

**BARRIERS TO FOOD PROCUREMENT: THE EXPERIENCE OF URBAN
ABORIGINAL WOMEN IN WINNIPEG**

BY

MONECA SINCLAIRE

*A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the degree of*

MASTER OF SCIENCE

@ 1997

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ABSTRACT

In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with a snow-ball or reputational sample of 19 Aboriginal women who were single-parents. The purpose was to explore the women's experiences of grocery shopping and to document possible impact of the cultural norm, of obligation, on their shopping patterns.

Unstructured interviews with key informants, participant observations and cognitive mapping were used as the primary methods of data collection. These methodologies were selected to facilitate an in-depth study of the experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of the participants, as they related to food selection.

The Aboriginal women in this research not only experienced barriers related to financial insecurity they experienced the unique barrier of the "obligation" system imbedded in the Aboriginal culture. In the Aboriginal culture the extended family, composed of immediate relatives and close friends, functioned as a co-operative unit to create and obtain the necessities

of life such as food, shelter, and clothing (Nagler, 1970).

The barriers imbedded in financial insecurity were: (a) geographical distance, and the need for improved (b) housing, (c) transportation, and (d) child care. In this study the methods the women used to obtain more food or money were: (a) using food banks; (b) borrowing money; (c) pawning of durable goods, such as a video cassette recorder; (d) development of credit with the local neighbourhood grocery stores; (e) and receiving country foods from family or friends.

Whereas the cultural barrier intensified their financial insecurity since the coping mechanisms involved methods that meant spending additional money or further mental stress. If a woman did not want the visiting relatives to stay at her home the woman would, for example, move to a new location without notifying her relatives. This methods meant the woman had to use her limited income for moving.

It is important to understand the woman's food choices because ultimately the dietary practices of a mother affect the health of her children.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This is a study of Aboriginal, low-income, female heads of households and the barriers they encounter when they procure food in an urban area. The research topic described in this thesis was initially developed through a personal concern about Aboriginal women moving into urban areas. To address this concern the author contacted Aboriginal women employed in social service agencies and Aboriginal women's groups. The discussions with these women, who will be referred to as the key informants, spoke about many issues. However they consistently identified the need for systematic research to document the reasons why Aboriginal women who migrate to an urban area purchase unhealthy food, even though healthy food choices are available in the urban setting. What were the factors that impeded the women from shopping at larger grocery stores? Is the age of the children an important factor? Do cultural norms, such as family obligations, influence food acquisition?

From these questions the following objectives were

formulated: (a) to describe the food access of low-income, Aboriginal, female heads of households living in Winnipeg, Manitoba; and (b) to identify the factors that determined this access, such as transportation, geographical barriers, cultural influences and knowledge of food choices.

Key informants stated that systematic research should be conducted to collect data that would expand on the descriptions of food acquisition through anecdotal accounts. Collection of systematic data would assist in writing funding applications for community-based programs to address the nutrition needs of single-parent, female heads of households.

The key informants raised concerns about nutrition because they worked with Aboriginal clients, many of who had chronic health problems such as diabetes, hypertension, obesity or who were underweight. A key informant observed that, "clients with chronic health problems sometimes felt exhausted even before a counselling session began."

In this thesis, 'Aboriginal' will be used to include Metis, Status, non-Status and Inuit women. Aboriginal generally speaking, refers to the

descendants of the original inhabitants of Canada. Pottier, O'Sullivan and Moore (1978) defined Canada's Aboriginal Peoples to include the Indian, Inuit, and Metis people of Canada (Appendix A).

Poor Aboriginal women have been classified by Cohen (1994) as "doubly disadvantaged." If a woman was Aboriginal, poor and a single parent she could be classified as triply disadvantaged. Persons who are triply disadvantaged diminish their chances of escaping the poverty cycle. It is important to understand the woman's food choices because ultimately the dietary practices of a mother affect the health of her children.

Children growing up in low-income families are less healthy, have less access to skill building activities, have more destructive habits and behaviours, live more stressful lives and experience more humiliation than children living in middle class situations (Ross, Shillington & Lohead, 1994). Children living in poverty experienced poorer health status during their school years; they experienced a higher incidences of colds, respiratory illness and had higher mortality and morbidity rates (Cohen, 1994).

With inadequate nutrition and unmet needs for housing, social support and child care, child-at-risk becomes an adult-at-risk (Sidel, 1986). As an adult if they gain employment, they are more likely to be employed in low skill occupations paying minimum wages. If they do not gain employment in most cases, these adults will continue the cycle of dependence on welfare payments. They will continue to experience the chronic under-nutrition cycle, and if they have children, their children will once again be affected. If they are single-parents, there will be a greater chance that the poverty cycle will continue from generation to generation. Therefore these adults from the poverty cycle will perpetuate the cycle and cannot contribute economically to their countries (Levin, 1992).

Low-income families have been studied intensively through a research documenting epidemiological and demographic data on health status, income, nutritional status, housing, employment and education (Davis, 1991). When Tarasuk and Maclean (1990) conducted a literature review of food expenditures and food selection patterns of low-income families very few studies were found. Despite the increasing proportion

of the population who live in poverty the body of research focusing on low-income families and food choices had not significantly increased. The recent rise in the number of food distribution networks, such as food banks in Canadian cities, and an increase in the number of people making use of these services is tangible evidence of the rise of poverty (Riches, 1985; 1986a; 1986b).

The majority of studies that have explored food purchases of low-income people have examined the national population patterns from large sample surveys which are deemed to be more reliable than small scale descriptive studies (Health and Welfare Canada [HWC], 1975). Tarasuk's (1987) study was the only systematic examination of the decision involving food expenditure and selection practices among low-income households. The study found the people in poverty situations will live month to month by borrowing money and food, pawning durable goods, starving themselves in order to ensure their children get the food, and walking to the grocery store to save on taxicab fare.

This study will explore the issues that relate to food selection with Aboriginal women. An individual's

food intake is a key determinant of nutritional status and health status. Several authors, for example, Clatworthy, 1980; Driedger, 1991; and Dosman, 1972; have documented the global impact of migration among Aboriginal people to an urban setting.

When Aboriginal people move to an urban area the services required to facilitate their adaptation to the city life are either nonexistent (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP], 1993) or in many cases delivered in an inappropriate cultural context. The majority of Aboriginal people who migrated to urban areas are categorized as low-income families (Johnston, 1979).

In spite of the differences in the experiences of low-income Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations, some of the literature on accessibility in food procurement patterns of low-income groups can be applied to Aboriginal people. Urban Aboriginal people share similar socio-economic status characteristics with other low-income groups. Their food acquisition patterns can also be studied as sub-populations within population-based surveys of low-income families. However comparisons of the experience of low-income

Aboriginal families within studies of all low-income groups cannot address the unique historical, economic and acculturation processes which differentiate their experiences.

The present study included women who have resided in Winnipeg's core area for at least two years after initial migration to the city. In this report Johnston's (1979) definition of core area has been adopted which was defined as the inner city area of Winnipeg, Manitoba. A qualitatively defined sample of informant was selected to represent low-income Aboriginal women who were mothers and who were the sole income earners in their households. The literature suggested that these women are both vulnerable to the impact of poverty and food security (Campbell & Horton, 1991; Tarasuk & Maclean, 1987).

Four methods of data collection were utilized. The first method involved completion of unstructured interviews with key informants to elicit background information describing the problems which Aboriginal women encountered when they made the transition to an urban setting. The second method involved participant observation at selected grocery stores. Participant

observation was used to document shopping patterns of urban Aboriginal people, both male and female. The third method involved conducting in-depth qualitative interviews with single-parent-female heads of households. The final data collection strategy involved the drawing of cognitive maps by the participants. These maps were used to document how the informants perceived and made sense of their physical surroundings (Gould & White, 1974; Moore & Goolledge, 1967). The key informant/pilot interview, participant observation, and cognitive maps were included to enrich the data elicited from the in-depth interviews with Aboriginal women.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The body of research combining a focus on an urban Aboriginal women and food procurement pattern was found to be negligible. A search revealed that the last thirty years have witnessed a growing interest in the migration of Aboriginal people from the rural area into the urban center. Yet, when the literature was reviewed there were no studies that explored Aboriginal women's food procurement practices.

General population studies have included the experiences of low-income Aboriginal people within the wider low-income population. The literature discussing the economic barriers expressed by low-income people can be applicable to the interpretation of the patterns of food procurement shared by low-income Aboriginal people in the core area. However, the analysis of food acquisition patterns among the two groups may not be truly comparable because of dissimilar cultural, historical and the adaptation processes.

Therefore the topics that were reviewed to elicit themes central to both Aboriginal women who have

migrated to an urban setting and grocery shopping patterns were; (a) general descriptive research on urban Aboriginal people; (b) socio-demographic patterns among Aboriginal people migrating into the urban situation; (c) acculturation process among urban Aboriginal people; (d) impact of migration on food procurement; (e) the experience of people living in poverty situations in relation to food procurement, and (f) the food security issues of people living in poverty situations.

Inherent to these topics was the issue of colonization which will be discussed in section three entitled, "Background and Theoretical Review." Included in section three will be a discussion of the current situation of Aboriginal women. This literature review will use, when possible, the most current empirical data.

Discussion Topics

Urban Aboriginal People

In the late 1970's to early 1980's there were

numerous studies on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Aboriginal people migrating to urban areas. Stanbury and Sigel (1975) reported in 1959 that 73% of registered Aboriginal people lived on reserves and 9.9% lived on Crown land, and 16.9% lived off reserve. Hamilton and Sinclair (1992) defined "crown land" as land that was promised by the Crown, British Empire, to the Indian Nations of Manitoba for their permanent and exclusive use, as partial payment for surrendering their complete land title to all other lands in the province.

The research focused on "the problem" of Aboriginal people moving into urban areas without an explanation as to why this was a problem. For example, Denton and Trevor (1975), and Gurstein (1977) researched and discussed the problems of economic stability, housing, and education of Aboriginal people moving into the urban centers. Many of the solutions proposed by these authors involved government initiatives, such as increased funding by governments to ensure Aboriginal people would attain, for instance, adequate housing. This form of research, although filled with statistical evidence and voluminous

descriptions of Aboriginal people had not ensured more funding would be secured.

Another problem with these studies according to Frideres (1993) was the statistical information about Native people was collected by three major national agencies which were Statistics Canada, the Decennial Censuses of Canada and Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Unfortunately all three differed widely in their terms of reference and in their method of enumeration; therefore, the statistics coming from one agency were not strictly comparable to those of another agency.

The third problem complicating the earlier demographic studies according to Waldram, and Layman (1989), was the the Canadian government legislation and other policies which identified only two broad legal categories of Aboriginal peoples, those with Indian 'status,' and those without. This meant only status Indians were identified as Indians through their treaty number in various government forms.

To rectify this statistical problem in 1991 an Aboriginal Peoples survey (APS) was conducted across Canada by Statistics Canada (1993). It should be noted

that the Aboriginal population count will be different in the APS because the definition of Aboriginal people included the Inuit and Metis whereas only status Indian people were counted in the Census studies. Also the APS provided data for people who identified with their Aboriginal origins whereas the census provided data for all people with Aboriginal origins. "In the APS just more than 63% (625,710) of all people who reported having Aboriginal ancestry ... and considered themselves to be North American Indian, Metis or Inuit" (p. ii).

The other study that tried to address the demographic studies by viewing solutions other than the government policy-based solutions of 1970's was the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP) of 1993. RCAP (1993) "emphasized the need for Aboriginal services that were designed, staffed and run by Aboriginal people to reach those who needed help in the Aboriginal urban community" (p.15). RCAP also recognized the services in the urban centers were set up for the general population. These social services were directed toward dealing with specific problems, such as unemployment, child neglect or suicide. "The

services addressed symptoms in isolation rather than helping to restore wholeness to an injured person" (RCAP, 1993, p. 7). The Commission reported the current situation, and described how Aboriginal people could operate their own social services rather than relying on government solutions.

Overall these demographic studies were informational and gave reasons why Aboriginal people moved to an area. However they had limited discussion about the issues of adjustment, cross-cultural shock, isolation and economic barriers which Aboriginal people faced when they migrated into the urban area.

In contrast the "Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centers" report written by the RCAP (1993) wrote about these issues and they explained what types of services were required for Aboriginal people moving into an urban area. For example, the RCAP (1993) reviewed the current health and social systems and reported that Aboriginal agencies must compete for funding with non-Aboriginal institutions even though Aboriginal people's experiences of transition from rural to urban have not been the same as non-Aboriginal peoples. RCAP found Aboriginal people may need training in English as a

second-language (E.S.L.), yet when a search was conducted by RCAP to find agencies that taught E.S.L. classes to Aboriginal people, none were found.

Many of the demographic studies (Clatworthy & Gunn, 1981; Gerber, 1977; Nagler, 1975) identified female headed families as either the largest or the second largest group migrating into the urban areas. This same statistic was presented in 1993 by APS again without explanation as to why Aboriginal women were migrating to urban areas.

Socio-demographics of Aboriginal People

In the socio-demographic studies, the reasons why Aboriginal people moved to an urban area were discussed. For example, Clatworthy and Gunn (1981) reported the pressure for Aboriginal people to migrate was not based so much on their desire for consumer goods but more because of the basic need for survival. The authors' further explained Aboriginal peoples' left their home communities because of inadequate opportunities in employment, insufficient social services, and inferior housing. Frideres (1993) further

stated Aboriginal peoples home communities were often geographically isolated from larger urban centers where employment opportunities tended to exist.

The Report of Employment of Canadians by Canada Employment (1987) indicated although there were greater opportunities for employment the types of urban jobs available to Aboriginal people, who had minimal formal education, tended to be occupations that involved the heavy expenditure of time in a limited space, watching or waiting for work. These positions most frequently involved low-skill, low wage jobs.

Both Frideres (1993) and Peters (1984) indicated that single parent Aboriginal women were generally better off than men because they received social assistance payments and family allowance. As of 1996 this is referred to as the child tax credit. Studies that reported the benefits women gain as single parents do not explain why women still lagged behind men on virtually every indicator of social and economic status. Women constituted the largest proportion of the poor in all societies (Cohen, 1994).

It has also been reported by various authors that most poor people will live in the inner city areas of

an urban center. Driedger (1991) reported that when Aboriginal people relocated to the urban area a large proportion lived in the core area of Winnipeg, Manitoba. This was the area where the cost of housing was the least expensive and where friends or relatives were likely to live. A large proportion of Aboriginal families who lived in the core area were not only single female heads of households but also their dependence on social assistance was high (Clatworthy, 1980). Although the authors reported that women were the most frequent members to move into the urban areas they did not specify the reasons why Aboriginal women relocated to an urban situation. Hamilton and Sinclair (1992) in the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry report cited spousal abuse and sexual abuse, as the main factors explaining why Aboriginal women will relocate to an urban setting.

Clatworthy (1980) reported that although the opportunities for better employment are available in the urban area, the housing and social services available to Aboriginal people are still inadequate. Aboriginal people, will continue to migrate to the urban area to improve their lives. Since the 1960's

Aboriginal people have been moving to the urban areas though the reasons for the migration are not documented according to Dosman (1972) and Krotz (1980). The RCAP (1993) reported there were two types of migration, these being; (a) Aboriginal people who move back and forth between the urban centers and their home communities; and (b) other Aboriginal people that permanently settled in the urban area. Many Aboriginal people who return repeatedly to their home communities do so to visit relatives, friends, sustain their cultural identity, and to obtain traditional or country foods.

Acculturation Process

Acculturation is defined by Basham (1978) as a process of adjustment for one cultural group into another cultural group. Studies have not focused specifically on Aboriginal people in the prairie provinces of Canada. Basham (1978) described the cultural adjustments rural groups, such as Africans and Mexicans, must make when they move into an urban context. There was no specific example given for

Aboriginal people. Although, Szathmary, Ritenbaugh, and Goodby (1987) did study Aboriginal people and acculturation, their study did not discuss rural to urban relocation adjustments. They described how Aboriginal peoples' culture had changed from a historical context to their present day situation.

Basham (1978) described acculturation for non-Indigenous groups, "as the modification of kinship and other traditional supportive mechanisms to fit urban conditions where migrants may still face difficulty in adapting into the dominant urban cultural group" (p. 144). Szathmary, et al., (1987) defined acculturation for Amerindian population as, "the process of change, usually rapid, whereby traditional life-ways are irrevocably altered to fit with the exigencies of modern economic systems ... culture change in response to Euro-Canadian influences" (p. 793).

Nagler (1970) published a book, Indians in the City (1970), where the acculturation process of Aboriginal people moving into urban areas was discussed. The author presented the conflicting influences of traditional rural background and the expectations and realities of city life that Aboriginal

people encountered when they migrated to an urban area. Nagler, discussed the obligation system, "that was necessary and almost obligatory in reserve-type environments was for the most part not adaptable to urban centers" (p. 21). Nagler further discussed how Aboriginal people do not form distinct ethnic groups in the urban areas since, "their geographical isolation had meant several differing patterns of culture had evolved" (p. 65).

Although Nagler described acculturation patterns and examples were given for the 1970's they are still relevant for Aboriginal people in the 1990's. The most important limitation to Nagler's discussion was the focus was on status Aboriginal peoples. There was no discussion about the urban migration of Metis or Inuit people.

Drew (1988) described the acculturation stresses that Aboriginal people faced when they had moved to Toronto, Canada. The study gave in-depth examples of the stress associated with demands for change, adaptation and readjustment in their lives when they migrate to an urban area. The one limitation to the study was the focus on Aboriginal people and their

alcoholism. The stresses described by Drew have been documented by Basham (1978) using a global perspective.

Freeman (1988) described the same stresses as Drew (1988) with a focus on quality of life, namely the traditional diet. Although this study did not specifically focus on urban acculturation, it did discuss the changing patterns of the use of traditional foods and how this affects Aboriginal people in their home communities. The author Drew (1988) wrote, "food ways involved not just the consumption of appropriate foods, but also the social and culturally important ways of obtaining and sharing valued foods stuff, and also the cultural and psychological satisfying ways of preparing and consuming the traditional cuisine" (p. 6) .

In terms of acculturation and food procurement there were few studies that examined these phenomena. The studies by Szathmary, et al., (1987), Young and Olson (1992) suggested dietary acculturation may have started with the addition of new foods to the stable traditional diet, rather than total replacement of traditional foods. Aboriginal people in an urban area will combine traditional foods with the store purchased

foods. Eaton (1977) described the acculturation of diet first beginning with traditional foods undergoing westernization with the introduction of sugar along with the introduction of refined carbohydrate to the diet. Many cultural groups including Aboriginal people in the United States were described by Eaton.

Migration Impact on Food Access

Most research that has explored Aboriginal people's patterns of food usage has focused on the nutritional patterns among Aboriginal people in remote or northern areas of Canada. Ellestad-Sayed, Haworth, Coodin and Dilling (1981) documented low intakes of calcium, foliate, iron and vitamins A, C, D, among non urban samples.

A report by HWC Native Foods and Nutrition (1996), reviewed the historical or traditional diet of Aboriginal people's which consisted of fish, meat from wild animals such as deer, moose and various wild berries, wild greens, wild roots, bulbs, nuts and seeds. The research included the Indian, Inuit and Metis of Canada rather than just focusing on status

Native people. The manual also reported that traditional usage of food patterns and food gathering methods were not viable in the urban setting.

Besides gathering of food, a cultural identifier, the other cultural patterns expressed through food which might be continued in the city include: (a) sharing of household food to extended family members; the urban Aboriginal person may not have the economic means, (b) making communal foods, such as a large pot of stew that would be consumed throughout the day as people became hungry; urban visitors may have time or economic constraints, (c) having family and friends gather together for a hunting and/or fishing party; it may not be feasible for the urban Aboriginal person to travel to their home community to hunt or fish, and (d) communal gatherings such as collecting of wild berries; in urban areas there is either no wild berries close by or the travel to the community can be impossible.

Urban Aboriginal people do have food, such as dry meat or frozen fish, sent to them by their families. Others use the informal markets set up in the urban area. These include situations where non urban Aboriginal people sell fish from the back of their

truck in the early mornings, or wild berries are picked and made into jam then sold informally to the urban Aboriginal person. Still others purchase wild meat from relatives who come to the urban area specifically to sell the country foods (M. Sinclaire, personal observations, April 18, 1993).

As Aboriginal people spend more time in the urban areas they become acculturated to the urban life. With the adaptation to urban living they soon lose contact with people in their home communities. They may eventually lose the ability to gather country foods in the traditional manner. "When urban Aboriginal people began losing their cultural identity they could not, in most cases, financially afford country foods through purchasing from the informal market or going to their home communities to hunt or gather the country food", as noted by a key informant.

Food Procurement by Poor Consumers

The book The Poor Pay More, by Caplovitz (1963), described the consumer practices of low-income families who moved to various areas of public housing projects

in New York. They moved from within the New York area and from other countries, such as Cuba. Caplovitz described the low-income consumers' dependence upon credit; credit from the corner grocer and for rent and clothing. Although Caplovitz's study was conducted more than thirty years ago much of the same information was reported in Tarasuk and Maclean's (1990) study of "Food problems of low-income single mothers." The authors discussed how low income consumers stretched their limited income, by using the credit system, pawn, taking public transportation or walking.

Although the study by Caplovitz gave insights into the credit and pawn systems of poor people, which focused on families and how they purchased durable goods such as televisions and furniture. The author did not exclusively focus on food, nor did the researcher narrow the interviews to single-parent women. Tarasuk and Maclean interviewed only low-income single mothers, but not necessarily Aboriginal women.

In one study Segal (1970) reported patrons in low-income areas were purchasing items in smaller amounts but at a higher unit cost at various grocery stores. This pattern occurred because people did not have the

available currency to purchase economical sizes or products. Again this study was not focused on Aboriginal people but rather on the general poor population.

Horton and Campbell (1990) described that economical food items were lower in protein, iron, foliate and calcium. The authors also stated that, although economical brands may save the low-income consumer money, the fat and sugar in the food products have been associated with many chronic conditions such as cardiovascular diseases. These high fat and sugar intake patterns were similar to Aboriginal people living in northern and remote areas (Szathmary, et al., 1987).

Many of the studies did not address Aboriginal women nor did they mention the stigma of prejudice that Aboriginal women face on a daily basis such as being viewed as fat, lazy drunks living off welfare, and/or women with a lot of children and not knowing how to look after them properly (Cote, 1984). These stereotypes will hinder an Aboriginal woman discouraging her from joining groups or improving her life style (Personal communication by Key Informant to

Investigator, 1994). Besides these negative stereotypes Aboriginal women must also cope with food insecurity.

Food Security

In the last decade numerous articles and social activists have addressed the issue of food security. The authors' Corby and Diamant, 1992; Dodds, 1992; Olson, 1992; Tarasuk and Maclean, 1990 discussed how low-income people would use emergency food assistance at food banks or soup kitchens. The focus was not specifically on Aboriginal people or the issue of cross-cultural barriers related to food security. Most studies and social activists focused on the general population of low income people, women and children, and recent immigrants.

In a report by the Canadian Dietetic Association ([CDA], 1991) they acknowledged that problems of acquiring food may be influenced by ill-health, lack of education, cultural habits and other factors; however they believed the overwhelming influence was poverty. Although poverty does play an important role in the issue of food security, it is important that the issues

of cultural habits and psychosocial roles of food be addressed. When Aboriginal people make the urban center their home, they must find new ways to adjust to their economic situation. In their home communities they could rely on their family and friends when they were in financial stress (Nagler, 1975). In the urban areas they may not be able to rely on family or friends living in the city who may be in the same economic situation.

There have also been few studies that addressed poverty and food security in Winnipeg, Manitoba. In one study Corby and Diamant (1992) estimated approximately 10,000 people relied on Winnipeg Harvest, a food bank, every month to feed themselves. Besides emergency food assistance and pawn shops, they reported that these low-income people will extend their food dollar by using food cooperatives, forming food buying clubs and using discount food outlets. Although these authors did not specifically mention Aboriginal people, it can be assumed that poor Aboriginal people could use the same methods when they run out of food or money.

The studies that did address Aboriginal people did not focus on urban Aboriginal people; rather, they

presented data about Aboriginal people living in status communities. In the APS (1991) 8% of the Aboriginal population reported "not having enough food in the last year" as a problem. This percentage includes all Aboriginal people participating in the survey who lived in Metis, treaty and urban communities.

