

Women's right to food in the city: Indigenous single mothers confronting unjust
foodscapes, poverty, and racism in Winnipeg

By

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Abstract

Title: Women's right to food in the city: Indigenous single mothers confronting unjust foodscapes, poverty, and racism in Winnipeg

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This thesis presents the results of a two year Feminist Participatory Action Research study conducted with a small group of Indigenous women in Treaty 1 Territory, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. In partnership with the Indigenous led, community non-profit organization, Ka Ni Kanichihk, I collaborated with Indigenous single mother client's (n=8) to document their perspectives on, experiences of, and resistance to food insecurity, poverty, and racism in the city. Drawing on the concept of foodscapes- that is the sociospatial processes and outcomes related to food acquisition- we documented women co-researcher's food journeys through qualitative methods including go-along interviews, individual interviews, food journals, and focus groups. Invoking recent conceptual progress on 'the right to the city', our results show that these women's geographies are laden with highly gendered and racialized discriminatory processes and outcomes, which place single mothers and their children in Winnipeg at significant risk of persistent poverty and food insecurity.

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1.0 Introduction

This thesis will present the results of a two year Feminist Participatory Action Research study conducted with a small group of Indigenous¹ women in the traditional lands of the Anishinaabe people and the homeland of the Metis Nation in what is now Treaty 1 Territory and the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Our purpose together was to document their perspectives on, and experiences of food insecurity, poverty, and racism in the city. There are several interrelated factors that coalesce to highlight the critical nature of undertaking urban food insecurity research in Winnipeg, including Indigenous women's encounters with oppressive urban structures and government systems, racialized food provisioning experiences, and the restriction of women's mobility during food provisioning journeys. This thesis builds on my previous research that has shown how food insecurity disproportionately impacts Indigenous women with children living in Winnipeg, resulting from both historical and ongoing colonialism, experiences of poverty, and undignified food provisioning experiences (Sobie & Masuda, 2013). While there is a substantive and growing literature that documents the geographic and economic challenges faced by low-income Indigenous women in urban settings, there remains a significant gap in research that examines the impact of food insecurity on Indigenous women's health and well-being from a feminist geographic perspective. In particular, few studies have examined the connection between poverty, racism, and the sociospatial dimensions of food insecurity among Indigenous single mothers in urban settings. The most appropriate way to address these challenges is to create opportunities for women to speak for themselves and share their experiences.

¹ The term Indigenous will be used throughout this thesis to refer to people in Canada who identify as First Nation, Metis, or Inuit. According to the NAHO, "Despite the wide use of Aboriginal as a proper noun by many Canadian and Aboriginal media, only use the term as a modifier" (see NAHO, 2017). Therefore for the purpose of this study the term Indigenous will be primarily used, and the term Aboriginal will only be used in cases where the research study or article used that terminology.

This chapter sets the scene for the thesis, beginning with a description of the rationale for undertaking this research. Next, I describe the research setting of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, and why the city of Winnipeg provides an appropriate setting for undertaking this study. Then, I present the research purpose and objectives that drive the impetus of this study. Finally, this chapter concludes with a brief outline of each of the remaining chapters that will be presented in this thesis.

1.1. Rationale

Food is our life-blood; we cannot survive without it. Food is one of the most basic human needs as defined by Maslow's hierarchy of needs in *A Theory of Human Motivation* (Maslow, 1943; McLeod, 2017). Maslow (1943) argues that food is a primary physiological need that must be met before we can attempt to meet high level needs such as safety, belonging, love, esteem, etc. However, food is not just about need. There is a long history of the cultural connections we create with our families and our communities through food (see Crowther, 2013; Montanari, 2006). For Indigenous people food holds a special significance in daily life, ceremonies, and healing (Earle, 2010; Anderson, 2001; Power, 1996). As much as food is celebrated, it can also be used as a weapon of war (BBC, 2014) and genocide (Mosby & Galloway, 2017; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015; Daschuk, 2014).

It is not for lack of food, but rather the social and governmental systems that perpetuate unequal distributions of income and food in our world that creates the conditions for food insecurity. Food insecurity can be defined as "the inability to acquire or consume an adequate diet quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so" (Davis and Tarasuk, 1994). In this definition, an emphasis on *the inability*, combined with national statistics showing that approximately 11% of Canadians (50% of Indigenous women with children), speaks to the abhorrent social injustices that underwrite this phenomenon as well as the urgent need for both research and sustained social action.

According to Article 25, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, food security is a basic human right, yet approximately 795 million people worldwide are food insecure (World Food Programme, 2015), including approximately 3.2 million people in Canada (Tarasuk, Dachner & Mitchell, 2014). The World Food Summit of 1996 defined food security as existing, “when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life” (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1996). The Right to Food can be defined as, “...the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services...” (United Nations, 1948; 2017). Thus, from both a normative and legal standpoint, the human right to be food secure is a central tenet and goal within global governance. Yet in Canada, this right is rarely acknowledged nor given the attention it deserves despite these high rates of food insecurity.

The focus on physical health impacts of food insecurity is necessary given how nutritional inadequacies in a person’s diet can lead to serious health issues. For example, there are several studies that use obesity as a measure to examine food insecurity, including how obesity is linked to chronic diseases in food insecure women (Townsend, Peerson, Love, Acheterberg, & Murphy, 2001), Type 2 Diabetes (Seligman, Bindman, Vittinghoff, Kanaya, & Kushel, 2007), and other chronic diseases such as cardiovascular disease (Seligman, Laraia, & Kushel, 2010). However, food security is more than a health issue. Without adequate access to affordable, nutritious foods, people are restricted from being able to fully participate in society. Their ability to access education, employment, social supports, leisure activities, and community are undermined by the daily struggle to eat – as well as the myriad indignities that are encountered in the pursuit of food within an oppressive food environment.

Numerous scholars have reported on the contributing factors to food insecurity, such as inadequate social assistance levels (Travers, 1996) or food deserts (Cummins and MacIntyre, 2002; People’s Food

Policy Project, 2011), however, according to many food scholars and world experts, the root cause of food insecurity is poverty (Travers, 1996; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1996). According to Statistics Canada, in 2013 approximately 4.6 million Canadians were living in poverty, defined on the basis of after-tax low-income status (LIM-AT) (Statistics Canada, 2015). According to the Food Insecurity and Policy Research Group (PROOF), in Canada, certain groups of people such as recent immigrants, Indigenous people, single mothers and people who rent are more likely to be food insecure on some level (PROOF, 2017). Further studies have shown that youth experiencing homelessness (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2002; Tarasuk, Dachner, Poland, and Gaetz, 2009), seniors (Keller, Dwyer, Edwards, Senson, & Edward, 2007) and children (Tarasuk, Mitchell, & Dachner, 2016) may also experience higher levels of food insecurity.

The injustice of food insecurity within Indigenous communities in Canada is rooted in the longstanding historical and geographic consequences of colonization, patriarchy, and present-day socioeconomic exclusion (Reading & Wien, 2009; Centre for Social Justice, 2011; Power, 1996).

Willows, Veugelers, Raine, & Kuhle (2008), found that at least 33% of Aboriginal people living off reserve in Canada experience moderate to severe food insecurity as compared to 9% of non-Aboriginal people. As recently highlighted by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCFP, 2011), the traditional diet of Canadian Aboriginal people has undergone a significant nutritional transition over the past hundreds of years (CCFP, 2011). As noted by Richmond and Ross (2009), changing climates and land disruptions have contributed to a lack of access to traditional/country foods in rural and northern Indigenous communities that were once relied upon as a source of nutrient dense food. In many northern and fly in communities food is lacking in quality and quantity, and the food that is provided is very expensive and often unaffordable (The Council of Canadian Academies, 2014). But the dysfunction of colonial food systems does not only affect the rural and remote. In urban communities such as in the North End of Winnipeg, Indigenous people continue to experience high

levels of food insecurity. According to the 2013 Hungercount Report (Food Banks Canada, 2013), 11% of all people who used food banks in Canada self-identify as Indigenous. A 2012 study found that community members in the North End of Winnipeg experience of food insecurity resulting from complex factors including poverty, lack of appropriate community food betterment programs, and unhealthy and nutritionally inappropriate foods served at food banks and soup kitchens (Zurba, Islam, Smith, & Thompson, 2012).

Further, experiences of food insecurity, particularly among Indigenous women in Canada, are highly gendered. According to Statistics Canada (2006), one in two Indigenous women with children are food insecure on some level. A 2009 study of food insecure young urban Indigenous mothers, demonstrated that the combination of lone parenthood, insecure housing, and lack of social support has left many Indigenous women in Canada struggling financially to make ends meet, particularly when it comes to food security (Baskin, Guarisco, Koleszar-Green et al., 2009). Food security is a key social determinant of health, yet its causes, experiences, and impacts remain poorly understood, particularly as experienced by Indigenous women.

The Canadian government's response to food insecurity remains heavily reliant on charitable food providers (i.e. food banks and soup kitchens). This "system" began with the advent of charitable food programs after the opening of the first food bank in 1981 in Edmonton, Alberta. Now more than 35 years later there are hundreds of food banks and soup kitchens across Canada, filling in where the government has ceded its moral authority and political accountability (Tarasuk, 2001). Current statistics report that approximately 833,098 people used food banks in Canada in 2013 (Food Banks Canada, 2013). In Manitoba there are 60,299 people who used food banks in 2013, which is a 48% increase from 2008 (Food Banks Canada, 2013). According to Food Banks Canada, *Hungercount 2013* report, half of all food bank users receive social assistance. Food banks in Winnipeg provide five days worth of food per individual user, yet individuals can only access a food bank once every two weeks, creating a

discrepancy between food needed and food received. Community Food Security (CFS) responses such as community kitchens, community food banks, community food programs, food sharing, community gardening, etc. have arisen in part to fill the gaps left by food banks, which further highlights the ongoing governmental neglect in addressing food security issues in a real way (Tarasuk & Davis, 1996).

Recently there has been an increased focus on advocacy and policy development to address food insecurity in a multitude of local and global contexts, including the appointment of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter. De Schutter visited Canada in 2012 and toured Indigenous communities across the country, including several in Manitoba. He urged the Canadian government to take the necessary steps to ratifying a national food policy to alleviate hunger, and to address the urgent socioeconomic issues in Indigenous communities that prevent them from “fully enjoying their right to adequate food” (De Schutter, 2012)

With a focus on Indigenous food sovereignty, and food justice, organizations such as the Food Policy Project, Food Matters Manitoba, Food Secure Canada, and Urban Food Justice are undertaking critical research to examine rural, urban and northern food insecurity, and implementing critical interventions to improve conditions for people. Recently, Food Secure Canada announced consultations will take place with the Canadian Government to discuss ratifying a national food policy. However promising the discussions may be, Canada still lacks a comprehensive national food policy despite the growing low-income population and increasing food costs. Living with persistent food insecurity continues to be disturbing reality for millions of people in Canada, particularly Indigenous Canadians.

1.2. Research Setting

The following section will describe the setting for this research, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, and why the unique social and physical geography of the city make it an ideal location to undertake a study on Indigenous women’s experience with- and resistance to- unjust foodscapes, poverty and racism.

Winnipeg is Canada's seventh largest city with a population of 778,489 (Statistics Canada, 2016) and is capital of the Province of Manitoba. Winnipeg is one of the largest cities on the Canadian prairies and is located in the Red River Valley floodplain. The geographic area of Winnipeg reaches 5,306.79 square kilometers (Statistics Canada, 2016). The province of Manitoba is on occupied land that was originally occupied and controlled by Indigenous people arriving after the last ice age (approx. 10,000 years ago). Archaeological investigations revealed that settlements of Nakoda (Assiniboine), Cree and Anishinabe (Ojibwe) and Dakota people lived in the area that is now the Forks (The Forks, 2017). After colonization, the area that is now the city of Winnipeg was settled due to its unique location as a meeting point at the Red and Assiniboine Rivers- a canoe route that had long been traversed by Indigenous people (The Forks, 2017). From 1871- 1921 the British Crown entered into eleven separate treaty agreements with First Nations People (Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, 2011). Manitoba is currently divided into Treaty areas 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Winnipeg's unique location, history, and class struggle are evident within the division and layout of the city. City planning traditions based in the 1960's era typical postwar pattern of capitalist urbanization' including suburban sprawl, market driven land use planning, led to the neglect, clearance, and dispossession of marginalized urban populations, that relegated low-income and Indigenous people to the 'North End' (Silver, 2011). The result is a city that on one hand suffers from neglect in certain neighbourhoods, and in other neighbourhoods there is ongoing expansion with abundant construction of new homes, store openings, and public parks.

Winnipeg's large geographic area has led to car dependence and as such the city design best accommodates the mobility of those with access to a vehicle. Temperatures during the winter months in Winnipeg can reach -35 degree Celsius (-45 on occasion with the windchill), and ice compacted sidewalks can make it difficult for those without access to a vehicle to move around. Public transit is available through Winnipeg Transit Authority, which has been in operation since 1882 (Winnipeg

Transit, 2014). Approximately 13% of Winnipeg residents use public transit on a regular basis for all their transportation needs as compared to 71% of people who use a personal vehicle (Winnipeg Transit, 2000). There are 5170 bus stops in Winnipeg, 870 shelters and only 122 heated shelters (Winnipeg Transit, 2016). Winnipeg Transit been criticized by the public for the lack of adequate bus shelters in the winter (CTV News, 2015)

While Winnipeg is made up of 236 diverse neighbourhoods (Statistics Canada, 2012), a cluster of these in the core area are characterized by varying depths of high levels of poverty, crime, and racialization. Winnipeg's inner city includes forty core area neighbourhoods that together make up approximately 6% of the total city land area (Statistics Canada, 2001). Winnipeg's inner-city neighbourhoods were first defined in the 1980's by the Core Area Initiative, and consist of the West Broadway, Spence, West Alexander, Centennial and the "North End" neighbourhoods that lie north of the CN rail yards (Winnipeg.ca, 2001; Silver, 2010). The impact of this geographic barrier of has led to the separation of the large Indigenous community that resides in the North End of Winnipeg from the rest of the city (Silver, 2010). Lezubski, Silver and Black (2000), report on increasing poverty experienced by folks living in Winnipeg's inner city and in 1996 more than half of Winnipeg's inner city residents lived below the poverty line. Poverty impacts Indigenous people in Winnipeg at disproportionate rates. In 2005, one in four Aboriginal people (43%) were living under the low-income cut off (LICO) level (Statistics Canada, 2006). Social housing for low-income Winnipeg residents is less than adequate and has been shown to be harmful to residents health in Winnipeg. A recent report by the Manitoba Health Policy Centre found that for the 31,000 Manitobans who live in Manitoba Housing, are twice as likely to die young, have diabetes or suffer from respiratory illness (Finlayson, Smith, Burchill et. al, 2013). According to Winnipeg Harvest (2017) there were 62,000 people who were food insecure in Manitoba in 2016.

Rural to urban migration of Indigenous people into Winnipeg is common. Current statistics report that within Canada the largest number of urban Indigenous people reside in Winnipeg accounting for approximately 10% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2006). Winnipeg is also home to 46,325 Metis people, the largest population of Metis people living in a Canadian city as of 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2016). In the 1970's large number of Indigenous people began leaving Reserve communities seeking greater opportunities in Winnipeg (Distasio, Sylvestre, & Wall-Wieler, 2013). According to Silver (2010), mostly Cree and Ojibwa folks began settling in the North End of Winnipeg due to affordability and more accepting attitudes. These accepting attitudes are in large part couched in the history of the North End as being settled by the urban underclass – largely working immigrants – and resulting stigmatization and health issues related to overcrowded and unsanitary housing conditions (Silver, 2011). This history is what ‘primed’ the North End to receive socioeconomically disenfranchised Indigenous people from Reservation communities. However, Indigenous people arriving in cities are often met with racism, entrenched in the Canadian cultural psyche (Centre for Social Justice, 2011; Silver 2006). Knock on effects of racism include limited employment opportunities, an increased risk of poverty (Centre for Social Justice, 2011), and disproportionate rates of health inequalities (Adelson, 2005; Reading & Wien, 2009). In Jim Silver’s 2006 book, *In Their Own Voices*, he notes that Indigenous people in Canada have often moved from one marginalized community (reserve) to another such as the low-income North End of Winnipeg. This has resulted in ongoing social exclusion from employment, housing, schools, neighbourhoods, etc., and an obvious lack of Indigenous people visible in public spaces and public roles in Winnipeg (Silver, 2006).

In 2015 Macleans magazine audaciously dubbed Winnipeg as, “the most racist city in Canada (Macdonald, 2015). According to the latest Winnipeg Vital Signs 2017 report, 58% of people in Winnipeg describe the relationship between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people as “somewhat or very negative (Winnipeg Foundation, 2017). These circumstances show us the desperate

need for intervention and reparation in our country, and in our own city. Yet, Winnipeg is also a site of resistance where grassroots activism, community organizing, advocacy, decolonization and anti-oppression work are ongoing with women leading the way. For example, numerous community organizations like North Point Douglas Women's Centre, Ka Ni Kanichihk, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre Inc., Thunderbird house, Aboriginal Youth Opportunities, and Neechi Food Commons are located in the North End and are dedicated to providing safe community spaces for people to come together. Further, there are incredible Indigenous women leaders and activists who continue to resist against injustice, speak out, and create change in their communities. People such as Leslie Spillett- a community activist and the Executive Director of Ka Ni Kanichihk; Althea Guiboche- a community member who started the group Got Bannock to help feed people experiencing homelessness in Winnipeg; and the Winnipeg youth driven movement- Meet at the Bell Tower, which brings together people every Friday night at the intersection of Selkirk Avenue and Powers Street to resist against violence impacting Indigenous women and girls (among other issues impacting Indigenous people in Winnipeg). As such, Winnipeg, the North End, and Ka Ni Kanichihk, provide a unique setting for this research. Indigenous women living in the city face unique challenges resulting from food insecurity, poverty, and gender based discrimination; while at the same time it is within this same context where we find a crucial site of Indigenous resistance and community mobilization. It is to this end that my thesis research, its purpose, objectives, participatory methods, and findings in the pages that follow, owes itself to the support of this organization and its people.

1.3 Research Purpose and Objectives

Embedded within a carefully cultivated partnership with Ka Ni Kanichihk and my own immersion in that organization over the period of November 2011 to January 2013, the purpose of this research is to characterize the geography of food insecurity from the perspective of low-income Indigenous single mothers in Winnipeg. Using a feminist action research approach in partnership with the leadership of Ka

Ni Kanichihk and a small group of women co-researchers, our focus was to examine the oppressive structures that women encounter during their food journeys in Winnipeg, and the consequences they face when confronting discriminatory geographies related to food acquisition in the city. We achieved our research goals through the following three objectives:

1. To develop a participatory research partnership with a community based, Indigenous led, non-profit organization, Ka Ni Kanichihk, adhering to a feminist action research approach to collectively investigate Indigenous women's experiences with food insecurity in Winnipeg;
2. To undertake a process of feminist multi method qualitative inquiry to investigate the physical and social dimensions of Indigenous single mother's food geographies, aiming to gain insight into the complex relationships between poverty, food insecurity, gender, racialization, and place;
3. To translate and mobilize women's knowledge of inequitable food provisioning experiences into social action that challenges conventional approaches to improving food security and seeks to advance women's right to the city including the right to food, health and a dignified life.

1.4 Outline of Thesis Chapters

The remainder of this thesis will present the context, methods, and results of our study through five additional chapters. In Chapter 2: Literature Review, I will provide the literature drawn upon to inform the impetus and methods of this study including health and place based food insecurity studies, women and inequity in the neoliberal city, mobility, the right to food, and the right to the city. In Chapter 3: Methods, I will present the methodology informing our Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) project, describing the methods we used to undertake our study, the procedures, and limitations. In Chapter 4: Results, I will reveal the results of our study through a biographical approach that situates one woman's food journey within a main theme that emerged from our data analysis.

Finally, in Chapter 5: Discussion, I will synthesize the results by revisiting the concepts of food insecurity, and in particular, situating my results within the emerging academic literature on women's right to the city; and finally, I will sum up the main points of the thesis, discuss how our results contribute to the fields of geography and feminist research, and provide recommendations for improving food insecurity at the local/individual level.

2.0 Literature Review

For Indigenous single mothers living in Winnipeg, the compounding influences of poverty, gender and racialization have the potential to significantly undermine their efforts to negotiate food security. My thesis investigation integrates the fields of food security and mobilities, and situates these frameworks within the right to the city. The purpose of integrating these concepts is to examine the conditions that generate and normalize food insecurity for Indigenous women living in poverty in Winnipeg. We want to know- what are the consequences of these circumstances upon individuals and their communities; and what do these food journeys and geographies tell us about Indigenous women's right to the city? I begin this chapter with a critical review of geographic approaches to food insecurity studies, focusing on the specific contributions of geographers' that have emphasized the importance of considering the relationships between place, food, and health, as well as the sociospatial dimensions of 'insecurity' as described by 'foodscapes'. Next, I explore how it is that gender, race, and mobility intersect in unique ways that contribute to women's experiences of food insecurity in the city. Finally, I describe how the right to the city provides an appropriate framework to tie these concepts together in line with feminist action research for the pursuit of urban justice and Indigenous women's right to food in the city.

2.1 Food Insecurity and Health

Food insecurity is a critical social, health and environmental health inequity impacting many people's' lives in Canada. Food insecurity is inextricably connected to health. Simply put, without proper food nutrients we will not survive or our health will suffer greatly. The World Health Organization defines health as, "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (World Health Organization, 2016). This definition has remained unchanged since 1948, yet we see that there is an increasingly individualistic/privatization trend in health and health care, such that the blame is shifted on the individual rather than societal ills

being to blame for such conditions (Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010; Raphael, 2004). There is an increased focus of geographic research studies that examine food insecurity and the resulting health inequities. Food insecurity can have a range of effects on a person's health related to nutritional inadequacies (Travers, 1996) which can lead to chronic disease (Riciutto and Tarasuk, 2007), obesity (World Health Organization, 2008) and mental health problems caused by the frustration and loss of dignity in trying to obtain food (Jacobson, Oliver & Kosh, 2009; Siefert et al., 2001).

The mental health impacts of living in poverty and food insecurity, including the effect on emotional health and dignity have come to the forefront of discussions (see Jacobson et. al, 2009; Sobie & Masuda, 2013). Food insecurity has implications for women's mental health as they are obliged to confront humiliating and undignified encounters when providing food for their families. The Jacobson et al. (2009) study used in-depth interviews (n=64) with marginalized populations in Toronto, to examine the relationship between dignity and the health among those who are struggling to access necessary resources to survive. Many participants reported that when their dignity was violated this led to feelings of shame, identity damage and loss, apathy and depression (Jacobson et al., 2009). Similarly, a study of food bank use among women and their families in Toronto found that the majority of participants felt shame, embarrassment, degradation and humiliation when visiting food banks, particularly when it came to informing their children about their dependency on charity (Tarasuk & Beaton, 1999). Further, several participants in Miewald & McCann's (2013) study noted the importance of respect from staff at charitable food organizations, as well as the preference to purchase cheap food from restaurants (if resources allow) as opposed to waiting in line for hours at food banks or soup kitchens. These ideas inherently speak to the maintenance of dignity as an important consideration of how people prefer to access food.

Studies have linked mental health issues including anxiety and/or depression among women who suffer from persistent food insecurity (Wu & Schimmele, 2005; Siefert, Heflin, Corcoran, & Williams,

2004). My previous research with Indigenous women in Winnipeg demonstrated the mental health effects from racialized encounters in Winnipeg during food provisioning. Women reported feelings of anxiety and shame resulting from unjust racialized accusations of theft in grocery stores (Sobie & Masuda, 2013). Recent research has linked the health effects of racism and stress that can translate into physiological (Richman & Jonassaint, 2008) and psychological health issues (Sawyer, Major, Casad, et al., 2012).

Indigenous people in Canada experience disproportionate rates of health inequities compared to settler population; as such they experience higher rates of virtually every injury, illness, disease (Kubik, Bourassa & Hampton, 2009; Tang & Browne, 2008; Reading & Wien, 2009). Recently, studies have linked the starvation of Indigenous children at Residential Schools to the predisposition of diabetes, obesity and other health problems Indigenous people experience today (Mosby & Galloway, 2017). Additionally, researchers have shown the links between racism and health care disparities among Indigenous people in Canada (see Castleden et al., 2010; Browne & Fiske, 2001).

Studies that examine food insecurity among Indigenous people in Canada often focus on specific health outcomes such as disease development (Reading & Wien, 2009) or risk factors such as poverty that contribute to food insecurity (Willows et al., 2008). Yet, what is lacking is a critical understanding of the institutional and socioeconomic factors that create the unsafe, undignified, unhealthy, and inconvenient conditions of everyday life which combine to undermine food security for Indigenous people in Canada and thus perpetuate an oppressive and unjust colonial system (Adelson, 2005).

2.2. Food Insecurity, Place, and Foodscapes

In the area of food security research, ideas from geography have been drawn upon for decades because of the inherent sociospatial dimensions of urban life that influence the procurement of food. Research by geographers on food insecurity have described how a person's location (physical and social) in the world can impact their ability to be food secure (Miewald & McCann, 2013; Travers,

1996; Gurstein & Vilches, 2010). These studies consistently show how places people live, work and travel to and from and their social location determine the health status or health inequities one may experience, including the phenomenon of food insecurity.

Studies on food insecurity can be classified as quantitative or qualitative (or mixed method). Qualitative studies are used to describe people's experiences of food insecurity in a certain place, (i.e. personal experiences with food banks as undignified environments) whereas quantitative studies focus on measuring variables through dileanal distributions, mapping, statistical analyses, etc. (i.e. mapping accessibility of food store locations).

A trend in quantitative food security related research is to focus on one or two aspects the food-geographic journey (Panelli & Tupa, 2005) such as inequitable food access (Cummins & MacIntyre, 2002; Coveney & O'Dwyer, 2008) or consumption patterns (Sobal & Wansink, 2007; Wiig & Smith, 2009; Kirkpatrick & Tarasuk, 2010). Similarly, previous examinations of food geography investigate issues of accessibility and affordability in relatively simple terms (Cummins & Macintyre, 2002; Dachner et al., 2010), as often measured in Euclidean-oriented distance measures used in mapping proximity to food stores (Donkin et. al, 2000; Black et al., 2011) or in characterizing food deserts (Larsen & Gilliland, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Food deserts have become a convenient way to describe food insecurity in the public realm as evidenced by the 2015 CBC News story, "Buying groceries a long trek for family in Winnipeg food desert". While this CBC investigation was successful in highlighting the issues of accessibility and affordability for low-income residents in Winnipeg, it did not delve into underlying political issues and socioeconomic marginalization of certain neighbourhoods in the city that produce the very conditions of food insecurity for their residents. By critiquing ineffective singular solutions to "solve" food security such as by eliminating food deserts, I hope to build upon this literature by describing the multiple sociopolitical and spatial constraints of food insecurity women encounter in the city.

