Food Stories: A Labrador Inuit-Metis Community Speaks about Global Change

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For my mother, Theresa Martin (nee Holley)

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ABSTRACT

Background: Food nourishes us, sustains us, and has the potential to both heal us and make us sick. Among many Indigenous cultures, traditional activities, ceremonies, events and practices often involve or use food, grounding Indigenous peoples within the context of their local, natural surroundings. This suggests that food is important not only for physical health, but also emotional, mental and spiritual health. The relationships that Indigenous peoples have with food can help us to understand the health of individuals, and the communities in which they live. ***Purpose***: The following qualitative study explores how three generations of adults who live in one Labrador Inuit-Metis community experience and understand their relationships to food in a context of global change. ***Theoretical Orientation***: The research is guided by Two-Eyed Seeing. Two-Eyed Seeing acknowledges that there are many different ways of seeing and understanding the world, some of which can be encompassed through a 'Western eye' and some through an 'Indigenous eye.' If we learn to see through both eyes, we can gain a perspective that looks very different than if we only view the world through a single lens. ***Methods***: For the study, twenty-four people from the south-eastern Labrador community of St. Lewis participated in individual and joint story-telling sessions. A group story-telling session also took place where community members could share their stories with one another. During many of the story-telling sessions, participants shared photographs, which helped to illustrate their relationships to food. ***Findings/Discussion***: Historically, the people of St. Lewis relied almost entirely upon their own wherewithal for food, with few, if any, government services available and very little assistance from the market economy. This fostered and upheld an Inuit-Metis culture that promoted sharing, reciprocity and respect for the natural world. Currently, greater access to government services and the market economy has led to the creation of certain policies and programs that undermine or ignore established social and cultural norms in the community. ***Conclusions***: Existing Inuit-Metis knowledge should work alongside non-Indigenous approaches to policy and program development. This would serve to protect and promote the health of both individuals and communities.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

This study is about people who live in one Inuit-Metis community, and the social, cultural, economic, political and environmental context in which their foods are eaten. Although the study seeks to understand how food influences health, it positions food as much more than simply the fuel that meets our biological requirement for nutritional health. Rather, it situates food as being a series of processes and procedures that inform when, how much, how often and even why certain foods are eaten. Understanding the social, cultural, economic, political and environmental context within which foods are eaten sheds light on the cultural significance that food holds for diverse groups. This study positions food as a way to learn about and understand culture, since many of the traditions, activities, ceremonies and practices of diverse cultures in some way reflect or include food.

Global changes, including global warming, increased international trade, and the changing role of governments regarding issues related to procuring, accessing and availing of food are threatening the health of people by contributing to the destruction of culture, property, and means of subsistence (Hart, Orellana, Wagner & Goldberg, 2007; Kuhnlein et al., 2006). Indigenous peoples are particularly at risk of the dangers of global change, since their very cultural integrity as distinct peoples depends upon the health of the environment (Hart et al., 2007). Indigenous peoples' relationships to food are a poignant way to approach research on how they are reacting and responding to global changes, since it is often food that maintains, strengthens and reinforces cultural connections to a particular locality (Barndt, 1999; Counihan, 1999). Different types of food, along with all of the associated activities related to procuring, preparing and consuming food, provide a means for Indigenous peoples to express the relationship they have with their natural surroundings and with one another. Indeed, it is through food and all of its associated activities that Indigenous peoples have been able to maintain and strengthen their connections to their surroundings (Willows, 2005).

Health is understood in its broadest sense to include not only the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health of people, but also the health of natural world in which people live. Indigenous peoples have an integral role to play in both protecting the environment and

ensuring that the environment continues to provide resources, including food, water, shelter, and clothing, which maintain and strengthen the health and well-being of both people and the community. Most Indigenous peoples, although diverse in the ways in which they express their relationships to the natural world, recognize and accept that all things, both human and non-human, are inter-connected and form a complex web of relationships (Henderson, 2000). This complex web of relationships means that all things must be understood in relation to one another. In order to begin to understand the health of people, one must also look at and understand the social, economic, political and natural environment in which people are situated.

The historical dependence and subsequent wealth of knowledge that Indigenous peoples have regarding their local environments ensures that any change or loss of resources will be observed by those who continue to be actively engaged with the land (Dowie, 2009; Lynge, 1992; Watt-Cloutier, 2007). Since Indigenous peoples hold a special relationship with particular geographic areas and rely on those areas for economic and cultural survival, they hold an interest in ensuring that harvesting practices and economic development activities are conducted with the health of the natural world as a priority (Saul, 2008). This active engagement requires continued access to traditional means of procuring, processing and consuming foods that come from the land, air and water of their traditional territories. It is imperative that Indigenous peoples retain an on-going relationship with their natural surroundings, if they are to preserve and protect the social, cultural and environmental knowledge associated with their local ecosystems, while simultaneously ensuring that this knowledge occurs within a context that respects the need for Indigenous peoples to sustain themselves through some combination of traditional subsistence and modern economies.

When Indigenous peoples remain connected to their surroundings they are better able to monitor changes, and to recognize and respond to those changes in a way that respects the integrity of their local ecologies (Lynge, 1992). Indeed, it is in their best interests to do so, since disrespect or indifference towards the natural world might create circumstances in which the earth fails to provide the food, water and shelter necessary to live and thrive in a particular area. Many Indigenous communities worldwide, however, are facing tremendous difficulties in preserving and maintaining a relationship to the natural world (Watt-Cloutier, 2007). These difficulties stem from the devastation that is being wrought on the environment, along with

patterns of consumption that require the extraction, development and use of environmental resources at unprecedented rates and which often occur without properly consulting the Indigenous peoples whose health and well-being are most affected by changes to the natural surroundings in question (Maggio & Lynch, 1997). This is combined with government policies that are increasingly responsive to the growing economic needs of industry while simultaneously decreasing their responsiveness to the social and environmental needs of people (Watt-Cloutier, 2007).

Situating the study

This study represents my efforts to respectfully include the voices of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples who live in one Labrador Inuit-Metis community in discussions about global change. The question of who can identify as Aboriginal and who cannot is highly politicized within the Canadian state (Macklem, 2001). According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), the mixed European and Inuit heritage and traditional livelihoods of Labrador Inuit-Metis communities have been deemed to be consistent with those of other Aboriginal populations across Canada. Despite this recognition, the Labrador Inuit-Metis continue to struggle to be recognized by federal and provincial governments as having all of the same rights and privileges afforded other Aboriginal peoples.

Along the south-eastern coast of Labrador, where this study took place, the lives of both the Inuit-Metis and their non-Aboriginal neighbours have been so intimately interconnected for hundreds of years that to only include one group of people based solely on a political distinction would have been counter to the respectful and reciprocal sharing of knowledge that has occurred amongst both groups for multiple generations (Howell, 1998). Labrador Inuit-Metis communities have always represented a mixture of people who identify as Aboriginal and people who do not, so it was a natural extension of this mixed heritage to include both in this study. Indeed, when people live alongside one another and depend upon one another for their very survival, political distinctions based upon one's genealogy serve little purpose. Nevertheless, as this study also points out, in a society that increasingly requires specific criteria of inclusion and exclusion for particular ethnic and cultural groups, the Labrador Inuit-Metis

have little choice but to enforce this distinction if they are to maintain and strengthen their ability to access their traditional foods.

As a result of the historical and continued reliance upon the land and the sea to provide food for social, economic and cultural survival, Labrador Inuit-Metis communities contain a wealth of traditional knowledge and insight that might help to understand the nature of global change, and how we must learn to address, adapt and respond to change to ensure the continued ability of the earth to provide for future generations. Hence, this study focuses on exploring one Labrador Metis community's key relationships to food (eg. social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental relationships) in a context of global change. The study began with the following research question: *How do the people who live in one Labrador Inuit-Metis community experience and understand their relationships to food in the context of global change?*

Emerging from this question are related sub-questions:

- How are relationships to food influenced by social location (including generation and gender)?
- How have relationships to food changed over the lifetime of community members?
- How do community members understand, and account for, their changing relationships to food? How do they understand the policy implications of these changes?

A community profile of St. Lewis (Fox Harbour)

I took this photo one day when I was out snowshoeing on the frozen harbor in St. Lewis in March 2008. The boat that sits in the foreground was hand-made by a resident from the community and was once used for cod-fishing. The building to the right is an example of a 'stage', which was once used for holding fishing gear and nets.

The picturesque community of St. Lewis is located along the south-eastern tip of Labrador and stretches along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. It has a population of fewer than 250 people, 150 of whom identified as Inuit-Metis in the last Census (Community Accounts, 2006). St. Lewis was originally called Fox Harbour, but was re-named 'St. Lewis' in the early 1950s to avoid confusion with mail delivery to another Fox Harbour, located in Placentia Bay on the island of Newfoundland (Poole, 2001). Many community members still call St. Lewis 'Fox Harbour' and use the two names interchangeably.

St. Lewis is located in a sub-arctic region of Labrador (only the northernmost part of Labrador is considered 'arctic'). Its climate has a maritime influence, with more precipitation and moderate temperatures than found in other parts of Labrador. Summers are short and cool, with the average temperature reaching about 10 degrees Celsius in July. Grounds are usually snow-covered for at least six months of the year, and temperatures in winter generally hover usually around -10 and -15 degrees Celsius during the daytime (Destination Labrador, 2009).

The community is relatively isolated, with the two closest towns, Mary's Harbour and Port Hope Simpson, both slightly larger than St. Lewis, about a forty minute drive away. The town has always centered on the seasonal employment provided by the in-shore cod fishery, although this has changed slightly in recent years with the decline of the cod fishery (Hanrahan, 2008). The fishery remains very important, although many people now fish off-shore, meaning that they are away from the community for weeks or months at a time. The very limited cod fishery is supplemented with seal, crab and shrimp, some of which are processed in a local fish plant. Virtually all of the employment in the community is either directly or indirectly related to fishing or logging (Community Accounts, 2006). Other employment in the community involves service industries such as fish processing, retail or education. Since the decline of the cod fishery, there has been a reduction in the overall population of the community as many families have left to pursue education or employment opportunities elsewhere. From 1986 to 2006 the population of St. Lewis declined by almost 28% (Community Accounts, 2006).

In terms of health care, education and other services, the community has its own nursing station with one live-in nurse and periodic visits from a doctor and dentist. There are three small convenience stores, one which sells primarily food, another which has a gas station and bakery, and another which offers food and some clothing. The all-grade school, St. Lewis Academy, has a gymnasium and library that offer places to hold community gatherings, after-school activities, church and women's groups. The community has its own airstrip, built in 1985, which provides transportation for residents but also provides regular mail delivery and fresh foods during the winter months. Until 2000, the airstrip provided the primary means of transportation to and from the community (Poole, 2001), but the Trans Labrador Highway now links communities all along the coast of Labrador, allowing residents the opportunity to drive into and out of the community. St. Lewis is also serviced during the summer months by a coastal boat, which delivers supplies from Newfoundland.

My story

There is an inherent need within Western/North American/Canadian society to categorize all things human and non-human. Various taxonomies and labels are used to explain and

describe various groups of plants, animals and even people, such that they can be organized and analyzed. Of course, not all things fit so easily within a particular category or fall under a certain standard description. For example, originating from both European and Inuit descent, the Labrador Inuit-Metis represent an uncomfortable combination for those who insist on delineating definitive boundaries between one culture and another.

Both the mixed-heritage of the people included in this study as well as my role as an Inuit-Metis woman and researcher present an opportunity to question some of the standard categories into which 'the researcher and the researched' are often thought to fall. Aboriginal peoples have historically been on the 'receiving' end of conventional scientific research; therefore, to say that one is both Aboriginal and a researcher somehow grates up against the clean distinctions upon which conventional science continually prides itself (i.e., one must be either the 'researcher' or the 'subject'). Complicating matters further is the notion of what it means to research a community of which one is also a part. Many minority feminist scholars suggest that, although there are some inherent challenges to conducting research with a community with which you are connected, there are also considerable benefits (Collins, 1991; hooks, 2004). Of these, perhaps the most important for Indigenous communities is the opportunity for their voices to become an integral part of the entire research process. This is not to suggest that non-Indigenous peoples cannot do respectful, collaborative research, for indeed, many researchers who have no affiliation with the research community have conducted research that has been of unquestionable value for the communities involved. However, I believe that when a person has an 'insider' connection to the community, the research itself creates the opportunity to ask questions from a different perspective that might lead to new understandings.

For me, this means conducting research with people with whom I have an historical and familial connection. Although I have never lived in the community that is the focus of the research, it is the place where my grandparents lived, where my mother was raised and where my current extended relatives still reside. Although this creates a variety of unique ethical considerations, I believe it also presents a distinct opportunity as well. By being part of a research project to which I hold a personal connection, I feel a tremendous responsibility to the research community that goes beyond ensuring that the research is relevant and respectful,

although these remain very key concerns. There is also a sense of pride for my heritage. I remember my grandmother, an endlessly happy and strong woman who was always full of jokes, and who lived off the land and the sea as a fisher and trapper's wife. But I also remember my grandmother denying her rich Inuit heritage because, during her time, being part-Inuk was not something to be proud of, it was something you tried to hide. Yet in spite of herself, some of her Inuit-Metis traditions have been passed along, particularly regarding the importance of sharing one's knowledge through story-telling. I hope that in some small way, this research assists in the telling and remembering of her stories and the stories of others like her, since I believe that as Labrador Inuit-Metis people, we have a lot of important stories that are yet to be heard.

From left to right: My sister (Wanda Martin), my maternal Grandmother (Violet Holley), me (Debbie Martin), my maternal Grandfather (Paul Holley) and my brother (Craig Martin)

This photo was taken in approximately 1982. My brother Craig and I arrive in St. Lewis after a ride on float plane from St. Anthony, which is located on the northern tip of the island of Newfoundland. This was our last visit to the community by float plane. In 1985, an airstrip was built and in 2000 the Trans Labrador Highway opened.

Research as story-telling

How a story is told depends upon who is telling the story, who is listening to it, as well as what is being said. Stories are something to which everyone can relate because we all have stories to tell. The ways in which we tell our stories might differ according to our culture, race, gender, religion, sexuality or any number of other categories, but nevertheless, our stories form an important part of who we are and shape how others see us. It is important to remember that not all stories are told aloud, nor are all stories conveyed through words – sometimes the most informative stories are those that are not often heard within prominent research or policy circles. It is the absence of certain stories and the privilege of others that I would like the reader to reflect upon throughout the proceeding chapters. It is my hope that this study will bring forward some of those stories that have been silenced for too long, and to bring listeners to stories that have been told time and again, but have not necessarily been heard.

Within the academy, research is generally presented via a particular style of story-telling or 'system of reporting' that begins with a background and rationale for the study, followed by a description of the research questions and objectives, an outline of the study design and methods, and finally, a presentation of the results and discussion. By and large, this study does

not differ substantially from this generally accepted practice of research reporting/story-telling. However, it does differ in one important way. I have chosen to introduce the study by beginning with one story told to me by one of the research participants. Although this breaks with 'scientific tradition' in many respects, it is important because it situates the study from a perspective that does not often get heard within the academy – that of an Inuit-Metis trapper. Owing to the tremendous wealth of knowledge that exists in the community, I wanted to recognize that this knowledge belongs to the community and to particular individuals within the community. As such, I was given special permission from most of the research participants to use their names throughout the study. This is the reason why the actual names of participants (and not pseudonyms) are used.

Pride...and Prejudice

Lawrence (Lar) Rumbolt is my mother's first cousin, and is known throughout the study community as a hard worker, an engaging story-teller and an incredibly knowledgeable person. Lar has very little formal schooling, but has spent a lifetime being educated on the land as a trapper and fisher. His knowledge of the local area, its geography, its plants and animals and its weather patterns is immense. As someone who has spent decades watching, learning and listening to the earth, Lar taught me at least as much about the local area during my visits with him as I have learned from the books I have read.

I have chosen to begin this dissertation with one of Lar's stories for a couple of reasons. The first reason is that it situates the study squarely within the context of a particular type of story-telling. All stories, scientific or non-scientific, traditional or non-traditional, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, tell stories using a method, style, language and tone that holds value depending on the context in which they are told (Cruickshank, 1998). For example, stories presented within a conventional scientific manner are often considered 'credible' or 'valid' within the scientific community and stories told through Indigenous perspectives are equally accepted and respected within their communities. To begin a scientific study using a story told by a man who does not adhere to the typical scientific method of story-telling questions the notion of what is considered 'acceptable' knowledge. It also highlights that stories told through different means

hold value that build upon and expand what could be learned if only we took the time to stop and listen to the stories of those whose perspectives differ from our own.

The second reason that I have chosen to use Lar's story as a starting point for this study is because it provides a poignant example of what this research is about – linking together understandings of food, culture and health. As a life-long trapper, Lar's knowledge of how best to use and respect the natural world extends far beyond the political underpinnings of conservation policy or resource management. Lar's engagement with the local environment, while based on the need for food, is about more than simply satisfying nutritional requirements, or about harvesting an animal simply for the sake of economic gain. As Lar explains, when an animal is trapped and killed, it is always important to consider how that animal might be used simultaneously for sustenance, for clothing, for shelter and for income. In other words, food (and all of its associated activities) is about much more than just eating. Accessing traditional foods is important for learning about how to respect the health of the natural world, and in learning this, one also satisfies many of the requirements for one's own physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health and well-being. Within the scientific community, however, Indigenous understandings of food are often presented within the context of specific academic disciplines, such as sociology, biology, health promotion or nutrition. Although creating silos is useful to the extent that we may learn more about particular issues through the lens of a specific discipline, there are also considerable costs, since we often lose the crucial interconnections among our food, our culture and our health, which are so central to how Indigenous peoples understand their relationships to food.

Lar's story sets the stage for a discussion of food that is much broader than what can be encompassed within the confines of a particular discipline. We learn about Lar's resistance and scepticism regarding government policies as he tells us about being required to take a course about how to trap beaver, even though this is something he has done his entire life. We also learn that for Lar, beaver are treated not just as a source of income for him and his family, but also as an important source of food, reinforcing the interconnections that Lar holds between his food and his ability to maintain activities and practices that are important for maintaining and strengthening both his cultural identity and his health. And finally, we also learn about 'pride.' Pride is the 'scent gland' located at the end of a beaver's tail, which, if removed properly, can be

used as bait to catch other animals. If removed improperly, it cannot be used for bait and it also makes the beaver's meat inedible. In teaching us about beaver pride, Lar also teaches us about pride from its more commonly understood definition, that is, the sense of worth that one feels about oneself and one's community. Or, pride in one's culture. In this case, Lar's story tells us that respecting and upholding traditional knowledge is integral to understanding Inuit-Metis peoples' pride and, subsequently, their conceptualizations of the relationships among food, culture and health.

> *The year I took my course, see… I knowed a lot about trappin'…nobody could tell me nothing about trappin'. We had this feller come in from Goose Bay. He was a big shot, he thought he knowed everything, see. He had conibear traps, and he was showing us the conibear traps, talking about one thing and another, about trapping and all this, hey.*
> *...By and by, I spoke up. 'I got to say a few words now, skipper', I said. He said 'good enough, then'. I said, 'A conibear trap is a great thing for catching furs. It kills them stone dead, he don't suffer or nothing, right?...But I'm going to tell you one thing, he's no good to eat'. He said, 'why, sir?' 'Well', I said, 'I'm going to tell you why. You set that conibear for a beaver, now, when he goes down in his [house], and when he gets into [the house], [the conibear trap] kills him stone dead. 'Yes sir'. 'well', I said, 'I wouldn't eat it. From a conibear trap'. He said, 'why?'. I said, 'sir, for one thing, when a beaver is killed in water, he cools off quick, don't he?' ...The pride will go through him... Pride is the stuff back on his tail. What he marks his territory with... You can cut it out. Keep it for catching fox and stuff like that. And you would smear it, put it on a stick, lodge it down and bury it up, right?... That's how you catch fur, see... And buddy said, 'well, I didn't know that'. 'well', I said, 'sure you knows now'.*
> *...I eats beaver. We eats a lot of beaver. And the youngsters and myself, we always eats beaver. Now you're not allowed to, like I say, you're not allowed to open up a beaver house...I always opened up a beaver house. ...He said, 'You're not allowed to open up a beaver house'. 'Allowed or not', I said, 'I've always done it. I'm going to have a meal of beaver, if I wants it to eat.' He looked at me, didn't he? 'You don't open up a beaver…' 'yes,' I said, 'I'm going to open*

him up if I wants a meal of beaver. I'm not going to go eatin' that [referring to the beaver that still contains the pride]. That's not fit to eat.' ... 'I opens up the house and puts in my traps,' I said, and put [the trap] down in the water about…three or four inches in under the water....That's where [the beaver] comes out at...When he gets in the trap, he goes out of the water. He's not going to smother...When you opens up the house, he's alive in the house. Then you take the .22 and shoot him. Then you got a good beaver to eat, right? The pride is not gone through him.