Lawn and Langer (1994) studied food security in the context of the air stage subsidy monitoring program in status communities. They studied women aged 15 to 44 from three Inuit communities (Pond Inlet and Repulse Bay in the Northwest Territories and Nain, Labrador) and two status communities (Fort Severn, Ontario and Davis Inlet, Labrador). They reported food security as a serious issue for many families, especially for those on social assistance. The factors that contributed to food security were: (a) low income levels; (b) high food cost; (c) high unemployment; (d) inadequate social assistance; (e) reduced access to country food; and (f) concern over the safety of country food.

Summary

How Aboriginal women shop for food and the

acculturation process they experience as they migrate from a rural setting to an urban area has not been studied. To understand how low-income urban Aboriginal women procure food, it has been necessary to review literature that investigates the general low-income populations. When comparing the general low-income with Aboriginal low-income the history, culture and adaptation of Aboriginal people must be considered.

How these changes have occurred through time can be best understood by examining the historical view of Aboriginal women up to their present situation.

III. THEORETICAL REVIEW AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Although the focus of this thesis is primarily on accessibility issues related to low-income urban Aboriginal women, an examination of the historical context is presented. A theoretical discussion of dependency and political economy in the context of food ecology is reviewed. The following assumptions are made; (a) Aboriginal poor people have similar problems as those experienced by the general Canadian poor population but also have some unique issues; (b) the developments of Aboriginal adaptation in an urban context must be understood at the historical, political, and economic levels.

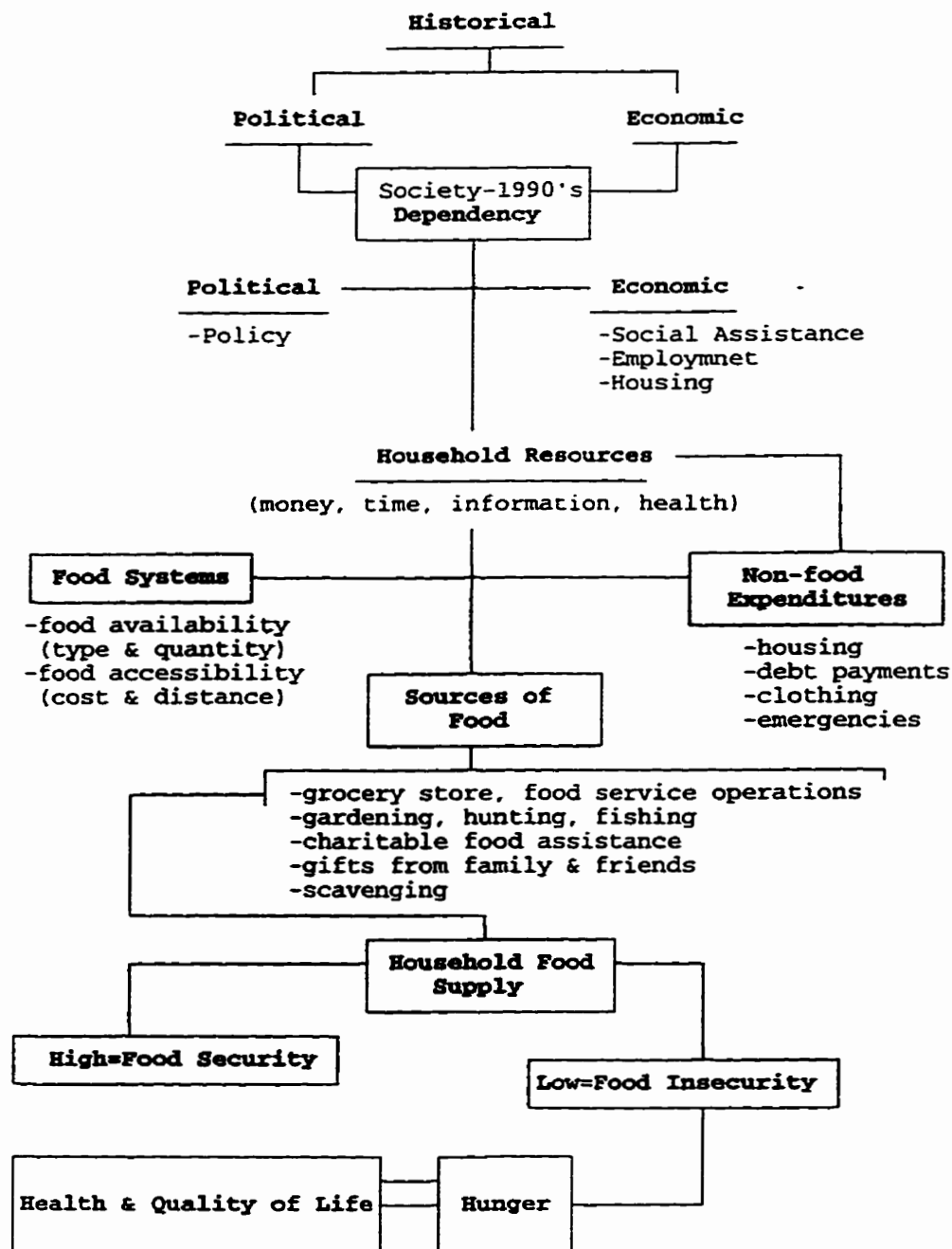
Theoretical Review

Dependency and Political Economy

The theoretical model "Barriers to Food Procurement by Urban Aboriginal People using Theories

of Dependency and Political Economy" (Figure 1) was developed by the researcher.

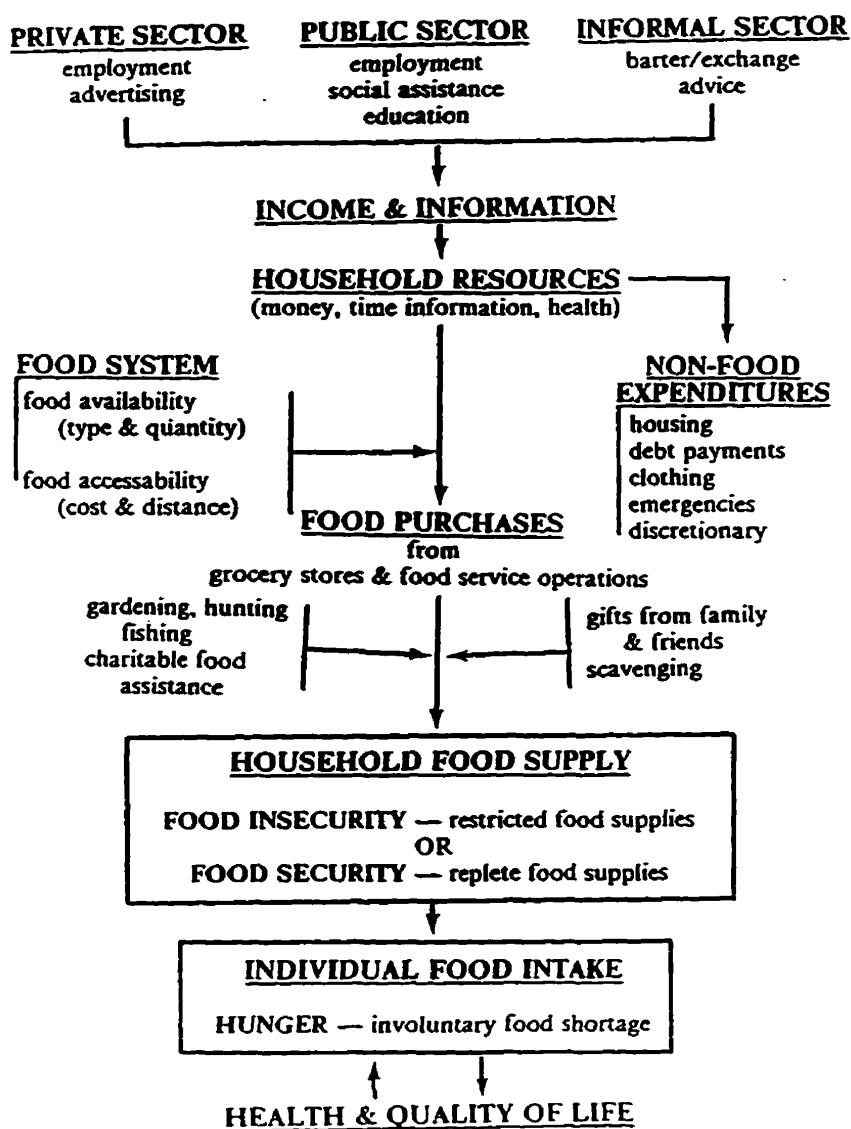
Figure 1. Barriers to Food Procurement by Urban Aboriginal People using Theories of Dependency and Political Economy



Note: adapted from Campbell, C., Katamay, M., Connolly, M. (1988).

There was not a comprehensive model that discussed the historical impact of colonization in terms of food procurement. The theoretical framework (Figure 1) was modified from Campbell, Katamay and Connolly (1988) model of "Food Insecurity and the Risk Factors" (Figure 2). Figure 1 gives an overview of the political economy and dependency model in relation to food procurement.

Figure 2. Food Insecurity and the Risk Factors



The theory will be examined in the context of food procurement of Aboriginal peoples in the plains regions of Canada. The plains region encompasses the central and southern part of the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Research that explores First Nations people's culture generally is not area specific; instead the research will include all tribes. There was not a comprehensive model that discussed the historical in the one region, such as Ojibway, Cree, Dakota are included as one entity in Manitoba. The modified theoretical framework begins with the premise that the historic view of Aboriginal people must be examined to understand their present context.

Historical overview

Historically when Europeans, predominately the British and French, arrived in North America it was originally to find new land to establish new colonies and to obtain fur for the Europeans. The Europeans were using the fur pelts for fashion purposes. Initially the meat was not utilized by the fur traders till years when they learned from Aboriginal people how to dry

meat into pemican.

During this period of settlement the Aboriginal people who lived in the plains were still migratory and followed the animal. This meant a large portion of the land was being utilized by the Aboriginal hunter. The Europeans therefore realized that there were very few lands available to sell or give to the new colonizers of Canada (Axtell, 1982).

To ensure that land could be used as a resource base for the new colonist from Europe, the newly established Canadian government began placing Aboriginal people in specific areas known as reserve lands (Frideres, 1988). The land, in many cases, could not be used by Aboriginal people to sustain an economic base. Some areas were filled with permafrost thus very little food could be grown; some areas were isolated with no means to communicate with other groups; and some land areas did not have animals or fish therefore people could not hunt for their food.

Without animals Aboriginal people began to lose their nomadic way of life, especially in the prairie regions. Trading with Europeans slowly changed their eating habits with the introduction of new foods such

as sugar, wheat flour, pork, cattle and milk. These new foods replaced the traditional foods, or country foods as moose, deer and smaller mammals (HWC, 1987).

Besides the decrease in hunting, Aboriginal people were also lost their knowledge of roots and herbs. Grand parents and parents did not have the opportunity to pass on the knowledge to the children who were now being placed in residential schools. When Aboriginal people were relocated to new areas, they may have been placed in areas where the plant life may have been different from their original areas.

When Aboriginal people were forced to live in communities, reserves and Metis settlements, their food resources changed too more store bought foods from hunting and gathering. In conjunction with altering food sources political control was changing (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1992). Historically Aboriginal people had a political system where all community members would gather together to find solutions to community problems. Europeans imposed their patriarchal political system where only the men had political control.

With the loss of language, political process,

spiritual belief, community and food ways Aboriginal people's economic situations began to change. They now depended on Canadian government to honor the treaties and the to help them through the famine periods.

Today, in the twentieth century, in terms of food patterns both urban and rural people both purchase food from grocery stores. This dependency upon the foods of the dominant culture has been more pronounced among urban Aboriginal people who are unable to obtain country foods. Aboriginal people are purchasing store bought foods that are usually higher in fat, salt, sugar (Szathmary et al., 1987). The knowledge of hunting, fishing, roots and herbs has slowly been disintegrating as young people move away from their home communities to seek employment or attend school in the larger urban centers.

Although there are many different groups of Aboriginal people in Manitoba Hamilton and Sinclair (1992) stated the conditions of all Aboriginal people, urban and rural, in Manitoba have strong similarities. The Commission further stated if Aboriginal people do not begin to have their own political and economic processes they will continue to rely on the dominant

culture for their livelihood.

This dependency has continued into the 1990's where communities are dependent on government social assistance, government housing, government make-work projects and food from a local store not usually community owned. Aboriginal people have become more dependent on the dominant culture, European, for almost everything in their communities.

In 1971 Harp and Hofley published the text, Poverty in Canada. They indicated poverty must be understood in terms of its relationship between and among the various institutions particularly the political and economic institutions of society. The same perspective was still being expressed by various authors (Campbell, Katamay, & Connolly, 1988; Manitoba Anti-Poverty Organization, 1992; Karp, 1990; Walter, 1993) involved in the issues of poverty. These roles of politics and economics were also predominant themes in food security issues. The authors wrote about the social network collapsing as the political scene changed to a more "right wing" focus with a decline in public safety nets, such as social welfare payments, cuts to public housing, and withdrawal of day care

subsidy. With the loss of such public safety nets more people are turning to food banks to compensate for the loss of income sources.

Both dependency theory and political economy describe how Aboriginal people have lost control in the determinants of their health status. These determinants of health include knowledge and availability of healthy food choices, physical activity and physical examinations. For Aboriginal people these determinants are rooted in the historical context of internal colonialism. Internal colonialism occurred in North America when Europeans arrived in North America to exploit Canada of its natural resources, culture, religion and language (Erasmus & Sanders, 1992).

This process of internal colonialism has resulted in the expropriation and exploitation of the lands and resources of Canada's Native populations. Through internal colonization the political, economic and cultural knowledge of Aboriginal people had continued to be subordinated to the dominant classes in both Anglo-phones and Franco-phones in Canada (Frideres, 1988).

Background Information

Historical Context of Aboriginal Women

Traditionally women played a central role within the Aboriginal family, government and in spiritual ceremonies. This was seen in the legends passed on through oral histories where Aboriginal women figured centrally in almost all creation legends. In Ojibway and Cree legends, it had been recorded orally that it, "was a woman who came to earth through a hole in the sky to care for the earth; it was woman, Nokomis (grandmother), who taught human beings about the medicines of the earth and about technology" (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1992, p. 476). Women were not considered inferior to men in Aboriginal society until Europeans arrival into North America (Allen, 1986).

At the time of first contact with Aboriginal people European women's rights were still being derived through their husbands. The law of England held that women did not have the right to vote, to own property or to enter into contracts (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1992,

p. 477). In the 1800's when the Canadian government was established it was made up of the carry-over effect of British and French patriarchy government. Through the British North America Act of 1867 the Canadian government developed and legislated the Indian Act (Cheda, 1977).

The Indian Act reflected the patriarchal perspective of the colonizer. At one point under the Indian Act only Aboriginal men had the right to vote in community elections. By 1971, according to Silman (1988) patriarchal systems were so ingrained in Aboriginal communities that patriarchy was seen as an Aboriginal traditional trait. People in the communities did not question why only men were part of the band council. This perspective undermined the political, social, and spiritual influences of Aboriginal women in their home communities (Hare, 1991).

The Indian Act continued undermining Aboriginal women when the Canadian government legislated, in 1869, the enfranchisement, whereby Indian people would lose their status as Indians and should now be treated the same as any other Canadian (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1992). This had dire consequences for all Aboriginal people,

but more so for an Aboriginal woman because she would lose her rights as a status person if she married a non-status man or non-Indian man; even if she divorced him she would never regain her status. In direct contrast, a status male bestowed his status upon his non-Aboriginal wife and their children (Silman, 1988).

Consequently, every status-Aboriginal woman was dependent upon a man for her identity, rights and status under the Indian Act or enfranchisement of 1869. According to Allen (1986), "the Indian Act is sexist and racist; discriminatory legislation that subverted the previous equality shared between Aboriginal men and women."

It was not until 1985 when Bill C-31 was legislating that an Aboriginal woman who lost her status through marriage would regain her status, now known as Bill C-31 Indian woman. Under the new Act, according to Hamilton and Sinclair (1992), anomalies can develop where the children born from a Bill C-31 Indian woman will not have status whereas the children and grandchildren of a status male will be recognized as status children, despite the fact the mother may not be Aboriginal. The only way a Bill C-31 Indian woman

can ensure her children will become status is if she marries a status male. Once again the regulations are still patriarchal and discriminatory.

Combined with the enforcement of non-Native government styles through the Indian Act was the Christian, patriarchal system which further destroyed an Aboriginal woman's role in her community (Cheda, 1977; Hare, 1991). Reiser (1988) strongly asserted Christian churches believed that women, who were not saints, were spiritually inferior to men to the point that women were considered not to have a soul. Thus the churches did not understand how Aboriginal women could have a voice or role in religious ceremonies or for that matter in the "Aboriginal" government process (Silman, 1988).

After the confederation the victimization of Aboriginal women was further accelerated with the introduction of residential schools for Aboriginal children. When children were removed from their families and communities the emotional damage the communities sustained from separating children and families was devastating. Children who attended residential schools were prevented from maintaining

contact with both their siblings and relatives in the residential school. In many instances the residential schools were not close to the children's home communities. They did not have contact with their parents, grandparents and other relatives. In this isolated situation the children did not learn about their own culture and in many cases they learned to be ashamed of their own culture (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1992).

When the children returned to their communities, they did not have the skills to communicate with family and community members and vice-versa. The residential schools according to Grand Chief Courchene, in a presentation to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry in April 1988 and August 1992 in Manitoba, Canada, "taught self-hate ... that is child abuse ... too many of our people got the message and passed it on ... it is the younger generation that appears before the courts today..." (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1992, p. 478).

When the children returned from the school, many were scarred emotionally from physical, sexual and emotional abuse (Haige-Brown, 1988). As older men and women they would in turn inflict the same abuses upon

the most vulnerable groups, usually the women and children. Women and children were viewed by the patriarchal school and churches, as the weakest people, both physically and spiritually (Allen, 1986).

The women and children that were victimized would in turn abuse their children and spouses or they would turn to drugs and alcohol to forget their situation (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1992). Many of the victims and victimizers had low self-esteem. As these Aboriginal people did not believe, they were capable of contributing to the North American society many depended on social welfare payments as an income source.

This dependency started with colonization; patriarchy in residential schools contributed to the erosion of their traditional sources of income from fishing and hunting. In addition many of the reserves did not have the natural resources that could create employment for community members.

If community members did leave the reserve they gained employment in areas with minimum wages since they did not have the necessary skills and knowledge. They did not have the skills because they recalled

their negative experiences in the residential school system where they lost their language and where people were punished. Many Aboriginal people did not value western education systems. Aboriginal women entered the twentieth century with these ideas and other negative views.

Twentieth Century Context of Aboriginal Women

The negative view of Aboriginal women being fat or lazy drunks as described by Cote (1984) has aided the continued segregation of Aboriginal women from the wider society and from their traditional role as the strong members of tribal society. This view has continued because Aboriginal women are being negatively portrayed via text books, movies, and in the popular media in North America.

The racist and sexist stereotypes of Aboriginal women continue to create negative images of Aboriginal women which have a great impact on their self-esteem. Statistics show that many Aboriginal women are caught in a vicious cycle of poverty, violence, alcoholism and suicide (Fitznor, 1993). The women who are caught up in

these violent cycles are the women who have given up for the moment and may one day return to their traditions and their ways (Allen, 1986).

Aboriginal women not only continue to face sexism and racism from the society as a whole. They also faced it from their Aboriginal male counterparts. In 1992 Kathy Mallet, an active member of the Aboriginal Women's Unity Coalition in Winnipeg, Manitoba, was being sued by a male Chief for defamation of character for a comment she made about Aboriginal political leadership (Peters, 1992).

This suit was seen by Aboriginal women as part of the continuing harassment campaign to intimidate and silence any questioning or criticism of Aboriginal political leadership since the comment was not made directly to the male political leadership. This perpetuates the myth that Aboriginal women have second class status or are less equals to Native men. Many Aboriginal men, unfortunately, have adopted the same patriarchal, sexist attitude toward women as the original Europeans of North America.

In 1991 the Manitoba Women's Directorate reported the labor force participation rate for Aboriginal women

in Manitoba at 40%; 72% of Aboriginal women did not have a high school diploma, which meant they were relegated to low-skill, low-payment occupations. In 1995, there was little evidence to suggest these statistics have changed. Aboriginal women continue to face worse economic and social conditions as compared to Aboriginal men.

The majority of Native people migrating to the urban area are women who are single parents and are solely responsible for the care and upbringing of their children (RCAP, 1993, p. 91). A large segment of the Aboriginal women in the labour force is employed in low skill/wage occupations, most in the service sector and garment industry. In addition most jobs available to Native women were short term or temporary positions with no chance of career advancement (Manitoba Women's Directorate, 1991).

For Aboriginal women the work to empower themselves begins with overcoming generations of learned oppressed behaviors. Many of the concerns, issues and difficulties that Native women faced in today's century began with Canada's early history of colonization, patriarchal, materialism (Fitznor, 1993).

In 1995, there are Aboriginal women who are returning to their traditional values and beliefs, others are becoming involved politically, and others are seeking higher education.

Summary

For Aboriginal people Frideres (1988) asserts that three-salient feature; (a) the emergence of an urban society, (b) the white power elite, and (c) the maintenance of a powerful ideology which has been labeled racism; have led Native people to depend on others, such as government, non-Aboriginal consultants, to solve their problems. As well, they have forced Native people into a position of marginality.

Besides these three salient features, the role that patriarchy has played in the continuance of the dependency and marginality of Aboriginal people must be included. The women and children are the two groups most affected by patriarchy since they are not valued in the patriarchal system according to Allen 1986, and thus they do not have a voice.

Despite the power of the dependency and political

economy theoretical frameworks there are no single comprehensive frameworks for assessing what are the strategies for empowerment, or control of health by the urban Aboriginal population especially women. However, the experience and adaptation of poor urban Aboriginal people can be examined using these theoretical perspectives.

The dependency and political economic theory have set the framework to provide an understanding of how Aboriginal women's roles have changed from the historical to their present situation. Within this context, this study will move on to describe how Aboriginal women procure food.

IV. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The objective of this study requires a qualitative research design appropriate for descriptive and exploratory research. The descriptive portion will describe food access of low-income, Aboriginal, female heads of households living in Winnipeg, Manitoba and the factors that determined this access, such as transportation, geographical barriers, and knowledge needed to make food choices.

The second objective is oriented to documenting and understanding the acculturation process. Establishing the impact of the acculturation process on food acquisition is ideal for exploratory research. Established questionnaires or precise probability sampling is rarely used in exploratory work.

The rationale for utilizing descriptive and exploratory research methods was formulated after a preliminary review of the published research. It indicated that there has been no systematic investigation of the problems of food access among

urban Aboriginal peoples (Heyink & Tymstra, 1993). It was also anticipated that research documenting shopping patterns of this population would help to demonstrate the significance of discrete problems for policy and program implementation in the health care system.

The project sought and gained ethical approval (Appendix B). Four methods of data collection were utilized. The first method involved unstructured interviews with key informants to elicit background information describing the problems which Aboriginal women encountered when they made the transition to an urban setting (Appendix C). Before the interview key informants signed a consent form (Appendix D). Included within the consent form was a section for the participants who wanted results of the study (Appendix E). Key informants were interviewed to: (a) identify informants for pilot interviews; and (b) to identify key agencies and institution in the urban food system; and (c) to identify locations of various grocery stores in the core area.

The second method involved participant observation at various grocery stores. Participant observations were used to document shopping patterns at three types

of stores, forms of transportation people used to get to and from the store and to record the demographic characteristics of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal shoppers. A tool (Appendix F) was devised by the researcher to record this information.

The third method involved conducting in-depth qualitative interviews, a consumer questionnaire (Appendix G), with the single parent female, heads of households. Before the interview participants were given information (Appendix H) about the study and signed a consent form (Appendix I). These respondents were characterized as the primary participants in making food choices and as the individuals who experienced primary barriers.

The first section of the in-depth interviews recorded demographic information such as the respondent's occupation, marital status, educational background, ethnicity, income sources, and family size. The second section consisted of questions documenting shopping practices, country foods, and experiences of discrimination when they were grocery shopping. In this thesis country food has been defined by Wein, Sabry and Evers (1989) as traditional native foods obtained

directly from the land, such as (a) wild game like a moose, (b) wild birds such as ducks, and (c) local species of fish, such as pickerel, and (d) wild berries.