According to Shannon (2013), the current trend of studying food deserts and ‘obesogenic’ environments to address health inequity and food insecurity further stigmatizes racialized environments and lack a critical lens to investigate root causes of problems. Further, Shannon (2013), argues projects that seek to confront food deserts are not examining the totality of the issue, which is the cumulative effect of unequal food production systems, processes of racial segregation, and urban economic segregation, which contribute to food insecurity. Food deserts are a convenient way of characterizing the spatial constraints of food insecurity, but lack a more robust understanding of the socioeconomic and political constraints that contribute to experiences of food insecurity.

While quantitative assessments of food insecurity have been helpful in delineating distributional dimensions and severity of food insecurity, studies that are qualitative in nature have been particularly important in describing why people’s experiences of food insecurity matter, pointing not only to how “place” influences food insecurity, but also how food and the insecurities brought about by poverty and spatial inaccessibility can influence perceptions of place (e.g. food banks as undignified environments see Tarasuk & Beaton, 1999), and the production of place itself (e.g. neighbourhoods as “food deserts” – See Cummins & Macintyre, 2002).

Recently, the concept of foodscapes become a common way of framing food insecurity from a geographic lens, and importantly, for broadening the scope of understanding the totality of its social influences and consequences beyond narrowly defined measures of health and well-being (Panelli & Tipton, 2005). Rather than focusing on unidimensional food-health relationships (e.g. food banks, grocery stores), foodscapes emphasize the totality of places where people obtain food on the urban landscape and their intersecting influences on myriad health-related processes and outcomes (Winson, 2004). Foodscapes research is interested in understanding the importance of social contexts, which range from people’s experiences, encounters and emotions during any phase of their food journey. Previous

foodscape studies have focused on distribution of food providers (Cummins & Macintyre, 2002); how foodscape environments influence health and healthy eating behaviours (Mikkelsen, 2011; Kestens et al, 2010) and on micro scale foodscapes environments (Sobal & Wansink, 2010). My previous research showed that Indigenous women's foodscapes are complex as their journeys often take them throughout the city utilizing multiple transportation modes (e.g. walking, taxicab, public transit) in search of affordable food (Sobie & Masuda, 2013). However, this study did not yield information about the sociospatial circumstances surrounding women's food journeys, nor their encounters in and through urban space.

A 2013 study by Miewald & McCann utilized the concept of foodscapes to spatialize the impacts of gentrification in the Downtown Eastside neighbourhood (DTES) in Vancouver, BC- namely around food insecurity and poverty. Miewald & McCann (2013), found that DTES residents foodscapes represent a complex display of urban neoliberalization, compounded by issues such as poverty, racial, and sexual discrimination, that result in a large number of food insecure residents (Miewald & McCann, 2013). They noted the paradoxical reality for people as on one side of the street people dine in boutique restaurants while on the other side of the street people line up at food banks (Miewald & McCann, 2013). The foodscapes literature has thus succeeded in expanding the scope of food insecurity studies by revealing the sociospatial dimensions of a particular place including the embedded political and economic processes that contribute to people's experience of food insecurity and poverty (Miewald & McCann, 2013).

However to-date, few studies have focused specifically on the foodscapes of urban Indigenous people. In the study *Beyond Foodscapes: Considering Geographies of Indigenous Well-being*, Panelli & Tupa (2005) have argued, for instance, that it is necessary to move beyond the foodscape concept and rather examine how Indigenous concepts of health and well-being add an important dimension to understanding the role of cultural tradition in human-food relations. Panelli and Tupa's (2005) remind us

that food is not just a product for survival- it is highly interwoven in historical and current cultural context for many Indigenous people. Further, studies that have talked to Indigenous people in Winnipeg about their experiences with food insecurity, have noted the importance of access to culturally appropriate foods as a critical part of what their food secure reality looks like (See Zurba et al., 2012; Cidro, Adekunle, Peters, et al., 2015). The foodscape concept can benefit from a more critical and empirically grounded theoretical foundation informed by the experiences of Indigenous women in our case study, as related to food security and food acquisition practices.

2.3 Gender, Race, and Mobility in the city

The next section will describe how multiple intersecting oppressions contribute to women's experiences of food insecurity in the city. Drawing on the concepts of gender, race, and mobility, I will describe how these oppressions coalesce to create friction within women's food journeys and movements throughout the city.

Gender has been long studied in geography, particular in how places and gender relations including masculine and feminine gender identities (and those in between), are assigned to social spaces (McDowell & Sharp, 1999, p.107). The gendering of women's roles in Western culture has led them to be responsible for most of the unpaid caring work conducted in the home such as food provisioning, healthcare, and child care (McDowell, 1999). According to gender role studies on food security, many women feel that they have specific roles and responsibilities based on food provisioning within their family and those roles are rarely questioned (Engler-Stringer, 2010; Travers 1996).

Authors Preston & Ustundag (2005), argue that women's bodies are often seen as 'out of place in the city' resulting from the reinforcement of deeply embedded patriarchal gender norms that serve to exclude women from public geographies based on their 'domesticated status' in the home (see also McDowell & Sharp, 1997). As such, women are often denied agency through these sociospatial impediments within urban environments that curtail their status as urban citizens and their mobilities

(Gurstein & Vilches 2010). Further, poverty disproportionately impacts single mothers (Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010), particularly mothers who rely on social assistance as their main source of income (Statistics Canada, 2010). For example, in Canada, 23% of all female single parent households fell under the low-income after tax bracket (Statistics Canada, 2013). Gurstein & Vilches (2010) study of lone low-income mothers in Vancouver, effectively showed how inadequate assistance levels severely restricted women's ability to participate as active citizens in the city.

Importantly, to understand how gender oppression contributes to experiences of inequality, feminist author and professor bell hooks (1989), argues that gender must be considered along with factors such as race, class, ability, and sexual orientation. According to Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Western concepts of race and gender intersect in ways that contribute to the "othering" of Indigenous people. The concept of 'Race' is better understood as the process of racialization that is, "the representational process whereby social significance is attached to certain biological or cultural characteristics" (McDowell & Sharp, 1999, p. 226). When people are oppressed on the basis of an imagined difference (as we are all homo sapiens), it can be called racism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, prejudice, or bigotry (Fiske, 2017). However these words fail to encapsulate the true sense of harm when prejudicial beliefs enable racialized violence on a mass scale (e.g. missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada, black youths shot by police in the United States, ongoing war between Palestine and Israel.).

Racialized violence in urban environments has the ability to create severely unjust outcomes for Indigenous women in Canada (Sterritt, 2007; Razack, 2000). Such violence permeates throughout our justice system (Jackson, 2015), governmental policies (Palmater, 2014), and societal attitudes, which put women at risk every time they leave their homes. Sherene Razack (2000) has convincingly demonstrated how violence against Indigenous women has become normalized in Canadian society. Razack (2000), reported on the events that occurred during the 1996 trial of Pamela George, a young

Indigenous woman who was brutally assaulted and murdered by two white men in Regina, Saskatchewan. The jurors were led to believe that Pamela George welcomed the very violence that took her life because of her occupation as a prostitute and the fact that she was an Indigenous woman (Razack, 2000). Razack (2000) argues that degenerate spaces or zones exist in Canadian society, and within these spaces, (such as those spaces occupied by sex workers) Indigenous women's bodies are viewed as less than other women's or men's and are dehumanized in such a way that sexual deviancy and violence against these women is justified in many people's minds. According to Razack (2000), racism resulted in Pamela George's her murderers not being held fully culpable for their actions- they were convicted of manslaughter, not first degree murder. Importantly, Razack (2000) urges us to address the overarching issue of colonization and violence and the detrimental consequences for Indigenous women in Canadian society.

Speaking to how racialization has the potential to disrupt identities, feminist and political scientist, Iris Marion Young (1999, p. 219) argues that 'victims' of cultural imperialism are often rendered invisible as their voices, values, experiences, and perceptions are silenced while at the same time they are demarcated as the "other" in society. According to Young (1999, p. 219), those who are "othered" cannot normalize their identities according to the identities of the "dominant" group due to the expressions of prejudice of people around them. Young (1999), remarks that identity oppression is beyond the reach of law and policy as people in society reinforce oppression through their feelings and reactions rather than through rules. Young's work calls attention to the invisible yet-overly visible forces of discrimination that seek to circumscribe Indigenous women's identities.

Such subversive forces on women's identities can have profound implications for their place in the city, especially with respect to their daily efforts to navigate through often-discriminatory spaces and encounters when securing the resources needed for everyday life. Yet, more research is needed to examine how Indigenous women negotiate such efforts to move through racialized and gendered urban

environments as much of the literature in this area is either place-blind (i.e. food security) or place-bound (i.e. foodscapes). Furthermore, shedding further light on movement, journeys, encounters, spatial strategies, and so on, can have profound implications for how we conceptualize and mobilize Indigenous women's right to the city in relation to their daily lives.

Within geography, the concept of place is central to our understanding of how people interact within their communities and the world around them. However, in order to make sense of these complex interactions, we must move beyond static interpretations of space toward an examination of mobility; that is, the dynamic sociospatial processes and patterns involved in how people move to, between and within places, including those forces that restrict or circumscribe such movement (Cresswell, 2006; 2010). Until the mid-1990s, geographers examined mobility from applied perspectives of how we move between spaces (see Knowles, Shaw, & Dorcherty, 2008) and this developed into inquiry about what happens during these movements (See Urry, 2006; Cresswell, 2001; 2006, etc.). While these foci remain relevant for understanding mobility as a whole, geographers have developed a socio-spatial niche within mobility studies. We now also ask: (1) how is it that we learn to interpret space through embodied movement (Crouch, 2003; Hansen & Philo, 2009)? (2) how do we apply these lessons to make decisions about our actions within space(s) (Sibley, 1995) and (3) what do we learn about our place within particular space(s) as a result of our personal mobility within society (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Jensen 2009)?

In urban settings, mobility describes how we live our lives within the city as an expression of both who the city imagines and expects us to be and who we become as we go through our daily lives. Our personal mobility informs us that people's' differing abilities and identities are expected to perform urban mobility in common and unjust ways (Yau, Mckercher, & Packer, 2004; Pullman, 2010). For example, ablenormative mobility is critiqued for its ongoing exclusion of disabled people as its normativity is predicated upon male able-bodiedness (Chouinard & Grant, 1995; Edwards & Imrie,

2003). Mobility, then, informs us that bodies are laden with expectations to be mobile and as they make their way through urban space (See Cresswell, 1999; Dyck, 1995). Likewise, studies examining race and gender in urban space inform us that identity is laden with expectations about who we are and what we can expect as we move through the city (Razack, 2000). Mobility studies merge the interrogation of space, identity and place to develop a more holistic and comprehensive picture of people's lived experiences, of the meaning of movement and of the roles of the public and of public policy in the development and upholding of assumptions that bely mobility, identity and belonging.

To describe these tensions present in society which are related to mobility, Timothy Cresswell outlines important ways of identifying mobile hierarchies or "classes" through his "politics of mobility" (2010). While these hierarchical class distinctions are not intended to be entirely exclusive, they offer ways of differentiating the narrowly privileged kinetic elite from a populous yet marginalized kinetic underclass. The kinetic elite can be defined as people who have the resources to move in ways that are convenient and fast (i.e. first class flights, private jets, chauffeured cars, and high speed trains), participating in society through largely unrestricted movement and towards economic growth. This is what Cresswell refers to as 'least net effort' to reduce the amount of time spent moving between places (Cresswell, 2006). The kinetic underclass can be defined as the converse whereby mobility is laboured, time-consuming and not as expected due to a series of spatial bindings present in the social and built environments of a city. For example, Khosla (2005) points to how heteronormative urban spaces and structures result from masculinist city planning traditions and structures that fail to take into account differences in gender, ethnicity, ability, and sexuality. Accordingly, certain city services such as public transit may not meet the needs or be cost-effective to an urban mother who has to transport her kids around in -30 degrees Celsius weather and wait for periods of time at non-heated bus shelters.

To further describe the production of these classes, Cresswell describes that the politics of mobility are not static assumptions about mobility and immobility; rather, mobility and its meanings are produced through entanglements and practices that can be described as “constellations of mobility” made up by considering motive force, speed, rhythm, route, experience and friction of free and restricted movements (Cresswell, 2010). Important to the discussion of the food journeys performed and experienced by low-income Indigenous women living in Winnipeg, friction describes the forces that restrict and cause hardship to their attainment of food. Friction can include assumptions that healthy food is available at food banks, lack of money for transport, lack of options for safe transport, lack of childcare for food journeys, stigma from pressure to buy healthful but expensive foods, external criticism from staff at stores, and other issues that complicate their food journeys. In this thesis, the considerations of mobility through class, spatial bindings and friction all helped to inform the analysis and discussion of women’s lived mobile experiences within Winnipeg.

2.4 The Right to The City

The next section provides a brief review of the right to the city concept as a form of localized resistance to contest urban neoliberalism. First, I outline the right to the city concept in its current conception as a grassroots movement to contest inequality through urban activism in the neoliberal city. Second, I briefly discuss the seminal work of Henri Lefebvre’s, ‘The Right to the City’ and how urban geographers have reconceptualized his idea. Third, I discuss why the right to the city is an appropriate framework for geographic inquiry into urban injustice and review geographic studies that have utilized the right to the city to contest poverty, gentrification, homelessness, and food insecurity. Finally, drawing on current examples of how the right to the city has been used to examine the right to food and Indigenous rights, I explain why the right to the city is an appropriate framework to situate our research study of Indigenous women’s experiences with food insecurity in Winnipeg.

The right to the city as it is currently exercised in theory and activism is now firmly pointed at contesting neoliberal urbanization. The right to the city can be defined as the right to participate as an equally valued citizen and to oppose neoliberal policies that serve to undermine rights (Purcell & Tyman, 2014). Recent critiques of the right to the city argue that it is not a democratic right as set out by the UN for example, but rather a grassroots movement for rights that encourages participation and action in urban life for all those who inhabit the city and “reproduce daily life” (Harvey, 2012, p. 173). Purcell (2003), argues that moving beyond the democratic, political ideal of ‘rights’ to a right to be able to participate in the very discussions and decisions that are part of our human rights, which are paramount to enabling social change.

The Right to the City was originally coined by Henri Lefebvre in 1968 (*La Droite a la Ville*) and expanded upon in his critical 1991 work, *The Production of Space*, and his 1996 text, *The Right to the City*. Lefebvre’s work is based upon his observations of the urban crisis in France in the 1960s that reflected increasing urbanization, mass produced housing, a movement of people from rural to urban centres, social exclusion, etc. (Schmid & Findlay, 2016). Since Lefebvre's seminal work, several other urban theorists have written extensively about the right to the city most notably geographer David Harvey (see Harvey 1973; 2009; 2013), Peter Marcuse (see Marcuse 2003, 2008, 2009), and Marc Purcell (See Purcell 2003, 2008; Purcell & Tyman, 2014). Purcell and Tyman (2014) note that Lefebvre's right to the city proposes a city beyond the contemporary city, to one that is reflective of "transformed urban life" within which citizens govern and manage themselves, are active participants, and come together to engage in meaningful discussions of the city.

Within geography, the right to the city allows for a spatialization of urban injustice, meaning we can examine what it is about certain places that contribute to experiences of inequality or marginalization, including the social and political processes that shape those experiences (Soja, 2010, p. 6-7). Many geographers have noted how public spaces in the city have long been used as organizing

spaces to resist against neoliberalism and take political action for rights (Klodawsky, 2009; Springer, 2011; Marcuse, 2003). Claiming rights to urban space disrupts the notion that the neoliberal city is based on (Harvey, 2013; Purcell 2003; Purcell & Tyman, 2014).

In recent years there have been several geographic community level studies that have drawn upon the right to the city concept, particularly in contexts that examine how different groups of people in cities have had their rights marginalized or denied, and how these rights are contested. For example, the right to the city has been used to examine urban poverty and foodscapes in the Downtown Eastside neighbourhood of Vancouver, BC (Miewald & McCann, 2013), to explore health inequities with Indigenous youth in Winnipeg, MB (Skinner & Masuda, 2013), and to examine homeless women's experiences with Housing First in Ottawa, ON (Klodawsky, 2009). Most relevant to our study, Skinner and Masuda's (2013) work on the right to the city with Indigenous youth in Winnipeg showed how youth create a sense of identity in Winnipeg, based on where they feel they are "allowed" to go in the city and what places they feel "restricted from", due to invisible and visible forces of oppression. These findings inform our research investigation into how it is that spatial bindings and friction that contribute to hardships women face while food provisioning, and how do these experiences of and during women's movements contribute to their sense of identity and belonging in the city?

Recently, academics, community organizations, not-for-profit groups, and activists have rallied around the "right to food" as a means to achieve justice for food insecure individuals. In Purcell and Tuymans' 2014 paper, *Cultivating food as the right to the city*, they draw from two cases studies around urban food production (in New York and Los Angeles) to demonstrate how citizens exercised their 'right to the city'. In New York City since the 1970s people have been using empty spaces to grow food, in part to address increasing food insecurity in urban communities (Purcell & Tyman, 2014). The City of New York established the Green Thumb program to help manage and establish gardens; and while this program has provided some support, ultimately the gardens are still under state control as the city

“owns” them and can “take them back” at any time (Purcell & Tyman, 2014). Although state interference was still present, residents were able to become active in ways that saw them producing and managing urban space in their communities, which promoted solidarity and mobilization among community members (Purcell & Tyman, 2014). Similarly, Mitchell and Heynen (2009), argue that it is activist groups and community members who are challenging the status quo of the inequitable food system and taking action. A notable example is the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood House located in Vancouver, BC, that centres its model of community support around the right to food, and enabling a more dignified food experience for all those in need of charitable food assistance. They accomplish this by offering people choices of food, providing nutritionally and culturally appropriate foods, and by creating positive circumstances for people to access community support (see Our Operating Philosophy, dtesnhouse.ca, 2016). Similarly, Food Not Bombs, the worldwide activist group that serves free vegan meals (often made from reclaimed dumpster food or from food banks) to anyone and everyone with no limits or restrictions in public locations, is an example of resistance to an unjust food system (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009; Food Not Bombs, 2017). In both cases, the Downtown Eastside Neighbourhood House, and Food not Bombs, local activists are bringing the geographies of survival of homeless and food insecure people into visibility (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009), while at the same time acting in resistance to the state by serving food in the very same spaces where people are restricted from, and bringing dignity back to food charity.

The next section briefly describes how the right to the city theoretical framework informed our case study on food insecurity as experienced by Indigenous women. I explore how Indigenous resistance for rights and the ‘right to the city’ is occurring in Winnipeg.

We can draw from geography to gain a greater understanding of the spatiality of rights and how they are enforced or restricted for Indigenous people in urban spaces. For example, Senese and Wilson’s

2013 study with urban Indigenous people in Toronto revealed key insights into the processes of how rights work to shape Indigenous identities in the urban environment. Senese and Wilson (2013), argue that "urban spaces are not Aboriginal spaces", rather, urban spaces represent the complex geographies of Indigenous people as they attempt to navigate the city to access support and services they needs within an urban environment that does not respect their rights. The participants spoke about how the lack of respect for Indigenous rights in the city speaks to the large issue of disrespect for Indigenous identity and culture in Canada (Senese & Wilson, 2013). However, the participants noted that despite their struggles in the city, they work to assert their Indigenous rights and identities through maintaining cultural connections such as by attending sweat lodges (Senese & Wilson, 2013).

Winnipeg provides a unique landscape of study as the site of intersection between the colonial city and Indigenous resistance. One notable example of the right to the city being expressed through food is 'Got Bannock', which was founded by Indigenous community member Althea Guiboche.

Got Bannock arose out of Althea's own experiences with homelessness and food insecurity and her desire to take action amidst a failing social support system. Althea feeds homeless people on the street hot meals in Winnipeg the first and third Sunday of every month, regardless of the weather, through her own finances and community donations (Got Bannock, 2017). By participating in this city in this way, Althea has created a community around Got Bannock that has not only brought together folks in the Indigenous community, but also settler allies in Winnipeg. Further examples of visible Indigenous resistance in Winnipeg are the Drag the Red the Indigenous led community initiative that trains volunteers to drag the Red River in Winnipeg (and ground sweeps of surrounding land areas) in search of lost loved ones; and the community led Bear Clan Patrol, formed by Indigenous folks in the North End of Winnipeg who patrol the streets to help keep people safe and assist with searches for missing people (CBC News, 2015). Notably, both of these groups seek to build community around healing. Indigenous people are asserting their right to the city by being present in the community and

taking back the streets and the river, while filling in a needed gap where the state has neglected to do what is necessary to support and protect Indigenous people from violence in Winnipeg.

Bringing the concept of rights in relation to food, Indigenous people, and health together, points us to the need for a more socio-spatially grounded understanding of rights – a right to the city – as a theoretical framework for our case study on food insecurity as experienced by Indigenous women. The right to the city therefore would benefit from further research that investigates how Indigenous single mothers seek to participate in the city that forces women to tolerate intolerable circumstances - and in what ways are women able to resist against these circumstances.

Next, Chapter 3: Methods, will discuss the methodology driving the impetus of this thesis, Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR), the specific methods used in our study, and outline the procedures we followed adhering to a FPAR approach.

3.0 Methods

This chapter outlines the two-year study undertaken in partnership with Ka Ni Kanichihk Inc., a non-profit, wellness focused community agency that supports Indigenous people in Winnipeg. Together with eight women students of Ka Ni Kanichihk, we designed and carried out a Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) project to examine the complex relationships between food insecurity, racialization, mobility, and place. FPAR draws on feminist theory and participatory action research methods to provide a unique set of tools to address power and oppression in women's lives and in the research process; with the goal of co-creating knowledge and developing grounded solutions to change women's lives (Frisby, Maguire & Reid, 2009; Ponc, Reid, & Frisby, 2010).

In this chapter I provide a review of the theory and methodology chosen, FPAR, and its utility in conducting a geographic investigation of food insecurity. I focus the discussion on two methodologies that inform the project design: feminist theory and feminist ethnography. Then, I lay out several design elements of the project, including accounting for the unique challenges of the ethics process, research agreement, study context and recruitment methods. Finally, I describe the data collection and analysis procedures, including the key limitations of the methods chosen.

3.1. Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR)

The main methodological impetus driving this study is Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) as it was the most appropriate fit to undertake a critical case study on Indigenous women's experiences of food insecurity, with knowledge mobilization outcomes. FPAR is a research process that integrates critical feminist theories with participatory methodologies, providing the necessary framework for researchers and participants to collaboratively examine historically entrenched gender inequities that result in women's oppression (Frisby et al., 2009; Reid, 2004). Within FPAR the purpose

is to bring these two definitions closer together so that there is less of a power imbalance during the research process (although it can never be completely eliminated) (Ponic et al., 2010).

One main outcome of FPAR is to create circumstances that can transform the social and environmental conditions in women's lives (Cahill, 2007). Feminist participatory action research (FPAR) is an extension of Participatory Action Research (PAR) as they share the same goals of participation, action and inclusion among researchers and participants (Reinharz, 1992; Frisby et al., 2009), however, FPAR is unique as it provides a feminist theoretical framework to examine injustice, patriarchy and the unique and persistent forms of structural violence that are experienced by women as a result of their gender, race, class, or sexuality (hooks, 1989; Frisby et al., 2009; Lorber, 2010).

Importantly, the FPAR approach lends itself well to the development of university-community research partnerships, whereby researchers work in partnership with a community to develop a research project based on issues and concerns that are important to the community. According to Cahill (2007), PAR can be used to change the balance of power in research relationships by placing those who are most affected by the research process, and often the most excluded, at the centre of the project. As such, FPAR provides a particularly powerful and ethically appropriate approach to working within contexts where women experience intersecting forms of oppression based on gender and other forms of social marginalization and exclusion. For example, Absolon and Willett (2005), argue that working in partnership with Indigenous communities requires the research processes to be treated as important as the research outcomes, as it is during this process that reciprocal relationships are built that lay the foundation for knowledge sharing and creation. Thus, mutually respectful relationships are crucial to conducting an ethically appropriate research study that involves working closely with Indigenous women to honour their knowledge and lived experience.

FPAR seeks to change how knowledge is created by moving towards a more collaborative process of research whereby participants and researchers come together to develop real world solutions and advocate for social change (Reinharz, 1992). Accordingly, FPAR is an appropriate fit for our study, as my research philosophy is focused on creating meaningful action oriented research that respects and honours women's knowledge while creating opportunities for women to speak out, 'talk back' (hooks, 1989) and share stories that are not often told (see Anderson, 2001, 2011).

On the theoretical side, FPAR employs critical feminist theory to expose how gender inequities are built into every aspect of people's lives (Lorber, 2010). Feminism drives feminist theory by informing research and praxis (Peake, 2013). Feminist theory examines women's lives, particularly our social roles, our experiences, our interests, and life issues. Feminist theory in academia emerged through researchers who were critical of masculinist, empirical driven research in social sciences (Reid, 2004) and sought to challenge and critique dominant "white supremacist and patriarchal hegemonies" (hooks, 1989, p.36). Feminist theory is feminism at its roots- the philosophical and underpinning tenets of feminism that examines how "systems of domination" contribute to multiple forms of oppression as experienced by women and men (hooks, 1989). Ongoing oppression of women is reinforced through social systems such as religious and cultural practices (Stopler, 2003), education curricula (hooks, 1989, 1993; Reinhartz, 1992), representation in the media (see *Miss Representation*, 2011), and government systems and policies (i.e. Indian Act- see Sterritt, 2007; Palmater, 2014).

Feminism emerged as a tool to explain women's realities but also to resist against them and make people's lives better, or at the very least, less of a struggle. Feminism is an inclusive movement that examines a wide range of women's and men's experiences, while allowing space for interventions through political action to bring about social change (hooks, 1989; Reid, 2004). Feminist author and professor, bell hooks urges us to think about feminism as a movement to end patriarchal oppression, as

well as seeking to end all other forms of domination such as racial oppression or class exploitation (hooks, 1989). Therefore, it is crucial that feminist researchers understand that racism, class exploitation, and sexism are interlocking systems of domination (hooks, 1989). Feminism is a tool that has shaped my life and helped me to develop my research philosophy, which is focused on respecting and honoring women's knowledge, creating space to share their truths while seeking to confront and address the injustice they (and others) experience. As such, I am dedicated to a community based, action oriented, anti-colonial, feminist, anti-racist, and anti-oppressive research approach.

