begun fishing when he was two years old. He told me that one of his first memories had been him as a young boy tied to a mast with a blue rope with just enough room to look over into the ocean. He did not hesitate in answering me as he explained the rest of his history and his connection to the ocean:

"I don't care if you live in Arizona, or in the middle of the Sahara desert, you are still influenced by the ocean...Everything comes from the ocean and it's the health of the ocean and the health of the ocean that determines the health of the world. It's life. It's the foundation of all things" (interview, 2013).

Like Carl, all interview participants reflected sentiments about the ocean as a place of identity, territory, and/or a source of food. The ocean is "who we are as a people. We are ocean-going people" explained Josh Vickers (interview, 2013). Rhona Humchitt (interview, 2013) explained that the ocean "continues our Heiltsuk values and traditions and the value is there as long as we learn how to respect the ocean because of what it is". As a place of territory it has been marked by *nagai* (Elroy White 2013) land markers that indicate particular fishing locations. Heiltsuk territory is "wherever and however deep our nets need to go," said Rhona Humchitt who learned from her husband when they would fish for halibut, boundaries would go as far as needed to support their family.

However, travel and harvest was not unlimited. Rhona also learned from her husband that going beyond the normal bounds of family or harvest areas involved asking

permission from neighbouring chiefs (interview, 2013). Similarly, Harvey Humchitt (interview, 2013) described that “we never knew about overlaps, there was no question about the use of areas, there was always respect between the nations and there was never a challenge for territories”. As food, the harvesting, processing and trade of herring roe was highly valued by participants, often explained or described in terms of well-being (both individual and collective). Sitting around the fire, Keith Gladstone (2013) emphasized, “Herring is very important to the well-being of the people. It’s a necessity. It has been of our diet since time immemorial. I know that people are very elated when they turn around and are able to get some of the product.” As I will argue later, the Heiltsuk view of ocean space-as identity, as territory, and as food, informs Heiltsuk fisheries management, particularly Food Social and Ceremonial use (FSC).

However, herring is also a valued economic resource for the Heiltsuk nation who are well-renowned for their high quality herring roe for trade both within communities and to the Japanese market. This was acknowledged in 1996 when the Supreme Court of Canada handed down its decision in *R.v. Gladstone* (*R.v. Gladstone* (1996) 2 S.C.R. 723 (hereafter, *Gladstone*). Here Heiltsuk were recognized for their trade and economic contributions of herring spawn-on-kelp prior to European contact. This recognition confirmed a modern commercial right to sell herring spawn-on-kelp (2007 SOK Spawn-on-Kelp Management Plan, Section 4.0). Participants in the commercial fishery and in the Gladstone Reconciliation case argued that it is integral that the Heiltsuk manage herring. Although, it has been years since the conclusion of the Gladstone case, this sentiment is still expressed today, for example by Keith Gladstone who stated in an interview that “there is not really true management” (interview, 2013). He remarked that:

“until there is a true co-management concept between the Heiltsuk and the Department of Fisheries there is always going to be a conflict because the thing is industry has always dictated to DFO when the fishery will begin and what is to be taken.”

The decline in herring fish stocks congruent with contested management has affected the trade, food security, and the right to fish, all integral to the social well-being of people in the community and those affiliated through trade relations. Understanding how the management plan operated in the context of a monumental court case decision is important to grasp the ways in which this plan did or did not reflect Heiltsuk worldview surrounding territorial ocean space.

Local Management after Gladstone: The 2007 SOK Management Plan

The Spawn-on-kelp herring fishery has been harvested commercially by BC fishers through licenses and strict harvest quotas for the past 28 years (Gladstone Reconciliation Society, 2011, p.9). Through effort and applications to the DFO, the Heiltsuk Nation hold nine J-licenses, but are only allowed to fish those when populations are deemed large enough to support commercial openings (Harris, 2001, 212). Fisheries openings occurred between 2003-2009, and in 2007, the Heiltsuk Spawn on Kelp (SOK) fishery was a comprehensive initiative managed according to the Heiltsuk-written Herring Spawn-on-Kelp Management Plan produced by the Heiltsuk Tribal Council (HTC 2007). The management plan in itself is an active document that reflected and attempted to address socio-cultural and economic elements of Heiltsuk perspectives of both territorial ocean space and well-being connected to this environment. This section will detail central elements of the plan to show how behaviour was regulated, who had access to herring sites, and who was partaking in the harvesting, processing, and

distribution of the roe. However, as I will then discuss, interview participants highlight that while the management plan tried to coincide with these values, the commercial nature of the harvest and the conditions of licenses did not sufficiently enable Heiltsuk values and understandings of territorial ocean space to be enacted by Heiltsuk participants in the fishery.

