Beyond Bannock: Revitalizing traditional Indigenous foodways to support Indigenous identity and culture.

by

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Abstract

Traditional foods (TF) play an important role in cultural identity and access to them promotes good health and wellbeing. In this study a phenomenological research approach was used to examine how Indigenous people living or working in Winnipeg, experience cultural food security.

First Nations participants (n=10) were identified by both a snowball and poster advertisement method through Indigenous education institutions with which the author was associated. The findings of this phenomenological study were that participants who identified as First Nations (n=10) in Winnipeg perceived themselves as culturally food insecure. Urbanization, costs associated with hunting, acquiring and transporting TF and lack of political and sociocultural supports contribute to the diminishing knowledge base around TF, making access and use of them in the city challenging.

This research suggests urban First Nations are food insecure in what they consider to be traditional foods from their cultural territories/regions. This would suggest that formal and land based education by ecozones could increase awareness of what they consider to be their traditional foodways. Summer programming on the land and waters of their traditional territories may be an avenue for reconciliation by ensuring the survival of their cultural foodways, increasing cultural food security and ultimately, food sovereignty even for city dwellers.

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CHAPTER 1 Introduction

Overview Of The Problem

Canada's Indigenous people are increasingly moving into urban centres (Che & Chen, 2001; Willows, Veugelers, Raine & Kuhle, 2008;) and Winnipeg has the largest Aboriginal population of any city in Canada (Environics Institute, 2011). Indigenous people are identified as a population vulnerable to food insecurity (Che & Chen, 2001; Elliot, Jayatilaka, Brown, Varley & Corbett, 2012; Willows, Veugelers, Raine & Kuhle, 2008), and there is a correlation between food insecurity and poor health (Elliot et al, 2012). Food insecurity exists whenever the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain (Che & Chen, 2001; Slater, 2012). When examining food security for Indigenous people it is important to consider the food preparation and distribution practices that are unique to Indigenous groups (Indigenous peoples and food insecurity, n.d), and the two food systems that they operate in i.e. the market food system and the traditional food system (Elliot et al, 2012; Power, 2008). Power (2008), argues that Aboriginal people have unique food security issues related to the harvesting, consumption and sharing of traditional food, and suggests that "cultural food security" be an additional level of food security for Aboriginal people. Power (2007), outlines the three indicators of cultural food security as: traditional food knowledge, access to traditional food systems and safety of traditional food.

Traditional foods (TF) play an important role in cultural identity and access to them promotes good health and wellbeing. Traditional Indigenous foodways describe locally sourced seasonal foods obtained through growing, gathering, hunting and trapping. The methods used to obtain these foods are tied to Indigenous culture and identity, (Brown, Edwards & Hartwell, 2009; Food Secure Canada, n.d. b; Koc & Welsh, 2002; Padolsky, 2005; Peregrine & Edge, 2011; Power, 2008; Pufall, Jones, McEwen, Lyall, Willows, 2005).

Colonization, assimilation, oppressive legislation, and the reserve and residential school systems have eroded Indigenous culture and identity (Bell-Sheeter, 2004; Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008; Richardson & Blanchet-Cohen, 2000; TRC, 2015a), and interrupted the intergenerational transfer of knowledge about traditional foodways (Elliot et al, 2012). These systems have caused Aboriginal people to suffer from collective trauma culminating in a loss of parenting skills, poor health (King, Smith &Gracey, 2009), low socioeconomic status, high rates of substance abuse, and increased rates of incarceration (Greenwood & de Leeuw, 2012).These systems have taken away Indigenous peoples rights to be food sovereign, which means they do not have social or political control over their traditional food systems.

Food sovereignty describes the social and political control over food and connects people to their food systems (Kamal, 2018). Food sovereignty has been

defined as “the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems (Cote, 2016; La Via Campesina as cited in Food Secure Canada n.d. a). Food sovereignty is important because it puts the people who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies and guarantees consumers rights to control their food and nutrition (Patel, 2009; Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013). Indigenous food sovereignty is a movement that focuses on cultural and socioeconomic sovereignty as well as food sovereignty.

Access to cultural food in the city forms part of cultural food security, which is about more than alleviating food insecurity, it is about reclaiming control over food and policies around food regarding its production and distribution, it is about Indigenous food sovereignty. Passing on knowledge of traditional foodways is critical to maintain food sovereignty of Indigenous peoples (Ruelle & Kassam, 2013) and is also a part of cultural food security.

Research Issue

Indigenous Peoples' is a collective name for the original peoples of North America and their descendants. Often, ‘Aboriginal peoples' is also used. The Canadian Constitution recognizes three groups of Aboriginal peoples: First Nations, Inuit and Métis. These are three distinct peoples with unique histories, languages,

cultural practices and spiritual beliefs (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2016).

Winnipeg has the largest Aboriginal population of any city in Canada, and when surveyed 44% of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg felt that it was important that future generations know about traditions pertaining to food (Environics Institute, 2011).

Indigenous people in urban centers have limited access to traditional food (Brown, Edwards & Hartwell, 2010; Cidro & Martens, 2014; Cidro & Martens, 2015; Cidro, Peters & Sinclair, 2014) and this is problematic because traditional food is an important component of cultural identity (Chan, Receveur, Sharp, Schwartz, Ing & Tikhonov, 2011) and access to it improves health (Elliot et al, 2012). This urbanization has caused changes in diets and in patterns of work and leisure (Damman, Eide & Kuhnlein, 2008).

It has been noted in the literature that children eat less traditional foods than adults (Willows, 2005) because they have not acquired a taste for traditional food and prefer market foods (Power, 2007; Skinner, Pratley & Burnett, 2016). There is little information in the literature about how urban dwelling indigenous people experience cultural food security.

Purpose Of Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore urban Indigenous peoples' personal experiences and perspectives of cultural food security.

This research aims to provide insight into how urban Indigenous people experience cultural food security in Winnipeg and generate knowledge based on their lived experiences. This research will identify ways to pass on knowledge of traditional foods to future generations, improve access to traditional foods in the city and increase use of traditional foods, all of which will support the revitalization of Indigenous identity and culture in a Canadian urban setting.

Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are to (1) to understand the relationship of urban First Nations people with foods they perceive to be traditional, (2) explore participant's knowledge of traditional foodways, (3) identify strategies by which they secure, process and serve traditional foods (4) examine processes by which they access traditional foods and (5) identify foodways which they feel connect them to First Nations identity and culture.

My Traditional Foodways

As a recent immigrant to Canada, when people ask me where I am from, I say I am from England but my parents were immigrants from Sicily. I therefore identify as an Italian who grew up in London. Growing up in London, with Sicilian parents, the food I ate at home consisted of pasta, cheese, red wine, olive oil, avocados, artichokes, tomatoes, panettone and basil. These are some of the foods that I consider traditional to me, as an Italian. I have fond memories of Sunday meals eaten around the kitchen table, set with a bottle of red wine in the centre, and shared with my mum, dad, brother and sister. Sunday meals were when we ate together, when we bonded as a family. My mum would start cooking around 10am, often with my older sister watching, "so she could learn what to do", and we would eat around 3pm.

Sunday meals often consisted of four courses; the first was usually half an avocado, dressed with olive oil and vinegar, the second course would be a plate of pasta drenched in "sugo", cooked tomato sauce, and covered with parmesan cheese, the third course would be some sort of meat (chicken or veal in breadcrumbs, lamb chops or roast lamb) and vegetables (melanzana alla parmegiana which are aubergines cooked in tomato sauce, fried courgettes (zucchini) or battered cauliflower) and we would end our meal with a selection of almonds, walnuts and pistachios served with some espresso coffee.

As an immigrant family my parents did their best to find work but could never earn enough to support three young children so we lived assisted by

government handouts, as we were classified as a low-income family. This meant that I was eligible for free school meals and milk. The foods I ate at school were very different to the foods I ate at home and consisted of spam, mashed potato and semolina pudding. I never really became accustomed to these foods as I did not like the taste. I learned to eat "English" food, like sausages, bacon, custard, and trifle as my mum and aunty exposed me to them. When I went to university and had to cook for myself I clung to my traditional roots of pasta and sugo, but also began to incorporate other dishes such as chilli, baked potatoes, baked beans, rice, vegetable stir-fry, rhubarb and cheesecake.

My food traditions changed and have evolved over time; these changes are as a result of my experiences and my environment, they are a combination of old traditions and new traditions. The traditional foodways that my children have grown up with consist of a mixture of English, Italian and now Canadian foods.
I situate myself in this research as a person whose foodways have changed and who maintains elements of her Italian culture through the foods she buys, cooks and eats. I work at instilling these preferences in my own children by exposing them to these foods and teaching them how to cook them.

My mother is illiterate, she cannot read or write and therefore she shares her knowledge with me orally, she likes to show me what to do, but never lets me do. We have no written records of the recipes she used to cook, and as her memory is failing, I turn to the Internet to find "authentic" Italian recipes in the hope of re-

creating the foods I used to eat as a child. I never went with my dad to harvest "cardoona", cardunes, (artichoke thistle) a wild food familiar to my Dad from his childhood. He found it growing wild around areas of London, free and familiar. So I do not know where to find them or how to identify them. I cannot find them in Canada and so this traditional food is a distant memory, its use has been lost but I remember the taste and its association with my parents and their care for us in the face of a new country as immigrants.

Foodways are so much a part of our identities that when there is change we feel it in our core! If the change is chosen adjustments can be ameliorated but when the change is forced the issues can be catastrophic.

As a non-indigenous teacher of Indigenous students, I can empathize with my student's need for culturally relevant, identity-affirming food; food that is familiar and comforting and associated with feelings of family, security, traditions, wellbeing and good-times. Whilst empathetic I was never cognizant of the specific issues related to traditional foodways that were important to understand in the classroom. My teacher education did not cover such information contextualized by the experiences of Indigenous individuals. This research begins with empathy for my students but needs their experiences and voices to provide a new level of understanding for Manitoba educators.

From Colonization To Reconciliation

This chapter explains that colonization is at the root of cultural food insecurity faced by Indigenous people of Canada and Winnipeg. It describes how colonial policies used food as a tool to dominate and dehumanize Indigenous people and that Canada is founded upon ethnic cleansing and genocide. Indigenous people had to relinquish their claims to their traditional lands and their traditional foods and move to reserves and were starved until they agreed to do so (Daschuck, 2013). This move to reserves and the introduction of the residential school systems meant that the younger generation did not learn about the traditional uses of food and land. This decreased transfer of traditional knowledge is a continued threat to cultural food security. Teachers have a role to play in teaching adults and youth about traditional foodways, as it is a potential path to food sovereignty, food security and ultimately reconciliation.

Colonization

Food was used as a tool of Canadian colonialism (Mosby, 2014). Prior to French and British colonization, Indigenous people exemplified food sovereignty (Bodirsky and Johnson, 2008; Food Secure Canada, n.d.b); they culturally developed in their ecozones to synchronize with their food systems, so that they were food secure and able to obtain a variety of healthy nutrient rich foods from accessible resources. The lifestyles of the First Nations people assured they would be in

specific places at certain times, able to intercept resources. Thus, they were able to follow their seasonal cycle of food. This pattern of movement is called the seasonal round or the annual round, where people moved from one resource gathering area to another (Campbell, Menzies & Peacock, 2003). They had access to traditional foods from the land, air and sea, using traditional methods of hunting, fishing, cultivating and gathering, to sustain themselves (Earle, 2000). These traditional strategies allowed Indigenous people to maintain their cultures and form spiritual connections with the land, sea and air as a legacy of their ancestors (Pufall et al 2011).

Initially, when Europeans arrived, they formed trade relationships with Indigenous people exchanging furs for commercial goods such as ironware and firearms (TRC, 2015b). These commercial relationships changed to allied military alliances when Europeans needed armed support to fight, for example in the War of 1812 (TRC, 2015b). But not much later, Indigenous people became wards of the Crown (TRC, 2015b). Some were given parcels of land as reserves as compensation for the loss of land incurred by the war (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013).

As the number of settlers arriving to Canada increased so did the demands for land. The land surrender negotiations resulted in Indigenous people being designated to smaller areas of land; losing access to their former hunting grounds and the lands they once owned. The government of Canada gained authority over

"Indians and Lands reserved for Indians" after the passing of the British North America Act (BNA) in 1867. The Indigenous people of the prairies were encouraged to give up their traditional ways of sustaining themselves and settle in sedentary communities and take up agriculture, (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013), as a way to provide food for themselves. In so doing, these communities were forced into a state of food insecurity, as they were no longer able to synchronize themselves with the migratory patterns of their food, i.e the seasonal rounds.

Colonization by Europeans worked to assimilate the Aboriginal people into the dominant Euro-Christian cultural view and erode their identities and culture (Richardson & Blanchet-Cohen, 2000; Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 2015a).

The Indian Act in 1876 framed the assimilationist practices and destruction of culture in law and policy and continued with these practices by banning spiritual and religious ceremonies (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013), making these cultural practices against the law (Bordisky & Johnson, 2008; Joseph, 2012). Practitioners were criminalized, jailed and their sacred regalia and paraphernalia seized, burned or sent to museums throughout the world (Joseph, 2012; Knox, 2005; TRC, 2015b).

The British North America Act (BNA), Indian Act (IA) and the treaties are colonial policies that undermined the lives of Indigenous people and their food systems (Bordisky & Johnson, 2008; Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013). The Indian Act in

particular established the conditions for the development of a Federal bureaucratic system, with the express purpose of the eradication of the Indigenous communities that lived on the land and waterways (National Inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, n.d; Ball-Jones, 2016) to make way for settlers (Daschuck, 2013). The loss of land, access to water ways and the collapse of the bison herds, meant that Indigenous people were no longer free to follow their food sources. They could no longer complete their seasonal rounds. Consequently, they were unable to pass on knowledge of traditional uses of food and land to younger generations (Ball-Jones, 2016). As children were forced to attend residential schools they were further alienated from learning the skills and values of traditional foodways. In the late 1800's, as Canada prepared for settlement, colonial troops "denied food as a means to ethnically cleanse a vast region from Regina to the Alberta border as the Canadian Pacific Railway took shape (Daschuk, 2013). Part of this "cleansing" was carried out by denying food to the Indigenous people who were reluctant to move to the reserves. Food was used to force Indigenous people to give up their freedom, submit to treaty and relinquish their land in return for food (Daschuck, 2013a).

The Indigenous people who signed treaties did not always know that signing the treaties meant that access to their traditional food would be blocked (Fee, 2009), In point of fact, treaties were written in English and most First Nation leaders could not verify what they had signed (Raynor & Matties, 2015). Some maintain that they did not give up their rights over their lands and resources because their ancestral lands were the foundation of their collective identity and distinctive

cultural traditions, (Burger, 2013). Since they maintained that the Creator had given them the land, they could not fathom that someone could take it away. Some of the oral promises made during the treaty process were not written down, but the First Nations leaders assumed that oral promises were as important as written ones. Unfortunately, the promises that were not written down were ignored or forgotten by the Europeans (Raynor & Matties, 2015). Whether the treaty signatories fully understood or not the treaties did interrupt the rights of Indigenous people to use their lands for food acquisition and resulted in the move away from being self-sustaining to dependency (Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013). Signing the treaties brought with it promises of equipment for hunting fishing and farming and schools and teachers to educate children on reserves.

The schooling the children received was through Residential Schools that were designed to disrupt Indigenous children's security, including food security, social relations and attachment patterns. Residential Schools started as religious schools designed to proselytize and socialize the children, and make them take on the social and moral authority of the church because there was no state yet (Millar, 1997). These religious schools evolved in partnership with the government who eventually took them over (Millar, 1997) to assimilate Indigenous children. The children who attended these schools were not allowed to speak their languages or practice their cultures (TRC, 2015a). Many of these schools were in operation by 1880 (TRC, 2015b) and operated for more than 150 years, the last one closed in 1996 (Greenwood & de Leeuw, 2012). During this time it is estimated that 150,000

Aboriginal children were removed from their homes and forced to attend school (TRC , 2015c).

Food was used in Residential Schools to alienate children from their culture. Children oftentimes had to eat poor quality foreign foods in an institutionalised setting. They were alienated from their attachment figures, cultural environment, seasonal rounds and their opportunity for intergenerational knowledge transmission. Mosby (2013), describes nutritional experiments conducted on 1000 students, from six Residential Schools. The students at these schools were knowingly given nutritionally deficient diets so that the researchers could find baseline levels of various nutrients, and they were denied dental care because the scientists did not want the dental treatments to alter the results of their experiments. The residential schools provided a harsh environment intended to remove Indigenous culture from children as young as five, including forcing them to eat non-traditional/ unfamiliar foods.

These schools were central to Canada's Aboriginal policy, which effectively was to "kill the Indian in the child", as such, cultural genocide. The final report from the National inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (n.d a) says that the destruction of Indigenous people has been taking place over centuries and is ongoing. The report states that this destruction of Indigenous people is in fact genocide. "The significant persistent and deliberate pattern of systemic racial and gendered human and Indigenous rights violations and abuses — perpetuated

historically and maintained today by the Canadian state — designed to displace Indigenous peoples from their lands, social structures, and governance; and to eradicate their existence as nations, communities, families, and individuals, is the cause of the disappearances, murders and violence experienced by Indigenous women, girls, 2SLGBTQQIA (Two Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex and asexual) people … and this is genocide." (National Inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, n.d a;p.174)

The policy goals were to eliminate traditional Aboriginal governments, and use incremental assimilation to cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada (TRC, 2015a). The residential school ideological foundations were based on the assumption that Aboriginal culture was inferior to European culture and that Aboriginals had to be assimilated (TRC, 2015a). To facilitate such assimilation, these schools were deliberately placed far away from the home territories and families of the children. The residential school system run by the churches and governments of Canada were responsible for the removal of generations of children from their families. Many of the children who attended residential schools were subjected to emotional, physical, mental and or sexual abuse, and many died, (TRC, 2015a).

The links that the children had to their culture were eroded: forcing them to give up their identities, traditional languages, dress, religions and way of life (TRC, 2015a). Family ties were systematically broken and the intergenerational

transmission of cultural knowledge of which foodways was a critical aspect (Elliot et al, 2012) was impeded. Whilst at school there was little opportunity for these children to experience a normal family life ("A history of residential schools in Canada", 2008), their families were disrupted (King, Smith, & Gracey,2009). so when they returned to their homes they could not communicate with their families and did not have the skills to help them, ("A history of residential schools in Canada", 2008).

The intergenerational trauma associated with residential schooling and the loss of language and culture, culminates in generations of Indigenous people experiencing alcoholism, drug abuse, poor educational attainment, low socioeconomic status and high levels of incarceration (Greenwood & de Leeuw, 2012; King, Smith & Gracey, 2009; RCAP, 1996; TRC, 2015a) all signs of psychosocial disorientation and chaos. The loss of language, loss of culture and disconnection from the land, resulting in part from colonization and the residential school system has resulted in health inequities in Indigenous people (King et al, 2009).

When considering health and wellbeing, we must take into account the importance that Indigenous people place on balance and harmony (King et al, 2009). To be a healthy person the four elements of life; physical, emotional, mental and spiritual need to be in balance, and harmony between others, communities and the

spirit world needs to exist (King et al, 2009). The key components for Indigenous people to be living well are land, food and health (King et al, 2009).

Reconciliation

On June 11, 2008, the Canadian government issued a formal apology to the former students of the Indian Residential Schools (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2015), acknowledging the long lasting damaging impact on many generations of Indigenous people (Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau, 2015). The apology was a first step by Canada on the long road to reconciliation, working towards re-building broken promises and broken relationships. The government has promised to fully implement the Calls to Action recommended by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The truth and reconciliation commission spent six years travelling around Canada, listening to the stories of the Aboriginal people who attended residential schools. In December 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission presented its final report to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. The report contains 94 Calls to Action (recommendations) to re-dress the legacy of residential schools. In his acceptance speech, Justin Trudeau promised to implement the recommendations in the report starting with the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau, 2015)- Call to Action #43, which says:

> " We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments to fully adopt and implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a framework for reconciliation." (p.325)

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People pledges to recognize that Indigenous people have a special relationship with their ancestral lands and that they are the past, present and future guardians of these lands. Article 11 and Article 31 are pertinent to the revitalization of traditional knowledge and culture, and support the use of traditional lands for food harvesting. For example

Article 11 states that

> " Indigenous people have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs" (The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, 2007)

and article 31 states that

> " Indigenous people have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines,

> knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions" (The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, 2007).

By accepting this declaration, the current Liberal government recognizes the rights of Indigenous people and it can begin to live up to its promise to adopt and implement the declaration by addressing traditional Indigenous foodways as a conduit to the issues of culture and identity. Ultimately what all Canadians must know is that Indigenous people have a right to re-vitalize their cultures, languages and ways of life (TRC, 2015a). As Daschuk (2013) states, "It is time for Canadians to acknowledge the injustices and atrocities of the past and fix the problems that keep Indigenous Canadians from living the same quality of life as their non-aboriginal neighbours", the renewal of traditional knowledge is the key to Aboriginal empowerment, and educators have a key role to play in the dissemination of this knowledge.

Reclaiming culture by supporting the revitalization of traditional knowledge and foodways could help treat obesity, diabetes and cardiovascular diseases (Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008). Teaching about traditional foodways is a potential path to food sovereignty, food security and ultimately reconciliation.

Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at the history of Canada's First Nations people, highlighting the long-lasting effects of colonization and the residential school system. These systems succeeded in alienating First Nations people from their culture, of which traditional food is an integral part. Reconciliation is how we help reconnect Indigenous peoples to their cultures.

The following chapters are divided as follows: Chapter 2 Literature review, Chapter 3 Methodology , Chapter 4 Results, Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusions.

CHAPTER 2 Literature Review

Since this research is expected to add to the literature, the literature is reviewed to identify what research there is in this area, what research might be needed and to support the development of a conceptual framework in which to situate the research. This conceptual framework is made up of several important theoretical areas that guide this proposal. I start with an overview of traditional foods and the importance of traditional foods and foodways to indigenous culture, identity and health. I go through broad strokes of the areas of nutrition transition, traditional food sovereignty and food security, coming to a focus on Manitoba initiatives and Winnipeg based research. Finally, I look at the importance of respectful relationships to support the revitalization of culture through traditional knowledge related to foodways and how we as educators can support this revitalization.

Traditional Foods And Seasonal Rounds

Prior to colonization Indigenous people were free to move within their territories to follow the cycle of food. Each season they moved to resource rich areas and would stay longer in areas where there was an abundance of resources (Campbell et al, 2003). This pattern of movement was called the seasonal round or the annual round as the same cycle was followed every year (Campbell et al, 2003).

The type of food and resources that were available was determined by the local environment. When we consider an ecological area with its characteristic landforms, climate, plants and wildlife we have an ecozone and communities in different ecozones had access to different types of traditional foods.

Foods that were available to the Indigenous people were dependent on the environment (ecozones) and the seasons (Turner, Harvey, Burgess & Kuhnlein, 2009), and this determined the seasonal rounds in the territory and evoked cultural patterns. Whilst there is no accepted definition of what Aboriginal "traditional food " is (Cyr & Slater, 2016), the availability of foods in those seasonal rounds, sourced locally from the environment would be considered traditional food (Earle, 2000; Elliot et al 2012; Power, 2007). When we take into account the beliefs and behaviours associated with the production, distribution and consumption of food (Ruelle & Kassam, 2013), that a group of people have around food we have a clearer picture of their foodways.