The final data collection strategy involved the drawing of cognitive maps by the participants (Appendix J). These maps were used to document how the informants perceived and made sense of their physical surroundings (Gould & White, 1974; Moore & Gooledge, 1967).

A brief overview of the qualitative research paradigm will be presented to familiarize the reader with the theoretical basis of the research approach employed. This section will be preceded by a discussion of trustworthiness in qualitative research. Following the qualitative paradigm there will be discussion of instrumentation and analysis; sampling frames and population; implementation.

Qualitative Paradigm

Qualitative Research

The term qualitative research has been generally

defined by Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p.2) as, "research that was multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter." Many qualitative researchers study phenomena or behaviour in their natural settings in order to gain an insight into the meanings people attribute.

Qualitative research employs a wide range of interconnected methods, such as ethnography, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, and case studies. All these methods have one thing in common and that is to understand how people make sense out their world. Fundamental to this methodoloical approach is the belief that meanings of words are socially constructed, and that to comprehending fully human behaviour it is essential to view it through the actors own frame of reference (Taylor & Bodgan, 1984).

Both qualitative and quantitative research is oriented to documenting the individual's point of view. Although each method pursues distinct approaches to data collection and analysis, they can be complimentary to one another (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). However, most researchers emphasize one form of data collection because of their research background or the nature of

the problem which they address.

Qualitative researchers are more likely than quantitative researchers to confront the constraints of the every day social world (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). They are able to gain an understanding of the psychological, political, economic and physical realities faced by the participants within the context of their social world. In qualitative paradigms participants are encouraged to talk about their experiences during the interviews rather than responding to a structured questionnaire that contains items designed to elicit information.

To understand the phenomena from the subjects' perspective, data collection methods in qualitative research tend to be subject centred. To ensure that others view the world as the subject views it participant observations and in-depth interviews are employed (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Taylor & Bodgan, 1984). Data collection using observation or in-depth interviews should ideally occur in the subjects' natural setting so that the significance of specific words, actions and gestures can be understood in the context in which they normally occur (Bodgan & Bilken,

1982). Without context there is little possibility of actually exploring the meaning of an experience from the subjects' point of view (Patton, 1989).

In-depth interviews and participant observation generate large volumes of descriptive data. These vast arrays of words, sentences, paragraphs, and continuing narrative text must be reduced to what is of most importance and interest. How one decides what is important depends on one's objectives for their study or if they see repeated themes emerging from the interviews.

General limits of a qualitative study include the problems of selective observations of behaviours and random selection of informants (Quandt, 1986).

Qualitative methods may also result in misinterpretation of the data. When cultural differences are, involved systematic distortion may occur where subjects may infer and report what must have happened in a given situation. The patterns of selective observation may result in the investigator missing significant patterns. The quality of data may depend on the 'goodness' of the questions posed by the investigator (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Quandt, 1986).

The results cannot be used without evaluating their applicability to different population groups or links into a body of theory.

Assessment of Trustworthiness

Measurements of validity and reliability are used to evaluate most studies. However according to Krefting (1991), these are criteria that are appropriate for quantitative research instead the merit of qualitative inquiry should use assessment of trustworthiness. Assessment of trustworthiness takes into account that qualitative research studies the empirical world from the viewpoint of the person under study (Schmid, 1981). Furthermore Agar (1986) suggested that terms like reliability and validity are relative to the quantitative view and do not fit the details of qualitative research. Payton (1979) wrote that the notion of external validity was concerned with the ability to generalize from the research sample to the population. Whereas the major purpose in qualitative research has been to generate hypotheses for further investigation rather than to test hypotheses, external

validity does not make sense in qualitative research.

Leininger (1985) claimed the issue was not whether data was reliable or valid but how these terms are defined. Leininger went on to define validity in a qualitative sense to mean gaining knowledge and understanding of the meaning and characteristics of the phenomenon under study. Whereas in quantitative studies validity is generally defined as the degree, to which an instrument measures what it is designed to measure.

To evaluate the trustworthiness of qualitative research several models have been developed. Guba's (1981) has been used by qualitative researchers in the health and education field for a number of years and it is comparatively well developed conceptually. Guba's (1981) model is based on four aspects of trustworthiness that are relevant to both quantitative and qualitative studies: (a) truth value, (b) applicability, (c) consistency, and (d) neutrality.

Truth value established how confident the researcher is with the truth of the findings based on the research design, informants and context. Lincoln and Guba (1985) termed this credibility. Applicability referred to the degree to which the findings could be

applied to other contexts and settings to with other groups; that is the ability to generalize from the findings to a larger population.

The third criterion of trustworthiness considered the consistency of the data, that is, "whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context" (Krefting, 1990, p. 216). The final criterion is neutrality, which the findings are a function solely from the informants and conditions of the research and not other biases (Guba, 1981). Biases are introduced when research subjects respond with what they think the researcher wants to hear, or "response setting occurs" where informants consistently either agree or disagree with certain questions.

The assessment of trustworthiness should be used to test the merit of qualitative research since reliability and validity cannot be used extensively or accurately in qualitative research (Krefting, 1990). In this research the methods to be assessed for trustworthiness are: (a) unstructured interviews, (b) in-depth interviews, (c) participant observation, and (d) cognitive mapping.

Instrumentation and Analysis

Key Informant Sampling Frame

The initial key informant interviews were people known to the researcher who were involved with Aboriginal women's groups and were employed with Aboriginal organizations. They were also informants that experienced their own transitions from a small community to a larger urban setting and could understand the issues of transition the women faced. They were aware of Aboriginal women's food procurement lifestyles and barriers the women faced when trying to make the transition to healthy food choices.

Participant Sampling Frame

The population of interest to this study was lower-income Aboriginal women who have resided in Winnipeg's core area for at least two years after their initial migration to the city. The population included Aboriginal women from different language and Aboriginal cultural groups, such as Cree, and Ojibway.

The participant sampling was conducted using a snow-ball sampling frame or reputational sampling frame since a participant's name was not available through a listing. Several agencies were contacted; however they indicated they would have to write a letter to each of their clients to inquiry if they would participate in the study (Appendix K). When the researcher did have contact with an agency, the researcher had to; (a) sit in the waiting room of an agency to ask clients if they would participate in the survey; or, (b) post posters up (Appendix L) in the agencies and wait for participants to respond; or, (c) the agency would call the researcher to give names or, (d) the researcher had to call at a designated time to receive names.

Clearly the participants who were interviewed were self-selected volunteers.

Population

Details regarding sample selection are summarized in Table 1 in the Results chapter. The women were selected from five agencies and one grocery store. The agencies were initially contacted by telephone and

three requested letters (Appendix K). Although there were no letters requested for the other two agencies letters were sent.

Eligibility for the study required the women to be living in the core area of Winnipeg, Manitoba for at least two years and have migrated from a Metis or treaty community. There were no maximum years specified to be living in the urban area once they had migrated.

The minimum range of two years was specified because it was felt the women would have begun the transition into the urban setting and they would be more comfortable with strangers entering their home.

Key Informant/Pilot Interviews

A key informant/pilot interview (Appendix C) was conducted with key informants who provided social services to Aboriginal people who lived in the core area. Key informant interviews were conducted to obtain a description of core area residents' food procurement patterns and perceptions of the environmental context when residents obtained food. This information was used to develop a descriptive profile of the selected areas

in the core area which will provide background information for the rest of the project.

This profile will include the number of places where one can obtain food, operation hours of these establishments, and informants description of food items that Aboriginal core area people tend to purchase.

The second reasons for conducting the key interviews was to find out if the questions were appropriate and if they knew of any other person who would like to conduct a pilot interview for question format. There were two pilot interviews conducted to help change some of the questions and to add other parts to the consumer interview.

Pilot interviews were conducted with one woman in her mid 20's and the other was a woman who was living common-law for the past three months before the actual 19 interviews. The second interview was conducted with her alone and the researcher asked her to think about her shopping patterns before she began living with her current partner. The investigator conducted the pilot interviews and key informant interviews in June of 1994.

Participant Observation

In each situation the observer tried to remain unobtrusive since participant observations almost always means some degree of unobtrusiveness in order to obtain a better view of the participant's activity. This form of observation was defined by Spradley (1980) as free-entry social situation where permission was not sought since it was observing peoples' behaviour in public places. In these situations the researcher becomes an anonymous participant and observes peoples' behaviour and formulates questions as they do this preliminary observation. The questions the researcher asked are highlighted in Section V the "Observation of Shoppers" chapter. From these questions a tool was devised to collect data for the actual participant observation (Appendix F).

From the preliminary participant observation site and consultation with the key informants a two-hour time frame was decided since this time frame would give an overview of the proportion of shoppers with observable characteristics entering or leaving the site. Certain time periods during the day were also

chosen. This is when the participants will do their grocery shopping as suggested by the key informant interviews. Most of the women will only take from one to two hours to shop.

This method was highly subjective as the researcher could only use unobtrusive indicators to identify Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal shoppers. Some people were identifiable by jackets that had a community name and their community insignia such as "XX River Baseball team." The researcher recorded the people who went into the grocery store by noting, in the time column of the tool, a significant feature of a clothing or physical characteristic of the person.

Although this method was subjective, it did generate an approximate number of Aboriginal people that shopped at the specific locations. Each location has been discussed in the next section, the contact process.

Contact Process

There was a total of 129 efforts made to ask people if they would be willing to participate in the

study. The final sample informants included 19 woman. Originally there were 20 interviews but one interview was excluded from the sample because of a malfunction with the tape recorder. When the person was re-contacted to see if she would consider redoing the interview she responded no, therefore the final sample size was nineteen.

There were six agencies listed with the 129 total initial contacts with 19 actual interviews (Table 1). These six agencies will be reviewed; included in this discussion is the telephone process. A discussion of why the initial contact number is higher than the actual number will be addressed in the "Limitations" section in this chapter.

Community centre

At the community centre there were 12 contacts made. The agency gave the researcher nine contact names and five agreed to participate. Of the five who participated three gave the researcher other contact names. From these three contact names one woman agreed to be interviewed (see Table 1). There was also a

poster posted at the centre but the poster did not attract additional responses (Appendix L).

Health centre

At the health centre there were 26 contacts made. The researcher asked 26 women if they would be interested in participating in the interview; three agreed to be interviewed. From the three respondents who agreed to be interviewed eight contact names were received. When the eight women were contacted; no one wanted to be interviewed.

At the health centre the researcher had waited in the waiting room. The woman would be approached by the researcher and asked if she would be interested in participating in the interview.

Parent centre

At the parent centre there were 24 contacts made. The researcher had waited in waiting rooms at the

agency site. The woman would be approached by the researcher and asked if she would be interested in participating in the interview. There were 14 women approached and three agreed to be interviewed. From the 14 women 10 other names were given to the researcher. Of these 10 women contacted two agreed to be interviewed (Table 1).

There was also a poster posted at the centre but there were no responses (Appendix L).

Co-op housing

At the co-op housing agency 22 names were given to the researcher. One individual agreed to be interviewed. From the 22 names, nine additional contact names were collected from the participants. The nine women were contacted and no one agreed to be interviewed.

Hospital department

At the hospital in the Pediatrics's department the

researcher approached 17 women and three agreed to be interviewed. From the three interviews there were additional eight contact names received. When the researcher contacted these women, one agreed to be interviewed. Again the researcher had waited in waiting rooms at the Pediatric's department.

Some of the 17 women who were contacted while in the waiting rooms had agreed to participate in the interviews, once it was determined they fit the eligibility criteria. However as the researcher conducted the interview it was discovered the women did not fit the criteria. The women either were living common-law or were born in Winnipeg, or lived in the urban centre for less than two years. The women indicated they said yes because they wanted to help in the interview or they just wanted company.

Training centre

For the training centre agency the researcher was invited to speak to the 11 women in the classroom, taking the pre-employment training, about the project. After the presentation the researcher asked the women

if they would be interested in participating in the interview. No one volunteered to be interviewed.

Table 1

Initial Number of Participants contacted and the Actual Number of Interviews Conducted

Agency Name	Sources of Interviews					
	Agency		Participants		Researcher	
	I	A	I	A	I	A
Community						
Centre	9	5	3	1	--	--
Health						
Centre	--	--	8	0	18	3
Parent						
Centre	--	--	10	2	14	3
Hospital						
Department	--	--	8	1	17	3
Co-op						
housing	--	--	9	0	22	1
Training						
Centre	--	--	--	--	11	0
n	9	5	38	4	82	10

Note: I=Initial potential interviews contacted; A=Actual interviews conducted; Agency=contact names from agency to researcher; Participants=other participant names from researchers from initial contacts at an agency; Researcher=participants researcher contacted at an agency site

Telephone contact

Of the 19 women interviewed 11 had telephones. With the women who did not have telephones it was more difficult to conduct the interviews. There were seven interviews scheduled at the women's home and six did not have a telephone. When the researcher arrived at the participants home at the scheduled appointment time, in all six cases, the women were not home. The women had to be re-contacted at the agency or a message was left on the women's door to reschedule the interview. Of the six cases the researcher completed four interviews at the second appointment. For the other two interviews the researcher rescheduled two more appointments and for both appointments the women were not at home. On the third attempt the researcher managed to complete the final two interviews.

There was one woman who had a telephone and the researcher arrived at her home three times and in each instance she was not home. After each attempt a phone call was made and a new appointment was made. After the third attempt the woman admitted she was not interested in participating in the interview. She did not

participate in the interview and was not counted as one of the participants interviewed.

Consumer Interviews

The primary method of data collection involved conduction of in-depth and semi-structured interviews. These interviewees will be subsequently identified as consumers or participants. Since the major goal of this research was to explore the women's experiences in grocery shopping and to document the barriers that impeded healthy food choices, some qualitative in-depth interviews were identified as the most appropriate and effective data collection strategy.

The purpose of the in-depth interview with consumers (Appendix G) was to elicit information about the perceptions of the degree of control which participants felt they had in procuring food. The factors which were documented in terms of their potential impact on control were: (a) distribution of income (for example, utilities, child care, transportation, moving), (b) number of people in the household, (c) level of education of the head of

household, and (d) sources of income (for example, social assistance, child tax credit, subsidized housing).

The in-depth interview with individual participants used a semi-structured interview format. In-depth interviews enabled the investigator to collect large amounts of data quickly; they elicited a wide variety of information which has richness of exploratory power (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). An in-depth interview also facilitated checking the informant's description with observers. This process of feedback and checking provided for immediate checking and clarification.

The initial interview questions were changed slightly when key informants made suggestions and when pilot interviews were conducted. The one major change was asking the women if they wanted to reveal their age. In the pilot interviews (Appendix C) when this question was first asked the woman expressed reluctance or shyness. When age was discussed in a more humorous manner, that was the researcher uttered, "if you want to, you can answer this question or not?", in the next pilot interview the woman seemed more at ease with the

new wording. Questions that were asked were not from any sources as such but rather from key informants comments.

In Winnipeg the welfare fraud line was established where citizens could phone a certain number to inform the social assistance department about people who were abusing social assistance payments. The fraud line made many women reluctant to speak about other income sources for fear that the researcher would contact the social service agencies. Once trust and rapport was established, by visiting the women before actually conducting the interviews, the women did reveal if they received extra moneys or food from family members or their ex-husbands.

Each participant was explained the reason for the study and given information about the study (Appendix H). Once the information was explained they were asked to sign the consent form (Appendix I) and then they were given a copy. The signed consent form from the investigator will be filed until the study has been completed.

The interview began by asking the participants questions concerning demographic information such as

subjects' occupation, marital status, education background, ethnicity, income and family size. By asking demographic information first consumer's appeared to be more at ease in answering subsequent questions focusing on shopping patterns. This approach to structuring the questions was suggested in the key informant interviews. The key informants suggested that the participants would feel more comfortable if the interviewer had a better understanding of the economic constraints participants faced in shopping.

Following the demographic questions the second section was comprised of questions documenting shopping practices, country foods, and whether or not they experienced racism while shopping. Many of the women did not understand the context of the question of racism; therefore the researcher explained what racism was and how it was different from impolite behaviour. In explaining racism in this manner the researcher would also give examples of racism. The issue of racism was a sensitive issue and the researcher may have structured the context of the answers when an explanation of racism was given to the participants.

When the researcher did not understand issues of

control or meanings, supplementary questions were asked to clarify participants' comments. Data was evaluated throughout the collection period for informational adequacy, credibility, usefulness and centrality as recommended by Marshall and Rossman (1989). Concerns about internal validity or reliability were not addressed. However the truthfulness of response was evaluated using the Guba criteria.

Transcribing interviews throughout data collection and preliminary analysis was an arduous task. Key concepts were noted as soon as possible after the interviews were transcribed. The initial interviews were manually sorted out into preliminary thematic categories. The analysis of the interviews consisted of: (a) organizing the data; (b) generating categories, themes and patterns; (c) testing emerging hypotheses against the data; (d) searching for alternative explanations; and, (e) writing the report (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

This analysis described the women's experiences and perceptions of food shopping. With the lack of quantitative data about urban Aboriginal women it was not possible to correlate food acquisition descriptions

with conventional health outcomes. The frequency and intensity of the issues were therefore represented in selected quotes. To protect the identify of the subjects pseudonyms were substituted for the respondents real names.

The interviews were tape-recorded and fully transcribed except for two women who asked not to be taped. For both women notes were made as much as possible during the interviews; then the investigator immediately after the interview wrote out information about the women's responses or additional notes. The interviews w an average of 1 hour and 30 minutes, with two lasting four hours. In both cases the participants shared personal information and the tape was stopped at the request of the participants. When the tapes were initially transcribed the "ums and ahs" were included; however to improve reliability they have been omitted unless they provided emotive context.

Cognitive Mapping

To assess relevant aspects of the physical environment the participants were asked to draw maps of

the areas to be studied. The area mapped by the participants will give an indication of how they perceive their neighborhood. This information will indirectly give an indication of where the participant shops, if they have friends or relatives living near them and so on.

Participants were asked to draw a map of where they think food sources exist in the area they live. Cognitive mapping allows the researcher to get inside people's heads to see how people make sense of the physical surroundings in which they live (Moore & Golledge, 1967; Gould & White, 1974; Stoneall, 1981).

Research Site

The research site was the core area of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The core area was chosen because the data indicated the majority of Aboriginal people will live in this area of Winnipeg.

Ethical Considerations

This study was approved by the Faculty Committee

on the Use of Human Subjects in Research of the University of Manitoba Faculty of Medicine (Appendix B). All participants, including key informant interviews, and pilot interviews, signed consent forms indicating their willingness to be interviewed (Appendix D and I). All information was kept confidential and when possible names of grocery stores were not used. The researcher noted the number of core area shopping facilities was too few to ensure complete confidentiality. All efforts were made to ensure that information used in verbatim quotations were concealed so that the informants could not be identified. Tapes were erased once the transcriptions were typed.

Limitations

The findings of the study were extensive and they must be interpreted in context as the women's perceptions will change through time as their lives are influenced by constant financial insecurity. The data set and methodological approach have limitations there is to all methods. These may include the risk of misinterpretation of findings due to cultural

differences among informants, difficult to replicate, missing larger patterns, dependence on the "goodness " of the initial research question, and especially dependence upon the honesty of those providing the data (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 104). Thus the findings of this study must be interpreted in context and their limitations must be recognized.

It should be recognized that every effort was made to limit misinterpretation of the interview data. Efforts were made to make frequent referrals to the original data from the transcripts; use of multiple participants; and more than one data collecting technique. Other limitation involved the investigator and response bias. The investigator, was female lives in Winnipeg and is affected by similar pressures as the participants experience. Efforts were therefore made to reduce investigator bias in interpreting the data. These included a systematic examination of the interview data, using key informant and pilot interviews to develop a better understanding of the issues and a literature review to be more sensitive to the issues faced by the women.

When the participants were contacted at the

various agencies there were 126 initial contacts and 19 actual interviews. Why is this interview rate (15%) so low? The women waiting at the hospital department were in stressful situations. For example they were at the Pediatric department because they had a sick infant; therefore participating in an interview may not be a priority for them. The women at the parent centre were at the centre to meet other women. This may have been the first time they have left abusive situations or have free time away from the children. These women may not want to talk to a stranger if they see this time as time to relax and forget about their situations for a few hours.

Another question that needs to be answered is. "Why did no one respond to the poster?" The women that were interviewed did not have a phone and the poster method required the person to have access to a phone. The women may not have the self-esteem to even attempt to call a total stranger who wants to know about their personal struggles. Women that were given a presentation by the researcher at the agency may have felt this study would be like the other studies, such as uttered by one of the audience members, "what good

is this type of research?".

Overall it may be the case the women refused to participate in the study because they were in stressful situations; they did not have the self-confidence; they did not see the value of the research.

Summary

These methodologies were selected because they facilitated an in-depth study of the experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of the participants, as they relate to food selection. Interviews were conducted either at participants home or at an agency. Information about the study was reviewed with each participant then consent was obtained.

The initial data collection began with participant observations of shoppers at three locations. These observations will be discussed in the next chapter.

V. OBSERVATION OF SHOPPERS

This chapter describing the participant observation will give a general overview of the approximate number of Aboriginal people that shop at various grocery stores, and transportation methods they used. This method will not provide statistical analysis rather it will provide background information on the number of Aboriginal women that use the grocery stores, whether or not they bring their children shopping, and how they arrive and leave the store. This data will give an overview of what the women have to contend with when they go grocery shopping in the core area. Key informants gave information about what stores to observe and when would be the best times to observe the stores. They discussed observing certain stores when welfare payments were made and when the women were out of money.

Before actually going to the participant observation sites, Spradley (1980) suggested that a preliminary observation be conducted. This preliminary

observation will be discussed followed by the three actual observation sites; large grocery store chain, a convenience store, and a family-owned store.

Preliminary Observation

The preliminary observation involved choosing a site, suggested by key informants, and observing the shoppers for approximately two hours. At the site the researcher noted whether the shoppers were female, Aboriginal and how they arrived, and left the grocery store. From the preliminary observation the following questions were developed:

1. What is the number of shoppers who were identified as Aboriginal?
2. How many of the Aboriginal shoppers are females as comparable to male shoppers?
3. How many of the Aboriginal shoppers, by gender, are accompanied by children?
4. What means of transportation are used to go to the store?
5. Is the same method of transportation used to leave the store?

From the preliminary observation and questions a tool (Appendix F) was devised to collect data at the three actual observation sites. Other observations made, but not systematically recorded on the data collection form, these include: the number of grocery bags one left with, were there other people who helped the shopper, and how did shoppers manage if they when they were accompanied by children. These were observations that were important to understand how the women coped with grocery shopping.

It should be noted that during the preliminary observation it was decided that in all locations if two females came together one invariably looked after the children and the other would shop; therefore one lone female shopper was recorded. Also each couple, a female and male, were counted as an individual count of a male and female shoppers in the total number (N). They were given the category "couple" to distinguish between the lone male and female shoppers and the shoppers with or without children.

From the preliminary observation and consultation with the key informants a two-hour observation time was defined as the appropriate interval to observe the

necessary numbers of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal shoppers. Notes not included in the tool were made throughout the preliminary, and actual, observations or shortly after at a nearby restaurant.

During the preliminary and actual observations at the three types of grocery stores, the researcher kept track of the people who went into the store. Beside the time column (Appendix F) a note was made of a significant feature of a clothing or physical characteristic of the person who went into the grocery store, such as a yellow cap and green coat would be recorded on the side of the tool.

The researcher distinguished Aboriginal people from non-Aboriginal people by using unobtrusive measures. Some people were identified by jackets that had a community name and their community insignia such as XXX River Baseball team. Although this method was very subjective, it did generate information about the number of shoppers that were Aboriginal women or non-Aboriginal, with or without children transportation methods utilized, and so on, at the specific locations.

Actual Observation Sites

Large Grocery Store Chain

This is a large grocery store chain located in the core area. The hours of operation are 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m., Monday to Saturday, and from 12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Sunday. The participant observation was conducted for approximately two hours on September 28, 1994 from 11:03 a.m. to 1:31 p.m.

The observer waited until the last people arriving before 12:52 p.m. left the store before stopping the observation. During the time the observer was waiting for the last people to leave, no other patrons were added to the list. As stated previously the observer kept track of the participants entering and leaving the store by making a note of a significant piece of clothing they wore.

The date September 28, 1994, was chosen because the key informants knew this was the day social services cheques were being issued for both monthly and biweekly provincial and city payments. The key informants suggested observing patrons at the end of

the month, in large stores, would be best because there would be more women shopping at this time. Although social assistance provides bimonthly payments, most of the women the key informants knew used the mid-month payment to pay household bills, such as hydro, cable, phone bill. There was a total of 104 patrons that shopped at this grocery store during the two-hour participant observation.