Particularly crucial to the discussion of feminism in the context of my research is Indigenous feminism. Indigenous feminism can be defined feminism that is focused on the unique struggles of Indigenous women due to experiences of colonization and the intersecting oppressions related to gender and race (Liddle, 2014). Liddle (2014) argues that Indigenous feminism is crucial to challenging oppressive systems such as white patriarchy and mainstream feminism, which many Indigenous women feel excluded from (Liddle, 2014). Similarly, adding a critique to the mainstream feminist movement, Williams and Kongsom point out that, "...we [Indigenous women] have the need to differentiate ourselves by race and politics because of historical injustices" (Williams & Kongsom, 2011, p. 27). Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a professor of Indigenous education in New Zealand wrote a critically acclaimed book in 1999 titled *Decolonizing Methodologies: Defining Research and Indigenous People*, which examined Western scholarly research with Indigenous communities. According to Tuhiwai Smith (1999), for many Indigenous people, the term research is associated with pain, distrust, and bad memories due to centuries of colonizers inhumane "scientific research" on Indigenous peoples. Further, she argues that we cannot discuss "research methodology and Indigenous people in the same breath" without first seeking to understand how research is embedded in imperialism and by extension- colonialism (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 2). This historical context informed our research project in several ways. As a non-

Indigenous researcher it was critical for me to ensure culturally appropriate research methods and sensitivity to issues of how research has been oppressive to Indigenous people. As such, our methods were revised on account of feedback from Indigenous elders who inform food security research in Manitoba, and from the partners at Ka Ni. Additionally, I spent time during my graduate degree learning about Indigenous culture and Canada's colonial history, by participating in several Indigenous ceremonies, and learning from Indigenous elders and folks in the Indigenous community who were willing to share their time with me.

The methodological impetus for FPAR comes from Participatory Action Research (PAR). The origins of PAR are traced to two main traditions (Wallerstein & Minkler, 2002). The northern (conservative) tradition, known as Action research, was first articulated by Kurt Lewin as early as the 1940s, who developed an approach to study post Second World War communities in America (Corbett, Francis & Chapman, 2007). Lewin developed an approach to inquiry that rejected positivism and the idea that researchers study an 'objective' world that they are separate from. Lewin tested this hypothesis in studies throughout the 1960s and 1970s, and successfully demonstrated action research can be used for the purposes of problem solving and changing human behaviour through education (Corbett et al., 2007).

The second, or southern (more radical) tradition emerged amidst the critical turn in the social sciences and humanities and more specifically was inspired by the emancipatory pedagogy of Paulo Freire working on issues of literacy and oppression in Brazil. Freire criticized the standard education model as one 'that mirrors oppressive society', and referring to it as a 'banking concept' of education whereby students are merely receptacles through which 'teachers' instill knowledge such that students are devoid of thinking and action (Freire, 1970, p. 72-76). Rather, "Freire instituted an approach that seeks to engage students and teacher in processes of equitable dialogue, critical thinking and reflection

whereby people teach each other; and together reach a state of ‘conscientization’ whereby people develop a critical consciousness and awareness of social reality – in particular the dialectical nature of oppressor-oppressed - through reflection and action” (Freire Institute, 2013). Freire called this ‘praxis’, which is defined as the practical application of theory. He argued that dialogue among people is not enough- together they must act upon their environment to provide for critical reflection on their social realities which will lead to further action to change oppressive circumstances in ways that emancipate both the oppressor and the oppressed (Freire, 1970).

Since the 1970s, many forms of participatory research grew to fill a void felt by researchers who questioned the usefulness of social science research that ignored power imbalances inherent in research relationships and disregarded the ethical consequences of data collection (MacGuire, 1987; Reid, 2004). Contemporary PAR typically takes the form of processes whereby participants and researchers collaboratively undertake research with the purpose of co- creating new knowledge and building theory; it offers a mobilizing framework for those committed to advancing social justice (Cahill, Quijada Cerecer & Bradley, 2010). It stems from the belief that people who have experienced oppression hold the knowledge and lived experience to frame the research questions that drive the process (Torre & Fine, 2006 as cited in Cahill et al., 2010). Within PAR, participants are encouraged to recognize their agency and work in collaboration with a researcher to define the problem or issue in their terms and seek solutions that are consistent with improving their quality of life (Kesby, 2000). PAR enables researchers to better understand people’s reflection on and analysis of reality, their worldview, and sense of self in the world by keeping participants at the centre of all stages of the research process (Reid, 2004). Langan & Morton (2009) argue that the social change agenda is crucial to PAR as participants are encouraged to reflect critically upon the historically entrenched political, cultural, social, economic or geographic contexts that contribute to their experiences of inequity (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). My commitment to

FPAR draws more from the second (southern) school of thought and PAR methodology, as it offers an approach to research that seeks not to do research on people, but rather with people to collaboratively take part in the research process and outcomes. My research approach was guided by these principles, and through processes of co-learning and education women were able to critically examine their own oppressive realities and reflect on the historical, political, social and geographic contexts that contribute to their food insecurity.

While earlier forms of participatory action research succeeded in confronting the complicity of positivist research in perpetuating oppression, it continued to reinforce androcentric worldviews, which still excluded women and discourses of women (MacGuire, 1987; Reid, 2004). Feminist research developed through the second wave of the feminist movement during a historically revolutionary time (1960's-1980's), when women began the then 'radical' research process of studying women (Reinharz, 1992, p. 7) and challenging how feminist theorization was produced and disseminated within academic realms (hooks, 1988, p. 36-37). Reinharz (1992) reflects on feminist research developing through the recognition that academia and educational institutions were dominated by masculinist scholarship; and feminist researchers saw a need to change this. Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) thus began to be implemented by the 1980's, extending Participatory Action Research (PAR) methods by confronting directly the relationship between gender and power both in research processes and, by extension, in the world (McKann & Kim, 2003). FPAR can contribute interdisciplinary knowledge to feminist theory that is more inclusive of wide range of women's experiences.

There are at least three components of FPAR that provide an ideal fit for a geographical investigation of Indigenous women's experiences of and resistance to food insecurity. First, geographers employing FPAR have enhanced inquiry into gender and place through the use of multiple methods to understand women's realities and lived experiences. Reinharz (1992) states that feminist research brings

together concepts from across multiple disciplines (e.g. geography, history, sociology, psychology, etc.) as a means to investigate complex human problems. For example, Williams & Lykes (2003) feminist PAR project with women in a post war transition in Guatemala utilized methodologies such as role playing and photovoice (see Wang & Burris, 1994). The purpose of this project was to encourage women to reflect on and document their experiences as survivors of domestic violence and war rape and ongoing struggle with structural poverty. Crucially, their interaction was focused on increasing women's agency, developing an action strategy based on women's voices and concerns, and maintaining a commitment to the process despite encountering challenges in the process. Williams and Lykes (2003) found that women's participation in research conflicted with traditional Guatemalan gender roles and expectations of others (i.e. husbands, the community) that restricted women's ability to speak freely about their experiences of oppression, thus in conflict with women's desires for empowerment. Effectively the authors showed how the interaction of gender and place reinforce women's oppression based on their social location, traditional gender roles, and an impoverished post-war community (Williams & Lykes, 2003). Yet, despite these challenges, the FPAR process facilitated reflection and action among women and allowed them to participate in individual and collective healing practices helpful to rebuilding their community (Williams & Lykes, 2003).

Second, the equitable research relationship component of FPAR stresses the importance of research processes, stressing the inclusion, participation, and action of women in all stages of research (Reid, Tom, & Frisby, 2006). Processes such as open dialogue, mutual support, and prolonged engagement, fosters a co-learning environment where participants can explore their past histories and present life circumstances to allow for a collective conscientization of experiences (Mies, 1993). For example, Cahill (2007) adopted a PAR approach to engage with young urban women of colour (n=6) for the purpose of understanding their experiences of growing up in the Lower East side neighbourhood in

NYC and challenging oppressive stereotypes the young women encounter. Cahill demonstrated the value of engagement in a collaborative process that facilitates the building of research skills and places marginalized voices at the centre of the research project. By employing participatory methods which engaged all team members in processes of co-learning such as journaling, mental maps, neighbourhood walking tours, focus groups and brainstorming sessions, they built collective capacity and developed creative avenues for women's voices and concerns to be heard. Their research group, *Fed up Honey's*, collaboratively developed 'stereotype stickers' and placed them in public locations in the Lower East Side, with the purpose of dismantling stereotypes and misrepresentations of young urban women of colour (Cahill, 2007).

Third, FPAR provides an opportunity for the mobilization of women to challenge multiple forms of injustice and advocate for social change. As the previous two examples demonstrated (Cahill, 2007; Williams & Lykes, 2003) seeking to dismantle gender inequity by an examination of how social processes interact with place can lead to the mobilization of women to speak out against injustice of life-altering events such as war rape and poverty or challenging stereotypes such as 'Lazy and on Welfare' (Cahill, 2007). FPAR allows for the testing of new and creative methods that contribute to building individual and collective capacity.

3.2 Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) and Food Insecurity

The following section will provide a brief review of how feminist research methods have been used to address food insecurity in women's' lives. A review of the literature revealed that there are few studies that have used FPAR in combination with geography to examine food security among Indigenous women in Canada. The most relevant case study that provided ample influence to this study is the groundbreaking 2010 study, *The Just City for Whom? Re-conceiving active citizenship for lone mothers in Canada*, by Penny Gurstein and Silvia Vilches. This study reported on Indigenous single

mothers' experiences with poverty, and the knock on effects on food provisioning, housing and childcare in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Gurstein & Vilches (2010) utilized a series of in-depth interviews every 6 months for a three year period from 2004-2006 to measure how changes in income assistance levels impacts mother's lives. Importantly Gurstein & Vilches (2010) revealed how women's roles as mothers and caregivers are overlooked in part due to the structural impediments within the city such as inappropriate social assistance levels and lack of governmental support, which impede their ability to actively participate in community life. Similarly, a key 2009 study utilized multiple methods including Indigenous research methodology such as storytelling circles with a web based component, and creation of an art mural, to investigate women's experiences of food insecurity caused by inadequate social assistance (Baskin, Guarisco, Koleszar-Green et al., 2009). Importantly, this study was driven by an anti-colonial framework that recognizes Indigenous women as change makers and leaders in their communities who have the knowledge to alleviate issues of food insecurity (Baskin et al., 2009). This work informed our FPAR study as the women co-researchers were driving force of our research as it is their knowledge and lived experiences of food insecurity that help us to best understand this issue.

Crucially, these studies have shown that women's socioeconomic status and experiences of place influence their ability to be food secure, while highlighting the creative strategies women employ to provide food for their families. However, there remains a lack of FPAR studies that investigate Indigenous women's experiences with food insecurity in Canada. The research and literature in this area would benefit from further studies that seek to examine how the interconnection of poverty, gender, and racialization contribute to Indigenous women's experiences of food insecurity; and the resulting impacts of their health and well-being.

3.3 Feminist Ethnography

Important to the PFAR process is a feminist ethnographic research approach, which some researchers draw upon to work closely with groups of women. Ethnographic investigation allows researchers to undertake a close study of people through methods such as observation and participation by interacting closely through the sharing of the same social space (Madden, 2009). Feminist ethnographers can adopt a participant observation approach to engage with participants in their social context with the purpose of understanding women's social realities, circumstances, and patterns of behaviour (Stacey, 1988; Reinharz, 1992). Feminist participant observation generally values openness to intimacy and strives for empathy, which Reinharz (1992) argues can be useful in the 'nurturing' field method whereby the foundation of research is on building relationships that allow for closeness to be achieved among women researchers and participants.

Reflexivity is a concept that often employed in ethnographic and feminist research studies, which allows researchers to critically reflect on how their positionality, privilege, biases/assumptions may affect the research process and outcomes (Angrosino, 2005). The process of undertaking critical research requires us to take a wider look at our lives, our own place in the world, and how we ourselves are oppressed and how we are participating in oppression. Marcus (1998) argues that adopting a feminist reflexive approach is crucial to understanding the 'politics of positionality'; therefore it is crucial for researchers who conduct feminist action research to address the underlying power imbalance between researcher and participants. By adopting a reflexive approach, a researcher recognizes that research is never completely objective, and can counter some criticism by revealing their positionality and biases. According to Madden (2009, p. 23), the more researchers are able to recognize their positionality and how they may influence the research process is crucial to creating a more reliable argument and picture about participant's lives. Going one step further, Audrey Kobayashi (2005) argues that issues of

reflexivity often become too fixed upon the researcher and the transformation that the researcher undergoes. She suggests that social transformation is the key to overcoming racism- not reflexivity (Kobayashi, 2005, p. 37). Kobayashi (2005) drew her conclusions based on her experience working with women to understand racialization and gender relations in Old Havana in Cuba. The women were more interested in her joining their project rather than just observing and trying to understand them, as they said it was important that she work with them to transform their lives on their own terms (Kobayashi, 2005). Similarly, in our project the women welcomed me to participate in our project activities and recreational outings with them and share new experiences together. I approached my interactions with the women by offering kindness, friendship and a listening ear, as opposed to just offering advice.

In an effort to critically examine her own position and discuss transparency, feminist ethnographer Judith Stacey reflected on her long-term engagement with ethnographic fieldwork. In an article titled, *Can there be a feminist ethnography?*, Stacey calls into question the inherent contradictions between the ethnographer's desire to represent themselves as an authentic person who is a friend and confidant yet also retains a self-interested and potentially exploitative agenda of pursuing a goal of a degree or publishing a paper (Stacey, 1988, p. 115). To deal with this dilemma in ethnographic feminist research Stacey (1988, p.121), suggests the "postmodern" solution is to be self-reflexive and fully admit to the limitations of the process and outcomes. Stacey argues that feminist ethnography may be worth "the moral costs involved" if there are benefits to the participants (Stacey, 1988, p. 121).

Both Stacey's and Kobayashi's experiences informed my own efforts to grapple with navigating the critical realms of an 'authentic person' and researcher who was inserting myself into a community of women that I did not belong to. In the next section, I specify how I aimed to design my project in a way that acknowledges my positionality as an academic research trainee. Recognizing my need to be transparent about both my related social (e.g. class, whiteness) and geographical (e.g. non-resident of

Indigenous and low-income neighbourhood) distance from my participants, I was nonetheless committed to a personal transformation that would be crucial to the building of trust and friendships necessary to engaging with women in the FPAR process. As such, my own reflexivity about my developing relationships with the women co-researchers were a critical part of the research process (see Section 3.5 Limitations for further explanation) and are interwoven in my writing to present a narrative interpretation of our collective experiences.

3.4 Procedures

We organized our project into three phases that correspond to the objectives as previously stated in Chapter 1.

PHASE 1: Partnership Development/Participant Recruitment (January- April 2012)

3.4.1 Recruitment and Study Design

To meet Objective 1, I began the process of creating a research partnership with Ka Ni Kanichihk. Ka Ni Kanichihk is an Indigenous led community organization that focuses on building wholeness and wellness in a culturally safe environment to build on the strength and resilience of Indigenous people and families living in Winnipeg. Often referred to as Ka Ni for short, this organization offers numerous day and evening programs devoted to education, employment training, health, and wellness, interwoven with traditional knowledge and ceremonies. As a result of discussions with my advisor Dr. Jeff Masuda on my interests in food security and feminism, and his connection to the community group Ka Ni Kanichihk through a previous community project they partnered on, Dr. Masuda initiated a meeting with Executive Director Leslie Spillett. After a successful discussion and mutually agreed upon research focus on food insecurity as experienced by their clients, I began to volunteer with Ka Ni Kanichihk in January 2011. Specifically, I worked with women enrolled in the 2012 *Honouring Gifts* program, that was developed for young Indigenous mothers aged 18-30, in response to high rates of unemployment,

underemployment and low educational outcomes experienced by some Indigenous women (Statistics Canada, 2006). The purpose of Honouring Gifts is to offer women educational and employment opportunities with the purpose of helping women to gain income stability, and achieve improved health and wellness. Specific program activities enable women to develop skills, determine a career or education plan, experience alternative career opportunities, and to provide training in a culturally safe and appropriate environment interwoven with Traditional Knowledge.

My collaboration with Ka Ni staff who facilitated the Honouring Gifts program led to the development of a Healthy Living/Food and Nutrition curriculum in the 2012 intake (February-November 2012). The purpose of this curriculum was to provide educational opportunities for women to expand their food knowledge and learn useful skills through food education programming (community kitchen, community gardening, traditional food knowledge, etc.) to gain a greater understanding of the role that food plays in their lives and their communities. Workshops in the Healthy Living Program (HLP) included cooking classes, food preparation skills, gardening, seminars and presentations from nutritional sciences students, mental health workshops, traditional teachings from community elders, and culturally relevant field trips such as medicine and berry picking. These workshops provided an ideal setting to embed a participatory project as I was able to develop relationships prior to recruitment of research team members. Additionally, the HLP complemented our research project's focus on food insecurity by enabling a greater understanding of how food affects our health (physical, mental, emotional, social), which also informed our discussions during data collection (i.e. go-along interviews, food journals).

Incoming participants of the 2012 Honouring Gifts program were invited to become research team members within a research project called 'Women's right to food'. Participant recruitment began in April 2012 and I provided all the participants of the Honouring Gifts program with an information letter

(See Appendix A). Eligibility criteria for community researchers included 1) Self-identified Indigenous status; 2) Social assistance recipient; and 3) Have one or more children. Ten participants who enrolled in Honouring Gifts and Healthy Living Program agreed to participate in the research study. However due to life circumstances two women were not able to continue on after they completed the Honouring Gifts Program at Ka Ni Kanichihk (November 2012) and were involved in the project for only a few months. Eight women participated in entire duration of the project over two year period (March 2012-March 2014).

3.4.2 Ethics

In April 2012 I submitted an ethics application to the University of Manitoba Joint-Faculty Research Ethic Board (JFREB), as required when research is conducted with human subjects. Prior to seeking University of Manitoba JFREB ethics approval I presented a condensed version of my proposal to my research partner, Ka Ni Kanichihk for their approval and/or suggested changes or additions, and a research agreement that outlined my adherence to the principles of First Nations Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP) of data obtained through this research project (see Appendix B). I addressed the OCAP principle of Ownership by agreeing to share ownership of data between the University of Manitoba and Ka Ni Kanichihk. Next, to address the principle of Control, all crucial research design and project decisions were made on approval of Ka Ni Kanichihk and adjusted when necessary. The project was designed and implemented through a co-learning environment where women were trained to be community researchers, and facilitated the core FPAR principles of participation, inclusion and action of women in all stages of the research project. To address the principle of Access, our agreement outlined shared access of all research data and results. All material collected through this research study will be used by the University of Manitoba and Ka Ni Kanichihk in mutually agreed upon formats. Finally, to address the principle of Possession, hard copies of the data, results and written documents pertaining to our project will reside in the possession of myself and a member of my

committee for five years required by the University of Manitoba protocol, however all data and material will be made available to Ka Ni upon request during this time. Any presentations and dissemination of results will be discussed with Ka Ni prior to undertaking. I will provide Ka Ni Kanichihk with a written copy of my thesis. I will also prepare a summarized report of my thesis for Ka Ni Kanichihk to use in future publications or grant applications. The research results may be published in an academic journal. Ka Ni Kanichihk and participants will be able to review and suggest changes before the documents are submitted, to ensure the manuscripts accurately reflect women's narratives.

I abided by Tri Council Guidelines on Research with Aboriginal people by adhering to the three principles that reflect the ethical value of respect for human dignity which include: Respect for Persons and Concern for Welfare, and Justice. Following the principle Respect for Persons, consent to participate in the research project was informed, free and ongoing between myself and all participants involved, including my research partner, Ka Ni Kanichihk. Because of the sensitive nature of this research, I focused on the participant's' welfare and well-being, by providing them any support, guidance, and assistance they required throughout the duration of this research project. To adhere to the principle of justice, the focus of this research is on telling women's stories of their food journeys by providing opportunities for women to speak for themselves rather than be spoken for. I actively involved my research partner, Ka Ni Kanichihk, and all participants in crucial stages of the research process (sharing of data, providing benefits of research participation, dissemination of results, etc.). I supported community interests by grant writing and co-facilitating programming at Ka Ni Kanichihk over the course of my research to improve food security for their members. As part of my research philosophy opportunities were created for capacity development for Indigenous women by training them as community researchers, and some women took on a larger role as a research assistant. Additionally, the co-researchers were offered honorarium for their time and participation in this project.

PHASE 2: Project Implementation/Fieldwork (May 2012- May 2013)

To achieve our second objective, we developed our FPAR approach through the use of multiple methods to investigate women's food journeys in Winnipeg. We implemented our project and conducted fieldwork over a one-year period from approximately May 2012- May 2013 in four phases (Project Planning, Training Sessions, Data Collection and Data Analysis), which are outlined below.

3.4.3 Project Planning

After receiving University of Manitoba JFREB ethics approval in May 2012 (See Appendix C), specific project activities were designed with input from Ka Ni community researchers including a period of bi-weekly or monthly sessions over a period of time from May 2012- August 2013. Fifteen project sessions were held which included training workshops, project meetings, focus group discussions and knowledge translation meetings.

We began our research study, 'Women's Right to Food', by organizing two introductory research project meetings. In our first project meeting we defined our research purpose and objectives, discussed personal safety and ethics, and obtained consent (See Appendix D for Project Introduction, Appendix E for Consent Form, and Appendix F for Release of Creative Materials). In our second meeting we reviewed proposed research methods and the proposed project timeline (See Appendix G). Planning continued to be adapted throughout the program through research team project meetings related to project development, which included discussions on key topics relevant to our research and women's experiences, data collection implementation, data analysis, and knowledge translation.

3.4.4 Research Training Sessions

In preparation for fieldwork, training sessions were held to train women to use the proposed research tools, including food journaling and photography (see Appendix H). We completed the food journal training in June 2013 (See Appendix I) and held a photography workshop (facilitated by a

professional photographer) in August 2013. The purpose of the workshop was to offer women another option for data collection to enhance their stories about their food journeys. As a result of this workshop three women utilized photography during our go-along interviews.

3.4.5 Data Collection

Participating as co-researchers women were offered the opportunity to choose from a suite of methods to chronicle the geographies of their own food journeys. We held a research meeting to review proposed data collection methods, including discussions about whether the methods were appropriate, feasible, and how we can adapt our methods as necessary to better suit women's needs.

We collected data using a combination of qualitative methodologies: (1) Participant Observation, (2) Participatory dialogues/project meetings, (3) Focus group interviews, (4) Go-along interviews, (5) Diary Photograph and Diary Interview Methodology, (DPDIM) (6) individual Interviews, and (7) Surveys. By using a variety of data collection methods women were able to choose the method(s) that suited their availability and that they felt comfortable participating in. Additionally, the use of multiple methods allowed for the integration of multiple layers of data to provide a more accurate reflection of women's experiences of food insecurity in the city. Table 1 below summarizes each woman's (n=8) participation in the selected data collection methods.

Table 1. Participation in Data Collection Methods

<u>Method</u>	<u>Participation Rate (n= 8)</u>
Go Along Interview	6
Individual interview	5
Focus Group 1	7
Focus Group 2	6
Focus Group 3	7
Food Journal	4
Knowledge Translation Activities	8

As shown in Table 1, there were varying levels of participating in data collection methods. The highest participation includes the knowledge translation activities as all of the women participated in at least one activity. Focus groups were well attended as they allowed for the women and I to come together (often over food) to discuss their experiences. The food journal exercise was not utilized by half of the women as several women explained they were more comfortable speaking about their thoughts as opposed to writing them down. Further, the food journal required an extra time and energy commitment to complete as journaling requires time for reflection, which not all women were able to offer.

Participant Observation

Participant observation (PO) is an ethnographic method in which a researcher actively takes part in the daily lives, rituals, and interacts with a group of people to seek understanding of and gain insight into their daily lives (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Madden, 2009). PO is a commonly used method in geography as it places value on the researcher gaining insight by being in the ‘same social space’ as participants in a research setting. PO aids researchers in understanding why and how people behave,

think and make sense of their daily lives and the world around them (Timmermans & Tavory, 2007, p. 497).

I became a participant observer by volunteering at Ka Ni approximately 20-30 hours per week over a 10-month period (February 2012-December 2012). My main duties included co-facilitation of the healthy living program every Friday, which ran from February to December 2012. I participated in the development of the healthy living curriculum, organized program activities, facilitated classes, provided support to the women, and provided transportation to program events. The women participants of this program were equally committed by continually attending Healthy Living Friday classes, contributing to curriculum development, sharing their knowledge and personal stories, supporting their own and co-participants' health and well-being, assisting with facilitation of program activities, providing evaluative feedback, and participating in knowledge translation activities. Healthy Living Program activities included: Community cooking classes, community garden, nutrition seminars, health workshops (mental, emotional health), food security discussions, and field trips (apple picking, urban farm visit, beach/hike, Folk Festival).

I spent approximately 2-3 days at Ka Ni Kanichihk during the week (Monday- Thursday) prior to our healthy living class on Friday preparing for our classes, planning activities and actively engaging with the women. My role as a participant observer enabled me to share the same social space as the women and develop relationships in an informal setting, such as gathering over food or coffee, assisting them with class work, providing transportation, or just being available for conversation. The women's contributions are highly appreciated as their lives are filled with hectic school, work, and daycare schedules, not to mention personal commitments and relationships, long bus journeys, challenges related to poverty and food insecurity, all of which take time and effort. Thus, participant observation can be

limited in the sense of not ‘seeing’ these very important facets of life that are essential ingredients to women’s knowledge and their life stories- that also impact women’s health and well-being.

Detailed field notes were recorded in a research journal from February 2012 to December 2012 to record observations, interactions, and conversations that the women researchers and I shared. During the intensive participant observation phase I would record a journal entry for each day/interaction I had with the women at Ka Ni. Importantly, writing this information down and reflecting on my interactions with the women served to record my understanding of women’s lives (personal stories, histories), our relationship development, and information related to our research questions and objectives. The most significant amount of time I spent with the women was during our healthy living project activities such as group discussions, gardening, cooking classes, field trips, or workshops where we did activities together but also spent time getting to know one another. Interestingly, one crucial setting that allowed me to share time and conversation with the women is when I would provide transportation for them in my car - whether it was during our healthy living classes, providing a ride home, or to help women with errands (i.e. to get bus tickets, groceries or go to the bank, etc.). These occasions provided a comfortable and private space for us to get to know each other and to share details of our lives. For example, during one on one time with women or in a smaller group, they often shared different challenges or we had time to talk more about certain research topics. For example, on a car ride during a healthy living outing to Folk Festival, we discussed women’s discriminatory and racist encounters with social assistance workers. I listened attentively, asked questions when appropriate and recorded field notes in my research journal when I got home. Analysis of this data enhanced the results as it provided for a rich accounting of women’s lives, which helped me to understand who they were, how they make sense of the world and their surroundings, and provided insight into how living in a persistent state of food crisis affects their health and well-being.

