

KWAKWAKA'WAKW PEOPLE

WAYS *of* LIVING
WAYS *of* GIVING



"WE ARE CLOSELY RELATED TO EVERYTHING THAT SWIMS IN THE RIVERS
OR FLIES IN THE SKY. WE HAVE A RELATIONSHIP TO ALL THINGS AROUND US."

Chief William T. Cranmer, 'Ngmgis, Kwakwaka'wakw First Nation, 2006

NATIONAL
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AMERICAN
INDIAN



THE KWAKWAKA'WAKW A STUDY OF A NORTH PACIFIC COAST PEOPLE AND THE POTLATCH



Grade Levels: 6–8

Time Required: 3 class periods

OVERVIEW

In this poster students will learn about the Kwakwaka'wakw (pronounced: kwock-KWOCKY-wowk) people of British Columbia, Canada. The focus is on Kwakwaka'wakw traditions that express concepts of wealth, values of giving, and the importance of cultural continuity. Students will learn about the Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch practice: its history, the values inherent in it, and the important role it plays in establishing and maintaining family connections to the past, to ancestors, and to the spirits of all living things. Students will use Kwakwaka'wakw concepts and discuss differences in value systems. For an audio pronunciation guide, visit our website: www.AmericanIndian.si.edu/education.

CURRICULUM STANDARDS FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

Culture (I), Time, Continuity, and Change (II), People, Places, and Environments (III)

OBJECTIVES

In the lessons and activities, students will:

- Learn about the Kwakwaka'wakw people, culture, and values
- Learn about the practice of the potlatch and its history
- Understand Kwakwaka'wakw concepts of wealth and value





BACKGROUND

Native peoples maintain close connections to the land and the places they come from. They express those connections in many different ways, including ceremonies and celebrations that can involve singing and dancing, giving thanks, feasting, gift giving, storytelling, and games. In the United States and Canada, there are more than 1,100 individual tribes—each with its own set of practices that show appreciation for the natural world and those spirits that lie within it.

The Native peoples of the North Pacific Coast region of North America share many cultural similarities that relate to their shared surroundings—the land, sea, climate, and resources. Over time, tribes have changed in various political, social, and economical ways; yet they maintain their traditions. In both the U.S. and Canada, Native people prefer to be identified by their tribal affiliations. As a group of people, the commonly accepted terms in the U.S. are Native peoples or Native Americans. In Canada, the term used is Aboriginal; tribes are referred to as First Nations. There are 197 First Nations in British Columbia alone.

The Kwakwaka'wakw of British Columbia have built a rich culture that reflects and acknowledges the riches in the natural environment. Their songs, stories, dances, and ceremonial objects honor the animals, rivers, cedar trees, salmon, and all those things that help to sustain the Kwakwaka'wakw physically and spiritually. This poster will introduce students to the riches of the Kwakwaka'wakw and their environment, exploring how they share those riches in great style through the potlatch practice and how they have kept their culture alive.

PROCEDURES

-  I. Make photocopies of the reproducible pages and distribute before each exercise (to download a pdf visit: www.AmericanIndian.si.edu/education). Display the poster in the classroom.
-  II. Explain to students that they will be learning about the cultural practices of a group of Native people from Canada and the value systems that make them unique. The focus will be on the Kwakwaka'wakw of British Columbia. (Review and practice pronunciation.) Looking at a map of Canada, point out the North Pacific Coast region, and have students locate British Columbia, noting bodies of water. (Website to view maps: www.canadamaps.info.) Give an overview of some of the natural resources found in the region: specifically the resources found in the ocean, rivers, and streams. (To explore more visit www.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca. Click on Time Machine and then First Nations in B.C.) Discuss with the class the whole range of sea life found in the waters of the north coast region.
-  III. Have the class examine the front of the poster and discuss what it tells them about the place where the Kwakwaka'wakw live and how they might have lived long ago. Prompt thinking with questions, e.g., What does the image say about how they might have gotten around? What hints does it give about the kinds of things they were likely to eat? Discuss the quote. Ask students to look closely at the poster for what it tells them about the Kwakwaka'wakw.
-  IV. Copy and distribute **Reproducibles 1.1 and 1.2: Natural Riches and Following the Oolichan**. As a class, read the text, refer to the map and pictures, and discuss questions and answers.