Table 2

Observed Number of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Shoppers by Gender at a Large Grocery Chain

Gender	Categories	
	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
Female	38	4
Male	16	14
Couples	12	20
N	66	38

Note: A couple means male and female; they are counted as individual shoppers (for example, 8 means 4 females and 4 males).

Of the total 104 patrons 66 (63%) were identified as Aboriginal. Of the 66 Aboriginal shoppers there were 44 (67%) identified as Aboriginal females; 44 comprises the 6 females from the 12 Aboriginal couples and the 38 lone Aboriginal female shoppers. In comparison there were 22 (33%) Aboriginal male shoppers; 22 includes the 6 males from the 12 Aboriginal couples and the 16 lone male Aboriginal shoppers (Table 2).

Of the 66 Aboriginal shoppers there were 19 (29%) lone Aboriginal female shoppers with children and 19 (29%) without children (Table 3). In comparison with the lone Aboriginal male shoppers, there were 2 (3%) with children and 14 (21%) without children (Table 3). For the Aboriginal couples there were 4 (6%) with children and 8 (12%) without children (Table 3).

There were some differences compared to the 38 non-Aboriginal shoppers (Table 2). Of the 38 non-Aboriginal shoppers there were 14 (37%) identified as non-Aboriginal female shoppers; 14 comprises the 10 females from the non-Aboriginal couples and 4 from the lone female shoppers (Table 2). Of the 38 non-Aboriginal shoppers all 4 (11%) lone female non-

Aboriginal shoppers shopped with children (Table 4); no men shopped with children; and some couples shopped with children.

Of the 19 Aboriginal females alone with children; 9 walked to and from the grocery store; 1 walked and left with a shopping cart; 4 walked and then left by taxi cab; 1 rode a bicycle; and 4 women arrived with another person in a vehicle.

The Aboriginal females who walked to the grocery store had an average of four to six bags of groceries. It was obviously a struggle to carry the groceries and look after their children. The women walking may have also been concerned about the safety of their children since they were walking in heavy traffic areas. The females who used a car arrived in pairs. One woman would shop and while the other looked after the children either in the car or in the store. The two males who shopped with children left with fewer than four bags of groceries, and generally had one child.

Table 3

Observed Number of Aboriginal Shoppers (N=66) by Gender with and without Children at a Large Grocery Store Chain

Children	Categories		
	Female	Male	Couples
With	19	2	4
Without	19	14	8

Table 4

Observed Number of non-Aboriginal Shoppers (N=38) by Gender with and without Children at a Large Grocery Chain

Children	Categories		
	Female	Male	Couples
With	4	0	8
Without	0	14	12

Convenience Store

The store observed is a popular convenience store chain throughout Canada. It is open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. The participant observation was conducted in October 10, 1994 from 2:03 p.m. till 4:15 p.m., approximately two hour time frame. This day was chosen because this was approximately 10 days after people received their social services cheques. According to the key informants, approximately a week after cheques are issued people will still have some money left over from their big grocery shop. They will spend the left over money at the convenience store for smaller purchases. They will purchase items such as bread, milk or coffee.

There was a total of 167 patrons during the two hour participant observation (Table 5). Of the total 167 patrons 127 (76%) were identified as Aboriginal. Of the 127 Aboriginal shoppers there were 63 (50%) identified as Aboriginal females; 63 include the 13 females from the 26 Aboriginal couples and the 50 lone Aboriginal female shoppers (Table 5). In comparison there were 64 (50%) Aboriginal male shoppers; 64 includes the 13

males from the 26 Aboriginal couples and the 51 from the lone male Aboriginal shoppers (Table 5).

Table 5

Observed Number of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Shoppers by Gender at a Convenience Store

Gender	Categories	
	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
Female	50	14
Male	51	18
Couples	26	8
N	127	40

Note: A couple means male and female; they are counted as individual shoppers (for example, 8 means 4 females and 4 males)

Of the 127 Aboriginal shoppers there were 31 (25%) lone Aboriginal female shoppers with children and 19 (15%) without children (Table 6). In comparison with the lone Aboriginal male shoppers, there were 5 (4%) with children and 46 (36%) without children (Table 6). For the Aboriginal couples there were 10 (8%) with

children and 16 (12%) without children (Table 6).

Table 6

Observed Number of Aboriginal Shoppers (N=127) by Gender with and without Children at a Convenience Store

Children	Categories		
	Female	Male	Couples
With	31	5	10
Without	19	46	16

Among the total 167 shoppers there were 40 (23%) who were non-Aboriginal shoppers (Table 5). Of the 40 non-Aboriginal shoppers there were 18 (45%) identified as non-Aboriginal female shoppers; 18 comprises the 4 females from the non-Aboriginal couples and 14 from the lone female shoppers (Table 5). Of the 40 non-Aboriginal shoppers 1 (3%) of the lone female non-Aboriginal shoppers shopped with children and 13 (33%) shopped without children (Table 7).

Of the 31 lone Aboriginal female shoppers with

children; all 31 females walked to and from the store. One female was walking with a toddler and had an infant on her back. The other patrons that went to this convenience store were young teens that purchased convenience snacks such as, sugar cooled cold drinks referred to as Slurpees, potato chips, chocolate bars. The women purchased items such as milk, bread and treats for their children, such as a bag of potato chips or a drink. The women would give the treats to the children as they came out of the store.

Table 7

Observed Number of non-Aboriginal Shoppers (N=40) by Gender with and without Children at a Convenience Store

Children	Categories		
	Female	Male	Couples
With	1	0	8
Without	13	18	0

Family-Owned Grocery Store

This store is a local family store that has been in the neighborhood for the past 10 years. It is open Monday to Saturday, from 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. The participant observation was conducted in October 20, 1994 from 2:00 p.m. till 3:59 p.m., approximately two hours.

The key informants mentioned that people shopped here because they could purchase food on credit. It is also located close to a pawn shop and the researcher wanted to see how many people used the pawn shop to obtain money then go to the family run store. There were 138 patrons shopping at this store (Table 8).

Among the 138 patrons 90 (65%) were identified as Aboriginal shoppers. Of the 90 Aboriginal shoppers there were 52 (58%) Aboriginal females; 52 comprises 44 lone Aboriginal female shoppers and the 8 females from the 16 Aboriginal couples (Table 8).

For the 138 Aboriginal shoppers there were 20 (15%) lone Aboriginal female shoppers with children and 24 (18%) without children (Table 9). In comparison with

the lone Aboriginal male shoppers there were 2 (2%) with children and 28 (20%) without children (Table 9).

Table 8

Observed Number of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Shoppers by Gender at a Family Owned Grocery Store

Gender	Categories	
	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
Female	44	18
Male	30	22
Couples	16	8
N	90	48

Note: A couple means male and female; they are counted as individual shoppers (for example, 8 means 4 females and 4 males)

For the Aboriginal couples there were 14 (10%) with children and 2 (2%) without children (Table 9). Of the total 138 shoppers there were 48 (35%) non-Aboriginal shoppers (Table 8). Of the 48 non-Aboriginal shoppers there were 22 (46%) identified as non-Aboriginal female shoppers; 22 comprises the 4 females

from the non-Aboriginal couples and 14 from the lone female shoppers (Table 8). Of the 48 non-Aboriginal shoppers all 18 (38%) of the lone female non-Aboriginal shoppers shopped without children (Table 10).

Table 9

Observed Number of Aboriginal Shoppers (N=90) by Gender with and without Children at a Family Owned Grocery Store

Children	Categories		
	Female	Male	Couples
With	20	2	14
Without	24	28	2

For the Aboriginal female lone shoppers there were 20 (22%) that shopped with children and 24 (26%) shopped without children (Table 9).

Table 10

Observed Number of non-Aboriginal Shoppers (N=48) by Gender with and without Children at a Family Owned Grocery Store

Children	Categories		
	Female	Male	Couples
With	0	0	2
Without	18	22	6

Of the 20 Aboriginal lone females with children; 16 walked to the store; 3 came and left by car; 1 female walked to the store and left by taxi cab. Of the 20 Aboriginal lone females with children there were 2 that went to a pawn shop first then to the grocery store; both pawned video cassette recorders (VCR).

There were also three young men without children, two were Aboriginal and one was non-Aboriginal. They pawned a VCR, a television, and two guitars before entering the local family grocery store.

Summary

These findings suggest that single parent female heads of households with young children and no means of transportation struggle the most when grocery shopping. These women who walk home in heavy traffic areas with their young children must also contend with the safety of their children. Where as in this study when the males shopped with children, they generally left with four bags of groceries and usually with one child as compared to the females who left with four or more bags of groceries and at least two children. This was observed with at least five males throughout the observations thus it cannot be a chance occurrence.

There are tradeoffs for the women who live close to a grocery store. They trade off convenience for safety, high costs and fewer variety of food choices. The women who take a taxicab to return home trade off increase spending on transportation and thus a decrease in the funds for food purchases. They do not have to worry about how they are going to carry groceries home and watch their children on the street or on a bus.

In general there were more Aboriginal women who

shop alone with children in comparison with Aboriginal men and non-Aboriginal shoppers. However there were more Aboriginal men than women who shopped at the grocery stores. This may signify that Aboriginal men have less constraints, such as time, children, than women and therefore can shop more often.

VI. CASE STUDIES AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The 19 participants in this study are all Aboriginal women who are single parents residing in the core area of Winnipeg. All the participants originally lived in rural Metis or treaty communities before relocating to Winnipeg. They are by no means a homogenous group; the women came from a variety of cultural and family backgrounds, from Cree to Ojibway to Metis.

The women who were from the same community did not necessarily interact with one another in the city. They may not interact because: (a) they may be feuding with a certain family in their home community and thus this feuding may have transferred over into the urban situation; (b) there may be a history of contention between the women; or (c) the women are simply too shy or scared or both, to interact with one another.

Three case studies will be presented to demonstrate the barriers and the adaptation that occur over time. The case studies or in-depth profiles comprise; Juanita, who had recently migrated to

Winnipeg; the second woman, Ruby, who has been in Winnipeg for ten years; and to another who had lived in Winnipeg for approximately 24 years. They will be described by case studies using the pseudonym: Juanita, Ruby and Chris.

The final section of this chapter will summarise the demographic characteristics of the 19 respondents. Overall their ages ranged from 19 to 47; with a mean of 40 years; median was 28; and the mode was 25.

Profiles of Three Sole Support Mothers

Juanita

Juanita was a 31-year-old women who had lived in Winnipeg approximately two years. She was originally from a small remote community in southeast area of Manitoba. She was divorced and had custody of the two children, under the age of 15. She was unemployed but was attending a pre-employment training program when she was interviewed. She had a grade 10 education from

an inner-city school in Winnipeg, Manitoba. She received funding from social assistance, child tax credit, and maintenance support twice monthly. She considered herself to be native and spoke Ojibway.

She shopped at the closest store to her home since she relied on friends to lend her a vehicle if she wanted to shop at a larger grocery store. When she could not get a vehicle she would walk to the store and would use a cart to carry the groceries home. When she described using the shopping cart to get home, she said "I feel like I am stealing the cart and that I am cheap." Yet, in the same breath she mentioned that she tried to save money because taxicabs were very expensive. Although she recognized, she did not have the income sources to use a taxicab for grocery shopping she was embarrassed by the fact that she had used a grocery cart to take her groceries home. She mentioned that using the cart indicated that she, "was being cheap and was a thief". The cart method indicates the ingenuity that this woman had when trying to save money when grocery shopping.

When she shopped, she would take her children since she could not afford a baby-sitter nor did she

really know anyone who would look after her children. Although she did have relatives living in the city, she mentioned that they did not bother with one another. She said, "my family members tend to keep to themselves so as not to create problems for each other." When relatives came to visit, they would not stay with her because her apartment was too small.

When she was asked if she felt her apartment had enough cupboard space to store food she felt there was adequate space for storage for the amount of food she purchased. She then went on to say that if she had the opportunity to purchase food in bulk she knew that she would not have enough room. She only had a refrigerator freezer and knew if she wanted to purchase a lot of meat she would have no place to store the extra meat. She wished she could get an apartment freezer but then came the question of where she would put it since her place was so small.

She also wanted a freezer to store the country foods her relatives gave to her when they came to the city. When she did get country foods, which meant extra meat, she would have to eat the food promptly otherwise the meat spoiled. Her children enjoyed eating the

country foods except for fish which they said "was too smelly." When her relatives gave her the extra food she did not always know in advance, and this meant she had to consume the country food immediately since the refrigerator freezer would be filled with food.

When Juanita first moved to Winnipeg she said she used to spend too much money on food because she was not used to the large stores and she did not know about no name foods or using coupons. Her sister helped her with some bargain shopping tips because she got tired "loaning" food or money to Juanita when she ran out of either one or both. Juanita called it a loan but mentioned that she still had not been able to return the food or money to her sister. When she was in her home community she said that she did not worry about spending money on food because she did not have any other bills to pay except for food. She thought the prices in Winnipeg were cheaper than up north and did not consider payments for housing, utilities, children's needs and emergency needs. She was finding that she did not have enough money to cover all her expenses.

To help compensate for the lack of money Juanita

began using the food banks, and pawn shops. Even though she found these helped she continued to live month to month and constantly worried about feeding her children. At one point in the interview she was very emotional and wondered if case workers who administered the social assistance could survive on the money they gave out to clients. She knew the payments she received from social assistance were lower than the rest of her family because of the maintenance support she received from her ex-husband.

Juanita was not asked if she experienced racism while shopping because she had to leave before the interview was completed.

Ruby

The second case study describes the experience of a 28 year old woman referred to as "Ruby" who has lived in Winnipeg for 10 years. Ruby was originally from a Metis community in north western Manitoba. She had been divorced for a number of years and had custody of two children, under the age of seven. She was unemployed

and was presently attending upgrading classes at an inner city high school. She did have grade 12 but felt she did not have a proper education because she still had problems writing and reading. Her income sources were social assistance and child tax credit. She considered herself to be Aboriginal and spoke English but when she was younger she spoke Cree fluently. She was teased by other school children for speaking both Cree and English together and therefore would speak only English in school and home.

Ruby shops at the stores that offer her a bargain. She would buy meat at one store because it was on sale and then she would go to another store for other foods. Most often she would not buy meat from the larger grocery store chains because she said, "the meat was too expensive and it would spoil so quickly."

She would walk to the store with her two boys and then she would take a bus home because it was too heavy to carry both the boys and groceries. Ruby would take her children since she did not have access to child care nor did she have babysitting net works established.

When the investigator asked her, "what were some of

the problems you find when shopping?", Ruby replied with the following:

Time. The time getting there, time getting back, if I have the youngest one with me. But, if I don't have the youngest one with me, I have both of them with me. And the time it takes to get it done especially in the store. Especially my oldest one he's very hard on me when we go grocery shopping. He'll stand there and jump up and down and yell, "I want it, I want it, mom, mom." And there are several times I've left the shopping cart in the store and picked him up and held the baby's hand and walked right out and went home. And then try it again the next day.

During the conversation Ruby blamed herself for taking so long to shop. Ruby had many barriers to face besides time, these include; her children's behaviour, the lack of transportation, and lack of baby-sitting service. From these types of barriers it is understandable why some women would take longer to shop.

Ruby shops twice a month and when she buys food she said that she will get visitors. "I get visitors from one week to two weeks, they just know when I have a lot of stuff, I don't know how, but they do." When her relatives and friends came to visit she would most often be depleted of bread and milk. The relatives and

friends would stay at her place because she was the closest to the hospitals and to the bus depot, and they were comfortable with her. Relatives and friends would not stay with Ruby's two other siblings since the company felt uncomfortable with Ruby's sisters because Ruby said, "they pretend they are not Indian."

When Ruby was asked if she felt her apartment had enough cupboard space to store food she told the investigator that she had enough cupboard space but she only stored enough food in the cupboard to last a week and the rest she stored in her bedroom. She stored the food in the bedroom because she knew if she did not that her neighbours would borrow from her. Besides hiding food Ruby would take food to some neighbours home when friends or relatives would come to visit otherwise the relatives and friends would eat all her food. Then Ruby would have to worry about what she was going to feed her children. Ruby said it took her about two years to find someone who would store food for her; she tried other people but they would eat her food without repayment.

Some relatives would bring their own food and sometimes country foods when they stayed at Ruby's

place. Most often the company would not and Ruby had learned to hide food rather than ask the relatives to contribute to her food situation. It would seem many of Ruby's relatives and friends do not practice reciprocity where if one USES or eats another person's food they return the good will. Instead Ruby has opted to hide food instead of asking her company to bring their own food or stay some other place.

When the researcher asked Ruby if she experienced racism while shopping Ruby said she did and then gave an example. She indicated in her story that she had experienced many incidents of racism.

Chris

The third sample case study was Chris who was a 44-year-old widow originally from out of province who migrated to Winnipeg more than 20 years ago. She had a full time position with children's aid as a foster parent. She had housed and befriended numerous foster children in addition to looking after her own five children. She had completed grade 12, a life skill

course and two years at the University of Winnipeg. When she was asked about her ethnicity Chris indicated that she considered herself an Indian.

In the 1950's, when Chris was a child living outside of Manitoba, welfare had not been yet legislated in Canada and her mother had to shop for bargains since there were 19 children to feed and clothe. Chris had learned to shop for food bargains from her mother's experience. Chris will buy lean ground beef which was more expensive, than regular ground beef. When asked, "Do you find you run out of food or money?", she replied:

No, but that wouldn't be, like, I noticed they have hamburger for 86 cents a pound and another one for \$1.64 for a pound of hamburger. I usually buy the \$1.60 because the 86 cents one shrunk when I cooked it. It's a better buy to have the more expensive because you don't have to buy so much meat.

During her early years of marriage Chris would take the bus or taxi or she would hire her relatives since she did not own a car and did not drive. She felt the money she spent hiring her relatives were a good investment since it saved time and energy because they would help carry the groceries. Although she did not

drive she eventually purchased a car so she could hire her sons-in-law to drive her around.

All the food that was purchased in bulk from various stores in Winnipeg. She planned what she would buy and she would make one shopping trip for meat, make another for dry goods in the same day. Chris would shop at least eight times a month or an average of twice a week. The meat that was purchased would be stored in a large freezer she bought more than 20 years ago, and she made cupboards in the basement to store dry and canned goods.

Besides bulk shopping Chris also purchases country foods from relatives or friends. Sometimes relatives want to just give her the meat but she insists on paying for it. She will pay ten dollars for a hind quarter of deer meat and get berries, wild rice from relatives.

Demographics

Number of Years in Core Area

For the total 19: women who lived in the core area

from 2 to 5 years was 12 women; for 6 to 9 years were 5 women; for 10 to 13 years there was 1 woman; for 14 to 17 years no women; and finally 18 years and greater were 1 woman.

Marital Status

Of the 19 women four were separated, five were divorced, eight were single-parents that have never been married, and two were widowed.

Education

The women's formal education ranged from grade seven education to completion of university. There were 15 women who have high school from grade 7 to 12. Of the 15 women 8 have upgrading from various education institutions in Winnipeg, 6 received their education in their home communities, 1 went outside her home community to complete her grade 10.

The breakdowns of grades for the 15 women are as follows: 2 have grade 7; 2 have grade 8; 3 have grade 9; 4 have grade 10; 1 had grade 11; and 3 have

grade 12. The other four women had post-secondary education. One woman had a Bachelors of Fine Arts; two had at least two years of University; and another woman was a Registered Nurse from a community college.

During the study there were five women attending a pre-employment education program. The education attainments were comparable to that of head of low-income families in 1990 as reported by Statistics Canada (1990).

Employment Status

Of the 19 households the women classified themselves as employed (0 full-time; 2 part-time); 15 as homemakers; 5 as students; 15 as unemployed; 17 were on social assistance (0 identified provincial, 1 identified city assistance, 16 did not identify provincial or city social assistance).

The participants were not directly asked if they were on provincial or city social assistance since the pilot interviews suggested it would be best to have the participants volunteer this information. A key informant stated, "It's really embarrassing for women

to identify what kind of welfare they are collecting, so I don't think it's a good idea to ask them this."

Self-identification

Of the 19 women, 4 identified themselves as treaty/status and 4 as Metis, 10 identified themselves in the category of Aboriginal/Native/Indian, and 1 woman identified herself as Cree.

Language

For language, six identified English as their only language, seven identified Cree, four identified Ojibway, one as Sioux and one as Island Lake language.

Home Community

Seven women were from southeast area of Manitoba; four were from the northern area of Manitoba; seven from the southern area of Manitoba; one was from Ontario.

Summary

The three case studies of individuals with the demographics illustrate the poverty faced by the women with low-incomes. These 19 women, although all Aboriginal, came from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Many of the women were on social assistance or were barely making ends meet month to month. Canada has no official poverty measures but different organizations have attempted to determine the lowest dollar amount needed to provide a standard of living (Petten,1997). When the women were interviewed in their homes, the bareness of the walls and lack of furniture indicated the poverty they lived with on a daily basis. The everyday struggles they face in their poverty conditions cannot be captured using statistics.

If a woman did not have enough money for grocery shopping she would do without, use either pawn shops or food banks. In addition without extra income a woman must try and purchase food in the most economical manner which means she must either walk, take a bus, or rely on neighbours or friends to drive them to bargain shopping outlets.

In most cases they cannot afford a baby-sitter thus they must take their children grocery shopping which results in more time required to shop or they have to stop shopping if their children are upset. They also can only shop for the food they need for the next few weeks because they do not have the resources or help in carrying the groceries home.

Even if they did have the means to purchase food in bulk they do not have the storage facilities to store their bulk purchases. One needs a large income source to begin the process of bulk shopping.

These women were the most disadvantaged women whose income levels have made an impact on their lives. Other factors such as, self-esteem, friendship, and family relationships, appear to play a role in resolving problems of food acquisition besides income.

VII. BARRIER ISSUES

The most significant barriers that emerged from the three case studies in chapter six were: (a) financial security, (b) geographical distance, (c) housing, (d) transportation, and (e) child care. Within these barriers financial security plays a significant role therefore it will be discussed as a separate issue in chapter nine entitled, "Income Security/Strategies."

A woman's relationship with her family and friends also played an intrinsic role within the three barriers of geography, housing and child care. A woman may live close to a family member but she will not ask her family member to help her carry groceries home because they have decided to leave each other alone. Therefore, relationships will be incorporated within the discussions of geography, housing and child care.

Barriers

Geographical

Of the 19 women interviewed 4 women talked about the geographical barrier. Although only about a quarter of the informants identified geographical factors it is a significant barrier that requires discussion. These women lived within walking distance to a grocery store if they felt they did not have extra funds to hire a taxicab, or relatives, or friends to carry their groceries home.

The women had lived in Winnipeg from two and half years to seven years. Two women, Erina and Chloris, were 35 years in age, Ada was 40 years and Fay was 43 years. Erina was a single parent who lived in a common law relationship until she "kicked her old man out" whereas Chloris was a single parent who was never married nor lived common law, and Ada were married but now separated and Fay was a widow.

When the researcher asked Ada, "And you shop there because?" Ada replied, "It's closest one to where I live, I can walk here." Although Ada walked to the

grocery store when she was asked by the researcher,
"When you go shopping how do you get home?" Ada
replied:

Sometimes I walk. But, when I have the extra money I will cab it. But, mostly I guess I take a cab. I think only in summer I'll walk a little more often but most times, especially, in the winter I will cab it. I'm not a rich person. But, when I have say three dollars then I'll take a cab for three dollars....And, I guess I'm getting older, I can feel it in my legs. Sometimes they ache so much from walking with the heavy groceries. I guess I'm falling apart (laughter).

Ada lived about three blocks from the grocery store and she would shop at least twice a month, enough to last two weeks. Most often she does not have anyone to help her carry the groceries home.

Her children have left home but she does have her grandchildren over to visit and she would therefore purchase enough food for their visits. Ads mentioned during her interview that her children never think to offer to help with grocery shopping. Again, the issue of reciprocity has not been engaged here since her children will drop the grandchildren off but they do not help their mother financially or physically with the grocery shopping.

Sometimes the women will go to other grocery stores only if they "feel the sale is worth it" as quoted by Erina. Erina will go to another grocery store where she must transfer buses with two children. Otherwise for her to go to the other grocery stores means she must find someone who is willing to look after her children with no charge since she cannot afford a baby-sitter.