If we consider traditional Indigenous foodways, we can see that the elements of traditional food, ecozones, seasonal rounds and culture, are all connected, with one element feeding into the next, see figure 1. Traditional Indigenous foodways includes the consumption of traditional foods, the availability of which is determined by individual ecozones. The type and abundance of resources that are

available in the ecozones influences seasonal rounds that induces culture which then forms part of traditional Indigenous foodways.

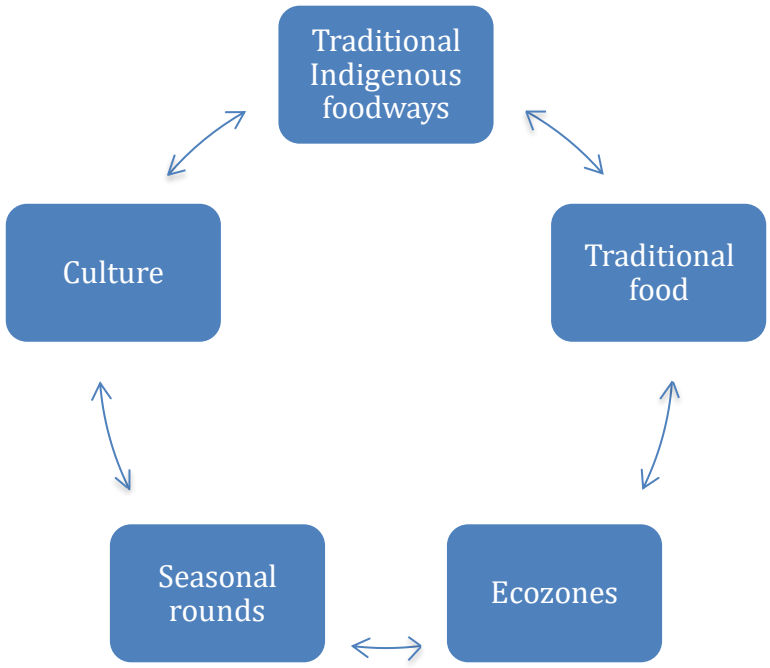

Figure 1 *Traditional Indigenous foodways, traditional foods, ecozones, seasonal rounds and culture form a feedback loop*

Historically people who lived on the grasslands of the Prairies were hunters and gatherers, with unrestricted access to the land, waters and flyways; they lived in teepees/portable houses, allowing them to live a lifestyle free to follow the buffalo (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013). The migratory groups of the Plains would gather together in the summer months for spiritual ceremonies, feasts and

communal hunts; this was their traditional way of life, (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013).

Men and women had complementary roles to play in First Nations communities. Men were the ones who predominantly hunted and fished, and the women were predominantly the ones who were responsible for setting up camp, preparing and preserving food, collecting roots, caring for children and making clothes (Reynar & Matties, 2015). The key to the division of labor is that they were complimentary rather than rigid and exclusive.

Indigenous people hunted and gathered plants for food, medicine, tools, clothing, textiles, shelter, and all manner of everyday and ceremonial requirements. Typically artifacts are "storied" as part of the oral tradition to make the connection between its utility and its origin. For example, the use of the sharpened ulna of a deer could be used for an awl to pierce hides by Anishinaabe Ikwe (woman) to make tents or a fish knife for herring by Nuu-chah-nulth achsuup (women), (Keddie (n.d.)). The Saskatoon berry was used for food, and medicine and also had technological uses. As a food, the berry was eaten fresh, or dried and mixed with dried powdered meat and lard to make pemmican. Medicinally, different parts of the plant were used to treat lung infections, coughs, chest pains, diarrhea, fever, flu and bad colds. It's technological uses included boiling the berries to make blue die and using the stems to make bows, arrows and sweat lodge frames (Marles, Clavelle,

Monteleone, Tays and Burns, 2000). Diverse cultural adaptations influenced by seasonal rounds, reflect the relationships that people who lived in various parts of Canada had with the land and waters and each other over time. Indigenous people believed that their values and traditions were gifts from the Creator and they strove to live in harmony with the natural world and all that it contained, (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013).

Foodways were specific to local areas and were determined by which resources were available and as such the traditional plants of Indigenous groups in mid-southern to eastern Canada were wild rice, squash, maize and beans. Groups from the west coast had access to fish, berries and roots, whilst seaweeds and tundra greens were available to groups in the North, (Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991). There were periods of time when these resources were scarce or unavailable, and until these resources were available again the Indigenous groups experienced short-term malnutrition (Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991): they were food insecure.

Foods available in Canada are determined in large part by the local environment (Turner et al, 2009), such that different parts of a province have different food availability. Manitoba is located in the traditional territories of the Cree, Dakota, Dene, Ojibway and Oji-Cree First Nations (Reynar & Matties, 2015). Manitoba has 5 different ecozones: the taiga shield, the Hudson plains, the boreal shield, the boreal plains and the prairies (an ecozone is a large ecological zone with characteristic landforms, climate, plants and wildlife), (Schulz, 2006). First Nations

communities in these ecozones have access to different traditional foods. Different First Nation cultural communities are found in each ecozone. Figure 2 shows the five different ecozones found in Manitoba and outlines the top ten most frequently consumed traditional foods in four of these ecozones. Additionally, this figure also outlines which ecozones the Cree, Dakota, Dene, Ojibway and Oji-Cree communities are found.

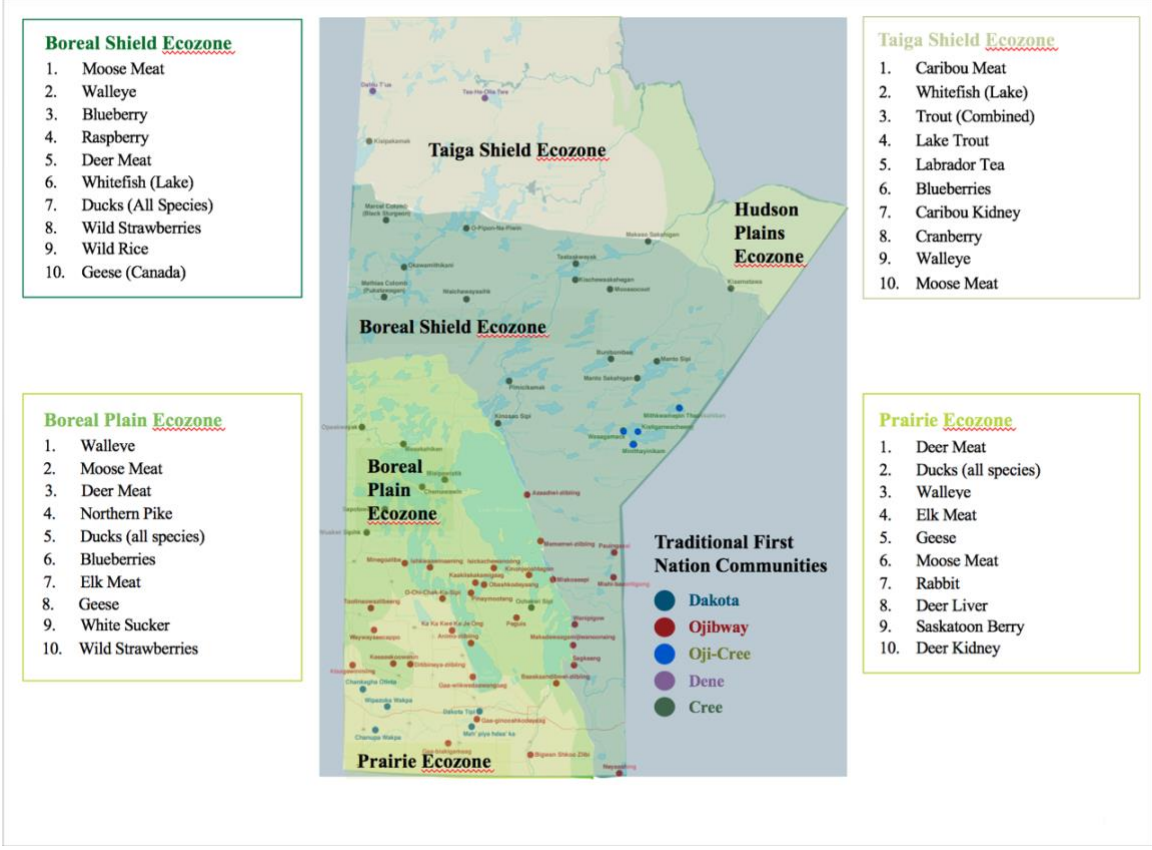

Figure 2 *Top 10 traditional foods consumed in four Manitoba ecozones*

This figure shows the location of the different First Nation cultures in the ecozones of Manitoba and the top-ten traditional foods consumed by each zone. Data for the top-ten foods consumed by ecozone from Chan et al, 2010, data for

different First Nations cultures located in Manitoba from Reynar & Matties, 2015, and data for the different ecozones in Manitoba from Amsel (2005-2017) used with permission.

The top 10 traditional foods consumed by First Nations people in four of these ecozones is as follows: The prairie ecozone top ten foods are; deer meat, ducks, walleye, elk meat, geese, moose meat, rabbit, deer liver, Saskatoon berries and deer kidney. The top ten foods consumed in the boreal plain ecozone are; walleye, moose meat, deer meat, northern pike, ducks, blueberries, elk meat, geese, white sucker and wild strawberry. The boreal shield top ten foods are; moose meat, walleye, blueberries, raspberries, deer meat, whitefish, ducks, wild strawberry, wild rice and geese and in the taiga shield zone the top ten foods are; caribou meat, whitefish, trout (combined), trout (lake), Labrador tea leaves, blueberries, caribou kidney, cranberry walleye and moose meat (Chan et al, 2010).

Furthermore it is important to recognize that the Dene, Cree, Ojibway, Oji-Cree and Dakota were cultures that carried out seasonal rounds, which enabled them to follow their food sources from season to season, therefore ensuring their food security.

The Importance Of Traditional Foods And Foodways

Traditional foods promote physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health (Elliot et al 2012; Food Matters Manitoba, 2015; Power, 2007) and play a role in creating and recreating Indigenous cultures (Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008; Cidro, Adekunle, Peters & Martens, 2015; Earle, 2000; Pufall et al, 2011; Skinner, Pratley & Burnett, 2016; Willows, 2005). Seasonal rounds of traditional food gathering connect people to the communities, the environment, territories and to the past. A survey conducted by the Environics Institute (2011), found that 44% of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg felt that it was important for future generations to know about traditions pertaining to food, 45% of the Aboriginal population said that a strong aboriginal identity is very important for a successful life and 27% said that it was very important to live in a traditional way, (Environics, 2011).

Re-vitalizing traditional Indigenous foodways will support the Environics survey findings (2011) and have a number of other impacts; it will help boost self-esteem and give Aboriginal people a strong sense of pride (Atleo, 2007) and identity, which colonization and the residential school system took away; it will support cultural reclamation in this time of truth and reconciliation, it will improve the health of Indigenous people by providing access to healthy traditional food, it will help programs focused on environmental sustainability and protection to appreciate the contribution made by Canada's first people and use their traditional knowledge to learn the holistic nature of food and the environment.

Traditional foodways are a critical aspect of Indigenous knowledge, which includes beliefs, cultural practices, and spirituality. Traditional ecological knowledge encompasses a deep understanding of plants, animals, medicines, and local ecological and biological resources (Native science, n.d.; Simeone, 2004). This knowledge has been accumulated over thousands of years of living on the land (Native science, n.d.; Snively & Corsiglia, 1997) and was passed from generation to generation through observations, storytelling, and experiences (Native science, n.d.; Simeone, 2004; Snively & Corsiglia, 1997). Traditional ecological knowledge is starting to be recognized as a powerful form of scientific knowledge (Fee, 2009) as it is based in centuries of sustainable cultural activity. Canada is beginning to listen to the Indigenous people, to learn their ways and to show respect for the land and everything it provides.

Alienation From Culture Through Food: Nutrition Transition

When people are in a state of chaos, or feel stressed or frustrated, they often reach for "comfort food". Comfort food ties individuals to their families and cultures (Almerico, 2014); it helps people to feel connected, whole, satisfied, and integrated (Brown, Edwards & Hartwell, 2010). The food preferences that people have are based on the emotional attachment they have to that food. These attachments start in childhood and develop in adulthood (Zurba et al, 2012). Moose meat stew with bannock in Manitoba and smoked salmon soup on the west coast of Canada are examples of comfort food. Rabbit stew, pumpkin stew or corn soup are familiar

traditional foods that children learn to love and associate with good feelings and memories (Almerico, 2014), because they are eaten in a safe, warm, supportive cultural environment. Consequently, a major aspect of the alienation from Indigenous culture was carried out through the very food Indigenous people were denied.

The nutrition transition started when European foods were introduced to hunters at trading posts, these foods supplemented the traditional diets of Indigenous peoples (Fee, 2009). These foods were easy to obtain without having to wrest them from the environment. Flour, sugar, and tea were staples, which were traded for furs in Hudson Bay and Northwest posts all across Ontario and the Prairies during the fur trade. The use of "quick fix" tea and sugar as stimuli and flour as carbohydrates began as Indigenous fur traders worked with non-Indigenous traders and took Indigenous women as wives. Bannock is a delicious type of bread with strong associations to Aboriginal culture (Cyr & Slater, 2016). Even though Scottish fur traders introduced bannock to the Aboriginal people (Bell, n.d.) it has been adapted and incorporated into their existing food system (Cyr & Slater, 2016). Prior to meeting the Scottish fur traders, Aboriginal people had their own types of flatbread, which were made from traditional ingredients such as cat-tail pollen, ground cattail roots, pine moss or black tree lichen (Bell, n.d.) that required intensive processing unlike store bought flour which did not.

The nutrition transition was also notable in the children who attended residential schools. When they arrived they were subjected to new and different diets, which often left them emotionally unsatisfied, hungry, malnourished and susceptible to infectious diseases. Their diets lacked variety and the food they were being fed was undercooked or badly prepared. There was a move away from traditional foods such as; roast moose, dried beaver meat, rabbits and berries, to a more western diet consisting of bacon, flour, sugar and milk (TRC, 2015b). Some of the residential schools did allow students to hunt and fish, but the majority of the schools had to use the students to farm and grow food so that there was enough food to feed the students and the staff (TRC, 2015b).

Milk was mandated by North American medical experts to be included in the diets of the children who attended residential schools as they viewed milk as an essential part of the child's diet. This recommendation was based (once again) on the assumption that Western practices were better than Aboriginal practices but the degree of lactose intolerance in the Indigenous population and its consequences was not known (TRC, 2015b). Lactose intolerance, a genetic condition in many Indigenous people, manifests as a series of uncomfortable bodily functions such as belching, gastric upset, stomach cramps, and loose stools, leaving sufferers feeling uncomfortable, embarrassed, losing predictability and control over bodily functions (Atleo, 1990). We now know that up to 79% of the First Nations population suffers from lactose intolerance (Nabhan, 2013; Scrimshaw & Murray, 1988). This

government backed "healthy diet" provided more opportunities for Indigenous people to feel de-valued and inadequate (Atleo, 1990).

Urbanization, industrialization, economic development and globalization have caused changes in patterns of work, leisure and diets for Indigenous people (Damman, Eide & Kuhnlein, 2008). Diets that contained healthy, locally sourced seasonal foods (traditional foods), rich in nutrients, have been replaced with diets where the foods are highly processed (market foods), high in fats and sugar, (Colatruglio & Slater, 2014; Earle, 2000; Fee, 2009; Kerpan, Humbert & Henry, 2015), allowing for long shelf lives and transportation over long distances, (Fee, 2009).

Other factors that have contributed to the changes in diet include; restrictive policies, which limit access and use of traditional foods, the loss of land due to environmental pollution, excessive resource extraction, the prohibitive costs of hunting and fishing, the availability and acceptance of new foods, loss of taste for traditional foods and the interruption of knowledge transfer to younger generations about food harvest and use, (Chan, Receveur, Sharp, Schwartz, Ing & Tikhonov, 2011; Conference Board of Canada, 2013; Elliot & Jayatilaka, 2011; Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991; Power, 2007; Power, 2008; Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013; Skinner et al, 2013; T. Stevenson from Food Matters Manitoba, personal communication June 15, 2016; Turner et al, 2009). The move away from nutritionally rich traditional foods to nutritionally poor market foods has had an impact on the health of many

Aboriginal people, increasing the incidences of chronic diseases (Chan et al, 2011; Earle, 2000), such as obesity, diabetes and a decline in oral health (Damman et al, 2008), especially in children.

Food Systems And Health

In reality, Aboriginal people function within two food systems: Traditional foods and market foods (Earle, 2000; Kerpan et al, 2015; Power, 2007; Skinner et al, 2013; Skinner et al, 2016; Turner et al, 2009). Traditional foods are sourced locally from the environment (Earle, 2000; Elliot et al 2012; Power, 2007) and are nutritious (Earle, 2000; Elliot et al 2012; Food Matters Manitoba, 2015; Power, 2007), whereas market foods refer to foods that cannot be sourced locally from the environment (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014). These may be healthy (vegetable, fruit, grain products) or unhealthy (items higher in sodium, fat and sugars).

The link between market foods and health was proposed in the 1930s (Mosby, 2013), and the reliance on market food was identified as one of the contributing factors to the malnutrition Indigenous people suffered from (Mosby, 2013). Although this reliance on market foods is more prominent in urban areas it also occurs in remote regions of Canada too (Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991). The Nuxalk food and nutrition program conducted by Turner et al (2009), in the coastal regions of British Columbia found that the use of traditional food had diminished over three

generations, and that the majority of the communities' dietary energy came from store bought food. In rural and remote communities, healthy foods are expensive, but junk food and pop can be purchased at regular prices. The easy access and availability of these inexpensive market foods has contributed to child obesity, malnutrition and diabetes.

In urban areas, lack of access to traditional foods also contributes to the development of preventable diseases that did not exist in traditional Indigenous societies (Food Secure Canada, (n.d. b)). The move away from traditional diets and lifestyles, following colonization, has resulted in an increase in chronic diseases such as cardiovascular disease, obesity and diabetes in the Aboriginal population (Chan et al 2011; Earle, 2000; Willows, 2005). The transition from traditional foods to markets foods has meant that the diets of many Aboriginal people have lower levels of iron, folacin, calcium, vitamins A and D, fibre, fruit and vegetables and higher levels of fat and sugar (Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991; Willows, 2005). Earle (2000) suggests that traditional foods and food knowledge can support health in Aboriginal communities, and Power (2007), states that traditional food knowledge is one of the indicators of cultural food security.

Traditional Food As Part Of Culture And Identity

Traditional Aboriginal foods can be defined as the foods that can be obtained from local resources. The type of food that is available is determined by geography

(ecozones) and seasons (seasonal rounds) (Earle, 2000; Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991). These foods are obtained through fishing, hunting, cultivation, harvesting, gathering and trapping, and the use of these methods to obtain food ensures the survival of Indigenous culture and identity (Brown, Edwards & Hartwell, 2010; Food secure Canada, n.d. b; Koc & Welsh, 2002; Padolsky, 2005; Power, 2008; Pufall et al 2011; Willows, 2005).

> Culture is defined as the values, beliefs, attitudes and practices accepted by members of a group or community. It determines in part what foods are acceptable and preferable, the amount and combinations of food to eat, when and how to eat and the foods considered ideal or improper (Willows, 2005).

Embedded in the knowledge of food are social, political, historical, and economic contexts (Dusselier, 2009), the consumption of traditional food has symbolic and spiritual value (Power, 2007; 2008, Pufall et al, 2011), is tied to culture (Cidro, Peters & Sinclair, 2014; Earle, 2000; Willows, 2005) and culture in turn is a determinant of health, (Earle, 2000; Cidro et al, 2015). Because of all of these connections, for many Indigenous people, maintaining their culture through the consumption of traditional food is part of their personal identity and pivotal to their health (Chan et al, 2011; Power, 2007; 2008).

Prior to European contact, Indigenous people used the land to sustain themselves (Chan et al 2011; Elliott et al, 2012; Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991), and the activities revolving around food harvesting and preparation helped to transmit cultural knowledge, values, skills, and spirituality. Harvesting also helped to maintain social relationships and create special relationships with the land (Power 2008; Simpson, 2003; Willows, 2005).

Indigenous people were the embodiment of food sovereignty in that they had social and political control over their food. However, the relocation of Indigenous people from resource rich areas to reserve lands, and the laws implemented to assimilate the First Nations into Canadian mainstream, along with the implementation of residential schools all negatively impacted the ability of Indigenous people to maintain their traditional foodways; their ability to practice food sovereignty was systematically dismantled and therefore their cultures and their identities destroyed. These actions continue to impact the lives of Indigenous people and are contributory factors to the food sovereignty and food security issues that many currently face (Elliott et al, 2012; Fee, 2009), in rural and urban communities. Ruelle & Kassam (2013) state that knowledge transfer about foodways is critical to ensure Indigenous food sovereignty.

Food Security And Food Sovereignty

When we examine the literature about food, we are introduced to terms such as: food security, food insecurity, cultural food security, food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignty. Although these terms are related, they have different connotations and deal with different food related aspects. Skinner (2016) states that it is difficult to distinguish between these terms as their definitions merge and overlap, it is an area of research that is emergent and just being defined.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (2012) has defined food security as existing when "all people at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". Therefore food insecurity exists whenever the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain (Che & Chen, 2001; Slater, 2012). Community food security is defined as a situation in which all community residents obtain a safe, culturally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice, (Ham & Bellows, 2003). Low income is one factor associated with food insecurity, but other factors that can contribute to food insecurity include: household type and number of children (Roshanafshar & Hawkins, 2015).

Colonization is a contributing factor to the food security issues that exist in many remote First Nations communities (Socha, Zahaf, Chambers, & Abraham, 2012), partly because the loss of traditional lands meant that the communities were

not able to take part in the seasonal rounds. In Northern Manitoba, community economic development around food has been shown to alleviate food insecurity brought about by high food prices and low income (Thompson, Gulrukh, Ballard, Beardy, Islam, Lozeznik, & Wong, 2011).

Power (2008), proposes cultural food security as another level of food security for Aboriginal people, that goes beyond individual and household food security. It emphasizes Aboriginal people's ability to use traditional methods to access traditional foods. Power (2007) highlights three indicators of cultural food security as: (1) levels of traditional food knowledge, (2) access to traditional food systems and (3) the safety of traditional food. Accessing traditional foods using traditional methods is essential for cultural revival, survival and Indigenous health.

To better understand cultural food security it is important to look at the issues of food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignty. Food sovereignty describes the social and political control over food and connects people to their food systems and is seen as a way to address food insecurity (Cidro & Martens, 2014). Food sovereignty allows us to examine the issue of food security through a political, social, and cultural lens, (Kamal, 2018).