Part A. Class Discussion

1. Describe what you see in the picture and what is going on.
2. Name two reasons why the oolichan fish are important to the Kwakwaka'wakw.
3. Why might it be important for young people to participate in making oolichan oil? (Answer: So that the practice is passed down; so that this cultural tradition is not lost.)
4. Reread the second-to-last paragraph on Reproducible 1.2 and figure out how many tons of fish it would take to make 200 gallons of oolichan oil.
5. Using the map, find all of the First Nations territories in British Columbia.
6. Name the fourteen places where oolichan are fished.
7. Name three reasons why fishing is important to the Kwakwaka'wakw.
8. What other natural resources are important to the 'Namgis?

Part B. Exercise: Who Made It and Who Traded for It?

Have the class cut three sheets of paper into quarters. On the board, set up a chart that is divided into two fields titled: "Tribes that Made Oolichan Oil" and "Tribes that Traded for Oolichan Oil." Have students look at the map and write the name of each tribe on a square, one tribe per square. Ask them to look at the map, and, based on the location of the oolichan rivers, try to determine which tribes might have made oolichan oil and which tribes might have traded for it. Starting with the Kwakwaka'wakw square, as an example, the teacher would place the square in the "Tribes that Made Oolichan Oil" field with a piece of tape. For the tribes that probably traded for oolichan oil, have students also write the name of the other tribe(s) that they might have traded with. Use Nuu-cha-nulth as an example. Ask students to look at the map and guess with whom they were likely to trade for the oil. Once the class has made their determinations, go through all of the nations and ask for volunteers to tape their answers in the chart. Discuss the answers and possibilities.

Extension Exercise: Some rivers, including the Fraser, Kitimat, Chilcat, Skeena, and Nass rivers have experienced sharp oolichan declines since 1990, but data on the oolichan indicate variability in annual runs. Even after seasons when few oolichan return to the rivers, the fish are able to rebound. The Kwakwaka'wakw fish primarily out of the Knight Inlet, Kingcome River inlet, and the Klinaklini River, where they have seen significant oolichan populations. (Source: www.natureserve.org and U'mista Cultural Centre.)

Visit the NatureServe homepage: www.natureserve.org, and in the NatureServe Explorer click Search and enter: eulachon (note spelling). View the distribution report, which provides a colored map indicating the status of the eulachon. Print out the map for the class. Define and discuss the terms used in the color-coded key indicating status. Have the class identify where the oolichan (eulachon) can be found and where they are at risk. Explore and discuss factors that threaten the oolichan.



V. Copy and distribute **Reproducibles 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3: People of the Potlatch**. First introduce the terms *inheritance* and *civilized*, and ask the class to define the terms. Discuss what each means, give examples, and discuss the implications of what it meant to be "*civilized*" in 1885. Read the text together. As a class, talk about the reading and answer the following.

Potlatch Discussion Questions:

1. Name three reasons why the Kwakwaka'wakw hold potlatches.
2. How would guests travel to a potlatch?
3. Why are gifts given to guests?
4. How have the gifts changed over time? What gift has remained constant?
5. Why was the potlatch outlawed? Do you think it was a good law? Explain.
6. Why is the potlatch important to the Kwakwaka'wakw?

(Answer 5: The Canadian government outlawed the potlatch in an attempt to “civilize” the Native people. Also, non-Native people misunderstood the Native culture and the values expressed in the potlatch. Many thought the ceremony was a bad thing. Discuss other acceptable answers with the class.)