In all cases the women would walk in the summer months and in the winter months if they had extra money they would take a taxicab back. In two cases they would walk home using a toboggan in the winter and use the shopping cart in the summer. The women felt embarrassed to use the cart to carry their groceries home. Ruby mentioned that she felt that she was cheap to use a grocery cart to carry her groceries home.

Housing

Of the 19 women 6 women lived in Manitoba Housing, which are subsidized houses provided by the government. The other 13 women were not either aware of subsidized housing or they were on a waiting list. Although the

women recognized the housing, both subsidized and low rentals not subsidized, were not adequate for their family in many cases they could afford the only accommodations.

The houses and the apartments where the researcher conducted the interviews were sparsely furnished and had few closets or cupboard space. The apartments the women lived in did not have elevators, they did not have a security entrance system and the hallway were dark.

There were two women who lived in neighbourhoods where there were many panhandlers and street people. These two women lived in this neighbourhood because the grocery store was within walking distance and they would therefore save money on taxicab fare. They lived in accommodations without elevators and the women had to climb stairs to get to their apartments. When the researcher asked the participants, Erina, if she shopped in bulk, she replied:

Actually no. No, wait, very seldom will I buy things in bulk because it is too hard to carry them up the stairs. I live in a three-story apartment block and I live on the top floor.

Erina is limited to the amount of groceries she will

purchase because she lives in housing that does not have an elevator and she must walk home from the grocery store. Most often Erina will not have anyone to help her carry her groceries home. This same situation occurred with Chloris, where she did not have anyone to help her with grocery shopping and she had to also climb three flights of stairs after walking with several bags of groceries. Her response to the question when the researcher asked her if her children helped her with the groceries:

Sometimes, well, if I need the extra help or anything. But most of the times but sometimes, most of the time I go with myself. So it's not too bad. It's a lot of work and plus I live in a three-story building and I have to walk up the three stairs. That's why I don't really like buying a lot of groceries like it's a long ways up, it takes a lot out of me.

Both women express they are limited to the amount of groceries they can purchase because they live in housing that does not have elevators and they must walk up at least three flights of stairs. The women must carry all their groceries at one time since they reported they live in a neighbourhood where they cannot leave bags of food lying around as the food will be

taken by someone passing by the apartment. In addition the women did not have anyone to help them carry the groceries. The researcher believes, although both women are 35 years of age their life experiences make them seem years older and after many years of household manual labour it can begin to take a toll on a person.

Other women lived in housing situations that did not have adequate storage space for the groceries and many of the women did not have extra space for a freezer, if one could be purchased. There were three women who mentioned inadequate storage space for their food purchases and nine women who mentioned they felt they had adequate storage space for the amount of food they purchased. However nine women that felt they had sufficient storage space. Seven of the women mentioned if they did decide to purchase greater amounts of food then their cupboard space would not be adequate. Only two women felt they had enough storage space for extra purchases or bulk purchases.

The three women who mentioned inadequate storage space showed the researcher their cupboards and how inadequate they were for even items such as clothing. These three women did not live in low-rental housing

rather it was housing they could afford to rent. When the researcher asked Janet, "Okay". How do you feel about your storage space?" Janet replied:

Ya, I think its okay. I need more cupboard space. That's one thing about this place, not enough cupboards and no space to even put a little freezer. Its cheap but it has no cupboard space. If I had extra food I would have to put it in the hall closet or the bedroom and I don't like that.

Although Janet emphasized that she did not feel her cupboard space was adequate. As Janet spoke the researcher noted the bitterness and anger in her voice. Here was a woman aware of her situation but felt she had no means to improve her circumstances.

Ada was the other woman who felt her cupboard space was too small for bulk size purchases. When the researcher asked her about her storage space, she replied:

Well, I have a lot of cupboard space just for basic foods, but like the bulk foods, like the cereal doesn't fit very good. The cupboards are a little too small. So I end up putting stuff in the hall closet cause its bigger. I guess that's the other reason I don't buy in bulk, I'd have no place to put it. Like, I just have enough space for the things I do buy.

Both of these women felt they would like to buy foods in bulk but because cupboard space was either not enough or too small they did not buy too many foods in bulk sizes. Each women did not like putting food in their closets but felt it was the only other alternative for storage.

The two women who felt they had adequate storage space for bulk or extra purchase also responded they had a freezer. When the researcher asked Patty, "What about the storage space here, how do you find it?" Patty replied:

I find it pretty good. There's lots of room for the things I buy. And I have a freezer down stairs, so that helps.

It is interesting to note that these women who had both a freezer and adequate storage space were also very assertive with their relatives. When their relatives would visit them, they would ask their relatives to either bring food or help pay for groceries. Gabby, the second woman, has a university education, has learned to be assertive taking self-esteem courses. Whereas Patty is an older woman who has learned from experience that she is the person who

would suffer if she did not ask her relatives to help her when they come to visit.

Transportation

The 19 women in this study went to the grocery store using various methods that would vary according to the season. One woman had her groceries delivered therefore she will not be included in Table 11 and 12 summary results of the transportation methods for the summer and winter months. In the summer months (Table 11) there were nine women who walked to the store, and in the winter months (Table 12) there were seven women who walked to the store.

Table 11

Transportation Methods of Aboriginal Woman Going and Returning from the Grocery Store in the Summer Months

Store	Transportation					
	Cart	Walk	Bike	Bus	Taxi	Vehicle
Going	0	9	1	5	0	4
Returning	3	1	1	7	3	4

Table 12

Transportation Methods of Aboriginal Woman Going and Returning from the Grocery Store in the Winter Months

Store	Transportation					
	Cart	Walk	Bike	Bus	Taxi	Vehicle
Going	0	7	0	7	1	4
Returning	1	3	0	5	6	4

In the summer months one woman returned home, walking but there was actually four but were included as three in the cart section. One woman, Gloria, who walked with the grocery cart would sometimes get a ride to the grocery store from her parents when they came to visit her. When the researcher asked Gloria, "When your parents are not in how do you get to the xx?" Gloria had replied, "I just walk to the store and just walk back. Yup, that's what I do." For Gloria walking to and from the store means she does not spend money

using the bus or taxicab.

In the winter months, Fay, walked to and from the grocery store and in the summer months she used her bicycle. Fay had indicated that she had tried to use other grocery stores but for Fay the task of going to other stores was mentally exhausting for her. Fay could not afford to take a bus or taxicab home from the other grocery stores. When the researcher asked Fay, "Do you ever shop at the xx store, xx store, or anything like that?" Fay had replied:

No, no. I like to just stay in this area. I know what I can buy and what food is sold there. I don't have a car and it's too much trouble to go to those other stores. I like this area. I know where to go and I don't like to go any other place. I tried a few times to go to that xx store. But its a lot of work. I have to take a bus then I have to make sure I have enough money for a cab and you worry if you have enough money. Its too much trouble.

For Fay to walk to the neighbourhood grocery store is less stressful for her financially and mentally. She does not worry about whether or not if she has enough money and what buses to take to go to grocery stores outside of her neighbourhood. Her cognitive map confers that she is comfortable living in her

neighbourhood and knows the streets she needs to use to get to the grocery store.

Of the 19 women 4 owned their own vehicles and they would use them both in the summer and winter for grocery shopping. Chris, in this group did not know how to drive a vehicle but she would get her relatives to drive her around and would pay them a nominal fee. When the researcher asked Chris if she did not have a car would she would find it a barrier she replied:

No, not really because I have lots of people to help me. Like my son-in-law's have cars and they would help me.

Chris also described her past shopping patterns where she had 11 foster children and she would walk but most often she would hire her relatives to drive her around. She knew back then that it saved time and money to hire her relatives rather than take a taxicab or walk to the grocery store.

Carrie, who has lived in Winnipeg for four years, have her groceries delivered in the summer and winter season. She is employed with the grocery store and they will take the delivery charges off her cheque. For Carrie having her groceries delivered is a

convenience and she does not have to worry about how she will get home. Although Carrie does not always have enough money to last her till the end of the month she considers herself lucky because she can obtain credit from the store.

When returning home with groceries three women hired taxicabs in the summer and winter months. These three women were Ethelda, Ada, and Zoranna. Two of the women Ethelda and Zoranna, had at least one child who was still a toddler and an older child. All three women grocery shopped alone with their children except for Ada whom sometimes grocery shopped with her sister. If Ada and her sister were on good terms she would go shopping with her sister, otherwise Ada would go alone with her children.

When the researcher asked the women if they took a taxicab home most of them replied that it was too expensive. Ruby replied with the following answer when the researcher asked her if she ever took a taxi back:

No, it's too expensive for a taxi from XX on Main street. And from Main street to here it's almost \$18.00. And the one from Portage to Saint James to here it's a lot more.

Ruby went further to explain if she went to this

particular store it is time consuming since she must take two buses to the store and it takes a long time to get through the check out stands. For Ruby, as with Fay, using the local supermarket is less stressful and easier although the local grocery store does not have the same bargains as the other larger grocery stores.

Child Care

There are eight women of the nineteen who will take their children grocery shopping because they do not know anyone who will baby-sit their children, nor do they have financial access to pay for day care. Of the eight women two women, Gabby and Mira, have access to a vehicle. Therefore they did not perceive taking their children grocery shopping as a barrier. Although the children would misbehave sometimes, the women did not feel they had the same problems as other women who had to take a bus or walk to the grocery store with their children. During the interview Mira revealed her car was a relatively new and therefore the researcher asked Mira, "if you didn't have a car how would you shop?" Mira replied:

When I didn't have my car I usta hire my relatives to take me shopping. I have a few relatives in the city and they will take you shopping as long as you pay for gas. And if I couldn't find anyone then I would just to go by cab there and back because of my little girl. She gets too restless on the bus. I had to make sure that I had at least \$20 for transportation.

For Mira, paying her relatives the cost of gas was cheaper than having someone baby-sit her daughter. Although Mira does have a vehicle, it is not always reliable and will take a taxicab when her vehicle is not working. She will take a taxicab because her child is restless on the bus. Another reason was Mira lacked self-confidence and did not want any attention paid to her where people would stare at her when, "the child would misbehave on the bus," as quoted by Mira.

The other six women had younger children and they had to take their children with them grocery shopping. These women experienced the greatest hardship because they did not have relatives or friends to help them with grocery shopping. When the researcher asked Ella, "Do you take a cab there or just a cab back and bus it there?" Ella's reply was:

I take a cab there and back. To the XXX cause its harder to keep the kids under control if I take

them on the bus. It's okay when we go to XXX cause the rides is, not so long. They get restless and then I get mad and then it's no good. In the summer we'll walk to XXX but in the winter I gotta take the bus. Its harder in the winter cause I gotta you know like, dress the kids and if I miss the bus then I gotta wait and the kids get cranky. Then when I get into XXX I gotta undress them and watch out for them and then shop at the same time. Its hard right now cause I don't have anyone to help me or nothing.

Ella states her children will get cranky but she feels that she must continue with the grocery shopping since she has invested time and money getting to the grocery store. For Ella the arrival of income and lack of food will have precedence over her children's behaviour. Ella cannot afford the luxury of a baby-sitter since she does not have the extra income and she does not know anyone who would baby-sit for her.

Patty, whose children are less than 12, reminisced with the researcher when her children were younger.

Patty said:

I guess before when my kids were younger it was harder to get to the store. I mean I had to get one of the nieces to look after them or I had to take them to the store. Then I usually take cab home. Ya, when you have younger children its harder, but for me I was okay because I always had a older niece or someone stay with me who would help me. I never really found it too hard not like some people I know.

Patty understood when children are younger that it is more work when there are no family supports to help with child care.

The women who had children in the age range of 3 to 23 still had problems grocery shopping. For example, Fay will take her bike grocery shopping to save the money using the bus or taxicab. When she comes home her children will help her carry the groceries home. By shopping with a bike Fay is limited to the number of items she can purchase. Juanita was another woman who took her children shopping with her. When the researcher asked Juanita if she shopped with her sister, Juanita replied:

No, I do not shop with her. I shop with my children. They help me buy junk food (laughter). My oldest child does help me with the shopping. The kids will help me take the groceries in the house and help me put in cart or car.

For Juanita having her children with her shopping is helpful. By having her children shop with her she saves time and energy carrying and packing the groceries. However, there is a trade off from her children's help; the children will put food in the cart

that Juanita would not necessarily purchase.

If the women has somebody to take care of their children they would prefer to shop alone without the children. For example, Suzette lives in a four-plex house, with her brother and sister as neighbours and either one will baby-sit for her when she grocery shops. Suzette will return the favour by baby-sitting for her sister when she has to grocery shopping. For her brother she will lend him food when he is out of food. For Suzette and her siblings they have worked out their relationships and they can rely on one another for assistance when required.

Zorana also has relatives living close to her with but she cannot always rely on them to help her with baby-sitting. When the researcher asked Zorana, "And do you take your children"? Zorana replied:

No way, are you kidding. Thats too much work. I just call my mom to look after them. Sometimes my mom is not available so I have to wait for her if she's busy. That's hard right now especially when I am out of everything. So I try to have a little bit extra stocked away for the kids. For me its okay. I just suffer for the one or two days but not my kids.

Zorana does not have the available resources to

hire a baby-sitter when she has no food in the house and she can't always rely on her mother. Zorana will ensure there is food for the children and she will "suffer" rather than talk to her mother to explain her situation.

Summary

The barriers faced by the 19 women are not separate issues but interrelated to one another. For example, a woman with young children may decide to live closer to a grocery store to save money on bus fare or taxicab fare or because it means less walking to a grocery store with her children. The women who had no baby-sitters had little choice but to take their children grocery shopping even if the children were in an irritable mood.

The women that did take their children on the bus did not know what to do when their children's behaviour was embarrassing for them. Instead at least six of the women began taking taxicabs to the grocery store because the women may not want the attention from the

bus patrons. If the women are lacking in self-esteem, it would make sense they would avoid situations where the focus of attention would be on them. Another plausible reason why the women would take a taxicab instead of a bus would be they did not have the necessarily parenting skills.

If a woman did not have enough money or groceries they would ensure their children would have food. The woman would not eat for days, not knowing they were comprising their health.

The women with the youngest children and no family or friends for support had the greatest problems with grocery shopping. They had to rely on their own self to ensure the most basic need of food was available.

VIII. INCOME SECURITY/STRATEGIES

The financial insecurity experienced by the women interviewed appeared to be coupled with feelings of chronic or acute food security. Acute or transitory food insecurity refers to the experiences of actually running out of food, and is sometimes labelled "hunger" by the popular press (Tarasuk, 1987, p. 76). Chronic food insecurity describes the state of having a regular, but limited and personally unacceptable supply of food (CDA, 1991). Therefore, the significance of food security will be discussed in context of financial security. How the women cope with the constant income security will be discussed under the strategies section.

Financial Security

Of the 19 women interviewed 14 were financially supported by social assistance program, 2 were employed, 2 were attending university or college and therefore received a student allowance and the final

woman received monies from her late husband's will. Of the 14 women that received social assistance 10 reported receiving child tax credit monies and one woman also received money from Manitoba Indian Education for housing two students.

The women that were on social assistance programs or attending university or college lived with constant financial insecurity. Dependence on funding from social assistance or education monies from Canada Employment and Immigration or from their band's chief and council meant the women had to follow certain policies and procedures to ensure they received funding. Women would attend classes even if they were physically or spiritually ill since they could not afford to lose any portion of their fund.

In Winnipeg the welfare snitch line was established where citizens could phone a certain number to inform the social assistance department about people who were abusing social assistance payments. This current welfare snitch line made many women initially reluctant to speak about other income sources for fear that the researcher would contact the social services agencies. Once trust and rapport was established the

women did reveal they did get extra moneys or food from family members or their ex-husbands. For example, when the researcher asked Juanita, "About how much a month do you think you spend on groceries?" Juanita replied:

Spend the \$300.00 I get from welfare. I buy groceries and other spending things like clothes, shampoo, and medicine....welfare is so cheap. I'd like to see them live on the money I get.

Juanita had explained that she had given welfare the information that she received money from her ex-husband and that welfare therefore would only give her the minimum payment. She was bitter that she had given this information. She constantly worried about receiving enough money from welfare or any other sources since in some occasions her ex-husband will not make the payments. Although she was learning about budgeting from the COPEW (Career Option Program for Employing Women) course, she indicated that the strategy to put money in an envelope to use to spend on bills such as food, rent, did not work for her. Sometimes she found that she had to take money from the food envelope or the kids envelope to pay certain bills if she did not get enough money from her ex-husband.

Even though the women were learning budgeting skills from COPEW it has been questionable whether or not if the form of budgeting they were learning was appropriate given the lifestyle the core area women were living. The form of budgeting they were learning had not considered the women's constant juggling act and their limited income. The type of budgeting they were learning would be appropriate for a middle class person who had to spend so much money on bills and where unexpected costs would be covered by funds set aside for emergencies. The use of envelopes in the author's opinion sets a person up for failure and feeling of defeat when they decide to dip into the bill money when for example, their child needs a special outfit for a school activity.

The women who are dependent upon their monthly or weekly cheque from social assistance are struggling to make ends meet, they virtually live month to month. They are thrust into panic, unable to pay bill or purchase foods when the money they have has been stretched to its maximum. Sometimes unexpected events will cause the women to feel the impact of the poverty situation they are living with therefore their

insecurity rises. When family or friends visit for extended periods of time without contributing financially or with food the woman's insecurity will be further exaggerated. The following quotation illustrates how the women feel when they feel they cannot discuss the issue of reciprocity with their family:

Researcher:

What do you do when you run out of food or money when your relatives visit?

Fay:

For me it is hard. My relatives think that I should feed them. Sometimes, I just want to pretend that I am not at home. I find, like, when they come to visit that our food goes so quickly. Sometimes they will bring food with them, then that's okay. But, most times they come and they eat my food and it is hard. But, I guess that's how they were brought up. They come to the city and they want you to feed them...

The conversation continued but Fay became quite upset and she asked if the researcher could stop the tape. Although Fay did not mention that she wished that she could talk to her relatives the helplessness she expressed in her voice was evident. Initially she sounded angry and her voice soon quivered and the

powerlessness she felt took over. Fay was trying her best to feed her family and to maintain the relationships with her relatives which was causing conflict within herself.

The women who were able to speak to their relatives or friends about bringing food or helping financially when they visited did not express such a high degree of insecurity. However, they still felt the feeling of insecurity.

Well, I've just started to say things in the last three months or so... Umm, I'll probably ask them to bring their own food. It's still hard to do this. I'm okay with certain people but other people, well lets just say I'm working on that.

Another aspect of the financial insecurity experienced by the women interviewed was the fact that the extra benefits they currently received, such as of the child tax credit, are contingent on their status as single mothers with dependent children. As soon as their children leave home, graduates from high school or have been removed from the home by Children's aid meant they would not receive this credit. The women depended on this extra income to supplement their current income so they can purchase either the food

they required or any extra items their children required. For example, if the child required a special outfit if they were involved in after school activities. As Gloria says:

If it wasn't for the child tax credit I don't know if I could survive. Maybe it will be easier when my children get older. I don't know. Maybe I will only worry about me. Right now, if it wasn't for this extra cheque I don't know if I would be able to get all the food.

When the women do not have enough money to last till the end of the month many of the women have accepted this will happen, as if it was part of everyday life. For example, when the researcher asked Ethelda, "Do you ever find that you run out of food or money before you get money?" Ethelda replied:

Ya...I live with it. Nothing else I can do. But, mostly I run out of money never food. Ahm, I guess I will borrow money from my sister but I won't borrow from friends.

Ethelda has accepted that running out of money or food means that she borrows from her family members. Ethelda will not use food banks when she runs out of money or food. She had this vision that food banks were

dirty places and only derelicts visit the food banks.

When the researcher inquired about staple food they were purchasing 12 of the women gave in-depth answers the other 7 women did not feel they could answer this question. The women that gave in-depth analysis of their food selection did not seem to feel their food selection was of poor quality. These women purchased the same foods they purchased in their home communities.

The 12 women reported that they purchased inexpensive cuts of meat and meat products. Erina responded:

Okay, ..sandwich meat, coffee...pause. Kraft dinner, sugar, salt..cereal for the kids, ... bologna meat..sometimes spam, ... sometimes fresh fruit. I think all food is staple cause if I don't have any of it these things my kids suffer. Oh, yes milk, too. The carton milk.

The other 12 women also reported meat products such as: canned meat, klik, hamburger, salami, wiener, chicken, roast beef, turkey loaf, chicken loaf. Of the 12 women, 7 reported purchasing canned meat, 3 reported sometimes roast beef, and 2 definitely had to purchase hamburger. These meats were perceived to be the most

cost effective and could be cooked in a variety of different meals. All the women purchased sandwich meat for their children's lunches. Much of the food purchased revolved around making sure their children did not suffer.

The insecurity that the women feel when they do not have enough money can be summed up by Chloris statement when the researcher asked her, "Do you ever find that you ever run out of money before your next pay cheque?", Chloris replied:

...After paying my bills yesterday I got my social assistance and I had to pay like I'm behind on my rent because I had to use some of that money from like I had to buy winter clothing and now I'm behind in my rent and they want me to pay off my arrears because they've been sitting there too long. So, thats another 100 dollars out of my cheque every two weeks for another two months, so that means I have a little less money for a while and I gotta pay my phone so I still owe money there. So now I gotta make arrangements for that. And now I only gotta about 70 dollars to pay for groceries and geeze that's not going to last me for two weeks with four kids. So, like its really bothering me. Like its really bothering me, like I keep thinking what am I going to do.

Chloris plays the catch up game every month trying to juggle her bills around and trying to purchase extras for her children. This catch up game has been

played by women who do not have the extra income. Many of the women believed the income they received from the various sources was inadequate meet their families' needs. At least 12 of the 19 women mentioned they could not make it from one cheque to the next without having to borrow money from a friend, or go to a food bank. These strategies to supplement their income will be further discussed in the following section.

Strategies

The 19 women interviewed outlined a wide variety of strategies they have employed to minimize their experiences of income security. The strategies the women used in this study appear to be the same strategies indicated by the literature of low income strategies when there is not enough income to purchase food. The strategies that will be discussed are: (a) food bank usage; (b) borrowing money; (c) pawning; (d) development of credit from grocery stores; (e) country food usage; and, (f) other miscellaneous methods, such as using shopping carts, purchasing freezers, building

shelves, shopping in bulk. Each woman appears to have developed her own mechanism to cope with a limited income budget.

Food bank

Of the 19 women interviewed 12 women used the food banks at least once a month to supplement their income at the end of the month when monies were too scarce to purchase food. According to Riches (1985) most people using the food banks are on social assistance, unemployed or on low wages. Graham (1986a) further stated that single parents comprise the largest group, about 50% of single mothers in Canada live on incomes as low as one-half of the poverty line and they are the ones using the food banks.

Of the 12 women using the food banks 11 were unemployed and 1 was employed part-time, thus the women fell in the low-wage and below the poverty line categories. The employed woman worked part-time at a grocery store and had established a food credit system with the store. When she ran out of food she would get groceries from the store and they would take the cost

of the groceries off her pay cheque.

The other 11 women who used the food banks had various personal feelings about using the food banks. For example, Ada described the process of using the food bank and how it made her feel:

Well, they made you sit in these chairs (nervous laughter) and they would go row by row and line up and then show them your welfare card. It's just very degrading. XX Church is a little better. They don't ask so many questions like some other places. Like, some ask if you are married and if you are why isn't your husband getting food for you. And they keep track of who's going to the food bank more than twice a month. Now, you have to call XX if you want to get into any of the church banks and they have a listing of how many times you use the food banks, any food bank. I think there are a few out there that still are not part of the XX.

Of the 12 women who used the food banks at least 7 of the women mentioned the process of getting food from the food banks was degrading and it made them feel even poorer than what they were. For example, Chloris replied:

Well, ahm, a lot of times I go to food banks I only go to two or three maybe. The only time I will go is when I am really, really, really, struggling, and that. Like, if I know I can make it then I'll be okay.

Chloris indicated that she will only use the food banks when she really feels it is necessary otherwise it seemed that she felt that she should not be using the food banks. As she spoke, she seemed to feel ashamed to admit that she used the food banks and emphasized she would only use the food banks in very dire consequences. She seemed apologetic for having to use this method to obtain extra food. Ada mentioned that the first time she had to use the food bank she recalls crying because it was such an embarrassing moment.