Food sovereignty started as a social movement, bringing farmers' rights to the forefront and giving people an opportunity to discuss the globalized food system and peoples' rights to land (Kamal, 2018). Food sovereignty has been defined as "the

right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems (La Via Campesina as cited in Food Secure Canada n.d. a; Cote, 2016). Food sovereignty puts the people who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies and guarantees consumers rights to control their food and nutrition (Patel, 2009; Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013).

Indigenous food sovereignty is an approach to achieving long-term food security and a way to reconcile Indigenous food and cultural values with colonial laws, policies and mainstream economic activities (Morrison, 2011). Indigenous food sovereignty is a movement that focuses on cultural and socioeconomic sovereignty as well as food sovereignty. Traditional knowledge of the local environment along with food procurement and processing skills are necessary for food sovereignty and food security (Ruelle & Kassam, 2013; Council of Canadian Academies, 2014).

The loss of intergenerational knowledge transmission, loss of culture and loss of ecosystems threaten food sovereignty and food security. Indigenous communities who are striving to achieve food sovereignty are guided by four principles: sacred/divine sovereignty, participation, self-determination and legislation and policy (Morrison, 2011). In urban spaces, the principles of Indigenous food sovereignty have been supported through growing, harvesting, preparing and eating cultural food (Cidro & Martens, 2015). Access to cultural food

in the city, cultural food security, is about more than alleviating food insecurity, it is about reclaiming control over food and policies around food regarding its production and distribution it is about Indigenous food sovereignty.

In summary, the term food security as it is used in this thesis relates to people having enough food to eat, and cultural food security relates to knowledge, access and use of traditional foods that Indigenous people in Winnipeg have. The term Food sovereignty is associated with who has control over the production and distribution of traditional foods and encompasses the laws and regulations around food.

Winnipeg Issues

Food sovereignty and food security affect a large population of urban Indigenous people such as that in Winnipeg who, for the most part, are alienated from their traditional foods. It should not be surprising that Aboriginal people are one of the most food insecure groups in Canada (Elliott et al, 2012; Power, 2008). Most of the research conducted on Aboriginal food security has concentrated on Aboriginal people living on reserves; there is a paucity of research on the uses of traditional foods in urban contexts, (Cidro & Martens, 2015; Elliott et al., 2012; Skinner et al, 2016).

Inner city Winnipeg has both food deserts and food mirages. Food deserts describe low-income urban areas with an absence of healthy food. Food mirages describe situations where people live close to healthy food sources but are unable to purchase them due to the high costs (Wiebe & Distasio, 2016). It seems clear that food mirages also exist for people living on reserve, as they have healthy, traditional food available but there are barriers to accessing them such as restrictive policies, high cost of hunting and loss of traditional knowledge, these issues contribute to the food insecurity experienced by First Nations living on reservations.

Winnipeg has the largest Aboriginal population of any city in Canada. A survey carried out by the Environics institute, (2011), found that 27% of the Aboriginal population felt that it is very important to live in a traditional way, 45% said that a strong Aboriginal identity is very important to a successful life and 44% of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg felt that it was important for future generations to know about traditions pertaining to food. Living in an urban centre like Winnipeg means that Indigenous people have challenges living in a traditional way and access to affordable, healthy cultural food, (Cidro et al, 2015; Cidro & Martens, 2015), is limited. Traditional methods for gathering foods cannot be used and access to traditional food primarily occurs through networks of family and friends and through links with their communities (Cidro, Peters & Sinclair, 2014; Food secure Canada, n.d. b). In Winnipeg, Neechi commons was a downtown store that provided market food and cultural food at affordable prices and was working on rebuilding

urban Indigenous food (Cidro & Martens, 2015) but it closed down in 2018 (Hirscfhield, 2018).

Food Matters Manitoba (2015), developed a guide to show that there are 37 different stores in Winnipeg that sell traditional foods that are Indigenous to Manitoba. It does not include all the stores that sell the more common types of food like bison, vegetables and fish, but the stores that are included in the guide sell bison, elk, venison, rabbit, duck, fish, wild berries and wild rice products. The guide points out that although traditionally meat was harvested from the wild, the meat sold at these locations comes from farms. The more common grocery stores, which are easier to find and access such as the real Canadian Superstore, Sobeys and Safeway are not included. These grocery stores have a plethora of ethnic foods, catering to Indian, Chinese, Mexican and Italian cultures, but no culturally acceptable traditional Aboriginal foods section with the exception of Neechi Commons (https://neechi.ca/specialty-foods/) that is now defunct (Hirschfield, 2018)

What does this say about the value placed on traditional foods by Canada's mainstream stores? The scarcity of traditional foods in grocery stores may be due to a number of factors; such as people not having a taste for it, or it not being profitable, or there may be problems providing a consistent supply chain. In order for traditional foods to be commercially viable, they have to compete with other products and make a profit. If the taste for traditional foods is declining there may

not be a market for it. Another factor to consider is if traditional foods are made available in grocery stores, does that make them less traditional because they were not hunted or harvested in traditional ways?

Manitoba Initiatives

The Northern healthy Foods Initiative (NHFI) is a program whose vision is for people to define their own food systems to access healthy foods in northern Manitoba (Government of Manitoba, Indigenous and Northern Relations (n.d.)). It works to combat food insecurity in Aboriginal communities in Manitoba (Ball-Jones, 2016). Its main goals are to 1) increase food security efforts at the community level and 2) to strengthen community led development (Government of Manitoba, Indigenous and Northern Relations (n.d.)). Food Matters Manitoba is partnered with the NHFI and is working with several remote communities to alleviate food security issues by helping provide healthy, inexpensive, culturally appropriate foods.

Our Food, Our Health, Our Culture is a project run by Food Matters Manitoba which integrates community food security with Indigenous food security. It supports Indigenous identities and cultures by ensuring that traditional foods are valued and accessible and supports health by portraying how traditional foods can be incorporated into a modern diet (Food Matters Manitoba, n.d. a). The goal of this program is to reduce health risks but by using traditional foods they also help to re-value these traditional Indigenous foodways.

Other programs run by Food Matters Manitoba are focused on growing good food, sharing traditional skills and building healthy futures. By teaching community members how to grow their own food, keep bees and raise chickens they are providing them with skills that promote a healthy and affordable way to access food, and they help ensure self-sufficiency, which is in line with NHFI vision and goals.

Food Matters Manitoba's other initiatives include sharing traditional skills through traditional food camps, harvesting traditional foods and the use of community freezers that supports the transfer of traditional knowledge and keeps the traditional values of food sharing alive. Their use of greenhouses and composting extend growing seasons and help reduce the costs associated with shipping and accessing grants to expand community gardens and hire gardeners which all support the building of healthy futures (Food Matters Manitoba, n.d. b). These initiatives occur in remote communities and go a long way towards building food sovereignty and alleviating food security issues. However, in Canada approximately 60% of the Aboriginal population lives off reserve (Elliott *et al*, 2012).

In January 2016, a new restaurant opened on the corner of Ellice Avenue and Sherbrook Street called Feast Café Bistro (Macyshon, 2016). This is one of the few establishments in Winnipeg whose menu offers a range of Indigenous dishes made

with local ingredients. These establishments are increasing awareness of traditional foods by bringing Indigenous food into the public eye.

Winnipeg Based Research

Participants of a Winnipeg study looked at defining food security for urban Aboriginal people. In this study, Cidro, Peters and Sinclair (2014) identified three key areas that were necessary for food security in an Urban context; (1) growing, harvesting, preparing and eating cultural food as ceremony – participants described that cultural food gave them a spiritual connection to the land, (2) cultural food as part of connection to land and reciprocity – participants explained that accessing traditional food in the city is different but they can still have a connection to the land through the food they share with their families and friends, (3) re-learning Indigenous food sovereignty practices to address food insecurity – participants felt that this was important because when they moved to the city they lost access to the land and the ability to garden, they became de-skilled, some participants also noted that it was important to share knowledge of traditional foods with their children.

As a result of the above-mentioned research, Cidro and Martens (2015), conducted a follow up study; they ran a series of workshops focused around traditional food up-skilling as a pathway to urban Indigenous food sovereignty. The study found that cultural food and food skills are conduits to culture and identity. Also noteworthy is that the participants highlighted their concerns regarding the

intergenerational loss of food knowledge, which aligns with sharing knowledge of traditional foods with children, which was a finding that participants from the 2014 study stated. The 2015 study concluded that access to cultural foods is not enough for food sovereignty but that skill building or up-skilling is an important component that needs to be included (Cidro & Martens, 2015) a sentiment that was also shared by T. Stevenson from Food Matters Manitoba (personal communication, June 15, 2016).

The Need For Respectful Relationships

Recognition and respect is the cornerstone of the relationship between the governments and First Nations. Treaties are about relationships and agreements of honour and respect between First Nations and the Government, the tension around the treaties exists because many First Nations groups argue that the treaty promises are not being kept (Reynar & Matties, 2015).

The lack of respect for First Nations culture by non-Aboriginal people was manifested, in part, through residential schools. Part of the lack of respect included nutrition experimentation on the children under the guardianship of the schools. Nutrition experiments were also conducted in five Northern Manitoba communities where the researchers used the Aboriginal population as human test subjects. The already malnourished populations were experimented on without their knowledge or consent. These experiments did nothing to improve the health or impoverished

circumstances that the Indigenous people were in, but rather only served to further the careers of the nutrition experts.

The premise of these nutrition experiments was to "study the state of nutrition of the Indian by newly developed medical procedures" (Mosby, 2013), which meant that the researchers collected information on their subsistence patterns and subjected them to many tests. The researchers concluded that the hunger and malnourishment was linked to a lack of access to nutritious country food and an increased dependence on store foods. In an attempt to improve the nutrition status of the Aboriginal people in the North, the family allowance that was given to them could only be spent on certain foods such as canned tomatoes, rolled oats, pork luncheon meat, dried prunes and cheese or canned butter (Mosby, 2013), foreign foods to Indigenous people.

The recovery of Indigenous foodways is one way to improve the economic and political inequities that exist between the government of Canada and First Nations and is a critical step to rebuilding a good relationship. These foodways are important for the revitalization of culture, traditions and health (Bell-Sheetar, 2004).

Revitalization Of Culture

> "In order to help the Indigenous people heal from the trauma of colonization, assimilation and residential schools, we must build them up, we must see that as a people they are resilient, they are resourceful, they are proud and they have valuable knowledge to share" (P. Toulouse, 2016, keynote address).

Traditional food and traditional food knowledge can be used as a tool for healing from the trauma of colonization (Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008; Zurba, Islam, Smith & Thompson, 2012), and is the vehicle for recovery and reconciliation, and can support health in Aboriginal communities (Earle, 2000) and the health of Indigenous people in urban areas.

> " …The recovery of the people is tied to the recovery of food, since food itself is medicine: not only for the body, but for the soul, for the spiritual connection to history, ancestors, and the land", (Winona LaDuke as cited in Food Secure Canada (n.d. b)).

Traditional foodways can be supported and revitalized by developing food knowledge and skills, supporting the transfer of knowledge from elders to younger generations, and having access to lands and waters to hunt, gather, trap and fish (Food Matters Manitoba, 2013), but loss of elders with traditional knowledge, loss of culture and loss of ecosystems threaten these supports (Elliot & Jayatilaka, 2011;

Kuhnlein & Turner, 1991; Power, 2008; Skinner et al, 2013; The Conference Board of Canada, 2013; T. Stevenson, personal communication 2016).

Food Matters Manitoba is working with northern First Nation communities to revive traditional foodways by offering culture camps, school workshops, community and family harvesting and hunting events and commercial activities, in order to transfer knowledge of traditional foods to people in the communities (Food Matters Manitoba, 2013). This collaboration between Indigenous communities and educational facilitators provides a hopeful, healing process of reacquainting Indigenous Manitobans with their nutritional birthright.

Chapter Summary

The literature highlights that Indigenous people in urban centers have limited access to traditional food (Brown, Edwards & Hartwell, 2010; Cidro & Martens, 2014; Cidro & Martens, 2015; Cidro, Peters & Sinclair, 2014; Elliot et al, 2012) and this is problematic because traditional food is an important component of cultural identity (Chan et al, 2011), and access to it improves health (Elliot et al, 2012).

It has been noted in the literature that Indigenous people are losing the taste for traditional food (Power, 2007; Skinner et al, 2016) and that children eat less traditional foods than adults (Willows, 2005). There is little information in the

literature about how urban dwelling Indigenous people experience cultural food security. Power (2007), outlines the three indicators of cultural food security as: traditional food knowledge, access to traditional food systems and safety of traditional food. The following chapter describes the methodology used to examine traditional food knowledge, access to traditional food and use of traditional food in an urban setting.

CHAPTER 3 Methodology

This qualitative study used a phenomenological approach to study the perceptions, feelings and lived experiences of urban Indigenous people as they relate to cultural food security. Questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were used to gather the data.

Qualitative research methods are used when researchers are seeking to understand and explore how people in a specific context experience certain phenomena (Gaza, 2007; Harris et al, 2009). Phenomenological research is described as naturalistic and inductive (Harris et al 2009; Kovac, 2012), and is an advantageous approach because it makes the "how" and "why" of human experiences accessible to researchers (Dobrovonly & Fuentes, 2008), and these types of answers allow researchers to generate complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. The analyses of such textual descriptions can identify themes that are common across the experiences of individuals to provide common threads across participants.

One of the strengths of this research method is its use when the data set is small (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012). Few participants can therefore provide a rather large data set about the issue. Qualitative research methods study as many individuals needed to expose and identify consistent themes and patterns (Dubrovolny & Fuentes, 2008).

Phenomenology is an approach to qualitative research that studies people's lived experiences, emotions, attitudes and perceptions (Garza, 2007; Harris et al, 2009; Flood, 2010). This research method was selected as it was deemed the best suited to help the researcher gather data to answer the research question, "How do urban Indigenous people experience cultural food security in Winnipeg?" The phenomena being studied is cultural food security and the specific context is among urban First Nations/Indigenous people in Winnipeg. A total of 10 people were interviewed.

In qualitative research, data collected can be in the form of interviews, photos, observations, field notes or memos. In this research, semi structured interviews were used (see Appendix D), with questions based on the indicators of cultural food security (Power, 2007). These interviews were recorded, transcribed and member checked. Investigator memos and field notes were also used as data sources. These data sources were coded using principles of grounded theory of data analysis and analyzed to identify themes and patterns that emerged from the interviews (Harris et al, 2009). This approach to data analysis involves open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Creswell, 2015). The purpose is to identify themes and patterns in the responses of the participants.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore urban Indigenous peoples personal experiences and perspectives of cultural food security. This research sought to provide insight into how urban Indigenous people experience cultural food security in Winnipeg and generated knowledge based on their lived experiences. This research identified a) what are considered traditional foods, ways to b) pass on knowledge of traditional foods to future generations, c) improve access to traditional foods in the city and d) increase the use of traditional foods, to support the revitalization of Indigenous identity and culture in an urban Canadian setting.

Research Question

How do urban Indigenous people experience cultural food security in Winnipeg?

Research Objectives

Cultural food security was proposed by Power (2007) as an additional level of food security in relation to Indigenous people. Since cultural food security has not been well differentiated, we are seeking to understand how urban Indigenous people perceive cultural food security. Therefore the objectives of this research were to

(1) to understand the relationship of urban First Nations people with foods they perceive to be traditional (2) explore participant's knowledge of traditional foodways, (3) identify strategies by which they secure, process and serve traditional foods (4) identify processes by which they access traditional foods and (5) identify foodways which they feel connect them to their First Nations identity and culture.

Participant Recruitment

Purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants who met pre-determined inclusion criteria (Guest, Bunce & Jonson, 2006; Harris et al, 2009) and who shared meaningful and significant experiences of the phenomenon being studied. Purposive sampling was used to find specific participants who could help the researcher gain an understanding of how First Nation participants who live or work in Winnipeg experience cultural food security. Table 1 shows the inclusion and exclusion criteria used. First Nations participants who lived or worked in Winnipeg, came from a reserve, were between 18-55 years of age and who ate or would have liked to eat traditional food were selected.

Table 1

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
• Identifies as First Nations man or woman. • Participants must come from a reserve and live in the city • Between18 – 55 years of age. • Eat Traditional foods OR would like to eat traditional foods • Must give their free, informed and ongoing consent.	• Not First Nations • Metis • Inuit • Under 18 years of age • Over 55 years of age • If participants request to be withdrawn, they will not be included in the research.

To start the recruitment process, an email invitation (Appendix A) was sent out to the researcher's three former work colleagues asking for their participation in the research. After accepting the invitations, letters of consent were signed (Appendix B).

Initially a snowballing sampling technique was used, this is where participants are identified by the researcher and are asked to recommend other like people to add to the research sample and these recruits would in turn identify more individuals, until enough participants were found (Harris et al, 2009). The snowball sampling method only yielded three additional participants not the additional seven that were required to get the sample size to ten. To recruit the remaining participants, an amendment and resubmission to the ethics board was required. The

REB (ethic board) replied stating that individuals were not to be approached directly and a recruitment poster could be used (Appendix C), to give to third parties so that any potential participants could contact the investigator directly if they were interested.

For this second round of recruitment, the recruitment poster, the letter of invitation and the letter of consent was sent to other colleagues asking them to disseminate the information to eligible parties, this also did not generate any interest. For the third and final round of recruitment, the recruitment poster was mounted on a staff bulletin board at a First Nations High school where many of the staff met the inclusion criteria. This final more strategic round of recruitment was successful and resulted in the recruitment of four additional people, through self-selection, bringing the total number of participants to ten.

Seven of the ten participants were the investigator's colleagues that aided the recruitment process. Since they knew the investigator, trust had been established through a respectful, professional working relationship that promoted familiarity and encouraged participation. The remaining three participants were successfully recruited through the snowball method; Even though these three people did not know the investigator personally and had never met her prior to the interview, they agreed to be interviewed because they trusted the people who recommended them. Love (2012) says that trust is one of the essential ingredients of the research

process. Nowhere is this more important than Indigenous/ non-Indigenous research relations.

Collecting Interview Data

One-on-one, semi- structured interviews were conducted with each of the ten participants. These interviews took place at a mutually agreed upon time and place and lasted between 45 minutes – 2 hours. All interviews were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder and transcribed verbatim into MS Word documents. Field notes were recorded immediately after each interview. These notes described the interviewer experience, the circumstances and events around each interview, including personal impressions, reactions and memories. During the data analysis phase track was noted of thoughts and concepts as they arose, these are called memos (Creswell, 2015). Memos are short phrases, ideas and concepts that occur to researchers during the data collection and analysis phase and so are useful tools, which allow researchers to have an ongoing dialogue with themselves about the emerging theory (Creswell, 2015) or emerging themes.

The guiding questions used for the interviews were divided into four sections and are shown in Appendix D. Table 2 shows a sample of the guiding questions and probes used to evoke information about traditional food knowledge.

Table 2

Sample of Guiding Questions and Probes used for Interviews

Traditional food knowledge

1) When someone says "Traditional food" (T.F), what does that mean to you?

   Probes: What T.F do you know about?

2) How did you learn about traditional food?

   Probes: Who taught you about T.F ? How did they teach you about T.F? When did they teach you about T.F? Do you teach anyone else about T.F? If so who? how?

3) Is it important to you that future generations know about traditions pertaining to food?

   Probes: Why do you feel it is important? Do you think that there is a loss of traditional food knowledge? Which traditions pertaining to food, do you consider important to pass on?

4) How can we pass knowledge of traditional foods onto future generations?

Section 1 questions prompted demographic data including general information about each participant. This included information on participant sex, age, home community, reason for being in Winnipeg, amount of time in Winnipeg, and the frequency at which they return to their home communities. This information was collected to allow the researcher to reflect on the relationships between the participants and the research questions.

The next three sections were divided into 1) traditional food knowledge, 2) traditional food access and 3) traditional food use. These included a total of 10 questions, plus probes.

Section 2 questions prompted information about participants' knowledge of traditional foods and aimed to gather information about their meaning of traditional food, the types of traditional foods they knew about and how this knowledge was obtained and passed on to them. This section also included questions that prompted participants' feeling about whether it was important for future generations to know about traditions pertaining to food. If it was important, why or why not, which traditions pertaining to food they thought were important to pass on and if they felt that there was a loss of traditional food knowledge. Lastly, they were asked to suggest ways in which knowledge of traditional foods could be passed onto future generations.

Section 3 questions evoked information about access to traditional food in the city and sought to find out whether participants found it difficult to access traditional food in the city, where and how they access their traditional food, and how they felt about traditional food access in the city. At the end of this section, they were asked to suggest ways in which access to traditional food in the city could be increased.

The final section, Section 4, reports information around the use of traditional food, and collected information about how often participants ate traditional food, what kinds of traditional food they ate and if they ate the same types as their parents or grandparents and gave reasons for any differences. They were also asked to indicate when and why they eat traditional food, and how it makes them feel; and whether they felt that there was a decline in the amount of traditional food eaten by younger generations and whether safety of traditional food was an issue for them. Finally, they were asked to suggest ways in which the use of traditional food could be increased. At the end of each interview participants were given the opportunity to add anything else that they felt was relevant or important to share.

As an encouragement to the participants, a demonstration of good will and to build trust, during the interview process, the researcher reciprocated by sharing not only knowledge of her Italian culture, but also offered them a sample of traditional Italian *panettone*, espresso coffee and confetti. Panettone is a sweet yeast fruit bread often served in celebration at Christmas or Easter or when friends visit. Traditionally, following celebrations and family gatherings, Italians give out party favours called confetti, as a token of appreciation. This confetti is made up of sugared almonds, usually five of them are given because they represent health, fertility, longevity, prosperity and happiness. The researcher gave them to the participants as a token of appreciation to share her Italian culture with them and to facilitate a measure of mutual understanding and trust.

Ethics

Ethics approval was obtained from the research ethics board from the University of Manitoba. The ethics process required approval from the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board that is charged with evaluating the research based on ethics originating from the Tri-Council Ethical conduct in research that includes humans (http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/Default/). The investigator completed research courses and on-line training sessions about ethical practices.

The ethics procedure required the protocols of the Tri-Council Board be respected and observed in the research process of all University of Manitoba research that includes humans.

Official requests for the participation of individuals nested in institutional jurisdictions were observed. All participants, were assured by letter of consent (Appendix B) that outlined the terms and conditions, that all personal information would be kept confidential and anonymous and that all recordings and written transcripts would be kept in a locked drawer in the researcher's office, and would not have any identifying information associated with them. It was explained to the participants that they could choose to withdraw from the study at any time with no consequence by telling, emailing or texting the investigator on her personal cell phone number.

All participants were given access to their transcribed interviews so that they could check them for accuracy; this also ensured a level of the validity of the results.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis involves preparing and organizing data so that it can be analyzed, classified, interpreted and summarized (Creswell, 2015; Harris et al, 2009).