Answer 6: The potlatch is important to the Kwakwaka'wakw for many reasons: it honors the lineage of families, ties the community to its ancestors, celebrates important events in people's lives, and keeps Native cultural traditions strong. In many ways, the potlatch ceremony is a cultural vessel that holds all of the things that define who the Kwakwaka'wakw people are, what they do, and why they do the things they do.)

*An EXTENSION exercise on the potlatch can be found on the web: www.AmericanIndian.si.edu/education



VI. Copy and distribute **Reproducible 3: Concepts of Wealth**. Before reading, have the class do the following **Opening Exercise**:

1. Define WEALTHY
2. Define VALUABLE
3. Define STATUS
4. Name someone you consider wealthy. Explain what makes them wealthy.
5. List three things that you consider valuable. Explain what makes them valuable.
6. Name one person with a high status. Explain what gives them that status.



VII. Have students complete the questions at the bottom of **Reproducible 3: Concepts of Wealth** independently after reading the text as a class. Review the questions and share some student answers. Return to the **Opening Exercise** and ask students to compare and contrast Kwakwaka'wakw concepts of wealth, items of value, and status with their own ideas from the opener. Engage students in a class discussion about the differing concepts.

RESOURCES

Check out these websites to learn more about the Kwakwaka'wakw and other North Pacific Coast Native peoples.

National Museum of the American Indian

www.AmericanIndian.si.edu/education

Click on the Education page for additional classroom activities. Learn more about the uses and cultural significance of cedar and the importance of salmon. You will also find a listing of teacher resources and an audio pronunciation guide. Click on the Exhibitions page to view objects from the *Listening to Our Ancestors: The Art of Native Life along the North Pacific Coast* exhibition.

U'mista Cultural Society www.umista.org

Explore the U'mista website to learn more about the history of the Kwakwaka'wakw and the cultural center that is home to the potlatch items confiscated and recovered from the 1921 Cranmer potlatch.

'Namgis Nation www.namgis.bc.ca

Go straight to the source to learn more about the 'Namgis Nation, one of the Kwakwaka'wakw tribes. View video clips that tell about the importance of cedar and read more about their culture and community.

Virtual Museum of Canada www.virtualmuseum.ca

Go to the Virtual Museum website and click on Community

Memories, then find Preserving the Tradition of T'li'na Making to learn more about the oolichan (also spelled eulachon), and how the Kwakwaka'wakw continue the important annual tradition of making oolichan oil.

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Front: 60 x 84-inch photo taken at the 2002 *Laxwegila: Gaining Strength* canoe gathering hosted by the Kwakwaka'wakw. (*Laxwegila* pronounced: THLAWK-wi-gee-la.) More than 1,000 'Namgis First Nations people and their guests from the coastal region gathered to celebrate their history and culture, to renew ties to their neighboring Native communities, and to draw strength from each other. As part of the gathering, a huge feast and celebration was held in the traditional ceremonial Bighouse in Alert Bay. Photo by Sharon Eva Grainger, © 2002 U'mista Cultural Society.

Chief William Cranmer ('Namgis Nation). Photo by R. A. Whiteside, NMAI.



NATURAL RICHES

“We are the Kwakwaka’wakw, the Kwak’wala-speaking people. We are eighteen tribes whose territory reaches from northern Vancouver Island southeast to the middle of the island, and includes smaller islands and inlets of Smith Sound, Queen Charlotte Strait, and Johnstone Strait.”

—Barb Cranmer, 'Namgis Nation

For thousands of years, the North Pacific Coast region of the United States and Canada has been home to Native people. Coastal people have much in common, starting with their environment and the resources within it. Those resources have long shaped everything from their system of beliefs to what they ate and their cultural practices. In this region, the climate, waters, great forests, and sea life are among the things that have influenced Native cultures. This poster features the Kwakwaka’wakw people of British Columbia, who had only to look to their surroundings—a land and sea of plenty—for all that they needed to flourish and survive. Their society arose out of natural abundance, making farming and herding unnecessary.