In an effort to address unnecessary herring mortality, the seine and gillnet boat “kill fishery” were not allowed under this plan. This transition in fishery led to an open pond system that was conducted on an Individual Quota System, which was established based upon the Total Allowable Catch divided by the number of applicants. The SOK fishery had been allocated on 240,000lbs for the 2007 season (Heiltsuk Tribal Council SOK Spawn-on-Kelp Management Plan, Section 6.0). Together this was managed by the Heiltsuk Tribal Council (HTC), the SOK Working Group, the Co-management Office and the Bella Bella Fish Plant. Harvey Humchitt, a licensed commercial fisherman, hereditary chief, and board member of the Heiltsuk Integrated Resource Management Department was involved with this SOK plan. He explained that when this system first started:

“...we tried to list people, now we pick up a license and you are on your own to get as much as they want or can and the allocation allows. When the fish plant was involved we had DFO monitoring how much eggs were coming into the fish plant, and when we are getting close to the allocation they made sure... that it was kind of crazy (pause) they would shut the doors if they were close to the 250 000 tonnes and people outside if they had herring eggs couldn't go anywhere until DFO decided...Even after the allocation there was still, even after we reached our goal, there were still herring eggs outside the fish plant...That would end up going back to the community” (interview, 2013).

Only Heiltsuk members who were licensed by the HTC were authorized and able to participate in the fishery where ‘quality’ and ‘fine product’ were promoted for the benefit of the community fishery (HTC, Section 6.3). Community access operated under a J-License in which all holders had specified areas to harvest kelp used for roe and the licenses represented the amount of permits allocated based on the amount of total allowable SOK product. Participants were to be 18 years of age and older which differs from FSC in which all members of any age within a family may go out to harvest herring roe; a continuation of intergenerational knowledge.

When the J-license system first started, Elroy White was living in Vancouver, B.C. He explained how management “would organize people on packer boats and send them out because herring was spawning everywhere. So you were assigned a boat, you weren’t assigned a family” (interview, 2013). Selling of the product was done through a combination of pre-sales and an open-bid process that had been successful in 2006. All participants involved in open pond SOK were responsible for their own start-up costs and required to get a permit. Interview participants explained how the system initially was created with meetings held within community to try and represent older values in management:

“When the Aboriginal right first came about we had meetings with chiefs and council and we identified people that were going to be participating in the spawn on kelp and we identified the boats they would be on and we made a whole list of people that were willing to take family members and community members” (Harvey Humchitt, interview 2013).

Herring roe was significant to some participants’ household income and the right that was granted to sell herring SOK meant that there was more economic opportunity for

individuals to make a profit. While this plan was described by participants as fair to begin with, the plan was heavily influenced by industry standards of quality and quota to be sold to the Japanese market monitored and established by Department of Fisheries and Oceans. As I will discuss next, it was influenced by bio-economic management that was framed through a divergent worldview surrounding ocean space. The conditions and rights produced through Gladstone did not reflect the values that Heiltsuk interviewees in this study expressed with regards to their ocean territory and their relationship with herring and each other.

Divergent Worldviews and Conflicting Ideologies

Many interviewees commented on the challenges that tight economic margins and the DFO licensing policies introduced over time. For interviewee Keith Gladstone, the J-licenses and Individual Quota System “was a brain child of B.C. Packers,” (interview, 2013). Keith’s statement reflects the bio-economic perspective on fish discussed by St. Martin (2001) and Mansfield (2005). Harvey Humchitt (interview, 2013) explained that “a lot of the fishermen relied on BC Packers, or Nelson Brothers or other fish companies such as Canadian fish for canneries, storage, or cold storage.” Here, Humchitt is referring to the fact that processors had took up the practice of buying back licenses so they could lease them (or parts of the quota they regulated) back to fishers; when Heiltsuk did not have access through their own licenses, they would sometimes fish on boats harvesting quota by other actors. Jordan Wilson explained that this meant:

“the industry gained more power away from the community [...]So there was a loss and gain in the commercial industry in the buy-back program, especially for our local people” (interview, 2013).

Comments such as this demonstrate the growing concern that fishermen were feeling about the sense of power that they had in the license system and the way that it operated.

Additionally, the decline in herring spawn times echoed by several participants meant that there was shorter time period in which to harvest spawn and additional pressure was placed on participants to go and make money. It became “an unregulated fishery managed by outside sources...that then changed the mode of thinking for peoples...because they didn’t have a say and joined in” described Elroy White (2013). If this was not enough, the decision handed down in Gladstone compounded pressure as more people had the ability to go and harvest herring spawn. One participant explained that:

“I think with the Spawn-on-Kelp Aboriginal right it kind of created an opportunity for everyone to participate in the harvest of spawn-on-kelp but we have been doing that for years and years before and once there was a market identified and created by the Aboriginal Right everybody in the village started to go out and some of our people didn’t realize how to manage themselves around a spawn. When I was a little boy and went out with my father and my grandfathers and my uncles we were taught to not make noise and disturb the spawning grounds when the herring were spawning. We were expected to anchor a fair distance away from the herring spawn so any noise from the boat wouldn’t disturb the spawn. [...]Now people when you look at what they are doing with herring roe on kelp, they harvest the kelp before the spawn starts... they harvest kelp... throw the kelp line out where they figure it will spawn. But just because there is herring there they might now spawn here” (Harvey Humchitt, 2013).

Participants during this SOK season described that the ocean environment began to reflect the conditions where it was a “free-for-all” and sentiments stating that “people were anxious to make a fast dollar on it” elicit the ways that herring roe began to be

commodified and viewed as a ‘resource’. This created the conditions where “garbage became an issue and silence wasn’t gold anymore [when approaching herring grounds]” (Rhona Humchitt, interview 2013), a sight that was sad for many participants to see as it diverged from Heiltsuk values. This divergence can help be explained by the conditions created due to power in decision-making, as the ocean, Carl Humchitt (interview, 2013) remarked “sadly, very sadly has been managed from a windowless office, a cubicle in Ottawa, by a person who has never been in tune or seen the ocean.”