Participatory dialogues/project meetings

Specific project activities were designed in collaboration with Ka Ni community researchers in 10 participatory dialogue sessions over a one-and-a-half-year period (June 2012- September 2013). The purpose of the participatory dialogue sessions/project meetings was to dedicate time on a bi-weekly/monthly basis and create a safe space to collaboratively design and implement a FPAR project with the purpose of addressing inequity experienced by low-income Indigenous women in Winnipeg, specifically focusing on how food insecurity contributes to negative health outcomes. Adhering to a co-learning pedagogy (Freire, 1972), project meetings provided opportunities for group learning on a number of issues including: (1) The role of food in women's lives- food histories, food and identity, health effects of food insecurity, barriers to food provisioning in the city and food journeys; (2) Crucial topics related to our research including: Feminism, the Right to Food, discrimination, activism- including discussions on what these terms mean to us; how are they reflected in our lives; and how can we use them to mobilize and create action; and (3) Reflection on the data we collected together and how we could use our results to influence social change (See PHASE 3 Knowledge Mobilization).

The project sessions were held at accessible community locations. Several sessions were held at Ka Ni Kanichihk (June 2012- January 2013), and the remainder of sessions (February- September 2013) were held at Mary Jane's cooking school (Arlington Street) and at a community centre in the West End of Winnipeg. We normally met for 2-3 hours at each meeting, typically over dinner, which allowed us to share a meal together while working on our research project. I took field notes during each session and all discussions pertaining to data collection were digitally recorded. The project discussions were primarily unstructured and informal which facilitated more authentic accounts of the women's experiences, enabled their voices to be heard and allowed them to share their stories in a safe environment. Additionally, we drew on a range of participatory diagramming methods (Pain & Francis, 2002; Freire, 1970) including charts, list making, collages, body maps, and photography as part of our

dialogue sessions. These methods provided necessary guidance for the mutual sharing of experiences, thoughts, and feelings that express women's perspectives on a range of topics. For example, we held a workshop where we worked in groups of four to identify how food affects our holistic health- that is physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health. Women were asked to work in groups to identify negative and positive ways food affects their health in each category. After this exercise, our group discussion and reflection led to us to a greater understanding of the connection between food, food insecurity, and health outcomes in more ways than just beyond physical; food insecurity can impact all areas of our health.

For each project meeting/dialogue session I developed a simple agenda to guide our discussions that we reviewed at the beginning of each meeting. Using this as a guide we would sometimes add items to discuss or table for the next meeting. Our participatory dialogue sessions served the dual purpose of creating opportunities for women to directly confront their collective food insecurity, while adopting research strategies that led to the generation of individual and collective knowledge. Most importantly, these sessions provided regular opportunities for us to share personal experiences, grow our relationships, and develop a more critical consciousness of our understanding of the social systems operating that impact us, which in turn enabled the development of an informal support/health network and our research collective, *Women's Right to the City*.

Focus Group Interviews

Within feminist research, focus groups are a useful method to gain insight into participants lived experiences (Wilkinson, 1998). The group setting reduces the pressure of feeling the need to produce an answer, while simultaneously allowing participants to build upon the responses of others. The focus group format consisted of a mix of semi-structured (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011) and unstructured questions to allow for an in-depth discussion as issues arise in regard to food insecurity and women's lived experiences. Unstructured interviews are useful at gaining insight into people's lived experiences

(Bernard, 2011) because it allows for building rapport and is particularly useful for researchers who conduct long-term fieldwork with the same group of participants.

Throughout the project we held four focus group discussions. Our first focus group interview (June 2012) centered on women's lived experiences with food and food insecurity in the city, including the specific locations and concomitant experiences that took place during women's food journeys (See Appendix J). The second focus group discussion in August 2012 investigated women's relationships with food and food histories to gain a better understanding of how past and present experiences with food insecurity influence our health (See Appendix K). Our third focus group (November 2012) focused on knowledge translation where we brainstormed ideas of how we can use our results to inform others, who we want our target audience to be, and what are the most effective formats for sharing our research. Finally, our last focus group in September 2013 engaged women in a critical reflection of the research process and outcomes (see Appendix L).

Go-along interviews

To provide women with an opportunity to more specifically contextualize and reflect on their food geographies, I conducted one-on-one go-along interviews with most participants (n=6). Go-along interviews are a "hybrid of participant observation and interviewing" that allow researchers to observe participants' everyday experiences following their natural patterns of movement (Kusenbach, 2003). They have also proven useful when investigating health effects in local neighbourhood contexts as they provide the researcher with a more robust understanding of the social and geographic contexts associated with experiences (Carpiano, 2008). Similarly, Kusenbach (2003) found go-along interviews to be useful for gaining insight into how people's everyday spatial practices influence their experience of place and how this contributes to their sense of self and understanding of the world. I completed the go-along interviews over a two-month period (September- November 2012), where I accompanied each woman (sometimes with children) on her typical food journey.

A food journey is a concept that I defined, which describes the totality of social, emotional, health, cultural and physical geographies, including public and private sector systems and structures (e.g. Public transit, taxis, grocers, charitable food system, etc.) that work to facilitate or restrict women's access to provision necessary food resources for themselves and their families. A food journey is best understood as a complex process that not only includes a physical journey outside the home, but also the preparations one takes for food provisioning. A journey does not necessarily 'begin' the moment a person leaves the door, but rather is an ongoing process of negotiations and compromises that lead up to that departure. This may include arranging/adjusting for child care, saving money, scheduling around multiple destinations, obligations and store hours, making lists, budgeting, comparison shopping, calling food banks, and arranging transportation.

During these sessions, I followed an impromptu interviewing style to allow for a natural flow of conversation and to create a more relaxed environment for women to share their intimate experiences (See Appendix M for Go-Along Interview Guide). For each go-along interview, I met each woman at their location of residence and then we went on what would be a typical food journey. We travelled together to all the usual places each woman accessed food including food banks, grocery stores, discount stores, and convenience stores. Less expected (for me) but (as I learned) importantly, we also traveled to places along the routes such as stopping to use public bathrooms, banks, and laundromats. We followed their typical routes and transportation methods, including: Walking, public transportation, rides from family members and in only one case, a personal vehicle. The go-along interviews enabled a greater understanding of the complexity of women's food journeys through the city, including their modes of transportation, experiences, practices, and knowledge about the places they travel to access food in the city.

Diary photograph and Diary interview methodology (DPDIM)

Diary photography and Diary interview methodology (DPDIM) is a useful tool for participants to track their daily social, cultural and geographic activities, which can provide rich insight into otherwise seemingly ordinary experiences (Latham, 2003). Women were given the opportunity to chronicle their foodscape stories through research diaries, and were invited to include photography, art, and testimonials. Personal diaries can also be useful for evaluating the impacts of projects that aim to increase awareness of an issue, or activities that focus on personal development as they provide an opportunity for participants to reflect upon their daily activities and involvement in a project.

Women were asked to chronicle their food journey stories - all the activities, actions, experiences, thoughts, and emotions about food, in 'food journals' over a 1-3-month period. This exercise asked women to think about all the ways that their food journeys are influenced by the geography of the city, the people they encounter, and the places they travel to. Additionally, women were asked to reflect on the decision-making processes, their thoughts, feelings, and emotions that encompass their food journey. The women participated in a one-hour training session where we discussed a basic outline of what to record, which included: (1) Locations women visit to purchase, acquire or consume food and explanations for choosing these locations; (2) Memorable encounters or experiences with people or places at points along their food journey and; (3) Thoughts, emotions, and any other relevant information pertaining to the food journey. While this framework provided a basic template for women to follow, each took differing approaches in how and what they wrote in their food. Eight women participated in this exercise, and six journals were returned. The content of each journal varied from some women saving their receipts and recording the food they purchased and consumed, whereas others wrote entries or lists (typically ½- 1 page long) describing some part of their food journey. Three of the women focused on describing the challenges of their food journeys, including worries about their budget not being enough to obtain all the food they need for their kids. Interestingly, one woman documented

some survival strategies that are part of her food journey such as couponing, and buying things in bulk that are on sale. All six women recorded the amount they spent on their groceries purchased- either for one journey or for the month. I checked in with the women weekly about their progress with the journals and if they had any questions.

Individual Interviews

A combination of semi-structured and unstructured individual interviews took place with seven participants after the food journal and go-along interview from November 2012- January 2013. The purpose was to facilitate reflection of the research process and the data we collected (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011) An interview guide was developed to provide an initial starting point for the interview, however the direction of the interview was guided by the discussion that arose (See Appendix N for Individual Interview Guide). Each interview ranged from 20-45 minutes and was digitally recorded. The individual interviews provided an opportunity for reflection on how women's food journeys may have changed throughout the duration of our research project. We reviewed women's food journals, and discussed in particular how the change of seasons in Winnipeg from fall to winter influence their food journeys. All interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Survey

Surveys can be useful to gather quantitative data about a particular phenomenon. The women were asked to complete one short questionnaire for some follow up demographic questions related to their sources of income, how much income was allocated to groceries per month, and if they resided in Manitoba Housing (See Appendix O). We also asked participants at our Women's Right to Food Workshop at the Growing Local Conference to fill out a survey about attitudes towards Indigenous people and food insecurity (See Appendix P).

Phase 3: Data Interpretation/Knowledge Mobilization (June 2013- October 2013)

3.4.6 Data Analysis

I employed a grounded theory approach to data analysis, which is a method often used by social scientists because it allows for themes to emerge based on the theoretical concepts driving the research process (Urquhart, 2013). Grounded Theory Method (GTM) was first defined by sociologists Glaser and Strauss in 1967 as, “the discovery of theory from data” (Glaser & Strauss, p.1). All interview data, including individual interviews, focus groups and go-along interviews, were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. To ensure continuity of analysis, the data collected from the women’s food journals, my own research journal, field notes and memos were typed and imported into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 10.0, along with all interview transcripts and photographs. The integration of data sources in NVivo provides a rigorous method to code selected information from multiple sources. I began with free coding the go-along interviews, followed by the focus group interviews, individual interviews, memo’s/field notes, women’s’ research journals and finally my own research journal. My research journal notes were recorded based on my experiences as a volunteer and participant observer at Ka Ni Kanichihk. Journal notes served the dual purpose of recording my day-to-day observations of the organization and my interactions with the women, and as a measure of time and progress through the research process. Crucially, this step provided insight into how our research process, ideas and relationships had grown over time, as well as how women’s lives may have changed over the course of our project. I coded the data to select relevant information that was based on our research questions, objectives and theoretical perspectives that guided the study. After free coding the data, I then moved the initial codes into interpretive themes that reflected the theoretical framework of the study (Hay, 2010, p. 285) and addressed our research questions.

Drawing on the principles outlined by grounded theory, throughout the duration of my project I continually generated themes out of the emerging data and revised them as my immersion in the project and data collection deepened. The major themes and subthemes that emerged out of the data were

reviewed with the participants to ensure they accurately reflected the data we collected together and the results that we wanted to share. This informed how subsequent methods were undertaken including how our individual and collective knowledge and experiences were used to develop knowledge dissemination activities. These themes became the first draft of my results. However after edits and feedback from my advisor we realized that these themes were not the best way to present the data. I re-evaluated the themes and hand coded my data. I printed all the transcripts and cut them and posted them onto large sheets of paper to help me visualize what were the themes this data was telling me. The final themes emerged after several rounds of revisiting the data and comparing women's stories for similarities and differences. The results are presented in a biographical approach, using each woman's story as illustrative of a major theme, while also integrating perspectives of others into each where appropriate. I will present a summary of the themes to after the women's biographies/journey's to outline the major themes and further points of discussion for Chapter 5.

3.4.7 Knowledge Translation/Mobilization

Both integrated and end-of-project knowledge translation are crucial components in FPAR because one of its primary goals is to create social change through collective action. Crucially, the social change agenda in FPAR encompasses many creative ways people can collaborate to share their knowledge with others.

To achieve Objective 3, that is to translate and mobilize women's knowledge of inequitable food provisioning experiences into social action that challenges conventional approaches to improving food security, we focused the latter part of our project discussions (June 2013- October 2013) on how we can use our findings to mobilize at the community and policy levels. We didn't just want to name the problem, we wanted to do something about it. This happened in two ways. First, the women shared stories with me and with the public about how they began to publicly speak out against racist encounters, most notably on the bus, in grocery stories, or at their workplace. We developed general

recommendations based on what the women co-researchers said would create more stability and security in their lives (see Recommendations, Section 5.5 and Appendix R) and we planned to send letters to key stakeholders such as Winnipeg Transit, Winnipeg Harvest, Employment and Income Assistance, and grocery stores. Second, all the women in our group participated in at least one of our Knowledge translation activities from November 2012- March 2014. We held a knowledge translation workshop in November 2012 hosted by Mike Tuthill from the community organization Health in Common. During this workshop we brainstormed ways to mobilize and disseminate our research results which included presentations, workshops, a video, zine, etc. Our project meetings from May 2013- October 2013 focused on developing and implementing knowledge translation strategies including: Conference presentations, workshops, radio program interviews, and a Facebook page (See Appendix Q for Knowledge Translation Activities). Through these activities women shared their stories to dispel stereotypes about Indigenous women, single parents, and people on a low-income in general, and to connect with others who have experienced similar challenges. To close out the knowledge translation phase of this research project, I will finish my commitments to Ka Ni and the women including the publication of this thesis and a community report.

3.5 Limitations

Despite researchers' best efforts to support a collaborative and inclusive research process, people exposed to research can still be vulnerable to the effects, and as such the capacity for action-oriented change may be limited. Many authors have written about the limitations of feminist community based and participatory action research methods and have addressed issues such as the complexity of university-community partnerships (Ponic et al., 2010; Langan & Morton, 2009); limited time and capacity for action research to influence larger social change beyond immediate changes in people's lives (Pain & Francis, 2002); levels of participant engagement and expectations of researchers and

unrealistic expectations of FPAR to more fully address power imbalances in the research process (Frisby et al., 2009). In my study, there are four key limitations to take note of.

First, one of the most complex components of a FPAR research project is the development and maintenance of a university-community research partnership. Langan & Morton (2010) reflect on their individual and collective 10-year experience with FPAR and discuss how complex tensions arose within their community partnership due to differing agendas and power differences that affected the research process and outcomes. I can attest to experiencing similar complex tensions during my experience over two years working in partnership with Ka Ni Kanichihk, particularly with gaining access, building trust, and time commitment. A common challenge researchers face in community oriented research projects is the time consuming and often difficult task to gain access and seek permission of the gatekeeper (s), yet it is a crucial step in developing a research relationship (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 43-50). I spent over a year volunteering at Ka Ni offering assistance and hopefully not taking up too much time or getting in the way. At the same time I asked staff to spend some of their limited and precious time to collaborate on our research project. This project would not have been possible without the support and facilitation of access from Ka Ni staff. Understandably, as with any new relationship, it took time, openness and patience for our relationship to build trust, intimacy and the respect needed to discuss and collaborate on our research project. Naturally, this is an expected part of the research process, yet I did not fully anticipate how the time needed in the relationship building stage would conflict with the confines of the 'academic' research timeline.

The development and maintenance of a university/community research relationship requires a researcher to be cognizant and navigate multiple relationships within the community while meeting the demands of academia. I often struggled with my multiple roles at Ka Ni as a program facilitator, researcher and friend, which limited my time to meet the demands of taking care of my own health, my

personal life and the demands of academia. In our project I scheduled my time, first and foremost, with research meetings, project coordination as my priority, as it was crucial to the efficient undertaking of the study. The resulting limitation is that I often felt disorganized, or that we did not have enough time to fully collaborate and discuss the meanings and potential of this research. Therefore, more time must be allocated for the development and maintenance of a community research partnership in such studies, and this must be reflected in the academic timeline. It would also be beneficial to complete a multi program study such as this with a research team (or assistant), and/or reserve this type of study to a longer program of study (i.e. doctoral level studies).

Second, as researchers we must reflect on our process and ask ourselves- how much we can ask of our participants before it become too much that conflicts with other areas of their lives? Ponick, Reid, and Frisby, (2010) asked themselves a similar question when they reflected on their collective 10-year experiences in participatory action research, and suggested that they were idealistic in their expectations of easily engaging research participants and the amount of work/time that they expected their participants to contribute. Ponick et. al, (2010) reported that they felt they could have gone further to help participants develop research skills that would allow them to collaborate more fully and that they could have. Similarly, I often expected a higher level of engagement and time from my participants, yet I did not fully understand their lives, what they really went through, how it felt, etc. I only saw a glimpse into their daily lives. I feel more time was needed to work through complex ideas and concepts to truly build women's research skills and capacity. For example, certain methods were not appropriate or feasible for all women to complete, such as the food journaling exercise. I did not adequately address the participants literacy competency or their comfort level, interest, or time to write. However, some women did find this exercise useful and it further reinforced women's insights into lived experiences with food

insecurity. Most of our time was spent discussing women's food journeys during the go-along interviews or in project meetings/participatory dialogue sessions.

Additionally, I overestimated the amount of work that our group could complete, as we did not achieve all of our goals (we planned numerous knowledge translation activities- such as the publication of our zine, final event, etc.). However, we did complete a range of activities that were time appropriate and effective (two presentations, two radio show interviews). The result of this limitation is that I was not able to help the women develop a greater understanding of the methods we utilized, how they can be beneficial and also to help them further develop skills in research training. This also showed me that as a researcher and facilitator we must spend more time on building the framework and understanding of research concepts by asking questions such as, what is the purpose of this research and how can we best use this framework to create individual and community change?

Finally, although the goal of FPAR is to dismantle and change inequitable power relationships inherent in the research process, Many researchers argue that the researcher still maintains significant control and power in a research study (Stacey, 1988; Langan & Morton, 2010), and existing gaps among academic, professional, lay discourses and research budget perpetuate power imbalances (Frisby et al., 2009). Similarly, our research project perpetuated these same gaps and power imbalances as I found myself uncomfortable, seemingly in control of so many decisions within our project and research partnership. I had a considerable amount of power in dictating the direction of the research by my own interpretations. The gap in coming together was often between the different skills sets that each partner brought to the table and the differing demands of academia (i.e. emphasis on theory, coursework, papers, conference presentations) and the organization (i.e. daily critical issues to address in women's lives' and their safety, health, well-being). More optimistically, Ponc et. al (2010), suggest power is not always negative because researchers are trying to affect change while being accountable for their

actions. Engaging in a meaningful reflexive process can encourage dialogue with participants about power and how a researcher's power influences perceptions, interpretations, and narratives that are created (Frisby et al., 2009). Part of my contribution to the research partnership was offering useful skills in conducting a research project, providing organizational support and project funding, while the community of Ka Ni welcomed me and shared their knowledge and experience with me. Together we created a relationship based on respect and mutual support that enabled the co-creation of research and knowledge. Therefore, although we did not erase power imbalances, we did the best we could and created space for the development of new approaches to research driven by a shared sense of justice. By adhering to Ka Ni's mandate on health and well-being, facilitating opportunities for women to gain access to education and employment and empowering women to gain financial independence, our mutual hope is that women will break free from the confines of the oppressive state.

In sum, despite these challenges, FPAR proved to be a worthwhile approach to undertake this research. FPAR enables researchers to employ flexible, adaptive or multiple methodologies that are extremely beneficial in situations where there are differing capacities and interests of research team members. Crucially, our process proved as important as the outcomes of our research, as the friendships we developed allowed us to build closeness and experience individual and collective transformations, while developing a unique understanding and way to address injustice and push for social change.

4.0 Results

This chapter describes the results of our case study on Indigenous single mother's experiences with poverty and food insecurity in Winnipeg. First, I introduce our research team and describe how the themes of our results will be presented. Next, I define and elaborate on the concept of a food journey and provide context for our chosen use of this term. Then, I share each co-researcher's' food journeys as described to me and within our research group, including the ways in which it highlights specific intersecting sociospatial oppressions that are evident within women's geographies of the city. Finally, this chapter concludes with a summation of our results, and highlights the points that will be expanded upon in Chapter 5.

4.1 Co-researchers: Who is our research team?

Our research team consisted of eight Indigenous single mothers aged 18-30 who participated in the 2012 Honouring Gifts program at Ka Ni Kanichihk Inc., and myself a female graduate student at the University of Manitoba. The women co-researchers all resided in various neighbourhoods throughout Winnipeg. The women who were involved in this project are amazing individuals who shared a commonality around motherhood and similar life experiences of living in food insecure environments in the city. All the women involved in this project were incredibly hardworking, resilient, kind and generous people. The participants remained committed to our project for a three-year period, despite busy lives, hectic schedules, personal commitments, and challenges. Please see Table 2 below for demographic characteristics of the women co-researchers.

Table 2. Participant Demographic Information

Participant	Age	Number of Children	Neighbourhood of Residence	Primary transportation method	Income Source
Mary	23	2	North End	Walking, public transit	EIA, Child Tax Benefit
Regina	22	2	North End	Walking, public transit, taxi cab	EIA, Child Tax Benefit
Kim	26	5	North End	Walking, public transit, taxi-cab	EIA, Child Tax Benefit
Candace	28	1	West End	Car	EIA, Child Tax Benefit
Tina	25	2	St. Vital	Walking, public transit	EIA, Child Tax Benefit
Mesa	29	2	North End	Walking	EIA
Sabrina	28	2	Downtown	Walking, public transit, taxi cab	EIA, Child Tax Benefit, Employment
Liz	29	2	St. Boniface	Public transit, walking, car	EIA, Child Tax, Employment

It is important to note that although there were ten women researchers that took part in varying stages of our project, only eight stories are shared in greater detail in this chapter. For many reasons, several women could not participate for the entire duration of the project. Therefore, I did not feel that there was not enough information to meaningfully portray their food journeys in an individual story. Their contributions however were important to our research and my own learning process, and their co-operation and participation in the study, is truly appreciated.

Throughout the results section we refer to several government social support agencies in Manitoba, namely Employment and Income Assistance (social assistance), Manitoba Housing, and Child and Family Services (CFS). Table 3 below summarizes these agencies:

Table 3. Government Social Support Agencies in Winnipeg, Manitoba

Social Support Agency	Brief Summary	Eligibility Criteria	Main limitations
Manitoba Housing Authority (MHA)	Provides “social and affordable housing” to people in Manitoba through either the Social Housing Rental Program or the Affordable Housing Rental Program	Yes. Applicants must have income below the Rental Program Eligibility and Income Limit ²	Long waiting list, unsafe housing conditions ³
Employment and Income Assistance	Provides income for Manitobans “who have no other way to support themselves”. Provide some assistance for rental housing and job help	Yes. Limits on amounts single vs. families can receive. ⁴ If deemed eligible to work, you must look for a job and report progress	Not enough income to meet basic needs. Rental allowance is not enough for single people ⁵
Child and Family Services (CFS)	Mandate is to ensure care and welfare for all children in Manitoba	Must have a stable place to live for kids to reside with parents	Disproportionate rate of Indigenous children in care ⁶ ; deaths of Indigenous kids in care

² See Manitoba Housing Rental Program Eligibility for more information: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/housing/progs/pil.html>

³ See May 30, 2017 CBC article, 'Beyond frustrated': Manitoba Housing tenants cry out for better living conditions.

⁴ See 'EIA for Single Parents' for more information: http://www.gov.mb.ca/fs/eia/eia_single_parents.html

⁵ See 'Fast Facts: Government responds to calls to increase EIA shelter allowance: <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/commentary/fast-facts-government-responds-calls-increase-eia-shelter-allowance>

⁶ See, 'Indigenous child welfare rates creating 'humanitarian crisis' in Canada, says federal minister': <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/crisis-philpott-child-welfare-1.4385136>

4.2 Food Journeys

The following section will share women’s stories of their food journeys in Winnipeg. As we defined in Chapter 3, a food journey takes into account the deeply relational and interconnected nature

of the social, emotional, health, cultural and physical geographies of food, including public and private sector systems and structures (i.e. Public transit, taxis, grocers, charitable food system, etc.) that facilitate or restrict women's access to necessary resources. As the results will show, the food journey concept, as elaborated in the full narratives of women co-researchers, provides a useful framework for understanding the oppressive geographies of food acquisition in the city.

To give respect to the intimate and detailed knowledge that was provided to me by my co-researchers, I present a complete narrative of each of the women co-researcher's stories, synthesizing perspectives they shared with me and highlighting examples where personal journeys connect with each other through an overarching thematic synthesis. Several themes make up this synthesis, representing the specific dimensions of women's food journeys, including: The pernicious impacts of housing instability on food, Social location/neighbourhood safety and violence, Transportation and mobility, Food insecurity and mental health, Lack of safe and affordable food, Criminalization of Public Spaces, Social assistance and the cycle of poverty, and Charitable food systems.

The following sections are organized geographically rather than thematically, with each theme woven into a specific story in a way that ties together the personal and the structural geographies of the city. Moreover, presenting the results in this way ensures that women's creative survival strategies are honoured and left intact so that they may be instructive for other women in similar circumstances, for frontline practitioners, community leaders, and for policymakers in positions to rectify oppressive food geographies.

4.2.1 I'm not going to let nobody get in the way of our home, especially for my children:" The pernicious impacts of housing instability on food (Mary's Story)

Mary is in her early twenties and resides in the North End of Winnipeg with her partner and their two young children. Mary is originally from Split Lake, Manitoba, Tataskweyak Cree Nation, and

moved to Winnipeg with her family in 2001. At the time of the study, Mary was a recipient of Employment and Income Assistance (EIA) and lived in the North End of Winnipeg with 10 other family members, which meant a full house with a lot of people to feed. Although not an ideal living situation, Mary expressed that she was thankful for being able to share a home with such a wonderful and supportive family. Mary said that by living with family they could share food expenses and other duties such as grocery shopping and cooking. The downside of this was that Mary's food decisions were dictated by what her family eats and collectively chooses to purchase. Mary elaborated on her food journey during an individual interview in October 2012:

The 20th I think; you know child tax [day]. That's when we pretty much stock up on stuff, because we have to feed a household. And the kind of foods we buy. We always buy like the same thing.

Mary explained that although her family budgets together, sometimes they do not have enough to purchase everything they need:

The one store didn't have bread the last time we bought so we went to another one. Just like a couple blocks from where we live and it cost more. So sometimes when we buy groceries we make our list and the case of eggs will be there, on our list and by the time we're done buying our groceries, we can't afford it.

Mary's food journey was thus very much connected to that of her extended family. Mary's ability to purchase the quantity and types of food she preferred was impacted by her joint budgeting with her family. During one interview, Mary shared that the most relevant way for her to change her purchasing and consumption habits would be to find alternate housing for her family.

In October 2012, Mary signed onto a waitlist for the Manitoba Housing Program, where she remained for over one and a half years. Manitoba Housing offered a more affordable solution for some women but also presented several problems. Not only were the wait times long, as reported by half of

the women in our group, but the conditions of housing were typically reported to be poor by the women as well as other frustrated citizens in Winnipeg (CTV News, 2016). Mary and others shared stories of bed bugs, inadequate infrastructure, repairs needed, high “extra” repair charges, long wait times, and segregated, yet crowded communities. Several women explained that the location of Manitoba Housing units are often inconvenient as they are located away from major transportation routes and essential services such as hospitals, daycare, and education facilities. Further, transit buses and stops are not easily able to accommodate women with children in strollers and groceries, yet they are the ones who use public transit the most. Importantly, discussions on women’s housing situations revealed deeper insight into women’s food journeys, as their journeys are heavily dependent on where they live.