This qualitative study used a phenomenological approach to study the participants' perceptions, feelings and lived experiences. Phenomenological research methods involve three phases; epoché, eidetic reduction and imaginative variation (Moustakas, 1994; Lin, 2013). Epoché, also known as bracketing, is the process where researchers acknowledge and set aside their preconceptions, beliefs and assumptions about the phenomenon, they suspend judgment and identify bias so it can be set aside, so that they can get to the essence of the phenomenon without their personal experiences clouding what they see (Moustakas, 1994; Lin, 2013). In this way they can understand the participants' experiences of the phenomenon being studied (Kleiman, 2004). The researcher explained her traditional foodways in chapter 1, so that her assumptions could be identified and set aside allowing her to concentrate on the phenomenon of cultural food security as experienced by urban Indigenous people in Winnipeg. The conceptualization of food security in the literature was also identified.

Eidetic reduction is the process of identifying the basic components of a phenomenon (Lin, 2013). During this process, any data that does not refer to the phenomenon being studied is eliminated. Eidetic reduction was performed using the open and axial coding processes from grounded theory methods. While grounded theory is another qualitative research method (Harris et al, 2009) that is designed to develop theory, it is mentioned here because the researcher integrated some of the data analysis methods from that approach with the phenomenological data analysis strategies.

The data analysis method thus involved open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Creswell, 2015). The data was examined and common themes were identified. This method helped the researcher identify core themes and factors associated with traditional food knowledge, traditional food access and traditional food use.

The researcher used the open and axial coding to analyze the interview data to perform the eidetic reduction and imaginative variation phase from the phenomenological research approach. During the open coding phase all data was examined, broken down and categorized (Creswell, 2015); Open coding is a form of Eidetic reduction and was done using a Text Analysis Markup System or TAMS for short, which is a free qualitative data analysis software tool for MacOS system computers. This program allowed the researcher to code, sort, analyze and report the patterns and themes in the textual data (Hart, 2011). One of the major

disadvantages of using this qualitative data analysis software tool was the time that it took to learn how to use the program. Hart (2011), prepared a document that the researcher found to be invaluable because of the step by step guidelines it provided.

Member Check

For the open coding process, all interviews were transcribed verbatim into MS Word documents and sent back to participants who had two weeks to validate the transcripts for accuracy (member check). Once the transcripts had been participant approved and edited, only three participants wanted to make minor spelling changes, they were uploaded transformed into pdf/rtf and loaded into TAMS. If the researcher did not hear back from the participants within the allotted time, the transcripts were used as they were. All the interview transcripts were read and re-read, and descriptive codes were assigned to segments of text that contained related descriptions. This helped the researcher to isolate all the data that was relevant to the phenomenon being studied.

Preliminary Scan – "Imaginative Variation"

Imaginative variation is where the researcher examines the data from different angles and perspectives to draw out possible meanings and uncover the underlying factors that contribute to the experience (Moustakas, 1994; Lin, 2013).

Imaginative variation was also used whilst analyzing the transcripts and assigning codes, to try and uncover the underlying factors that contributed to the experience. The axial coding from grounded theory involves drawing a diagram to show the interrelationships of causal conditions, strategies, contextual and intervening conditions and consequences (Creswell, 2015). The researcher drew these diagrams by hand and used them to see the relationships between the themes and identify reasons, causes and consequences and visualize how they related to each other.

Summary Of Steps

1) Interview participants, 2) Transcribe interviews verbatim 3) Member check, 4) Edit transcripts and import into TAMS, 5) Read and re-read interviews, 6) Code sections of text, 7) Ignore irrelevant information, 8) Analyse codes, 9) Identify themes.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the researcher described the methodology she chose and the rationale for the use of a qualitative approach with these research questions. She further describes the methods (semi-structured interviews) and tools (memos, field notes, TAMS) she used to operationalize the research process and the rationale for each step. The use of the TAMS required a steep learning curve but it was well worth

the effort in as much as the software program provided some useful data management and illustration strategies that contributed to the researchers confidence in her coding and thematic outcomes. Sharing her own cultural feast foods when talking about the cultural foods of the participants was a gesture of reaching out in empathy, commiserating about the lack of access to traditional foods across cultures. Sharing participant experience nevertheless requires ethical considerations in the research that maximizes effect and minimizes bias. The researcher describes the ways and means ethical considerations met the standards of the REB. This chapter, discussing the methodology, methods, and rationale provides the output for the next phase of the work: the findings.

CHAPTER 4 Results

This study looked at how participants experienced cultural food security in an urban Canadian setting and focused on traditional food knowledge, traditional food access and traditional food use. The results are organized into demographic data, traditional food knowledge, access and use and includes a section on participant safety concerns and their experiences of traditional food knowledge, access and use in their home communities.

Demographic Data

The demographic data that was collected allowed the researcher to reflect globally on the relationships between the participants and the research questions. Seven out of the ten participants that were interviewed were women and three were men. The participant ages ranged from between 32 years old and 51 years old. Nine of the ten participants had their home communities in Manitoba, and one in Ontario. Three of the participants identified Swan Lake as their home community, one participant identified her home community as Winnipeg, one other as White Fish Bay, which is in Ontario and two identified Island Lakes as their home community. Peguis First Nations, War Lake and Oxford House were also identified as home communities by the participants who took part in this research. Table 3 summarizes the demographic data, and shows participant gender, age, home community, reason for being and moving to Winnipeg, how long they have been in

Winnipeg and how often they return to their home communities. The table has also been divided into the three ecozones that participants' communities were in. Swan lake and Winnipeg are in the Prairie ecozone, Peguis is in the Boreal Plain ecozone whilst St Theresa point, War Lake, Oxford house, Island Lakes, and Whitefish Bay are all in the Boreal Shield ecozone.

Table 3 *Demographic Data*

Gender (M/F)	Age	Home community	Live and or Work in Winnipeg	Reason for moving to Winnipeg	How long have you been in Winnipeg	How often do you return to your home community
F	41	Winnipeg	Live and Work	Place of birth	Born here	-
F	45	Swan Lake	Live and Work	Moved with family	Since I moved	Not often
M	47	Swan Lake	Live and Work	Place of birth	Born here	1x/yr
F	51	Swan Lake	Live and Work*	Work	5-6 yrs	Every weekend or more if possible
F	36	Peguis First Nations	Work	Education/Work	18 yrs	12x/yr
M	37	Oxford House	Live and Work	Education/Work	15 yrs	1x/yr
F	41	War Lake	Live and Work	Education/Work	2 yrs	2x/yr
F	43	Island Lakes	Live and Work	Work	6 yrs	1x /2yrs
M	45	St Teresa Point	Live and Work	Education/Work	7 yrs	5x/yr
F	32	White Fish Bay	Live and Work	Place of birth	Born here	1x/yr

Communities in each ecozone

- Prairie ecozone
- Boreal Plain ecozone
- Boreal Shield ecozone

*Works in Winnipeg during the week and returns home at the weekend.

All of the 10 participants work in Winnipeg and all but one also live in Winnipeg. Education and or work are the reasons that six out of the ten participants moved to Winnipeg whilst three participants are in Winnipeg because that is where they were born; the last participant is in Winnipeg because she moved with her family when she was 1 years old. The length of time participants have been in Winnipeg varies; three have been there their whole lives, one since she was one, and the remaining participants have been there from between 2yrs – 18yrs. The frequency with which participants return to their home communities ranges from between once a year to twelve times a year, with one participant returning home every weekend and more if possible, and one not returning to her home community very often, if at all. Individuals can be born in Winnipeg and as First Nations with status would be associated with a community of origin even if they did not ever return to such a community.

Factors Of Cultural Food Security Are Intricately Linked

Readers should note that the factors of cultural food security; traditional food knowledge, access and use are intricately linked and changes in one of these factors affects the other two. During the interview process participants cited many of the same reasons for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use and made many of the same suggestions and recommendations to improve and increase them. Figure 3 shows how these factors of cultural food security are intricately linked.

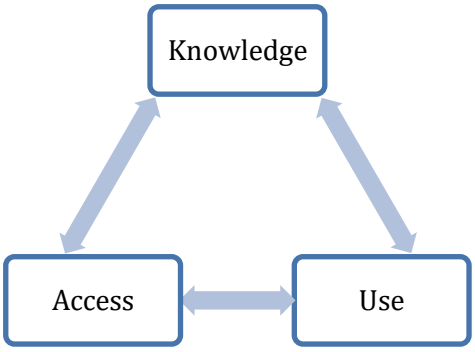

Figure 3 *Traditional food knowledge, access and use are intricately linked*

Traditional food knowledge is required to be able to access and use traditional foods, access to traditional food is needed in order to learn about and use traditional foods and there must be a desire to want to use traditional foods so that knowledge and access to traditional foods can be increased.

To help with the interpretation of the results the reasons for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use were summarized and divided into three main categories; urbanization, cost and lack of political and sociocultural support and the recommendations for increasing traditional food knowledge, access and use were also summarized and divided into three categories; education, land based education and increasing awareness.

Traditional Food Knowledge

Traditional foods are those that are meaningful and familiar to participant's families and communities. Foods that are considered traditional come from the land, sea and sky; they are local, seasonal, wild and natural. They have been hunted, harvested or grown in a spiritual, respectful and sustainable way.

Learning about traditional foods happens in a natural and organic way, it is a way of life. Experiential learning and intergenerational knowledge transfer are how participants were taught to access, process and prepare traditional foods. Participants pass on knowledge of traditional foodways intergenerationally and intragenerationally, if they have the knowledge to share. Participants know more about different types of traditional foods and how to prepare them if they grew up in their home communities than those participants who grew up in the city or are new to their culture.

What Does The Term "Traditional Food" Mean To You?

For the most part, traditional foods are those that are meaningful and familiar to participants' families and communities. Participants describe traditional food as local, seasonal, wild and natural and the importance of obtaining it in an ethical and sustainable way. Traditional food refers to food that has come from the land, sea or sky. It has been hunted, grown or harvested in a spiritual and respectful way that honors the land and the animals that have given up their lives. Since traditional foods are local and seasonal this means that certain types of food can

only be accessed in certain areas during specific times of the year. This participant describes which animals are hunted throughout the year.

> *Fall like, in September always, like I said, cause of migrating seasons right, you only have a few weeks of hunting time, always in September its moose hunting, yeah so that's in September, trapping is always between October and February, you can trap different animals, and that's where we get our beaver from, cause there's like hundreds of beaver dams outside of our community, go anywhere and get a beaver. Anyway so then um caribou hunting is in December, January and then March is um, er goose hunting and you can also like during the uh winter, fall is like um goose, um sorry snow birds, and of course ptarmigans or chickens, wild chickens and you can get um rabbits almost all year round.*
>
> F – 41 Boreal Shield ecozone

Not only are traditional foods wild, natural and organic, they are also healthy and medicinal. Traditional foods are those foods that have been eaten by previous generations and some participants described recipes as being traditional too as they are passed down through generations. Foods that are more commonly used have become part of the traditional diet; for some this includes bannock, and for others it includes potatoes, chicken, rice pudding, domesticated cattle, tea and sugar. Other fusion foods such as bannock pizza and bannock (Indian) tacos are also considered traditional.

Interestingly, most participants felt that bannock was a traditional food except one, who said that she does not consider bannock to be traditional because of the processing that the ingredients have had to go through.

> *So when someone says bannock, I don't think that's a traditional food because of all the processing that goes into the ingredients and that.*
>
> F – 36 Boreal Plain ecozone

For one participant, the way in which traditional food is acquired also has a cultural component to it. Food has to be acquired from the land, or given to you. He explained that if he bought traditional food, he would still consider the food to be traditional, but the acquisition would not be.

> *So the food would still be traditional but the acquisition would be different, right? Like getting to pay for it and it is no longer something that you give to somebody or get for yourself*
>
> M – 37 Boreal Shield ecozone

Learning About Traditional Food Was A Way Of Life (How Did You Learn?)

Traditional food knowledge includes learning how to access, process and prepare foods such as wild meats, fish, berries and plants. Participants described the way they learned about traditional foods as organic and natural, it was a way of life

for most of them, it wasn't something that was planned, and rather it was something that just happened. Participants learned through experience; by watching their family members acquire, process and prepare food, listening to people share their stories about hunting and gathering food and by being on the land checking snares, gathering food, and fishing from the lakes, the organic nature of acquiring traditional food knowledge is described by these participants:

> *And so it was everyday life really, like, if a moose came in, you were part of cutting it, it was part of family life, ok so you know what pieces, it was all spread out. OK can you cut this part and my other cousin would do the other part and then my grandmother too would like start skinning the hide, and we would be all outside working.*
>
> F – 43 Boreal Shield ecozone

> *"We learned as we cleaned the meat, like how to prepare and use most of the animal if not all, like even the bones we used to boil into a broth and the meat of course would be used, it wasn't really like um, educating on traditional food wasn't the goal, it was just sort of a side effect"*
>
> M – 37 Boreal Shield ecozone

Accessing, Processing And Preparing Traditional Foods (What Did You Learn?)

Participants accessed traditional foods from the land, by learning how to fish, set snares and how to identify and pick berries. Once food was obtained it was processed and prepared. This participant describes collecting berries and processing them.

> *And the other things that I was taught when it comes to traditional food mostly like the gathering stuff, so I would go and pick berries and I would cook or can them or I would put them into foods and so, or other type of plant based foods, what I would do is I would purposefully go and seek them out because those are seasonal right so I would go and get them and bring them back and process them myself.*
>
> F – 36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Other processing methods that participants were taught included how to pluck and singe geese, skin rabbits and mink, smoke fish, can foods and quarter moose. This participant explains what to do with an animal that has been hunted.

> *we call it quartering, we quarter it like after the animal is killed, like with the moose it has to be aired out for a night, so you just gut it but you have to cover it so the animals don't get at it and then the next day you would go and quarter it and you have like your ribs and your hind quarters and your front quarters and all the different parts.*

F – 41 Boreal Shield ecozone

Common Traditions

Traditions anchor people to a culture and give them a sense of belonging. Traditions are passed down through generations and are observed by the majority of people of a particular culture.

Respect

Respect is a tradition that continues to be passed down through generations and can be demonstrated in many ways. Participants explained that it is important to show respect for the relationships between people, the animals and the land. Respect for the relationships you have with people is shown by bringing food to them when you visit as this participant describes:

> *Somebody is always bringing me, like just a couple of weeks ago somebody brought me moose meat, I was really happy for that. Even somebody from Poplar River, an elder from Poplar River gives me like whenever he comes, do you want some moose meat, said OK. One thing that uh he was trying to share with me was uh sturgeon, I never had sturgeon, never seen it before, I don't know, I've seen pictures of sturgeon, but I haven't seen it. But he was trying, like*

I told him I can't accept it, even though that was kind of rude, but I didn't want to waste it. Cause I didn't know how to cook it, I didn't know how to prepare it.

M – 45 Boreal Shield ecozone

Respect for the animals is shown by not hunting them if they are sick or carrying young and making sure that every part of the animal is used and not wasted.

And like even not being wasteful with this food, because what some people do as well is they hunt to sell the meat so they can go and buy pizza pops, and if they don't sell that meat they just discard it in the, in the landfill.

F – 51 Prairie ecozone

Respect for the land can be shown by giving thanks for the food that is obtained, and by sharing food with family and community members.

Sustainability

Sustainable practices are important traditions that participants continue to pass down to younger generations when they are out on the land, this ensures the survival of important ecosystems and is a way to respect the plants and animals and

ensure that there is enough food for another time. Participants described sustainability as taking only what you need and not depleting an area of its resources. They said having a connection to the land enables you to read the land so you can hunt and trap in areas where there is an abundance of prey, being careful to only take what you need and not use everything up. This participant describes a time where he was taught about sustainability:

> *I remember when I was, when we were growing up like on the land, my, my grandfather would say like OK, we're not going to go to that area we're going to let it, let the animals* (recover), *for a couple of years and then we'll go back, so that's, like we didn't just take take, like even though you are feeding everybody.*
>
> M – 45 Boreal Shield ecozone

He also wants to teach his family about sustainability, so whenever he has the opportunity he shows them what to do to be sustainable.

> *Yeah, like one time I saw two moose and I only shot the one. So I let that other one* (go), *cause we want that one,* (I want) *my son to, or my grandson to be able to do that too.*
>
> M – 45 Boreal Shield ecozone

Passing On Traditional Food Knowledge

To secure the knowledge of traditional foods for future generations it needs to be shared and passed on. Seven of the ten participants transfer their traditional food knowledge on to younger generations, either their children, grandchildren, nieces or nephews, and one participant also passes her knowledge on to her husband as well. They pass their knowledge on in the same way they received it, in a natural and organic way. These participants describe the organic nature in which knowledge is passed on:

> *teaching isn't always this intentional thing right it's like more organic and natural and you just kind of incorporate it into your daily life and it's just a part of you and you kind of live that, so when I go out onto the land it's just a part of me to be observant and to point things out and to think about what are the uses for that and if there is someone with me like just sharing what I know about that.*
>
> F – 36 Boreal Plain ecozone

> *like when I do activities with my kids I don't okay make sure you do this, I don't give them a piece of paper with these are the steps you have to take, it's just something that we do together and if they have questions I answer them.*
>
> F – 41 Boreal Shield ecozone

Reasons For The Decline In Traditional Food Knowledge

Traditional food knowledge, access and use are intricately linked. In the data, many of the same reasons were cited by participants about their perceptions and experience for decline in the data. To help with the interpretation of the results the reasons for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use were summarized and divided into 3 categories: urbanization, cost and lack of support. Table 4 shows the reasons for the decline in traditional food knowledge.

Table 4

Reasons for the Decline in Traditional Food Knowledge

	Knowledge
Urbanization	Changes in lifestyles, values and priorities No time, interest or opportunities to learn Limited access to the land Forgetting skills Do not have the knowledge to share
Cost	Expensive to hunt
Lack of cultural support	Knowledge is not being passed down

When probed, all of the participants agreed that there is a loss in traditional food knowledge in the younger generations and two participants even noted this knowledge loss in them.

Urbanization Causes A Decline In Traditional Food Knowledge

Being in the city contributes to the decline of traditional food knowledge experienced by participants.

Changes In Lifestyles, Values And Priorities

If there was an interest in learning about traditional foodways, participants explained that you would need to have the time to learn and to dedicate to going out onto the land to gain experience and knowledge. This participant explained that returning to the land is a way for people to stay connected to their culture but that the priorities of work and school interfere with transmission of traditional food knowledge.

> *Like my generation, we know, we know how to prepare it and we know about it, but for like my niece's generation they have totally lost it because they don't go out on the land anymore and that knowledge is not being passed down, because - oh you need to go to school or they would rather play video games. It*

seems like the younger people are having other priorities, even in the communities.

F- 43 Boreal Shield ecozone

No Time, Interest Or Opportunities To Learn

Being in the city means that participants have less time to dedicate to traditional activities, and limited opportunities to learn because of the priorities of work or school.

Limited Access To The Land

Limited access to the land directly affects knowledge of traditional food. Again and again, participants made it clear that the land is the physical holder of knowledge and that you need to have access to the land to learn that knowledge, as this participant explains:

Yeah because that land is that knowledge, the only way that we are going to learn, well not the only way but one of the main ways we are going to learn about all of this food and what this land has to offer is to actually have that land and have it protected.

F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Traditional food knowledge is profoundly affected as traditional territories become encroached, and polluted by industry, the government and climate change, explained one participant. She said that as land is lost, knowledge is lost, because the land is the physical holder of that knowledge, so it is important to protect the land because once it is gone the knowledge goes with it.

Participants explained that stories are an important method of transmitting traditional food knowledge but they are easily forgotten. Therefore for skills to be learned, remembered and passed on, it is necessary to have continuous and consistent opportunities to learn on the land.

Some of the skills that participants have passed on to their family members include how to hunt for caribou, moose and geese, how to start and use a fire to make bannock or tea, how to use knives to fillet fish and cut up moose, and how to identify and use different plants and medicines. Those participants, who do not have access to the land, because they live in the city, or do not have the knowledge themselves, do not teach anyone else about accessing, processing or preparing traditional foods.

Forgetting Skills

One participant was worried that if she could not go back home she would not be able to pass her traditional knowledge onto her children and she stated that

being in the city for a long time has meant that she has started to forget how to do some things too.

> *Like for me, what if I never go back, what am I going to be able to teach my kids? Or share with them, like there's even certain things that I am starting to forget like um, we got a rabbit the other day, my husband got a rabbit from his friend and I can't remember how to make rabbit soup, I mean like it's been such a long time since I've seen that, like I have a basic, I sort of know but like I don't know specifically how to do it*
>
> F-41 Boreal Shield ecozone

Do Not Have The Knowledge To Share

Several participants explained that they were unable to share knowledge with their children or grandchildren either because they did not have the knowledge themselves because they did not grow up learning their traditional ways or because they did not listen when they were taught. One participant explained that he did not pay attention when his grandfather tried to teach him about his traditional ways but he would like to learn now so that he can share traditional knowledge with his grandchildren. This participant expressed regret at not learning more about traditional plants and medicines because now he does not have that knowledge to pass on to his children.

> *I should have listened more. We had things like Labrador tea, and weekay could be used as a seasoning, that's one thing I wish I learned more; so I can't really pass that on to my children because I didn't really take the time to learn it as much as I could have or should have.*
>
> M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

This participant explained that she would like to get her own meat but she was not taught how to hunt, unfortunately she is not interested in learning about it now, and neither is her son because she says she does not have the time to learn.

> *I actually feel kind of bad, that I'm just not more aware or cook, you know traditional food, or not really interested in it. And like I said if there was more time, that's definitely a factor.*
>
> F-45 Prairie ecozone

Cost Is A Factor That Affects Traditional Food Knowledge

Money was cited as a factor that affects traditional food knowledge, access and use, and as previously noted these factors are intricately linked so a lack or decline in one factor directly affects the other two.

Expensive To Hunt

When participants discussed how cost affects knowledge of traditional foods, they were referring to the cost of hunting equipment, making it very clear that in order to have knowledge of traditional foods you also need access to traditional foods using traditional methods. The amount of money required for gas, ammunition and camping equipment makes hunting prohibitive and if people do not have access to traditional foods because they cannot afford to go out and hunt then they cannot learn about traditional foods. Being able to access traditional foods and using traditional methods in their preparation emphasizes the uniqueness of First Nations people (Atleo, 1990). Consequently, such practices are important identity markers and form part of First Nations culture. Participants said that being able to use traditional methods to obtain food ensures the survival of indigenous culture and instills a sense of pride.

Lack Of Cultural Support Affects Traditional Food Knowledge

A lack of social and cultural support for Indigenous people living in the city results in knowledge not being passed down because their traditional customs are not valued.

Knowledge Is Not Being Passed Down

A lack of cultural support from employers means that community members that choose to go back to their communities for hunting seasons have to take vacation days from work and take their children out of school, one participant explained that it is important that schools and employers understand that Indigenous parents take their children out of school so that they can reconnect with their culture and learn about traditional foods by giving them hands on experiences on the land as culture is passed down by family.

Traditional food knowledge is lost as knowledge keepers age and pass away taking their knowledge with them. When families breakup knowledge of traditions and also identity are lost. This participant describes a language barrier between him and his grandfather that made learning difficult:

> *Yeah he would talk like I guess he would talk in Ojibwe but I was too much in the city and I really couldn't comprehend what he was saying- "what's this guy talking about", so that I kind of regret not sort of listening and take advantage of that opportunity when I had that chance*
>
> M-47 Prairie ecozone

One participant tries to share his traditional knowledge with his sons because they were young when they moved to the city and they are forgetting how to hunt but he cannot take them out to the land because they work.