Western management practices and difficult access to ocean space were highlighted by participants as obstacles to achieving well-being. These obstacles affect practices such as trade and subsequently, the important relationships tied to it. During the 2007 SOK management plan participants could not recall whether trade increased or decreased but could speak to the lack of herring roe availability and that a lot of herring roe was mainly used for monetary value. “The ocean is very important to Heiltsuk people, mainly because we get so much food from there. It’s difficult for a lot of people to share what they harvest now because the cost of getting out to participate is so high, so there really isn’t as much sharing as there used to be so people don’t get to eat as much as they would have” explained Keith Gladstone (interview, 2013).

The Heiltsuk Herring Management Plan: collective benefits and challenges

In 2007 SOK harvesters passed a motion for the 2007 SOK season to deduct 2.0% off the top of their total sales to go towards a ‘war chest’ that might be used in the case of future negotiation or court activities (HTC, 6.8). Previous management years had invested in a local airstrip. (Harris 2008). Keith Gladstone (interview, 2013) elaborated that the “first year we [Gladstone] gave up funding to the fish plant to utilize money for start-up options.” The idea was that this would establish a self-sufficient industry, but

unexpected legal fees and other unaccounted costs continue to be a barrier. The cost of Gladstone and the reconciliation process has demonstrated the material implications of how the court system creates an environment that restricts how decisions are carried out in the community. If the plant is unable to be supported, or there is no money available to provide sufficient monitoring, then the conditions for overharvesting or unemployment are created.

However, while initiatives for collective benefit were widely appreciated, participants indicated that a downfall in management resulted namely through enforcement and monitoring. While the management plan states that kelp is meant to be monitored daily and herring are to not be unnecessarily disturbed, accounts from participants indicating roaring engines reflect a different code of conduct on the water (HTC 2007). Herring grounds became places where “engines roared by obnoxiously” (Rhona Humchitt, interview 2013) and spawn on trees put up for personal home use were no longer viable. While one may think that loud engines are not enough to disrupt herring, Harvey Humchitt (interview, 2013) explains how integral and susceptible to change herring are within an ecosystem:

“Herring isn’t only important to me, it’s important to everything in the ocean. When you think about the birds, the animals, the fish, everything uses the herring up. The portal of herring eggs is like the turtle. When the turtle is born he makes a run to the ocean. Herring is like that. The chances for survival are the same, not very much in the egg stage when they hatch.”

Compounding stress on the system was demand from industry, and the short time span in which to harvest herring spawn, influencing the rate in which people collected herring roe. Following the ‘silence is golden’ rule became difficult when an opening for a

fishery became five days. Interviewee and video recordings make monitoring difficulties apparent, especially as time limits for harvesting were so short. With limited economic options available SOK became one of the few ways to make fast money, and herring roe rather than being viewed as a culturally significant species started to become a commodity; a product that the market economy itself creates. Instead of just being considered roe one interview participant described how it became seen as “a product, not food” (Elroy White, interview 2013).

Coinciding with the commodification of roe was the transition to the use of kelp in the industry. While kelp was eaten prior to the commercial fishery, and people can recall how it was processed, it became more predominantly used for market purposes as kelp is suspended out on lines for the herring to spawn on. “It reminded me of gold mining, have you ever seen gold mining,” remarked Elroy White (interview, 2013). He described the process as “people staking claims...people would go out there [the ocean] on punts and boats and they would watch their lines because someone could steal there kelp, or say there kelp didn’t work and if somebody left it unattended they would sneak in and take it and cut it.”

Discussion/Conclusion

Although the Heiltsuk have been granted the commercial Aboriginal right to sell herring roe-on-kelp, access to J-licenses and the opportunity to influence management decisions is still subject to government approval. In the same way that the Heiltsuk have had to operationalize their Aboriginal rights through crown systems and documents, so to have the decisions surrounding the fishery been placed in control of the crown to interpret the inherent right that existed prior to settler occupation. In *R.v. Gladstone* there have

been two competing narratives between claims in the fishery: the crown asserts absolute control over resources, lands and ocean space, within its claimed borders, while the Heiltsuk nation, identifying as a nation, asserts control over their traditional land and sea territories and inherent rights practiced within.

The dispute over unsettled claims and resource management decisions has led to conflict and negotiations. While the commercial Aboriginal right to sell fish was handed down in the Gladstone decision, management decisions and Heiltsuk harvests for commercial purposes (as well as sustenance and trade) have been shaped both by internal decisions and actions as well as by those of other external, and often powerful, actors and interests (e.g., BC Packers). Powell (2012) argues that:

“Like many other indigenous peoples, the Heiltsuk saw their relations of production reorganized under capitalism and their resources reinvented as commodities in an intercontinental market” (p.10).

Indeed, this is exemplified in examples from participants who started to use the term ‘product’ to refer to herring roe. Furthermore, while the reconciliation process is ongoing, the need for experts and high legal fees make it hard to pay for on-going negotiations regarding the Gladstone decision and its finding that the Heiltsuk have lost out commercially as a result of limited license access and stock decline due to historical over-fishing (Harris 2000; Powell 2012).