The sea life, particularly the salmon, the oolichan (pronounced: OO-la-kin)—a silvery, smeltlike fish—and the cedar tree are among the resources in the natural environment that have long

made the Kwakwaka’wakw both spiritually and materially rich. For the Kwakwaka’wakw, the “good life” is not only about plenty of food and resources, but also about how they have used the resources, how they express their connection to living things, and their appreciation of those things that sustain them.

The Kwakwaka’wakw believe that animals, rivers, and trees are powerful beings that long ago existed in both the human world and the spirit world. The Kwakwaka’wakw coexisted with these ancestral beings and came to be related to certain animal spirits such as the salmon. The Kwakwaka’wakw believe that their wealth, which comes from their surroundings, is a result of their connection to the spirit beings. It is through the potlatch—an elaborate gift giving and feasting ceremony—that they offer thanks to the ancestral spirits for their generosity, share their riches, and celebrate family ties.

Kwakwaka’wakw boys Stephen Beans, Cole Speck, and Elijah Wadhams shovel tons of oolichan into an earthen pit as they prepare to make oolichan oil at Knight Inlet.

Photo by Stella Beans 2002.





Oolichan Rivers and First Nations Territories

Traditional Oolichan Harvesting
Regions of British Columbia

FOLLOWING THE OOLICHAN

At one time there were some thirty tribes that made up the Kwakwaka'wakw; today there are eighteen. The 'Namgis (pronounced: NUM-gees) of Alert Bay on Cormorant Island are just one of the Kwakwaka'wakw First Nations. The 'Namgis originally lived at the mouth of the Nimpkish River, which they call the River Gwa'ni. They lived here first because the salmon ran thick in the river's waters and their community was tied to the fish.

The Kwakwaka'wakw have always followed the seasonal run of fish at the places they have been most plentiful. Long ago, the 'Namgis harvested tons of salmon at peak runs, then smoked and dried stockpiles for the winter. The oolichan is another fish that is still harvested annually. It is processed into oolichan oil, or *t'lina* (pronounced: GLEET-na). Oolichan oil is among the most highly treasured potlatch gifts and is a potlatch feast delicacy.

Not all coastal Native people lived near oolichan rivers, fished for oolichan, and made the oil; but they all valued it. The *t'lina* was a status food item, like caviar, and for chiefs, it was an essential potlatch gift. Native people traveled great distances to obtain oolichan oil through trade. The waterways and worn paths of the interior mainland on which the Native people traveled to trade for oolichan oil were referred to as "grease trails."

Every year, 'Namgis families still make the eight-hour boat trip to Knight Inlet, where they have longstanding fish camps established for the oolichan run. Oolichan oil is so valuable, in part, because making it is a long process that requires a lot of work, lots of fish, and many hands. It takes about three weeks to catch all the fish and prepare the oil. First the fish are harvested, then they are put into a huge outdoor pit where they "ripen," or ferment, for ten days.



Source: Allene Drake and Lyle Wilson, *Eulachon, A Fish to Cure Humanity*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology, 1991.

Then they are cooked over a fire and the oil is separated, filtered, and bottled. It takes six to seven tons of fish to make twenty-five gallons of oil. During a potlatch, a host may give away as much as 200 gallons of oolichan oil, not counting the *t'lina* that is feasted upon.

In many ways, the oolichan bring Kwakwaka'wakw families together annually to preserve the ancient tradition of "rendering the *t'lina*." It is a tradition that keeps the culture strong and ties the people to their past, their ancestors, and their environment.



PEOPLE OF THE POTLATCH

“When one’s heart is glad, he gives away gifts. It was given to us by our Creator, to be our way of doing things, to be our way of rejoicing, we who are Indians. The potlatch was given to us to be our way of expressing joy. Every people on earth is given something. This was given to us.”

—Axu Alfred, ‘Namgis Nation, Alert Bay

The Kwakwaka’wakw, like their Native neighbors along the coast, are known for the potlatch. This is a very important tradition that remains central to the Kwakwaka’wakw way of life. The potlatch or *’pasa*, is a complex celebration that serves many purposes.