When you kills a beaver, if you kills him, first thing you would do is you would take the paunch out of him...And when you get back to his tail right here. You cut that pride out. ... And you take the pride. The pride is about three inches in a big one...You keep that then...for fox, or cat, or anything like that. You'll catch anything like that with the pride of a beaver. Years ago, the old people, like your grandfather. He used to save it, and all the old fellers used to save it when they travelled the country, hey? And what they used to do then, is that they used to put it up and let it dry. Get just like that [taps top of table to demonstrate its hardness]. Gets right hard...But the old fellers used to...spit on it, see. Like your grandfather and them, when they'd be travelling the country, they'd take it and spit on it and rub it on a stick...That's how the old fellers used to catch fur, years ago. ~ Lar Rumbolt, male, older generation

Two-Eyed Seeing

This study uses a concept called 'Two-Eyed Seeing' as a way to situate the study within a particular theoretical context (Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2007). Two-Eyed Seeing articulates the notion that there are many ways of seeing and understanding the world, one of which can be represented by a 'non-Indigenous' eye and one of which can be represented by an Indigenous eye. When we learn to see through both eyes, we see something new and different, that we could not see using only one. This 'view' of the world is not necessarily 'right' or better, but simply a way of seeing that offers a different perspective.

Lar's story is much different from the stories of those who hold important decision-making positions with respect to beaver trapping and how it is done. There are often times when wildlife conservation policies, education policies and even economic policies, might do well to listen to the perspectives of those whose lives have for generations relied upon the land and sea to provide all of their needs – not just for food, but for clothing, shelter, and so forth. It is not that Lar's perspective offers one that is necessarily always the 'right' way of seeing the world, but that when one perspective dominates, ignores or undermines the very existence of other perspectives, harm is done to both people and the natural world. This study is my attempt to shed new light on the necessity of seeing through both eyes and also, to recognize that for far too long our Euro-Western-derived institutions of learning, thinking and decision-making have all been shaped by a very limited, very partial, perspective.

A note about terminology

The various terms used to describe diverse Indigenous peoples are often challenging to understand, in part because the terms are often politicized and may be subject to change over time and in response to how diverse Indigenous groups wish to have themselves identified. The following section provides definitions for the key terms used to refer to Indigenous peoples in this study.

Considerable thinking and debate has centered on whether or not there is a need to define the term *Indigenous peoples,* since the characteristics that define Indigenous peoples are necessarily as diverse as the places from which they originate. Although no set definition exists, certain characteristics are deemed to be common among collectives who identify themselves as Indigenous peoples, including the claim that they are the original inhabitants of a particular territory. Particular groups of Indigenous peoples often form collectives whose goal it is to preserve and protect their ethnic identities, as it is this identity, in relation to their territories, that forms the very basis for their existence as Indigenous peoples (United Nations, 2004; 2006).

The term *Aboriginal peoples* will be used as a collective term to refer to the Indigenous inhabitants of Canada, which include the First Nations, Inuit and Métis (Royal Commission on

Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). The *Labrador Metis* and *Labrador Inuit-Metis* (no accent over the ‘e‘) will be used interchangeably to refer to the Inuit-Metis from Labrador, distinct from the Métis of central Canada, who are primarily of mixed First Nations and European descent. The *Labrador Metis Nation* is the organized political body representing the interests of the Labrador Metis, formerly known as the *Labrador Metis Association.*

Chapter Two: A Short History of the Labrador Inuit-Metis

It is not certain where the word 'Labrador' originated, since the earliest written accounts variably refer to this north-eastern fringe of North America as *Baccalaos* – Motherland of the Cod, *Terre des Esquimaux* or Labrador, which means 'Labourer' in Portuguese (Fitzhugh, 1999). Indeed, 'Labourer' is a fitting description for those who made their lives in the harsh, cold and unforgiving landscape of Labrador. Yet, the stark and limitless beauty of Labrador has fuelled the passion expressed by both its inhabitants and its visitors. In her book *The Labradorians,* Lynne Fitzhugh provides a description of Labrador that captures the essence of its beauty:

> *From a hilltop surrounded from horizon to horizon by unbroken, unbounded wilderness, the Labrador sky is the biggest, most transparent, wide-open sky imaginable, dwarfing even the Torngat Mountains beneath the fathomable blue of midday. If you let it, it will absorb you, stripping you of perspective and subjectivity until you become whatever you can see, to the farthest humming atoms of zenith...Sound travels like light in the thin clear air of a northern country without noise, and you begin to hear what you cannot see – like fog and auroras – and feel what you cannot see or hear, like tension building in a distant berg about to calve...these qualities of atmosphere and space – clarity, purity, majesty – are perhaps what pass as beauty here. It is so seductive many visitors find it difficult to shake off, and the people who have made this their home can rarely be induced to leave. It has become part of their souls, whether Aboriginal or Settler, and of the culture that binds them together, whether willingly or not* (Fitzhugh, 1999, p. 17-18).

From within this place of rare and breathtaking wilderness, Labrador's Aboriginal peoples emerged over nine thousand years ago. The Dorset and Thule peoples are ancestors of today's three Labrador Aboriginal peoples – the Inuit, Innu and Inuit-Metis. Their presence has been established in Labrador at least as far back as 1300 BC. Although the arrival of European

explorers to 'the Labrador' occurred long before other places in the New World had even been 'discovered' by Europeans, contact between Labrador's Indigenous populations and European fishers was initially very limited (Fitzhugh, 1999; Kennedy, 1995). This limited contact was due in part to the skepticism with which the Inuit greeted European fishermen, given that the only formal introduction the Inuit had with the Europeans was to observe them exploiting codfish from their coasts. By all accounts, this skepticism was warranted since European fishermen were documented to shoot Inuit people on sight because they were considered nothing more than 'heathen savages' (Fitzhugh, 1999). Until the 1600s very little trade occurred between Europeans and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples, and indeed, most European explorers and settlers ended up locating in more hospitable regions of the New World, leaving Labrador to its Indigenous inhabitants for the time being.

During the 1700s, a slow and steady trading relationship began to develop between the Europeans and the Inuit. At the same time, there were growing numbers of European fishing vessels reported to fish seasonally off the coast of Labrador which eventually led to the development of temporary trading posts along the coastal regions (Fitzhugh, 1999). Initially, these trading posts were in operation only during the summer months, because the British Crown which oversaw their development did not permit anyone to winter in Labrador, except for a select few men who were allowed to stay behind to guard the posts. Over time, growing numbers of European women and men were permitted to spend winters at these trading posts and relations developed between the Inuit and the new 'settler' population. Eventually, the settler population began inter-marrying with the Inuit of south-eastern Labrador and their mixed-blood descendants became known as the Metis or *kablunangajuit* ('almost white men').The explorer George Cartwright documented mixed race families in the community of St. Lewis as early as 1775 (Hanrahan, 2001).

European merchants quickly realized that that the European men and women settlers who stayed behind could act as cheap labour for their trading enterprises, since their year-round habitation in Labrador meant that the merchants no longer had to pay the cost of shipping people and their supplies back and forth across the Atlantic each year (Fitzhugh, 1999). As well, by controlling their access to cash, the merchants could ensure that these families remained indebted to them and, perhaps more importantly, could not acquire the capital to compete

against them. Fitzhugh (1999, p. 34) notes that by the mid-1800s “most [European and Inuit-Metis] settlers were burdened with crushing debts” and any credit that a family acquired through a successful year of trapping and fishing would be recorded as a net profit by the merchant to be carried over to a future year rather than handed over for the families to make their own investments. This system of dependence and debt to the merchants meant that the Inuit-Metis families of the coast could never dissolve their linkages with the merchants, and any who did had no other means of accessing needed food supplies and services beyond what they could provide through their own individual means (Fitzhugh, 1999). Not surprisingly, this meant that very few merchants were supportive of any type of government or social interventions, since this would reduce dependency on them and subsequently reduce their overall profits to their shareholders in Britain. As a result, the subsistence lifestyle that characterized the coast of Labrador during this colonial period changed very little until protective government policies were put in place in the mid-to-late 1940s (Fitzhugh, 1999).

During the period of the late 1700s when mercantile interests in Labrador were beginning to gain a stronghold, Moravian Missionaries also began to establish themselves along the northern coast of Labrador in an attempt to convert the north-coast Inuit to Christianity. For at least three decades, the Inuit actively resisted conversion, but mass conversions began to occur around the turn of the 18th century (Fitzhugh, 1999; Kennedy, 1995). Seasonal transhumance, the practice of moving inland during the winter and to the coast during the summer to avail of seasonal resources (Hanrahan, 2001; Kennedy, 1995), was condemned by the Moravians because the movement inhibited religious instruction, and so, Inuit settlements were established in Nain, Hopedale and Okak. At this time, the Inuit in northern Labrador were also introduced to the education, judicial, and social systems of Europeans through the influence of the Moravians. Given the harsh climate of northern Labrador, the Moravians developed a dependence of sorts on the Inuit, for although they provided the Inuit with additional food supplies, health care and education, they relied upon the Inuit to learn survival techniques in the north as well as the Inuit language, *Inuktitut*. While some assimilation occurred through conversion to Christianity, the Moravians dependence upon the Inuit for survival also helped to preserve aspects of northern Inuit culture (Hanrahan, 2008).

However, not all of the Labrador Inuit adopted the Moravian lifestyle, particularly Inuit on the south-eastern Labrador coast (Hanrahan, 2008). Indeed, the trajectory of colonization followed a very different path for the Inuit of the south than it did for their northern counterparts. Where the Inuit of the north became colonized through their conversion to Christianity, and through their eventual dependence upon the social and medical services offered by the Moravians, the Inuit of the south were introduced to European ways almost exclusively through the market system (Fitzhugh, 1999). Both the Inuit and the settlers who decided to winter in south-eastern Labrador lived in isolated locations scattered along the coast and had little or no access to any of the services offered to the Inuit of the north. Indeed, Fitzhugh (1999, p. 29) notes that for over 150 years aside from the Inuit knowledge and traditions and the 'knowledges' and traditions that the settlers brought with them, the Inuit and the settlers alike had "no access to education, justice, police protection, medical care, political representation, spiritual and religious instruction, [or] financial assistance". During the early 1900s, the International Grenfell Association was established on the south coast of Labrador, in response to the profound poverty and lack of essential services witnessed by Sir Wilfred Grenfell upon a visit there in 1912. The Grenfell Mission raised funds to create hospitals and nursing stations all over Labrador, which treated over six thousand patients per year by 1914 (Fitzhugh, 1999).

Over time, two broad groups of Inuit developed: those who were influenced by the Moravians in the north (i.e., who are referred to as 'Inuit') and those who intermarried with European settlers and were influenced by the mercantile interests of the south (i.e., who are referred to as 'Metis') (Hanrahan, 2003). As a result, the two groups developed quite distinctly from one another, yet their societies are very similar in many ways. For example, Hanrahan (2003) notes that the Inuit in north coast communities have first cousins in south coast communities. "Yet there is a persistent belief that the Metis are not Aboriginal and that their claim to Inuit heritage is specious. This erroneous thinking comes from the fact that the southern Inuit descendents lacked institutions like the Moravian Church to represent them to outside institutions like government. For this reason, they were not viewed as the organized society that they are. This made them invisible to Euro-centric authorities used to dealing with missions and other European institutions" (p. 230).

In many ways, it was in the best interests of the British Crown to avoid the same system of colonization on the south-eastern coast of Labrador that it had followed in other areas of the New World (i.e., through the imposition of British systems of rule, education and religion), since additional services beyond the basic maintenance of a trade economy with the Inuit-Metis would come at a cost to the Crown and would serve them no immediate benefit (Fitzhugh, 1999). Also, since merchants and their shareholders were benefitting tremendously from the trade relationships with the Inuit and the settlers of the coast, there was little incentive to develop relationships beyond one of trading food and supplies for furs and fish. As a result, the very basic civil and property rights afforded to other Indigenous peoples of the New World were utterly disregarded in south-eastern Labrador. Fitzhugh (1999, p. 33) notes that "as shallow and duplicitous as were land acquisitions in other regions of North America, they at least bore the pretext of legality as defined by prevailing authorities. In Labrador, even that formality was ignored".

As such, colonization for the people who live along the south-eastern coast of Labrador came not as an unwelcome infiltration of European medical, social, and judicial systems as it did in many other places throughout the New World. Rather, it was solely the infiltration of the market system and the glaring absence of these other social systems that characterized the colonial encounter in south-eastern Labrador. As early as the 1600s, Labrador's fishery attracted the interests of hundreds of fishing fleets from England, France, Spain, Holland, America, and other parts of Canada (Kurlansky, 1997). The unfettered exploitation of resources by the international community has characterized the very history of Labrador, and yet, none of these outside interests extended beyond the goal of maximizing profits (Fitzhugh, 1999). Hanrahan (2000) notes that today, the Inuit-Metis communities along the south-eastern coast of Labrador continue to have some of the worst infrastructure in the country. In communities like Black Tickle and Norman Bay, homes lack running water and functional toilets (Hanrahan, 2000). In many cases, the communities have more similarities with impoverished Indigenous communities in other parts of the world than they do with other non-Indigenous communities in Canada.

The intentional disregard for Labrador and its people, combined with hundreds of years of European encounters that diminished the Inuit as 'heathen savages' has dampened, but not extinguished the Indigenous spirit of Labrador. Fitzhugh (1999) notes that, as a result of the way

that the Inuit peoples of Labrador were treated they initially became ignorant of their Inuit heritage and were taught to be ashamed of it. However, the Indigenous heritage of the Inuit-Metis of Labrador is slowly gaining back its social and political significance, which is re-establishing the pride associated with having an Inuit identity. Even though Inuit heritage has been continuously undermined throughout history and Inuit peoples portrayed as 'dirty and barbaric', it is the European settlers who have always had to adopt the philosophies and knowledges of the Inuit, as the agricultural techniques which they brought with them from Europe did not apply in the harsh lands of Labrador (Howell, 1998). As such, the Inuit-Metis culture that evolved grew out of a strong conservation ethic and a respect for the natural world that had its origins in the ancient wisdom of their Inuit ancestors. As a Labrador Metis advocate, John Howell (1998, p. 28) states, "We knew we were part of nature – part of the web of relationships that make up the environment. In fact, we were always very aware that we depended on the bounty of the land and sea. We knew it was not the other way around. We knew we were the ones who were disposable: not the birch trees, not the harp seal, not the eider ducks". A note written by Howell on the Labrador Metis Nation website states:

> *The Labrador Metis have always lived off the land and sea. Everything we had was derived from nature: our food, our clothes, our boats and komatiks, our snowshoes and boots, our summer and winter houses, our fuel, our medicine* (Howell, 1998).

The forgotten 'others': Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples

In 2002 the Canadian government and the province of Newfoundland and Labrador commissioned a report mandated to undertake a critical analysis of Newfoundland and Labrador's strengths and weaknesses, with the purpose of making recommendations about how best to achieve strength and self-reliance in relation to the rest of Canada. In 2003, the result of this commission was a publication entitled, *Our Place in Canada.* Maura Hanrahan, an Aboriginal scholar from Newfoundland was asked to prepare a report that was to inform the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada (RCRSPC). Her final report, along with the RCRSPC final report, forms the basis for the following analysis, which explores the

provincial and federal government's treatment of its Aboriginal peoples in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

When the province of Newfoundland (formally re-named to 'Newfoundland and Labrador' in 2001) created a Terms of Union and joined Confederation with Canada in 1949, there was a welcome influx of basic medical, social and financial safety nets that were simply unavailable in both Newfoundland and Labrador prior to Confederation. As such, many of the Indigenous peoples of Labrador welcomed these social benefits with little reservation. As it turns out, however, it was not what was included in the Terms of Union with Canada that became so important to Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples so much as what was omitted. Essentially, the Terms of Union detailed everything from Newfoundland's ferry service to Nova Scotia to the colour of margarine, yet failed to mention the existence of its Aboriginal people, let alone any basic legal or property rights like those assumed to exist for Indigenous peoples in other parts of North America (Hanrahan, 2003; RCRSPC, 2003).

The only explanation for this glaring oversight is that it occurred almost simultaneously with the Canadian government's idea of assimilating all Aboriginal peoples into the rest of Canada by removing their status under the Indian Act (Abele, 1997). Thus, the omission in the Terms of Union could in all probability have been an intentional act on the part of the federal government because it would otherwise have had to begin negotiations with Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal populations just as the special status afforded to other Aboriginal peoples was being removed. Hanrahan (2003) also notes that the extremely limited government services in Newfoundland and Labrador at the time of Confederation would have made it very difficult for the federal government to provide all of the basic services demanded under the Indian Act, and this might have played a role in the decision not to include Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples in the Terms of Union. It was the release of the 1969 White Paper (recommending the eradication of special rights for Aboriginal peoples) that spurred outrage amongst diverse Aboriginal groups across Canada and which subsequently led to the establishment of Aboriginal political organizations across the country (Macklem, 2001). It was these organizations and not the federal or provincial government that assisted Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples to voice their concerns (Hanrahan, 2003).

Regardless of the rationale, the Inuit, Inuit-Metis, Innu and Mi'kmaq peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador were not able to avail of any protection under the Indian Act and were treated exactly the same as other Newfoundlanders and Labradorians who entered Confederation (Hanrahan, 2003). Although the introduction of the Indian Act brought with it many oppressive policies and paternalistic assumptions (Weaver, 1981), it nevertheless protected Aboriginal peoples' rights to specific lands and resources and was, therefore, a very important tool for negotiating with the Canadian government. For many of Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples, this did not present any sort of initial concern, as government contact with Aboriginal peoples during the 1940s and '50s was extremely limited, therefore, its sphere of influence appeared to have little to do with the daily activities of Newfoundland and Labrador's Inuit, Inuit-Metis, Innu and Mi'kmaq populations. In particular, the Aboriginal peoples who lived in Labrador, and the settlers with whom many intermarried, were left largely uninterrupted by outsiders, except for the trading relationships that the Inuit-Metis continued to have with their merchants and some limited missionary work by the Moravians on the north coast of Labrador. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that the abundance of untapped resources in Labrador appeared within the provincial government's radar.

In her autobiographical account of her life as a trapper's wife, Labrador Inuit writer Elizabeth Goudie (1983) provides a glimpse into what life was like prior to the development of the Churchill Fall's Hydroelectric Power Plant in 1970 (the second largest underground power station in the world). The development of this power plant offered much-needed employment for hundreds of people from Newfoundland and Labrador, but it also flooded much of the area where Elizabeth Goudie's husband hunted and trapped. Many Aboriginal peoples also feel that the disruption of the local environment as a result of the power plant has affected the migration patterns of migratory birds and caribou that live in the area (Scott, 2001). In her book, Goudie also describes what it was like to live entirely off the land, looking after children on her own, while her husband was away trapping. Of particular interest, she describes the limited contact she had with any sort of government programs or services during her nomadic lifestyle of the 1930s through to the 1950s. Missing from her stories is any sort of expectation or belief on her part that she was entitled to receive government hand-outs; on the contrary, her stories are filled with her own abilities and practical solutions to the problems and challenges she faced daily in order to provide for her children and survive in the often harsh and unforgiving

landscape of Labrador. This evidence of her ability to survive and thrive in Labrador in the absence of government services is not meant to suggest that basic services were not needed or, in many cases, welcomed, but rather highlights the adaptive and resilient characteristics of the Indigenous men and women of Labrador.