One woman mentioned that food banks did not really help people to become independent. She said:

Well, I find that with these food banks that a lot of people depend on them, they don't, they don't spend their money wisely. Like on welfare day or family allowance day the bingo halls are all full aye? People spend their money there. A lot of their money on the VLT's, the machines are always, like, if you walk in on a bar on cheque day the VLT's are busy like you have to stand in line to get a machine if you want to. And they know they can get to a food bank if they run out of groceries. And I think ... that people use that as a crutch. Me anyways, that's what I think.

When the researcher asked the women how they found out about the food banks almost all the women heard

about the food banks from other friends or family members. For example, when the researcher asked Suzette, "how do you know about the locations of the food bank?", Suzette had replied, "from people I know, they tell you about them."

Although food banks were initially created as stop gap measures they have in fact become, an institution that low income, single female heads of household have relied upon to feed their children. According to Riches (1986b) food banks in Canada have quickly become substitutes for inadequate financial assistance from various governments across Canada.

Borrowing Money

In the study by Tarasuk and Maclean (1990) they reported when food shortage was severe the first preference for the women were to borrow money or food from a friend or relative. In this study 7 of the 19 women borrowed money from their relatives or friends first before using the food banks. The other 12 women either did not have any relationship with their family or did not know too many people to borrow money from or

they simply did not want to borrow money. Of the 7 who borrowed money; 3 received as a loan, money from relatives; 2 received money from friends; 1 from both relatives and friends; and the last women did not mention where she borrowed money.

When the researcher asked Janet, "when you run out of money or food before the next source of food or money what do you do"? Janet gave the following reply:

When we run out of food or money? Well pawn something and usually the last week of the month is the roughest time of the month and we will pawn something. If it is really bad, but first, oh, but first we look you know, we look all over the place and try and borrow money from friends and relatives. Usually we try and look, but then the last resort is to pawn something.

Although Janet did not like using the food banks or pawning goods she would invariably use pawning or food banks. The people they tried to borrow money from would also be in the same financial situation. When the friends or family does not have a phone there is a lot of energy expended in trying to locate people to borrow money.

In some of the cases the women would only borrow money from their family and not their friends or vice-versa depending on their relationships with their

friends or family. For example, with Ethelda, when the researcher asked her what she did when she ran out of money or food, Ethelda replied:

I live with it. Nothing else I can do. But, mostly I run out of money never food. I guess I will borrow money from my sister but I won't borrow from friends.

Ethelda felt borrowing money from friends only creates more problems when she is not able to repay back money she has borrowed from friends. Ethelda does not feel the same way when she borrows from family because they can understand her situation and if they borrowed money from her they would be late with their payments.

In contrast Chloris does not bother with her family because they only seem to come to her place when she has money or food. Therefore when Chloris needs extra money or food she does not rely on her family rather she will not eat for days or she will go to the food banks.

Pawning

Another method that low income people will use

when they require extra money to purchase food was pawning of durable goods. Tarasuk and Maclean (1990) study indicated that possession and potential resale value of home entertainment equipment and appliances would add to a woman's sense of financial security when the women were in desperate need of cash. Of the 19 women interviewed 3 indicated they would pawn household items to obtain cash to purchase food. Juanita regularly pawns items stating that the cashier knows her. This cashier will not charge Juanita extra when Juanita is late for her payment. More often Juanita will pawn her television and her video recorder and will leave the items from one week to the maximum of a month. She will try to get her television out of the pawn shop because it is the only inexpensive entertainment she can offer her children.

Janet indicated that most often she will pawn an item near the end of the month because this is, "the roughest time of the month" and this will be her last resort if she is not able to borrow money from family or friends. Janet also indicated that she will keep items in the pawn shop from two weeks to one month and sometimes she has forgotten about an item. When Janet

has forgotten an item, she will not return back to the pawn shop to get the item because it is too embarrassing to try and get the item back.

Credit from Grocery Store

Of the 19 women only 1 woman developed credit from the local grocery store. Carrie, would charge her food at her place of employment and then they would take off money from her cheque to pay for the groceries. For Carrie this was a convenient method for purchasing and paying for groceries. Although only one woman used the credit method there was a total of four women who knew about using credit but would not participate in this method because they knew how hard it was to get out of the credit system.

Gloria did not participate in this method because she had used this scheme before and after several years she is still paying for her bill. She described how she felt about using credit or charging up food:

Well, you see back home I got into a real trap cause where I did my shopping I did it all on credit, and you know it was so easy to go there and put a little food on my bill and then before

you know it, I used to owe over \$600. And to this day I am still paying it off, I still owe \$175.00 on it. ...That was pretty bad. I pay them by paying them just a little bit. Every month I send them a little bit of money. They're really a nice old couple, if I needed money real bad they would lend it to me. That's how they are.

Gloria understood how easy it was to get into the credit system of purchasing food and she did not want to fall into the same trap. When she ran out of food Gloria would use the food banks or borrow money.

Country Food Usage

There was a total of 14 women of the 19 women who consumed country foods. Of the 14 women 12 women received the country foods from their home communities and 2 women paid for the country foods. Even though the 14 women consumed the country food only 2 women said that the country food supplemented their food which in turn saved them money. Juanita said:

The other food that we get from my family is wild meat and sometimes fish. Sometimes if our brothers come in they will bring some meat and we'll save money on meat. But, its a lot of money for them to go hunting. Like, they have to pay for the gas and then they have to buy bullets.

Although Juanita recognized the savings for herself, she also recognized the cost incurred by her brothers when they hunted for wild meat. Juanita would therefore only accept a portion of the meat and would help pay for the freight cost if her brothers had to send the meat. Chris also mentioned wild meat helped her reduce her grocery bill. In most cases she pays for the country food. She said:

We get a lot of wild meat from family and friends. Sometimes I will pay \$10.00 for a hind quarter from friends.

Chris also understood the cost involved in purchasing wild foods and when she had extra money she would pay her friends for the wild meat. Her relatives would not accept the money she wanted to give them for the wild meat because they knew Chris would help them out when they came to Winnipeg.

The other 12 women, who received country foods from their home communities, sometimes did not find the country foods supplemented their income. If the women received the country foods in 6 of the 12 cases they had to consume the country food right away because they did not have any freezer space for the food.

Summary

The financial insecurity experienced by the 19 women interviewed was associated with feelings; (a) of personal restrictions of where and when they could spend their money, (b) inadequate social assistance benefits received, (c) no long range financial security in the near future. The women were constantly playing a juggling game where they had very little to manoeuvre, they virtually had no spending options. The options they had were: (a) food banks borrowing money, (b) pawning, (c) credit from a grocery store (d) country food usage, (d) starving themselves.

IX. COGNITIVE MAPPING

Cognitive mapping is a study of the ways in which people perceive and remember their environment (Canter & Craig, 1981). Cognitive maps will vary according to an individual, socioeconomic, and cultural background (Moore & Golledge, 1976; Liben, Patterson & Newcombe, 1981). Cognitive mapping allows the researcher to get inside people's heads to see how people make sense of the physical surroundings in which they live (Moore & Golledge, 1976; Gould & White, 1974; Stoneall, 1981).

Lee's (1986) classic study of the neighbourhoods as a socio-spatial schema linked people's environmental representation and behaviour. Lee demonstrated the individual residents drawings of their neighbourhood were related to their utilization of goods and services within their community. In this thesis the researcher was interested in knowing where participants went grocery shopping, where they lived in relation to the grocery stores.

The cognitive maps were drawn after the interview. In 16 interviews (84%) the participants requested the

tape be turned off during the drawing of the cognitive map. Once the tape was off the participants did not seem to be as anxious. One participant uttered, "thank god that's done with, I feel nervous have myself taped." Therefore many of the comments made during the mapping exercise were written out during the exercise or after at a nearby restaurant.

The researcher provided the participants with one piece of 8 ½ inches x 17 inches white unlined paper and a pencil or pen, and the following instructions:

I' d like you to draw a map of where you shop on the paper, I've provided. Draw the map exactly as you would go grocery shopping. If you go by vehicle draw, the route, you take to go grocery shopping. There will be no time limit for drawing this map.

The instructions were minimal, so that the content would reflect each individual's concept of neighbourhood grocery shopping outlets.

The maps were not analyzed using quantitative methods of data analysis such as factor analytic, multiple regression, and analysis of variance models. The maps could also be calculated using size exaggeration (Howard, Chase, & Rothman, 1976), which

entails comparing the map drawn by the participant with the actual map of the inner city. However the intent of the maps was to assess relevant aspects of the physical environment that participants drew, in other words how the participants made sense of their neighbourhood grocery shopping outlets.

To have an understanding of the 19 maps a detailed analysis using three women as case studies will be discussed. These women will comprise of a woman who had recently migrated to Winnipeg, the second woman at the midpoint range which was approximately 10 years, to the final woman who had lived in Winnipeg for the greatest number of years, which was approximately 24 years. The women will be presented as Juanita, Ruby and Chris.

These three case studies will give an overview of the types of maps that were drawn and the experiences the women encountered while living in the urban area. Following the case studies there will be a brief overview of the other maps.

Case StudiesJuanita

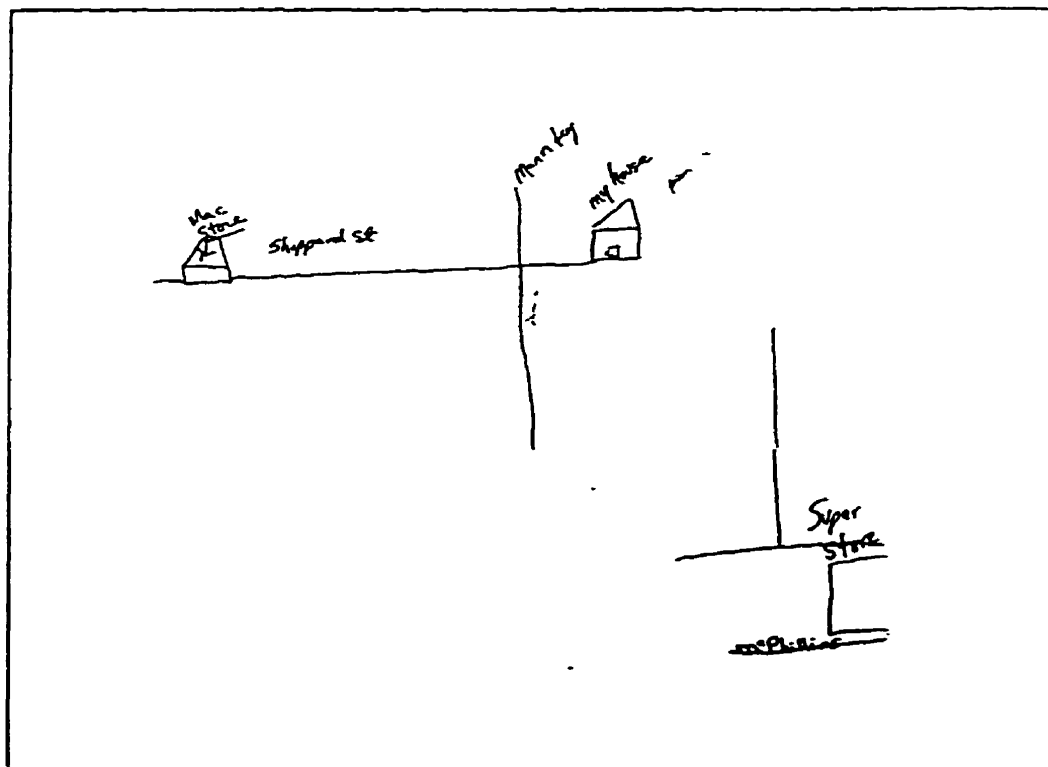
Juanita, the participant who has lived in Winnipeg the least, drew her map using half the sheet (Figure 3). Her starting point for her map was her home. According to Wood and Beck (1989) most people commence their cognitive maps by starting with what they know best, that is their home.

As she drew her map, she explained the streets. She said, "I walk down here, then turn left, in the summer." The beginning point of her drawing was her home. She described her walk to the large grocery store chain and talked about what she purchased at the store. As she spoke she also said that she would shop at the convenience store occasionally. At the convenience store she would shop for items such as milk, bread, items she usually used up before the next large grocery shopping.

As Juanita explained her route to the stores, she was not aware of the street names she was only aware of the destination point. As she spoke, she mentioned that

she still felt a bit anxious living in the city and would only venture out when she needed to run an errand.

Figure 3. Cognitive map by Case Study 1-Juanita



At one point when Jaunita explained her route she thought for about two minutes about a particular street name to explain where she turned to go grocery

shopping. As Juanita was explaining her routes for the winter and summer months, she described both routes as if she was walking yet in the winter she borrows a friend's car to go grocery shopping. For Jaunita the route to grocery shopping is a routine that she does not distinguish between walking and driving to the grocery store.

Her map is very minimal indicating that she knows how to get where she needs to go for grocery shopping. Her neighbourhood consists of her route to the grocery store as Juanita is still afraid to venture outside her boundaries unless it has to do with household duties such as grocery shopping. Juanita does not know her neighbours and her map indicates this as she only drew her home and did not mention her neighbours. Juanita lives a very sheltered life and spends most of her time with her two children at home watching television.

Ruby

Ruby, the participant who has lived in Winnipeg at the mid range, drew her map using the whole sheet

(Figure 4). As with Juanita Ruby's starting point was her home.

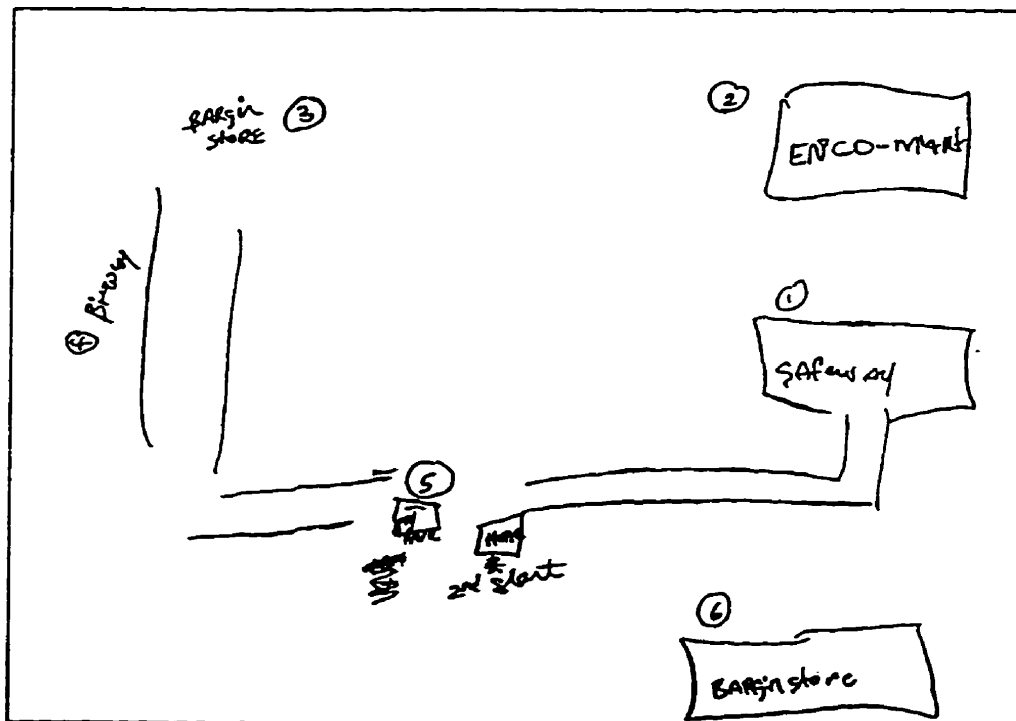
As Ruby drew her map, she talked about some of the streets that she walked by. As she drew the grocery stores she began by the explaining where were the places she would shop for her once a month shopping. The one large grocery store chain she would get to by walking and the other large grocery store chain she would take a bus since it was further away from her home.

In the map the second grocery store chain was drawn to the right of the other stores and without a path since Ruby went to this store by bus. She knew what bus to take and that it took her to the store but she said she never bothered looking at the street signs.

As with Juanita Ruby was not acutely aware of street names she was only aware of the destination point she needed to get to for grocery shopping. As she explained the places, she shopped she thought about the month and why she went to the stores. When she went to the bargain stores she mentioned she went to these stores every second week because their canned goods

were cheap and it helped lessen her load when she went for the large shop in the beginning of the month.

Figure 4. Cognitive Map by Case Study 2-Ruby



Again this map is very minimal indicating that Ruby knew how to get to where she needs to go for grocery shopping. Her neighbourhood consists of her

route to the grocery stores and very little interaction with her neighbours. As Ruby drew her map, she did not mention her neighbours only the stores she used and how much work it was to go shopping with two children to take care of at the same time. Ruby has very similar living conditions as Juanita and will spend much of her time with her children watching television.

Chris

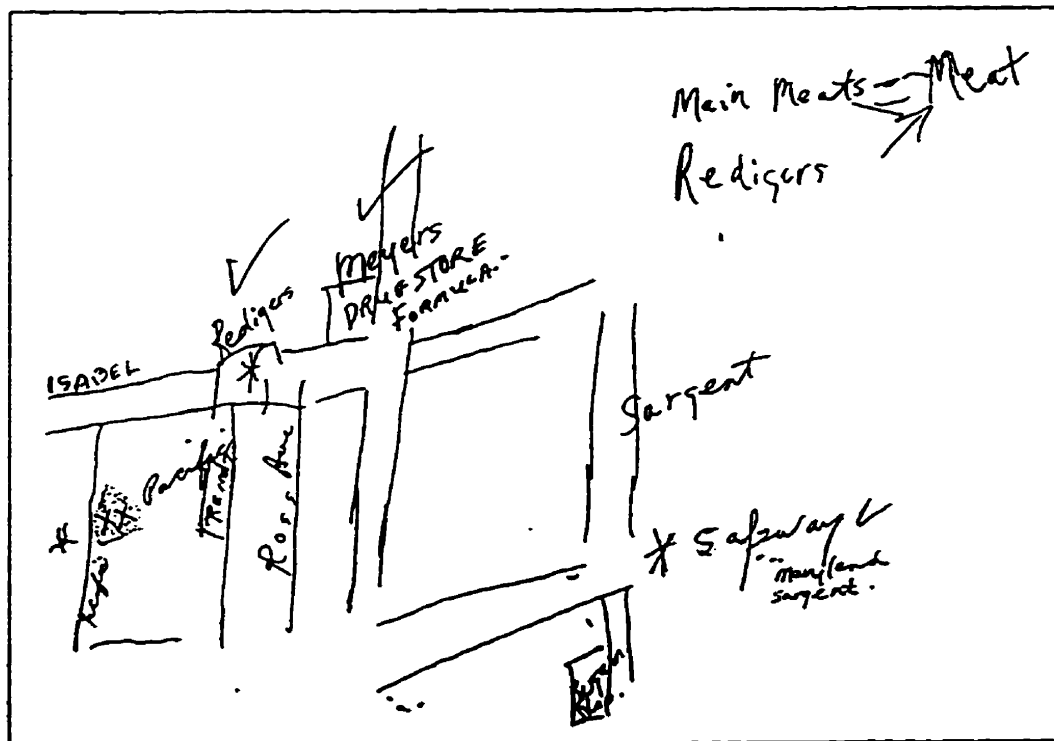
Chris, the participant who has lived in Winnipeg the longest, approximately 24 years, drew her map, using the middle of the sheet (Figure 5).

As she drew her map, she first drew the large grocery store rather than her home. After drawing large grocery store chain and her home she then explained the routes she used to get to the other stores.

Chris' map unlike Juanita's and Ruby's map had more detail. Chris was more aware of the street names and how to get to the various stores using a vehicle although she did not drive. Chris was aware of the

street names because some of the people who drove the vehicle she would need to give directions to that various grocery stores.

Figure 5. Cognitive Map by Case Study 3-Chris



Chris had a routine set out and she knew what stores she would purchase goods that were on sale. As she drew her map, she explained her grocery shopping pattern. She wanted the researcher to know that she

shopped at least once a week and that most of the merchants knew her and would inform her when the next sale was on. Chris spent much of her time grocery shopping and spending time with her relatives and was acutely aware of her neighbourhood shopping services.

Discussion

Many of the 19 maps included little more than the street on which the subjects home were located and one or two identifiable structures (Appendix J). While the participants were drawing their maps personal comments about aspects of the neighborhoods and personal activities were frequently included.

Of the 19 women there were 12 that were in the urban area 2 to 5 years. Janet, was the only map that had great detail. Janet was one of the three people who shopped with her adult child. The other two women, Carrie and Mira, had indicated they had to ask their adult children to shop with them. Both, Carrie and Mira, owned vehicles and they drew their maps as they would drive to the store. Both were aware of only the

main streets to get to their destination points. Whereas Janet would walk to the store with her brother and where they would take a taxicab back. Her map had more detail about street names and alternative routes to take to the store.

The maps drawn by the women who shopped alone, living in Winnipeg for the 2 to 5 years, maps were very minimal. They drew line maps with very minimal detail and very little discussion about their neighborhoods. The women indicated their main activity was shopping for their family. They knew their route to shopping and all the women walked to the store. More often the women would take their children out to the convenience store as an outing. Of the 12 women no one knew their neighbors with the exception of Janet whose neighbor was her brother.

There were 5 women who lived in the core area for 6 to 9 years. There is one woman, Gabby, who has her own vehicle and her map is drawn as if she was driving. The streets are drawn wide whereas the others are line drawing with little width to the streets. Ada's map is very curious as she drew the buildings instead of street names. She had three children in their early

20's and they do not help her with grocery shopping. Ada spends much of her time at home. In each instance the women began their map with their house as their starting point.

Summary

From the cognitive maps case studies and the actual interviews the women who have migrated from rural to urban areas and have lived in the urban areas without supports generally have less detail. Whereas participants, like Chris, who had use of a vehicle, have more detail in their map. According to Liben, Arthur and Patterson (1981) when residents of lower income have less mobility they tended to have less detail in their maps in contrast people with more mobility had more detail and tended to be in the upper income bracket. Although Chris was not in the upper income bracket, the detail in her map indicates how much access she has to a vehicle.

In the same study by Liben et al. (1981) the most predominant services that people pointed out in their

maps were the small grocery stores and supermarkets, of the 22 most frequently visited destinations, 12 were food stores. In this research although the participants were asked to specifically draw where they shopped the 14 participants indicated that grocery shopping was their main activity outside their home.

From the maps the transportation barrier became evident. Women who had less access to vehicles talked about the struggles to go grocery shopping. Overall the maps gave insight into how the women spend their time outside the home and reiterated the transportation barrier they faced when they went grocery shopping.

X. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The findings of this study have given answers to the questions about the barriers to food procurement urban Aboriginal contend with on a daily basis. In this group of women the desire for healthy food was not evident because ensuring there was food to last till the end of the month was viewed as equally or more important. It is not only important to understand the context in which food procurement decisions are made it is equally important to understand the outcomes of these decisions.

The model "Barriers to Food Procurement by Urban Aboriginal People using theories of Dependency and Political Economy" (Figure 1) was developed by the researcher. The model was modified from the model developed by Campbell, Katamay and Connolly (1988) "Food Insecurity and the Risk Factors" (Figure 2). The model was developed by the researcher to guide the

conceptualization and understanding of how the historical impact of colonization on food procurement has continued to influence Aboriginal women's lives.

The key food procurement barrier identified by the women interviewed was financial insecurity. In this study the other significant barriers that impeded food procurement and which were imbedded in financial security included: (a) geographical distance, i.e., the distance between the participant's residence and the grocery store outlet; (b) transportation, i.e., decisions about walking or taking a taxicab to and from the grocery store; and (c) child care, i.e., decisions about taking a child grocery shopping. Impoverished people must contend with these barriers and problematic decisions in day to day food procurement.

The research identified a number of adaptation strategies impoverished people develop to obtain more money to purchase more food or they will seek alternative methods to obtain enough food. People in poverty situations will obtain funding through the private sector, the public sector and from the informal sector (Figure 2). In this study the coping or adaptation strategies included: (a) using food banks;

(b) borrowing money; (c) pawning durable goods, such as a video cassette recorder; (d) development of credit with local neighbourhood grocery stores; and (e) receiving country foods from family or friends.