Several of the women preferred to try to find affordable housing that was outside of the Manitoba Housing program, yet there were other factors that impacted their ability to secure housing such as encountering racism when searching for a place to rent, affordability of healthy spaces, neighbourhood safety, bed bugs issues or accessibility to grocery stores, childcare options, and accessible transportation routes. However, we noticed that in Manitoba Housing spaces or in other low-income rental housing, there is the potential for issues to overlap such as occurrences of bed bugs, inadequate infrastructure, safety issues, and racialized encounters. We spoke about how housing instability is intricately connected to women and their children’s well-being. The women shared a sense of fear that accompanies housing instability and the worry that CFS will take their children away if they do not have a place to live. The current CFS mandate includes removal of children from parents who are experiencing homelessness. Fear of eviction can prevent women from reporting serious problems such as water damage, mold, and bed bugs to their landlords..

After remaining on the waitlist for Manitoba Housing for one and a half years, Mary and her partner decided to look for alternate housing options. Mary explained that it was difficult to find

housing, but they eventually found an apartment in the North End. Unfortunately, a discriminatory encounter occurred in her home shortly after her family moved in. Mary recounted her experience:

The landlord and a tenant that lives in the same building came knocking on my door, I answered the door they asked if I had a party last night I said no. Honestly my boyfriend and his friend drank a 15 pack, I didn't want drinking in our new home whatsoever but I agreed this one time just because he works so hard to provide for our family. When they were at the door they had an empty beer can that I think my boyfriend's friend might of thrown over our balcony. Well not knowing he threw the can over our balcony, the empty beer box was on top of our fridge the guy and landlord both saw that. So the tenant said, 'See their natives, they are drunken Indians'. He's like 'pack your bags you gotta go'. Surprisingly the landlord was agreeing with him like we got to move out and she didn't say anything about the racist comment he made. But she came back by herself a little while later saying we have one more chance and that was the only incident we had. Just because he saw an empty beer box doesn't make us drunken Indians. Then I had to think like I'm not going to let nobody get in the way of our home especially for my children, I'm not going to let ignorant people win.

This encounter demonstrates that prejudicial attitudes enable those with power and privilege to act out in racist ways. Thus, what would otherwise have been treated as a minor nuisance became a threat to the entire living situation of Mary's family. Importantly, discussions about women's food journeys often led deeper insight into their housing situations, as I found time and again how their food related challenges are heavily dependent on where they live. Women desire safe, secure and affordable housing, but also neighbourhoods with walkable spaces, that are easily accessible by transit, and are close to amenities and services. From Mary's and the other women's experiences we recognized the key role that stable housing places in women's experiences with food insecurity. Mary's resistance and strength was

evident in the resolve she conveyed to never stop fighting back in her own way by raising her family and treating others, even those who mistreat her, in a loving manner.

4.2.2. *“Because things happen and nobody cares about it”: Neighbourhood violence/women’s safety (Regina’s Story)*

Regina is a single mother of three children in her early twenties who resided in the William Whyte neighbourhood in the North End of Winnipeg at the time of the study. Regina reported living in numerous locations across the North End, and as a result has developed an extensive knowledge of the physical and social geographies of her neighbourhood. Her long-term residency in the North End has led to the development of extensive knowledge about where to access resources and supports within the community, which she often shared during project meetings. For example, Regina obtained resources such as money, food, diapers or access to a computer from community organizations in and around her neighbourhood such as Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, Andrews Street Family Centre, and Mount Carmel Clinic.

A large part of Regina’s food journey involves her frequent use of food banks. She told us that over the years she has visited numerous food banks across the city, including emergency food banks. Regina shared important knowledge with our group of where they are located in the city, when they are open, and even what types of food they commonly offer. Regina explained during a project meeting in June 2013:

Somewhere on the Spence entrance [of University of Winnipeg food bank] my cousin went through and then she just waited for everybody to leave and then she took whatever. And she [cousin] asked me to go with her. She said that’s [food bank] every Friday at 3-4pm....

In order to obtain the necessary resources that she needs, Regina must find ways to travel not only affordable, but also safely through the city, most often with her children. Regina and five other women

in our group relied primarily on public transit or walking as their main methods of movement throughout the city, which made them more vulnerable to safety concerns and violence in their neighbourhoods or along their grocery routes. Fear of violence was a recurring theme in our discussions, particularly for the single mothers in our group who often walk alone in the evening. On more than one occasion Regina spoke about violence on the streets of her neighbourhood, noting that travelling around her neighbourhood in the summer is much more dangerous, and in fact she feels like it is too unsafe to leave her house alone in the evening. These were not mere perceptions, but were couched in witnessing of incredibly violent events in her immediate environment:

I remember when I first moved into my place on Aikins, the first night I moved in there we stayed up late organizing everything and some kid got killed right on the corner. I remember hearing this scuffle and everything and I looked out the window and saw a bunch of kids arguing and it was like a 15-year-old boy that got killed right on the corner. I had barely moved in.

Regina's food journey is largely undertaken by walking or via public transit, thus her ability to access resources for her family are restricted to certain times of the day or even certain times of the year given the constant threats in her neighbourhood. Regina's experiences echo sentiments shared by the other women in our group about the dangers of walking alone at night due to infrequent or poorly planned bus stops. Our results show that women's food journeys often involve walking or using public transportation, therefore the location of residence and neighbourhood impact women's decisions about where to access food.

Even situations that most would take for granted as being relatively safe, such as a taxicab ride to get home from the grocery store, resulted in experiences of violence for women in our group. Regina shared an encounter that occurred in winter 2011 that a taxi cab driver sped away before she could get all her children's Christmas presents out of the car, and when she tried to call the dispatch to discuss a way to obtain her belongings she was dismissed and her belongings were never returned. Several other

women in our group reported discriminatory encounters that took place between themselves and taxicab drivers. For example, several women reported that taxicab drivers will ask them for money upfront before they will take them anywhere. Further, the women reported sometimes feeling threatened for their own and their children's safety due to aggressive behaviour from the drivers (e.g. driving too fast, driving away before all groceries and kids are out of the car).

Regina's food journey led us to understand that violence and safety concerns influence women's health (emotional, physical, mental) but also their ability to move freely within the city to access food and other resources for their families. Regina's experiences and expertise of food geography in the North End of Winnipeg has led her to be an advocate for people who are experiencing similar issues. Regina shared her perspectives from the project with a number of other women as she recognized that there are many people who are struggling in her neighbourhood and many who want to help fight for change. Regina spoke about how important this project was to her because she wants to use her voice to inform others about challenges of living on a low-income. At a focus group meeting in May 2013 she said:

Like when you want to say something but you can't. That's why. Because things happen and nobody cares about it.

Regina spoke about the importance of mobilizing with others in the community to hear their stories, share ideas, and work together to develop solutions for all those living in poverty or encountering racially motivated violence in the city. Regina's resilience and the development of survival strategies to make ends meet has enabled her to survive and provide for her family where society has failed.

4.2.3 “They don’t want strollers on the bus”: Transportation and Mobility (Kim’s Story)

Kim is a single mother in her late twenties and has five children between three and twelve years old. At the time of the study she was living with her children in a Manitoba Housing complex in the Transcona neighbourhood and was a recipient of social assistance.

In November 2012, Kim and I participated in a go-along interview in the early evening. I met Kim at her house and together with one of her younger daughters, we walked five blocks to the bus stop to wait for the bus to take us to the grocery store. Kim and I discussed the inadequacy of transportation options in her neighbourhood as there are no bus stops located within a three block distance (approximately a five minute walk). Kim explained that with five children this distance can be cumbersome, especially in the winter. Kim spends \$600.00 a month on groceries for herself and five kids and that they still run out of food. She explains:

I was telling him [friend] because I have to make 5 sandwiches every night and that’s like 10 slices of bread, that’s a loaf of bread right there. So I don’t eat at lunch because there is nothing left over. They brought some bread and some food for the kids like pizza pops and a lot of stuff. And I almost cried.

Kim and I walked along the aisles of the grocery store, while she picked up a few items. We spoke about the kinds of things she likes to buy and the reality that she does not always have enough money for the food she wants. Kim is often forced to make difficult choices that limit the options of types of food she can buy for her kids. She explained:

We can’t get apples and oranges. It’s too expensive.

During our first focus group in June 2012 Kim shared that her food journey is intricately woven with her mobility and the challenges of grocery shopping with five kids:

I just go to one place [grocery store...It is hard it is to find a sitter. And if I do have to take them because I got 5 kids and I can’t fit all me and my kids in a cab so it’s kind of hard.

Kim also explained that this is much more difficult in the wintertime:

Actually in the wintertime it's always more difficult especially when it's freezing out and finding a sitter is kind of hard...I've been trying to go grocery shopping for like 4 or 5 days already.

Kim said she normally takes the bus to the grocery store, and then takes a taxicab to transport her groceries home. However, she must take money out of her food budget to pay the higher cost of a taxi ride (as compared to taking the bus). Kim explained that she goes grocery shopping once she receives her income assistance cheque, however, Kim will often avoid the grocery store on what she calls 'cheque day' because it is too busy and the buses are overcrowded.

Unfortunately, discriminatory encounters are a common occurrence on Winnipeg public transit. Most women in the study use public transit as their main mode of transportation (n=6) and as a result spend many hours a day walking to bus stops, waiting for the bus and riding the bus. Women reported numerous encounters on public transit where they were treated poorly by other passengers or sometimes the bus drivers. Kim said she notices how people stare at her and her children or won't sit next to her. Critical comments have been foisted upon her about how she should be raising her children. For example, Kim recounted a recent encounter with a woman on a recent public transit trip:

My son was having a tantrum and what I do when he has a tantrum is just let him cry because I'm not going to give him what he wants. And I put in my earphones and this lady walks up to me and she pokes me and she is like "why don't you get off that thing and parent your kid?" I just told her, "you don't know what's going on, mind your own business. Have a nice day."

Bus drivers have even refused to accommodate Kim and her children. During a focus group in February 2012, Kim shared that bus drivers have refused to let her on the bus with her children in the wintertime because the bus appeared "full". As she explains:

They don't want strollers. Because remember that one time I told you I was waiting for a bus and I waited like 20 minutes and then he opened the door was like "oh sorry no more room, wait for the next bus." In the wintertime! And I had all five kids with me!

Kim's food journey illustrates the compounding effects that result from her reliance on public transit. Seasonality, lack of child care, and the dynamics of overcrowding all combine to force Kim to put her family on 'public display' under the worst circumstances, all while trying to complete the most basic of instrumental of tasks in securing food for her family. However, despite the challenges, Kim has developed numerous strategies to get herself and her children through the city to access food in ways that seek to preserve her dignity and testify to her inventiveness. For example, she finds a babysitter for some children, brings others with her or will find a ride from a friend or family member. Kim has tried things such as sleds to transport her children and groceries in the winter; or has used shopping carts to transport her groceries home – not only an illegal but also undignified activity that is necessary for those who do not have access to a vehicle. Kim was vocal about her creative ideas on how to improve transportation for mothers with children such as grocery shuttles, buses that will accommodate her children and her groceries, and taxi vans (that would fit up to six people). Kim was one of the most reliable participants, and one of the kindest people as she consistently checked in with groups members and provided support where necessary.

4.2.4 "How can you be selling stuff like this?" Lack of safe, affordable, nutritious food options (Candace's Story)

Candace is a single mother of a young daughter, and at the time of the study was residing in an apartment cooperative complex in the West End region of Winnipeg. The West End is comprised of many different neighbourhoods of people with differing socioeconomic status. The West Broadway/Sherbrook area is a mix of low-income, rental housing; and then on the side opposite of the

Red River off Maryland is the neighbourhood of Wolseley, a middle/upper income neighbourhood with a mix of students, hippies, hipsters, families, university professors, and everything in between.

Candace moved from the Horse Lake community in Alberta to Winnipeg just prior to the start of the Honouring Gifts program at Ka Ni Kanichihk in February 2012. Candace explained this was a fresh start and she came to Winnipeg to pursue her dream of furthering her education. Part way through the Honouring Gifts program she also enrolled in the Information and Office and Administrative Assistant Program (IOAA) at Ka Ni (a Red River College diploma course). Similarly to Mary's arrangement, during the first year of our project she shared an apartment and the costs of food with her mom and sister, which allowed her to share expenses and save more money. Candace shared that when she arrived in Winnipeg she became a recipient of social assistance. It has been difficult for Candace trying to make ends meet on a reduced income:

This is the hardest I've ever had to struggle and it's actually gotten to the point... I went from making \$800.00 every two weeks to having \$800.00 for the whole month.

Candace chose to collect data about her food journey using her food journal where she prepared detailed journal entries that included all saved receipts from food purchases over a two-month period. Candace also prepared a map of all the places she visits to acquire food from in Winnipeg, ranging from grocery stores to restaurants. (See Figure 1. Candace's food journey map).

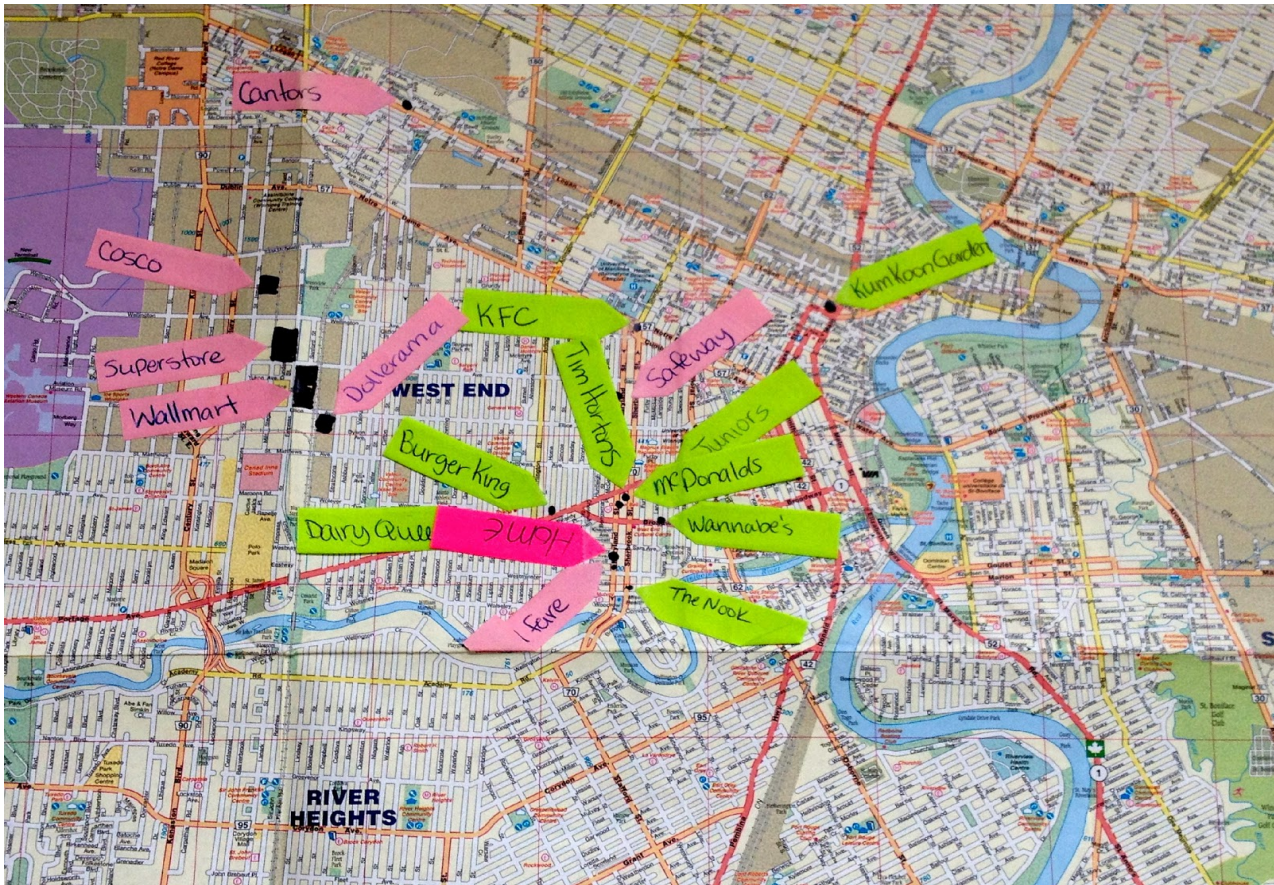


Figure 1. Candace's food journey map. Photograph by Cheryl Sobie of map created by Candace of her food journey in Winnipeg

Notably, Candace's food map depicts a large circumference of locations she visits close to her place of residence, however, she also visits several locations outside of her neighbourhood. In her food journal as well as in individual interviews, Candace explained that having a car affords her greater mobility so she can travel not only within but outside of her neighbourhood, which provides increased access to and variety of food options. She is also able to price check and comparison shop for best prices, thus enabling her to purchase more affordable and nutritious foods. Candace relayed how she thought her journey was made easier than some of the other women by not only having a car but also having her mother's support:

Oh yes it helps [having a car] and because I have my mother's support. I'm not like the rest of the girls. Like they have to do it all on their own. I have so much help. With S doing it all on her own. It's absolutely amazing. And the other women, wow! Yeah and it's so much easier. Because they wouldn't be able to fill up their carts because they have to carry it home on the bus or they have to pay for a taxi.

To further explore Candace's food journey we participated in a go-along interview in October 2012. Candace asked me to meet her at her preferred grocery shopping preferred location, Superstore on St. James Street and Ellice Avenue. During our interview Candace shared that grocery shopping is an enjoyable experience for her because it is her therapeutic alone time:

I come here because I know it's going to take me a long time. I enjoy the waits and the lines. I like to do it on my own too because I can take my time and I think of it as my own alone time.

We discussed her concerns for food safety and how she was raised eating whole foods and cooking meals.

When I lived with him [grandfather] we ate more natural. We ate a lot more wild meat and it was a lot healthier. Not with just the meat part but we didn't have the fast food stuff. When I cooked for my grandpa I cooked from scratch and that's the way I've always loved to cook

Candace explained this lifestyle was quite opposite to the amount of packaged and processed foods that are so readily available to her now. During our go-along interview Candace shared that she began reading labels due to food safety concerns as she prefers to buy foods of higher quality and with less artificial or processed ingredients.

Furthermore, Candace often initiated discussions about food safety during project meetings and told us that she notices grocery stores in Winnipeg are selling poor quality foods. At a focus group in January 2013 Candace recounted a recent experience:

I am freaked out. Like how can you be selling stuff like this?! I went home and did the survey and where you are supposed to put your comments and I like wrote everything down. I let them know. I wrote down everything that happened. And it was like fully rotten oranges, like all over that whole thing.

Several other women in our group agreed that grocery stores and convenience stores sell poor quality foods, often for high prices, using their convenience (quick preparation) as a way to take advantage of their low-income and busy lives. The issue of poor quality food received from food banks was also a common discussion topic in our focus group focus groups. Women also shared their fears of obtaining expired or unsafe food that could make them sick. Candace shared her thoughts on food bank food safety at a project meeting in January 2013:

Yeah I always think about that. We took a food handler's class and learned that a woman had a dented can of green beans. She opened up the can and she ate one green bean and warmed the rest in a pot for her family. She died in her sleep but everybody else survived because she heated it up to the right temperature and it killed all the botulism but she died because she ate it right from the can. I think about that every time I open a can. Every single time.

On numerous occasions the women in our group discussed the idea that to be healthy is to have access to affordable, nutritious, and safe foods. The women stressed how important this is especially for those on a low-income, including single mothers, who cannot always afford to purchase the food they need. Our group came to the conclusion that increased access to fresh healthy foods is needed for all people, regardless of income and whether or not you have children.

At the time of writing, Candace continues to speak out against injustice, which was evident from the beginning of our project in how she communicated her ideas, her motivation to participate in this

project and motivate those around her, as well as her robust and detailed data collection about her own journey that she shared with me, our group and the public.

4.2.5 “I broke down in the store a couple of times”: Mental and emotional health impacts of food insecurity (Tina’s Story)

The following paragraph was written by co-researcher Tina who wanted to introduce herself in her own words:

Hello my name is Tina Cook. I am from Sapotaweyak Cree Nation, which is where I grew up. I have been residing in Winnipeg, MB for almost three years (since march 2011). I am a 25-year-old single mother of two children. I am a strong, independent, caring and an honest person. I came to Winnipeg because I wanted to go to school or find a job because there are more opportunities and resources that I can access. Not long after my second child was born, I started off in a program called, Honouring Gifts at Ka Ni Kanichihk in 2012. I learned life skills, went out on a work practicum, earned many certificates, which included WHMIS, First-Aid, Manitoba’s Best Customer Service, and Food Handler’s Certificate.

At the time of the study Tina was residing in a housing complex in St. Vital, which she has resided in for approximately three years. She explained that a typical food journey involves taking her son and their stroller and walking to several different grocery stores in her neighbourhood, sometimes taking a taxi-cab, or even obtaining a rare ride from a friend. I met her at her house one evening in September 2012 for our go-along interview, and together we walked to two different grocery stores, with a stop at the laundromat along the way. During our go-along interview she explained that grocery shopping is difficult and often takes her hours because of the tough choices she has to make with a limited amount of money:

You really are frustrated because you want to get this but you can't because you really need that or you have to decide which is more important. I broke down in the store a couple of times.

Justina also wrote about this in an entry in her food journal on July 10, 2012:

Sometimes you don't have enough to buy your basic needs because you are too busy thinking and/or putting your baby's needs first

In the same entry Justina wrote down a list of reasons why shopping is a difficult experience:

Why shopping is hard:

- *Expensive*
- *Transportation (ride, taxi)*
- *Junk food*
- *House cleaning products*
- *Shopping at one store*
- *Look through flyers*
- *Overwhelming*
- *Forgetting you already have certain things*
- *Cleaning products cost more than \$5.00*
- *Bathroom/hygiene products*
- *Cigarettes*
- *Bill (cable, cellphone, rent)*
- *Miscellaneous (Make-up, jewellery, clothes, etc.)*

Tina's list highlights critical income related factors that impact her food journey, such as the high cost of food, transportation, rent, utilities, and high cost of personal and household products; but it also highlights the some of her feelings and mental stress about grocery shopping when she used terms such as *overwhelming*, *expensive*, and *forgetting you already have certain things*.

When we arrived back at Tina's house after the last stop on our go-along interview it was 10:00 pm. Grocery shopping is a long journey for Tina and her family. After Tina put her groceries away, she asked me to take a picture of her fridge. Tina explained how looking in her fridge made her feel:

I bought \$53.00 worth of groceries...this does not look like enough food. I don't know this doesn't look like enough, but I guess as long as there is food (See Figure 2 below).



Figure 2. 'Not enough food'. Photograph by Cheryl Sobie of Tina's fridge. September 2012.

Tina's experiences highlight the not only the physical and mental toll, but also the emotional toll of grocery shopping and living on a low-income. As exemplified in Tina's food journey, a recurring theme in all women's food journeys is the stress they experience due to living in poverty and the constant struggle to make ends meet when on social assistance. Additionally, our discussions and research revealed that there are many instances in which women's food journeys are impacted by

discriminatory encounters. Tina often recounted public encounters with racism that were unfortunately a common occurrence during her food journeys throughout the city. She explained that on several occasions she has been unjustly confronted in grocery stores about theft, followed around grocery stores, and has received rude comments in grocery stores on how to parent her children. During our go-along interview I witnessed first-hand when an elderly woman came up to Tina in the grocery store and told her that she should not allow her children pop to drink because it's bad, and that she only allows *her* grandchildren water. Similarly, Tina has heard people make discriminatory comments about women with children on the bus:

People say things like they should make a different bus for strollers and I hear people say that on the buses too. "God, like they should make their own bus for strollers" and stuff like that.

Tina revealed that it is the encounters with racism on public transit that are the most difficult to deal with. She shared a story with me of an unprovoked attack that occurred on the bus:

I don't know if I told you about this time but this guy, this white guy on the bus. I was by myself, I wasn't with my son. I was walking onto the bus, coming home by myself to get my work stuff. I jumped on a bus and I was about to like put my earphones on. And this white guy is like "why are you guys doing that?" "Why are you guys making inquiries [about Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women]?" No one is going to help you. No one is going to listen to you guys anyway so there is nothing you can do". And he's like "well say something, you can't even stand up for yourself!" And I didn't even say anything.... I just went so quiet. The whole bus went quiet. I just sat in front there.

This experience highlights how vulnerable Tina is when she travels through Winnipeg alone by bus. Several women in the group (n=3) also reported experiencing similar racist encounters in public transit or in other public locations such as grocery stores. Our discussions revealed how racialized encounters contribute to anxiety, stress, and feeling of low-self worth among the women in our group.

In a follow up individual interview with Tina in January 2013 she shared that she was finding ways to deal with the emotional trauma of these experiences, and find a way to not let it bother her so much. As Tina explained:

It's because I am just getting sick of being quiet because if I am quiet it just kills me. But letting people do that, I don't agree. Like when you let people do that to you it just brings you down so I had someone to talk to. And my friend just told me stand up for yourself in the right way. Don't freak out just say what you have to say in a polite way.

Tina took pride in being a part of our research group and over the course of the project she became one of the most vocal participants standing up to racism in public locations. Tina also shared her experiences with racism and food insecurity through our knowledge translation activities. At the Growing Local conference in March 2013, Tina took a lead role in initiating discussions with our audience about racism and different forms of discrimination many people face, and how we can work together to create a more equitable city. Importantly, women like Tina are motivated to create public discussion about difficult subjects such as racism, sexism, poverty, unfair government systems, and food insecurity. It is this strength and resistance that Tina exudes in her life. She is an incredible mother and is extremely focused on taking care of her family's health and well-being. Tina continues to lead by example for her children and the people around her in actively speaking out against injustice and fighting for freedom, dignity and respect for all.

4.2.6 "Racism should bother everyone!": Criminalization of Public Spaces (Sabrina's Story)

Sabrina is a single mother of two children who resides in the downtown region of Winnipeg. Sabrina enrolled in the Honouring Gifts Program that commenced February 2012 and part way through (May 2012) she decided to also enroll in the Red River program offered at Ka Ni- Information and Office Administrative Assistant (IOAA) and participate in both programs. During the program Sabrina

was a recipient of social assistance and told me that she had been on social assistance primarily since 2005 when she became pregnant with her first child.

Sabrina explained that she mainly shopped at nearby grocers, and unfortunately there were not a lot of close, affordable options in her neighbourhood. In her food journal entry dated July 20, 2012, she explained more about her food journey:

Giant Tiger is my go to place. It's just too close. Super convenient. Not always the cheapest, but the easiest to get to and from...I tend to go shopping for a lot of things on child tax day. I worry a lot about food. What am I going to feed my kids after the fresh good goes bad or runs out?