The relatively belated arrival of federal government interests in Newfoundland and Labrador, compared to other Canadian provinces, may, in some ways, have protected against the harmful effects of assimilationist policies enacted by the federal government. However, this in no way excuses the intentional neglect and ignorance with which the people of Labrador were treated by the provincial government. The considerable geographic distance of Labrador from the province's political capital, St. John's, along with the unique challenges associated with providing Labrador with the same services afforded to more populated areas of the province, has meant that Labrador is often treated as more of an afterthought by the provincial government. Hanrahan (2003) argues that the Newfoundland and Labrador government's ongoing oversight of Labrador is largely reminiscent of its own invisibility with respect to its treatment by the federal government in relation to other provinces in Canada.

Newfoundland and Labrador's omission of Aboriginal peoples from the Terms of Union with Canada spoke volumes about the provincial government's position on protecting the rights and interests of Aboriginal peoples. Unlike the rest of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, who deal directly with the federal government about issues related to land claims, health care, and resource rights, many of Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples must deal with the provincial government, as they are not yet considered deserving of any special status. The ongoing result has been many years of negotiations and stalled negotiations, in order to gain the same rights and privileges afforded to other Aboriginal peoples (Hanrahan, 2003). In recent years, many steps have been taken by the provincial government to address the lack of infrastructure, social programs, and financial stability in Labrador. The impetus for this sudden interest is not entirely out of concern for the health and well-being of Aboriginal peoples, as the pristine Labrador wilderness contains a vast wealth of untapped resource development possibilities. In 2005, the provincial government settled its first land claim agreement with the Inuit of Labrador. This land claim agreement has led to the formation of the Nunatsiavut government and processes have been put in place to transfer many of the provincial government's program and service

responsibilities to the Nunatsiavut government over the next number of years (Department of Labrador and Aboriginal Affairs, 2007). This land claim settlement has occurred almost simultaneously with the development of a world-class nickel mine located in the Nunatsiavut land claim area. A similar push is now on to resolve outstanding land claims with the Innu Nation, and in 2008 an agreement-in-principle has been signed with representatives from the Innu Nation regarding their land claim agreement. This agreement is also occurring just as the provincial government is moving forward with the development of a major hydroelectric dam in the Lower Churchill region of Labrador. Similarly, on the island portion of the province, the Miawpukak First Nation of Conne River is negotiating a self-government agreement that would result in its members having jurisdiction over all of its programs and services.

Since the Labrador Inuit-Metis fall outside of the geographic boundaries that were negotiated in the Nunatsiavut Land Claim Agreement and because of the different historical trajectories that the Labrador Inuit and Inuit-Metis have followed, the political body representing the Labrador Metis, the Labrador Metis Nation, has been struggling to have their land claim agreement accepted by the federal government since the late 1980s. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has articulated its on-going support for the acceptance of this agreement, but no steps have been taken by the provincial government to actively pursue its resolution. Indeed, in the report *A Northern Strategic Plan for Labrador,* which was released by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador in 2007, it is noted that the federal government has still expressed 'uncertainty' as to whether or not members of the Labrador Metis Nation are entitled to federal programs and services. This is in spite of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' findings in 1996 that the traditional livelihoods and cultural heritage of the Labrador Inuit-Metis have been demonstrated to be consistent with that of Aboriginal peoples all across Canada (RCAP, 1996). As a result, the Labrador Inuit-Metis continue to live in 'the Land of the Esquimaux', as noted by the earliest explorers to Labrador (Fitzhugh, 1999), but must still negotiate through the provincial government to attain the same basic rights, privileges and services afforded to all other Aboriginal peoples across Canada.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Global change, the health of people and the natural world

In recent years, among both social and natural scientists, a great deal of attention has been given to global change, or what is also referred to as globalization or restructuring (Ommer et al., 2007; Winson & Leach, 1995). Global change is concerned with social, economic, political, industrial and environmental changes that are occurring on a worldwide scale. Unprecedented change in climates, significant depletion of natural resources, as well as increases in devastating weather events like droughts, floods and hurricanes are occurring all over the world. Unrestricted technological and industrial development, combined with over-use of non-renewable resources is undoubtedly contributing to the harm being done to the world's ecosystems (Intergovernmental panel on climate change; 2007; Millenium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005; United Nations, 2007; 2008a; 2009b). A 2005 report on global ecosystems and health commissioned by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment of the World Health Organization (WHO) blames humans for the ecological crises we are experiencing. It contends that "as a result of human actions, the structure and functioning of the world's ecosystems changed more rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century than at any other time in human history" (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005, p.6).

In concert with growing concern regarding the health of the planet, there are also escalating anxieties about the overall health and well-being of people. In 2004, the World Health Organization (WHO) developed a *Global Strategy on Diet, Physical Activity and Health,* based on the recognition that the current world-wide burden of disability, mortality and morbidity are directly related to non-communicable diseases acquired through unhealthy eating and physical inactivity. In this report, the WHO notes that 47% of the global burden of disease is directly attributed to rising rates of obesity, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and various cancers that are preventable through changes in diet and regular physical activity. In addition, the WHO

acknowledges that given the exponential rise in the rates of non-communicable diseases over the past 30 years, having the appropriate resources in place to deal with the associated health care costs, policy changes and targeted interventions represents a major challenge to global public health (WHO, 2004).

Some of the biggest population and public health concerns being faced today are directly related to over-consumption of food, and yet the world is actually experiencing an unprecedented global food crisis that is contributing to the number of the world's hungry (United Nations, 2008b; 2009b). In a fact sheet issued in February of 2009 by the World Food Program, the global economic downturn currently being experienced has increased the number of the world's hungry to nearly one billion – 963 million. It might appear counter-intuitive to assert that the number of hungry people in the world is growing at the same time that people are experiencing unprecedented burdens of disease related to over-eating. If we look at these two health concerns as each representing part of a growing crisis related to globalization, we can begin to view food as being about much more than providing people with too much or too little to eat, and more in terms of how social, economic, political, environmental and cultural circumstances beyond the control of individuals affect how, how much, when, and even why certain foods are being eaten or not eaten across diverse populations. Thus, understanding the role that food plays in our health and well-being is about more than simply having 'enough' to eat, or the nutritional content of the foods that are being eaten, but about understanding the social, economic, political, environmental and cultural context in which foods are accessed and consumed.

Even though mounting concerns about the devastation of the environment, the diminishing food supply and the increasing burden of disease are attracting attention from researchers all over the world, there is very little conversation amongst researchers from diverse disciplines regarding potential solutions to some of these major ecological and human crises (Saul, 2008). Wildlife biologists remain isolated from nutritional scientists and conservation officials are largely unaware of the role of their counterparts in public health. The result is that policies and programs that rely upon the research advances within specific disciplinary fields are overlooking key areas of concern that exist across multiple disciplines. Although certain policies and programs may legitimately address the concerns that are identified within a particular discipline,

such as the need to protect a particular animal species, or to develop public health interventions that address growing rates of diabetes, the application of these policies may undermine, ignore or contradict some of the fundamental concerns that exist within a different discipline or policy field. For example, when government policies regarding resource conservation infringe upon Indigenous peoples' right to access their traditional livelihoods and sources of income, the result may be an increased burden on health care as Indigenous peoples experience higher rates of chronic disease such as obesity and diabetes (Damman, Eide & Kuhnlein, 2008). In effect, policies and programs meant to address problems of environmental devastation or population health may contribute to the harm being done to the overall health of the environment and the people who live in it, when they do not seek to more broadly understand issues that affect health outside of specific disciplinary silos.

If issues of food and health are viewed through the lens of culture, meaning that we take into account how diverse groups of people use food to express their relationship to one another and to the earth, we can begin to see how foods eaten by a particular culture affect not only the nutritional health of that population, but also the overall health of the ecosystems in which their foods originate. When people rely upon their natural surroundings for food, as is the case in many Indigenous communities, and the natural surroundings become damaged or destroyed, this can have devastating impacts on key sources of food, which can also influence social, physical, mental, and spiritual health (Shiva, 2000). For example, in many Indigenous communities, animal and plant resources might act not only as important sources of food, but also provide economic stability to a community (Waldram et al., 2007). As a result, changes to their availability or accessibility can be particularly harmful to local economies, thus affecting employment and income, which are both identified as important determinants of health (Berkman & Kawachi, 2000; Raphael, 2004; Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). Similarly, if a cultural or spiritual event depends upon the availability of a particular resource, then the loss of that resource may also represent a cultural loss for a community. This, in turn, may affect the social, emotional and/or spiritual well-being of community members, which is also directly linked to the overall health of communities and individuals (Berkman & Kawachi, 2000; Pannelli & Tipa, 2009; Power, 2008; Raphael, 2004).

Expressions of culture that are specific to diverse Indigenous groups include knowledge about all of the living and non-living things in a particular area, how they interact with one another and with humans, and how to use these living and non-living things in order to live and thrive (Clarkson, Morrissette & Regallet, 1992). All of this knowledge culminates into distinct cultural identities that are rich with language, ceremony, ritual and spirituality that define and express all that it means to be an Indigenous person in a particular locality. Given that the natural world plays such a central role in expressions of Aboriginal peoples identities within Canada, damage to the natural world can impair and undermine Indigenous peoples' health since this damage can actually prevent them from undertaking activities and passing along knowledge that is key to cultural survival (Maggio & Lynch, 1997).

More than a menu: Cultural belief systems about food

Let food be your medicine and medicine be your food ~ Hippocrates

In her book, *Food Politics,* Marion Nestle (2007) argues that different cultures understand their relationships to food differently. Nestle contends that there are very distinct belief systems that guide how people think about food and that nutritional science represents one such belief system. Nutritional science, like all belief systems, is based upon a particular point of view. Thus, what constitutes 'sound nutritional advice' according to the scientific standards set by nutritional scientists may or may not resonate with the way that diverse cultures, which hold very different belief systems, conceptualize and understand their relationships to food.

Although many contemporary nutrition researchers often advocate for nutrition research to include considerations of culture, conventional nutrition research has almost synonymously linked 'food' with 'nutrition', leaving very little room for alternative belief systems about food to be incorporated into food research (Nestle, 2007). The conventional approach to nutrition research has gained widespread acceptance in both the scientific world and the market economy and has subsequently become a burgeoning multi-billion dollar industry that focuses on understanding how the health of people is affected by the foods we eat (Nestle, 2007). The goal of conventional nutritional science research is to identify and understand the components of various foods and to relate those components to the positive or negative biochemical

reactions they produce in the body (Lupton, 1996; Scrinis, 2002; Warde, 1997). According to the reactions they produce, foods are deemed either 'healthy' or 'unhealthy'. To arrive at this conclusion, foods must be reduced to their biochemical properties and categorized according to their chemical compounds. All foods are understood as possessing some combination of certain categories, which include vitamins, minerals, fats, proteins, fibres, carbohydrates and kilojoules (Scrinis, 2002). These categories are then quantified in order to project measureable amounts of each category that should be consumed on a daily basis. Nutritional science advocates for the use of these 'nutritional requirements' as dietary guidelines to which individuals should adhere in order to achieve optimal health.

The problem is that some people who might strictly follow these guidelines might still become ill, while others who do not follow the guidelines might remain very healthy (Cannon, 2003; Pollan, 2008). Part of this difference can be explained by external lifestyle factors that might contribute to poor health, such as smoking or drinking alcohol, but even when these factors are accounted for, conventional nutrition research still cannot explain why certain groups of people might remain very healthy even while following a diet that might run counter to the dietary guidelines so painstakingly developed by generations of nutrition researchers (Pollan, 2008). This dietary conundrum has posed such a grand problem within the field of nutrition that it has even been given a name: the French Paradox (Cannon, 2003). Basically, the French Paradox describes French peasants, who often smoke, drink excessively and eat copious amounts of saturated fats (a nutritional *faux pas*). According to the rationale of nutritional science, French peasants should be among the unhealthiest people on the planet, however, they have historically had among the lowest rates in the world of obesity, cardiovascular disease and certain types of cancers (Cannon, 2003).

As the French Paradox suggests, conventional nutritional science offers one way of understanding the relationship between people and food, but it does not explain all there is to know about the link between food and health. A growing number of nutrition researchers are sounding the alarm with respect to the direction in which nutrition research is headed in attempting to deal with escalating public health challenges related to growing rates of diabetes, heart disease and obesity (Cannon, 2003; Scrinis, 2005; Pollan, 2008). In his book *In Defense of Food*, Michael Pollan (2008) argues that while conventional nutritional scientists spend copious

amounts of time and energy searching for a magic bullet that will describe the 'best' and most healthful diet that will alleviate the increasing burden of disease we are experiencing, it is not the scientific accuracy of the arguments with which we need to be concerned. Rather, he argues that in addition to spending time looking at how the nutrients within foods biochemically react with our internal bodily systems and organs, we also need to pay attention to the broader context outside of our bodies that influence our health, including our social and physical environments (Pollan, 2008).

The idea that the foods we eat are linked to our health can be traced back thousands of years to cultures that identified eating certain foods with preventing, curing or enhancing one's overall health and sense of well-being (Trivedi, 2006). Historically, however, the link between food and health has not focussed on understanding how foods react within the body as much as learning more about how to access and avail of the types of foods that were necessary to avoid hunger or to prevent nutritional deficiencies (Cannon, 2003). As such, what was known about food was also closely related to the particular locations in which diverse cultures lived. Thus, through trial and error, experience and circumstance, people have always engaged with their surroundings to grow, harvest, pick, hunt and gather foods as they were made available. Food allowed diverse cultures to survive in their particular localities and to also develop certain relationships to their surroundings that are expressed through culture (Willows, 2005). In this sense, food and culture are inextricably linked. The need for food is shared among the most diverse peoples of the world, but the need for food, even though it is shared by all, is about more than simply sustenance or nutrition. It is the way in which people gather, prepare and consume food that gives rise to diverse expressions of culture. The relationships that people have with their food provide insight into these diverse expressions. Thus, the study of food is also about the study of culture (Counihan, 1999; Pannelli & Tipa, 2009).

As a symbol of culture, food provides a means to understand the health of particular cultural groups that extends beyond nutritional health to include social, emotional, spiritual and physical health and well-being. For example, studying the type and amount of foods eaten by diverse cultures can have important implications for nutritional health, since certain cultures may eat foods that protect against, or increase the likelihood of acquiring, certain nutrition-related deficiencies (Kuhnlein & Delormier, 1999; Mackey, 1988; Receveur & Kuhnlein, 1998). But aside

from the information our foods can provide about nutritional health, foods and the cultural activities and processes related to food also provide insight into other aspects of health (Kuhnlein et al., 2006). For example, the ceremonies and activities related to food might also be important for reinforcing cultural practices and norms that are important for social and/or spiritual health. In this sense, food presents a way to understand health (broadly defined) through the lens of culture that includes, but extends beyond, its importance for nutrition.

The French Paradox indicates that there are social, cultural and environmental influences, besides nutrition, that might help to explain the overall physical health of individuals. Unfortunately, rather than attempting to look beyond the field of nutrition at additional social, cultural and/or environmental factors that might contribute to ill health, a great deal of nutrition research has done the opposite. More time has been spent examining the biochemical processes that occur inside the body in response to different food components (Cannon, 2003; Nestle, 2007). This has resulted in endless amounts of research that trace the causes of non-communicable diseases to specific nutrition categories. For example, certain types of nutrition research have so single-mindedly focused on proving the benefits of protein, or the detrimental effects of fat, or the advantages of pro-biotics, that there are entire global food policies and food industries that are directly linked to nutritional science research (Nestle, 2007; Trivedi, 2006). So, for example, when research emerges that suggests that fats are 'bad' and should be removed from the diet, policies are created to ensure that foods explicitly list their fat content or reduce it to comply with stricter lower-fat standards as recommended by nutrition experts (Taubes, 2001). Similar efforts are made by food industries that manufacture these foods to comply with the latest dietary trends, so we see growing numbers of foods that claim to have specific health benefits (Trivedi, 2006).

Georgy Scrinis (2005) calls the obsession with the components of food, rather than food itself or the associated processes and procedures surrounding the eating of food, an *ideology of nutritionism.* Basically, nutritionism places too much attention on the nutritional requirements needed to fuel our bodies and too little attention on the cultural or social contexts within which eating takes place (Scrinis, 2005). He argues that nutritionism has become a pervasive form of inquiry even though it has largely failed to account for or deal with the growing burden of non-communicable diseases that are being experienced worldwide (Scrinis, 2005). Geoffrey Cannon

(2003) agrees. In 2003, he was asked to give a lecture for the Caroline Walker Trust, an organization dedicated to the study of food policy in Britain. His lecture, entitled *The Fate of Nations: Food and Nutrition Policy in the New World* argues that the principles and foundations upon which food science were initially based, that is, around the identification of specific components within foods that lead to nutritional health, are now largely obsolete, given the changing priorities and challenges that are being faced within the field of nutritional science today. He argues that nutrition and food sciences need to re-direct their attention towards efforts that include the social, economic, political, and environment context in which foods are eaten.

The ideology of nutritionism that Scrinis (2005) speaks about can be applied to different types of nutrition research, and not just research on the nutritional content of foods. For example, some nutrition research has begun to look beyond simply nutritional content to examine environmental contaminants in food. As Kuhnlein and Chan (2000) point out, even when the intent of nutrition research might be to take a 'broader' approach, this research must still carefully evaluate how it will be translated into policies and food advisories for diverse cultures. Studying the risks of consuming traditional foods by Indigenous peoples "requires careful evaluation not only of the risks of using the food, but also of the benefits of using the food and of the potential health risks of not using food" (Kuhnlein & Chan, 2000, p. 603). They provide the example of the consumption of burbot liver amongst the people who live in the Northwest Territories. Research indicated dangerously high levels of the contaminant toxaphene, which led to a food advisory to limit consumption of burbot liver to not more than one burbot liver per person per week. Although this would allow people to eat 52 burbot livers per year, what the policy did not account for was the fact that burbot liver is only seasonally available, making the food advisory inapplicable to the people it was meant to protect, since no one in the community would realistically eat burbot liver year-round. As a result, the intent of food advisories might create unnecessary skepticism and worry about eating traditional foods. Additionally, research regarding contaminants in Indigenous peoples' traditional food should account for 'non-nutritional' values assigned to food that might out-weigh the risks associated with eating it. These factors might include, for example, the limited nutritional quality of market food available, frequency of chronic diseases and the many and varied social and cultural factors associated with eating traditional foods, such as time spent outdoors, passing along

generational knowledge to children, and reinforcing values of conservation and environmental responsibility (Kuhnlein & Chan, 2000).

Returning to the French Paradox, it is perhaps insightful to begin to look not only at the types of foods being eaten, but to also look at the social and cultural context in which eating occurs. Indeed, the French Paradox is not limited to the French, since there are many cultures who continue to eat foods that are considered to be 'traditional' who do not experience the same rates of non-communicable diseases as those who follow a 'Western' diet (that is, a diet of the industrialized world) (Cannon, 2003). Although these diets may or may not be considered 'healthier' than what is advocated by nutritional guidelines, it appears that the interactions between culture and health might provide some insight into the overall health and well-being of particular populations. As well, stepping away from an understanding of food and health through a conventional nutrition lens helps us to look at the ways in which the natural environment and the constant changes occurring within it are interacting with culture to change the types, availability and accessibility of foods. In the following section, the link between human health and the overall health of the ecosystems in which they live is explored.

Re-establishing the human-environment connection

The survival of humans depends upon interactions with nature. Expressions of culture emerge from the need to survive in a particular locality and relationships between people develop in concert with their local surroundings and with one another (Ellen, 2003; Selin, 2003). As a result of how diverse cultures emerge, they demonstrate respect for the natural world in many different ways. For example, if we grow up in a city our understanding of the natural world is very different than if we grow up in a more isolated, rural environment, since our interactions with nature present themselves in different ways. The same would be true if our experiences stemmed from lush rainforests versus the arctic tundra. Layered on top of this are the different ways in which cultures express their understanding of the world through language, ceremonies, rituals, and activities. As a result, the values and beliefs that we hold about the environment, how it should be preserved and protected, or for that matter, even whether it

should be preserved and protected, can vary quite substantially from culture to culture (Kalland, 2003).