In Campbell's et al. model (Figure 2) the authors identified gifts from family and friends, gardening, and scavenging as alternative sources for obtaining food. These alternative ways of obtaining food were methods not mentioned by the women interviewed in this study. However gifts from family and friends may have been referred when the Aboriginal women stated they had received country foods from relatives. Another strategy that was identified but not referred to in Campbell's et al. model, was for women to starve themselves. Respondents reported that they went without food rather than see their children go hungry in situations where they knew there would not be enough food to last until the end of the month.

Generally Aboriginal women involved in this study used the same strategies to cope with the financial insecurity as have been reported in other studies of the poor. They encountered the same barriers as other people living in impoverished circumstances. However a

barrier unique to the study population was the Aboriginal woman's relationship with her family and friends. In the Aboriginal culture the extended family, composed of immediate relatives and close friends, functioned as a co-operative unit to create and obtain the necessities of life such as food, shelter, and clothing (Nagler, 1970). Unfortunately the obligation system which allows this co-operative unit to function was for the most part not adaptable to urban living.

When Aboriginal women relocate to an urban area in many cases they enter under stressful situations, such as spousal abuse. They migrate from a community that has imbedded into it's political structure the historical impact of colonization (Figure 2). As one informant stated, "Colonization has had an impact on the women's self-esteem and decision making skills"

Aboriginal women who enter the urban area must overcome obstacles which include: minimal economic and family support; limited knowledge of the urban culture; low self-esteem; and barriers associated with cultural norms acquired in their home community. This research indicates when women enter the urban area with low self-esteem and with the cultural influence of the

obligation system they still find methods to cope.

When they relocate to the urban setting they will not have the necessary skills to deal with family members who decide to visit them. Instead the respondents reported that they developed coping strategies which would ensure they have enough food for their own families and still allow them to maintain their cultural obligations to their family. One woman, for example, reported that she would hide her food at another person's home until her family members returned to their rural community. Another woman would just cook all the food she had on hand and then she would borrow from others to supplement food lost to the family visitors. One of the five women stated that she "would move to another area of the city to get away from family members who came to visit, too much." Some of the women would deliberately not have a phone installed so they did not have any means of communication with relatives visiting in the city.

Among the 19 women interviewed there were two who would ask their family members to bring their own food or help financially when they came for a visit. The other 16 women would hide food, borrow money, or starve

rather than ask their family members to bring food or help financially. These sixteen women knew they would face even greater hardship once the family members left.

Implications

A strength of this research is that low-income urban Aboriginal women who have migrated to an urban setting from a rural setting have been systematically studied. This study provides base line data that could be used by health professionals to understand the barriers Aboriginal women encounter in grocery shopping. Ultimately the base line data will give more knowledge about the health of Aboriginal women and her children.

In terms of recommendations for future health practitioners, I would like to present policy development, program development and implications for research. The policy and program recommendations will address the barriers that Aboriginal women encountered when they migrated to an urban area. The research recommendations will discuss future research and a

solution that will address the high refusal rate that occurred in this study. I will begin with policy development.

The first policy recommendation would be a policy that addresses the cross-cultural impact that Aboriginal woman endure when they relocate to an urban setting. There are programs and policies that govern relocation of immigrants to Canada. There needs to be a similar policy where Aboriginal woman who migrate into the urban area under highly stressful situations can apply to the government to have the same services available to refugees who enter into Canada.

A second recommendation is to have a policy where a higher percentage of program funding must be allocated towards Aboriginal woman and children. There must be funding made available to sustain programs that are in existence.

For program development recommendations the cognitive maps did give insights into how lonely the women felt when they initially enter the urban area. There needs to be a "drop-in" program where the women can congregate to discuss their current social situation. For example, there could be self-esteem

classes, parenting classes, budgeting classes. These classes can be taught in a cultural context appropriate to meet the needs of the Aboriginal woman.

A second recommendation for program development is the need for women to have low-income homes that are closer to larger shopping areas. The homes should have a play care center near by or have day care facilities for women who need the time to go grocery shopping or paying household bills. These home ideally also need elevators if they are over two floors and they need to have a security system.

A third program recommendation are food programs where women can learn how to work together to make inexpensive meals. A program where woman can store the country foods they receive from family or friends if they do not have adequate storage facilities in their homes.

In terms of research I would like to begin by outlining a practical change that needs to be addressed. In conducting research with impoverished Aboriginal women it would be more practical to connect with an agency, and have a contact person in that agency, that works with Aboriginal women. The

researcher through time would be able to create an atmosphere of trust and rapport with the Aboriginal women. The women in this study were experiencing stressful lives during the interviews and to participate in an interview that required the women to talk about issues they do not understand themselves with a stranger would only increase their stress.

The contact person could act as an liaison person who would introduce the researcher to an active member of the network of women who meet frequently at the agency. The liaison would involve the researcher in projects within the agency. This would alleviate any mistrust the women had about the research and the researcher would not be perceived as another outsider.

A second research recommendation, in retrospect, perhaps a self-esteem index would have provided a more accurate account in personal assertiveness and empowerment. The index would need to incorporate the cultural norms that the women face when they move from a rural setting to the urban community. The index would have complemented the cognitive maps and answered the questions about "why they may not know their neighbors or why they do not meet their neighbors?"

The third research recommendation involves further studies, in particular comparative studies which could involve studies that explore: (a) Aboriginal women in higher-income brackets using similar methodology; (b) core area grocery stores and suburban grocery stores to investigate if there are price differences in food. These studies would allow a systematic comparison with the data already collected.

The fourth research recommendation is ensuring there are subsequent investigation with store owners and managers to explore their attitudes toward low-income Aboriginal women. These studies would answer the questions about self-esteem, racism, and sexism. The research would also raise and answer other questions such as, "Is there a difference in how Aboriginal women are serviced when shopping in an inner city grocery store versus a suburban grocery store?" They would explore if there is a price difference between the inner city and the suburban area and raise the question, "why is there a price difference."

The issue of urban Aboriginal woman will continue to be an important issue for health professionals as the numbers of Aboriginal woman migrating to the urban

center increases yearly. They will enter the urban center with health issues that health professional will need to address. Ultimately the health of a woman will affect the health of her children.

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Appendix A

Aboriginal Peoples DefinitionsCanada's Aboriginal Peoples

"Aboriginal," generally speaking, refers to the descendants of the original inhabitants of Canada. The Constitution Act, 1982 specifies that Aboriginal peoples include the Indian, Inuit and Metis people of Canada.

Definitions

There are no specific legal definitions for all of the three Aboriginal groups; however, general descriptions follow:

Status Indians

Also called registered Indians, are persons with status within the meaning of the Indian Act, and whose names are included on a register kept by the federal

government.

Under the Indian Act, until now, to have Indian status, one's father must have been an Indian. An Indian woman who married a non-Indian lost her status, and her children were not registered. While a non-Indian woman gained Indian status by marriage to an Indian who was status. In February 28, 1985 the law changed to end sexual discrimination; now included the female line.

Non-Status Indians

Are persons of Indian ancestor who for one reason or another do not have status under the Indian Act. These include Indian women who lost their status by marriage to a non-Indian, Indians who surrendered or lost status by "enfranchisement" under certain sections of the Indian Act, the offspring of such persons and Indians who were never registered under the Indian Act.

Treaty Indians

Are descendants of persons who signed treaties

with the Crown since Confederation.

Inuit

The Inuit reside primarily in the Northwest Territories, northern Quebec and Labrador. The Federal government's power to make laws with respect to "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" was interpreted to extend to Inuit by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1939.

The Inuit were known for hundreds of years as Eskimos, the name used by the early European explorers. However, they now actively promote the Inuktitut name they themselves use, Inuit which means "the People".

Metis

There is, as yet, no universally, accepted definition of the term Metis, but rather two differing approaches to a definition. According to one approach, all persons of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry, and who identify as Metis, may be considered as Metis, regardless of where they or their ancestors

resided in Canada.

The second approach includes those persons whose ancestors inhabited western and northern Canada and received land grants and/or script, and other persons of Aboriginal ancestry who identify as Metis and are recognized as Metis by the Metis community.

Appendix B

Approval Letter

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY COMMITTEE ON THE USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS IN
RESEARCH

Name: Ms. Moneca Sinclair

OUR REFERENCE:

E94:102

DATE: June 15, 1994

YOUR PROJECT ENTITLED:

Aboriginal Food Access.

HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE COMMITTEE AT THEIR MEETING OF:

Approved by Dr. Gordon Grahame on June 14, 1994.

COMMITTEE PROVISOS OR LIMITATIONS:

Revised consent form approved as per your letter dated

May

30, 1994.

You may be asked at intervals for a status report. Any significant changes of the protocol should be reported to the Chairman for the Committee's consideration, in advance of implementation of such changes.

****THIS IS FOR THE ETHICS OF HUMAN USE ONLY. FOR THE LOGISTICS OF PERFORMING THE STUDY, APPROVAL SHOULD BE SOUGHT FROM THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION, IF REQUIRED.**

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Grahame, M.D.,
Chairman,
Facility Committee on the Use of
Human Subjects in Research.

GRG/11

TELEPHONE INQUIRIES: 7890-3255 - Lorraine Lester

Appendix C**Key Informant/Pilot Interview**

Code: Informant-_____

Questions and Themes**1.0 Questions**

Following are questions that I will ask the participants and I would like to know if you think some of the questions need to be deleted or changed in wording, or if there are questions I need to add:

1. What part of the city do you live in? _____

2. How long have you been in this neighbourhood? _____

3. Where did you live before you moved to the city? _____

4. What is your present age? _____
5. What is your present marital status? _____

6. Do you have any children?_____ If yes, how many?
_____ their ages?_____
- If no, go to next question.
7. Are you presently employed? If yes what type of
employment?(full-time, part-time, seasonal,
occasional) _____
8. If you are employed on a part-time basis, do you
have more than one part-time position? If yes, how
many hours are you employed in each position?_____
- _____
9. Are you a full-time home-maker?_____
10. Are you a student? If yes are you attending high-
school, upgrading, community college, university?__
- _____
11. What is the highest level of schooling that you
have completed?_____
12. Whether if you are employed or not employed do you
have additional sources of income for your
household? If yes, what are the sources?_____
- _____
13. What is your primary ethnicity or national
ancestry?_____

14. Do you speak any other language other than English?
1. Yes
 2. No
15. If yes, what other language(s) do you speak? _____
-

2.0 Themes

1. In the area that you are familiar with where do the core area people get their food from? Why do you think people get their food from this location?
2. What do you think are the barriers to core area getting food from other areas of the city?
3. What kind of comments do people make when they have to go grocery shopping? Do they want the grocery stores to be closer or less expensive?
4. When core area people in your area run out of money before their next source of income where do they go for emergency assistance? Do they ask agencies, friends or family for extra funding or

food or clothing?

5. *Do you have friends or family members who use food assistance programs such as food banks, soup kitchens? If they do, when do they use them and how often?*
6. *Do you know the locations of the food banks? And how did you find out about them? How do you think core area people find out about food assistance programs?*
7. *Do most people in your area shop for the month? If they shop for the month what food items do most people purchase? What food item do they run out of before they can shop again?*
8. *Where do you think most people will shop? At the neighbourhood grocery store? Convenience store? Superstore? Safeway? Why do you think they shop at these locations?*
9. *Do you think that the way you are served by the grocery store is different from another person who is non-Aboriginal? If yes, can you tell the story about the incident?*
10. *Is there anything that you would like to add?*

Appendix D**Consent Form for Key Informant****CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY**

This consent form indicates that I, _____
_____(please print name in full) agree to take part in
the study, "Urban Aboriginal people and where food is
purchased in the core area Community." I have been
given the researcher's name and University address, and
an oral and written explanation of the study.

I understand that I have been given the option to
have the interview taped or not taped. I also
understand if the interview is taped that a transcript
of the tape will be made and at any point in the
interview I can refuse to answer any of the questions
or stop the interview. I understand my name will not
be identified in the tapes, forms or in any verbal or
written reports instead a pseudonym or initials will be
used in the report. I understand the transcripts will
be analysed and quotes from myself can be used from the

interview in verbal or written reports. I understand the tape will be erased after transcript(s) is typed.

My signature below indicates that I have been informed and agree to volunteer for this study. It also indicates that I agree to make no financial claims for this interview. Lastly I am agreeing that the University of Manitoba is not responsible should any physical injury result from participating in this interview.

Date

Signature of participant

Signature of Investigator

Moneca Sinclair

Would you like a copy of the summary of the results?

If yes, send to:_____

I have fully explained to _____
_____(print name in full) the nature and purpose of
this research. I have asked the participant if they
have any questions about the study and have answered
the questions to the best of my ability.

Date

Investigator: Moneca

Sinclair

Appendix E

Sample Letter to Participant with Results of Study

Participants Name

XX

Winnipeg, Manitoba

XXX XXX

Date

Researchers Name

XX

Winnipeg, Manitoba

XXX XXX

Dear **Participants:**

Firstly thank-you for taking the time to be a participant in the study "Urban Aboriginal Women and Grocery Shopping Patterns" at **home or agency name** in **date**. As promised I would like to present you with a brief summary of the major findings thus far.

The study took longer than I had thought it would

however I believe the information that was collected will help health professionals understand more about the struggles single-parents have when grocery shopping.

I feel that I have learned a lot from talking with you and feel the study was a successful project.

Once again, thank you for taking the time to participate in the study. If you would like to call me about more information about the results of the study, please call me at XXX-XXXX.

Yours sincerely,

Moneca Sinclair
Graduate Student
Enclosure "Results of Study"

Results of Study

1. There were a total of 19 interviews.

2. <u>Range in years lived</u> <u>in core-area</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>women</u>
2 to 5	12
6 to 9	5
10 to 13	1
14 to 17	0
18 and more years	1

3. <u>Age range in years</u>	<u>Number of women</u>
19 to 25	7
26 to 32	4
33 to 39	3
40 to 46	4
47 and up	1

4. The youngest woman was 19, the oldest woman was 47.
5. For the summer months to get to the grocery store there 9 women who walked, 1 used a bike, 5 took the bus, 4 had a car. And to return home there were 3 women who walked home using the grocery

cart, 1 walked with her groceries without a shopping cart, 1 used her bike, 7 used the bus, 3 hired a taxi-cab and 4 had a car.

6. *For the winter months to get to the grocery store there were 7 women who walked, 7 took the bus, 1 hired a taxicab and 4 had a car. And to return home there was 1 woman who walked home with a shopping cart, 3 walked home without using the shopping cart, 5 took the bus, 6 hired a taxicab, and 4 had a car.*
7. *There were 8 women who had to take their children shopping with them because they did not have a baby-sitter.*

Appendix F

Participant Observation Tool

Store: _____

Date: _____

Time Began: _____

GENDER/TRANSPORTATION									
female			male			transportation			
a	m	ch	a	f	ch	w	v	t	b

Note: f=female m=male a=alone ch=child
w=walk v=vehicle t=taxi b=bus

Appendix G

Consumer Questionnaire

Code: Consumer-_____

1.0 Questions1. What part of the city do you live in? _____
_____2. How long have you been in this neighbourhood? _____
_____3. Where did you live before you moved to this city? _____

4. What is your present age? _____

Note: Ask participant they do not need to answer
this question if they do not want to.

5. What is your present marital status? _____

6. Do you have any children? _____ If yes, how many? _____
_____ their ages? _____

_____ If no, go to next question.

7. Are you presently employed? If yes what type of
employment? (full-time, part-time, seasonal,

- occasional) _____
8. If you are employed on a part-time basis, do you have more than one part-time position? If yes, how many hours are you employed in each position?_____
- _____
9. Are you a full-time home-maker?_____
10. Are you a student? If yes are you attending high-school, upgrading, community college, university?__
- _____
11. What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?_____
12. Whether if you are employed or not employed do you have additional sources of income for your household? If yes, what are the sources?_____
- _____
13. What is your primary ethnicity or national ancestry?_____
14. Do you speak any other language other than English?
1. Yes
 2. No
15. If yes, what other language(s) do you speak?

2.0 Themes

1. *In the area that you are familiar with where do the core area people get their food from? Why do you think people get their food from this location?*
2. *What do you think are the barriers to core area getting food from other areas of the city?*
3. *What kind of comments do people make when they have to go grocery shopping? Do they want the grocery stores to be closer or less expensive?*
4. *When core area people in your area run out of money before their next source of income where do they go for emergency assistance? Do they ask agencies, friends or family for extra funding or food or clothing?*
5. *Do you have friends or family members who use food assistance programs such as food banks, soup kitchens? If they do, when do they use them and how often?*
6. *Do you know the locations of the food banks? And how did you find out about them? How do you think core area people find out about food assistance*

programs?

7. *Do most people in your area shop for the month?
If they shop for the month what food items do most people purchase? What food item do they run out of before they can shop again?*
8. *Where do you think most people will shop? At the neighbourhood grocery store? Convenience store? Superstore? Safeway? Why do you think they shop at these locations?*
9. *Do you think that the way you are served by the grocery store is different from another person who is non-Aboriginal? If yes, can you tell the story about the incident?*
10. *Is there anything that you would like to add?*

Appendix H

Information to ParticipantProject Title:

Food Access among Aboriginal people in Winnipeg's core area.

Investigator:

My name is Moneca Sinclair and I will be doing the research. I am a graduate student in the department of Community Health Science, Faculty of Medicine, University of Manitoba, 750 Bannatyne Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3E 0W3. Phone: (204)XXX-XXXX.

Dr. Joseph Kaufert, Department of Community Health Science, is supervising the research. Phone: (204)XXX-XXXX.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this study is to research where urban Aboriginal people buy food. To report the what factors make purchasing food more difficult for urban Aboriginal people living in the core area. I want to look at such factors as access to transportation, barriers such as how far it is to the store, and knowledge of making food choices.

I will be talking to a number of single parent female heads of household who live in the areas to be studied in the core area. The people being asked to take part in the study are selected from a membership listings and from other people who have been interviewed.

The Interview:

The study is based on an interview which will take about one to one-and-a-half hours. I will meet with the interviewees (key informants, shop owners/managers, consumers) at an agreed upon time and place. I will interview the key informants first.

The key informants interview will obtain descriptions about core area residents food procurement patterns and informants perceptions about where area residents obtain food. This information will be asked to develop a descriptive profile of the selected areas which will provide background information for the rest of the project.

The next interviews will be consumer interviews. These will be in-depth interviews with individual participants using a semi-structured interview format. The interview will get information about the feelings of control that the participants have when procuring food. The factors that will elicit information about the concepts of control will be how income is used by the family, number of people living in home, education level of head of household, and income sources.

In each case the interviews will be audio-taped, (unless the people being interviewed tell me they do not want to be tape recorded) and transcribed verbatim. During all interviews inquires will be made if they

know of people that would be willing to participate in case study interviews. I want to tape record these interviews for two reasons. First, the interview results will be more accurate and will better represent if your actual words are tape recorded instead of having me just write down a summary. Second, I cannot write as fast as people talk and the interview will go more smoothly and take less of your time if it is done this way. The tapes will be erased.

Confidentiality:

Records of the interview with you will be coded only with a number and not your name, so that any record of your interview could only be identified by myself or my supervisor. No other person will be given any of the interview data or the records. The consent forms will be only record with your name on it. Any reports written about this project will neither mention your name or provide any description of you that would identify you. I will treat the tape-recording of the interview in the same confidential way. A secretary may type up the interview, but s/he will not know who

you are.

Participation:

Joining the research is completely up to you. I hope you will volunteer, but you are under no obligation to join this study. You can decide not to join the study or to drop out at any point in time, even while we are talking.

Risk and Discomfort:

In all research projects carried out they University, the person doing the project must point out any risks or discomforts for the study. I do not think this study will cause any problems for you other than; (a) taking up your time to answer questions, and (b) although we don't think this will happen, asking questions that may bring up personal problems. You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer. Just let me know if you would like to skip any questions.

Benefits:

All University projects must also point out if there are any benefits for the study. I do not expect the study to have any direct benefits for you. You will not receive any payments for taking part in this study. When completed, this research should help health professionals understand more about food choices urban Aboriginal people make which will in turn affects their health.

For more information:

If after the interview you have any further questions about the study, please feel free to contact me, Moneca Sinclair. My telephone number is XXX-XXXX. I will also be pleased to provide you with a summary of the study findings if you are interested.

*Appendix I***Consent Form for Participant****CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY**

This consent form indicates that I, _____
_____(please print name in full) agree to take part in
the study, "Urban Aboriginal people and where food is
purchased in the core area Community." I have been
given the researcher's name and University address, and
an oral and written explanation of the study.

I understand that I have been given the option to
have the interview taped or not taped. I also
understand if the interview is taped that a transcript
of the tape will be made and at any point in the
interview I can refuse to answer any of the questions
or stop the interview. I understand my name will not
be identified in the tapes, forms or in any verbal or
written reports instead a pseudonym or initials will be

used in the report. I understand the transcripts will be analysed and quotes from myself can be used from the interview in verbal or written reports. I understand the tape will be erased after transcript(s) is typed.

My signature below indicates that I have been informed and agree to volunteer for this study. It also indicates that I agree to make no financial claims for this interview. Lastly I am agreeing that the University of Manitoba is not responsible should any physical injury result from participating in this interview.

Date

Signature of participant

Signature of

Investigator

Moneca Sinclair

Would you like a copy of the summary of the results?

 If yes, send to:

I have fully explained to _____
_____ (print name in full) the nature and purpose
of this research. I have asked the participant if they
have any questions about the study and have answered
the questions to the best of my ability.

Date

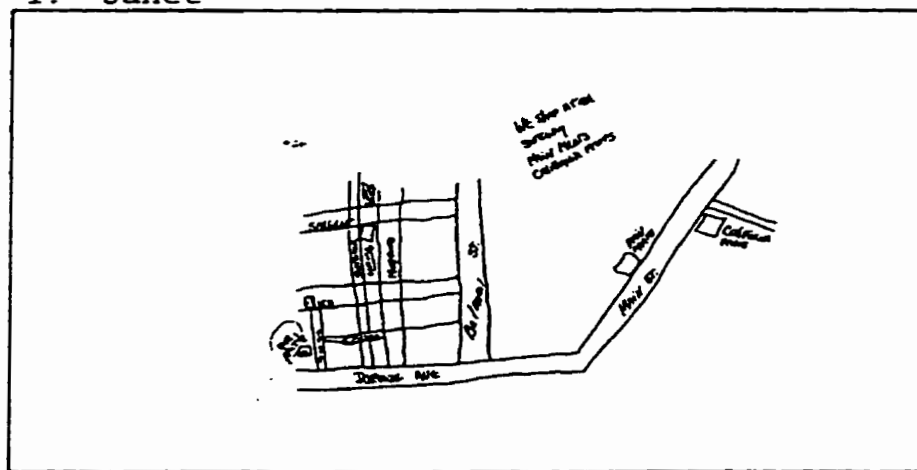
Investigator: Moneca
Sinclair

Appendix J

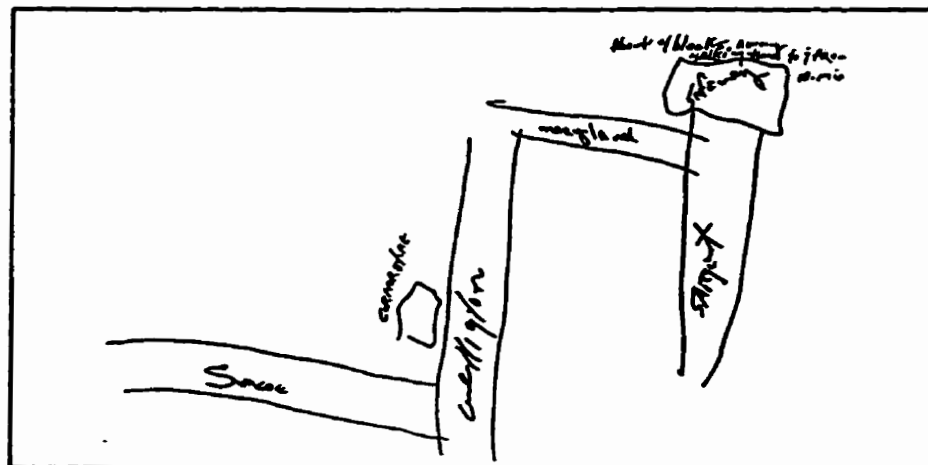
Cognitive Maps

A: Participants living in core area for 2-5 years (N=12) Note: Juanita is Figure 3 in Chapter IX.