The findings in this research demonstrate that fishermen view fishing an entire way of life to which they are strongly attached, consistent with other literature concerning well-being of fishermen (Binkley 1995*b*, Nadel-Klein 2003; van Ginkel 2007; Coulthard 2012). The Individual Quota system while is seen as potentially economically valuable to local fisher communities, but perhaps more significantly, as challenging for their

potential to narrow communal opportunities as an individual, commercial ‘right to fish’ that also vests decisions, and ultimate authority, in the crown (Coulthard 2012). Harris and Millerd (2010) argue that to characterize Aboriginal and treaty fishing rights in terms of food fisheries or fisheries to support a moderate livelihood is problematic, and they suggest that that simplest and broadest characterization, that is the right to fish, without restriction as to purpose or use of fish best coincides with the goals of effective management and fair distribution. This article helps make sense of the concerns that participants raised within the SOK plan and contention surrounding overfishing and identity related to Aboriginal right, as the decisions to fish or overfish affect people’s well-being.

Conflict will not likely be resolved within the fishery until the non-monetary values that underpin well-being are taken into consideration and accordingly addressed in management arrangements. In the words of a Heiltsuk fisherman “herring is connected to the ocean. It is everything” (Harvey Humchitt, interview 2013). This research has suggested that it is important to re-think ocean space as more than a place of invasive capitalism but a place of opportunity that holds stories, values, and imaginations of well-being. Closer attention to the processes that shape ocean space and to the diverse non-monetary values associated with marine resources accrued in a license system can expand and create potential opportunity to include Indigenous representations and meanings in more collective terms. It is imperative that these values are accounted for with the current decline in herring spawn, so that the ocean is not really seen as *marre nullius*, an empty and vast space.

In conclusion, this paper demonstrated how the Aboriginal right handed down in *R vs. Gladstone*, was formally reconciled through Federally delineated and allocated commercial herring licenses. This influenced the way that people identified and participated in the commercial fishery. The commercial fishery can be seen as a legal construct that has emerged through BC's longer colonial history. The narrow bio-economic understanding of the fishery managed through an Individual Quota System did not reflect Heiltsuk perspectives of territorial ocean space or well-being. As Coulthard et al. (2011) have argued framing the problem in terms of human well-being can afford insights into how effective policy and governance can be constructed (p. 456). Interviews and community documents demonstrated that there are many non-monetary values that are important to Heiltsuk community members. These values such as a relationship formed through trade are hard to represent in management. However, recognizing that fishers and participants in the community have a key role to play is valuable not only to future economic decisions but also to the inherent Aboriginal right that exists as virtue of being Heiltsuk. An emphasis on the non-economic satisfactions gained through the fishery that contribute to day to day happiness are important in shaping how Heiltsuk community members understand overall holistic well-being.

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4 CONCLUSION

“It is an empty side plate when you don’t have it. It might feel like something is missing it’s such a delicacy, it’s a wealth of flavour and it adds some excitement to your plate (Jordan Wilson, 2013).”

4.1 Thesis Summary

This thesis highlights the relationship between social well-being and the diverse values of fish and fishing to coastal communities and ocean space. The research was first conceptualized during an informal visit prior to starting this research in Bella Bella, British Columbia. Central to the research design was that this research would be community driven. The research question was: what is the relationship between Heiltsuk well-being and herring, and might it enable more culturally appropriate resource management and foreground Heiltsuk perspectives regarding ocean space? To explore this question specifically, I turned my attention to the 2007 Heiltsuk management plan to question how commercial participation in the spawn-on-kelp fishery operated, and examined whether and how this plan reflected Heiltsuk worldviews of territorial ocean space. Specifically, the research objectives were:

- (1) gather and present how the local use and management of herring contribute to Heiltsuk well-being;
- (2) document the full range of benefits accrued through the community use and management of commercial herring spawn-on-kelp fishery licenses and determine the degree to which this system reflected Heiltsuk perspectives on well-being and sovereignty in territorial ocean space;
- (3) Informed by findings from 1 and 2, offer suggestions that might allow current resource management and economic development planning along the BC coast within the unceded territories of the Heiltsuk Nation to account for a range of benefits beyond monetary income.

Manuscript A examines how the management plan operated in the aftermath of the Gladstone decision. I argue that the SOK fishery has the potential to contribute to both subjective experiences of ocean territory and to material benefits from it. On a local level community members expressed a need to have stricter enforcement and monitoring for future SOK commercial fisheries as well as more Heiltsuk and culturally appropriate values represented in the fisheries plan that parallel FSC. Specific suggestions from community members are noted in Appendix C.

The Spawn on Kelp Management plan has contributed to community prosperity as individuals have agency in how they decide to use their license and allocate and distribute herring roe (for market sale or in community). However, limitations in the plan seemed to fall under the license system itself as it is influenced by industry, external market demand, monitoring and enforcement, and shorter spawn times with more pressure placed on getting product. Further, the Aboriginal right to commercially sell spawn on kelp places more pressure to uphold this right on the water as a exertion of sovereignty and to uphold an identity despite the fact that this right inherently exists by virtue of being Heiltsuk. I argue that more attention to non-monetary values such as food security, trade relationships, and older practices upheld on the water that are connected to oral histories, will benefit future management decisions and community well-being. By extension this will benefit those on a larger scale that are connected through trade of herring spawn on kelp.