The preservation of the environment is quite a complicated matter because it is subject to the values and beliefs of different cultures (Kalland, 2003; Radkau, 2008). When the values and beliefs of different cultures clash with one another, enormous problems can arise, mainly because some cultures assign value to certain aspects of the environment that might differ from the values assigned by other cultures (Kalland, 2003; Radkau, 2008). When this happens, environmental resources that are regarded as deserving or in need of ecological protection might differ quite substantially from one culture to another. For example, in some cultures, certain animals are considered to be sacred and it would be considered sacrilegious to kill them or use them for food. In other cultures, those same animals are not considered sacred, but instead, form an important part of the diet and are eaten frequently, or might even be considered 'pests' to be controlled through various methods of extermination. Still other cultures might eat certain animals *because* they are viewed as sacred, since eating them is thought to transfer their abilities to those who consume them. Given the varying views that diverse cultures might hold regarding a single species, it is not surprising that how these species, along with countless other plants, animals and their habitats are treated varies according to the people that live and interact with them (Selin, 2003).

In North America, there has been a rise in environmental consciousness since the 1960s and '70s that has witnessed growing numbers of people who view the increase in industrial capitalism as having a negative impact on the environment (Kalland, 2003; Radkau, 2008; Selin, 2003; Shiva, 2000). Proponents of the environmental movement and conservation stewardship have historically positioned themselves as being diametrically opposed to economic development (Shiva, 2000).The argument is that capitalism (which is expressed through unfettered economic development) encourages the push and pull of the market to drive the economy, regardless of the environmental or social consequences. The result is that the most important aspect of business is profit irrespective of the damage done to the natural world through the pursuit of profit. For most people, the market economy provides virtually all that one needs to survive – food, clothing, shelter, even water – and this has created a dependence upon the market to provide all of these things. One of the defining features of the 'consumer

culture' that has been created as a result of capitalism is that it presumes that success and progress are measured by one's ability to accumulate possessions (Turner, 2005). The environmental movement of the '60s and '70s and subsequent efforts at environmental conservation have countered this basic premise, and instead argue that the earth needs to be protected against unfettered economic development if it is to continue to sustain life (Shiva, 2000).

Environmental research has created policies and regulations designed to protect animal and plant life from the devastation and destruction of ecosystems as a result of the economic imperatives of humans (Radkau, 2008). The fields of environmental science, forestry, and wildlife and marine biology all spend considerable amounts of time documenting changes to animal and plant life that have resulted from the destruction of their habitats. In and of themselves, these scientific disciplines inform policies and regulations that lead to important advances in the protection of certain plant and animal species. What is of growing concern, however, is that by focussing solely on particular plants or animals or particular geographic areas, there is little, if any, emphasis on the place that humans have within the specific ecosystems that are in need of protection (Dowie, 2009; Radkau, 2008). Such a position treats the various ecosystems that make up the environment as existing apart from the humans that live there. As a result, the environment is viewed as something that should be preserved 'for its own sake' rather than for the sake of the people who depend on it. Radkau (2008) argues that when the environment is viewed in this way, what is prioritized as 'ecologically valuable' is subject to the marketability of the plant or animal in question. As a result, some plants and animals take priority over others, and what is perhaps even more disturbing is that the impetus to 'save' an animal or plant takes place outside of an understanding of the role of that plant or animal within its broader ecosystem.

A growing number of environmental researchers argue that de-contextualizing environmental concern from the role that humans play within the environment perpetuates rather than prevents environmental destruction (Dowie, 2009; Herscovici; 1991; Lynge, 1992; Radkau, 2008). In his landmark book entitled *Arctic Wars, Animal Rights, Endangered Peoples,* Lynge (1992) suggests that there is a growing disconnect between humans and nature worldwide and this disconnection creates a tendency to view humans as intruders upon the

natural world and we should therefore limit the degree to which we interact with it. Lynge (1992) argues that there is a certain guilt associated with urban consciousness that leads to environmental activism; however, it is often this 'hands-off' engagement that is undermining the very livelihoods of Indigenous peoples. There are growing numbers of well-funded animal rights groups, for example, that protest Indigenous hunting, trapping and fishing practices each year and have made tremendous strides in curtailing or eliminating many traditional Indigenous methods of procuring food. Since this view contradicts the Indigenous belief that humans form an inseparable part of our surroundings, there is often difficulty in appreciating Indigenous peoples' insistence on maintaining traditions that re-affirm our connection to the earth.

Dowie (2009) suggests that the environmental movement is creating huge numbers of displaced Indigenous peoples, or what he calls 'conservation refugees'. Non-profit organizations garner millions and millions of dollars through corporate sponsorship to fund land and wildlife conservation efforts in nearly every corner of the globe. For example, Dowie (2009) contends that one conservation organization, Conservation International, has received well over $9 million dollars from over 250 corporate partners to protect and preserve land and wildlife. What is often not acknowledged, however, is that these conservation efforts are being advanced at the expense of Indigenous peoples, since protecting particular areas of land involves their displacement. Given that Indigenous peoples have evolved complex systems of land management and protection, many places where Indigenous peoples have remained on their traditional territories are considered to be the most biologically sensitive and diverse areas of the world. It is often not recognized that their very presence has fostered and encouraged biodiversity, and it is their removal which undermines the overall health and well-being of the entire ecosystem (Dowie, 2009). Dowie (2009) points out that a global land mass the size of the African continent has been set aside for the purpose of conservation and yet, biodiversity continues to decline. He believes that the decline in biodiversity is directly the result of conservation groups forcing Indigenous peoples away from their traditional territories where they have tended to and managed their lands and resources for millennia. This displacement is justified to create wildlife reserves, parks and other 'sanctuaries'. Dowie (2009) argues that what is most unsettling about conservation efforts, aside from their blatant disregard for Indigenous peoples' rights to land and territories, is that they believe that the global

conservation agenda is being 'hijacked' by Indigenous peoples, whose goals and intended uses of the land are seen as contradicting the goals of the conservation organizations.

What both Dowie (2009) and Lynge (1992) speak to is a growing trend towards viewing humans as existing apart from nature, which means that fewer and fewer people have opportunities to learn about their natural surroundings and to learn about the interconnections that exist between various species of plants and animals, including humans. Lynge (1992) argues that the less people know about their natural surroundings, the more black-and-white issues about protecting the earth tend to seem. For example, in the view of some conservationists, traditional Indigenous practices of harvesting wildlife to sustain an animal population or practicing ecosystem management through cutting and burning is considered antithetical to the overall goal of environmental protection, when, in fact, each of these activities can be helpful in promoting the health of that ecosystem (Turner, 2005). The view that humans should not interfere with nature forms the basis for the belief that nature should regulate itself and be left untouched by humans, and that human intervention can do nothing but harm.

As Inuit leader and Nobel-prize nominee Sheila Watt-Cloutier (2007) suggests, when it is assumed that the efforts of conservation organizations and scientific research are 'value-free' and should always favour the interests of the environment over those of people, there is little room to include diverse cultural perspectives in issues pertaining to the environment. When the values and beliefs of one culture regarding the environment are perceived to be 'true' and correct and are reinforced through scientific evidence, it is then thought to be justified to assign these same beliefs to other cultures. This, according to Maggio and Lynch (1997), is a form of colonization that is being reinforced through globalization.

In a paper written for the journal *Food Policy,* Damman et al. (2008) argue that Indigenous peoples' chronic disease risk resulting from the transition to non-traditional foods is often exacerbated by government policies that further impede their right to access traditional foods. They advocate for a 'right to food perspective' that situates Indigenous peoples' right to access traditional foods squarely within the realm of their overall human rights, placing the obligation upon government to uphold and strengthen these rights through the enactment of culturally appropriate policies and programs. From a 'right to food perspective', Indigenous peoples' right

to access their traditional foods should be interpreted very broadly to also include their special rights to access their traditional lands and waters (Damman et al., 2008). Kalland (2003, p. 11) contends that, “human rights are unconditional and do not rest on whether people’s environmental ethics are pleasing to external observers or not. Indigenous peoples’ rights to resources are not conditioned on culture or how ‘authentic’ they might be. They have rights because they are people, not because they are saints”. Thus, upholding the human rights of Indigenous peoples depends upon their ability to utilize their natural resources in ways that fit with their cultural expressions of identity, which are, by and large, far less invasive than the destructive habits of unfettered capitalism (Kalland, 2003).

In Kalland’s (2003) interpretation of the relationship between nature and culture, we should approach environmental conservation as a means to sustain humanity, as opposed to simply for the purpose of protecting specific plants or animals. An earth that cannot support human life also cannot support many other life forms, and we learn that human life and health are inextricably linked to the life and health of the planet. When the earth is viewed for its ability to support human life, then certain imperatives arise. These imperatives are shared by diverse Indigenous cultures, even though the ways and means that they are expressed may differ according to the geographic places in which they live (Clarkson et al., 1992). These shared values and beliefs give rise to environmental imperatives that see beyond the view that certain aspects of nature need to be preserved for their beauty or specific plants or animals are more deserving of our immediate attention and protection than others (Clarkson et al., 1992). These similar values and beliefs have to do with an intimate connection and belonging to the environment, a sacred responsibility to the earth, and a respect for their surroundings, including family and community. Each of these beliefs and values manifest themselves differently depending on the origins and experiences of particular Indigenous groups, but they nevertheless reflect overarching themes consistent with Indigenous peoples worldwide (Clarkson et al., 1992). It is to these themes that we must look to in order to identify some of the ways and means through which Indigenous cultures are reacting and responding to environmental imperatives as they occur within their local environments.

Connection and Belonging

The notion that Indigenous peoples have always lived in a harmonious relationship with their natural surroundings is a misconception. 'Harmony' promotes an assumption that the relationships that Indigenous peoples have with the natural world is somehow an inherent aspect of an Indigenous cultural identity that allows Indigenous peoples to live freely amongst animals and plants in 'ignorant bliss' (Kalland, 2003; Radkau, 2008). This, in many ways, promotes stereotypical ideals of what it means to hold an Indigenous cultural identity. Indeed, if we peel back the layers of the supposed 'harmonious relationship' that exists between Indigenous peoples and nature, we quickly learn that the intimate knowledge that many Indigenous cultures have of their local surroundings is far from innate or an inherent aspect of 'being Indigenous', but instead, is hard-won, often through traumatic experiences of draught, extreme cold, and periods of famine and disease (Radkau, 2008). In other words, the knowledge that Indigenous peoples have of the natural world has arisen in response to the need to find ways of addressing problems of hunger, thirst, shelter and clothing. As such, finding solutions to environmental problems were integral to life itself (Radkau, 2008).

The intimate connection and belonging that Indigenous peoples have with their natural surroundings is borne not out of romantic notions of 'living close to nature', but rather, is viewed as a reciprocal relationship, where the earth provides resources for survival as long as the people take care not to deplete their surroundings (Turner, 2005). Not infrequently, the earth also takes away life when it can no longer be supported. This understanding of the tenuous relationship between humans and nature developed a framework for sustainability that was not only premised on *not depleting* resources, but, in fact, was dedicated to improving the amounts and types of resources available for future generations (Turner, 2005).

Sacred Responsibility

Only after the last tree has been cut down.
Only after the last river has been poisoned.
Only after the last fish has been caught.
Only then will you find that money cannot be eaten.
- Cree Prophecy

In her book, *The Earth's Blanket,* ethnobotanist Nancy Turner (2005, p.24) eloquently states, "Rich are those people who balance the benefits they receive in life with the responsibilities they assume for themselves, their families and communities and their environment". In the Western world, our wealth is measured by our ability to accumulate possessions, and more and more infrequently by the value we place upon traditional lifeways or of the ability to care for and benefit from our natural surroundings (Turner, 2005). Yet despite the increasing need for monetary wealth, many Indigenous societies have held onto perspectives that do not deviate substantially from the original teachings of their ancestors (Clarkson et al., 1992). Such teachings suggest that "Wealth dwells in people who know about, appreciate and respect the other life forms around them and who understand the importance of habitats for people and all living things" (Turner, 2005, p. 24-25).

Turner describes a letter written by James Douglas, who later became governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island, upon his first arrival at what is now the city of Victoria. He described the landscape that he first saw as "A perfect Eden in the midst of the dreary wilderness of the Northwest Coast" (as quoted in Turner, 2005, p. 147). Turner argues that like so many who came before and after him, James Douglas assumed that the vistas he was admiring were untouched by humans, when in fact the landscape he was referring to was actually moulded and developed by Coast Salish people, who tended and cared for the land using centuries-old practices of burning, clearing and harvesting.

European encounters on the northeast coast of Canada tell a similar tale of 'discovery' as that on Canada's west coast. Upon his arrival to Labrador in 1534, Jacques Cartier made his now-famous observation that the unforgiving and inhospitable landscape was the 'land God gave to Cain' (Kennedy, 1995). Indeed, up until the eighteenth century, European travellers and traders referred to Labrador as the undisputed 'no-man's land' and preferred to fish off the coast of Labrador rather than settle there (Fitzhugh, 1999). This characterization has persisted in the literature about Labrador despite archaeological evidence that the ancestors of the current Inuit, Innu and Inuit-Metis inhabitants have been traced back at least 9,000 years (Fitzhugh, 1999; Kennedy, 1995).

The historical accounts of Europeans about (what is now known as) Canada noted the dramatically varied landscapes and climates that exist all over the country, suggesting that very diverse adaptations must have evolved among Indigenous peoples in order to survive in these varied locations. But of equal importance are the historical accounts that demonstrate the commonly held assumption by European colonists that the lands and waters upon which they arrived were undiscovered and untouched by humans, and were therefore awaiting human intervention in the form of 'development'. Turner (2005) suggests that the 'untouched' wilderness on Canada's west coast was interpreted as prime real estate by Europeans, and little thought was given to the fact that the bounties that were encountered were the result of years of careful resource management practices. Not unlike the encounters on the west coast, the interpretations given to the barren and inhospitable landscape of the northeast coast of Canada were also seen as 'untouched', when in reality, diverse groups of Aboriginal peoples had thrived on the seemingly barren landscape for thousands and thousands of years (Fitzhugh, 1999).

In a report written for the International Institute for Sustainable Development, three Indigenous authors point out that in order to survive, historic Indigenous peoples had a responsibility, a duty, to treat all life – plants, animals, minerals and humans, with the utmost respect (Clarkson et al., 1992). The rationale was not based upon preserving nature for its beauty or conserving resources out of an altruistic concern for the well-being of those resources. Rather, treating the natural world with respect meant engaging with the earth in ways that ensured that one could meet all of the needs of one's family and community, which necessarily meant harvesting, hunting, and shaping the environment in ways that would ensure that the earth would continue to provide (Clarkson et al., 1992; Turner, 2005). Failure to do so could mean hunger or starvation. As such, the responsibility to the earth was based on the survival of future generations (Clarkson et al., 1992). In this sense, it is the duty of Indigenous peoples to tend and care for the earth so that it can allow future generations to live in a world whose resources remain bountiful.

> *It is often said that our people have no concept of time and no investment in the future. In fact, our concept of time forces us to think hundreds of years into the future. The investment we make is not measured in dollars or in material wealth, it is*

> *measured in terms of our ability to insure that what is here for us today is here for our children and our children's children tomorrow* (Clarkson et al., 1992, p. 15).

Respect

Respect for the earth is a natural extension of responsibility. Respect, however, extends beyond the respect for one's natural or physical surroundings, and to the importance of one's family and community (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992). Allowing resources to replenish themselves over time required many Indigenous groups to adopt nomadic lifestyles to ensure they did not deplete all of the resources in a particular area (Carter, 1990). How groups of Indigenous peoples organized themselves varied according to geographic location (for example, less hospitable environments would necessitate smaller groups of people during various times of the year, to ensure there were enough resources for everyone), the ages and genders of the group members, as well as the roles and responsibilities assigned to each member.

The pragmatic nature of Indigenous survival on the land necessitated clearly defined roles for each group member, as people depended upon one another to live up to the expectations of other members. To do anything less would risk jeopardizing the survival of the group. In fact, many pre-Columbian Aboriginal peoples of Canada did not exhibit signs of social stratification and hierarchies that are common in Western society today (Cruickshank, 1998; Samson, 2003). Although each member of a community or tribe had specific roles and responsibilities, none were given value over others (Cruickshank, 1998; Gunn Allen, 1986; Kelm, 1998). Women, men, the young and the elderly were all given respect because they all played equally important roles in the survival of the community.

Men and women, for example, had roles and responsibilities that were clearly gender divided, yet unlike the unequal gendered divisions of labour we see today in the Western world, roles were given equal value (Gunn Allen, 1986). Since women were the only ones able to bring life in to the world, they were given special status in communities as care-givers and creators of life (Graveline, 1998). Women were also charged with preparing meals and clothing for men, enabling the men to carry out their duties of hunting, trapping and fishing, thus providing the

family and community with food (Goudie, 1983; Hanrahan, 2001). If anyone failed to accomplish their assigned duties, or did so inadequately, then the entire family and perhaps community might go hungry or starve. Young people were also given the important role of gathering fuel and food for the family, and as they got older and learned about their environments, were expected to impart their knowledge onto the next generation (Cruickshank, 1998).

Community elders have always been given a special place in Indigenous communities (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992). As the keepers of legends and stories, elders were considered the very transmitters of culture and were expected to impart their knowledge upon the younger generations through the provision of advice and guidance (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992). They also played important roles in advising community leaders using their years of experience and knowledge to deal with contemporary circumstances. The accumulated wisdom and teachings of our ancestors tell us much about how to encourage our plant and animal resources to thrive under our care, so that they can continue to give us life and support our needs while we are here on earth (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992). However, the knowledge given to us by our ancestors teaches us not only about how to keep ourselves alive, but also to allow future generations to live and thrive as well. Thus, the ways in which we interact with the earth and the resources we utilize from it must all be treated with care and respect in order to ensure the survival of future generations.

It is this sense of responsibility towards future generations that has guided our ancestors in the past, and to which we must now look for ways to guide our own actions for the benefit of our children and our children's children (Clarkson et al., 1992). Respecting and honouring our elders and our ancestors means carefully listening to their teachings, learning from their mistakes and living in step with their wisdom. Accordingly, we must take care to respect and honour the generations that follow us, just as our ancestors have honoured us by giving us life and taking care of our resources. Thus, the knowledge passed on through generations, whether through actions or words, must be given privilege and respect if we are to truly understand the constant changes happening in our world.

Aboriginal understandings of food and health

The overall health profile of Aboriginal peoples in Canada is said to more closely resemble that of other Indigenous peoples in many Third World countries than it does the general Canadian population (Adelson, 2005; Waldram, Herring & Young, 2007). Statistical profiles demonstrate that Aboriginal peoples in Canada suffer from higher incidences of preventable diseases such as heart disease and diabetes, and face a variety of other social issues that interact with one another to negatively affect health, such as high rates of unemployment, poor housing conditions, substance abuse issues, violence, suicide, etc. (Adelson, 2005; Damman et al., 2008; Gracey & King, 2009; Waldram, Herring & Young, 2007). Although these profiles are helpful to the extent that they point out health disparities, they can also be quite harmful in that they portray all Aboriginal communities as facing similar issues, ignoring the tremendous diversity that exists within and among Aboriginal communities across Canada, as well as the protective factors that many Aboriginal communities have adopted to guard against these health and social ills. Indeed, some Aboriginal communities rarely face issues of violence or suicide, while others have rates of diabetes and heart disease that are actually lower than the general population (King, Smith & Gracey, 2009).

In the same way that nutrition research does not tell us all there is to know about food, statistical profiles alone do not tell us all there is to know about Aboriginal health. Indeed, statistical data does not situate Aboriginal health within an appropriate social or historical context, thus the individuals and communities themselves are often blamed for health and social issues that stem from historical trauma and political decisions that are largely beyond their immediate control (Carter, 1990; King, Smith & Gracey, 2009; Wheatley, 1996). In many Aboriginal communities, for example, the root of many health and social issues can be traced back to the arrival of the European colonizers to the Americas, since it was at this time that Aboriginal peoples were introduced to new diseases to which they had never been exposed, as well as imported foods that differed significantly from the diets to which they had grown accustomed. Among the Inuit in Labrador, for example, a study conducted in the early 1900s suggested that Inuit peoples who had the least contact with ‘outsiders’ (i.e., European settlers) had fewer incidents of tooth decay and gum disease than those whose diets were influenced by the more carbohydrate-rich import foods such as white flour and sugar (Waugh, 1928). Among Inuit who retained a traditional diet of fresh fish, meat and berries, tooth and gum disease was

virtually absent (Waugh, 1928). Hanrahan (2008) notes that historically, nutritional deficiencies among the Inuit of Labrador were rare, since the consumption of all animal parts, including bones, liver, blood and intestines, in addition to eating vitamin-rich berries, ensured that all nutritional requirements were satisfied. The primary problem facing Inuit communities was not, in fact, warding off nutritional deficiencies so much as ensuring that there was enough food to avoid hunger or starvation (Hanrahan, 2008).