> *Yeah, but er like I said I go, I go home, I try to go home like five times, like every major thing that happens, major occurrences in the seasons, that's when I go and I try to take my boys but they're working now*
>
> M-45 Boreal Shield ecozone

How To Pass Knowledge Of Traditional Foods On To Younger Generations

Participants' suggestions on how to secure the knowledge of traditional foods for future generations were divided into three categories. These were education, land based education and increasing awareness. These categories were also used to summarize participant suggestions on how to increase traditional food access and use in the city, highlighting how traditional food knowledge, access, and use are intricately linked. Table 5 summarizes participant recommendations on how to pass on knowledge of traditional foods onto younger generations.

Table 5

How to Pass Knowledge of Traditional Foodways on to Younger Generations

	Knowledge
Education	Incorporate traditional food knowledge, language and Indigenous worldviews into the curriculum Invite guest speakers Use manipulatives Write down recipes Use the internet
Land based education	Arrange field trips and exchange programs
Increase awareness	Have traditional foods available

Education – Formal Education Through Schools Can Increase Knowledge Of Traditional Food

Several participants made clear that traditional food knowledge should be integrated into the curriculum to make it a part of every child's daily language, so that they become literate in different foods and know what they are.

I think it should be incorporated right from the very beginning right on through. So starting in the very early years, so when I think about nursery, or

> *Head Start or daycare, and they provide snacks, these children should be eating their traditional foods and then they should also be literate in what these are. So this is moose meat, this is strawberries, this is wild rice, so they should know that.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Many participants explained that language is an important tradition to pass on because it is tied to identity, and it is at risk of being lost:

> *when you don't have language and when you don't have those traditions to pass on, there is a little bit of your identity that is missing.*
>
> F-41 Prairie ecozone

and as language dies out the deeper understanding of what food is disappears.

> *The traditional language like (otey-hi-min) is the Ojibway word for strawberry, it means heart berry, so it's good for your heart, it looks like a heart, it's the first thing in spring, it's about new beginnings and so that word encompasses all of that and so I think like language is another part of that tradition that comes around food, so as that language dies out our deeper meaning and understanding of what food is goes with it.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Incorporate Traditional Food Knowledge, Language And Indigenous Worldviews Into The Curriculum

One participant felt strongly that by incorporating traditional food knowledge into the curriculum for all children to learn that this would foster a deeper understanding of Indigenous people. She explained that if the knowledge was woven into everything that exists, instead of having Aboriginal perspectives as an option to teach, it might make people less resistant to learning about it as they would have been already learning about it all through their school careers. This participant felt that the only way for her daughter to learn about Indigenous culture at school would be to enroll her into Niji Mahkwa or Children of the Earth, two schools in Winnipeg that integrate traditional knowledge and ceremony into their day-to-day practices, (Crauk, 2018).

Invite Guest Speakers Or Use Manipulatives To Teach Students Traditional Food Knowledge

Four participants suggested finding knowledge keepers and inviting them into school to share their stories with the children or show them videos and explain things to them. One participant even suggested using manipulatives to show how to disassemble a moose. He confessed that the problem with using a manipulative is that it would be dry and sterile and the students would miss out on the whole body experience:

> *Unless you can* (use) *manipulatives or something- like this is how you would prepare such and such right, and have an artificial* (moose)…
> *You wouldn't get the smell and that's half the fun, and chopping the joints with an axe is always fun.*
>
> M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

One participant is a food and nutrition teacher who works at a High school for First Nations students in Winnipeg. This participant has traditional food knowledge but when she asked if she could make a fire pit on the school grounds, to teach the students how to make bannock and caribou over an open fire, and show them how to pluck a goose and singe a chicken, she was not granted permission. This participant said that if teachers have to stay in the city, they need an outdoor space to do these activities, they need permission, and most importantly they need to have the knowledge, or know someone who has the knowledge and is willing to share it. In this instance the teacher used videos and invited guest speakers in to talk to the students and she made bannock in the classroom kitchen.

Write Down Recipes Or Use The Internet To Gain Traditional Food Knowledge

As people move away from their communities, participants explained, that writing down recipes or using the Internet to find information, would help ensure that the knowledge is not forgotten.

Land Based Education – Learning On/ From The Land

Fieldtrips, and exchange programs are important and can be arranged through schools giving children the opportunity to learn on the land. However, participants noted that getting out on the land would be challenging for students in the city, although it would be the best way to learn. One participant explained that you could cover content in the classroom but you also needed to learn through hands on experience:

> *You can create lesson plans around it. But to actually know it you need to get out there and do it.*
>
> F-51 Prairie ecozone

She goes on to explain that you need to be on the land to get the knowledge, because there are so many other things to learn, she says:

> *so I don't know what would be done for hands on, because to get out and set a snare you have to be actually out to learn how to set that snare. It would be more effective on the land. Because there's other things you have to learn around that. Like you don't walk in the rabbit tracks, because that rabbit will start following your, your footprints in the snow, opposed to its own path it's been making. So, you have to learn that on the land. And how far off the snow you've got to set that snare, and how small that snare should be.*

F-51 Prairie ecozone

Participants felt that our current food systems are not sustainable so they want to teach their children and grandchildren survival skills. They want them to be able to access and process traditional food; including how to use the land to find water, trap food and grow food and how to prepare wild meat, berries and fish. They emphasized the importance of protecting the land and explained that the health of the land affects the health of the food and subsequently the health of the people. Youth need to learn how to understand the land and keep it healthy. One participant explains the importance of using your senses to read the land and the animals.

> *You have to learn how to read the land and you also have to learn like with food, you have to learn like reading the land, including the weather, right! So like, for example, if the moose, where are where are they right and how to hear them and how to listen.*

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It is important to be on the land as this connects people to the earth, to nature and each other, learning on and from the land and through stories nourishes these connections and contributes to people's wellbeing. It is important to practice these traditions so that the knowledge is secured and can be passed down through generations. One participant explained that these customs are a part of her identity, if she did not take her children out on to the land and do the activities that she and

her family enjoyed doing, then how would her children learn or pass that knowledge on to their children in the future:

> *Like for me I think it's still important because you know what, it's something that I want to be able to um share with my kids because it's something that I did and I know something that my family has always done and they enjoy it, they've always enjoyed it. I want to make sure like with my baby I haven't done anything like that with her yet because I had her here in the city, well other than taking her home for Indian days, like that's probably the only thing that I've taken her home for but I'd like to be able to do those activities with her when she gets a little bit older, and then hopefully they can share with their kids some of their stories that they've got, even doing the same things with their kids, and I'm thinking if we don't pass it on then whose going to do it then right?*
>
> F-41 Boreal Shield ecozone

Increase Awareness By Having Traditional Foods Available In The City

It is believed that by increasing awareness either through formal education or through Indigenous community events, where everyone is taught about and exposed to traditional foods, language and culture that this would foster a deeper sense of familiarity and understanding leading to a greater acceptance of Indigenous people. Two participants described incidents of racism they experienced growing up

in Winnipeg making them feel ashamed of being Indigenous and causing them to shy away from their traditional foods.

Several participants suggested having traditional foods available in more places to help increase awareness and acceptance:

> *We could make people more aware of it, like at school, sell it in more places, I mean if you go to a cafeteria, if you go to a restaurant, people could start putting it out there more. Like at school, you're taught certain things but if you're taught more about peoples ethnic backgrounds, and if you had all the different kids in the class, and I just think that it would help with racism as well, if you're learning about everybody's background and have all the kids bring a dish from home about what they eat, I think that would, and just do that when they're younger.*
>
> F-45 Prairie ecozone

Benefits Of Increasing Traditional Food Knowledge

It is deeply meaningful for youth to know about traditional food and traditions pertaining to food because it roots them to their culture, food and land, forms part of their identity and is necessary for survival. These traditions are important as Indigenous people have a spiritual connection to their food as it is seen as a gift from the creator. Participants believed that traditional knowledge is

important for survival and want youth to be able to use the land to find food and water if necessary because they felt that our current food systems are unsustainable.

Increasing knowledge around traditional foods can reduce racism, promote health and offers Indigenous people in the city an opportunity to practice culture. Passing on knowledge of traditional foods to younger generations will have the benefit of increasing pride in the young First Nations population and help to increase awareness in the general Canadian population of its Indigenous peoples.

Only one participant did not feel that it was important for future generations to know about traditions pertaining to food, because she did not grow up immersed in her culture, and now that she is older she does not have any curiosity or time to learn, she says:

> *Not really* (not important for younger generations to learn about traditions pertaining to food)*. I think I just grew up, no one would really show me my culture or my traditions.* My *(*non-Indigenous*) friend knows more about my stuff than I do and sometimes it bothers me but I think it's just life being too busy to not care, to be honest, that's probably what it is. It's never really been an interest to say Hey I wanna learn about this.*
>
> F-45 Prairie ecozone

Traditional Food Access

Participants rely primarily on the connections they have with family and friends to be able to access traditional foods in the city. Although it is difficult to buy traditional food in the city participants identified 5 stores where they have been able to purchase traditional foods from and 4 establishments that serve traditional food.

Trading and sharing are important traditions that participants described using as a way to access traditional foods in the past and some continue to use them. Access to traditional food is greater for those participants who have connections to family and friends from their home communities who can access traditional foods for them and for those participants who are self-sufficient and hunt, grow or gather traditional foods for themselves.

Some Grocery Stores In The City Do Sell Traditional Food

Although accessing traditional food in the city is difficult, some participants have been able to purchase traditional foods at several grocery stores in the city and some have eaten at cafes and bistros that serve traditional food. Participants identified 5 different stores where they have been able to purchase traditional foods in the city. These stores are Neechi commons, which has since closed down, Cantors, Superstore, Gimli Fish Market, and Food Fare.

Neechi Commons was the store that most of the participants had heard about but only three participants had been to. Those that had been had bought bannock and muskeg tea from there, and the participants who had only heard about it guessed that rabbit, elk, pickerel, buffalo, wild rice and wild berries could be purchased from there, although they themselves had not purchased these items. The other traditional foods that participants had purchased in the city were: bison from Cantors and Food Fare; honey, nuts, berries, fish and crab from Superstore and pickerel from Gimli Fish Market.

Feast café, was mentioned by two participants as a place where they had eaten traditional food in the city. The Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF), Connie's Corner, Whitecastle and the Aboriginal Community Campus are four places that one participant had eaten at, and he emphasized that these places were all in the downtown core. He also mentioned two other places that used to serve traditional food that had shut down, but he did not remember what they were called.

Participants Who Are Self-Sufficient Can Access Traditional Foods For Themselves

Several participants are self-sufficient, which means that they access traditional food themselves. They hunt and harvest traditional foods that are in season. Meat that is hunted is prepared and frozen to use throughout the year, and fruits and vegetables are preserved. One participant continues to plant gardens and

is starting to raise her own animals (chicken, cattle and pigs), for personal consumption.

Sharing Is A Tradition That Ensures Access To Traditional Food

Participants explained that sharing is a tradition that in the past ensured that everyone in the community had enough food to eat; it ensured that they were food secure, this participant describes:

> *The one thing that I have taken with me is that they all used to come together, so our family even though they were struggling with you know, they only had meat, there would be another family down the street that would come and they would have cooking and they would piece the whole meal together.*
>
> F-41 Prairie ecozone

One participant explained that sharing is a part of him and his culture, and it is a way to help people:

> *It's within again, it's within my being I guess, my culture. Again that's how we were, we'd always sit around and share our food, if someone was down we would help them.*
>
> M-47 Prairie ecozone

When there is an abundance of food, everybody in the community benefits when the food is shared:

> *Like a couple of years ago we got an elk, the smallest one in the herd, and we had to give a lot of it away because we wouldn't be able to store it, but other people benefitted from it*
>
> F-51 Prairie ecozone

Another participant finds it an honor to be able to share his food with family and friends:

> *It makes, it makes me feel good when I share it and I like seeing, uh like it's an honor to give it to somebody to, it's an honor to make somebody happy too, so its yeah um, like when I harvest a moose, most of it I give it away, to community members, to elders, people that can't go out I, I give it to them, but first I have a big feast for anyone who wants to come and eat it.*
>
> M-45 Boreal Shield ecozone

Traditional food is seen as a gift from the land, and participants spoke about elders teaching them to share their food and give away what was left once they had taken what they needed, they were taught not to sell traditional food, as these participants describe:

Another thing to is for my community we don't believe in selling meat like it's not like, like you would never post online oh I've got two bags of moose meat and I'm selling it for this much, you would never do that, I don't know it's sort of frowned upon in our communities, I mean I've known people to do it, but no one wants anyone to know, but so like it's like a gift right, you get your gift off the land and then you share it. It's not like…, to commercialize it would be sort of disrespectful I guess, cause that's how our elders always made sure, don't ever try to sell what you get, you share, you only give, you take what you need and then you give the rest away.

F-41 Boreal Shield ecozone

Uh, but most of the time, where I come from, if you harvest a moose you don't sell the meat, like when I was very young, I was taught that by my, my, my dad actually. Somebody, somebody came, he wasn't really our family member, but he heard my dad killed a moose and he came to ask my dad for some, and he, he gave I don't know a big chunk, and then he was trying to give him $5 and he said you don't need to pay me yeah, he was an elder. He didn't have to say anything cause like I knew what he was doing, so that's where I learned that too yeah.

M-45 Boreal Shield ecozone

Even though participants were taught to share traditional food and give it away, some have seen it for sale on social media websites advertising rabbits, geese

or fish for sale. Money is understood to be a valuable way of trading for things as people need money to live or to break even after they have been out hunting, so some participants said that they would use money to buy traditional food, even though they would not ask for money in exchange for traditional food.

Trading Is A Tradition That Ensures Access To Traditional Food

Historically, trading was a way in which people accessed the things they needed from the people who had them. Money, work, time, stories or skills, are trading currencies, and the one that is used depends on whom you are trading with and the type of relationship you have with them. Relationships are important in order to be able to share and trade. Trade is an important aspect of traditional foodways that has been done for generations, as this participant explains:

> *And so my mum and her sisters, my gran would skin all of that* (muskrats) *and she would trade off those furs and they would eat that meat.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Food and medicines are traded for with money, work, time, skills and stories. One participant described trading for pickerel cheeks with her uncle when she was younger when all she had to trade was her time:

So I go to my uncles and I'm like "Uncle do you have pickerel cheeks?" which are very expensive and hard to source because pickerels only have two cheeks, so in order to get a pound of pickerel cheeks it's a lot of work and so they are costly and then he says "yeah" and I said "so how much are they?" and then he's like "well if you are going to give me money, this is how much they are" and I was like "but I don't have any money' I said "but I can like clean your house and I can cut the grass and I could do all these chores" and he was like "OK".

F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Now that she is older she trades with her beadwork and quilts and still uses her time as a trading currency when she is with her grandparents:

Oh yeah I still trade, so my aunt she has a lot of dried foods and a lot of dried medicines and so I trade with her and I've traded quilts with her, I've traded beadwork with her. With my uncle I trade with money right now so because I know for commercial fishermen right now it's really difficult for them to sustain their living as lake Winnipeg has all this pollution and zebra mussels and all this and its really difficult for him and so I trade with him for money. And then with my grandparents if I want something from them, I do something for them.
And I often find that what I trade for, along the way we are trading for more things, so if I'm at my Grans let's say I want some food, some kind of food, like, she'll give me and then while I'm there, I might cook them supper or clean up or and I'm taking coffee breaks and I'm sitting down and we are talking, so we are trading

stories so they are telling me about things they used to do or what they are doing now and I'm doing the same and I'm asking them questions and I am learning so it's not just about those items that we are trading it's about like all this other trade that is happening.

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Most participants accepted the fact that access to traditional food in the city is difficult, as these participants explain:

It's just a challenge, another challenge, I don't think of it as a, a, deficit. Like it's not here, you look around, why would it be here? So I accept it, it's not in my expectation that it will be here.

M-45 Boreal Shield ecozone

I don't think it really bothers me. Sometimes though like if I want to get something you know and I can't get it, then yeah, it's a bummer, you know what I mean?

F-32 Boreal Shield ecozone

For one participant the lack of traditional food in the city gives him plenty of opportunity to experience foods from other cultures, which is something he likes to do:

> *I'm not really too worried about it because there's a lot of great food in the city and that's one of the things that I love about living out here. I've tried everything from East Indian curries to Ethiopian injera. I'm not too worried about availability cause I do get food every now and then and it's nice to try the food that's here.*
>
> M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

Reasons For The Decline In Traditional Food Access In The City

Traditional food knowledge, access and use are intricately linked. Many of the same reasons were cited by participants for these declines. To help with the interpretation of the results the reasons for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use were summarized and divided into 3 categories; urbanization, cost and lack of support: Table 6 shows the reasons for the decline in traditional food access in the city.

Table 6

Reasons for the Decline in Traditional Food Access

	Access
Urbanization	Difficult to access traditional food in the city No places to hunt in the city Traditional food not grown in the city Traditional food not sold in grocery stores Pollution makes animals unsafe to consume No connections to family or friends who have access to traditional food
Cost	Sending traditional food to the city is timely and costly
Lack of political support	Lack of food sovereignty

Urbanization Affects Access To Traditional Food In The City

The market food system is dominant in the city making it easier and more convenient to access processed and packaged foods and harder to access healthier traditional foods.

Difficult To Access Traditional Food In The City Because It Is Not Grown Or Sold And There Are No Places To Hunt

Access to traditional foods in the city is difficult for some participants because they do know where to go to access them. Several mentioned that other reasons why it is difficult to access traditional food in the city is that there are no places to hunt around the city, traditional foods are not grown in the city and grocery stores do not sell it. Even if traditional foods were available in grocery stores, several participants expressed concern that the taste of the food would be different because of the processing it would have to go through to be able to be sold.

Pollution Makes Animals Unsafe To Consume

Participants would like to be able to access traditional foods from around the city, but they are concerned about the pollution of the land and the chemicals that contaminate food sources, so they leave the animals that are around the city alone:

> *Yeah. Cause I don't know what that animal has been eating, especially nowadays. The ducks that we see around here, you want to eat them, but what's in them, a bunch of lead or whatever, a bunch of garbage. Yeah, you don't know what that animal has been eating, what it's been grazing and the chem trails all over.*
>
> M-47 Prairie ecozone

> *You know you see, like in the city, you see rabbits, wild rabbits and then my niece asks me can we like can we eat that? And I say no, we can't eat that because the diet of the rabbit, the rabbit is eating bad stuff. Garbage, they're eating out of our garbage. So, would you like to eat our garbage? And the traditional rabbits in the woods, they're eating like the natural things.*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

No Connections To Family And Friends Who Have Access To Traditional Food

For the most part access to traditional foods in the city is founded on connections to family and friends. Participants' friends and relatives bring traditional foods to them when they come to the city to visit. This often isn't enough food to last a season, but it is enough to have a taste of home and to expose their children to the taste of it. This participant describes how she would access traditional food from her community:

> *No. But if you, if I wanted fish, for example, like I seen white fish for sale, smoked white fish and I said Oh I feel like having that for supper tonight, and then I calls people, K, whose coming to Winnipeg today? And they'll give it to that person and then I'll have it that night.*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

Those participants who do not have connections or sharing networks find it difficult to access traditional food in the city, as this participant explains:

> *When I'm in the city I don't have a lot of social connections to people who have access to that. And so, I am really depending on the people that I already know…. a lot of times I am really depending on family and friends for that*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Cost Is A Factor That Affects Access To Traditional Food In The City

Money was cited as a factor that affects traditional food access in the city because it can be expensive to ship food.

Sending Traditional Food To The City Is Timely And Costly

Since the majority of participants who live in the city rely on their friends and family to access traditional food for them, traditional food that is sent to the city usually arrives by plane. This process raised issues around the time it takes to transport food, the cost associated with air travel and the safety of the food once it had arrived, as this participant explains:

> *You know the only thing I've ever worried about it is if it's spoiled, because it's coming such a long way and I always think, Oh I hope it's good I hope it didn't spoil, cause I don't want to, cause you aren't going to eat spoiled meat it doesn't matter where you get it from. So that's the only thing I have ever worried about cause it's coming such a far distance.*
>
> F-41 Boreal Shield ecozone

Lack Of Political Support Affects Access To Traditional Food In The City

For Indigenous people to be culturally food secure and to have access to traditional food in the city, political support is needed so that they have Indigenous food sovereignty giving them control over their food systems. If Indigenous people have control over food and laws around food they would be able to determine how food is accessed.

Lack Of Food Sovereignty

One participant explained that there is a lot of traditional knowledge that comes along with traditional food, so if people have access to it, they also need to have the skills to process it. To her, access to traditional food has to do with literacy, community and relationship building. In order to be able access traditional food people need to have knowledge of what traditional food is and of where, when and

how it can be obtained. For her the lack of Food sovereignty is keeping traditional foods off of grocery store shelves:

> *And why aren't these on the shelves? It's about food sovereignty. The people who are sourcing these foods want to have the control over how they are harvested and how they are produced and how they are distributed. But the government wants to have all of these policies around that.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

How To Increase Access To Traditional Foods In The City

Participant suggestions on how to increase access to traditional food in the city have been divided into three categories; education, land based education and increasing awareness. These categories were also used to summarize participant suggestions on how to pass on knowledge of traditional foods onto younger generations and how to increase use of traditional food in the city. Table 7 summarizes participant recommendations about how to increase traditional food access in the city.

Table 7

How to Increase Access to Traditional Foods in the City

	Access
Education	Teach people where they can access traditional foods and medicines from
Land based education	Use summer camps to learn how to hunt and set snares Transport people out onto the land
Increase awareness	Bring traditional food into the city Set up a food truck " A taste of Manitoba" Have more Aboriginal run stores Start an Indigenous restaurant chain

Education – Teaching People Where They Can Access Traditional Food And Medicines From

Participants believed that it is important for Indigenous people to know their rights so that they can harvest medicines in Provincial parks and use their status cards to allow them to fish. So education with regards to traditional food access refers to people knowing where they are allowed to go and also means knowing which stores sell traditional foods. Food Matters Manitoba (2015) has developed a food guide that shows there are 37 different stores in Winnipeg that sell traditional

foods, however participants of this research only knew about 3 from the list; these were Neechi commons (which has since closed down), Cantors grocery and Gimli fish market. However participants had mentioned an additional 2 stores that were not on the Food Matters Manitoba list; these were Superstore and Food Fare.

Land Based Education: Teaching Access to Traditional Foods Through Traditional Methods

Access to traditional territories is difficult for some people who are in the city and this makes learning about accessing traditional foods difficult. For children who attend schools in the city they do not have the opportunity to learn on the land so sending children to summer camp could be a way to learn new skills, one participant sends her grandchildren to summer camp where they learn how to hunt with a bow.