As Sabrina's entry reveals there are many considerations women must think about for food provisioning, and she shared the similar among group members about not having enough food to feed their children. Sabrina shared that a cost saving strategy she employs on a regular basis is couponing and discussed ways in which other women in the group can go about doing this too.

I participated in a go-along interview with Sabrina in May 2013. I met Sabrina at her house in the early evening and we walked with her two children to the grocery store Sabrina primarily shops at just a few blocks away. During our go-along interview, Sabrina explained that she had previously experienced discriminatory encounters at this store, and unfortunately so have her children. She shared a recent experience at a project meeting in August 2013:

...I had just finished up a shop to replenish lunch supplies for the next week. As I finished paying for my stuff I overheard another employee whisper something about "her girls". It hadn't dawned on me that she was talking about me until I turned to my side and saw an employee searching my eldest daughters backpack. The employee briefly stopped like a deer in headlights to ask me if she [my daughter] was with me. Then she proceeded to search her backpack asking if the contents belonged to her. She then proceeded to search my youngest daughter. I was so embarrassed and shocked I didn't

immediately react and stop what was happening. I simply grabbed my groceries and left with my kids... When I got home I immediately phoned the store and asked to speak with the supervisor and I asked her what the procedure for searching customers was, and more specifically, children...

Several other women (n=5) explained that they had also been unjustly accused of theft, unjustly searched or watched and followed in stores, which they attributed to prejudice and inaccurate stereotypes of Indigenous people. This led to discussions of how women encounter stereotypes and prejudice in their dealing with government social support agencies. Sabrina shared her experiences of discrimination within the EIA system, first as a client and later on, as an employee. As a result, she gained a better understanding of how stereotypes and discrimination play a role in client-worker relationships (specifically within EIA and CFS). Sabrina shared her thoughts during a focus group in January 2013:

It shouldn't matter though how long you have been on it [EIA]. They shouldn't be able to treat people that way. That's like justifying racism and prejudice and everything. It's like "Oh I haven't been on assistance that long so you shouldn't treat me that way". No just don't treat anyone like that who is in the system.

At the same focus group in January 2013, she described the perceived misunderstanding and disconnect between single mothers needs and government social support agency employees:

Especially when you are accessing social assistance because you need it. It's like you're just starting out on your own and know nothing about the system. They just assume you are trying to rip them off or whatever. But it's not even their money. They just work there [for the government].

Sabrina completed a work practicum through the joint Ka Ni Kanichihk/Red River College program, Information and Office Administrative Assistant (IOAA). Through the IOAA work practicum placement she gained employment as a summer student for the Manitoba Government Family Services

Department. As an EIA client and now an employee, Sabrina shared her experience of juggling these two roles and the resulting workplace encounters:

They don't know I'm on social assistance right? So one day when I showed up I guess I didn't have my access card to get into the building so I went to the reception and that is my office. That is the office I go to for social assistance. And that's my office. So I showed up at the front desk and I'm standing there and I'm like "Hi I'm Sabrina I'm supposed to be working here today". And they are like "uh do you have a case number" I was like "I'm supposed to be working here." And they are like "oh ok" and then they let me in the back...they treated me differently after that. And another day when I showed up they were like "I almost didn't recognize you. I was going to ask you for your case number, hahaha". And they just thought it was so hilarious. "We thought you were a client." I was just like "ok thanks." But I am a client, I just work there too.

Sabrina's food journey speaks volumes to the criminalization of women in public spaces. Women encounter everyday indignities which may influence employment opportunities and access to services. These indignities that women in our group face do not impact just 'internal' health (stress) but have external, "real" consequences.

The women co-researchers spoke about how racism is normalized in Canadian society and that the government, social support systems, education curriculum, and the media perpetuate stereotypes of Indigenous people while ignoring colonial history and ongoing settler colonialism. Several women expressed how they think the media portrays Indigenous people as victims and people who are "just looking for handouts". At a project meeting in January 2013 the women discussed how because of the Idle No More movement it seems like racism moved from an omnipresent covert force to more overt experiences of racism. Sabrina commented:

It's making a lot of people come out and voice their racism. And they are like "oh native people

they just want more handouts and whatever”.

Further, the women spoke about how a misunderstanding of Indigenous people lives and the perpetuation of stereotypes (positive or negative) is a direct result from lack of education about Indigenous people by the Canadian public at large. The women suggested that what is needed is a greater understanding of Indigenous people's' histories and lives to induce more empathy and compassion. Several women spoke about the resiliency of Indigenous people and their determination to challenge injustice as evidenced through the emerging Idle No More Movement.

These unjust and racist experiences Sabrina has described may be a part of her life, however, Sabrina, along with the rest of the women, said that it is not just Indigenous people who encounter racism. Sabrina is vocal about ending discrimination and racism in her activism and in her everyday life. Sabrina shared her story at the presentation our group did at *Whose Winnipeg: A Workshop about Neoliberalism, Settler Colonialism, and the Production of Urban Space* in August 2013. Sabrina shared her story of her daughter's bag getting searched at Giant Tiger, which she hoped would help people to understand how pervasive racism can be and how hurtful it is to people, especially children.

Sabrina's food journey led us to understand the criminalization of Indigenous women (and their children) in public spaces interacts with the racial, gender and class discrimination women may also face. to reinforce negative stereotypes and incite acts of violence. Sabrina refuses to be defined by stereotypes and has found her voice to speak out about injustice that she has experienced or witnessed and is motivated to mobilize with others for social change. In the time I have known Sabrina she has accomplished many personal and education goals and recently shared an update with me about some of her successes:

“I got off [social assistance] in early 2013, as soon as I got a summer job after completion of the IOAA program at Ka Ni. I graduated from Computer Applications for Business at Red River College and I'm currently employed with the Manitoba Government Family Services department.”

4.2.7 *“Some people stay living in poverty because they don't have enough money to get out”: Social assistance and the cycle of poverty (Liz's Story)*

Liz is a 29-year-old single mother of two young daughters under the age of 10. She has lived in the St. Boniface neighbourhood of Winnipeg for over seven years and in two different Manitoba Housing units. At the time of study, Manitoba Housing had recently transferred Liz and her family their three-story walk up two-bedroom apartment to a three-bedroom townhouse just a few blocks away. Liz and I completed a go-along interview in September 2012. I met Liz at her house on a weekday afternoon and we spoke as she got ready for the grocery-shopping journey. While Liz wrote out her grocery list she explained her food budgeting process.

My budget is a little different I think. I guess it varies. Mine's up and down because when I'm working I don't get social assistance, and then I get extra funds because I have kids, I get child support for one daughter.

On Liz's food journey we walked to three different grocery stores in her neighbourhood, about a 15-minute walk from her house. This speaks volumes to the irrelevance of conventional measures of food insecurity by defining 'food deserts'. Food deserts merely describe the noticeable symptoms of the conditions created by the inequitable city. Food deserts are not an appropriate measure of food insecurity as it doesn't matter if it's a 10 or 15 minute walk to the nearest food provider, or bus stop, in 30 weather with children, it is still too long and difficult of a journey that women are forced to make. Further, we cannot quantify experiences, feelings of belonging in space, or safety concerns such as women feeling like they cannot leave their houses at night.

Liz brought one of her daughters with us in a wagon, that doubles as a stroller and grocery cart. During our go-along interview she spoke about how she tries to buy the healthiest foods possible on her limited budget and compares prices at all the stores she frequents. Liz explained she typically buys items where they are cheapest, which results in a visit to more than one store. During Liz's food journey, she completed other tasks along the way such as banking, a haircut, and a stop at the park which maximized the time spent while out of the house.

Liz was open about the challenges she experienced as a single mother and the difficulty of finding time, energy and income to be able to makes end meet, particularly on social assistance. Additionally, her daughter has a serious health condition, which she needs to monitor carefully and in particular, pay close attention to her diet. As Liz explains, it adds another layer of complexity to her food journey:

Sometimes we can afford more veggies than other times, but not all the time... I can't really afford all of it [healthier foods] but with [my daughter] I have to do whatever I can because of her health and stuff.

Liz's journey has shown the difficulty and extra challenges of raising children in poverty. Liz's journey shows how hard mothers constantly work to raise kids and the increase in stress of doing so on a limited income. Food provisioning is a time and energy consuming task particularly when there are children's special health needs to consider. The multiple tools Liz uses in preparing for her food journey such as transportation decisions, route planning, and budgeting, demonstrates that organization is a crucial component of food provisioning for Liz.

Liz recognized that EIA does not support women with the necessary income they need to make ends meet, nor do they provide adequate support to transition off social assistance. Liz was in the process of transitioning off social assistance in the fall of 2012 and shared the difficulty of this with us at a focus group meeting:

They tell you to get child support [Federal government child tax] but then they try to take that away too. Some people stay living in poverty because they don't have enough money to get out. It is good to share that because you don't want to be in poverty.

This critical realization shared by Liz succinctly sums up many discussions about the difficulty women have encountered in transitioning away from government assistance. Our research exposed the disconnect between expectations and reality as women have pursued educational programs and are pushed by EIA to join job search programs, yet may still struggle to obtain employment. Several women in our group expressed that they think people may not want to hire single women with children, particularly because it may require an understanding of the complexities in their lives (i.e. reliance on public transportation, children in daycare, etc.). Yet, despite this, many women in our research have been able to find successful employment, including Liz. Liz obtained employment right after she graduated from Honouring Gifts at Ka Ni Kanichihk which has allowed her more financial freedom and flexibility to do more things (i.e. obtain a car, children are involved in multiple activities). However, at a project meeting in January 2013, she explained that it is still difficult to make ends meet even with a full time job:

Even though I work now I still feel a little stuck. It's still hard to get out of it [poverty]. Like really, be really stable. It's being in housing [Manitoba Housing] and stuff too.

During our go-along interview Liz explained that she had achieved many goals with the support of Ka Ni, the healthy living program, other women, our project, all are helping her to achieve her goals- such as eating healthier, obtaining a car, and transitioning of social assistance. For Liz, being healthy, eating healthy and having time for herself and her kids to be active is important. Liz's courage, energy and continued success push her to set and achieve new goals, try new activities, and continue on a positive path of providing a healthy, stable life for her family.

4.2.8 “You just stand in line. You’re just a number”: Charitable food system (Mesa’s Story)

Mesa is a 29-year-old mother of two daughters who currently reside in foster care. Her home community is Sagkeeng First Nation, and Mesa often travels back and forth between Winnipeg and Sagkeeng. Mesa enjoys visiting her family, but has chosen to reside in Winnipeg to pursue educational and employment opportunities not available in her community. Mesa’s connection to food and cultural traditions are evident in the stories she shared about wild rice harvesting in her community.

At the time of study Mesa was living in a rooming house with her mom in the North End of Winnipeg. She told me that it was not a healthy environment because of inadequate heating, fire code violations, violence, and drugs/gangs nearby. She was particularly alarmed when a report came out from the Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, *Social Housing in Manitoba: Part 1* (University of Manitoba, 2013) that spoke to the negative health outcomes of people living in Manitoba public housing, or rooming houses such as where she resided. At the time of the study Mesa was taking care of her mom and her health needs, which included accompanying her to doctor’s appointments, hospital test and procedures, and visiting the food bank. Mesa was a recipient of Social Assistance, but reported being “cut off” unfairly due to a discrepancy between her and the EIA office. Mesa’s current primary method of obtaining food is from a food bank located in a community centre across the street from her house.

In January 2013 Mesa and I went on a go-along interview to her regular food bank. The temperature hovered around -30 degrees Celsius as we waited for about 15 minutes in line for the food bank to open. Once inside food bank users are prompted to register by providing their health card and then are given a ticket. People using a food bank in Manitoba can only access once every two weeks. There were a number of tables set up which participants walked through to pick up a limited supply of food. The food bank volunteers were friendly and when we explained that we were doing research they let us take pictures of the food and shared details of how their food bank operates with us. For example,

the volunteers shared that sometimes they receive a lot of fresh fruits and vegetables, and other times they don't receive very much at all. On the day Mesa and I were there we found large amount of mushrooms and bell peppers. However, we found that fresh foods are much smaller in quantity than the amount of packaged, processed and baked goods being offered. See Figure 3 below for photographs we captured during our go-along interview.



Figure 3. Amount of fresh food vs. pre-packaged food. Photographs by Cheryl Sobie of Mesa's food bank journey, January, 2013.

The four other women in our group who were frequent food bank users shared similar experiences about the lack of variety and lack of quality food available. They described receiving expired food, dented cans without labels, poor quality food, lack of fruits and vegetables, and not enough milk. They reported feeling unsure of whether this food was safe to feed their families. An hour later we went back to Mesa's place and had a lengthy discussion on how the process of obtaining food this way makes her feel:

I feel crappy for going there, I don't want to go. Sometimes I'll send my sister but now I have to go for my mom.

Mesa's experience with different food banks in the city speaks to the lack of standardized procedures at food banks. Most food banks in Winnipeg operate as subsidiaries through Winnipeg Harvest and are run independently by volunteers. Food banks are scattered throughout neighbourhoods in the city, and are most often located in church basements or community centres. The neighbourhood a person lives in dictates which food bank they must use. Mesa explained that some food banks offer a more inviting and friendly environment as opposed to others she has visited:

Last time I was here with my mom, this woman seemed to be having just a bad day I guess. But over at St. Matthew's they were good. How they do it is they call your name but then they have this big room where you can sit and have coffee and they hand out sandwiches and soup and stuff. Yeah I really enjoyed it at St. Matthews. Even the people were friendly. [And here] you just stand in line. You're just a number.

Mesa revealed that people are forced into undignified situations at food banks such as waiting in line outside in the winter, or when food bank volunteers distribute inequitable amounts of food to people based on their own choosing. She believes there should be healthy, fresh foods available for all people, especially those living in poverty. Mesa shared that if people use food banks it does not mean they should be 'looked down upon' or treated with disrespect:

People who work there look down on us because we need that little bit of help and I don't think that's right.

Mesa's advocacy for food security has grown from her very personal experience of living in poverty, persistent food insecurity, and frequent use of food banks. The food that Mesa and other women receive from food banks is often not adequate to meet their needs, nor is the encounter of using food banks a positive one. Mesa recently spoke on a radio program interview on CKUW (Wooden Spoons) in March 2014, where she spoke about her experiences and the need for improvement of the

charitable food system. Mesa's caring nature and commitment to helping others is evident in her perseverance, her motivation to seek out new learning and education opportunities, and above all else, her everyday activism in speaking out for herself and those who need help.

4.3 Summary of Findings

The results of our shared research have shown that, contrary to predominant characterizations of food insecurity in the literature as a singular, standalone, and instrumental problem, women's food journeys are a significant feature in all aspects of their daily lives, taking up a large proportion of their time, personal resources, energy, thoughts, and relationships. Crucially, both visible and invisible oppressions intersect along both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Quantitatively, challenging institutional geographies such as poor public transit, operating hours, and other constraints exacerbated the total amount of time and energy that women devoted to their food journeys – sometimes these experiences were exacerbated by conventional notions of “food deserts” but other times, these food geographies were literally across the street or around the corner from home. Qualitatively, negative experiences such as encounters with implicit and explicit racism, inconsiderate staff, discriminatory bus drivers, etc., made these journeys all the more difficult and demoralizing. Oppressive food geographies not only compromised mental and physical health, they worked to keep the women co-researchers “in their place” as racialized, criminalized, and impoverished Indigenous women in the city.

Importantly, the results reveal how food journeys, perhaps more than any other aspect of women's lives, force their vulnerabilities “into the open” by placing them in circumstances where, amidst what amount to literally efforts to survive, they become targets of the worst that their city and fellow citizens have to throw at them – and often with near impunity.

Women's food journeys are intimately connected to their experiences of living in poverty. Our results showed that the instability resulting from a lack of income has knock on effects on all areas of

the women co-researcher's lives such as housing, child care, safety, and food insecurity. Further, the women in our group shared that inadequate income forces them to make challenging sacrifices on how and when they can spend their money, particularly when it comes to food. Despite their best efforts and survival strategies to overcome food insecurity, there remain obstacles that continue to trap single mothers in cycles of poverty and instability.

A common theme found in the women co-researcher's food journeys is the most critical food provisioning decisions revolve around mobility. These decisions include the places women use to access food and the transportation methods they will use to travel there. The geographic location of where women live in the city most influences where women shop or access charitable food donations. Decisions on where to access food are heavily influenced by what is available in women's neighbourhoods within a short walk, bus ride, or taxi-ride. Our results showed that some women co-researchers choose to travel outside of their neighbourhood on occasion to save money, or because they are forced to due to lack of easily accessible or nearby options. The women in our group who had the use of a vehicle found it easier to access food outside of their immediate neighbourhood, which allowed them to compare prices and shop in bulk.

Further, our results reveal that Winnipeg's built environment generally does not accommodate people living in poverty, people who are Indigenous, or single mothers. For example, for the single mothers in our group who reside in lower income violence prone neighbourhoods, feel as though they cannot leave their houses at night. The women co-researchers who live in neighbourhoods without easy access to public transit they must walk further in the winter with their kids, or pay more for transportation. Several women in our group noted that there is an obvious lack of accommodation in public spaces for people living in poverty, and low-income women with children. For example, Kim discussed the waiting rooms at EIA offices are cold and unwelcome, and make her feel like "just a

number”, whereas Mesa discussed the layout of one food bank (line up outside in winter cold) vs. another (inside a nice waiting room and snacks).

Finally, our results have shown how racist and discriminatory practices are not only embedded in colonial governmental systems such as Manitoba Housing and Social Assistance (EIA), that contribute to food insecurity, but also in societal attitudes that result in overt expressions of racist verbal abuse to women in public and private locations. However, even with these additional burdens placed upon them, the women in our study have negotiated complex survival strategies to do what is necessary to make ends meet and provide for their families. Most importantly, our results show that these eight incredibly brave women have dedicated their time and energy to share some of the most difficult and intimate details of their lives for this research, with hope that it will help awaken people.

In Chapter 5: Discussion, I will provide a further interpretation of the ramifications and potential solutions of this wider view for how broader issues of food insecurity are too-often narrowly discussed and acted upon in Winnipeg.

5.0 Discussion

This chapter situates the themes identified in the results chapter within a critical geographic framework that exposes the failings of a neoliberal city that contributes to Indigenous women's experiences of marginalization through a landscape of gendered and racialized violence- and by extension the denial of rights. First, I seek to expose inequity in the geography of the city by exposing how cyclical poverty, the built environment and mobility contribute to unjust foodscapes of single mothers. Second, I challenge oppressive thoughts patterns and racialized violence in society that contribute to the maintenance and continual reinforcement of colonial attitudes that negatively impact Indigenous women's health and well-being. Third, I share how women are asserting their 'right to the city' by improving their lives and changing their futures through everyday acts of resistance and anti-colonial knowledge mobilization efforts. Finally, this chapter concludes this thesis with a brief summary of research contributions and final remarks.

5.1 *Intersecting Oppressive Geographies: Poverty, Built Environment and Mobility*

The themes reported on in Chapter 4 show us that while all women's food journeys are unique, most themes identified interact in all the women's journeys in some way. Our results provide examples of how systemic failures within government, urban environments, and capitalism have contributed to Indigenous single mothers experiences with poverty and food insecurity.

Living with persistent poverty is a cyclical issue that undermines women's efforts for stability. Our results chapter described the daily challenges women encounter to ensure they have enough money for all their basic needs, including food. Similarly, Travers (1996) study *The Social Organization of Nutritional Inequities*, interviewed low-income mothers at a community resource centre and found that inadequate social assistance levels do not provide enough money for women to meet their basic food needs. Travers (1996) argues that the inability to meet basic food needs are not the fault of participants,

but rather a failing of many outside systems such as governmental support. The women co-researchers shared their constant worry of being cut off of social assistance due to previous experiences of being denied assistance without proper justification. The implications of these actions by the state threatens single mothers safety and security. A constant state of precarity is now shown to compromise personal health by producing high levels of stress that exacerbate one's energy and sense of wellness; aggravating responses to stress and compounding trauma (Bucyznski, 2017). Further, women are often caught between economic pressures of social assistance as a merely temporary fix and being pushed to work outside the home to align with neoliberal values (See Gazso, 2007; Gurstein & Vilches, 2010).

Conversations about food insecurity have helped to connect the dots between issues such as inadequate social assistance rates that leave women with limited options for housing, and due to lack of accommodation on public transit or racist encounters, many women take taxi cabs, or walk, where further threats to their safety often occur. Candace explained to the audience at the Whose Winnipeg workshop in August 2013 (see Appendix Q for Knowledge Translation Activities), the related nature of inadequate social assistance levels and the lack of affordable housing options for single mothers, which relegate women to reside in neighbourhoods they deem unsafe for their families. Put another way, women's food journeys reveal hidden geographies that take place within the gaps of social support agencies such as EIA, CFS and Manitoba Housing. Insufficient low social assistance levels, the lack of appropriate employment opportunities, and poor transportation infrastructure have a direct influence on the day-to-day journeys that women are impelled into. From our interviews, there is an apparent lack of action from our government to implement policies that can bring more security into women's lives through improved support, coordination, and recognition of the context of women's struggles in the city.

The women co-researchers have found ways to work around the system that has failed them. For women such as Mary or Sabrina, transitioning off social assistance meant less contact with the state,

more freedom, employment outside of the home, and better educational opportunities. This shift in income allowed for increased time for self-care, better opportunities for their kids, and advocacy. Gurstein and Vilches (2010), argue that for women to participate as active citizens we must economically value women's roles as mothers, caregivers, and active community members. In line with their findings, our research showed that longer-term solutions such as secure educational, employment and economic opportunities are necessary to women's food security.

Spatial bindings have been documented by feminist geographers in many instances in urban space, whether women are moving within or restricted from social spaces (See Preston & Ustundag, 2005; Massey, 1994; Peake & Rieker, 2013). Our research has located clear examples of how Indigenous women experience spatial bindings in public space. External factors such as encountering racism on the bus compromises trust in peer riders and in public servants. For example, the impact of an authority figure, such as bus driver, refusing to stop in the winter to pick up her family leaves Kim with the lesson that her family's safety and needs are not valued and that her requests are not respected. Internal factors such as the decision to apply these lessons to their lives can mean that a woman not feeling safe to leave her neighbourhood at night (See Regina's Story, Section 4.2.2, p.71) is restricted to social participation during daylight hours. This highlights that mobility is more than just restriction of physical movement but a force circumscribed by attitudes of belonging in space. Crucially, we can see how the the lives of Indigenous women in our group are restricted by visible and invisible forces of power and oppression that shape their movements (and lack thereof) within the city. Therefore, the city itself can be seen as a space of discrimination which is made up of not only the public and their prejudices, but also the design of the built environment and the systems that operate through it such as food banks, social assistance offices, public transit buses, and Manitoba housing locations.

The women co-researchers experiences with unjust foodscapes reflect and describe inequitable access to mobility within the city amongst a specific group of Indigenous single mothers in Winnipeg. Through the development of a collective story, our research has amplified the impact of these conflicts to show how it is that the mobile elite is produced through the city and how the mobile underclass is forced to accept their circumstances as the status quo, namely food insecurity. Examined through this lens, we understand that the women co-researchers very act of participating in urban food journeys is an act of tolerance in an unjust foodscape. Furthermore, this mobility picture shows us how the women co-researcher's strength of desire to survive is evident in everyday life as they exercise their circumscribed and difficult mobility in the interest of their families. Despite the challenges that they encounter, their resilience is a learned skill that allows them to succeed in surviving food insecurity in the city.

5.2. Racism is Everywhere

The women in this project described racism as a ubiquitous force that shapes their lives. Racism in workplaces, in grocery stores, and on the bus continues to undermine women's efforts for freedom from the colonial state. Experiences of racism in childhood and high school surfaced through our discussions and the women in our group shared how this contributed to how they feel about themselves and their place in the world. Recent research has shown how chronic experiences of racism can lead to negative health effects such as stress among other mental and physiological health problems (Richman & Jonassaint, 2008; Sawyer et. al, 2012).

Racism does not only affect women's mental health and well-being, but it has implications for women's mobility and safety. Several women co-researchers said they notice how people look differently at them, or move away from them on the bus, yet these encounters often escalate whereby people direct racist comments to them in public places such as public transit, shopping malls, and grocery stores. Women in our group revealed there were times they were not able to say anything due to

being paralyzed with fear, including fear of others joining in to attack them.

Our results have shown how this group of women's inherent human dignity and social dignity is violated in their dealings with racist people and places in the city. The example noted earlier of Sherene Razack's work on degenerate zones show us that in certain spaces (i.e. the colonial city), certain bodies (ie. Indigenous women) are deemed acceptable to be violated (Razack, 2000), and in turn, their dignity is violated. Kobayashi & Peake (2000), argue the pervasiveness of prejudice in Canadian society is evident through the examination of spaces of normalized "whiteness" that often do not perpetuate explicit or overt racist expression but rather ignore or deny racist tendencies. Similarly, scholars such as (Henry & Tator, 2006; Saul, 2008; Castleden et al., 2010; Denis, 2011) have shown that when colonial circumstances are ignored or denied, this permits the perpetuation and justification of discriminatory stereotypes about Indigenous people, in multiple ways and across multiple spaces. Denis (2011) refers to this as "laissez-faire racism", which is the tendency to ignore the history of colonialism while blaming Indigenous people for social problems, and rejecting concrete actions to rectify inequities.

According to hooks (1989), finding one's voices and speaking out against colonialism is an act of liberation. The stories the women co-researchers shared about their experiences with racist people on public transit and how they spoke up for themselves are a testament to their resilience. Tina shared how sometimes no one on the bus would speak out when these incidents occurred, but other times people would, and then she began to as well. This is the moment when things began to change for Tina, and she saw herself as a powerful person whose voice matters.

5.3 Indigenous Women's Right to the Food in the City

As an activist study situated within a participatory tradition, it is important to consider the implications of the research "beyond" the project. This section reports on our efforts to tie our research process and the concepts of the right to food and the right to the city to a knowledge mobilization

campaign to reach key stakeholders and the public. In the next section I discuss how the the right to food in combination with the right to the city can be an effective activist approach for for addressing food insecurity. Then, I review how the right to the city was useful in bringing this group of Indigenous women's experiences to the forefront of food insecurity discussions in Winnipeg. And, finally, I demonstrate how women's participation in this project has created opportunities for women to assert their 'right' to a city that has marginalized them in so many ways.

Our understanding of the right to the city was one of measure, and a way to mobilize around social change. The purpose of using this concept was to define how did the women co-researchers see the "ideal city" that would meet their needs, and what do we need to do to get there? Connecting the right to food into a broader demand for a right to the city offers an opportunity to mobilize, resist, fight for a better future, and reimagine a better city to live in, which is predicated on dismantling the oppressive charitable food system that has failed to meet the needs of Winnipeg's Indigenous communities. The women co-researchers saw their roles as two fold: to create the 'food secure' realities they envisioned for their families, while seeking them same comfort of food and stable income for all those struggling in Winnipeg and beyond. To be food secure requires more than the provision of charitable food systems, it must include a right to live a life free from poverty, government control, and the ability to participate as an active citizen. The women in our project have recognized that to achieve the right to food is to have all our rights and needs met within the city so that each person can live a healthy, happy and dignified life.