Although the exposure to imported foods provided the Inuit with increased access to a variety of foods and protected against hunger, it also created a dependency upon these foods during times of food scarcity, such as the famine of 1799 to 1804 (Fitzhugh, 1999; Hanrahan, 2008). It was during times of food dependency upon imported European foods that Inuit also experienced corresponding increases in nutrition-related deficiencies, gastro-intestinal illnesses and dental caries, which until that point had not been observed in Inuit communities (Hanrahan, 2008).

For many Indigenous cultures, humans form an inseparable part of their physical surroundings, thus all of the foods that are eaten reaffirm a direct and intimate connection to the earth, and all things living and non-living. Among the Inuit there is a belief that the foods one eats become a part of you, and therefore, you are, literally, what you eat. Respecting the sacrifice that an animal makes to provide food is recognized as a necessary part of life and thus, overall health and well-being (Hanrahan, 2008). Indigenous peoples often do not separate the plants and animals which are used for food from those used in other daily practices such as making clothing and shelter, heating their homes, making medicines, etc (Condon, Collings & Wenzel, 1998; Hanrahan, 2008; Willows, 2005). For the Inuit, in particular, ensuring that all parts of an animal or plant were used in large part stemmed from times when foods were scarce and people could not afford to waste food. The foods eaten, therefore, are intimately connected to health; since foods come from lands and waters, the health of individuals and communities is dependent on the health of those resources. Essentially, what we do to our physical surroundings, we ultimately do to ourselves. This very holistic definition of health accepts the interrelatedness of all things, since we all form an integral part of the ecosystems that make up our surroundings (Henderson, 2000).

From this perspective, food acts as much more than simply a means to provide sustenance or ensure nutritional health (Lupton, 1996). Since Indigenous peoples view the foods that they eat as being inseparable from many of their daily activities, definitions of what constitutes 'food', 'sustenance', and 'subsistence' are much less clearly defined than is often required by Western nutritionists, health researchers, medical experts, government administrators and wildlife regulators since a single harvest might be used for multiple purposes. According to a study conducted by Condon et al. (1998) with Inuit subsistence hunters, aside from the economic benefits of harvesting a particular food resource, most of the informants in their study mentioned other aspects of harvesting that had very little to do with economics in a Western sense. Many mentioned the rest and relaxation associated with living on the land, the continuation of Inuit hunting activities and the importance of re-establishing ties with the land. These statements suggest the depth of cultural identity that can be exhibited through subsistence lifestyles, as well as the important role that foods and their associated activities play in maintaining and protecting the health and well-being of Indigenous peoples. Indeed, as Willows (2005, p. s33) suggests,

> *Of importance to understanding the role that culture plays in determining food choice in Aboriginal communities is that the activities required to procure traditional food are not merely a way of obtaining food but, rather, a mode of production that sustains social relationships and distinctive cultural characteristics. This is because the consumption of traditional foods is more than just about eating; it is the endpoint of a series of culturally meaningful processes involved in harvesting, processing, distribution and preparation of these foods. For many Aboriginal peoples, these processes require the continued enactment of culturally important ways of behaving, which emphasize cooperation, sharing and generosity*.

Foods and the natural surroundings in which foods are obtained also provide important ingredients for medicines, clothing, shelter and indeed, for overall health and well-being. In fact, the physical world acts as a 'natural pharmacy' in many respects, affording Indigenous peoples the opportunity to develop an extensive range of medical therapies and treatment procedures over centuries of living in direct contact with the natural world (Samson, 2003; Turner, 2005). For example, both Ackroyd (1930) and Howell (1998) have noted that Labrador Inuit-Metis

women would develop tonics of cod liver oil, bog bean and various other locally-derived remedies which doubtlessly prevented certain nutritional-deficiencies. Indeed, Ackroyd (1930) found that compared with their non-Aboriginal counterparts in northern Newfoundland, the Inuit-Metis peoples along the south coast of Labrador exhibited far fewer incidents of food-deficiency diseases such as beriberi, rickets, and scurvy than their non-Aboriginal counterparts, despite less access to fresh fruits and vegetables and higher levels of poverty (Ackroyd, 1930).

An additional example of the way in which the procurement of plants and animals provided medicinal uses far beyond that of 'food' can be seen from Samson's impressions of his time spent 'on the land' with some members of the Labrador Innu.

> *The first animal that was killed after I joined the camp was a beaver. On the way back to camp in the canoe, Dominic said that the film on the scrotum of the beaver can be used as a balm for earaches. For certain infections, a muskrat's fur can be used to clean the pus, after which sap or gum can be applied. Another Tshenut, Pien Penashue, told me that medicines can be obtained from all of the animals in the country. Sponges can be made from caribou skin, diaper rash and skin irritations can be treated with the soft shavings from dead spruce trees. For toothaches and teething babies, the gums should be scratched with a pine needle, and then applied with berries. If the arm is infirm, one can eat the arm of a bear to regain strength, and similarly with other limbs. Other more psychological problems can be dealt with by substances found in the country as well as physical exercise, dreaming, and communicating with others* (Samson, 2003, p. 262).

Food not only protected against nutritional deficiencies, but also reinforced a collective solidarity, fostering emotional and mental health and well-being. For example, among the Labrador Inuit-Metis there was always a tradition of sharing the first salmon caught in the spring with all members of a community (Hanrahan, 2000). This practice, which stems from a collective history of benevolence and respect for others ensures that even those who may have been too young or too frail to catch fish would be assured a meal. Although this provided an important

means to protect against hunger at a time of year when supplies of food were at their lowest, it also fostered an atmosphere of sharing and cohesion among community members.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that global change is occurring on a worldwide scale and is affecting the ability of Indigenous peoples to access and avail of culturally appropriate foods, since environmental destruction and conservation efforts are undermining Indigenous peoples connections to their natural surroundings. It is through the maintenance and strengthening of cultural connections that Indigenous peoples are able to protect their natural surroundings. Thus, it is essential for Indigenous peoples to be able to uphold their traditional food-related activities, since it is these activities that reinforce connections to the earth and foster the ability for Indigenous peoples to care for their surroundings in order to ensure the health of the natural world for future generations.

Chapter Four: THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Decolonizing research through vision (ontology) and 'ways of knowing' (epistemology)

The word *research* has been described as "probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary" (Smith, 1999, p. 1). Through the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from the design, methodology, implementation and assessment of research projects, research has served as the means through which 'truths' about Indigenous cultures have been described and understood by non-Indigenous cultures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 4). Historically, research has been the ultimate means through which Indigenous peoples have been objectified, represented and generalized to non-Indigenous researchers for many centuries, and since knowledge acquired through research is often equated with 'truth', research has been used as a means to justify the continued oppression of Indigenous peoples worldwide (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

The goal of a *decolonized* research agenda is to disrupt and challenge types of research that perpetuate colonization, such as those that do not include the voices and perspectives of Indigenous peoples throughout the research process. The decolonization of research involves more than simply finding a place within academia for researchers who are Indigenous. Rather, it involves re-evaluating the social, economic, political and judicial structures that make it difficult or impossible for Indigenous perspectives to be heard, and then re-thinking, and perhaps even re-developing these structures in ways that respect multiple ways of knowing, including those of diverse Indigenous groups (Laenui, 2000). Essentially, the decolonized research project demands that the purpose of research be re-defined as a moral and political project that seeks to enhance, rather than simply describe or define, the lives of Indigenous peoples.

According to Guba and Lincoln (2008), a key component of the decolonized research agenda lies in understanding how the very nature of reality is understood within diverse societies.

Ontology is meant to describe, or convey insight, into the nature of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The term *vision* is used here as synonymous with *ontology,* since a *vision,* within many Indigenous societies, implies that one has received insight into the nature of reality through spiritual practices such as 'dreaming' or spending long periods of time on the land (Laenui, 2000). In this sense, *vision* and *ontology* are very similar because they both articulate the idea that it is possible to know something about 'reality'. Using both terms also indicates that there is no one correct way of understanding reality, since different people, different cultures, all believe in the existence of reality in different ways (Aluli-Meyer, 2008; Laenui, 2000). This is evidenced by the fact that diverse groups of peoples all over the world have their own unique knowledge systems that stem from their understandings of the world around them. These diverse realities do not exist in isolation from the rest of the world, but instead, influence their surroundings, as well as the realities of those with whom they are connected.

A decolonized research agenda also involves thinking carefully about *how* knowledge gets created (Smith, 1999). What can be known about reality, how and by whom, is referred to as *epistemology* (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) or what is often referred to amongst Indigenous scholars as 'ways of knowing' (Aluli-Meyer, 2008). All realities are socially constructed, meaning that realities change over time, and in response to experiences and changes that occur in the world. This gives rise to tremendous diversity of thought and experience within and among diverse groups of people and can never be entirely disentangled from various historical and social processes, including age, gender, class, sexuality, culture or any number of factors. As such, knowledge is always value-laden, and is constrained and expanded depending on the knower's social and historical location in society. This does not imply relativism; where one can only claim to 'know' if they have experienced the particular phenomena in question. Rather, one does not necessarily have to *become* part of a particular social or cultural group in order understand it. Instead, we can accept that our perspectives are partial, limited by our ability to interact, feel and communicate as human beings (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991; Lather, 2007).

Respecting the vision and ways of understanding the world (ontological and epistemological assumptions) outlined above, the following study takes the position that any perspective is always partial. It does not attempt to paint a complete picture of the people who participate in the study, or the community of St. Lewis. Rather, this study presents an understanding of the

findings that stems from the value-laden role played by both the research participants and the researcher.

The origins of Western 'science' and 'theory'

> *Science is part of culture, and... how science is done largely depends on the culture in which it is practiced* (Iaccarino, 2003, p. 220).

Theory stems from the Greek word, *theoria,* which means 'seeing for yourself' (Iaccarino, 2003). The original European theorists believed that 'facts' about our world can be understood entirely through logic and observation (Iaccarino, 2003). The scientific method emerged as a process that could be used to validate knowledge claims, and theories were used as a means to classify and organize scientific thought. Thus, as new information is learned about a particular topic, that information is subject to increasingly complex systems of classification and organization. Measures of reliability and validity are designed to ensure that any claims to 'truth' can be verified using appropriate scientific procedures. Thus, studies that cannot be replicated, that use tools or methods that have not been standardized or verified, or that reach conclusions that veer away from the questions asked are dismissed as un-scientific.

With its claims to 'truth', the scientific method, or what has been called 'positivist science', assumes that there is only one reality 'out there' that can be discovered through scientific procedure (Iaccarino, 2003). The ultimate goal of science is to make claims about reality by offering proof of its existence through scientific inquiry. According to this logic, value can only be placed upon knowledge that meets the acceptable standards of objectivity as defined by positivist, scientific research. As such, no other forms or ways of knowing about the world exist outside of positivist science. According to this view, anything that falls outside of scientific reasoning is disregarded as inconclusive and ideological (Mills, 1997; Petch, 2000).

With its roots firmly established in positivism, the scientific tradition has become a pervasive means of inquiry in the Western world, which fails to recognize the existence of perspectives that might question or contradict some of the fundamental assumptions upon which it is based

(Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Varadharajan, 2000). As a knowledge system predicated on the assumption that 'all knowledge is scientific knowledge', there is little appreciation or understanding given to knowledge that originates from places other than positivism, such as those that are derived from Indigenous ways of knowing. Yet, if we look closely at the origins of Western science, we learn that there has never been one, pure definition of science, since science has stemmed from a variety of decidedly 'non-Western' locations (Turnbull, 1997; van Eijck, 2007). As van Eijck (2007, p. 609) points out "the very foundation of European science is itself the result of a mélange of many peoples from the empire of Alexander the Great, including from then-current countries like Persia, Anatolia, Syria, Phoenicia, Judea, Gaza, Egypt, Bactria, Mesopotamia and even Punjab". Thus, 'Western science' is not purely 'Western' or even European, but more of a social and cultural construct with more global, and often Indigenous, origins.

The word 'science' comes from the Greek word *scientia* and its roots can be traced back to 15th century Britain, where there was a growing demand for empirical evidence to replace the authority of the church and royalty, as an alternative knowledge system (Aikenhead & Ogawa, 2007). 'Science' was originally referred to as 'natural philosophy', and the Royal Society of Natural Philosophers emerged in 1661 to represent the interests of those who wished to advance empirically-based knowledge. The success of this Society and its influences grew throughout the Industrial Revolution, and "the name *science* was chosen to replace *natural philosophy* in 1831, with the birth of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS)" (Aikenhead & Ogawa, 2007, p. 544). The creation of BAAS situated "the word *science* squarely in a political arena of elite social privilege", giving rise to science as a 'professionalized philosophy' that is associated only with Eurocentric, or Western, knowledge (Aikenhead & Ogawa, p.544). With the professionalization of this knowledge through the BAAS (which was concurrent with the growing importance of social class in Britain), the global origins of science were forgotten and science became redefined to refer only to that which was taught in university. Only those who were university-trained, with ties to institutions and funding bodies, could offer any contribution to this version of 'science' (Aikenhead & Ogawa, 2007). Science became narrowly associated only with that which could be verified within the academy, meaning that the Indigenous origins of scientific inquiry were all but forgotten.

Indigenous knowledges are frequently used to inform and uphold many of the fundamental claims within positivist science, but without the consent of the Indigenous holders of that knowledge (Posey, 2004). Appropriation represents an approach to research that abstracts valuable pieces of Indigenous knowledge for use by scientific researchers (Posey, 2004). Fragments of Indigenous knowledge have been appropriated for scientific use, which can be observed in everything from forestry management practices, to methods of health and healing (Little Bear, 2000; Posey, 2004). According to positivist science, only knowledge that can be 'proven' according to the strict scientific guidelines set out by positivism is of value within the positivist, scientific community (Posey, 2004). This contributes to the colonization of Indigenous ways of knowing because knowledge is abstracted from its *source* as well as from the *originators* of that knowledge in order to fit within the strict confines of a positivist approach. This creates a scenario where the social and cultural context in which knowledge is situated is lost or ignored. The very success of positivism lies in its ability to take knowledges from many diverse sources and claim them as discoveries within positivism (Michell, Vizina, Augustus & Sawyer, 2008). For example, important scientific advances in the fields of medicine, pharmacy, forestry, engineering and many other 'scientific' disciplines can all be attributed to the knowledges generated by diverse Indigenous cultures. Knudtson and Suzuki (1992, p. 12) point out that, "more than seventy-five percent of the 121 prescription drugs used around the world that are derived from plants are said to have been discovered on the basis of initial clues found in traditional indigenous medical practices". Indigenous knowledge surrounding the medicinal uses of certain plants has been used by pharmaceutical companies for monetary gain, without acknowledging or compensating Indigenous peoples for its use. Often, Indigenous lands and waters are exploited in efforts to mass-produce these medicines (Posey, 2004).

It is important to point out that positivist research is not always associated with a particular method or methods of conducting scientific research. Although the roots of positivist science stem from a quantitative perspective, not all quantitative research should be dismissed simply because it uses a particular method. Rather it is the *perspective* with which certain methods are employed that is most troubling and not necessarily the methods themselves (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). This means simply that positivist science can be either quantitative or qualitative, and alternatively, a decolonized research agenda may include either quantitative or qualitative methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).This distinction is important to make, since a decolonized

research agenda cannot advocate particular methods over others, if those methods are applied in a positivist way. For this particular study, a qualitative methodology has been chosen, not because it offers a decolonized way to do research (indeed, there are many examples of qualitative research that perpetuate a colonial perspective), but because qualitative methods have been identified by the community included in this study as an appropriate means of collecting the information needed.

It is also important to note that not all Western or European sciences are positivist science. Criticisms of Western or non-Indigenous science are often rooted in the idea that all Western sciences are attached, at least to some degree, to the 'scientific method', ignoring the myriad of holistic approaches to research that are commonly found in the social sciences (van Eijck, 2007). Reducing Western science only to forms of science rooted in positivist or reductionist approaches is incongruent with both current and past scientific practice. Aikenhead and Ogawa (2007) argue that criticizing Western science without regard for its diversity, not only reduces science only to that which is understood through the five-step 'scientific method' (which involves identifying a problem, defining it, constructing a hypothesis, testing the hypothesis and drawing a conclusion), but also undermines the important contributions that Indigenous knowledge has made to science. In other words, many different Western sciences have acknowledged and in some cases embraced Indigenous perspectives, but have done so in ways that respect the origins of that knowledge and have not attempted to undermine those origins. Similarly, many Indigenous perspectives have selectively embraced Western ideologies and practices and have done so without diminishing or undermining the nature of their non-Indigenous origins. For example, Indigenous peoples do not claim that Christianity or the English language come from Indigenous origins although they may practice their beliefs within Christianity or speak the English language. Substantial bodies of Western sciences, including constructivism, critical theories, and feminist theories, all stem from a well-established critique of positivist science, questioning the notion that positivism offers the only correct way to acquire knowledge about our world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Critics of positivism are deeply troubled by its domination over other forms of knowledge. Within these critiques of positivism, alternative methods of thinking about and seeing the world are reflected upon, critiqued in relation to one another, and are constantly changing. It is from within these alternate places of theorizing that people of diverse races, sexualities, abilities, and religions have expressed their

perspectives about how knowledge gets produced, re-produced, understood and accepted or rejected within various social locations.

Unlike non-positivist scientific approaches to research, Indigenous ways of knowing do not come from a critique of positivism, nor have they always been required to use positivism as a benchmark upon which to articulate the emergence of Indigenous thought. Rather, it has been incumbent upon Indigenous sciences and philosophies to respect diversity of thought, since this is what allows one's own perspectives and experiences to respond to changes and fluctuations in the world. Although rejecting positivist thought might seem contradictory to accepting diverse perspectives, positivist thought does not allow or acknowledge alternate expressions of knowing and so it is an exception to the general principles of acceptance in Indigenous cultures. Sharing diverse perspectives has been integral to all cultures, since learning about and understanding the perspectives of others is an essential part of cultural survival (Turnbull, 1997). It is not the lending or borrowing of knowledge that is problematic for Indigenous cultures; it is when Indigenous knowledge is undermined through appropriation that Indigenous peoples risk further colonization. An important aspect of a decolonized research agenda is avoiding re-inscribing a colonial agenda in Indigenous research. This does not mean isolating Indigenous knowledges from Western sciences; indeed, if this were to happen, it would undermine the very pluralistic nature of Indigenous knowledge. Rather, a decolonized research agenda requires careful reflection on the role that colonization currently plays in the articulation of Indigenous knowledges today and how Indigenous knowledges are shaped by experiences of colonization. Thus, a decolonized Indigenous scholarship does not assume that a state of pre-colonization can ever be achieved, but that in the process of reflecting on how Indigenous knowledge has been shaped by colonization, we can begin to identify colonial practices, and move beyond the boundaries created by colonization, rejecting forms of knowledge that perpetuate a colonial agenda.

In the sense that Indigenous perspectives do not emerge from within a critique of positivism, and yet are required to navigate within a colonized world, Indigenous knowledges are distinct from diverse types of Western sciences. Nevertheless, alternative Western perspectives can and do experience various forms of imperialism, domination and colonization through various junctures of sexuality, age, dis/ability, religion and/or race, which can be

attributed to the dominating effects of positivist science and thought. Since these positions are marginalized within the 'borders' of Western science they offer a different lens through which to understand the imperialistic tendencies of positivist science and thought. In this sense, these alternative perspectives can not only inform but also benefit from Indigenous ways of knowing.

Towards Two-Eyed Seeing

There are many ways of seeing and understanding the world, some of which come from Indigenous origins, some from Western origins and some which combine the two. Often diverse perspectives are thought of as a continuum, with Western sciences at one end, and Indigenous knowledges at the other. In this conceptualization, any overlapping, blending or blurring of the two would occur at some point along the continuum. Brandt (2007) and Aikenhead and Ogawa (2007) argue that conceiving of knowledge in this way reinforces dichotomies that are not aligned with Indigenous perspectives. Brandt (2007, p. 602) proposes that if knowledge is thought about from a *both/and* position rather than an *either/or* position, one can begin to "challenge the fixed notion of the binary to reveal positions that were previously erased and ignored simply because they did not fit into normative categories". If, as Brandt suggests, knowledge is not a dichotomy between Indigenous knowledges versus Western sciences, and there is, in fact, overlap between the two, there is a need to re-conceptualize the way we think about the production of knowledge that does not reinforce this dichotomy.