Another participant explained that a practical solution for people who do know how to access traditional foods but are in the city and lack transportation would be to arrange transportation to take them to the land so that they can access traditional food for themselves:

> *so breaking down some of the barriers and allowing more access for people who are older who want to reclaim that part of it and so thinking in terms of like what is the most practical. I work in Winnipeg's North end and I see all*

these people and they don't have a car, they can't just drive out to a community get this food and come back, and so something really practical like that could, could help

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Increase Awareness – By Having Access To Traditional Food In The City

There were several suggestions on how to increase awareness and access to traditional food in the city.

Bring Traditional Food Into The City

Some participants explained that collaboration between communities where the chiefs would arrange for hunters to get traditional food and send it to the city would be one way to increase access to traditional foods in the city. One participant said that at Christmas time, community members from War Lake, Split Lake, Fox Lake and York Landing get together in Winnipeg to celebrate. The foods served at this feast are not traditional foods and she sees this as an opportunity for the different communities to get together to send traditional foods so they can be eaten at the feast.

Set Up A Food Truck "A Taste Of Manitoba", Have More Aboriginal Run Stores And Set Up An Indigenous Restaurant Chain

Other suggestions to increase awareness around traditional foods included: setting up a food truck that serves local food, having more Aboriginal run stores, like Neechi Commons and to have a restaurant chain that specializes in Indigenous foods. The participant who suggested this likened this restaurant chain to Boston Pizza and it would serve to make Indigenous food more mainstream.

Benefits Of Increasing Access To Traditional Foods

Most participants would like to see traditional foods available in grocery stores. The three reasons they cited for this is that it would make access to traditional foods easier, it would help increase awareness around traditional foods and help combat resistance and racism that some participants described experiencing. One of the benefits associated with increasing access to traditional foods in the city is that it would allow people to make healthier choices, and also provide the opportunity for people to establish and maintain connections and sharing networks.

Traditional Food Use

Traditional foods are an integral part of First Nation culture and identity, they are social in nature and through hunting, harvesting and gathering, relationships between families and communities are strengthened. They are seen as medicinal and the consumption of traditional food is comforting and makes participants feel healthy, happy and whole. Participants who have ties back to their communities or who continue to hunt and harvest for themselves still eat the same types of food as their parents and grandparents.

Connection To Culture

Traditional foods are not easy to obtain in the city and so many participants will consume it whenever it is available. For the most part this happens at feasts, ceremonies and gatherings, highlighting the significance of traditional food as part of participant's cultures. One participant stated that traditional food is his main source of food and he eats it between 3-4 times a week, he also pointed out that the term "traditional food" is not one that he would use as to him it is just food:

> *At first, I first starting hearing traditional food when I moved out of the community because I guess there is more variety out here, but in my community like when I was growing up it was just food, like it wasn't classified – oh you have to eat traditional food, it was just food, you know?"*
>
> M- 45 Boreal Shield ecozone

For one participant consuming traditional foods is a conscious choice that allows her to support hunters and gatherers and helps her feel connected to her culture.

Generational Food Consumption

The kinds of foods participants ate growing up included a variety of plants and animals that were seasonal and locally sourced. The participants who grew up in their communities ate the same types of traditional foods as their parents and grandparents when they were younger. Participants with ties to their home communities and those who continue to hunt and harvest themselves, still eat the same types of foods as their parents and grandparents. However some participants do not eat the same types of foods as their parents and grandparents, for one participant who self-identified as being East Indian and Ojibway this was because she was brought up mainly in her East Indian culture and has only recently discovered her Ojibway heritage. Her lack of access to her traditional Ojibway foods means that she cannot use them as often as she would like. For the others, the difference in generational food consumption was attributed to two different reasons: 1) the lack of access to traditional foods due to not returning to their home communities or not having connections with people that can source traditional foods for them 2) not having developed a taste for traditional foods due to not being exposed to them growing up.

An Outlier. One participant considers traditional food to be unhealthy because of the excessive amounts of lard and butter used in cooking them. Therefore she stays away from eating the same types of foods as her parents and grandparents. Now that she is older and looks after her parents, she uses vegan butter and almond milk and makes sure that she bakes food instead of frying it. This is a conscious decision driven by health as her family members have suffered from heart attacks and are prone to high blood pressure. Another participant mentioned that his parents and grandparents cooked with lard too, but he cooks with canola and vegetable oil because he was taught that lard was unhealthy.

Using Food To Heal From Trauma

One participant described how her mother was part of the 60's scoop and it was hard for her to talk about her childhood, but when she was cooking with her daughter, she remembered happier times and felt comfortable enough to share stories, this participant explained how cooking helped her mum to heal from that trauma.

Traditional Food Is Comfort Food

As well as tying the participants to their culture and their land, traditional foods also tie them to their families and to their traditions. They are comforting, and

when they are eaten participants are reminded of their grandparents and of times when they would help obtain and eat traditional foods, as these participants explain:

> *I do find that it reminds me of my grandma and she's not here and like, I don't know, it would be nice if she was here, but it's like a comfort food I guess you could say, definitely*
>
> F-45 Prairie ecozone

> *I remember, like a said, going out snaring with my Grandpa and having that fresh rabbit right there and skin it, and take the meat and all of a sudden cook it and have fresh meat, fresh rabbit soup, mmm rabbit soup.*
>
> M-47 Prairie ecozone

> *I don't know it makes me think of my Grandparents, or it makes me think of those days when I used to go out and do stuff like that.*
>
> F-41 Boreal Shield ecozone

When several of the participants were feeling homesick, it was the taste of traditional food that they were longing for, and this sent them to Winnipeg stores to buy food that had the same taste as the traditional foods they were missing. In this case the food was not actually traditional, but the taste was as the participant describes:

But sometimes um, like er, sometimes I would run out, so I'd buy uh smoked fish from the Superstore, that's like a rare, I haven't bought one in like two years cause I haven't run out but I would, just to get that taste, you know. Yeah, but it does taste like back home a little bit, like even crabs tastes like Jackfish so that's like I'll go have a crab and, not all the time, maybe like three years ago I had crab…. It's not traditional food, but it does taste, it does taste like traditional food, yeah

M-45 Boreal Shield ecozone

This participant describes accessing traditional food (Walleye) but in a non-traditional way, in that he had to pay for it and it was not acquired by him or given to him:

I bought it (Walleye) *only a couple of times and that was a few years ago, it was more out of desperation, like I was homesick, so I bought some fish and I was disappointed – price and quality. I don't know if I would consider that traditional food the fish in the southern lakes here, because it's farmed and it's very business driven. I mean I guess it's considered traditional food in the sense that it's Walleye, but the Lakes down here make it mouldy tasting. So, the food would still be traditional, but the acquisition would be different, right? Like getting to pay for it and it is no longer something that you give to somebody or get for yourself.*

M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

In both cases the participant cravings were satiated.

Traditional Food Is Healthy

Participants enjoy eating traditional foods and they like the taste. It makes them feel good and energized. Since traditional food is also medicine and the meat is leaner consuming it makes participants feel healthier:

> *I think of it as medicine in terms of it just being generally healthier for me, so it just helps my body to function better when I eat those kinds of foods.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Social Nature Of Traditional Foods

Traditional foods have a social component to them. Harvesting, gathering and hunting are often done with family members and this is a time to bond, have fun and be silly. It is also a way for communities to come together to share both knowledge and food. This participant describes the social nature of traditional foods:

> *Traditional Foods are, I find, are very social, so I wouldn't go berry picking on my own. Like my mum, my aunts my sister would come with me, my dad, and that would be something that we would do together and so we would talk and we would sing and we would laugh and you know we'd act silly and we would bond that way; or going into the community and somebody skinned a deer and so I would sit there and I would watch them and I'd watch how all of these men interacted with each other or when I'd have to ask or trade or barter for something like fish, what are the social customs that come with that?*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

Use Of Traditional Foods Identified By Ecozone

The participants who took part in this research came from a total of 8 different communities, in three different ecozones. Swan Lake and Winnipeg, are in the Prairie ecozone, Peguis is in the Boreal Plain ecozone, and St Theresa Point, Island Lakes, Oxford House, War Lake and Whitefish Bay are in the Boreal Shield ecozone All of the communities are in Manitoba, except Whitefish Bay that is in Ontario. Figure 4 shows which ecozone the communities are in. The traditional foods identified by participants have been grouped by ecozone and have been compared to the top 10 traditional foods consumed by each ecozone as identified by Chan et al (2010).

Participants from the same ecozone were grouped together and all the traditional foods that were mentioned in their interviews were pulled out and summarized. These foods were compared with the top ten foods consumed by each ecozone as identified by Chan et al (2010). As per Chan et al. (2010), foods were differentiated into those that were the same as the top ten foods and those that were not. Any other foods that participants considered to be traditional were also noted.

Eight Different Communities In Three Different Ecozones

Figure 4 *Participant communities and their ecozones*

Two communities are in the Prairie ecozone, one is in the Boreal Plain ecozone and five are in the Boreal Shield ecozone. The ecozone map was retrieved

from the Government of Manitoba, Forestry Branch (n.d.) website. Used with permission.

Traditional Foods In The Prairie Ecozone

The communities of Swan Lake and Winnipeg are found in the Prairie ecozone. The top 10 traditional foods consumed here include deer meat, ducks, walleye, elk meat, geese, moose meat, rabbit, deer liver, Saskatoon berries, and deer kidney (Chan et al, 2010). There were four participants from these communities and between them they mentioned 6 of these foods; deer, fish, elk, moose meat, rabbit, and Saskatoon berries. Additionally they mentioned bison, bannock, hamburger soup, pemmican, tourtiere, jumper meat (the real name of this animal was not known by the participant) rice pudding, tea, wild raspberries, hazelnuts and chokecherries. They did not mention ducks, geese, deer liver or deer kidney. Table 8 compares the top 10 traditional foods consumed by the Prairie ecozone as identified by Chan et al (2010) and the traditional foods participants from these ecozones consumed or knew about.

Table 8

A Comparison Between the Top 10 Traditional Foods Consumed in the Prairie Ecozone and those Consumed by Participants

Prairie Ecozone	
Top 10 traditional foods consumed in the Prairie ecozone	Traditional foods participants from the Prairie ecozone consumed or knew about
• Deer meat ◊ Ducks • Walleye • Elk meat ◊ Geese • Moose meat • Rabbit ◊ Deer Liver • Saskatoon berries ◊ Deer kidney	• Deer • Fish • Elk • Moose meat • Rabbit • Saskatoon berries ○ Bison ○ Bannock ○ Hamburger soup ○ Pemmican ○ Tourtiere ○ Jumper meat (real name unknown) ○ Rice pudding ○ Tea (cream and sugar) ○ Wild raspberries ○ Hazelnuts ○ Chokecherries

- Traditional foods identified by participants that correspond to the top 10 foods consumed by the Prairie ecozone
- ○ Additional traditional foods identified by participants
- ◊ Traditional foods in the top 10 not mentioned by participants

Traditional Foods In The Boreal Plain Ecozone

The community of Peguis is found in the Boreal Plain ecozone. The top 10 traditional foods consumed here include walleye, moose meat, deer meat, northern pike, ducks (all species), blueberries, elk meat, geese, white sucker, and wild strawberries (Chan et al, 2010). There was one participant from this ecozone who mentioned fish, moose, deer, duck, wild strawberries, elk, and goose but did not mention, walleye, northern pike or white suckerfish, this could be because her access to fish was dependent on her uncle who was a commercial fisherman. The other types of traditional food that the participant mentioned included bush chickens, pickerel, turkeys, rabbit, caribou, ptarmigan, nuts, cattails, rosehips and wild plums, all of which are traditional foods common in Manitoba (Chan et al, 2010). She also mentioned honey, rosebuds, edible flowers, grains, squash and beans, which she considers traditional foods because traditional foods of Indigenous people all over Canada have a similar vein about them, they have cultural significance, they are local, wild, sustainable and ethical, and she considers traditional foods from all over Canada as her traditional food. Table 9 compares the top 10 traditional foods consumed by the Boreal Plain ecozone as identified by Chan et al (2010) and the traditional foods the participant from this ecozones consumed or knew about.

Table 9

A Comparison Between the Top 10 Traditional Foods Consumed in the Boreal Plain Ecozone and those Consumed by Participants

Boreal Plain Ecozone	
Top 10 traditional foods consumed in the Boreal Plain ecozone	Traditional foods participants from the Boreal Plain ecozone consumed or knew about
◊ Walleye • Moose meat • Deer meat ◊ Northern pike • Ducks (all species) • Blueberries • Elk meat • Geese ◊ White sucker • Wild strawberries	• Fish (unspecified) • Moose • Deer • Duck • Wild Strawberries • Elk • Goose ○ Bush chickens ○ Pickerel ○ Turkeys ○ Rabbit ○ Caribou ○ Ptarmigan ○ Nuts ○ Cattails ○ Rosehips ○ Wild plums ○ Honey ○ Rosebuds ○ Edible flowers ○ Grains ○ Squash ○ Beans ○ Potatoes ○ Domesticated animals

- Traditional foods identified by the participant that corresponds to the top 10 foods consumed by the Boreal Plain ecozone
- ○ Additional traditional foods identified by the participant
- ◊ Traditional foods in the top 10 not mentioned by the participant

Traditional Foods In The Boreal Shield Ecozone

The remaining five communities were all in the Boreal Shield ecozone. St Theresa Point, Island Lakes, Oxford House, and War Lake are in Manitoba and Whitefish Bay is in Ontario. The top 10 traditional foods consumed in the Boreal Shield ecozone include moose meat, walleye, blueberries, raspberries, deer meat, whitefish, ducks (all species), wild strawberries, wild rice, and geese. There were five participants from this ecozone and between them they mentioned all of the traditional foods identified by Chan et al (2010). The other traditional foods that were mentioned by the participants included jackfish, pike, trout, pickerel, sucker heads, muskrat, beaver, rabbit, fish eggs, moose stomach lining, Labrador tea, Seneca root, caribou, snow bird, ptarmigan, prairie chicken, loon, lynx and Weekay (muskrat root); all of which are traditional foods in Manitoba (Chan et al 2010). Bannock and stews were also mentioned as traditional foods. Table 10 compares the top 10 traditional foods consumed by the Boreal Shield ecozone as identified by Chan et al (2010) and the traditional foods participants from these ecozones consumed or knew about.

Table 10

A Comparison of the Top 10 Traditional Foods Consumed in the Boreal Shield Ecozone and those Consumed by the Participants

Boreal Shield Ecozone	
Top 10 traditional foods consumed in the Boreal Shield ecozone	Traditional foods participants from the Boreal Shield ecozone consumed or knew about
• Moose meat • Walleye • Blueberries • Raspberries • Deer meat • Whitefish • Ducks (all species) • Wild strawberries • Wild rice • Geese	• Moose • Walleye • Blueberries • Raspberries • Deer meat • Whitefish • Ducks • Wild strawberries • Wild rice • Geese ○ Jackfish ○ Pike ○ Trout ○ Pickerel ○ Sucker heads ○ Muskrat ○ Beaver ○ Rabbit ○ Fish Eggs ○ Moose stomach lining ○ Labrador Tea ○ Seneca root ○ Caribou ○ Snow birds ○ Ptarmigans ○ Prairie Chickens ○ Loon ○ Lynx Leg ○ Weekay ○ Bannock ○ Stews

- Traditional foods identified by participants that correspond to the top 10 foods consumed by the Boreal Shield ecozone
  - Additional traditional foods identified by participants

Reasons For The Decline In Traditional Food Use In The City

When probed, all of the participants agreed that there is a decline in the amount of traditional foods eaten by younger generations. Many of the same reasons were cited by the participants for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use. To help with the interpretation of the results the reasons for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use were summarized and divided into 3 categories: urbanization, cost and lack of support. Table 11 shows the reasons for the decline in traditional food access in the city.

Table 11

Reasons for the Decline in Traditional Food Use

	Use
Urbanization	Change in diets
	No taste for traditional foods
	Market foods and processed foods are cheaper, easier to find and more convenient to buy
	Traditional food available in the city taste different
Cost	Traditional food is expensive to buy
Lack of social support	Feeling ashamed

Urbanization Affects Use Of Traditional Food

Being in the city means that participants have less access to traditional foods that makes it difficult to eat a diet based on traditional foods.

Change In Diet

When people move into the city their diets change. Several reported eating more processed foods and being enticed by the convenience and taste of fast food. One participant explained that when she moved into the city she put on 80lbs in two years, because all she ate was fast food. This participant sees on a regular basis, when people come to the city, that there is an immediate decline in the consumption of traditional food. Given a choice between traditional food and fast food, fast food always wins. She saw this in children who came to the city for a month, all they ate was fast food, but nearing the end of their stay they were looking forward to going back to their communities so that they could eat the foods from home:

> *Because um one time I brought kids down for a month and you know they, that's what they ate the fast food constant for a month and they just loved it, but at the same time they were getting tummy aches, and it's just their body just got sick, because all of a sudden they are eating fast food and then they're like I can hardly wait to go home, that's what they said the kids; because they want to go back to their traditional eating.*

F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

Several participants made the link between processed foods and health; one stated that the preference for processed foods is contributing to the high prevalence of diabetes in the Indigenous population.

No Taste For Traditional Food

Most participants felt that youth do not enjoy the taste of traditional food like older generations do, because they prefer processed foods (market foods) but noted that if they did not know what they were eating then they liked the taste of wild food very much, as this participant describes:

> *Well, she'll eat it if she doesn't know it. She's like that was good* (Moose meat) *can we have it again? I'm like yeah for sure lets have it again.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

However, one participant does not feel that taste for traditional food is gone, because when he ran a language camp for youth, one of the activities was to harvest food from the land, which they prepared and ate and he found that all of the traditional food was eaten and the store bought food was left:

> *One example that I can think of is er, I did uh, a language immersion camp and we had teenagers and all the early years, middle years and seniors, we picked them up, we picked them out, well they had to register first, and we took them out, and one of the activities was um, like we set er everything like to harvest food from the land, we did that plus we took out like the chicken and macaroni and whatever, and then uh we cooked that, we cooked the store bought food and we cooked whatever we harvested, everybody ate the harvested instead of* (the store bought food) *so we had a whole bunch of food leftover, because everybody wanted the food from the land, like er we didn't tell them OK you have to eat this, you have to eat this, there was it was their choice.*
>
> M-45 Boreal Shield ecozone

Participants are concerned by their children's reluctance to try new things because if they do not have the taste for traditional food or the knowledge to share with their future children the cycle of knowledge loss and reduced food use will continue.

Market Foods/ Processed Foods: Cheaper, Easier To Find, Convenient To Buy

The most common reason cited for the decline in traditional food use in the city was that market foods and processed foods are cheaper to buy, easier to access and more convenient to purchase. One participant explained that using traditional

food was no longer necessary or natural, given the convenience and cost of market foods.

Traditional Food Available In The City Tastes Different

Several participants expressed concern that if traditional food were available in the city it would not taste wild or be authentic. Processing foods to make them marketable changes them, as these participants state:

> *Like even eating fruits, it's not fruits, not real fruit, because they're engineered, it's not organic, it's not natural*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

> *when I eat something that's wild versus something that's domesticated, the taste is so different that sometimes it's unrecognizable*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

For this participant traditional foods are considered less traditional if they are treated as marketable commodities and if you have to pay for it, he feels that traditional food should always be given to you or procured by you:

> *I don't know if I would consider that traditional food the fish in the southern lakes here, because it's farmed and it's very business driven. I mean I guess it is considered traditional food in the sense that it's walleye but the Lakes down here make it mouldy tasting.*
>
> M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

He was also concerned that increasing the use of traditional foods would be unsustainable, and explains why it may not be a good idea:

> *Oh I'm not sure. I'm not sure if that would be good for the animals, if we increased the use, when does over hunting and over fishing become a problem?*
>
> M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

Cost Is A Factor That Affects Traditional Food Use In The City

Money was cited as a factor that affects traditional food use in the city because if traditional food were to be sold in grocery stores the perception is that it would be expensive.

Traditional Food Is Expensive To Buy

There was a concern that having traditional foods available in Winnipeg grocery stores would alienate the Indigenous people they were meant to serve as this participant explains:

> *I don't know if that would be a good thing, like it* (traditional food) *would be very expensive, which means that it wouldn't be accessible to a lot of First Nation people in the city and it would become not a tradition for Aboriginal people, it would become a staple for the privileged.*
>
> M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

Lack Of Social Support Affects Use Of Traditional Food

When considering support for traditional food use participants wanted to ensure that children would feel confident and comfortable eating their traditional foods.

Feeling Ashamed

Several participants described experiencing racism, growing up in Winnipeg, and for one participant and her son, it made them feel ashamed of being Native and reluctant to use or learn about their traditional foodways.

How To Increase The Use Of Traditional Foods In The City

The participants' suggestions on how to increase use of traditional foods have been divided into three main categories; education, land based education and increase awareness. These categories were used to organize participant recommendations on how to pass on knowledge of traditional foodways on to future generations and how to increase access to traditional foods in the city. Table 12 summarizes participant recommendations on how to increase use of traditional foods in the city.

Table 12

How to Increase Use of Traditional Foods in the City

	Use
Education	Set up cooking and nutritional programs
Land based education	Go back to home communities to learn about traditional foods
Increase awareness	Expose children to the taste of traditional food Serve traditional foods at community events Sell traditional food in more stores Start an Indigenous farmers market Serve traditional food in more restaurants

Education – Teaching People How To Cook And Prepare Traditional Foods Through Cooking And Nutritional Programs

Participants emphasized the importance of traditional foods for health, culture and identity, but also noted that learning how to cook, prepare and process traditional food is also important. Several participants wanted to see more cooking and nutritional programs focusing on growing hunting, harvesting and cooking traditional foods. It is believed that using traditional recipes would generate a

demand for traditional ingredients that could lead to having more traditional foods available in the city. One participant described how a cooking program that her daughter attended gave her confidence because it taught her new skills.

Land Based Education – Learning On /From The Land And Making Use Of Knowledge Keepers In The Communities Can Increase Use Of Traditional Food

Learning from the land was seen as the most appropriate way to learn. It was clear that participants felt that the land and community members have that knowledge, so one suggestion was that if anyone wanted to learn about their traditional foods and how to use them they should go back to their home communities to learn to make the most of the knowledge keepers that are there.

Increase Awareness Of Traditional Foods By Exposing Children To The Taste Of It, Serving It At Community Events And Restaurants, Sell It In More Stores And Start An Indigenous Farmers Market

Participants noted that if parents do not have the traditional food knowledge themselves then children must learn through school programming. Teaching should start with the youngest children, at nursery or daycare, where they should be exposed to their traditional foods at snack time, so that they have the opportunity to

develop a taste for it. Traditional food should also be made available in cafeterias, in schools, and community events such as the Festival du Voyageur and Folklorama. The Forks, in Winnipeg was mentioned as a place to have more stores and restaurants that sell and serve traditional foods and one participant also suggested having an Indigenous farmers market there so that Indigenous people could sell or trade the foods that they hunted and harvested.