Scene at Alert Bay, B.C. A wall of hundred-pound sacks of flour to be given away at a potlatch. William M. Halliday, ca. 1897.

Source: B.C. Archives, Special Collections.

PURPOSES OF THE POTLATCH

- To publicly recognize class structure and status
- To pass on a family’s rights and privileges or inheritance. Such rights include:
 - Rights to land, property, fishing holes, berry patches, hunting grounds, and beach fronts.
 - The right to specific dances, songs, stories, and the right to display animal crest designs of a family’s clan.
 - The right to wear, use, and display certain regalia and objects that indicate leadership: hats, blankets, dance aprons, carved benches, shield-shaped copper plaques, masks, painted housefronts, and carved posts.
- To celebrate marriages, the naming of babies, and the passing on of chief titles, names held within a family, and names that indicate leadership
- To honor important people who have passed on
- To comfort those who have lost a loved one
- To celebrate the opening of ceremonial bighouses and raising of carved poles
- To recognize the lineage of a family and renew the community’s ties to the ancestors
- To celebrate the people’s relationship to the animal spirits and to give thanks
- To restore one’s reputation in the community after a humiliation



Long ago potlatches stretched out over the winter months, lasting for weeks. They were held in a ceremonial bighouse, the size of which indicated the hosts' status in the village. Chiefs with the largest bighouses would invite hundreds of guests from many Native nations. Guests would travel to a potlatch by canoe and upon arrival announce themselves and their village by shouting to the host onshore. Giant welcome figures, carved out of cedar, often stood at the water's edge as hosts sang welcome songs. Sometimes there were so many guests that no room was left on the beach for all the canoes.

Today's potlatch involves feasting, singing, dancing, and speeches—but one of the most unique aspects of the ceremony is the distribution of gifts to all invited guests. Guests serve an important role in the potlatch. They are witnesses who are "paid" with gifts for acknowledging a family's inheritance or claim to things passed down in the ceremony. A potlatch might be held to give a firstborn son a name, at which time the father would pass down to his child all of the family's ceremonial belongings. Families even pass down the right to tell certain stories, sing certain songs, dance certain dances, and rights to watch over certain areas of land.

The potlatch is a rich tradition. Potlatch hosts dress in their finest cedar shawls or button blankets, cedar hats, cedar woven headgear, dance aprons, and more. They may carry beautifully painted rattles, drums, engraved shield-shaped copper plaques, or "coppers," canoe paddles, and staffs—all elaborately carved and painted with their family's animal clan crest designs.

Today potlatches are most often held to honor the passing of an elder or important person in the community. Potlatch hosts might take years to gather, make, and prepare gifts to be given away at a potlatch, including what is needed for the feast. Over time, potlatch gifts have changed.

POTLATCH GIFTS OVER TIME

Gifts in the 1800s

animal furs and hides
carved bentwood boxes
broken copper strip
woven cedar blankets
canoes
oolichan oil

Gifts in the 1900s

Hudson's Bay blankets
dressers
copper bracelets
carvings
flour, sugar
oolichan oil

Gifts in 2000s

towels and fabric
laundry baskets
silver jewelry
T-shirts with crest designs
flour, sugar, coffee
oolichan oil



Above, right: This huge hat woven out of cedar bark and spruce root features crest images of a whale, a raven, and the sun. It was typically brought out during a potlatch and worn by a high-ranking woman.

Left: This feast dish is as large as a coffee table and was used to serve foods such as salmon and wild game. A large, beautifully painted and carved dish such as this usually indicated the vast wealth of the host, usually a chief.



FOR SCALE:
Compare to the size
of a standard bowl.