David Turnbull (1997, p. 551) suggests that one way to think about the production of knowledge is through a framework where "all knowledge systems can be equitably compared" and where differences are recognized and embraced. He argues that there is no 'great divide' between many Western sciences and Indigenous knowledge, but that the two operate within "different knowledge spaces with different devices and strategies for assembling and moving the knowledge" (Turnbull, 1997, p. 557). He proposes a 'thirdspace' where knowledge traditions can be reframed and re-negotiated.

> *If, as I believe, we need to recognize that the cultural diversity of indigenous knowledge traditions is just as important to our survival as biological diversity,*

> *then we need to temper the notion of growth and development by enabling all knowledge traditions to work together instead of displacing one knowledge space with another* (Turnbull, 1997, p. 560).

The notion of 'thirdspace' as proposed by Turnbull, envisions two overlapping, concentric circles, with the shared space between the two indicative of the 'thirdspace'. Brandt (2007) argues that 'thirdspace', while useful to the extent that it moves beyond the *either/or* continuum that separates Western and Indigenous knowledge, still implies that there are many aspects of diverse knowledge systems that are 'out of reach' of one another, since the only point where knowledge is shared is the point at which they converge. She envisions that this shared space be thought of as 'common ground', where diverse knowledge systems can exist together and each can inform and build upon the knowledge of the other to varying degrees, depending on the context. In this case, one type of knowledge is never subsumed within the other.

In her research with students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds who are attending university in a Western educational setting, Brandt (2007) notes that she was constantly searching for a border that distinguished Indigenous knowledge from Western science. In doing so, she realized that by making such a distinction, she was reinforcing rather than questioning the very dichotomies that she was trying to avoid. She argues that the 'bridge' she was seeking that would link Indigenous and Western knowledge systems was illusive and frustrating, so she began to look at the ways in which her research participants were simultaneously embracing multiple epistemologies. She notes that her research participants "held firm to their traditional worldviews", but added certain aspects of Western epistemology that allowed their traditional worldviews to be expanded and diversified (Brandt, 2007, p. 602). For example, she notes that "one participant, Ramona, held multiple epistemologies where she references her Indigenous Navajo worldview, beliefs through the Native American Church, teachings from her education in the Catholic school, oral traditions within her family, and Eurocentric science" (Brandt, 2007, p. 602). She asserts that "common ground implies that one does not have to relinquish either position, but...can simultaneously embrace elements of Eurocentric societies and Indigenous knowledge" (Brandt, 1997, p. 603) depending on the circumstance in question.

Creating common ground through Two-Eyed Seeing

Two-Eyed Seeing builds upon the production of a knowledge system that does not replicate the dichotomies of a Western science/Indigenous knowledge continuum. Two-Eyed Seeing is a concept introduced by Mi'kMaq elder Albert Marshall from the Eskasoni First Nations reserve in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. It acts as "an important guiding principle for one's journey while here on Mother Earth" (Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2007, p. 13). It stems from the belief that there are many ways of understanding the world, some of which are represented through Euro-Western sciences, and others, which are represented in various Indigenous knowledge systems and sciences. Elder Marshall contends that there are aspects of both Western and Indigenous ways of knowing about the world that are very important for Indigenous communities. If we learn to appreciate multiple perspectives, we can draw on what is useful and relevant to inform and build upon our existing knowledge. Essentially, we can learn to 'see through both eyes'. Two-Eyed Seeing stresses the importance of being mindful of alternative ways of knowing (multiple epistemologies) in order to constantly question and reflect on the partiality of one's perspective. It respects the value of difference and contradiction, over integration or melding of diverse perspectives into one another (which can often result in one perspective dominating the other). As a result, one 'eye' is never subsumed or dominated by the other eye; rather, each eye represents a way to see the world that is always partial. When both eyes are used together, this does not mean that our view is now 'complete and whole', but that a new way of seeing the world is created that respects the differences that each can offer.

An important aspect of Two-Eyed Seeing is that it responds to the idea that our perspectives of the world are never static, but instead, are constantly shifting and changing. What we are able to know is shaped not only by our physical surroundings, but by our social surroundings as well. The social construction of knowledge imbued by Two-Eyed Seeing responds to the idea that we are social beings and in order for knowledge to continue to be produced anew we all 'need one another' (Marshall, n.d.). Two-Eyed Seeing seems to be offering an alternative to positivism, since its basic premise is to accept and embrace diverse perspectives. According to Marshall's articulation of Two-Eyed Seeing, it appears that positivism does not have a role to

play in Two-Eyed Seeing, since its very existence is based upon the belief that there is only 'one truth' and one way of interpreting and understanding the world.

Two-eyed Seeing is used to frame the theoretical orientation of this study. It represents a way of drawing upon Indigenous knowledge and non-positivist Western sciences that addresses the needs of the community, while not pitting one view against another, or giving dominance to one perspective over another. This study has borrowed the idea of Two-Eyed Seeing because it moves beyond the simple dichotomies of Western sciences and Indigenous knowledges. Through the analogy of 'two eyes', we learn that no one perspective is ever complete and whole, and that the very creation of dichotomies and dualisms assumes that borders can be drawn between one 'type' of knowledge and another. The fluid nature of two eyes that can look back and forth and assist one another to attain a more complete picture of the world responds to the idea that Indigenous knowledge deserves its place within the world, one that is not 'better than' Western sciences, but is simply, different.

The concept of Two-Eyed Seeing offers a framework from which to explain not only how different types of knowing can be brought together, but why different types of knowing are important. For this study, through an 'Indigenous eye', I present some of the qualities of Indigenous sciences and philosophies that offer knowledge that is complementary to, yet different from, Western-derived approaches to research. Through a 'Western eye', I have chosen 'Western-derived' theories that include feminist standpoint theories and eco-feminist theory. Choosing Western theories that are closely aligned with Indigenous thought might, at first glance, appear to reinforce the idea that the similarities between Western theories and Indigenous thought are so great that there is no need for both perspectives to exist. However, as Bartlett, Marshall and Marshall (2007) point out, diverse perspectives always have roots that emerge from very different places, meaning that even though they may be similar in many ways, they have been created to respond to the needs and desires of a particular group of people. Just as Indigenous sciences and philosophies have emerged from a direct and intimate relationship to local ecologies, so too, have the Western theories described here emerged as a means to convey different perspectives within Western sciences. In this regard, we must be attentive to the deep strengths and insights of each perspective, and recognize the diverse places from

which they have come and the diverse purposes for which they were intended to address (Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2007).

As a concept that values both Western and Indigenous ways of thinking, Two-Eyed Seeing embraces diverse understandings of reality. Beyond recognition and acceptance that diverse perspectives exist, Two-Eyed Seeing suggests that differing perspectives must be reflexively considered. The concept of reflexivity is one that asks us to 'reflect' back on our own firmly established beliefs and assumptions and to constantly question those beliefs and assumptions through the incorporation of new ideas and experiences. Reflexivity also requires us to do more than simply look at ourselves, but to also consider how differing beliefs and values inform and shape how others see the world. Understanding the perspectives and experiences of others is very important for this study because although I am connected to the community of St. Lewis in some ways, my experiences and perspectives on the world may be very different from the people who participate. While I cannot and do not wish to remove the value of my own perspective from this research, I also hope to convey the diversity of perspectives that exist for the participants in the study. Thus, for me, Two-Eyed Seeing has become an on-going process of reflection and learning.

An Indigenous 'eye'

There is recognition among diverse Indigenous peoples that local ecosystems are composed of individual parts that are interdependent and in a constant state of flux. No one part can be altered or changed without creating changes that affect all other parts. Each part of the ecosystem has a responsibility to the whole, such that, if for some reason it does not fulfill its roles, the entire ecosystem is affected (Henderson, 2000). Emphasis is placed on recognizing interconnections and relationships, rather than narrowly understanding discrete elements without relating them to the whole. Human beings represent one part of this web of life and are connected to all things living and non-living. Thus, like all other parts of the ecosystem, humans have a responsibility to contribute to the whole in a way that ensures 'interactive harmony' (Henderson, 2000). Interactive harmony means that we must accept the strengths, beauty and limits of our ecology. Essentially, it requires a basic understanding that honours diversity and

views everything, both living and non-living, as representing and having a responsibility to the circle of life. This responsibility is constantly reinforced through prayers, rituals, songs and dances that are tailored to specific localities and the corresponding needs and desires of its people (Little Bear, 2000).

Among Indigenous peoples, knowledge generation and application tend to be participatory, communal, experiential and reflective of localized geography (Loppie, 2007; Smylie et al., 2004). What this means is that value is placed upon the traditions, laws, customs and philosophy of the group, rather than on individual successes and achievements. It also means that a diversity of perspectives and opinions are valued, since it is felt that no one perspective is right or wrong; all views are seen to contribute something unique and important. Diversity is also respected in the sense that individuals often need to know a little bit about a great deal of things. A diversity of knowledge is essential for the well-being of the entire group, since all of the specific knowledge and skills that one possesses emerge from a responsibility to the collective rather than as a means for individual achievement (Henderson, 2000).

The collective nature of Indigenous knowledge usually begins with stories derived from practical experiences. The oral tradition of stories provides the foundation for local knowledge by helping people to connect their experiences with those from the past. Through the sharing of personal experiences and learning about the experiences of others through stories, individuals develop wisdom, which is then passed on to the younger generations (Battiste, 2000; Cruickshank, 1998). A unique feature of Indigenous stories is that contradictory perceptions of the same event are often accepted because they are seen as being unique to the individual (Henderson, 2000). No perspective is dismissed, since all perspectives offer something important. For example, if particular phenomena cannot be fully explained through certain versions of a story, those versions are put aside rather than forgotten, so that if new information arises it can be used to complement or add to what is already known. This collective process of knowledge building ensures that very little is forgotten, and that all perspectives, even those that are contradictory, are given value.

An additional feature of Indigenous knowledge generation is the integral importance of historical knowledge (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992). Since stories have their roots in thousands and

thousands of years of history, they present a means to remind us where we have been, the issues and problems that others have faced, as well as the means through which they reacted and responded to various issues and crises. Essentially, history tells us not only about where we have been, but also offers some understanding of the future as well. Paying careful attention to the lessons learned and the experiences that have occurred in the past ensures that current generations are able to learn from the mistakes and successes of their ancestors and elders, rather than having to constantly generate new solutions to modern-day problems. Building on historical knowledge in this way means new information is continually used to augment existing knowledge to obtain a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon.

Integrating a Western 'eye'

Two-Eyed Seeing reminds us that efforts at integrating Western and Indigenous perspectives must not allow any one perspective to dominate or overshadow the other. Instead, they must respect one another, and support the ability for each to address concerns and challenges in differing ways. The following section demonstrates how specific Western feminist theories can be used alongside Indigenous ways of knowing to give rise to a perspective that respects and honours the existence of each. One strand of feminist scholarship, standpoint feminism, particularly as it is discussed among feminist scholars of color, is presented because it grapples with some of the key epistemological concerns regarding representation and privilege that arise with attempts to integrate Western theories with non-Western knowledge. Eco-feminist theory is presented because it explores how colonial and patriarchal philosophies are embedded in our institutions and communities, damaging ecosystems and diminishing the Indigenous knowledges associated with those ecosystems. The theories presented are not intended to replace or undermine those of Indigenous thought, but rather, are intended to situate certain aspects of Western scholarship alongside Indigenous scholarship so that each can contribute knowledge to the other. The theories included here are specifically chosen because they address concerns about decolonization, identity and globalization, which are central to this study.

Feminist Standpoint Theory

Broadly defined, feminist theory is concerned with gender inequalities as well as the strength and resiliency of women. Starting from the position that women represent an oppressed group in society, various strands of feminist theory focus in different ways on critiquing the nature of patriarchal systems, societies and philosophies that all work to create and maintain power over women (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991). A particular strand of feminism, standpoint feminism, is concerned with how different groups of women are oppressed, depending on one's particular social, political and historical location. It is at the juncture of age, gender, sexuality, class and culture that we can begin to understand, and learn from, one another's perspectives (Harding, 1991; Haraway, 1991; Hesse-Biber & Yaiser, 2004; Collins, 1991). Standpoint theorist Donna Haraway coined the term 'situated knowledge' to demonstrate the specific place from which women of diverse backgrounds understand reality. Given that women hold a different place in society than men, and that women's experiences differ among different groups of women, it makes sense that women hold considerable amounts of knowledge that can offer something unique to the prevailing male-dominated, scientific discourse.

Although feminist theories concentrate on patriarchal systems that dominate and oppress *women*, its philosophies are intended to apply to people and communities more generally, and not just to women, per se (Mies, 1991). For example, the work of feminist standpoint researchers has been applied within the realm of Indigenous scholarship. Feminist Indigenous scholars argue that patriarchal systems of oppression subjugate Indigenous women, which creates subjugation for Indigenous communities (Saavedra & Nymark, 2008). Feminist Indigenous researchers have pointed out that oppression experienced by Indigenous women differs from that experienced by women of other backgrounds, and the perspectives of Indigenous women also differ among diverse Indigenous groups (Saavedra & Nymark, 2008). As a result, many feminist standpoint scholars of color have begun using the term 'intersectionality' to describe the multiple, layered identities of race, gender, culture and class which can simultaneously create experiences of oppression and privilege (Dill, McLaughlin & Nieves, 2008). These multiple, intersectional identities shift and change over time, meaning that experiences of oppression differ within and among diverse groups of people over the course of their lives.

Many Indigenous researchers have aligned themselves with various principles of standpoint feminism, since its methodologies, epistemologies and theories accept that there are multiple ways of seeing and understanding the world (Borland, 2003; Dillard, 2008; Saavedra & Nymark, 2008).

A key interest among many feminist standpoint scholars of colour, and feminists who study marginalized populations, centres around how feminists can speak for 'others' without perpetuating oppressive forces and reinforcing the dominant interests of those who are more privileged (Sook Kim, 2003). In feminist discussions of representation and authority in research, the question is often asked, 'who can speak for whom'? This question raises important issues about how the voices of the marginalized and oppressed are represented within the academy, since their voices are filtered through that of the researcher, who is in a relative position of privilege by having the 'authority' to interpret and represent the lives of others (Sook Kim, 2003). There is a tender balance for feminist researchers between identifying "*with* their research subjects [and] recognition of their own involvement in hierarchical relations of power during the research encounter" (Borland, 2003, p. 621). Towards this end, Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis (2008) argue that re-conceptualizing the 'self versus other' debate requires foregrounding issues of identity that force researchers to "write ourselves into a text", facilitating a form of inquiry that "*includes* rather than excludes the researcher(s)" (Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008, p. 368).

When the researcher becomes a part of the research itself, the research process changes, since the researchers are more attentive to "how their theoretical position and biograph[y] shape[s] what they choose to stud[y] and the approach to studying it" (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2003, p. 496). This reflexive approach to research has been advocated by feminists who believe that in order for research to be decolonized it must constantly reflect how the researcher's endeavours "might reify hegemonic power structures, thereby creating marginality" (Swadener & Mutua, 2008, p. 31). Part of this process of reflexivity involves accepting that all knowledge is a social construction that is shaped and formed by people interacting with one another, and accepting that knowledge is always influenced by the role of the researcher in relaying his or her interpretations (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2003). These influences shape the questions that get asked, the research design and methods that are used. Harding (1991) argues that when

researchers view the research as a continual process of reviewing one's ideological and personal beliefs in relation to others, the practice of knowledge production changes because it acknowledges the social and cultural norms of the research and the research participants.

An important aspect of a reflexive research project involves recognizing and responding to difference. As Hesse-Biber and Piatelli (2003, p. 499) argue, "assuming commonality based on a single dimension of identity is detrimental to the project of deconstructing power relations and co-constructing knowledge". Instead, respecting difference requires the researcher to reflect on the multiple social locations in which he or she is embedded, using those differences to exchange and co-construct knowledge together. A truly reflexive text "attempts to deconstruct the researcher and participants by decentering the authority of the researcher's voice" (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2003, p. 507). In doing so, the research process is not simply about developing a standard way of doing research that can be deemed 'decolonized', nor is it only about deconstructing colonial research agendas. Rather, it is a commitment towards building an alternative way of doing things, a new form of consciousness (Anzaldua, 2003). This new consciousness would "insist that the purposes of research are to make visible, centre, and privilege those knowledges that have been placed in the margins because they represented threats to power, while avoiding the creation of new power hierarchies or the objectification of those knowledges (or people associated with them)" (Canella & Manuelito, 2008, p. 56). Thus, a reflexive research agenda moves beyond the binary impasse of self *versus* other and toward recognizing and responding to the differences in social locations of both the researcher and the research participants (Sook Kim, 2008).

Eco-feminism

"The history of life on earth has been a history of interaction between living things and their surroundings" (Carson, 1962, p.5). So begins Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* which spurred the environmental movement in the United States in the 1960s. In 1992, *Silent Spring* was named by a panel of 'distinguished Americans' as the most influential book of the last fifty years (Gore, 1994, p. xxv). Carson's (1962) central thesis is that humans are waging war on the environment, which is causing irreversible damage that threatens the environment's ability to sustain future generations. Her book influenced changes in North American laws regarding our treatment of

the land, water and air and was the driving force behind the ban of the pesticide DDT. The fact that Carson was female and drew parallels between the domination of nature and the masculinist attitudes of those in charge of science, industry and government attracted the interest of feminists to concerns of ecology and the environment (Warren, 2005). Indeed, Carson's legacy lives on into the twenty-first century and has been instrumental in shaping eco-feminism. In many ways, *Silent Spring* embodies the very definition of eco-feminism, since it represents the amalgamation of feminism and environmentalism.

Eco-feminism contends that environmental destruction and degradation are largely the result of colonial and patriarchal philosophies embedded in our institutions and communities. Both colonialism and patriarchy serve to reinforce the oppression of humans and the natural world (Gaard & Gruen, 2005). The result is increasing environmental instability, since these colonial and patriarchal philosophies encourage humans to distance themselves from their natural surroundings and to insulate themselves against all possibility of having a direct relationship with it (Shiva, 1997). Vandana Shiva (1997; 2005) argues that this is accomplished through the commodification of our natural resources, which suggests that consumption of resources can only be measured through 'economic growth' or 'progress'. If resources are harvested or produced for one's own consumption or for the use of one's family or community without regard for the market economy, this is viewed as 'non-productive' activity. Households and communities that do not rely solely upon a market economy to meet their basic needs are considered 'unproductive' and 'poor'. Yet, it is the process of commodifying our natural environment, while distancing ourselves from it, which is creating environmental instability (Radku, 2008; Shiva, 1997). As new technologies emerge that allow us to 'rape' our lands and waters in the name of production and progress, we are also generating instabilities in our surroundings that create disease, all the while destroying the plant and animal life that potentially hold the cures to those diseases (Carson, 1962). Eco-feminists argue that we need to re-define how economic progress is measured to account for the social and environmental costs of natural resource destruction, rather than seeing it as generating value. As an alternative, progress should be measured by the value we place upon preserving bio-diversity of plant and animal life, recognizing that all of the conditions needed to support life and growth are contained within the intricate web of relationships that naturally occur in one's surroundings.