Benefits Of Increasing Use Of Traditional Foods

Several participants noted the relationship between traditional foods and health, so the main benefit of increasing the use of traditional foods in the city is that it would reduce the incidence of diabetes and improve the health of First Nations people:

> *And because for health too, because of all of us are developing sicknesses like diabetes and cancer and you have to kind of go back, go back to the traditional foods.*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

> *importance of eating the way we've eaten in the past, because now you have er diabetes high in First Nations right? So if people would back to how, the foods we ate, we'll bring that, those statistics down.*
>
> F-51 Prairie ecozone

Safety Concerns

Safety of traditional foods was identified by Power (2007), as one of the indicators of cultural food security and although it did not have its own section in the questionnaire there was a question about safety in the use of traditional food section. Participant's safety concerns were based around traditional food knowledge, traditional food access in the city and traditional food use and have been summarized in Figure 5.

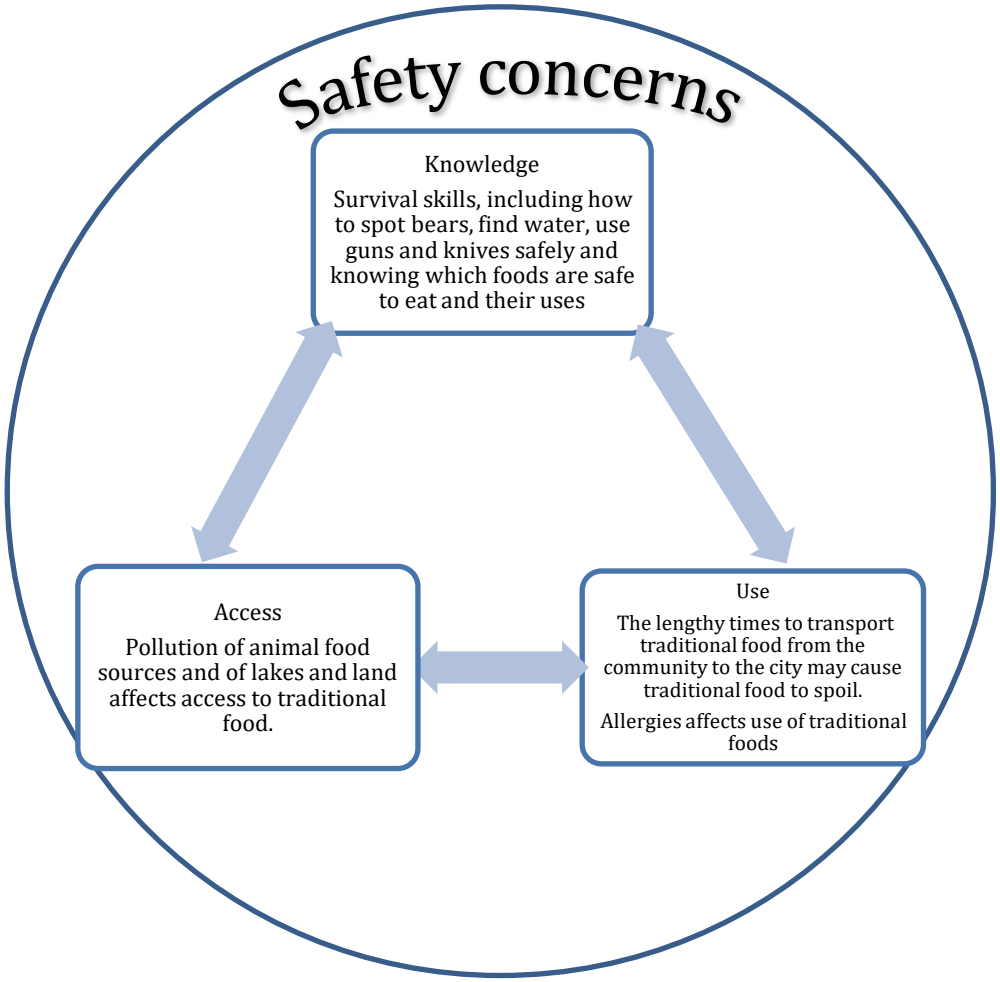

Figure 5 *Safety concerns regarding traditional food knowledge, access and use*

Safety And Traditional Food Knowledge

Learning how to identify, and use, different plants, berries, teas and medicines was identified as an important skill to have, for both safety and health reasons.

Traditional foods were considered healthy by most participants who felt that youth should know how to recognize and access them. The safety aspect involved being able to identify the difference between foods and berries that are good to eat and those that are poisonous, as this participant describes:

> *I think recognition of those plants or animals is the first thing for me and that's because that's the first thing I learned. So when I was younger I was taught you eat this berry but you don't eat this berry and so recognizing that difference is in my mind the first place to go, right safety; and then the uses, so this can be used for this as a food and this can also be used as a medicine and then the language is another thing.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

As well as safety about how to use a knife and a gun properly.

Safety And Traditional Food Access

Pollution in the city makes participants uncomfortable with accessing any wild animals that they see. Concerns around safety were mainly about the food sources that animals around the city would have access to.

Safety And Traditional Food Use

Traditional food that is sent to the city by friends and family usually arrives by plane, which is costly and timely and this raises concerns about the freshness of the meat when it arrives in the city. Allergies were also a factor that affected a few of the participant's use of traditional foods.

Traditional Food Knowledge, Access And Use In The Communities

Although this research studied participant experiences of cultural food security in the city of Winnipeg many spoke of the issues of traditional food knowledge, access and use, in relation to their home communities, making it clear that their home communities play an important role in their lives and is an integral part of their experiences. The following section summarizes participant's experiences of traditional food knowledge, access and use in their home communities.

Knowledge Of Traditional Foods In The Community

It may appear obvious that when participants move to the city that they experience a change in lifestyle. Instead of hunting and harvesting traditional food their time is spent working or going to school, and shopping for groceries. This change in lifestyle is also evident in the communities, people there do not access traditional foods because it is too expensive to hunt, it is easier to go to the grocery store to purchase food or because they do have the knowledge themselves. Participants noted a decline in traditional food knowledge in the communities and several communities run initiatives to help teach youth about traditional foodways.

Manitoba Community Initiatives

There are several communities in Manitoba that appreciate that not every parent has the knowledge or the opportunity to be able to share knowledge of traditional foods with their children, so they provide the opportunities through schools and community programs, that secure this knowledge for younger generations by teaching them how to access traditional foods.

In Peguis First Nations: seasoned hunters take youth out onto the land and teach them how to hunt and gather, and then the young people prepare the food and have a community feast:

> *So in Peguis, in the community of Peguis, they have traditional hunters and gatherers group, and so what happens is, these more seasoned hunters take some of the youth out onto the land and teach them how to hunt and they teach them how to gather and then all of these young people come back prepare all of this food and they have a community feast.*
>
> F-36 Boreal Plain ecozone

In Island Lakes: the community has a traditional hunting week so that families can go and hunt together. This hunting week is integrated into the calendar so that no one is penalized for missing work. They also run school programs that take kindergartners out ice fishing and teach them how to snare rabbits:

> *But the little ones are being taught through the programs within the school like Ok this is how you snare a rabbit, so let's go all out because they have that program for kindergarten kids. And they take them ice fishing too, teach them how to hook, how to cut the hole first.*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

In Swan Lake: there were community programs that taught youth about archery, bow hunting and gun safety, but the participant was unsure as to whether these programs were still offered.

Access To Traditional Foods In The Community

Access to traditional foods in the communities can also be problematic. Even though people in the communities have access to the land they do not have access to their traditional foods. There are several reasons for this; If a parent does not have access to a gun, they cannot hunt, if they do not know how to hunt or snare themselves, they cannot get food or if they are on social assistance, then it will be cheaper for them to buy processed foods rather than healthy food. This means that children in the schools are eating foods that are more convenient and cheaper for the parents to access rather than eating traditional food or foods that are healthier, this participant describes the school lunches she witnessed in her community:

> *I remember back when I was teaching at our school, the thing was, um, the kids in their lunch was the " 3 Ps", pizza pops, potato chips and Pepsi.*
>
> F- 51 Prairie ecozone

Even though participants were taught not to sell traditional food but to share it with members of the community, one participant said that she sees traditional food for sale in her community advertised on Facebook:

> *I know like on Facebook, I seen it on buy and sell in Island Lake, like $20.00 per geese, or $10 per rabbit*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

Some community chiefs arrange for hunters and trappers to get traditional food and then they share it out between community members who cannot access it themselves.

Pollution and resource extraction also affect access to traditional foods in the communities. One participant described a huge clearing in her community where the ground had been removed because it had been polluted by gasoline in the ground:

> *Yeah, and I, when I went home I said there was a clearing, a huge clearing, and I said what's that? – Oh um they had to, there was a, a place in the community where it polluted the soil really bad and they had to save it so they dug it all out all that pollution and they took it far away, away from the community and that was the clearing*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

She describes the difference in the lakes from when she was younger:

> *I remember as a kid I went on a canoe and I looked in the lake and it was so clear you could actually see the fish going by you. If I did that today –No it's not clear at all anymore.*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

and how the animals are migrating away from the communities that is driving up the cost and time it takes to access traditional food:

> *Well it's an issue because like the animals are starting to migrate out, because of that safety, because of the pollution and, and the people and like the miners they are starting to mine for um the diamonds.*
>
> F-43 Boreal Shield ecozone

Several of the participants noted that in some years they are able to harvest an abundance of berries and described them as dripping off the bushes, whilst in other years berries are scarcer. They noticed the cyclical nature of plants but were unable to explain why this happens. So being on the land does not necessarily mean an increase in access since there are many other barriers to access food from the land, such as the cost of fuel and equipment and the lack of skills and knowledge.

Use Of Traditional Foods In The Community

Participants noted that there is definitely a decline in the amount of traditional food eaten by younger generations in the city, and some participants said that there is also a decline in the communities. One participant explained that changes in lifestyle are also prominent in the communities and this means that people go to the grocery store more often than they did when she was growing up, she feels that people have lost the taste for traditional food and they do not enjoy it

as much. Another explained that it is more convenient and cheaper to buy food from the store than it is to hunt traditional foods:

> *Stores like Northern, that offer more convenient foods that are not very good for people, are they're very expensive. But still, it's less expensive than buying gas and ammunition and camping gear and anything else you need to go and hunt.*
>
> M-37 Boreal Shield ecozone

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the results in terms of demographics, traditional food knowledge, traditional food access and traditional food use. Traditional food knowledge, access and use are intricately linked and changes in one of these factors affects the other two. During the interview process participants cited many of the same reasons for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use and made many of the same suggestions and recommendations to improve and increase them. Urbanization, cost and lack of support are the reasons that are perceived to be creating a decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use. The recommendations for increasing and improving them are: education, land based education and increasing awareness.

Since safety of traditional food was an indicator of cultural food security, a section on safety was included in the results chapter as was participant's experiences of traditional food knowledge, access and use in their home communities.

The next chapter discusses the results in terms of traditional food knowledge, traditional food access and traditional food use and compares the research findings with the literature.

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CHAPTER 5 Discussion

This research utilized a phenomenological approach to examine how self-identified First Nations/Indigenous people who live or work in Winnipeg, Canada, experience cultural food security. The results provided insight into the research participants' knowledge of traditional foodways, how they access traditional food in the city and their use of traditional foods. This research added to the existing body of knowledge and differed from other studies in that the participants also made recommendations on how to increase traditional food knowledge, access and use in the city.

The three indicators of cultural food security as outlined by Power (2007), are levels of traditional food knowledge, access to traditional food systems and safety of traditional food. This research looked at traditional food knowledge, traditional food access and traditional food use and although the safety of traditional food did not have its own section in the questionnaire it was examined under the use of traditional food section.

These results highlighted that urbanization, cost, lack of political and sociocultural supports contribute to the diminishing knowledge base around food, and make access and use of traditional foods in the city difficult. Participant's concerns around safety were in reference to the lack of freshness of the traditional food that is sent to the city, the pollution of the land and food sources, and how to be safe when accessing traditional foods using traditional methods. The results of this research showed that Indigenous people in

Winnipeg perceive themselves to be culturally food insecure and that both formal and informal education have a role to play in increasing awareness and ultimately increasing traditional food knowledge, access and use.

Traditional Food Knowledge

Moving into the city (urbanization) resulted in a change in lifestyles, values and priorities and interrupted the intergenerational transmission of traditional food knowledge. The priorities of work and school meant that there were fewer opportunities for participants to return to their communities. Also, the reluctance of youth to learn about their traditions because of the value they place on technology all contributed to the diminishing knowledge base around traditional foods.

The interruption of knowledge transmission also resulted from parents not having the knowledge themselves to share because they never learned or because they were forgetting how to do things since moving into the city. Intergenerational knowledge transmission was the main way in which participants learned about their traditional foodways and those who can still use this method to teach youth. This learning happened on the land and participants emphasized that the land is the holder of the traditional knowledge, therefore the best way to learn is from the land, therefore having limited access to the land also contributed to the decline in traditional food knowledge. Since the intergenerational knowledge transmission was interrupted this resulted in youth knowing less about traditional foods than adults.

The connections that the participants had with their traditional foodways was dependent on how immersed they were in their culture growing up. Those participants who were raised in their home communities and were involved in hunting and gathering of traditional foods knew more about traditional foods than those who grew up in the city or were raised in a different culture.

It is apparent that the decline in traditional food knowledge is associated with the decline in traditional food access and use. Everything is connected and the lack or decline in one is associated with a lack or decline in the other two; Traditional food knowledge is required to be able to access and use traditional foods, access to traditional food is needed in order to learn about and use traditional foods and there must be a desire to want to use traditional foods so that knowledge and access to traditional foods can be increased.
It is understandable then why participants were unable to disentangle the factors that affect traditional food knowledge, access and use and why when they were trying to explain the loss in one it was due to the loss or decline in the other two.

Traditional Food Defined (Or Redefined)

Participants' views of traditional foods were consistent with the literature, which describes traditional foods as seasonal and locally sourced (Earle, 2000; Elliot et al 2012; Power, 2007; Luppens & Power, 2018). This research also showed that other foods such as potatoes, domesticated animals, chicken, rice pudding, tea and sugar, were meaningful and familiar to the participants and were considered traditional and have been incorporated

into their food systems; these findings are similar to research conducted by Luppens and Power (2018). Fusion foods such as bannock pizza and Indian tacos were also considered traditional and were incorporated. Cyr & Slater (2016), describe how bannock has been adapted and incorporated into existing food systems, even though Scottish fur traders introduced it to Indigenous people. Most participants regarded bannock as culturally significant and traditional except one who does not consider bannock a traditional food because of the processing the ingredients have to go through.

According to a study conducted by Brown et al (2008) traditional food also includes the way food is prepared. Although, traditional foods were usually cooked in lard it was considered healthy by most participants. However, several deliberately changed the way they prepared these foods in an attempt to be healthier. They did this by using canola oil, or baking food instead of frying it. These results indicate that these food preparation methods have taken the place of the more traditional methods.

A point not identified in the literature but that participants of this research noted, was that recipes are traditional and are an important part of traditional foodways. Recipes were identified as important tools to be passed down through generations to be used as a way to remember family recipes. They would be helpful for people who forgot how to do certain things after relocating to the city and they would ensure the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, traditions and culture.

Relationships

Participants agreed with the literature that traditional foods play an important role in Indigenous culture (Bodirsky & Johnson, 2008; Cidro, Adekunle, Peters & Martens, 2015; Earle, 2000; Pufall et al, 2011; Skinner, Pratley & Burnett, 2016; Willows, 2005). Acquiring, preparing and consuming traditional foods are social activities that, by their very nature strengthen relationships between family members, within the community, with the land, and with the animals. All of these connections and relationships promote good health and foster a sense of wellbeing.

Indigenous identity is composed in part of important traditions around food; these are sharing, trading, respect and sustainability. These traditions need to be passed on to future generations to ensure the survival of Indigenous culture. At their core these traditions ensure the survival of ecosystems as well as Indigenous people. These concerns have always been taken into account when Indigenous people accessed their traditional foods. They recognized the importance of respect in its many forms, including respect for the environment and local ecosystems ensuring that their practices were sustainable. In fact, sustainable food is one of the goals of Canada's Federal sustainable development strategy (Government of Canada, 2019.a). This strategy states that by the end of 2019, Canada will have developed a food policy that supports improved access to healthy foods for all Canadians (Government of Canada, 2019.a).

Sustainability

The United Nations General Assembly prioritized 17 Sustainable development goals that ultimately aim to shift the world on to a sustainable and resilient path (General Assembly resolution (2015). Rockstrom, Stordalen & Horton, (2016) state that food is linked to almost all of UN sustainable development goals (SDGs) whilst Willett et al (2019) state that food production is the largest cause of global environmental change and threatens ecosystem resilience. The planetary health diet has been proposed by EAT (2019) as a way to support the sustainability of the planet and the health of people. Their recommendations for a planetary health diet are in line with the newest version of Health Canada's food guide (Government of Canada, 2019. b), both of which recommend eating fruits and vegetables, whole grains and mostly plant-based proteins. Whilst a planetary health diet supports the health of the planet and of the people more research is needed to see what this diet would look like for Indigenous people of Canada, one that would include culturally appropriate foods.

Traditional Food Access

Access to traditional foods in the city was difficult for most participants. Their access to traditional foods revolved around their connections with family and friends who bring or send them traditional foods from their home communities. If food is shipped however it does not mean that it will be safe to eat once it arrives as it may have spoilt on

the way. Most participants were concerned that traditional food is not sold or grown in the city, and the pollution around the city makes animals unsafe to consume.

Food Matters Manitoba (2015) used data based upon store visits in Winter 2014 to identify 37 different stores that sell traditional food in Winnipeg, but their updated information, based on Summer 2015 store visits, only identified 31 stores in Winnipeg that sell traditional food. There is a caveat in their leaflet that says that the information is subject to change. Unfortunately, the most updated version still does not show that Neechi commons, the one store that most participants had mentioned is no longer operational (Hirschfield, 2018). Neechi commons opened for business in 2013 and closed in 2018, (Hirschfield, 2018), leaving downtown Winnipeg a food desert (Wiebe & Distasio, 2016), without an easily accessible grocery store. It is apparent from this comparison of Winnipeg stores based on information from Food Matters Manitoba, that there is a high turnover in the number of stores that sell traditional foods, which limits access to traditional foods.

Commoditization

According to the Council of Canadian Academies (2014), the commoditization of traditional foods is controversial because Indigenous people have a strong sharing tradition and do not feel that food should be sold for individual gain (Gombay, 2005). Participants from the Brown et al (2008) study stated that traditional food cannot be sold in the city and participants from this research were taught not to sell traditional food but to share it. Many of the participants liked the idea of traditional food being sold in grocery

stores, because this would increase access to culturally appropriate food and give them the opportunity to practice culture in the city as well as allow them to make healthier choices. This would not currently be possible because government legislation either prohibits or severely restricts the commercial sale of traditional foods for export (Gombay 2005).

Nunavik has found a way to support the commoditization of country food within the boundaries of their cultural traditions. The Hunter Support Program is a government-sponsored initiative in Nunavik that supports the sale of traditional foods. It works by either providing equipment for hunters to use or money to pay hunters a salary and pay for fuel (Gombay 2005). This is the most accepted way to commoditize country food as it is based on the principles of food sharing, a valued tradition for Indigenous people (Gombay, 2005). The commoditization of traditional food has been seen to have both positive and negative effects according the Council of Canadian Academies (2014). On the plus side selling local traditional food can improve the local economy and provide jobs for local people, keeping knowledge, skills and use of traditional foods alive; and the development of a country food market can strengthen food security and food sovereignty. On the negative side, if this local traditional food is exported it cannot be shared within the community (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014). Availability, cost and stability of supply are all barriers to selling commercially processed traditional food in communities (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014), and would also be barriers to selling traditional food in the city too.

The cost of hunting equipment was one factor that affected traditional food knowledge, traditional food access and traditional food use. Since this is the case, if governments sponsor more hunter initiative programs it would help to pass on knowledge, and increase access and use of traditional foods. These initiatives coupled with food sovereignty are one way to ensure that traditional food is available to those who want it and need it.

Globalized Food System And Food Sovereignty

Indigenous food systems are threatened by the globalized food systems that put control over food production and distribution into the hands of governments whose policies are designed to meet the demands of the agribusiness industry (Cote, 2016). We have seen how Indigenous food systems support culture, identity and health and are dependent on sustainable practices that preserve the environment and ecosystems. Research participants identified food sovereignty, or lack thereof, as a contributing factor to the decline in traditional food access. But interestingly it was also identified as the solution to increasing access and use of traditional foods. To have food sovereignty, Indigenous people must have access to the land (including sea and sky), (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014), and control over laws around food.

The Nuu-chah-nulth people on the west coast of Vancouver Island earned the right to commercially harvest and sell all species of fish within their traditional waters (Dolha, 2009), after a long legal battle. The president of the Nuu-chah-nulth tribal council, Cliff

Atleo, Sr., said "We have been stewards of our ocean resources for hundreds of generations. And the government of Canada was wrong to push us aside in their attempts to prohibit our access to the sea resources our people depend upon" (Dolha, 2009). For Indigenous people to have food sovereignty the government of Canada must revisit, and revise their claims on traditional territories, as a way forward in this time of reconciliation.

Traditional Food Use

Use of traditional foods is based on access to them; traditional food is an integral part of culture and as such, participants consumed it primarily at gatherings, feasts and ceremonies. The results of this research were consistent with Brown et al (2008), who found that people who had moved into the city from the reserve experienced a change in diet, they reported eating more fast food and less traditional food as they were cheaper, easier to find and more convenient to buy. Interestingly the use of traditional food was also dependent on whether participants had developed a taste for it whilst they were growing up. Those participants who grew up in Winnipeg or in a different culture did not eat as much traditional food as the others who were raised in their communities.

Those participants who returned to their home communities consumed more traditional food than those who went home less frequently. In this research, of the four participants from the Prairie ecozone, only one returned home every weekend and continued to be self-sufficient, obtaining her traditional foods using traditional methods. The other three participants remained in Winnipeg, with one returning to her home

community only once a year, and the other two very rarely, if at all. As this was the case their consumption of traditional food varied from once a week to once a year or to whenever it was offered.

The reasons why participants from the Prairie and Boreal Plain ecozones did not mention all of the foods that Chan et al (2010) identified as the top 10 traditional foods in these ecozones could be because the communities represented in this research were different from the communities that took part in Chan et al study (2010) except for Swan Lake. Also this research had a small sample size (n=10), and if more people from each ecozone had participated, all the top ten foods would probably have been mentioned.

For the participant from the Boreal Plain ecozone, her consumption of traditional food was based on what was in season and by what was accessible to her through her connections. Since none of her immediate family members were hunters, she had limited access to meat.

Racism

For one participant and her son their experience of racism made them veer away from their traditional foods because they were made to feel ashamed of being Indigenous. Manitoba and Saskatchewan report the highest levels of racism in the country but when groups interact, understanding grows and prejudices drop (Macdonald, 2015), and this is why it is important to start building those interactions. Participants of this research identified education through schools as the avenue to start building these relationships and

want more Indigenous worldviews incorporated into the curriculum, so that there is less resistance to learning about Canada's Indigenous people. As part of the decolonizing process Canadians need to start viewing Aboriginal people as partners and not as problems.