4.2 Contributions of Research

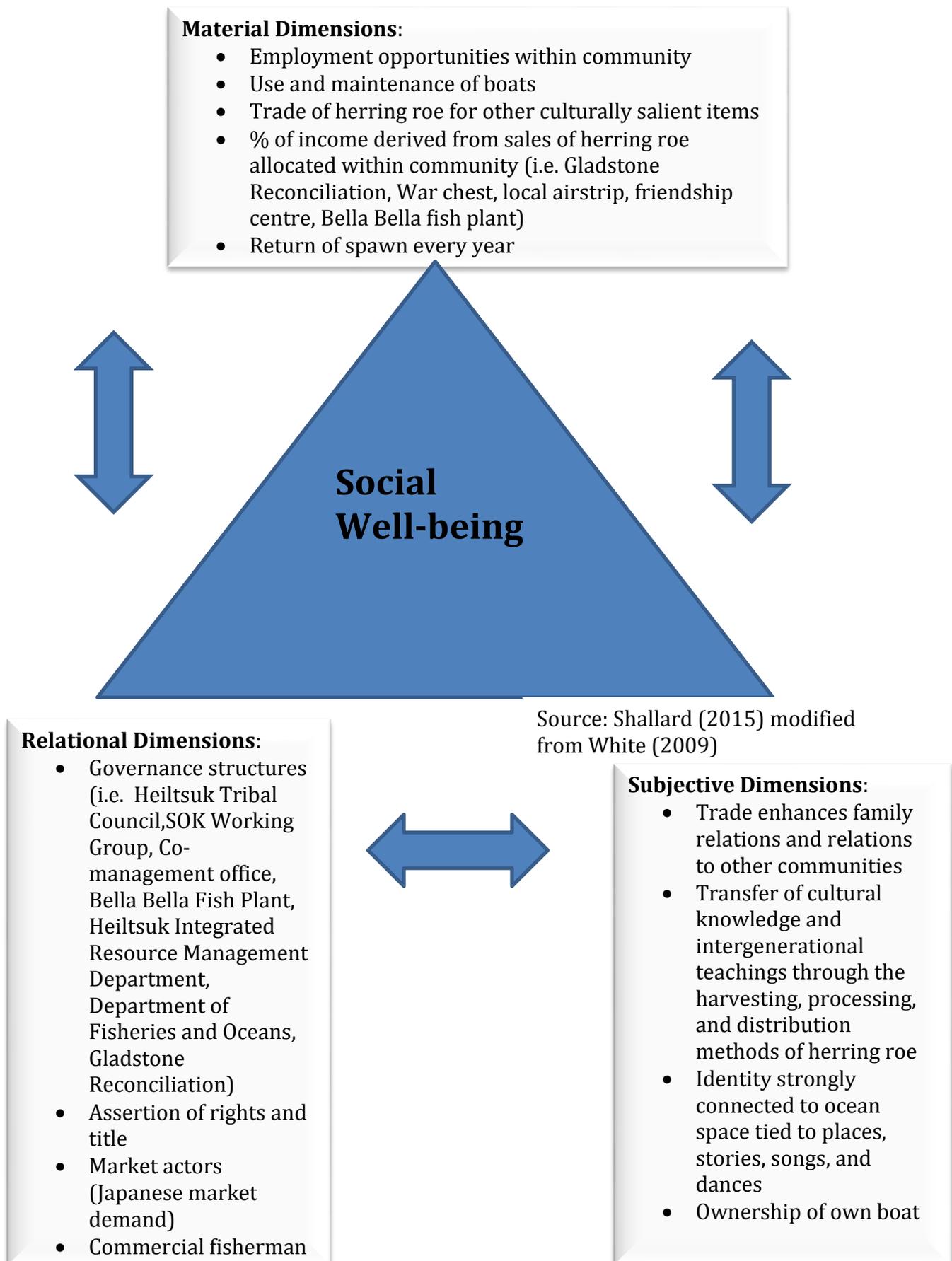
Most broadly, this thesis has argued that it is important to think of ocean space as more than an empty or socially unencumbered place ideal for transport, resource

exploitation, and military exercise (Steinberg 2001). It emphasizes that in BC, as elsewhere, ocean spaces are places of history, culture, and opportunity. For the Heiltsuk, ocean territory is integrally tied to well-being and identity at individual and collective levels. Further, findings have suggested that legal rhetoric and framing of Aboriginal rights manifested through the court case *R vs. Gladstone* impacts how the commercial SOK fishery has been understood and managed. Through exercising their court-defined Aboriginal fishing rights, many Heiltsuk have shifted or adopted different specific outlooks and practices. These outlooks have been influenced through larger governance systems, market pressures, and narrow economic analyses. While J-licenses allow access to the Federally managed fishery, they impose new reporting requirements for local leadership, seasonal openings/closings for fishers, as well as economic imperatives and incentives.