Cuomo (2005) points out that it is imperative that diversities within eco-feminism are recognized, since the uptake of values that underpin eco-feminist philosophies have, in some cases, undermined some of the key values held by many Indigenous cultures. For example, the movement towards environmentalism within feminism has also given rise to critiques of industries that involve harvesting animals for economic gain. To the extent that this has inspired people to become more conscious of where their food comes from and to expose the injustices associated with factory farming, it has been integral to the development of policies that more strictly regulate animal harvesting. However, Cuomo (2005) argues that critiques of animal harvesting have extended beyond a focus on the socio-economic and political structures that have created the over-consumption of animals and their subsequent mistreatment, to include a focus on the rights of animals and the misguided belief that the human ethics that protect the rights of humans should also be applied uncritically to the ethical treatment of animals. From this perspective, as Cuomo points out, a rat living in a slum that bites a child deserves the same right to occupy that space as the child. Pulling away from an isolated focus on individualized issues means that we are better able to direct our attention to the range of values that address broader issues of preventing poverty, promoting ecosystem balance and respecting the social, economic and cultural imperative for many cultures to harvest animals (Cuomo, 2005). As such, our focus shifts away from the individualized treatment of animals and to the circumstances that create the conditions in which animals are harvested, processed, consumed and understood within diverse cultures. When humans assume that the only mechanism through which the environment can be protected is through disengagement, there is a risk of re-inscribing human superiority over nature (i.e., we do not need nature, therefore we must live apart from it), which devalues the role that diverse cultures play in maintaining and protecting their local ecologies through a continued and direct engagement (Cuomo, 2005).

Aspects of eco-feminism share with Indigenous thought many similar views about our natural surroundings, such as the need to engage with our natural environment rather than distance ourselves from it, that our very ability to survive and flourish is dependent upon our ability to take care of our plant and animal resources, and that it is the responsibility of humans to encourage bio-diversity, such that plants and animals have the ability to support one another in a dynamic equilibrium (Sturgeon, 2005). However, Indigenous thought may differ from certain aspects of eco-feminism since some eco-feminists believe that humans must be in a position of

power over animals in order to argue for the rights of animals. Indigenous thinkers ask questions about this position, since Indigenous thought has stemmed from a place where there are no hierarchies between humans and the rest of the natural world. As a result, the killing of animals, when conducted respectfully and out of need, is an acceptable and necessary way of reinforcing one's cultural beliefs. Two-Eyed Seeing requires constant reflection and learning since the application of misguided assumptions can have effects that are insidious and perpetuate the colonization and domination of Indigenous knowledges.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered a way to re-think how the production of knowledge is understood. It is by no means conclusive, since learning is a dynamic process. Two-Eyed Seeing presents both Indigenous and Western perspectives as distinct knowledge systems unto themselves, but as knowledge systems that can only ever offer a 'partial' perspective of reality. When these partial perspectives are viewed together, the result is not a 'complete' view of the world, but one that is different and can perhaps offer a new way of thinking about how knowledge is produced that could not emerge if we only looked through 'one eye'. Thus, it presents a conceptualization of knowledge production that does not rely upon dyadic or dualistic thinking, since each 'eye' must continually weave back and forth between its own understandings and those held by others, which hold new understandings and opportunities. The 'new' perspective that is achieved by seeing through two eyes gives a different type of clarity and insight with regard to a particular phenomenon that cannot be achieved through a single perspective.

It should be noted that the 'Western' theories were not chosen because they might claim to offer ground-breaking solutions to the issues and concerns facing Western society or Indigenous communities. Feminist standpoint theory and eco-feminist theory present ways of seeing that have much in common with Indigenous knowledges, philosophies and world views to the extent that they are committed to a decolonized research agenda. They are also not intended to replace, merge or dominate an Indigenous perspective, nor are they offered as a means to affirm the falsely-held belief that Indigenous knowledges can be encompassed within a non-Indigenous paradigm. Instead, they are presented for what they were intended to address – the

problems and concerns of populations that have been marginalized from a dominant, positivist perspective. In doing so, these alternative Western perspectives reinforce one of the guiding principles behind Two-Eyed Seeing, which is that all things are related and share similar issues and concerns, even human beings whose differences may appear vast. As Elder Marshall suggests, we, as human beings, would do well to enact our humility in dealing with the problems and concerns that face us.

> *Only a change in consciousness will ensure the long term survival of the planet, and of our species. Only the remembrance of the culture of humility will ensure we do not destroy creation with the uncontrolled application of our human ingenuity...Only when we see with two eyes, will Western science be something more than blind, and Aboriginal thought something more than lost (Marshall, n.d, p. 3).*

Chapter Five: METHODOLOGY & METHODS

Research Questions

How do the people who live in one Labrador Inuit-Metis community experience and understand their relationships to food in the context of global change?

- How are relationships to food influenced by social location (e.g., generation, gender)?
- How have relationships to food changed over the lifetime of community members?
- How do community members understand the implications of changing relationships to food?

A Decolonized, Reflexive Methodology

The philosophical underpinnings of vision (ontology) and understanding (epistemology) are concerned with the nature and knowing of reality. Methodology, which is the focus of this chapter, offers a means to understand perspectives of this reality (Maggs-Rapport, 2001). This methodology creates a solid foundation upon which to build the methods of collecting, analyzing and interpreting data.

Decolonized Methodology

A decolonized approach to Indigenous research questions how conventional scientific research has contributed to the continued oppression and colonization of Indigenous peoples worldwide. Research that has recorded, documented and catalogued Indigenous knowledge for its own benefit has not only denied Indigenous peoples the ability to take credit for the knowledge they have created, but undermined the very existence of Indigenous knowledge systems and the complex processes through which knowledge is generated and shared within

Indigenous communities. Through the suppression of Indigenous ways of knowing and understanding the world, research continues to reflect imperialist and colonialist assumptions that harm Indigenous communities. As Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 6) argue, “Indigenous knowledge systems are too frequently made into objects of study, treated as if they were instances of quaint folk theory held by the members of a primitive culture. The decolonizing project reverses this equation, making Western systems of knowledge the object of critique and inquiry”.

A decolonized methodology requires that all stages of the research process critically reflect on *how* questions are asked, *why* they are being asked and *by whom* (Smith, 1999). Through the process of reflecting on the entire research *process,* the purpose of research becomes more than just the production of new knowledge. Instead, it contributes to the enhancement of pedagogical, political, moral and ethical principles that resist oppression and contribute to strategies that reposition research as something that reflects the unique knowledge, beliefs and values of Indigenous communities. Thus, it creates research that always “begins with the concerns of Indigenous people. It is assessed in terms of the benefits it creates for them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 2). In doing so, it offers a means for Indigenous peoples to address the political and social conditions that perpetuate ill health, poverty and poor educational opportunities in their communities (Smith, 1999).

Reflexive Methodology

To the extent that a decolonized methodology directs the researcher to ask questions of the entire research process, a reflexive methodology is also concerned with process, but in terms of the relationship between ‘knowledge’ and ‘ways of doing knowledge’ (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2004, p. 5). In other words, it provides a point of connection between the philosophies underpinning the process of doing research, and the actual research methods. In a reflexive methodological approach, the greatest insights occur *during* the research, rather than in any singular conclusion reached at the end. Thus, the methodology becomes at least as important as the data that are collected. As Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004, p. 86) suggest, “The idea is not to reach any final answer; instead the journey is its own reward... The experiences gained in the

course of the journey(s) are the prize, not some final Shangri-La of knowledge at the end of the road".

Reflexivity is an essential component of a decolonized methodology, since the way that research is interpreted is predicated on the researcher's ability to articulate *how* the research is being interpreted, and what role the researcher plays in this interpretation (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2004). Thus, a reflexive methodology argues that research is never "neutral, apolitical or ideology-free", nor is there such a thing as an "autonomous, value-free researcher" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2004, p. 9). When reflexive and decolonized methodologies are combined, research is repositioned as a place to facilitate and enhance Indigenous discourse, and not simply a site for identifying and describing Indigenous 'problems'. The following sections explain the decolonized, reflexive methodology of this study in detail.

Ethnography

Ethnography involves spending a prolonged period of time in the research community in order to gain an understanding of the perspectives and experiences of the research participants. Requiring the researcher to enter a research community and spend time getting to know the research participants is a unique feature of ethnography (Behar, 1996; Rabinow, 1977). Spending time with research participants prior to conducting any research or collecting any type of data offers the advantage of building a mutual relationship of trust and respect, as well as providing an opportunity for the community to have input into the research design and processes.

A central focus of contemporary ethnography requires ethnographers to reflect on their role in the research process, and recognize that "ethnography is not simply a collection of the exotic 'other'; it is reflective of our own lives and cultural practices even when discussing another culture" (Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008, p. 348). This differs from how ethnography was practiced in the past, when the hallmark of a 'real' anthropologist was venturing to some far-off land to study cultures about which little was known. The further afield one travelled, and the more exotic or primitive the culture studied, the more respected an anthropologist became within the academy (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). The intentions behind conducting ethnographic research were to provide what were deemed 'accurate' representations of a particular culture,

and authenticity and completeness of the ethnography was measured by the ethnographer's ability to detail and describe an 'alien' culture in a way that was entirely free of the ethnographer's own assumptions and biases (Codere, 1966). The resulting research, however, was deeply embedded within the larger processes of colonization, since it failed to respect, or even acknowledge, that the people who were being made 'research subjects' were more than simply the remnants of a primitive era on the verge of extinction, nor were they examples of cultures that had yet to 'catch up to' those of European-derived cultures from the West. Research was used as a means to justify, promote and legitimate colonial policies and to re-establish, even more firmly, hierarchical power relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples. Seymour (2007) argues that failing to account for the role of the researcher is somewhat ironic, given that the researcher occupies such a central position throughout the entire process of the research. Indeed, Seymour (2007, p. 1191) suggests that when research does not account for the role of the researcher, it is as if "the body...is nowhere and everywhere at the same time".

Ethnography, as it is understood in contemporary terms, is unique from ethnographies of the past in that it allows the researcher to conduct research in a community of which he or she is a part (Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008). Given that modern versions of ethnography are concerned with how the identity of the researcher is written into the text, it challenges the previously unfettered power and privilege held by certain groups of researchers to dictate the nature and types of research questions that are asked. In essence, by giving the researcher a 'place' in the research process through questioning his or her motivations, underlying philosophies and assumptions, contemporary ethnography questions many of the assumptions upon which traditional ethnography was based.

Of course, there remain those who are concerned that as soon as one claims a personal relationship to the research, he or she ceases to be an authentic researcher; according to this view, a certain distance from the research subject must be maintained in order to retain any credibility within the field. In response to this, Ruth Behar (1996) suggests that engaging in a research topic with which one has a certain personal affinity fosters an exploration of serious social issues and injects elements of passion and vulnerability into the research, which, she argues, are necessary components of truly credible research. Further, she argues that, unless

one has an immediate and passionate connection to the research, then it simply is not worth doing. This is not to suggest that simply feeling passionate about a topic because one holds a personal interest warrants an immediate invitation to conduct research, but rather, one should view passion in research as an essential ingredient that acknowledges interconnectedness among all humans, fostering a moral ethic of "care and love and personal accountability that honours individual uniqueness and emotionality in dialogue" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 14). In this respect, passion for the topic adds a way of expressing emotional ties to the research that, some would argue, is not possible through a more detached or disconnected research position.

As a result, ethnographic research becomes much more than simply something one does 'in passing' or out of an intrigue for something that is considered exotic and distant from one's own experiences. It is also about more than simply encouraging community members to participate in the research process, although this is important. Rather, it is about situating and engaging oneself in the research, and finding ways of understanding from a local perspective. It is through this process that research is transformed from research *on* or *about* Indigenous peoples, to research conducted *by, with* and *for* Indigenous peoples. It is also about believing that the knowledge that others share for the purpose of the research is something that is of great importance and benefit to the community, rather than simply knowledge that is to be added to, or subsumed within, the scientific community.

Narrative

The words *story* and *narrative* are often used interchangeably and the differences are often subtle semantics. Even so, as Frank (2000, p. 354) points out, "people do not tell narratives, they tell stories; 'let me tell you a narrative' sounds strange". For the purposes of this study, 'narrative' will refer to the methodological process of collecting 'stories', and 'stories' will refer to the actual engagement between teller and listener. All stories involve a teller and a listener, that is, there is a certain 'storytelling relation' that develops between a teller and listener that determines how a story is told, as well as how it is understood (Cruickshank, 1998; Frank, 2000; King, 2003; Wachowich, 1999). It is this relationship that deserves intense scrutiny when attempting to use narrative as a research method, since it is ultimately the researcher who has the final word in how a story is reported. Frank (2007) suggests that there is something unethical in story reporting when it demands the researcher claim all there is to know about a

particular person or group of people. Yet, this is often the case when narrative is used in a 'monologic' way that asks the research participant to respond according to pre-determined questions set out by the researcher, since it encourages the voices of the research participants to squeeze into particular typologies and themes (Frank, 2007).

An alternative is a dialogic approach, which suggests that the dialogue between the story-teller and listener is one that is perpetual – each story calls forth new stories, thus, there is never any final word and no one can claim to 'know all there is to know' about an individual or particular group of people once a research project is completed (Frank, 2007). Instead, a dialogic approach argues for recognition that the listener's role is at least as important as the teller's, since any dialogue between the two represents a reciprocal relationship where both influence the way the story gets told. In other words, the researcher does not and cannot act as a 'neutral observer', but rather an engaged listener and witness, who helps to call forth a particular telling of a story. As Soyini Madison (2008, p. 404) suggests, "Listening does not mean NOT speaking; it means paying attention to when it is the right time to speak".

The ultimate result of a dialogic approach to narrative is that there is never a fixed understanding of an individual; rather, the point is to present the story in a way that is unfinished and has the potential to be revised and changed in the future. As a result, people are not depicted in research in a categorical or stereotypical way. Instead, the narrative encourages conventional assumptions to be disrupted and challenged (Frank, 2007).

The other side of the story

> *The subaltern does speak, always, and we must listen with more radical intent. These subaltern knowledges are sometimes hidden away in locations that are at times hard for us to reach as they speak the philosophies, logics, and approaches of their life worlds and in their own languages (Soyini Madison, 2008, p. 395).*

Many Western scientific researchers have written and spoken about Indigenous peoples. In particular, there has been a great deal of health research that has been conducted *on*

Indigenous peoples, but which has not included them in the process of deciding the design and purpose of the research. As a result, Indigenous peoples' voices have been largely absent from the process and reporting of health research, and there has been a tendency to characterize Indigenous peoples in relation to disease-specific and mortality-specific data (Adelson, 2005). This does very little to enhance understanding or address the concerns of the people who are affected, potentially contributing to (rather than arguing against) a colonial research agenda. This one-dimensional portrait of Indigenous peoples' health issues fails to consider additional dimensions and circumstances that may affect the health and well-being of Indigenous peoples and their communities.

Within many Indigenous cultures, knowledge and wisdom have been passed on orally since time immemorial. The very survival of Indigenous peoples has hinged upon the telling of stories and the oral transmission of knowledge about plants, animals and all of the natural surroundings in a particular area. Without the passing of stories from generation to generation, each generation would have had to re-learn all that was known about their natural and social environments. The tremendous importance of story-telling to the survival of Indigenous cultures has been acknowledged in recent years by resurgence in the value placed upon Indigenous story-telling (Cruickshank, 1998; King, 2003). Most notably, Indigenous peoples are using the power of stories to challenge existing assumptions about the world such as the belief that scientific research can tell us all there is to know about the world and our place in it (Chamberlin, 2004; Cruikshank, 1998; King, 2003). It is often widely accepted among Indigenous peoples that re-telling and re-listening to stories within contemporary circumstances offers insight into the social and health issues that their communities are facing (Chamberlin, 2004; King, 2003). Often stories contain multiple meanings; the same story can be re-told at different times and in different circumstances and in each case, the listener might take away a different meaning or understanding of that same story. For research, this means that any narrative methodology must acknowledge the contextual nature of stories, that is, that they are changed and shaped according to the place, time and circumstances of the telling. Applying narrative methodology to health research can contribute to understanding how health and well-being is understood within Indigenous communities. New understandings and conceptualizations of health can be used to find ways of approaching health issues that are driven by the needs and desires of the community.

Photo elicitation

Photo elicitation[1], also referred to as photo-interviewing, is based on the idea of inserting photographs into research interviews (Harper, 2002; Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007). Harper (2002, p. 13) argues that visual representations probe more deeply into human consciousness than do words, since "visual information is evolutionarily older" than the parts of the brain that process written information. Thus, using visuals is not necessarily a process that elicits *more* information, "but one that evokes a different kind of information" (Harper, 2002, p.13). For this study, photographs were used as an important creative tool to elicit stories, rather than a means to preserve or demonstrate a 'visual inventory' of time spent in the research community (Emmison & Smith, 2000; Harper, 2002). In using photographs as a creative tool, the research participants have the opportunity to identify key issues that are of concern to them, to critically reflect on the factors that might contribute to these issues, and to identify and discuss possible solutions and how they might be employed (Carlson et al., 2006).

Using photography in research creates a compelling space between subjectivity and objectivity. Although "photographs demand that we accept that 'this has been'", they also encourage a subjective understanding of a photograph that can evoke memories, emotions and imagination (Stanczak, 2007, p. 7). For instance, although a camera can produce 'objective evidence' of a particular moment in time that is limited only by its mechanics and the skills of the camera operator, the subjectivity of what is captured, at what moment and to what degree are left largely up to the photographer, as is the interpretation given to that photograph by those who see it (Stanczak, 2007). The subjectivity inherent in the interpretation of any photograph is important because ultimately "the meaning of the images resides most significantly in the ways that participants interpret those images, rather than as some inherent property of the images themselves" (Stanczak, 2007, p.11).

[1]Photo elicitation sometimes includes *Photovoice*, which uses cameras to create social change through raising critical consciousness (Carlson, Engebretson & Chamberlain, 2006; Wang & Burris, 1997*).* For the purposes of this study, only the term photo elicitation will be used, recognizing the importance of using photographs in raising critical consciousness.

Photo elicitation techniques make visible the experiences of people whose voices might otherwise be absent from socio-political discussions that affect them, such as marginalized populations (Wang & Burris, 1997). In particular, it communicates ideas and beliefs that might differ from what can be captured through written words. This is important for people who may not read or write or whose experiences are not typically included in academic discourse about them, since photographs present insights into their social, political and economic circumstances that are often lacking in more privileged circumstances. For Indigenous peoples, photo elicitation is a particularly valuable tool, since photographs can be used to assist in the telling of stories. Given the importance of story-telling as a traditional means of communicating ideas and information within Indigenous communities, photographs may lessen anxiety about participation in the research and may contribute to the participants' readiness to share (Oliffe & Bottofff, 2007).

The research process – A reflexive journey

In 2007, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) unveiled its 'Guidelines for Health Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples' (CIHR, 2007). The intent of the Guidelines is to foster and promote health research among Aboriginal peoples in Canada that is in keeping with Indigenous values and traditions. It also provides guidance for respectfully including Aboriginal values, knowledge, methodologies and decision-making throughout the research process. This document, along with conversations with various members of the Labrador Metis Nation Council and the people of St. Lewis, has helped to shape and inform the design of this study.

Community Consultation

In order to ensure that the research would proceed in a way that was culturally sensitive, relevant and respectful (CIHR, 2007), an initial one-week community consultation was undertaken. The intent of this trip was to speak with community members about the proposed study, and discuss potential methods of collecting data. Prior to visiting the study community, the Labrador Metis Nation suggested that I send them information about the proposed study as well as the purpose of the community consultation trip (Appendix A). Although some of the information in the poster has since changed in response to the community consultation, it

allowed the Labrador Metis Nation to become familiar with the overall purpose and intent of the study. During this visit to the community, the proposed study was discussed with approximately 15 community members. Not only did the conversations with community members help to shape and inform the design of the study, but being physically present in the community enabled me to think about how the design of the study would 'work' in a practical sense. For example, it prompted me to ask questions about the most convenient places to conduct interviews and how I should go about recruiting participants for the study.

Recruitment

Participant Selection

Purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants. Purposeful sampling involves creating specific parameters around which participants may or may not be eligible for inclusion in the study (Creswell, 1998). Purposeful sampling also involves selecting participants from amongst those who express interest in the study and who meet the eligibility criteria. In this case, the first 24 people who met the eligibility criteria were included in the study. Community members were eligible to participate if they were 16 years of age or older, and had lived in or near the selected study community for the majority of their childhood, adulthood or both. The age restriction of 16 and older was included because the study focussed on the perspectives and experiences of adults in the community. Requiring participants to have lived in or near the study community for most of their childhood or adulthood was included as part of the sampling strategy because I wanted to include the perspectives of those who have spent most of their lives in the community and who could speak to changes that have occurred in the community over the course of their lives.