Safety

The literature that was reviewed as part of this research noted that worsening environmental conditions, such as pollution, climate change, overfishing and deforestation were affecting traditional food access in the cities (Power, 2007; Elliot et al, 2012) and in the communities. Power (2007; 2008) added safety of food sources as a measure of cultural food security and stated that the ability to access sufficient and safe traditional food is integral to cultural health and survival. Participants of this research agreed with the literature and their environmental safety concerns were in regards to pollution, both in the city and in the communities, contaminating food sources that the wild animals would eat, rendering these animals as unsafe to eat. They also expressed concern about the freshness of traditional food that had been transported to the city, and worried that lengthy transportation times would cause meat to spoil before it could be safely consumed.
Not noted in the literature was how allergies affect the use of traditional foods. Participants of this research had personal experiences with allergies that restricted their use of traditional foods.

Participants had other concerns that extended to include safety in terms of accessing and processing traditional foods. They felt that it was important for youth to be safe when accessing traditional foods using traditional methods. They wanted to make sure that youth learned about which traditional foods were safe to eat and which ones were poisonous, as well as knowing how to spot bears when harvesting traditional foods and how to use guns and knives safely. These other safety elements whilst different to the ones suggested by Power (2007), also impact cultural food security because they affect access and use of traditional foods in the city.

Increasing Traditional Food Knowledge, Traditional Food Access And Traditional Food Use

This research added to the literature by making recommendations on how to increase traditional food knowledge, access and use in the city. The participants made numerous suggestions, which were broken down and categorized into three main areas; education, land based education and increasing awareness.

Education and land based education

This research found support for the notion that education is the foundation on which to build and increase traditional food knowledge, access and use. Education, both formal and informal, was one key recommendation made by participants to increase

traditional food knowledge, access and use. Schools, families and communities have a part to play in land-based education.

In Winnipeg, the Seven Oaks school division has a new multi-use learning centre called the Blue Thunderbird Land-based Teachings Learning Centre which gives K – 12 students access to First Nations land-based cross curricular educational opportunities. It is a place for students to create sustainable and meaningful connections to the land through hands-on programming and projects, and to each other by learning and working together (Seven Oaks School Division, n.d.). Also FANLit (Food and Nutrition literacy) a knowledge portal of evidence-based resources is available to Manitoba and community based educators interested in food and nutrition education (FANLit Food and Nutrition Literacy, 2019).

Education that happens on the land could also include summer camps, hunter education programs, and field trips showing people what to access, where to access and how to use traditional foods. Parents who choose to take their children out of school to give them hands on education on the land have to have the cultural support and must not be penalized for missing work or school.

Cooking and nutritional programs could be run formally through schools and communities, or informally through families. Cidro and Martens (2015) showed that the principles of food sovereignty could be supported in urban spaces through preparing and eating cultural food.

Manitoba schools have the opportunity to teach about traditional foodways as a potential path to food sovereignty, food security and ultimately, reconciliation. Taking advantage of such opportunities could help revitalize traditional foodways by teaching all students about the history of traditional foods, the medicinal purposes of different plants and nutritional content of traditional dishes. This could be made a mandatory part of the foods and nutrition curriculum ensuring the use of traditional tools and preparation methods. The science curriculum could also be used to teach students about the effects of pollution on Indigenous ecosystems and help students become aware of the importance of conservation and maintaining biodiversity, whilst also examining the effects that these environmental changes have had on the abundance and quality of supply of traditional foods. Admittedly conservation and biodiversity are already in the science curriculum, but using specific Manitoba examples would help students focus on the problems that currently exist which many Indigenous people have to cope with on a daily basis; for example, not having clean water to drink and having to live in areas with boil water advisories, having access to lakes and rivers that are polluted resulting in contaminated fish which cannot be eaten, and habitat destruction resulting in the loss of biodiversity in areas that were once resource rich and used by Indigenous people to hunt and gather traditional foods.

Food literacy competencies. Participants identified six important customs and traditions that should be passed on to future generations. These were: language, recognizing different foods and their uses, cooking and preparing food, accessing traditional food using traditional methods, learning on and from the land and sharing food and giving thanks. These traditions identified by participants were aligned with the

important traditions identified by the Environics institute survey (2011), which stated that language, Aboriginal food, land/space and customs and traditions were important to pass on.

Moving forward the customs and traditions identified by participants could be taught in schools to support food and nutrition education and be incorporated into Slater et al (2018) food literacy framework. Their food literacy framework identified 59 food literacy competencies to help young adults transition into living independently. These 59 competencies were grouped into three overarching themes: confidence and empowerment, joy and meaning and sustainable and equitable food systems and 16 broad competency areas. The competency areas and Health Canada new food guide were examined to see where the six important traditions that the participants had identified could be included. This comparison found that the important customs and traditions identified by participants are aligned with four of the broad competency areas and similarly aligned with the eating habits that the guide recommends (Government of Canada, 2019). Table13 aligns the six important traditions identified by research participants with four broad competency areas of the food literacy framework designed by Slater et al (2018) and Health Canada eating habits from the new food guide.

Table 13

Aligning the Six Important Traditions Identified by Participants with the Competency Areas from the Food Literacy Framework and the Healthy Eating Habits from Canada's new Food Guide

Important tradition to pass on identified by research participants	Broad competency area identified by Slater et al (2018)	Health Canada's eating habits from the new food guide
Learning on and from the land	Have knowledge of where food comes from	Enjoy your food -*culture and traditions can be part of healthy eating*
Cooking and preparing food	Have food preparation skills	Cook food more often
Accessing traditional foods using traditional methods Language Recognizing different foods and their uses	Enjoy cultural foods	Enjoy your food-*culture and traditions can be part of healthy eating*
Sharing food and giving thanks	Recognize the importance of preparing and eating food with/for others	Eat meals with others Be mindful of your eating habits

These traditions are important to pass on because they ensure that knowledge of traditional foodways is not lost. Schools can play a role in transferring this knowledge but spending time with family is also an important way to learn. Cooking together and passing on recipes, creates memories, strengthens relationships and passes on culture too. If the formal education system views food and nutrition through an Indigenous lens, this would help to revitalize culture and would have the added benefit of supporting and improving wellbeing and begin to foster a sense of pride in Indigenous youth, a small step towards mitigating the racism that some feel and towards reconciliation.

Increase awareness

Increasing access to traditional foods in the city is problematic because of the restrictions placed on the sale of wild meats. But increasing traditional food access, by selling it in more stores, serving it at restaurants, having a food truck dedicated to traditional foods or serving it at community events, would increase awareness and therefore knowledge and use of traditional foods.

Participants agreed with the literature that youth are losing the taste for traditional food and are eating less than their parents and grandparents. This was because children had not had the opportunity to develop a taste for it. Therefore if traditional foods were available in schools, children would be exposed to the taste of it and may be more likely to eat it.

Food sovereignty has been mentioned before as a factor that affects access to traditional foods and it is mentioned again here because it was also seen as a way to increase access to traditional foods and ultimately use of traditional foods too.

Bringing traditional food into the public eye. Indigenous cuisine is being brought into public focus by some trailblazing chefs and educators. Sean Sherman, of the Oglala Lakota is a chef and an educator who has been learning about his traditional foodways (Sherman & Dooley, 2017). He believes that Native foodways are vital to creating a healthy and sustainable future (Sherman, 2017). He is doing important work in the Indigenous food movement and is committed to revitalizing Native American cuisine and aims to make Indigenous foods more accessible. He has started a business as a caterer and educator. He has designed and opened a food truck that serves pre-contact foods of the Dakota and Minnesota territories called the Tatanka (Bison/Buffalo) Truck.

Rich Francis, a finalist in Canada's Top Chef (Sherman and Dooley, 2017) is working towards raising awareness about traditional foods in Canada (Abraham, 2017). He has written a cookbook due to come out in the spring of 2019, called Cooking for Truth and Reconciliation, and he has a cooking program due to be aired early 2019 (Abraham, 2017).

Chapter Summary

This chapter compared the research findings with the literature and highlighted similarities and differences where they existed. The discussion was divided into traditional food knowledge, access and use and was presented in this way to replicate the way the thesis is written. The reasons cited for the decline in traditional food knowledge, access and use were urbanization, cost and lack of support, and education, land based education and increasing awareness were proposed as avenues to increase and improve them.

CHAPTER 6 Conclusions

Traditional foodways are important for culture, identity, health and wellbeing. Having traditional foods easily accessible in urban centers would allow Indigenous people to practice culture and ensure that they are culturally food secure. Using Powers (2007) indicators of cultural food security, this research determines that urban Indigenous people in Winnipeg perceive themselves to be culturally food insecure. This is because traditional food knowledge is declining, they do not have the knowledge of how to access and process their traditional foods. They do not have access to their traditional foods, since it is not sold in grocery stores and is only accessible through family and friends who send traditional food into the city and they are concerned with the safety of this food and of the traditional food that is available around the city.

Using this phenomenological research approach produced findings that demonstrated that participants were interested in building and increasing their traditional food knowledge, access and use but have been alienated from it through the system of colonization and education. It would seem that the ways and means to provide what is desired requires that education be foundational to bringing food security back to Manitoba's Indigenous people.

Strengths Of Research

Most of the participants who took part in this study (7 of 10) had known the researcher for between 2-4 years. This facilitated their participation and resulted in meaningful discussions. Data was gathered from peoples' actual lived experience and is a valuable form of knowledge. This research added to the literature by exploring how Indigenous people in urban settings experience cultural food security. Also participants made suggestions on how to increase traditional food knowledge, access and use.

Limitations Of Research

Only ten people of similar socioeconomic status took part in this research and it would have been beneficial to gather the perspectives of Indigenous people of different socioeconomic status to see if having more or less money altered participant's perspectives or experiences. Winnipeg was the only urban setting studied. Studying other urban areas in Canada would allow us to see how Indigenous people in other cities, experience cultural food security.

This research did not include youth representation (younger than 18 years of age). Youth perspectives would have been useful to see if they felt the same way about traditional food knowledge, access and use, as the older participants in this research did. Also it would have been interesting to compare their perspectives on

important customs and traditions with those that the research participants outlined as important.

This research focused on traditional food access and use. It became clear during the analysis of the results that these two aspects are deeply confounded, almost the same. If a similar study were undertaken, safety of traditional food would have its own section to find out how we could alleviate participants' safety concerns. Doing this would have provided a clearer idea of how to ensure Indigenous people in an urban Canadian setting were culturally food secure, based on the indicators outlined by Power (2007).

Significance Of This Research

One way to support Indigenous people in their healing from the trauma of colonization and the residential school system is to recognize their right to revitalize their cultures, languages and ways of life (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, 2007; TRC, 2015a).

Making traditional Indigenous foods part of the Manitoba curriculum and including traditional knowledge, histories, values and cultures of Aboriginal people supports the integration of Aboriginal perspectives into the Manitoba curriculum which was requested by Manitoba education after recognizing the fact that Manitoba and Winnipeg have the highest number of Aboriginal people in Canada

(Manitoba Education and Training, n.d.). Offering these same courses in adult education centers would ensure that the Aboriginal students, who return to school as adults to attain their grade 12 diplomas, also have the opportunity to acquire traditional knowledge.

To mitigate the loss in taste for traditional foods, educators could start incorporating traditional foods into schools so that children can start to develop a taste for them from a young age.

Since there is a diminishing knowledge base about traditional foodways, incorporating Indigenous worldviews and land based education into teacher training would ensure that newly qualified teachers can start to teach children about Indigenous traditions.

This research focused on cultural food security in an urban context. Three factors were identified as impacting traditional food knowledge, access and use, these were; urbanization and its associated lifestyle changes, cost, including the cost of hunting equipment, traditional foods in the city and transportation of food and lack of support including cultural, social and political support. To improve and increase traditional foodways several things need to happen including; decolonizing the calendar, subsidizing hunter programs and offering political, cultural and social support to Winnipeg's Indigenous population.

To mitigate the lifestyle changes experienced in the city, decolonizing the calendar would allow Indigenous people to return to the land to learn about and access traditional foods when it is in season, and not be penalized for missing work or taking their children out of school.

Since the cost of hunting was identified as one of the major factors that impact traditional food knowledge, access and use, governments could subsidize more hunting programs and hunter education programs to help in the revitalization of traditional Indigenous foodways, ensuring the transmission of knowledge at the same time.

Having political, cultural and social supports in place would promote Indigenous food sovereignty, allow Indigenous people (and all Canadians) to learn about traditional foodways and encourage Indigenous people to feel proud and not ashamed of their culture

Future Research

To continue with this research, this study could be repeated using a more representative sample of Winnipeg's Indigenous population, then a feasibility study would need to be done, to see which of the participant recommendations to increase traditional food knowledge, access and use would work. Following that, policy and

regulatory changes should be examined to determine what would be needed to allow these things to happen.

Other areas of research to add to the body of literature would be to take a closer look into which common foods and fusion foods have become traditional and incorporated into the existing food systems of Urban Indigenous people.

Research into what a traditional foodways curriculum would include is needed and the Manitoba curriculum needs to be examined to see where and how the new curriculum could be integrated.

Once a new curriculum has been proposed it would need to be piloted and evaluated.

Epigenetics is the study of the mechanisms that alter gene expression. It is an avenue for future research as there is some evidence which suggests that poor nutrition in expectant mothers can result in an increased susceptibility to non-communicable diseases later in life (Jang & Serra, 2014; Matthews & Phillips, 2010; Ramos-Lopez et al, 2017). Others suggest that historical trauma may also impact biological (Walters et al 2011) and behavioural mechanisms (Frías-Lasserre et al, 2018) affecting health and education. More research is needed to show how historically traumatic events, such as land dispossession, colonization, and residential schooling become embodied and how biological and behavioural

mechanisms are impacted and whether these cause epigenetic changes that can be passed on through generations.

Policy Changes

Policy changes around food sovereignty that would give Indigenous people control over food and the laws around food would be a huge step towards achieving cultural food security for communities and also cities. Food sovereignty may be a way to increase access to the land that would positively impact traditional food knowledge, access and use.

Cultural and identity integrity seems to be supported through continuity of language and foodways. My Sicilian parents provided my birth family with such integrity even as they raised their children in a foreign land. Even though it meant finding artichokes in the margins of the city landscape. Manitoban Indigenous culture and identity integrity has been violated through the colonial encroachment of policy and practice such as residential schooling and education. This research suggests foodways may be an avenue of reconciliation through education for food sovereignty.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Email invitation

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Faculty of Education

Department of Educational Administration,
Foundations and Psychology

227 Education Building
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone (204) 474-9018
Fax (204) 474-7550

Dear participant,

My name is Giovanna Antonella Marchione (Toni), and I am currently completing my Masters in Adult Education through the University of Manitoba. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study that is focused on how First Nations people living or working in Winnipeg experience cultural food security.

Food security can be understood to mean as having physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious foods to meet dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy lifestyle.

The three indicators of cultural food security have been defined as: traditional food knowledge, access to traditional food systems and safety of traditional food. My research will examine traditional food knowledge, access to traditional food and use of traditional food.

Research Project Title: Beyond Bannock: Revitalizing traditional First Nation's foodways to support Indigenous identity and culture.

Researcher: Giovanna Antonella Marchione

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore urban indigenous peoples' personal experiences and perspectives of cultural food security. This study will explore how First Nations people living or working in Winnipeg experience cultural food security. I will examine three areas: Traditional food knowledge, access to traditional food in the city and use of traditional food. My research aims to provide insight into how urban indigenous people experience cultural food security in Winnipeg and generate knowledge based on their lived experiences. This research will identify ways to pass on knowledge of

traditional foods to future generations, improve access to traditional foods in the city and increase use of traditional foods, all of which will support the revitalization of indigenous identity and culture in a Canadian urban setting.

If you identify as First Nations, you live or work in Winnipeg, you come from a reserve, are between 18 – 55 yrs old and you eat or would like to eat traditional food, I would like to invite you to participate in a personal interview, which should take between 45mins to 1 hour of your time.

The results of this study will be part of my M.Ed thesis and may be presented at local, national and international conferences, and disseminated in professional and scholarly journals.

If you are interested in participating please contact me and I will send a letter of consent which details the parameters of the study, your right to withdraw at any time, and issues around anonymity and confidentiality of your participation.

Thank you for your consideration

Sincerely,

Giovanna Antonella Marchione

This research has been approved by the Education / Nursing Research Ethics Board.

If there are any concerns or complaints about this project contact any of the above named

persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at (204) 474-7122 or email humanethics@umanitoba.ca

Appendix B

Letter of Consent

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Department of Educational Administration, Foundations and Psychology

227 Education Building
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone (204) 474-9018
Fax (204) 474-7550

September 16th, 2017

Dear Participant,

My name is Giovanna Antonella Marchione (Toni), and I am currently completing my Masters in Adult Education through the University of Manitoba. I am writing to you to invite you to participate in a research study that is focused on how First Nations people living in Winnipeg experience cultural food security.

Research Project Title: Beyond Bannock: Revitalizing traditional First Nation's foodways to support Indigenous identity and culture.

Researcher: Giovanna Antonella Marchione

This letter will provide you with the basic idea of what this research is about and what participation will involve. If you would like more information or more details about anything mentioned here, feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The primary purpose of this study is to explore how First Nations people living in Winnipeg experience cultural food security. You are welcome to become a participant of this study if you meet the following inclusion criteria: you identify as a First Nations person living in Winnipeg and come from a reserve You are between 18 – 55 yrs. old and eat OR would like to eat traditional food. Please note that your participation is voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time, by contacting me at the contact information provided.

To complete this study, I am inviting you to participate in a personal interview, which will be recorded and take between 45 minutes to 1 hour of your time. The questions I will ask are divided into 4 sections. Section 1 questions aim to gather some general information about you; Section 2 questions ask you about your knowledge of traditional foods; Section 3 questions ask you how you access traditional food in the city and Section 4 is the final section, which concentrates on how you use traditional food. You have the right to answer only the questions you feel most comfortable answering, and you can withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice or consequence simply by letting me know. Should you choose to withdraw, your data comments will be destroyed and will not form part of the study's results.

If you agree to participate in this study, we will arrange an interview time and place that is mutually agreeable, in order to ensure that you are comfortable and to protect the privacy of our conversation.

You will receive a copy of the interview questions via email or mail before the interview so that you can gather your thoughts. All of your responses will be kept strictly anonymous and confidential. Only I will have access to all the identifiable and non-identifiable data whilst my advisor and committee members will only have access to the non-identifiable data. The interview will be audio digitally recorded and transcribed. Your transcripts will be sent to you to check the accuracy of the transcription. This should take approximately 30 minutes to complete and is an opportunity for you to correct any mistakes that I may have made. You will have two weeks to review your transcripts and make changes, if I do not hear back from you within this period, I will assume that the transcripts are correct and do not need changing.

Your name will not appear in the results, and you will be provided with a pseudonym to protect your identity. All of the findings will be written up as general themes that come out of the entire set of interviews, though supporting comments from participants may be used to add impact to the findings. The principal investigator (me): will keep your identity confidential.

The snowball sampling strategy will be used for this study so I ask that you forward the letter of invitation you received via email and a copy of this consent form to other First Nations people who meet the inclusion criteria that you think would be interested in participating in this study, they can then contact me directly.

All data will be kept in a locked file cabinet or on a password protected computer by me (Giovanna Antonella Marchione) in my home office (as outlined by the University of Manitoba guidelines). All identifiable and non-identifiable data will be stored separately in my home. All electronic and hard data will be kept for two years following the completion of the Masters thesis. After two years all

electronic files will be deleted from the computer and all hard data will be shredded. The anticipated date for this is December 2019.

At the end of the process, you will be able to access an executive summary of the results if you request one on the signature page below and list your contact information. The results of this research will be written up as part of my M.Ed. thesis and may be presented at local, national or international conferences and will be disseminated in professional and scholarly journals.

Once again your participation is completely voluntary. Should you wish to participate, please sign the consent on the bottom of this page. Keep a copy for yourself, and mail the second copy to me for my records using the address below. If you do not wish to participate, please discard this information. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time simply by letting me know / or refrain from answering any questions without prejudice or consequence.

Sincerely,

Giovanna Antonella Marchione

This research has been approved by the Education / Nursing Research Ethics Board. If there are any concerns or complaints about this project contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at (204) 474-7122 or email humanethics@umanitoba.ca.

PLEASE ADD SIGNATURE

I have read the consent form and consent to participate in the interview and research being conducted by Giovanna Antonella Marchione as part of her Masters thesis through the University of Manitoba

_____ _____

Participant Date

_____ _____

Researcher Date

The address to which you can send an executive summary of the results is listed below:

Mailing address _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Email address

Appendix C

Recruitment poster

Traditional Indigenous Food

Do you identify as a First Nations person living or working in Winnipeg;

do you come from a reserve, are you between 18 – 55 yrs. old and do you eat OR would you like to eat traditional food?

If you have answered yes to these questions then I would like to invite you to take part in a Masters research project.

Research Project Title: Beyond Bannock: Revitalizing traditional First Nation's foodways to support Indigenous identity and culture.

If you wish to participate please contact me for further information

Compensation: During the interview process, I will share some of my traditional foods and drinks with you.

xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx	xxxx xxxxxxxxx Text: xxx-xxx-xxxx

Appendix D

Guiding Questions

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Faculty of Education

Department of Educational Administration, Foundations and Psychology

227 Education Building
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone (204) 474-9018
Fax (204) 474-7550

Guiding questions for traditional food knowledge, access and use.

Section 1. Demographic data

1. Name
2. Age
3. Where is your home community?
4. Do you live or work in Winnipeg?
5. How long have you lived or worked in Winnipeg?
6. How often do you return to your home community?
7. Why did you move to Winnipeg?

Section 2. Knowledge of traditional food

1. When someone says “Traditional food” (T.F), what does that mean to you?

   Probes: *What T.F do you know about?*

2. How did you learn about traditional food?

Probes: *Who taught you about T.F ? How did they teach you about T.F? When did they teach you about T.F? Do you teach anyone else about T.F? If so who? how?*

3. Is it important to you that future generations know about traditions pertaining to food?

   Probes: *Why do you feel it is important? Do you think that there is a loss of traditional food knowledge? Which traditions pertaining to food, do you consider important to pass on?*

4. How can we pass knowledge of traditional foods onto future generations?

Section 3. Access to traditional food

1. Is it difficult to access traditional food in the city?

   Probes: *Where do you get your T.F from? Can you purchase T.F in the city? Would you like to see more T.F available in grocery stores? Why or Why not? Do you have family or friends that you get T.F from?*

2. How do you feel about T.F access in the city?
3. How can we increase access to T.F in the city?

Section 4. Use of traditional food

1. How often do you eat T.F?

   Probes: *What kind of T.F did you eat growing up? Do you eat the same types of T.F as your parents and grandparents ate? Why or Why not? Do you think that there is a decline in the amount of T.F eaten by younger generations?*

   When do you eat T.F? Why do you eat T.F? How does eating T.F make you feel?

2. Is safety of T.F an issue for you?

   Probes: *Why or Why not?*

3. How can we increase the use of T.F ?

Is there anything else you wish to add that you haven't had an opportunity to share?