Figure 2 is an adaptation of White (2009)'s social conception of well-being as cited in Armitage et al (2010). This framework highlights the material, relational, and subjective dimensions expressed by participants as important to achieve overall individual and communal well-being. Material dimensions include income and wealth assets while relational dimensions include the social interactions and collective relationships that are involved in the maintenance of social, political, and cultural interactions. Subjective dimensions highlight the cultural values and belief system as well as the importance of self and satisfaction that are important to social well-being. All of these dimensions when examined together illustrate well-being as a state of being with others, reflecting not only the relational importance of well-being to others employed in the definition, (McGregor 2008, Sen 1999) but also the relational value that is important in Indigenous worldview.

Readers will note that key findings from my study regarding the contribution of herring to Heiltsuk well-being are super-imposed onto the figure.

Figure 3. Conceptual View of Social Well-Being Adopted from White (2009)



Contributions from the findings of this research suggest that both individual and collective values associated to food security, trade, and the act of going out on the water to collect spawn are valuable to individuals and the community as a whole, as are employment opportunities derived from the fishery and herring roe itself. This suggests that non-monetary values are important to include when examining future local economic development planning. This information is not easy to gather or quantify; however, this does not mean they can be ignored. Conventional economic analyses and development planning that does not take a diverse range of values into account systematically misrepresent community interests, objectives, and management motivations.

4.2.1 Practical Contributions

The utility of a social well-being framework adopted in this thesis is that it places the needs of fisherman as central to the management of the fishery. As McGregor (2009) has argued the pursuit of well-being, and what people perceive as a desirable way of life, is a major determinant of what people do and the decisions that they make, in both their daily lives and longer term life strategizing (McGregor 2009 as cited in Coulthard 2012). While perceptions of ocean space and stories were different between participants interviewed in this study, a common theme about the importance of this environment to identity, food, and cultural continuity was a strong facet. These values reflect a particular worldview surrounding Heiltsuk ocean space and provide important factors to consider when viewing the way that management plans are created. Results from this case study indicated that Heiltsuk worldview was not fully represented in the J-license system, however the ways in which herring roe and wealth derived from the quota were

distributed amongst community and other nations illustrate that non-monetary values were upheld and that there was flexibility in the ways in which fishermen chose to operate. A key component of this study is that identity and relationships between people and the environment are integral to well-being felt within community. Furthermore, the commercial SOK fishery can be seen as more than just a fishery and livelihood, but as an entire way of life that is filled with important social meaning. Understanding why people fish or how people view ocean space and the *right to fish* is integral to examining fishing as more than an activity.

Thus, on the central coast of British Columbia where herring stocks have been in decline, losing a species or access to this fishery does not just mean losing a livelihood, but an entire way of life. Important cultural and social values embedded in the fishery within the Heiltsuk nation would concurrently be washed out to sea. Findings from this research elicit the extent to which different people participated in the fishery including women and youth. Working in packing plants, out on the water, and harvesting and processing on shore, the commercial SOK fishery presents opportunity for many people in the community. Young children hear stories from their parents and go out on the water, and at the age of 19 are allowed to participate and get a license. Family boats operated and upheld certain familial values and codes of conduct on the water that were passed on from generation to generation. While results indicated that these codes of conduct may have differed from family to family and were subjective, a concurrent theme indicates that the importance of being out on Heiltsuk ocean space and participating in the fishery is of utmost value as a part of Heiltsuk identity and re-affirms territorial ocean space and Heiltsuk sovereignty.

4.2.2 Scholarly Contributions

Scholars such as Coulthard et al (2011) have described in detail how in fisheries, fish and people are too connected to try to separate and prioritize, and that it is these connections which need to be better understood and worked with in governance (p.461). Worm et al (2009) evoke the need to “envision a seascape where the rebuilding, conservation, and sustainable use of marine resources become unifying themes for science, management, and society” (p.584). Adopting a well-being approach this thesis lends to scholarly work on fisheries emphasizing that by focusing on the well-being of fishers there is opportunity to create and foster better governance processes towards achieving sustainability. As scholars Coulthard et al (2011) and Armitage et al (2010) have argued, framing the problem in terms of human well-being affords important additional insights into how effective policy and governance for fisheries can be constructed (Coulthard et al, 2011, 454).

Largely neglected from geographical literature and court cases are Indigenous understandings of marine space. Given the need to understand cultural politics of the sea, and to have more ecologically and socially just management it is pertinent to examine neglected representations of seascapes. This research contributes to this body of literature elucidating the storied narratives that surround ocean space that are central to the lives of those that live in and in relation to the land and sea. Further, the way that these spaces are understood influence the way that management plans are constructed. It is hoped that the conception of well-being as adopted in this case study can allow us to further explore the relationships between social, political, and economic sustainability. Legal rhetoric and bio-economic discourse perpetuate management in certain ways that diverge from