POTLATCH PROHIBITION

In the late 1800s, the Canadian government felt Native traditions were keeping Native people from becoming “civilized.” The government saw Native culture as a threat and enacted a law to shut down the ceremonial potlatch. The anti-potlatch proclamation was issued in 1883; it became law January 1, 1885. It read:

“EVERY INDIAN OR OTHER PERSON WHO ENGAGES IN OR ASSISTS IN CELEBRATING THE INDIAN FESTIVAL KNOWN AS THE ‘POTLATCH’ OR IN THE INDIAN DANCE ‘TAMANANAWAS’ IS GUILTY OF A MISDEMEANOR, AND SHALL BE LIABLE TO IMPRISONMENT...”

For more than sixty years the ceremonial potlatch was outlawed. During that time many Native people were arrested; for some, the charge was dancing. Still, potlatches continued—but in secret.

“Do we ask the white man, ‘Do as the Indian does’? No, we do not. Why then do you ask us, ‘Do as the white man does’? It is a strict law that bids us dance. It is a strict law that bids us distribute our goods among our friends and neighbors. It is a good law. Let the white man observe his law. We shall observe ours.”

—Kwakwaka’wakw chiefs to anthropologist Franz Boas,
1886 after the potlatch was outlawed.

Barb Cranmer is a member of the ’Namgis Nation. The Cranmer family has kept the potlatch traditions alive for generations, in spite of the law. At Christmas time, 1921, Barb’s grandfather, Dan Cranmer, held the largest potlatch recorded on the north-west coast of British Columbia. This potlatch is best known for the fact that forty-five people were arrested, and the participants were given a choice of either surrendering their potlatch regalia—to prevent them from having future potlatches—or going to jail. Twenty-two people went to jail.

The potlatch and all that it included—the songs, dances, masks, blankets, speeches—were the things that defined the Kwakwaka’wakw. “It was a dark time for our people,” says Barb. “There was a great sense of confusion. People were wondering why this was happening when this was how we had lived, historically, forever and ever.”

“The non-Native society tried to change us and our culture. They viewed [the potlatch] as a bad thing,” says Barb. “They didn’t understand that it was part of how all things are interconnected and that it was a way of showing how we gave thanks.”

Dan Cranmer saw it as his responsibility to keep the traditions strong regardless of the law. “I believe he was a visionary,” says Barb. “He realized what we would need to know sixty years down the road and helped to preserve our songs and those things we’d need to carry on the potlatch.”

In 1951 the potlatch law was dropped from Canada’s books. “Even though the ban was lifted in the ’50s, it still took years for people to get over that. It took people a long time to feel comfortable about standing up and saying, ‘This is who we are,’ and to feel good about being ’Namgis,” Barb explains. “It wasn’t until the 1970s that [the potlatch] started to become a normal part of our lives once again, with the idea that we could potlatch without repercussions or imprisonment.”

Many Kwakwaka’wakw families have revived their ways. “Our culture is a living culture,” Barb stresses. “Recently, a relative of mine held a potlatch and he went back to the early teachings of our people. In that particular family they hadn’t had a potlatch in more than eighty years. He worked hard and learned the songs and all. Well, there was something there, there was spirit in that bighouse and it was really powerful, it was something else.” Through the potlatch, he asserted his rights as a chief, restored his family’s traditional status in the community, and helped reinvigorate an important cultural practice. “He took a chief’s standing for his family and what belonged to them,” says Barb. “We are reclaiming the things that were lost and it is with the strength of the family that we can be hopeful people. Our connection to the past is unbroken.”



Barb Cranmer, ’Namgis of the Kwakwaka’wakw Nation, is an award-winning documentary filmmaker living in Alert Bay, British Columbia.



CONCEPTS OF WEALTH

What does it mean to be wealthy? To most people, being wealthy means being rich; having lots of money with which one can acquire valuable possessions and property.