As we have shown, the right to the city is a particularly useful concept to bring marginalized voices and experiences to the forefront of urban activism. The purpose of using the right to the city framework in this way is to challenge the exclusion of Indigenous women's voices in the decisions that affect their and their children's lives, and the denial of their human rights. The right to the city thus

unravels notions and ideas of how we assign belonging or exclusion to people in the city. According to Senese & Wilson (2013), the right to urban life should exist within Indigenous rights. In Roberta Jamieson's (2015) Walrus Talk, she outlines seven essential features that would constitute the Indigenized city that include: mutual respect and understanding among First Nations people and Settler Canadians, the creation of space in cities for Indigenous people to thrive and practice their culture, education for all children in the city to recognize that we are all human beings that respect and celebrate diversity, and for all people to acknowledge the colonial history of Canada.

Our project, 'Women's Right to the City' demonstrates how a small group of Indigenous women in Winnipeg are claiming their rights to urban life. Participation in this project enabled women to name the problems (e.g. of racism, discrimination, food insecurity, and poverty) and then speak out about them in public ways (see Appendix Q for Knowledge Translation Activities). In effect, the women in our study are asserting what the right to the city means to them through everyday acts of resistance that confront discriminatory geographies they encounter in the city, with government systems, in their workplaces, and on the bus. The women who live this reality have the most knowledge about how to improve this situation. Rather than be spoken for, or dictate measures to improve their life situations, policy makers must learn to listen to women and work with their well-founded aspirations to achieve justice. The women co-researchers expressed that they are not only advocating for themselves and their families but for all those who are struggling. This project has provided one small space for Indigenous women to express their stories and ideas for change in relation to the right to food and the right to the Indigenized city.

5.4 Research Contributions

This research contributes to the literature in the following four key areas: The methodology of Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR), the geographic study of food insecurity, community

program interventions, and mobility. The following section will describe the contributions made in each area.

Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR)

Our case study of a small group of Indigenous mother's foodscapes in Winnipeg has provided a unique landscape to undertake a FPAR project. The FPAR process led to individual and collective change in several positive ways. Prolonged engagement through focus groups and project meetings enabled space and time for women to come together and share experiences of oppression. By doing so, women were inspired to take individual and collective action. Several women in our group participated in knowledge translation activities to share their experiences with food insecurity and poverty in settings such as community conferences, radio interviews and workshops. For other women, it meant speaking out against experiences of racism they encountered in the public spaces of Winnipeg.

FPAR utilizes feminist research methods to open up new ways of interacting with people, particularly through the use of feminist ethnography. The process of coming together through participant observation and relationship building was crucial to the development of trust and openness needed to conduct this research. Our study showed that the research the process is just as important as the outcomes. Indeed it is the undertaking of the research process that shaped the narrative of our results that emerged.

Critical pedagogy and action oriented education have proven useful to helping adults learn through the use of creative programming, hands on workshops, art, and variety of methods (Yokley, 2007). We utilized several creative methods to conduct our research including mapping, go-along interviews, food journaling, and photography. Each co-researcher was able to participate in the methods that were most accessible to them. These methods revealed important insights about women's experiences and the way they describe their food journeys. For example, some women really enjoyed using collages and their

food journals to describe their experiences, whereas other women enjoyed talking face to face either in group project meetings or during interviews.

Foodscapes

Our results have shown that we must move beyond the scale of food deserts or food insecurity. In this respect, the concept of foodscapes has provided an important framework to examine women's food insecurity as it forces us to look between scales and understand the mobility decisions women make. As such, our research enhances the understanding of the 'lived' spatiality of food insecurity. By talking to food insecure women about their movements, encounters and experiences throughout the city, we have shown that food insecurity is not static and fixed. Rather, it is a complex and mobile phenomenon. Further, our research has documented how spatialized racism contributes to women's experiences of food insecurity in a colonial city. While foodscapes can provide a critical lens to understand the spaces within which food insecurity occurs, a more inclusive approach is needed to address Indigenous women's experiences of poverty and food insecurity in Canada.

Food Insecurity and Health

The results revealed how women see the negative effects of food insecurity on their health and well-being and that of their families. The women shared stories about unsafe food, lack of affordable nutritious foods, consuming prepackaged foods, and ongoing health problems related to food consumption. Food insecurity can impact women's mental health and well-being as a result of racist public encounters and mental stress of worrying about having enough money to feed their children. Additionally, dignity violations that occur in public spaces throughout the city impact women's inherent human dignity, thus impacting their self-esteem and self-worth.

Community Programming/Interventions

Community program interventions have been shown to have positive impacts on participants. In our research project, community organization and program interventions were crucial to the success of our project for several reasons. First, Ka Ni Kanichihk is an exemplary community organization that offers education and employment training and culturally appropriate program. However, Ka Ni Kanichihk is much more than just a place for employment training. They support women in multiple ways through child care, food assistance, gift card incentives, health support, and friendship. Ka Ni helps women to transform their lives, in the way that they want by asking women what their goals and then helping them put in a plan to achieve them. Women said that incentives from Ka Ni helped financially and they also were able to purchase more food. Ka Ni offers ongoing support for women even after they complete the program. This is true compassion and the benefits are evident in the changes in women's lives.

Second, the Healthy Living program added another layer of support to Ka Ni's Honouring Gifts programming, by providing an action-oriented praxis. The Women's Right to the City research project helped women to understand sources of oppression and identify ways they traverse unjust state encounters. In combination, these programs helped women to understand that health inequities were not their fault. It is not their fault when they run out of money or when their children are sick and they can't afford to pay for their medicine. Rather, we talked about why certain people such as single mothers experience inequity at different levels; and exposed the deeply rooted causes of colonization and patriarchy. Additionally, offering honorarium to the women for their time was critical to the success of this project. Funding for project activities allowed me to provide women with monetary compensation (albeit very small) for their time. The women said that it was helpful and an additional source of income.

Third, The Women's Right to the City research collective and health support network was critical in providing peer support and for building friendships among the women co-researchers. At our project

meetings women would often share health problems, talk about their children's health, or provide emotional support during tough times. Our project provided opportunities for prolonged engagement among the women, so they were able to develop supportive relationships. Together the women recognized that it's okay to care of themselves, as normally they are providing caring work for others and their children, often neglecting their own needs and health. Unfortunately there is not a lot of health support for women that is easily accessible or affordable.

In sum, the combination of the educational and cultural support from Ka Ni, the healthy living program, and the women's right to the city research collective provided women with increased opportunities for education/employment, health support, and advocacy.

Mobility

Tracing personal and group mobility through a small study of Indigenous women's experiences with food insecurity in Winnipeg, provides a window into how critical studies of mobility can help us to describe the multidimensional social, political, geographic, and economic components that contribute to mobile friction stemming from identity politics that generate inequalities. Further, our results show how normalized expectations of mobility in Winnipeg are placed on the women co-researchers as individuals, rather than as a public service necessary for all. The outcomes we have described challenge the inequitable city as one that casts people that it excludes as personally culpable for the harm that it inflicts (i.e. systemic victim-blaming). Our results demonstrate how this group of Indigenous single mothers living in poverty are doing the best that they can to survive, along with their families, in a system that offers few good and dignified options for support and fails to acknowledge the oppressions, barriers, and limitations that it places on these women. These results have shown the need for further studies that integrate the fields of geographic food insecurity research and mobilities.

5.5 Recommendations

This thesis provides several insights that can be translated into concrete policy recommendations which are outlined below. A more detailed list of specific recommendations identified by our research group can be found in Appendix R.

To overcome short term food security there must be an integration of government support systems and increased financial support to help women transition out of poverty (and off social assistance).

Long-term solutions include enshrining a right to food in a Canadian national food policy.

Indigenous women's foodscapes revealed prevalent racism, yet it is rarely addressed as a main contributor to experiences of food insecurity and poverty in the city. The women suggested that what is needed is a greater understanding of how specifically food insecurity manifests unjust outcomes in Indigenous people's' lives. More compassion and empathy for Indigenous single mothers and the challenges they face could reduce the public indignant and racist encounters. Participation in decolonization activities and learning about how to be an ally is necessary for non-Indigenous Canadians to becoming anti-racist, and for reconciliation in Canada.

Our research has shown the mental health impacts of poverty, food insecurity, and racialized violence are traumatic. The women suggested that more community programs available for women, additional health supports, and increased access to healthy foods are short-term solutions would help. All people must have appropriate access to counseling, mental health treatment, addictions treatment, and basic health services.

The women of this project a large role in not only their children's lives, but in the lives of their family and friend's children's lives. We must continue to increase the economic capacity of women so they can continue to do the important job of being a mother while participating as an active citizen, without struggling so much. The women suggested more programs like Ka Ni that offer training and

work placements, increased support from EIA, and better employment opportunities would provide women with economic stability to meet their basic needs.

The results of our projects prove the usefulness of community food security initiatives such as healthy living education program and our ‘Women’s right to food’ research project. We hope that our results will aid Ka Ni Kanichihk in securing permanent funding for these types of programs that incorporate healthy living, food and activism.

5.6 Final Remarks

I am truly grateful for the women I got to know, for the experiences we shared, and the knowledge they shared with me. I am honoured to have partnered with the community based Indigenous led organization, Ka Ni Kanichihk, who has created a loving community with their clients is grounded in respect, cooperation, and putting our basic human needs first. The women who participated in this project have shown me that there are people in this world who are teaching their children to be loving, kind, respectful people; and it is their continued struggle, resistance, and hope that drives change. We hope that by sharing their stories it will help the public recognize that we all must do better to ensure that all people have their needs met.

There can be no justice without truth. People are denied their rights and freedoms because of truth so many of us don’t want to face. We must all challenge our assumptions, change our attitudes, become allies, and dismantle normalized racism that is plaguing Canadian society. The truth is in the stories that this amazing groups of women have shared with us. The question we must ask ourselves then is: when we hear stories like this what can we do to create real and lasting change? We can create change simply by listening, asking questions, and allowing ourselves to admit mistakes, in order to create a new reality. It all starts with most simply, an open mind, and hope.

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Appendix A: Participant Information Letter

Lead Investigator: Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. (Honours), MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

Title of Study: **Women's Right to Food**

Project Description

The purpose of this research project is to investigate experiences of food insecurity from the perspectives of low-income Indigenous mothers living in Winnipeg. Previous research and discussions with women who attend programming at Ka Ni has revealed difficulties in accessing quality food on social assistance. We want to talk to women who have experienced challenges in accessing food to tell the stories of their 'food journeys' in order to work towards improving individual and community level food security. Together through bi-weekly sessions over a 6 -month period, we will use several methods to explore women's food journey's- that is the places, experiences and encounters- that take place while traveling throughout the city to obtain food. The methods we will use will include: Participant observation, Mobile GPS/GIS mapping of food journeys, food diaries, photography, individual and focus group interviews. Finally, we will use the data we have collected to make food maps that show women's journeys (routes, places travelled to, time, distance) integrated with photographs and text. We will host several community presentations using the food maps we have created to tell women's stories of their food journeys in an easily accessible way that can reach audiences of other community members, organizations, food activists and policy makers.

Purpose

We want to speak with self-reported low-income women (over the age of 18) with one or more children who attend Ka Ni Kanichihk. The purpose of this project is to collect the perspectives and experiences of women who have had challenges obtaining food within Winnipeg neighbourhoods. These experiences will be useful in generating a greater understanding of how accessing food within the city influence women's health and well-being. Through this project we want to investigate experiences of food insecurity, which commonly refers to people have who go through periods of not having enough food to eat to maintain a healthy life or challenges of acquiring proper quantities of affordable and nutritious quality food to eat. The purpose of this is to identify what types of places, experiences and encounters within the city of Winnipeg contribute to experiences of food insecurity, which will then be used to generate ideas and find ways to move towards food security. The term food security means that all people should have adequate physical, social and economic access to obtain high quality, affordable, nutritious foods at all times.

What will happen?

1. A meeting will occur with you to get your consent to be part of the study.
2. You will be invited to meet with me and 6-8 other participants at a convenient time to discuss the project and plan the activities over the course of the next 7 months (approx. June- December 2012).
3. Project participation will include the following: (1) You will be asked to collect data in the form of "food journals/diaries" over a one month period. (2) Participation in 3 focus group interview discussions with women from the current research project and women

who completed research with Ka Ni and the lead researcher last year. (3) Participation in bi-weekly/month (approx. 2 hour) project sessions hosted as Ka Ni Kanichihk from June-December 2012. (4) Go-along interview session (approx. 1 day) where we would travel throughout the city and attend all the places you obtain food from together. During the go-along interview we will also use mobile GPS units to record the times, distances and routes travelled of your food journey. I will also ask you to take pictures during our go-along interview of anything that you think is important to document or record as part of your food journey.

4. You will get a token of our thanks in the form of \$20.00 for participating in each project session, interview and knowledge translation activity (community presentation) you take part in. You will received \$40.00 for completing the one month food journal. You will receive \$40 for the go-along interview. We will cover any necessary transportation or childcare costs that may result from being a part of the project activities.
5. The focus group discussions and bi-weekly sessions will take place at Ka Ni Kanichihk. The go-along interviews will take place throughout the city (on the go-along interviews).
6. The discussions will be recorded using a digital recording device.

Who Will Know? Privacy – Your interview contributions will be kept private. No names will be left on our copies. We will use code numbers instead of names. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Manitoba for 5 years. Only members of the research team will see the data. If anyone in the study tells us about abuse or a risk of self-harm, then we will need to tell the appropriate agency. Please note that anonymity cannot be ensured because of the nature of the study as the purpose is to share your stories and experiences, however, every effort will be taken to ensure that your contributions are shared in a respectful way. You will be given the opportunity to review all documents before they are presented or published and suggest any necessary changes or edits.

Sharing the Results – I will be sharing the findings of this study as part of my Master thesis project in a final report and presentation. We will also be sharing the food maps that we create hosted on a website and we will also be sharing our findings at conferences, community presentations, workshops, etc. No names or data that could identify you will be shared.

It's Your Choice- It is your choice to be part of this project. You may choose not to answer a question. You may stop being in the study at any time. You may ask questions at any time. If there are issues that are upsetting for you, we will help find a professional for you to talk to. There will be no penalty from withdrawing from this study at any time. There are no known risks to being in this study.

Do you have Questions?

If you have more questions please Cheryl Sobie at _____ or email her at _____
You can also call Dr. Jeff Masuda at _____ or email him at _____
If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact
any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at _____ This person is not
linked to the project. Thank you for your interest!

Appendix B: Research Agreement

RESEARCH AGREEMENT for the project: ‘Women’s right to food: Visualizing food journeys in Winnipeg’

The researchers, **University of Manitoba and Cheryl Sobie (MA Candidate)**, and the non-profit community organization, **Ka Ni Kanichihk**, agree to conduct the above named research project with the following understanding:

1. PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this research project as discussed with and understood by Ka Ni Kanichihk is to:

- a) To develop a participatory research partnership with Ka Ni Kanichihk, adhering to a feminist action research approach to explore the relationship between foodscapes and spatial justice in Winnipeg neighbourhoods;
- b) To undertake a mixed methods approach to investigate food insecurity, using a combination of GPS tracking/GIS mapping and go-along interviews to integrate the physical and social dimensions of women’s food geographies; and
- c) To translate and mobilize women’s knowledge of inequitable food provisioning experiences into social action that challenges conventional approaches to improving food security and seeks to improve individual
- d) and community level food security.

2. SCOPE OF PROJECT

The scope of this research project (that is, what issues, events, or activities are to be involved, and the degree of participation by community residents), as discussed with and understood by Ka Ni Kanichihk is:

- a) For research to take place from approximately June 2012 to January 2012.
- b) To conduct bi-weekly research project planning sessions and training sessions with 6-8 women participants from the 2012 Honouring Gifts program.
- c) To collect data with the women participants during the duration of the 8-month project utilizing a suite of methods and procedures that are outlined in section 3 below.

3. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Data will be gathered using the following methods and procedures:

- a) Individual interviews with participants
- b) Focus group interviews with participants
- c) Mobile GPS tracking of women’s food journeys within Winnipeg
- d) Diary interview and diary photograph methodology
- e) Go-along interviews and photography

4. OWNERSHIP, CONTROL, ACCESS, POSSESSION

- a) Data will be co-owned by the University of Manitoba lead researcher Cheryl Sobie and Ka Ni Kanichihk.
- b) This project will be designed and implemented through a co-learning environment where women are trained to be community researchers. The purpose of this project is to enable women’s voices and stories to be heard and the best way to do this is to let them speak for themselves and tell the stories of their food journeys.

- c) Data will be stored and accessible to Ka Ni Kanichihk through an agreed upon method such as an online storage tool (i.e. dropbox) or a shared external hard drive or USB device
- d) The transcripts and tapes will only be accessible by Dr. Masuda, and myself and will be kept in our Centre For Environmental Health Equity (CEHE) research lab in 357 Wallace building at the University of Manitoba. Data stored on my computer will be password-protected. Throughout the duration of the study, all interview tapes and data will be stored online in a dropbox account and will be destroyed within 5 years following the study. No names of participants will be attached to any reports or other products of the study.

5. RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEAD RESEARCHER

- a) To recognize the primary right of informants and suppliers of data and materials to the knowledge and use of that information and material.
- b) To ensure that all research is conducted in a manner that strictly follows and enforces appropriate guidelines.
- c) To respect the participants welfare and well being as the number one priority, by providing them any support, guidance and assistance they may require through this research or as a student in the community at Ka Ni Kanichihk.
- d) To adhere to the principle of justice, the focus of this research will be on telling women's stories of their food journeys. I will actively involve my research partner (Ka Ni) and all participants in crucial stages of the research process (sharing of data, providing benefits of research participation, dissemination of results, etc.).
- e) To respect Traditional Knowledge and ways of knowing of Aboriginal People.
- f) To contribute to improving the health and well-being of the community of women at Ka Ni Kanichihk.
- g) To conduct research that is consistent with the mandate and goals of the organization.
- h) To contribute to the interests of the organization in whatever ways possible to maximize the return for their cooperation in the research project and field work.

6. RESPONSIBILITIES OF KA NI KANICHIHK

- a) Ka Ni Kanichihk will provide classroom/boardroom space for bi-weekly meetings during the scope of the project.
- b) They will also provide technical support in the form of computer usage and audiovisual equipment if necessary.
- c) Ka Ni Kanichihk will consult with the lead researcher at crucial interval during the project to review progress and ensure that research project is proceeding according to schedule.
- d) Participants will have the opportunity to indicate whether they would like to review and confirm the accuracy of transcripts or receive copies of preliminary analyses for comment (member-checking) on the consent form.

7. INFORMED CONSENT

According to the CORE principles, every effort will be taken to ensure that consent is free, informed and ongoing. Informed consent will be obtained from participants in the following ways:

- a) An initial information letter will be given to the Director of Programming at Ka Ni Kanichihk who will distribute it to potential participants explaining the purpose and details of the research. I will also distribute this letter to previous participants from my undergraduate thesis research to provide them the opportunity to continue working with this research project.

- b) Following the information letter, participants for my study will be determined out of the women who approach me based on the recommendation of the Director of programming and other Ka Ni staff.
- c) Participants will be informed that they are allowed to withdraw at any time, participation is completely voluntary, and there is no penalty if they withdraw from the study at any time.

8. CONFIDENTIALITY

- a) All participants will sign a consent form that explains the procedures we will use to preserve anonymity and confidentiality in the data. With participants' permission, interview data will be audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.
- b) Because of the group setting of the interview, anonymity is not possible. However, to ensure confidentiality all identifying data will not be stored with the tapes and demographic data. Identities of participants will be kept confidential by allocating numbers or codes. This will allow the research team to take away the names of participants as soon as the demographic information of each participant is linked to their interview transcript.
- c) Participants of the group interview will be asked to respect each other's privacy and confidentiality in relation to all discussions during the project.

9. EXPECTED OUTCOMES, BENEFITS AND RISKS

9.1. Known Risks

- a) We anticipate there will be minimal risks involved with this study. Women will be provided with mobile GPS units and digital cameras to track and record their food movements throughout the city. Because of the potential ethical and safety issues that may arise as a result of the proposed methods, the lead researcher will ensure that women understand all ethical implications of this research and take proper safety precautions while partaking in any research.

9.2. Outcomes

- a) We anticipate the results of this project will promote food justice for low-income communities, by simultaneously creating awareness at the community level and mobilizing to effect systemic change. Our results can be used to inform other low-income mothers and families and may empower people living in poverty to take control of improving their short-term food security.
- b) We anticipate that our findings will provide new insights into the discriminatory patterns of foodscapes in the city, which may be useful for policymakers, food activists, and communities in promoting healthier food options for Indigenous women living in low-income neighbourhoods.

9.3. Benefits to community

- a) We hope to contribute to a vital nutrition component in programming offered at Ka Ni Kanichihk.
- b) We anticipate the results of this project will promote food justice for low-income communities, by simultaneously creating awareness at the community level and mobilizing to effect systemic change.
- c) Our results can be used to inform other low-income mothers and families and may empower people living in poverty to take control of improving their short-term food security.
- d) We anticipate that Indigenous women's foodscapes in Winnipeg will reveal numerous structural barriers to food security such as insufficient public transportation, inadequate subsidized housing, and lack of appropriate food policy, that contribute to their discriminatory and inequitable experiences with food. Our results will directly inform these areas, such that taking action on unjust foodscapes can be made a higher policy priority in the city.

9.4. Benefits to researcher

- a) Upon completion of lead researcher’s fieldwork and written thesis she will complete the requirement for obtaining a Master of Arts degree from the University of Manitoba.
 - b) Our results will provide the first robust analysis of food insecurity among Indigenous women in Winnipeg, linking women’s experiences to the geographies of poverty and ethnoracial marginalization in the city. These results will be disseminated in academic journal articles, published online, and presented at conferences and community gatherings.
- 9.5. Benefits to participants
- a) Direct benefits will arise from specific project activities that are designed to train women as co-researchers to obtain skills pertaining to conducting research, computer usages, photography, journaling and possibly video.
 - b) Indirect benefits from participation in this study include increased awareness of the challenges low-income Indigenous single mothers face in accessing food in Winnipeg neighbourhoods.
 - c) The women who participate in this study will also receive small honorariums, transportation assistance and the opportunity to present our research at conferences, presentations, community organizations, etc.

10. DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS

- a) As part of Cheryl Sobie’s degree and supervisor requirements her thesis will be prepared to publish online through the University of Manitoba. Ka Ni Kanichihk will be able to review and suggest changes before the documents are submitted.
- b) Cheryl Sobie and research participants will disseminate results in conference and/or community presentations.
- c) The knowledge translation activities we prepare (i.e. creative outputs- facebook page, zine, photographs) will be hosted on a public web page, which the public will be able to access. These materials will be published based on consent of participants and Ka Ni Kanichihk and confidentiality will be strictly enforced.

The research partners **University of Manitoba and Cheryl Sobie (MA Candidate)**, and **Ka Ni Kanichihk**, agree to conduct research in accordance with the above document.

Signatures of research partners:

Ka Ni Kanichihk Inc.

Cheryl Sobie (University of Manitoba)

Appendix C: Ethics Approval Certificate



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

Office of the Vice-President
(Research and International)
Research Ethics and Compliance

Human Ethics

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

May 30, 2012

MAFRA
NEAHR

TO: Cheryl Sobie (Advisor J. Masuda)
Principal Investigator

FROM: Wayne Taylor, Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2012:058
"Aboriginal Women's Foodscapes: Creating a Pathway to Health Equity"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). **This approval is valid for one year only.**

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to the Office of Research Services, fax -
- please include the name of the funding agency and your UM Project number. This must be faxed before your account can be accessed.
- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html) in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.

Appendix D: Project Introduction Letter

Lead Investigator: Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. (Honours), MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

Title of Study:
Women's Right to Food

To start the discussion:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this meeting. I realize that your participation continues to be voluntary and has involved you going out of your way to be here. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the meeting at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this discussion.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of the meeting, the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview. I would also like to ensure that everyone in the room understands the importance of respecting each other's' confidentiality. What is said in this room should stay in the room. Today we will go through

1. Introductions and ice breaker

I am currently working on my graduate degree in geography at the University of Manitoba and as a component of this I would like to work with you to undertake a research project that is focused on food security (which we will in greater detail in a few minutes).

The project will take place from approximately Spring/summer 2012- January 2013 (or potentially longer). There will be opportunity for us to get together over the winter but I only anticipate this being a few times. During the course of 6 months we will have project sessions on Fridays and/or evening sessions if needed (will give you notice). I am hoping that together we will develop a community based participatory action research project. This means that we will design and develop a research program together based on all of our ideas and needs. Participating as co-researchers, you can choose among potential methods to track and record your own food journeys, including all the places, experiences and encounters involved in how you access food.

2. Administration

- a. Consent forms
- b. Honoraria

3. Introductory Discussion

a. Explanation of research objective and participants' roles

When you hear the term 'food insecurity' this commonly is referring to people who often do not have enough food to eat or who do not have enough affordable and easily accessible quality food to eat.

*We are doing this research to come up with ways of describing the food insecurity that you experience. What **you** think about it, your experiences and emotions are important and are also the kind of information that people in power will listen to.*

*The question that comes up in a lot of research is, "What's the point?" What we hope to do with this research is (1) to come up with new ways of describing food insecurity that are relevant to your lives, and (2) to do something about the things you've described that are unfair. The thing is, we won't know for sure what that part might look like until we find out what's important to **you**. The way we're going to do this is by having discussions, traveling on your food journeys together, and taking photographs. But we also hope that you'll find being part of the research team is rewarding on its own. We believe that research is a good way to bring people together and get them talking about issues that matter to the community so that positive change can happen.*

b. What is research? (General discussion to follow focused on the following points)

The term research can mean many things:

- *Gather information on a particular topic to enhance knowledge and understanding*
- *Enhance knowledge to solve a problem in the world*

Research can be used to:

- *Examine challenges in people's lives, ask questions about why things the way they*
- *Share stories and experiences to let others know about a particular situation or issue (s)*

Why is it important?

- *This project will create opportunities for you to participate in a project where we are co-researchers. We will investigate your experiences in Winnipeg with food and how this impacts your life*

c. Key concepts (See Power Point)

- *What is food insecurity?; Who is food insecure?; Why is this an important issue to examine?*
- *Health impacts of food insecurity*
- *Foodscares*
- *Feminist Research*
- *Right to Food*
- *Food Justice*

Personal Safety and Ethics

d. Safety statement

Your safety is more important than the spontaneity or the power of the image to be photographed. Please be aware of your surroundings and potential dangers at all times. Be careful not to put anyone at risk or create a 'risky event' for your pictures. Please respect people's privacy; they may be uncomfortable with having their photo taken. Ask permission before taking a photo if you include people in your photos, and get written consent after the picture is taken.

e. Ethics

- Review Information Letter
- Review consent forms, confidentiality, ethics agreement
- Sign consent forms

f. Take Away – before participants leave, be sure that they have with them:

- a. Honorarium
- b. Business cards (10)
- c. Release forms (24)
- d. Instructions on phone number and date to call

Do you have Questions?