Indigenous understandings of economy. By bringing Indigenous understandings of economy into being through analyses such as well-being, new forms of management may materialize that can benefit community based attempts to reclaim rights to access/and or resources. The Heiltsuk nation has been directly involved with the management of their resources by negotiating Land Marine Use plans (CCIRA, 2005), and they continue to exercise their Aboriginal right in the commercial fishery. This research has demonstrated that these acts of governance are deeply connected to acts of cultural continuity that have been upheld for thousands of years and thus are tied to an inherent Aboriginal identity that influences well-being. While politics and power dynamics have played a significant role in determining the vision for resource use as seen in the license system, it is apparent that resistance through legality and assertions of self-determination has enacted new spaces in which management frameworks can be created that represent Heiltsuk worldview. The 2007 SOK Management plan thus, can be seen as an act of continual governance being shaped by those in the community despite external influences and pressure. Nutritional, cultural, spiritual, and economic values are embedded in Heiltsuk herring resources and there are overlapping boundaries in how these spaces are defined legally, traditionally, and ecologically. A re-thinking of economic development in a way that that accounts for diverse values is presented in this thesis alongside a more nuanced and holistic understanding of ocean space that has been lacking from both geographical literature and court cases. This thesis has tried to fish for new opportunities to envision alternative suggestions for local economic development planning as part of the reconciliation process that supports Heiltsuk sovereignty of territorial ocean space and self-determination.

Community is thus understood as belonging to the land and ocean, not the ocean and land to the community. Findings in this research demonstrate that people identified and described well-being in relationship to community, governance, leadership, ownership and stewardship of land, waters and ocean. These understandings diverge from non-native views and settler concepts of law. The knowledge and practices embodied in herring spawn on kelp are strongly tied to governance in that the community feeds the people and leads with a long-term vision of stewardship, conservation, and sustainability for future generations. The ocean does not only provide nutritional benefits but holds cultural practices of song and dance, language, and community engagement unified in the practice of harvesting, processing, selling, and trading spawn on kelp.

The findings in this research have shown that there has been epistemic and philosophical split between Western notion of claims and rights, and Indigenous values embedded in the land and ocean. New colonial realities have forced Indigenous peoples to lay claim to land as right. Further as exemplified in *R vs Gladstone*, this process of colonization has extended to ocean space. The utility of the language used in this process creates a divide between older practices and holds significant power in shaping current management plans; however participants in this study have demonstrated that their voices cannot be washed away, and that they remain strong.

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Appendix A: Participant Consent Form (Interview)

The Herring School: bringing together culture, ecology, and governance to support sustainability on BC's Coast

This letter requests your participation in an interview about herring and provides information that you may wish to consider before making your decision. Take as much time as you would like to read the letter. Please ask the interviewer questions about the research, methods, how you may review the findings and anything else of interest or concern.

As part of the 'herring school' collaborative work going on in Bella Bella, this research seeks to understand how the use and local management of herring contributes to the well-being of you and your family. Because this research is about Heiltsuk well-being, interviews with Heiltsuk people are necessary. Interviews will last anywhere from 0.5-2 hours; interviews can stop at any time the participant requests. Questions will focus on the different ways that you and your family benefit from herring and local herring management approaches (now and in the past). Participation presents minimal risk, although given the decline of herring stocks and local frustrations around this fishery, we understand that some questions may be difficult to answer. It is hoped that this research will illustrate the diverse values of herring to your community and work to inform future management and economic development planning. This research has the support of the Gladstone Reconciliation Society, The Heiltsuk Intergrated Research Management Department, and the Heiltsuk Tribal Council and is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Results will be communicated directly back to these organizations in the form of related research publications, Maria Shallard's final thesis, an executive summary report, and a final community presentation that will be open to all participants.

Once you have read the form, the interviewer will discuss the following with you:

- You may decline any interview question you wish and/or ask to end the interview at any time. You may also ask to have your interview withdrawn from the study;
- Once the interview is complete, you may also withdraw from the study at any time by informing Jennifer Silver or Dana Lepofsky (see contact details below).
- Once the research is published it may not be possible to have your words retracted. Therefore, you may request to review any and all uses of your verbatim quotations in final research publications;

- Your interview will be confidential, and where possible, we will seek to separate your identity from your responses. However, if you are in a unique leadership position in the community, this anonymity cannot be assured. If you wish full anonymity, check here [] and the interview will proceed for informational purposes only.

I _____ agree to participate in *The Herring School: bringing together culture, ecology, and governance to support sustainability on BC's Coast*, overseen by Dana Lepofsky, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University and Dr. Jennifer Silver, Department of Geography, University of Guelph. Unless I have indicated in the check-box above, I agree that:

- My participation, my statements, and my image, photograph, or video may be used, represented, published, made available on the internet, and referred to in other project outputs authored by the project directors or participating communities.
- Project records and outputs will remain on file in a secured location at the University of Guelph and/or Simon Fraser University and I may request a copy of specific records or outputs to which I contributed.
- My Nation may retain a copy of this interview.

Participant Signature & Date

Interviewer Signature & Date

Inquiries regarding the research and requests for results may be directed to:

Jennifer Silver, Department of Geography, University of Guelph, j.silver@uoguelph.ca, 519-824-4120 (ext. 52176)

or

Dana Lepofsky, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, dlepofs@sfu.ca, 778-782-5403

Concerns or complaints may be directed to:

Sandy Auld, Director of Research Ethics, University of Guelph, reb@uoguelph.ca, 519-824-4120 (ext. 58024).