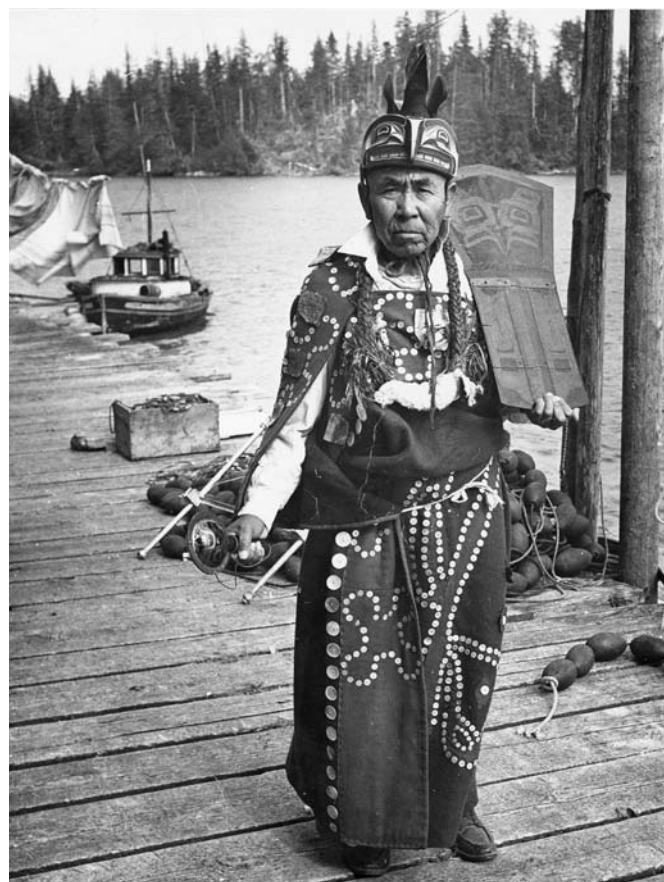
For the Kwakwaka'wakw, the wealthiest people are those who not only accumulate the most stuff, but also give it all away in a potlatch, as a sign of their ability to do so.

COPPERS

For the Kwakwaka'wakw, coppers were perhaps the greatest symbol of wealth and power. Coppers, or *tlakwa* (pronounced: GLACK-wa) were beaten sheets of copper in the shape of shields. They could measure up to three feet long and were painted or engraved with the owner's animal crest design. Coppers were used like money, but more importantly, they documented significant events and transactions through the potlatch. For example, a copper might be used in a naming ceremony in which both a child and the copper are named. The copper is called the child's "blanket"—a very valuable blanket that signals the importance of the child and the family's position within the community.

A copper's value was measured by how many blankets it was worth. One special copper was known to be worth nine thousand blankets.

The more used a copper was, or the more it was publicly displayed in a potlatch, the more valuable it became. "Breaking coppers" was another custom that increased a copper's value and demonstrated chiefly status. A chief would cut off a piece of the copper, showing that he could afford to break this very valuable possession. In most cultures, breaking a valuable item would decrease its value, but to the Kwakwaka'wakw, breaking a copper actually *increased* its value.



Kwakwaka'wakw Chief Willie Seaweed (1873–1967) holds a copper at Blunden Harbor, B.C. Seaweed held many chief titles and names. Heyhlamas, "The One Able to Set Things Right," was one of them.

Photo by William R. Heick, 1951.

THE VALUE OF A SONG

A copper is a material item considered very valuable in Kwakwaka'wakw culture. But perhaps even more valuable than a copper, a song is considered the most treasured gift one can receive. Songs are usually passed down within families to the oldest son. No pile of blankets, no matter how high, can equal the value of a song. To receive a song is to receive great cultural wealth and gives a person high status in the community.

On Your Own: (answer the following questions)

1. What kinds of things do the Kwakwaka'wakw consider most valuable?
2. What kinds of things give the Kwakwaka'wakw status?
3. How are the Kwakwaka'wakw's ideas of wealth different from yours?
4. How is the Kwakwaka'wakw's notion of increasing the value of an object different from yours?
5. Can you think of a valuable item—other than a copper, whose value is increased when it is either broken or destroyed?
6. How does gaining status for the Kwakwaka'wakw differ from how status is gained in your culture?