If you have more questions please Cheryl Sobie at _____ or email her at _____
You can also call Dr. Jeff Masuda at _____ or email him at _____
. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact
any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at _____ This person is not
linked to the project. Thank you for your interest!

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form

Lead Investigator:

Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. Honours, MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

Title of Study: Women's Right to Food

Project Funding: Manitoba Alternative Food Research Alliance (MAFRA)

Purpose: Thank you for your interest in the project entitled '**Women's Right to Food**'. The purpose of this project is to collect the perspectives and experiences of women who have had challenges obtaining food within Winnipeg neighbourhoods. These experiences will be useful in generating a greater understanding of how accessing food within the city influence women's health and well-being. Through this project we want to investigate experiences of food insecurity, which commonly refers to people who go through periods of not having enough food to eat to maintain a healthy life or challenges of acquiring proper quantities of affordable and nutritious quality food to eat. The purpose of this is to identify what types of places, experiences and encounters within the city of Winnipeg contribute to experiences of food insecurity, which will then be used to generate ideas and find ways to move towards food security. The term food security means that all people should have adequate physical, social and economic access to obtain high quality, affordable, nutritious foods at all times.

Study Procedures: You have been asked to take part in a research project that involves go-along interviews, research diaries, photography, food journey tracking (mobile GPS), group dialogues, and presentations. You will participate in a series of discussions centered on issues related to food, food security, foodscapes and food justice. You will also be involved in workshops on journaling and photography. Over a 6-8 month time period you will participate in approximately 12 bi-weekly project planning sessions; one go-along interview session where I will travel with you to all the places you obtain food from in the city while tracking our route with a mobile GPS unit;; and approximately 3 focus groups; and 2-3 community presentations where we will discuss the results of our research. The group discussions will take approximately 8-12 hours of your time. The discussion will be tape-recorded. The interview will be translated using a numerical code to replace your name. This code will be used to identify what you said in quotes and used in future reports, posters, and/or publications which will be presented to other individuals and organizations who have interest or responsibility in the neighbourhood.

Potential Risks and Benefits: It is not likely that there will be any harms or discomforts nor direct benefits to you associated with the interview. We will ask you to put safety first while you are out taking pictures in your neighbourhood. There is a risk attached to taking pictures of people without their permission. However, the lead researcher will be accompanying you while taking pictures during the go-along interview and will have consent forms available.

During the interview, you may feel uncomfortable with some of the questions that are asked or comments that are made. This project requires a significant time commitment and is a risk that should be carefully considered before agreeing to participate in this project. Your participation in the study is voluntary and you are welcome to leave the interview at any time as well as refuse to answer questions during the course of the interview. Although the research will not benefit you directly, your participation and cooperation can help develop a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities to improve food insecurity as experienced by other women in your community.

Confidentiality: We will make every effort to ensure that your identity is kept strictly confidential, except under circumstances where we may have to reveal certain personal information if the law requires it (e.g., child abuse). However, as you are participating in a group interview, we cannot guarantee this confidentiality. We will ensure

ask all participants to respect each other's privacy. Following the interview, you will have the option of reading what was recorded during the interview. Throughout the duration of the study all interview tapes will be locked in a secure location at the university and will be destroyed at a time following the completion of the study. The findings from this study may be published in academic journals, or posted on the Manitoba Alternative Food Research Alliance website, or presented at conferences as a current research project. However, you will not be identified by name in any reports from the completed study. If the information is used for another study, the researchers will first request permission from you.

Quality Assurance: The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board(s) and a representative(s) of the University of Manitoba Research Quality Management/Assurance office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes.

Compensation: We will offer you \$20 for each project session, individual interview and group interview you participate in. We will offer you \$40 for your participation in the food journal research activity and \$40 for the go-along interview. The total per participant offered is approximately \$300.00.

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	Yes	No
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?	Yes	No
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study?	Yes	No
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate or withdraw	Yes	No

from the study at any time? You do not have to give a reason and it will not affect you. There is no penalty for withdrawing from this study at any time.

Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you?	Yes	No
Do you understand who will have access to the information you provide?	Yes	No
Please indicate if you would like to receive a copy of the final research report	Yes	No

Please note that this study will be tape-recorded to ensure the reliability and validity of the information discussed in the focus group interviews. Because of the group setting of the interview, anonymity is not possible. However, all participants of the group interviews will be asked to respect each others privacy and confidentiality in relation to all discussions throughout the course of the project. Your participation in this study will provide firsthand knowledge about the food insecurity experienced by Indigenous women in Winnipeg neighbourhoods.

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

This study was explained to me by: _____

I agree to take part in this study.

_____ Signature of Research Participant	_____ Date	_____ Witness
--	---------------	------------------

Printed Name

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

Signature of Investigator or Designee

Date

The Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) has approved this research. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons of the Human Ethics Secretariat at _____ A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Do you have Questions?

If you have more questions please Cheryl Sobie at _____ or email her at _____

You can also call Dr. Jeff Masuda at _____ or email him at _____

If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at _____ This person is not linked to the project. Thank you for your interest.

Appendix F: Release of Creative Materials

Project Title: *Women's Right to Food*

Funded By: Manitoba Alternative Food Research Alliance (MAFRA); National Centre for Excellence in Aboriginal Health Research (NEAHR)

1) In addition to the researcher's study, I give permission for my pictures to be used for (check all that apply):

- Other published papers on this topic
- Public presentations on this topic
- DO NOT use my photos for anything other than the research study

2) I give the researcher permission to use all of the materials I have produced except for:

3) I want to be identified by the following first name or nickname in any project reports or publications

In giving permission for the use of my pictures beyond the current research, I have been offered the opportunity to view the pictures and I understand that I may withdraw my permission for the use of the pictures at any time. I am aware that the researchers will take steps to protect my privacy and confidentiality at all times.

Name of Participant

Name of person who obtained consent

Signature & Date

Signature & Date

The person who may be contacted about this research is:
Cheryl Sobie (Principal Investigator)

Appendix G: Proposed Project Timeline

Event	Date
Research Proposal Approval	April 2012
Ethics Approval	May 2012
Research Partnership Agreement	May 2012
Introductory discussions	May 2012
Data collection training	June 2012
Data Collection	May 2012-January 2013
Knowledge Translation	June 2013- March 2014
Data Analysis and Thesis Writing	March 2014- December 2014

Appendix H: Proposed Project Methods

Lead Investigator:

Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. Honours, MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

Title of Study:

Women's Right to Food

Today we will briefly review and discuss proposed methods that we can use to conduct our research investigation together. Please remember this is an outline/proposal only. The purpose of today's discussion is to review these methods to determine which ones we would like to use and which ones make sense for what we are trying to do in our project. We will also review a proposed project timeline of when we will meet, collect data, analyze our data and share our results. Please note this is a proposed timeline and it will likely change as we begin to undertake our project.

Proposed Methods:

1) Project meetings/participatory dialogue sessions

2) Focus Group Interviews

3) Journaling/Food diaries

Throughout the course of our investigations I will be asking you to keep 'food journals'. What I mean by this is to keep a journal of all your actions, experiences, thoughts and emotions about food over the course of the next two months. The purpose of this is to help you think about and take note of any particular experiences, thoughts or emotions related to food, food insecurity or participation in this project.

We will be holding a journaling workshop where I will suggest an outline that documents a more specific record in your food diary of the times, dates, locations and experiences at each place you visit to obtain food from within the city.

4) Go-along Interviews

I will accompany you in your travels throughout the city and we will discuss experiences, practices, and knowledge about the places that you travel to get food from and record our discussions using an audio recorder and photography if you choose to take pictures.

5) Mobile-GPS enabled GIS mapping

During each go-along interview we will take a mobile GPS unit along with us which will record the distance, time and locations we travel to during your food journey. The GPS data we collect will be transformed into maps that we will use for sharing our research.

6) Individual Interviews

7) Photography

I will be giving you a camera to use during our go-along interviews (describe methods in next meeting take any pictures related to your journal entries (or unrelated) that you think are important and represent part of your food experiences, food journeys and places in your neighbourhood that you think impact how you obtain or think about food. These pictures can be of anything that you think will help to share your experiences and tell your food story. Later on, I will ask to see your photos and we will then discuss the meanings behind why you took the specific photos and what they represent to you.

Also, we will have a professional photographer come in to [LOCATION] to give a workshop on the principles of good photography.

Thank you for your participation!

Do you have Questions?

If you have more questions please Cheryl Sobie at _____ or email her at _____

You can also call Dr. Jeff Masuda at _____ or email him at _____

If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at _____ This person is not linked to the project. Thank you for your interest.

Appendix I: Food Journal Training Guide

Lead Investigator:

Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. (Honours), MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

Today we will be taking part in a research training workshop as related to the food diaries we have previously discussed. As co-researchers I will be asking you to conduct research and collect data about yourselves and your experiences with food. Research is a learning process and the purpose of this exercise is to think about the ways that your food journeys is influenced by the geography of the city, the people you encounter, and the places that you go.

Over the next month I will be asking you to keep a journal to record all of your activities, actions, experiences, thoughts and emotions about food. Because this is a participatory process today we will be discussing which items to include, not include, etc. The purpose of this is to record YOUR food journey (places, thoughts, experiences, emotions, etc.) in a way that best suits you, i.e there is no right or wrong way to do this. Importantly, this project (and the journal) is an opportunity for you to share your stories, voice your opinions, and determine ways to overcome challenges and fight for justice.

Some items to keep in mind to think about/record in your food journals over the next month:

- 1) *When you go to purchase/acquire food*
 - *How long did it take, where did you go, how did you get there?*
 - *Collect receipts, bus transfers, menu items, flyers, coupons etc.*
- 2) *Why did you go to a specific place to get food?*
 - *Was it in your neighbourhood, did you have a coupon, did the store have something you needed, or was it a food bank, do you go to a certain place because the atmosphere?*
- 3) *Any interesting encounters or observations during your 'food journey'?*
 - *People you interacted with, store/food bank experiences, encounters during your journey*
 - *Transportation experiences*
- 4) *Items that you want to discuss later*
 - *Anything of specific interest, importance to you and your food journey; anything that you want to bring up in the group*
- 5) *Your thoughts, feelings, emotions, etc. anything that you want to write about as it relates to your life, your food journey, living in the city, being a mom, etc.*

It is important to record the challenges, struggles and negative experiences but I also want you to think about ways that accessing food in Winnipeg could be improved. This can be anything from improved public transportation, cheaper food prices, grocery store shuttles, better food bank procedures, etc. Please also think about changes that we can do on a small scale with our research project- i.e. who should know about this research, how can we use this to make changes?

Procedures:

- Please try to write in your journal once per day or once every 2 days. It doesn't have to be long. Some days it could be only a paragraph or two, other days it might be one or more pages
- If you do not want to take your tracking sheet with you, take your memo pad to write down important things while you are out and then fill in your sheet when you get home
- Please try to fill in each day with something during the month. It's not a big deal if you miss one or two but we need to try to get the most accurate data as possible.

Part 2: Sample Food Journal Tracking Sheet

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Store or Food Bank (Name and location)							
Items purchased or received							
Amount spent							
Transportation Methods							
Time spent (total journey)							
Misc. comments or notes							

Appendix J: Focus Group 1

Preliminary materials

Before the interview begins, be sure to review the consent forms that participants filled out earlier, taking note to ensure that people respect each other's confidentiality.

To start the discussion:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this meeting. I realize that your participation continues to be voluntary and has involved you going out of your way to be here. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the meeting at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this discussion.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of the meeting, the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview. I would also like to ensure that everyone in the room understands the importance of respecting each other's' confidentiality. What is said in this room should stay in the room.

Today we will focus our discussion around the theme of 'foodscapes'. A foodscape is any place where you obtain food from (such as grocery stores, supermarkets, or even food banks) but it also includes places where you eat food or prepare food (i.e. your home, community kitchen, restaurant, etc.). The purpose of today's discussion is to talk about what YOUR foodscape consists of and what happens in those locations. I am also interested in how your experiences in those places made you feel. We will also talk about 'food journeys', which means all the places that you travel to and from to get food within the city. This includes anything from traveling to the grocery store on a bus or walking to the convenience store down the street.

LOCATION

- 1) *What types of places do you obtain food from? (i.e. grocery stores, food banks, discount grocers, supermarkets, etc.)*
- 2) *Where are these places located?*
 - a. *In your neighbourhood*
 - b. *Close range to your neighbourhood*
 - c. *Neighbourhood farther away from your home*
- 3) *In a typical week how often do you partake in a food provisioning activity?*
- 4) *How many places do you have to go to get food for your family in a typical shopping trip?*
- 5) *How do you typically get to the places you obtain food from (i.e. car, bus, taxi, etc.)?*

FOOD PURCHASES

- 1) *What types of foods do you typically purchase when you go grocery shopping?*
 - a. *What percentage is prepackaged/prepared?*
 - b. *What percentage is fresh fruits, vegetables, meats, etc?*
- 2) *What is your food budget per month?*
- 3) *Do you ever encounter situations where you need to prioritize other costs (i.e. housing daycare) over purchasing food? If so how often? How did this make you feel?*
- 3) *Have you ever needed to obtain food from a food bank? If so how often?*
 - a. *In a month?*
 - b. *Over the course of a year?*

EXPERIENCES

- 1) *During a typical food provisioning activity are there any particular experiences, encounters or emotions that stand out in your mind?*
 - a. *Negative encounters with food providers or on food journey?*
 - b. *Positive encounters with food providers or on food journey?*
 - c. *Encounters with people?*
 - d. *Emotions associated with encounters/experiences?*
- 2) *Have you encountered racism or sexism during food provisioning? If so where and in what situation? How did this make you feel?*

Appendix K: Focus Group 2

Preliminary materials

Before the interview begins, be sure to review the consent forms that participants filled out earlier, taking note to ensure that people respect each other's confidentiality.

To start the discussion:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this meeting. I realize that your participation continues to be voluntary and has involved you going out of your way to be here. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the meeting at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this discussion.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of the meeting, the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview. I would also like to ensure that everyone in the room understands the importance of respecting each other's' confidentiality. What is said in this room should stay in the room.

During the next two hours, I would like us to discuss the first of many topics related to food and food security that we will cover over the course of this project. To better understanding the complex relationship we all have with food, I will begin with asking you questions about your past experiences with food, what food means to you and what types of thoughts and feelings you have about food. We will also cover the topic of food insecurity, what this means and what this looks like in your life. I do not have a long list of questions to ask because I would like you to feel free to talk about your own experiences in relation to your history and past experiences with food that you think are important and have shaped you current views on food.

To get started, I would like to cover what the definition of food insecurity means so that we have a basis for the discussion that follows. Food insecurity can be defined as the inadequate access to a sufficient quality and quantity of nutritional foods obtained in a socially acceptable and dignified manner.

I would like to begin with a few questions to help me get better acquainted with you and your knowledge, thoughts, experiences and emotions associated with food:

FOOD HISTORY

2. Please tell me a little about your food histories:
 - a. What types of foods did you eat growing up?
 - b. In what places did you eat food growing up (home, community, restaurants, etc.)?
 - c. What emotions, feelings, and experiences do you remember from your history/past with food?
 - d. Did you have control over any of your food choices growing up? Who made the food decisions in your family?

FEELINGS ABOUT FOOD:

3. *In what ways have you thought about the role that food plays in your life?*
 - a. *Are your thoughts and feelings associated with food positive or negative? Why?*
 - b. *Are you the main food provider in your family? If so is this a role you enjoy?*

FOOD INSECURITY:

4. *Based on the definition of food insecurity that we have discussed would you define yourself as food insecure?*
 - a. *Some of the time?*
 - b. *All of the time?*
 - c. *Periods of food insecurity followed by periods of food security?*

4. *What would you say are some of the biggest challenges you face in obtaining food? Do any challenges include the following?*
 - a. *Transportation*
 - b. *Income/budget*
 - c. *Lack of food stores in your neighbourhood*
 - d. *Discrimination at food providers or food banks*
 - e. *Other challenges*

I would like to end the interview by thanking you for sharing your insights with me. This has been an extremely informative conversation and it will be very helpful to us as we analyze this issue and work toward developing and refining our research project.

Transcript Verification

You have the option of reviewing and commenting on the transcripts from our discussion. I would like to re-emphasize that like everything that has been shared in the interview; these comments will remain confidential, meaning we will not associate your name or organization to any of the things you have said. Are you interested in checking the transcripts?

- Yes. I will be contacting you in the future with more information.
- No. I understand, that's fine.

Thank You

Thank you again for participating in this interview. If you have any questions regarding this study, or questions regarding some of the issues we discussed, please do not hesitate to call me at the numbers contained in your information letter.

Appendix L: Focus Group 3

Lead Investigator:

Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. (Honours), MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

To start the interview:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I realize that your participation is voluntary and has involved you going out of your way during this busy time of year. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the interview at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this interview.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I want to check that you have signed the informed consent form. At this point I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of an interview the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview.

PART 1: Questions:

1. *What are your thoughts about the results of the research overall?*
2. *Do you think the methods we used are a useful way to build knowledge? (i.e. food journals, go-along interviews, focus group discussions)*
3. *In what way has your thinking about how you access food and how it impacts your health?*
4. *In what ways does food security and accessing food affect your physical health and mental health?*
5. *Did you enjoy participating in this research project? If so in what way (s)?*
6. *What do you hope will come out of this research?*
 - a. *What would you like to see done with the results?*
 - b. *What changes would you like to see as an outcome of this research?*
7. *Do you want to continue to be involved in working as a group to continuing advocating for food justice?*
8. *Is there anything else you would like to add or any other stories you want to share?*

PART 2: Taking Action

Now that we have heard from everyone, I would now like us to discuss ways in which we can use this information to influence change. The information we have collect represent a visualization of your foodscapes that we can share to influence change in your lives and your communities.

What would you like to do with this research now?

- *Who needs to hear about this?*
- *Where can we present this?*
- *How should we present this?*

What would you like to do with this research over the long term?

- *What are some long-term changes you think this research can influence?*
- *In what ways can we improve things on a community level (prompt: think about community kitchen, community cupboard, gardening, etc.)?*

PART 3:

This brings us to the end of my set of prepared questions. Is there anything that you feel we have missed and should talk about? Is there anything you would like to add to the conversation we have had thus far?

I would like to end the interview by thanking you for sharing your insights with me. This has been an extremely informative conversation and it will be very helpful to us as we analyze this issue and work toward developing and refining our research project.

Ongoing participation

Would you be willing to participate in presentations of this research to community organizations, governments, and at academic conferences with the research team?

Thank You

Thank you again for participating in this interview. If you have any questions regarding this study, or questions regarding some of the issues we discussed, please do not hesitate to call me at the numbers contained in your information letter.

Appendix M: Go- Along Interview Guide

Lead Investigator:

Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. (Honours), MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

To start the discussion:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this interview and for taking the time to show me some places along your food journey. I realize that your participation continues to be voluntary and has involved you going out of your way to be here. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the meeting at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this discussion.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of the meeting, the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview.

The purpose of this exercise is for you to take me to places that you think are important for me to see on your food journey. Some things that I will ask you to think about as we go on this journey:

- 1) Why did you want to show me this place?*
- 2) What are some experiences you have had with this place?*
- 3) Does this place invoke any particular emotions, thoughts?*
- 4) What role does this place play in your food journey?*

PART B:

This brings us to the end of my set of prepared questions. Is there anything that you feel we have missed and should talk about? Is there anything you would like to add to the conversation we have had thus far?

I would like to end the interview by thanking you for sharing your insights with me. This has been an extremely informative conversation and it will be very helpful to us as we analyze this issue and work toward developing and refining our research project.

Transcript Verification

You have the option of reviewing and commenting on the transcripts from our discussion. I would like to re-emphasize that like everything that has been shared in the interview; these comments will remain confidential, meaning we will not associate your name or organization to any of the things you have said. Are you interested in checking the transcripts?

Yes. I will be contacting you in the future with more information.

No. I understand, that's fine.

Email: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Thank You

Thank you again for participating in this interview. If you have any questions regarding this study, or questions regarding some of the issues we discussed, please do not hesitate to call me at the numbers contained in your information letter.

Appendix N: Individual Interview Guide

Lead Investigator:

Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. (Honours), MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

To start the interview:

I would like to begin by first thanking you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I realize that your participation is voluntary and has involved you going out of your way during this busy time of year. Please remember that you are welcome to leave the interview at any time as well as decline to answer questions during the course of this interview.

There are some practicalities to take care of before we begin our discussion. First, I want to check that you have signed the informed consent form. At this point I would like to remind you that I will be taping this interview. This is necessary because over the course of an interview the discussion can become quite broad. Taping the discussion allows me the opportunity to focus all my attention on what you are saying rather than just taking notes. I want to reassure you that only I will know your identity and that a pseudonym will be given when we transcribe the interview.

The purpose of this interview is to reflect on the data collection methods we have undertaken over the past few months and review your experiences with those methods, and what they helped you to understand about your food journey. This interview will also serve as an opportunity to discuss any topics in your food journal or go-along interview in further detail.

1. *What did the food journal help you to understand about your food journey?*
2. *Are there any specific stories you want to share with me that you recorded in your journal, or come to mind now that you did not mention previously?*
3. *Did you enjoy taking part in this exercise?*

[Probes: Is there something that would change about it?; Is there another tool that you would rather use to share your experience)

4. *Did either the food journaling exercise or go-along interview, help you to understand more about barriers/challenges along your food journey?*

[Probes: If so, what types of barriers? How can/did you overcome them?; What support could be offered to help you overcome these barriers?

5. *Are there any changes you would like to make in your food journey?*

[Probes: Are these changes you can make on your own or are they larger changes that are needed within society, city, systems, structures, etc..?]

6. *What would be the number one (or two) thing that you would like to see improved in the city to help make accessing food easier for mothers with children?*

Transcript Verification

You have the option of reviewing and commenting on the transcripts from our discussion. I would like to re-emphasize that like everything that has been shared in the interview; these comments will remain confidential, meaning we will not associate your name or organization to any of the things you have said. Are you interested in checking the transcripts?

Yes. I will be contacting you in the future with more information.

No. I understand, that's fine.

Email: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Thank You

Thank you again for participating in this interview. If you have any questions regarding this study, or questions regarding some of the issues we discussed, please do not hesitate to call me at the numbers contained in your information letter.

Appendix O: Follow up Questionnaire

Lead Investigator:

Cheryl Sobie, B.Env.St. (Honours), MA Candidate
Advisor: Dr. Jeffrey Masuda, Assistant Professor
Department of Environment and Geography
University of Manitoba

The purpose of this follow up survey is to gather some additional information on things that influence your food journeys in Winnipeg. The information you provide is confidential therefore please do not write your name on this sheet. Thank you for your participation. If you have any questions please let me know!

Follow-up Survey Questions

1. Where do you receive your main sources of income from?

1. What is your monthly income?

2. How much money do you spend on food:
 - a) Per week-

 - b) Per month-

3. What % of your monthly income do you spend on food compared to your other living costs?

4. Do you live in a Manitoba Housing residence?

5. How much do you pay for rent per month?

Appendix P: Growing Local Workshop Conference Survey

Thank you for taking the time to participate in our workshop today and for completing this quick survey. The purpose of this survey is to gain a better understanding of your knowledge about and/or experience with Indigenous people in Canada and issues facing people living in poverty.

1. Have you ever spent any time in a First Nations, Inuit and/or Metis community?
 Yes
 No
 Not sure
 N/A

2. Do you feel you have been adequately educated about settler colonialism and the impacts on Indigenous people in Canada?
 Strongly disagree
 Disagree
 Somewhat disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Agree
 Strongly Agree

3. Do you feel you have been adequately educated regarding social issues facing Indigenous People in Canada?
 Strongly disagree
 Disagree
 Somewhat disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Agree
 Strongly Agree

4. Do you feel you have been adequately educated regarding health issues facing Indigenous people in Canada?
 Strongly disagree
 Disagree
 Somewhat disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Agree
 Strongly Agree

5. Indigenous people have a higher prevalence of Type 2 Diabetes than the general population
 Strongly disagree
 Disagree

- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

6. Indigenous people have a higher suicide rate than the general population

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

7. Do you think people who receive social assistance earn enough income to meet their basic needs?

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

8. Do you think there are enough social supports available in Canada to help people transition out of poverty?

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Thank you very much for participating in this survey. As previously mentioned your participation is completely voluntary. This workshop is part of our research project Women's Right to the City and we would like to ask your permission to use the results of this survey as part of our research findings. Please note that this is an anonymous survey and your participation is completely voluntary.

Yes No

Appendix Q: Knowledge Translation Activities

Media Interviews:

- Interviews on Wooden Spoons CKUW 95.9 Campus Radio - January 2013; March 2014

Social media activities:

- Women's Right to the City Collective Facebook page- July 2014- ongoing

Conference presentations:

- Canadian Association of Food Studies, Waterloo, Ontario- May 2012
- Canadian Association of Geographers, St. John's Newfoundland- August 2013

Group Workshops/presentation:

- Whose Winnipeg: Settler Colonialism, Neoliberalism, and the Production of Urban Space- August 2013
- Growing Local Conference - March 2014

Written Publications:

- Healthy Living Program final report for Ka Ni Kanichihk- March 2013
- Cheryl Sobie's published thesis- February 2018
- Report for Ka Ni Kanichihk- To be completed by Spring/Summer 2018

Appendix R: Recommendations developed by Women’s Right to the City Research Collective

Area identified	Recommendations
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shorter wait times for Manitoba Housing - Safer housing - Appropriate housing facilities (i.e. working lights, washer/dryer) - Offer low-cost or no cost housing upgrades (i.e. deadbolts, peephole)
Charitable Food System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Better quality food at food banks - More inviting food bank requirements
Transportation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mini van taxis with six seats - Buses must accommodate women with children and strollers - Increase stop frequency after 7pm - More bus shelters needed - More conveniently placed bus stops
Employment Income Assistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Taxi-fare included in income assistance - Higher housing budget for single people - Include food budget in social assistance amount - Outside party to advocate for women who need help accessing social assistance - Increase assistance rates - EIA workers must treat clients with respect
Grocery Stores	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public washrooms in all grocery stores - Grocery store shuttle buses - More grocery stores needed in downtown and north end
Community Programming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More accessible and affordable community cooking classes - Increase community garden programs to include at Manitoba Housing locations - More healthy living education programming
Resistance Against Racism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anti-racism education should be mandatory in schools, workplaces, public servant employees, grocery store employees
Food Access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase access to food providers in neighbourhood and outside of neighbourhood - More fruits and vegetables available at low-cost