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview guide

Name:

Date:

Interviewer: Maria Shallard

Translator:

Time:

Location: Bella Bella, British Columbia

Background:

1. What is your name?
2. Where are you from?
3. When were you born?
4. Who did you learn from?

Heiltsuk perspectives on ocean space and territory

1. Do you get out on the water much or interact with herring?

If yes:

2. What does the ocean mean to you? Does Heiltsuk territory extend to the ocean? How far out?
5. In what ways is herring important? What is your experience with herring? How often do you observe, harvest, transplant, eat, trade herring? Where does this happen and who do you do it with?
6. Do you have a boat? Access to a boat or a way to get onto the water?
7. How many times have you experienced/seen herring spawn on kelp? What is this like?

6. Are there barriers that prevent you or your family from being in your ocean territory and interacting with herring? What are they?
7. Do you harvest herring roe by yourself or with others? Did people ever work in groups to collect spawn on kelp? What about other substrates (hemlock etc)? Is FSC harvesting different than SOK this way?
8. Did you ever trade herring spawn? What for? How often? How has this changed? How is this important to relationships with other people? If not, why?
9. Does Heiltsuk ocean space or herring affect who you are as a Heiltsuk person? How?
10. Should Heiltsuk manage ocean space? What ways is this being done?

Well-being

1. A lot of people use the term well-being. What does this mean to you? In relation to herring?
2. What do you do to be well day to day, for your family, for your community? How does herring fit into this?
3. In what ways is the ocean important to your well-being?
4. Do you prefer herring spawn on kelp or hemlock?

Put another way:

3. What do you and your family need to be healthy? Happy?
4. Do you think this the same or different as most families in your community? How?
5. How important is it to have heiltsuk owned and operated companies? How is that related to health, happiness, prosperity?

5. How much of your health/happiness/prosperity depends on factors internal to your community? External to your community?

Herring and well-being

1. Does herring contribute to your well-being and the well-being of your family?
2. Do members of your household usually harvest herring spawn on kelp?
3. What would (or has) changed in your life if herring was not available?
 - if herring is less available, does your family have other economic and/or food options?
3. Did you participate in the commercial spawn-on-kelp fishery? Did you enjoy this?
4. Did members of your household try to use or process herring spawn on kelp?
5. Is there a women's role in the herring process and distribution of herring spawn on kelp? Youth's? If so, how has this changed throughout time?
6. How were the communal licenses managed by HIRMD or Gladstone (not DFO)?
 - did you agree with this system?
 - what did you like most/least about this system?
 - was it fair?
 - did it reflect Heiltsuk values and rules?
7. What did you do with your harvests?
 - if you sold them, approximately what % of your annual income did it contribute?
 - if you shared with others, how many households did you share with?
 - how are these decisions made?

8. How often did you eat herring during the time the Heiltsuk nation managed the licenses? Was this more or less than before? If not, why do you think this is?

9. How often did you trade herring during this time?

- what was this herring traded for? How significant are the items that are traded to health, well-being, family?

Put another way:

How important are these items to being well? Healthy? Happy?

10. Has this frequency changed?

11. How often is herring consumed at Heiltsuk events?

- has this changed?

- how important is this?

- how important is herring in relation to other food items eaten at events?

Future management

1. How would you like to see herring managed in the future? Do you have suggestions for future management or economic decisions made in regards to the SOK commercial fishery?

2. What should management priorities be: food, monetary income, trade, feasting?

Are there any other things you can think of that you would like to add?

Appendix C: Recommendations for Community by Community

An aspect of this research was to gain perspectives from the community about how to better represent values of well-being for future co-management plans. All participants emphasized the importance of Food/Social/Ceremonial (FSC) use and stressed older values and practices. Quality control and monitoring were important factors raised by participants to focus on for future management in the commercial fishery and as a major difference between FSC and SOK. As one fisherman explained “the equation [of management] was how traditional areas were utilized and it should have been made known more to the attention to DFO the communal use of what areas were commercial and traditional” (interview, 2013). Further this participant suggests that more quality protection for traditional use is of utmost importance. Spending ample time on the water fishing for roe Jordan Wilson (2013) explained how the communal license system bypasses traditional use purposes by utilizing different things (i.e. kelp instead of trees).

Importantly, participants raised concern over having a reserve of herring roe sites for traditional use that secures Heiltsuk culture which is “a way of trade” and “currency” (interviews 2013). Without herring roe and traditional sites set aside for FSC one participant explains “we wouldn’t be able to buy grease” (interview 2013). This differs from the SOK license system which was explained by several participants as a license to make money at the end of the day and did not represent some of the values integral to FSC. Increased regulation was suggested with perspectives gained from the local clam industry as an example emphasized by one participant, in which to control the amount of licenses distributed to avoid oversaturation on the water and overfishing. Findings

emphasized the value and importance of “knowledge, the time to take care of roe, the value and the quality” (interview, 2013) as it holds significant importance at feasts and for trade.

As a suggestion, one participant thought that bycatch from SOK could be circulated back to the community to feed elders, and for cultural events, specifically at the elders building. This way this one fisherman explained was that kids can taste it too. “Without roe and these foods” Wilson (2013) explains, “our culture would not have spirit, which our culture needs for that spirit. It makes more sense to have your cultural dishes which we richly deserve to share for our children, rather than selling it off, making it into a currency which it isn’t.” As with many participants, Wilson summarized the danger in overusing one resource and its importance to community well-being which should be ensured for future unborn generations.