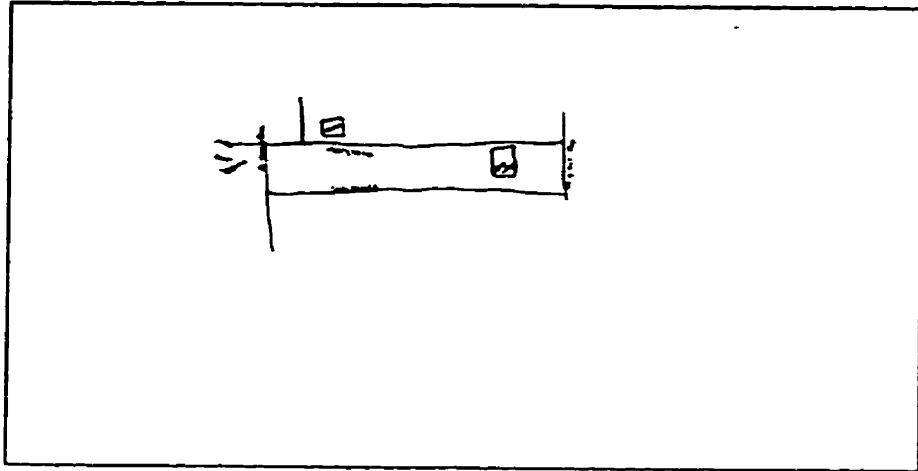
1. Janet



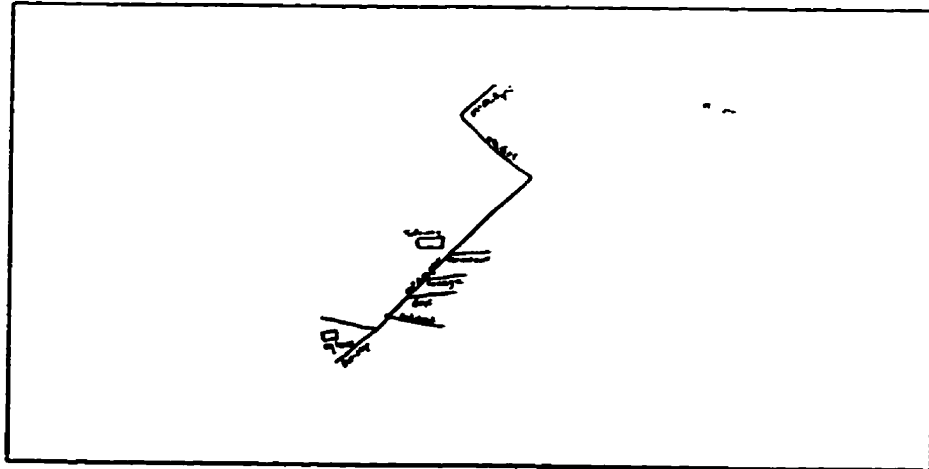
2. Erina



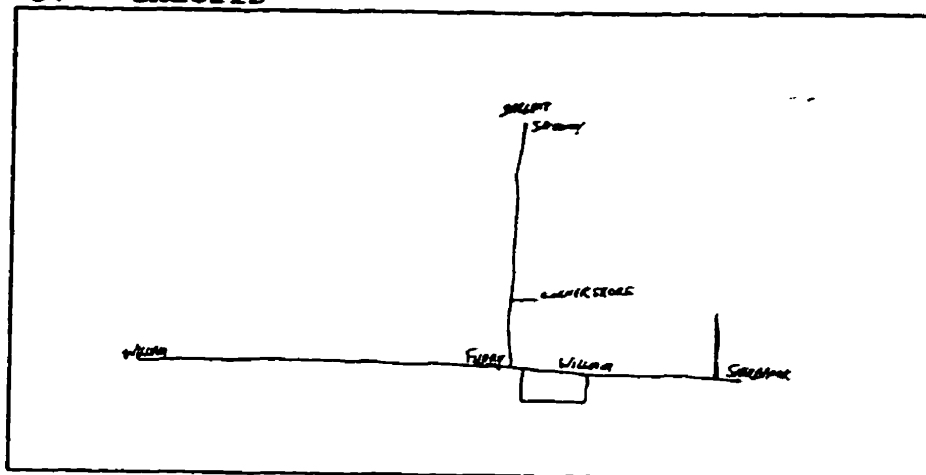
3. *Fay*



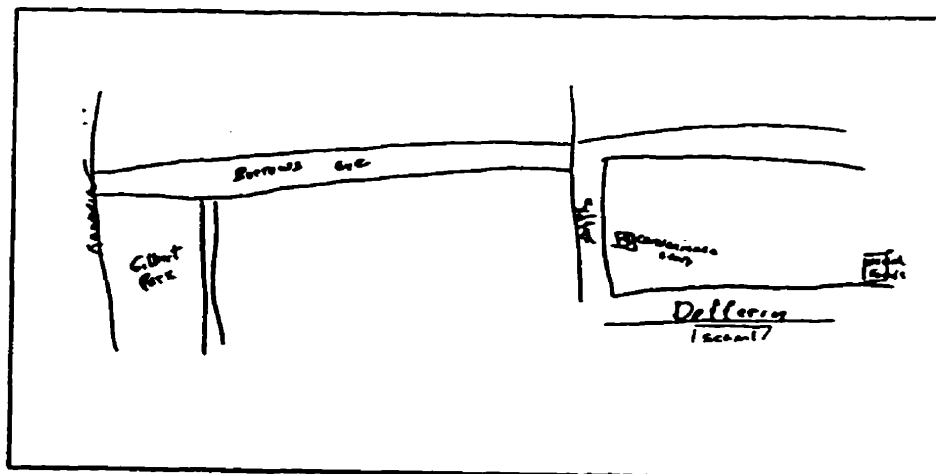
4. *Ella*



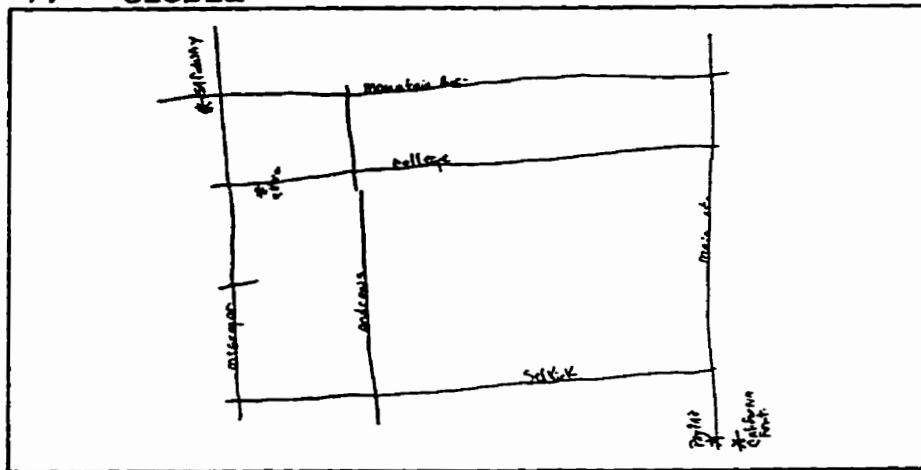
5. Chloris



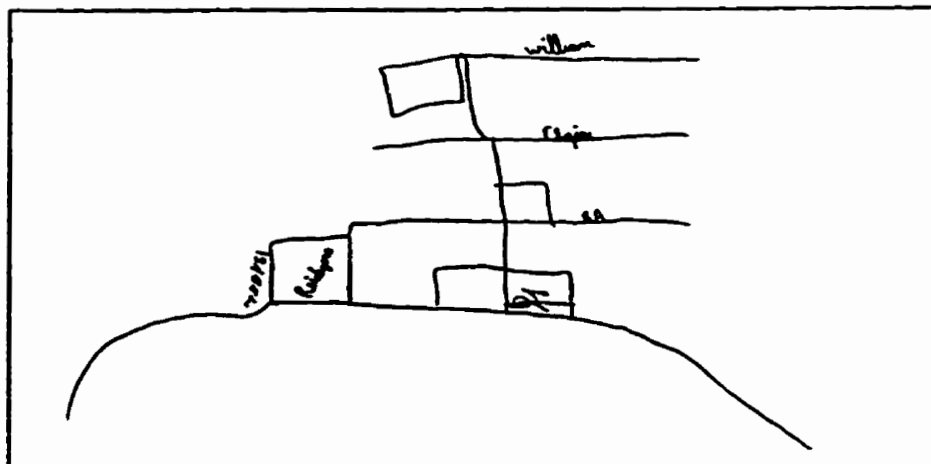
6. Carrie



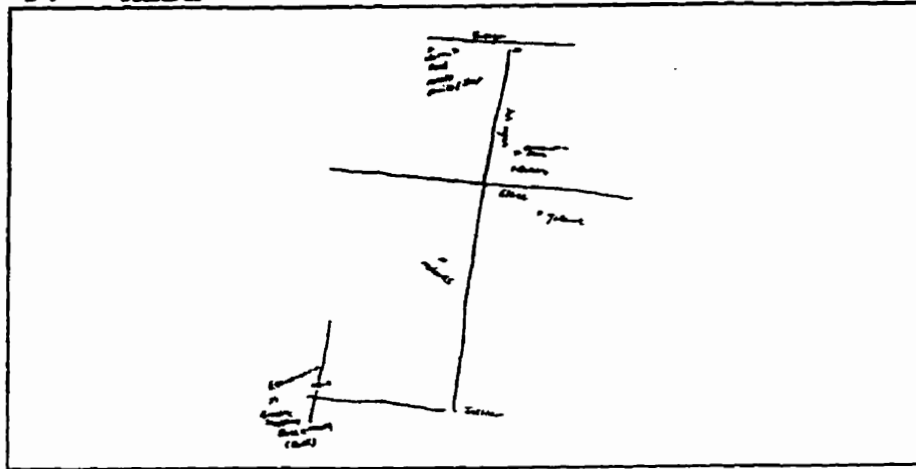
7. Gloria



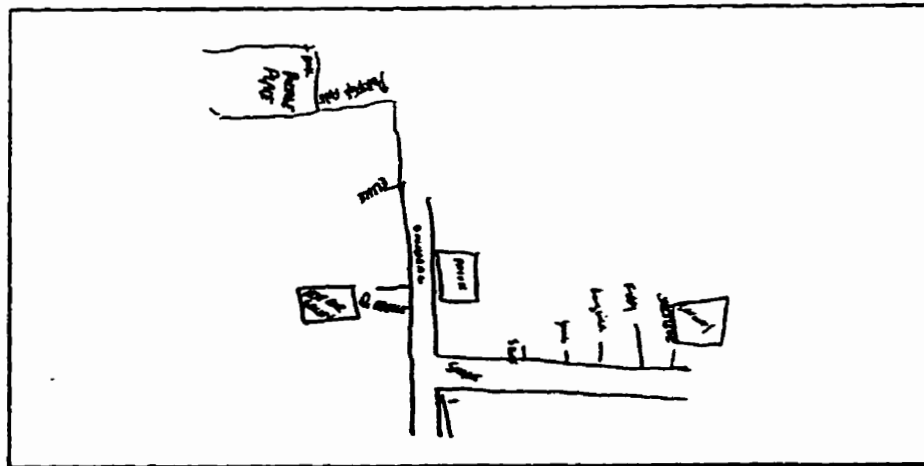
8. Ethelda



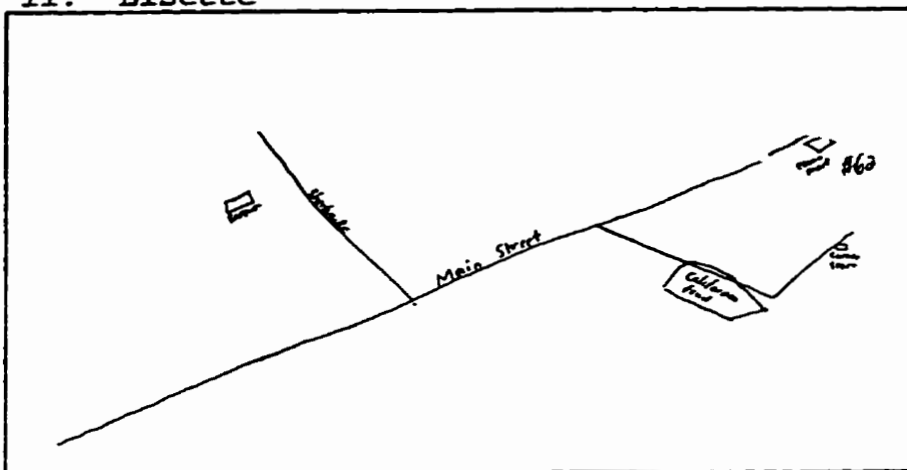
9. Mira



10. Zorana

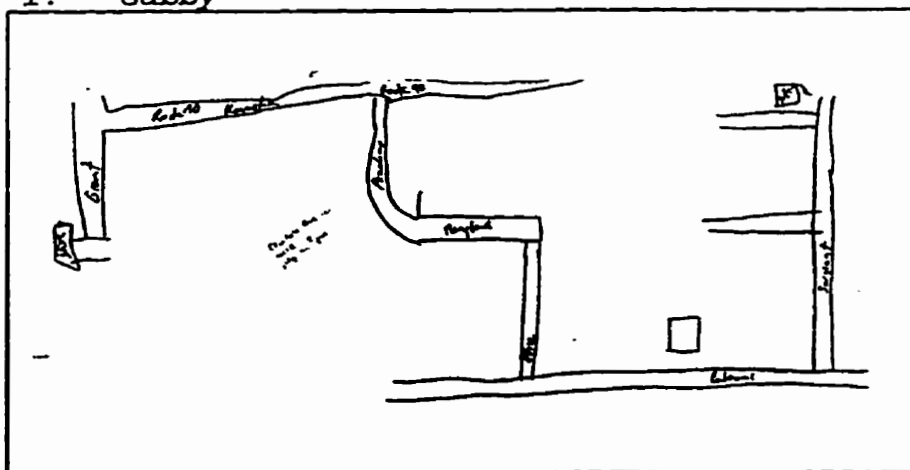


11. Lisette

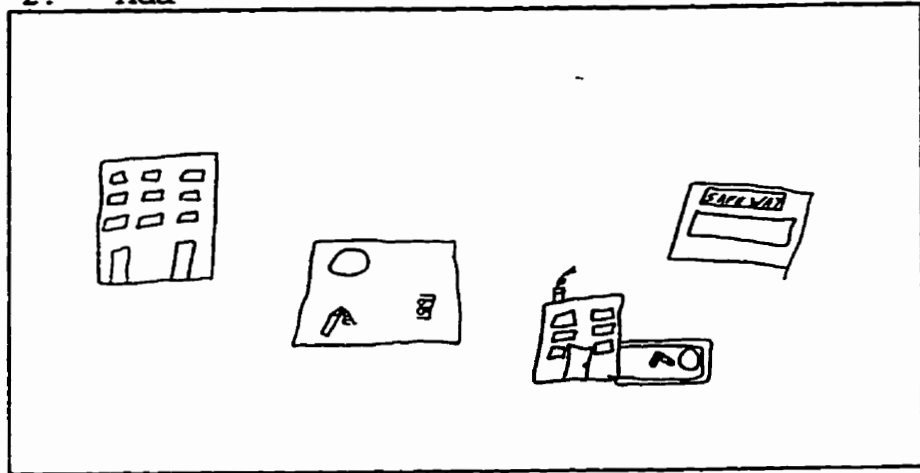


B: Participants living in core area for 6-9 years (N=5)

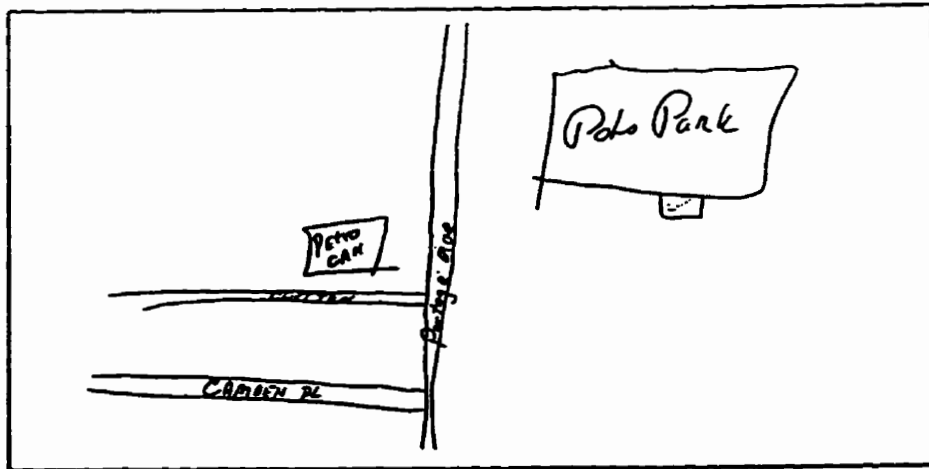
1. Gabby



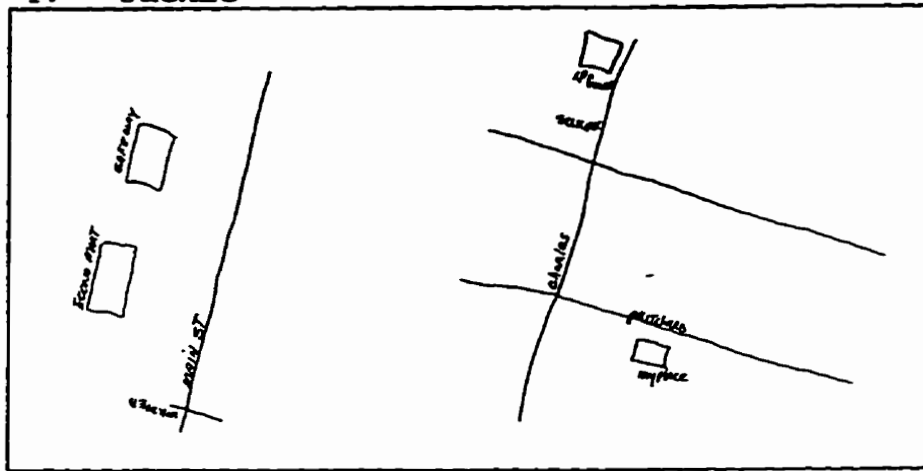
2. Ada



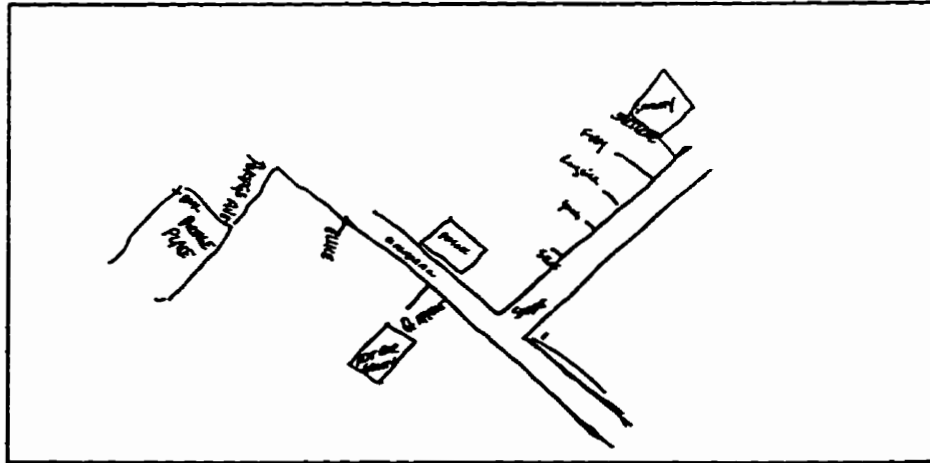
3. Patty



4. Jackie

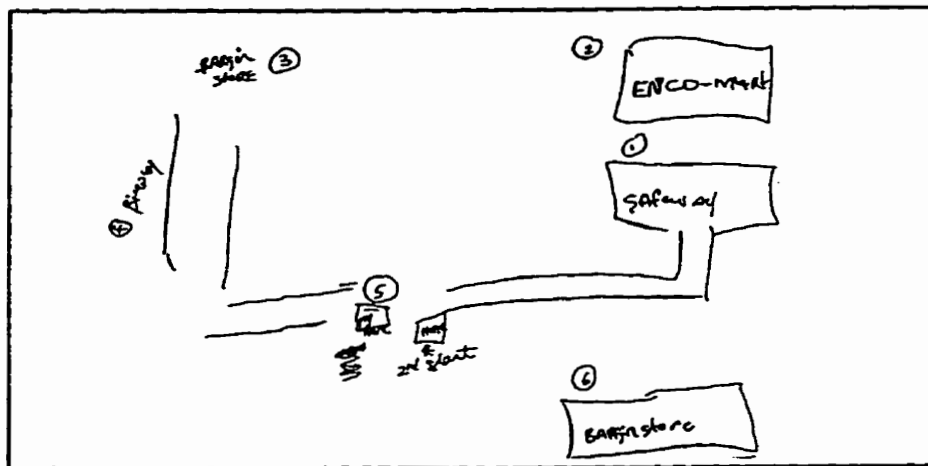


5. Zoran



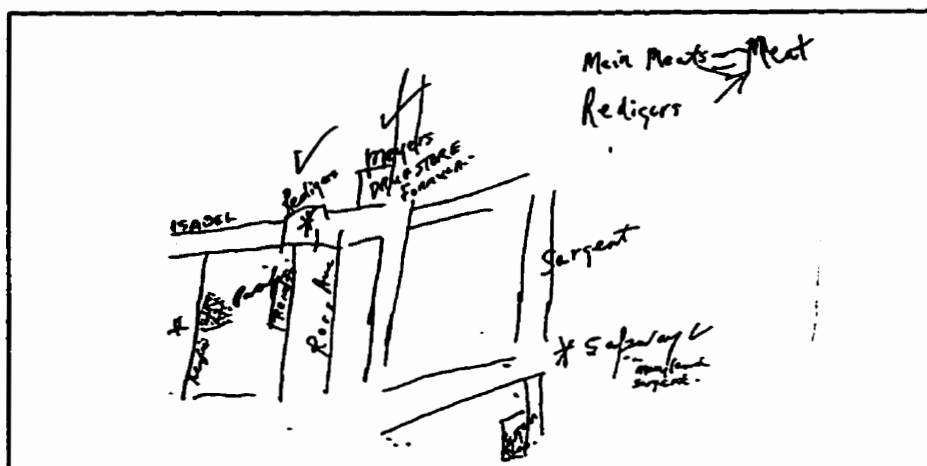
C: Participants living in core area for 10 -13 years (N=1)

1. Ruby



D: Participant living for 18 years and more (N=1) Chris

1. Chris



Appendix K

Sample Letter to Agency

Agency Name

XXX

XXX

Winnipeg, Manitoba

XXX XXX

Date

Researchers Name

XXX

Winnipeg, Mb

XXX XXX

Dear *Agency Name or Contact Name*:

I am a masters graduate student with the

University of Manitoba in Community Health Sciences Department. I am conducting a study of Aboriginal people's food acquisition in an urban area. The objective is to describe the determinants of food access. Accessibility factors such as issues of control, access to transportation, geographical barriers such as location, and knowledge of making food choices.

As per our conversation of **date** arrangements have been made with **contact name** to meet with clients from **agency name** since it is an agency that has a large proportion of urban Aboriginal single parent women. I will meet with the clients in the designated location and explain the study I am conducting. I will ask if they wish to participate in the study. If they say yes a consent form will be signed and the interview will be conducted where the clients choose to conduct the interview. If the interview is conducted at their home the consent form will be re-explained to ensure the client what their rights are in the interview.

The study will be conducted with single parent female heads of households who have migrated into the city from a reserve or Metis community. They must have

lived in Winnipeg for at least two years.

Enclosed is a copy of the interview questions I will be asking, a copy of the consent form for the participants to sign, and information to the participants. The information to participants will give an overview of the study and my home number if they wish to make any changes to their interview.

Please call me at (204) XXX-XXXX to indicate if you require further information.

Yours sincerely,

Moneca Sinclaire

Graduate Student

/ms

Encl.

Appendix L

Poster Advertising for Participants

ARE YOU:

- o An Aboriginal Woman
- o Single Parent
- o Have Lived in Winnipeg for at Least Two
Years
- o Original Home is a Reserve or Metis
Community

I am conducting a study entitled "Urban Aboriginal Women who are Single Parents and their Grocery Shopping Patterns" and if you fit the above requirements and are interested in volunteering to be interviewed please call Moneca (204) 453-3227.

Note: Your name, or address will never be revealed. You will remain anonymous.