The study included participants who self-identified as Labrador Inuit-Metis and those who did not. The community has a long history of Inuit and non-Aboriginal relations and I wanted to include both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants because this would encourage perspectives from community members who hold diverse ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, informal adoptions, unwritten family histories and generations of intermarriage between the

Inuit-Metis and non-Aboriginal peoples make any typologies based on identity difficult, if not impossible, to claim. For this reason, participants were given the opportunity to self-identify as Labrador Inuit-Metis.

Compensation

During the initial consultation process, I asked community members about the most appropriate means of compensating participants for their time. It was suggested that young adults would be more likely to participate if given an incentive to do so, such as a 'prize draw', whereas, it was argued that the older adults might take offense to the offer of money in exchange for their time. Instead, a small gift might be met with more appreciation. In response, I presented elders with a small gift and all participants were given the opportunity to enter two 'prize draws' of $100 each. All participants who participated in an individual interview were eligible for the first $100 prize draw and participants who attended the group interview were also eligible for a second $100 prize draw. The prize draws took place at the end of the study.

Recruitment Strategies

Two different recruitment strategies were used. In the first, the study was advertised by placing an information poster in each of the three local grocery stores, the post office and the local medical clinic (see Appendix B). Community members who were interested in learning more could contact me directly by phone or in person. Any questions they had about the study were answered and a place and time to participate was arranged.

The second recruitment strategy involved speaking directly to community members about the study. The community has a relatively small population of 240 according to 2006 census data, and of these, 200 are over the age of 15 (Community Accounts, 2006). Encounters with potential participants occurred informally, such as at the grocery store, at a community potluck that was held at the local school, and while visiting people in their homes. During these informal conversations, I talked to people about the study, answered questions they had, and let them know that they could contact me if they wanted to participate.

Virtually all of the participants were recruited through personal communication, with only one person contacting me as a result of the information poster. The poster did not form a significant part of recruitment, but it was still very important, since it let most community members know about the study and provided everyone with the option to contact me if they desired.

In total, 24 community members participated in the study, including 13 females and 11 males. Of these, 16 participants self-identified as members of the Labrador Metis Nation. Participants ranged in age from 26 to 78, with eight people aged 39 and under, eight aged 40-59 and eight aged 60 and over.

Age Range	Gender	Aboriginal Status	Total
26-39	4 females, 4 males	7 LMN members	8
40-59	7 females, 1 male	5 LMN members	8
60 & over	2 females, 6 males	4 LMN members	8

Table I: Participant demographic information (age, gender, Aboriginal status)

Research Methods

A variety of research methods were employed to collect data. These methods include narrative or 'story-telling' sessions, photo elicitation and personal observations. In the following section, each of these methods will be described in turn. All individuals interested in participating in the study were asked to participate in an individual or 'joint' [more than one person] story-telling sessions. These sessions took the form of 'narratives', since story-telling is a culturally appropriate means of sharing information with others. Ten people took part in individual story-telling sessions and fourteen people took part in joint story-telling sessions. All participants who took part in the study were invited to a group story-telling session, which took place after all individual and joint story-telling sessions were completed. The group story-telling session included two men and four women. Photo elicitation occurred during ten of the individual story-telling sessions. I also documented personal observations throughout my stay in the research community in a research journal.

Story-telling sessions (Individual and Joint)

Story-telling sessions lasted between one hour and two and half hours. The story-telling sessions were semi-structured, meaning that the direction of the interview was mainly guided by the participant's stories, although I carried a 'story-telling guide' with me to each session which ensured that particular broad themes were covered (Appendix C).

Among community members who live in the study area, it is very common to visit people in their homes during the afternoon or evening. Aside from the local school, the community does not have any formal public areas to meet with people, such as restaurants or recreation centres, so frequent visits to peoples' homes provide a way to socialize and to share stories and information about the community. Visiting people in their homes was the most appropriate and convenient way to conduct story-telling sessions. All of the story-telling sessions took place in the participants' homes.

Participants were offered the opportunity to participate in a second-story telling session if they wished to do so, although none participated on a formal basis. In most cases, I spoke with participants on a number of occasions after the story-telling session had taken place, and recorded some of our informal conversations in my research journal.

All participants were asked if they were comfortable having their story-telling session tape-recorded using a digital audio recorder. In three cases (two individual story-telling sessions, one joint story-telling session), the participants preferred not to have their interviews recorded, and these cases, I took written notes of our conversations. After all story-telling sessions, I wrote additional field notes that provided some contextual information about the story-telling session, such as any interruptions that occurred, the setting where the interview took place, when it took place, gestures, body language, etc.

Photo Elicitation

The process of photo elicitation usually involves providing participants with cameras and asking them to take photographs over a prescribed amount of time (Wang & Burris, 1997). This study diverged slightly from this process by including photographs that participants had already taken, either from the recent past, or from many years ago. The reason for using existing photographs was because the study is aimed at developing an understanding of *changes* in peoples' relationship to food, thus, including photographs taken some time ago intended to elicit memories that would not emerge from more recent photographs. Additionally, the concept of photo elicitation was extended to include objects that evoke memories or stories about food-related events or experiences.

Prior to each story-telling session, community members interested in participating in the research were encouraged to bring photographs or objects to the interview that represent examples of their 'relationships to food'. Photographs and objects could depict recent events, events that occurred earlier in the lifetime of participants, or an experience that might connect an individual to a particular event or place. During the story-telling sessions, the photographs and objects were used to elicit stories from the participants about their changing relationship to food. In most cases, photographs or objects were referred to at some point in the story-telling session and then discussed towards the end of the story-telling session.

Photographs or objects were included during story-telling sessions with twelve of the participants, and in one case, I returned to a person's house after the story-telling session to collect photographs, which led to an additional informal conversation. In three of the story-telling sessions, participants referred to objects that they brought with them to the story-telling session. For example, during one story-telling session I was given a demonstration as to how a beaver trap is set. In each of the three cases, I took photographs of the objects that were used to illustrate the 'point' of a particular story. This did not happen during all of the story-telling sessions, because in many cases we talked about photographs that participants had already taken, or participants did not use an object or photograph to assist in the telling of their story. A copy of some of the discussion questions asked about the photographs or objects is included in Appendix D.

With the expressed permission of participants, I scanned copies of photographs that participants were willing to share. Some of the photographs include people who were not part of the study; I only used photographs of people from whom I was able to obtain permission. The purpose of obtaining these photographs was to be able to include them in the process of data analysis and to also include some of the photographs in the final dissertation. A 'Consent for Disclosure of Photographs' form is included as Appendix D. In cases where the participant referred to an object during the interview, wherever possible, I took a photograph of the object, with the participant's verbal consent.

Group Story-telling

After the story-telling sessions were completed, all participants were invited to attend a group story-telling session. A total of six people turned out for the group story-telling session. This session took place in the library of the local school and lasted approximately two hours.

Offering a group story-telling session to all participants was intended to provide a venue for people to share their stories with one another regarding changes in their relationships to food. This type of story-sharing opportunity also respects the traditional ways in which knowledge and stories are shared among community members. In order to provide a comfortable space for individuals to share their stories, the group story-telling session was unstructured. A 'discussion guide' that included some broad categories was created in advance of the group story-telling session (Appendix E), however it did not end up being used because participants guided the discussion themselves and asked questions of one another.

Personal Observations

I recorded my personal observations using the process outlined by Bernard (2002). Bernard suggests that there are generally three main types of notes related to field work: a) daily notes, b) a logbook, c) field notes (which also includes a diary).

a) *Daily notes*: I recorded daily notes in a notebook. Daily notes included details of events or interactions that occurred throughout the day that I might not otherwise have remembered. For example, I recorded notes about ice-fishing trips and snowmobile excursions during my time

in the community. They helped to collect my thoughts and jog my memory when I later wished to write up more detailed field notes.

b) *Logbook*: A logbook provides a running outline of what I did with my time, when particular events occurred, an expense budget that included research expenses and travel costs, and other practical concerns related to my time spent in the community. In addition to recording a timeline of events, it also served as a way to keep my daily plans organized while I was collecting data in the community.

c) *Field notes and Diary*: Shortly after each interview, I wrote field notes, which contained more detailed descriptions of the daily notes, as well as my observations about things that occurred that day, including contextual information about story-telling sessions that were completed that day (e.g., information about the setting, the time of the story-telling session, any interruptions that occurred during the session, etc.). The daily notes and the field notes were organized within one notebook. The field notes also became a place for me to 'diary' my thoughts, feelings and emotions during my stay in the community. Once I finished data collection, this helped me to reflect more deeply upon my field notes, and helped to jog my memory.

All of the written field notes and the logbook were uploaded into the qualitative software program Atlas/ti and used to accompany my analysis of the interviews.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the community (the Labrador Metis Nation), as well as Dalhousie University's Research Ethics Board (REB) in early February 2008.

Informed Consent

During the initial community feedback trip, some community members informed me that some of the older adults in the community have low literacy skills. Combined with the traditionally oral nature of the local culture (Hanrahan, 2000), I thought that it was more appropriate to seek oral, rather than written consent. Section 2.5, Article 4 of CIHR's Guidelines for Ethical Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples (2007) states that although

> *…the requirements for obtaining informed consent from individuals [as] set out in the Tri-Council statement apply equally to the Aboriginal research context, there are some unique cultural considerations that may arise. For example, Aboriginal societies are traditionally oral societies and written consent may be seen as contrary to respecting Aboriginal approaches to research initiatives. Oral consent is an appropriate alternative to obtaining written consent.*

With respect to this Article, and in keeping with the Tri-Council statement, I provided all participants with a copy of the Consent Agreement for individual or joint interviews, and read this form to participants to ensure that they were clear about all aspects of the study (Appendix F). The same process was repeated for the group interview (Appendix G). I answered any questions participants had prior to beginning data collection. Verbal consent from participants was recorded using the digital audio recorder. Participants were also asked if they agree to have direct quotes from their interviews used in publications or presentations. Their assent or dissent was also recorded. All participants were provided with a copy of the consent form.

Data Collection

After each interview, the data collected were uploaded to a laptop computer. The computer containing the data with the participants' stories was password protected. All files were backed-up on an external hard-drive to ensure that no files were lost. The external hard-drive was also password protected.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The information collected during the study was kept confidential, meaning that it was safely secured on a password protected computer. I did not guarantee anonymity for the research participants, since it was probable that people in the community would know who was participating in the study (given the relatively small population). Additionally, in speaking with community members during the initial community feedback trip, a number of community members expressed a desire to be identified and acknowledged as contributors to the research.

Respecting that the information provided by the individual participants is owned by them and/or their communities, I asked each participant if they wished to be identified or acknowledged in any dissemination of the research findings. This step was also intended to be mindful of the elders in the community, who hold very valuable knowledge about the community, and should therefore be provided the opportunity to have their voices recognized as contributors. All participants in the study, except one, wished to be acknowledged as a contributor. The single participant who did not want to be acknowledged or have his/her name used in the study verbally agreed to participate and have his/her stories included in the study as data. In this case, the participant was made aware that other community members might know that (s)he had participated, so although the content of what (s)he told me would be protected, his/her anonymity is not protected. The story-telling session with this individual was not audio-taped. All of those who wished to be a contributor were provided with a copy of a written agreement, stating that they will be acknowledged in any future dissemination of the research (See Section 2.5, Article 4, CIHR's Guidelines for Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples). This written agreement was read aloud to all participants who agreed to be acknowledged as contributing to the research. A copy of the written agreement is attached as Appendix H.

Use of photographs

All participants were asked for permission to have me make copies of their photographs. Some of the photographs include images of people who did not participate in the study. In such cases, the permission to use the photograph was also sought from all other people in the photograph. In cases where the person included in the photograph could not be contacted, the photo WAS NOT included as data. Permission to have a person's photograph included in the study was obtained using the photo release form included in Appendix D. The photographs will be used beyond the dissertation for more extensive analysis, and included in the dissemination of the research findings (i.e., in presentations and publications).

Research Agreement with Labrador Metis Nation (LMN)

CIHR's Guidelines for Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples requires that a research agreement be created between the researcher and the research community to ensure that all

issues of individual and community anonymity, privacy and confidentiality are respected and addressed to the community's satisfaction. In accordance with this, the LMN was consulted to determine how they wish to have the findings disseminated, as well as how they wish to be acknowledged in any dissemination of the research findings. This was documented in a signed agreement between me and the LMN (See Appendix I). According to the agreement, the LMN will be acknowledged as providing support for the research in any presentation or publication of the research findings. In addition, the agreement acknowledges that the LMN will be informed of any changes or amendments to the original study design. This agreement also outlines that if the LMN disagrees with any of the findings of the study, the findings will not change, but their disagreement will be noted in any future publications.

Conducting research as a 'member' of the community

I am a member of the LMN. A number of my extended relatives live in the community of St. Lewis. Conducting a study in which I am related to some of the participants and where most everyone 'knows' my immediate and extended family posed some interesting challenges and opportunities for the research. It has required that I reflect upon how my position in the community influenced the research design, the process of recruitment, the data collected, and ultimately how the results are analyzed and reported.

Research Design: The initial community consultation took place in the fall of 2007, and involved taking a week-long trip with my mother to her hometown of St. Lewis, Labrador. Having my mother along with me for the initial community consultation proved to be incredibly helpful for me. Notwithstanding her great company, I think that her absence from this initial trip would have made the research look quite different. Her knowledge of the community and its people, and her comfort in speaking to all those who live there, made it much easier for me to connect with people and talk with them about my research plans. Our trip became an opportunity for us to meet with relatives and other community members that, in many ways, was more about talking, laughing, visiting, eating and taking part in community activities than it was about 'designing a research project.' It was during this trip that I began to formulate ideas about how to design a research project that would not look much different than our informal get-togethers, but would also clarify that I was there as a researcher, as well as a relative.

Recruitment: All community members were encouraged to participate in the study, including people who were my relatives. The study included my aunt, uncle, first and second cousins, relatives by marriage and other, more distant relatives. Prior to recruitment, I thought carefully about what my connection to the community would mean in terms of peoples' willingness to participate. When I began recruiting participants for the study, I believe my status as an extended relative created a level of comfort for some about the idea of participating in the study. Initially, I was worried that my connection to the community might coerce someone into participating simply because they felt they had to accommodate me, when in fact, I think the opposite occurred in some respects. Relatives who did not want to participate were comfortable telling me that they were not interested, and this occurred on at least two occasions. On the other hand, some people participated *because* of my connection to the community and may have been more reluctant to share their stories with someone they did not know at all. Since I feel that their willingness to participate was at least partly due to my connection to the community, there is some additional responsibility on my part to ensure that their voices are represented respectfully (i.e., I have to carefully consider whether information that was shared was told to me in my capacity as a 'researcher' or as a 'family member').

Data Collection: As a relative of many of the participants in the study, I was initially concerned that participants might discuss topics unrelated to the research that might have no bearing on the study, or that conversations might be 'gossipy' rather than pertaining directly to the research topic. This was not an issue, perhaps at least partly because participants were reminded at the beginning and at the end of each interview that what they said could become public knowledge.

An additional concern that I had was the issue of illegal activities such as poaching (i.e., hunting or fishing out of season, or taking more than they are legally allowed). Some participants intentionally told me about these activities because they feel strongly it is their right to engage in hunting and fishing activities as they have always done and do not feel that they are doing anything 'wrong', despite breaking the existing laws. In cases where participants did discuss these issues, I made the decision to detach their names from their quotes so as not to identify the individual, even if they did not ask me to do so. I feel that the issues that they raise are extremely important and need to be included in the study, and by not identifying the

individual(s) who raised the argument, I am not putting them at risk of being unfairly targeted by authorities or other community members. In discussing issues such as poaching, there is a risk of drawing attention to the fact that this type of activity is occurring in the community, which might be interpreted as putting the community itself at risk. Since these issues were raised by community members as being important, I felt that including them in the study was important and is not an issue that would not already have been identified by 'wildlife officials' as something that occurs in the community. I cannot confirm that they did indeed break the law simply from their stories, but I do have a responsibility to bring to light the inequities that they perceive in the way that hunting and fishing regulations are currently enforced. It may also be that my connection to the participants inadvertently made them more willing to discuss certain contentious issues, and if this is the case, it is also important that I respect the privileged position that I held in the community by not sharing names of participants who were willing to divulge such information.

During data collection, participants frequently made reference to my immediate and extended family, simply because they were included as part of a story that was being told. It may also be that my presence recalled memories of times spent with my close relatives and so these were the stories that participants relayed to me. I encouraged these types of stories because I felt I could relate to what they were saying on a more intimate level. I appreciated that they told me stories about my relatives that I had never heard.

Data Analysis & Reporting: When listening and analyzing the transcripts I felt very honoured to hear stories about my own relatives embedded amongst all of the rich stories that were told. It kept reminding me about the different levels of connection I have with the research topic. In many ways, I think that this connection continues to foster an even deeper respect and passion for the topic than when I first began.

A difficulty with analyzing and reporting data with which one has become so entrenched is in the interpretation. At some level, one has to move away from the data and try to interpret what was said such that it respects each and every study participant, and the community as a whole. I can only hope that my interpretations do justice to the perspectives that were shared

with me, and that I have respected and honoured the strong values and beliefs that were demonstrated throughout my stay in the community.

Given that this research study involves interpreting the stories of 24 people, some reflection is needed regarding how the study community, other Labrador Inuit-Metis communities, and indeed, other Aboriginal or Indigenous communities elsewhere might be influenced by the results, or even whether or not the results might have implications that extend beyond the limited number of people included in the study. This important point raises two very salient issues related to the 'generalizability' of the findings. The first of these issues relates to my role as a researcher and as a person who holds a connection to the study community. It could be argued that my 'closeness' to the study participants means that the results only reflect the views of participants who were related to me, or felt comfortable talking to me because of my position in the community. Although I recognize that the research is significantly shaped by my role in the community, I view this relationship as a strength, given that the lens through which the research is viewed provides an opportunity for diverse perspectives to be heard. As a second response to the issue of generalizaibility: it is not the intent of this study to suggest that generalizations can be made based upon the findings. Rather, the intent is to present the findings within a context that expresses particular overarching themes. These themes might resonate with other Aboriginal or Indigenous communities or even other marginalized groups. The value that this study holds lies in its ability to identify and recognize themes that arose from the stories that were collected and to draw upon shared themes that exist across other Indigenous cultures. Rather than making claims about how closely this study might 'represent' the interests of Inuit-Metis people, it is instead important to identify shared experiences and perspectives that exist among Inuit-Metis peoples, across Indigenous communities, and to look at how this particular study might contribute to these shared experiences and understandings.

Data Analysis: A Reflexive Interpretation

Incorporating reflexive interpretation into a research project involves integrating the process of data analysis throughout all stages of the research, rather than only at the end of the research project. Reflexive interpretation also involves interpreting data using more than just a

single theme of reflection. Instead, a variety of established approaches to data analysis are used, allowing each one to inform and build upon the others. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000) contend that to be reflexive in an approach to data analysis means questioning weaknesses in any single mode of thought and to allow differing perspectives to confront one another. The idea of 'Two-Eyed Seeing' raised in Chapter Three is a useful way to understand the process of reflexive interpretation. If we only use one 'eye' to understand our surroundings, then we are limiting our understanding to only that which can be seen through that eye. Similarly, if we apply only one analytical 'lens' to our data, we limit the possibilities that other lenses might hold. Two-Eyed Seeing, beyond its applicability in a theoretical sense, also holds value in an analytical sense as well by invoking the acceptance of multiple analytical 'lenses.'

For this study, individual and group story-telling sessions were transcribed, reviewed and then imported into the qualitative data analysis (QDA) software program Atlas/ti. Given the amount of information that gets 'lost' in the process of translating audio to text, such as the 'tone' of the interview, voice inflections, body language, etc., some strategies for 'maximizing transcription quality' were employed, that included reviewing the transcript along with the audio and using information recorded in the field notes to supplement the interviews (e.g., noting places where participants appeared uncomfortable, or when the story-telling session was interrupted for some reason) (Poland, 1995). Photographs and field notes were also uploaded into Atlas/ti.

Thematic Analysis

Once imported into the QDA software, the data were reviewed using thematic analysis as proposed by Ryan and Bernard (2003) and Attride-Sterling (2001). This procedure offers a means to uncover themes by moving from text to interpretation, clearly outlining the steps involved along the way. Put simply, thematic analysis involves "pawing through texts and marking them up with different coloured pens" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p.88). Although the QDA software removed the need for 'different coloured pens', it provided a means to organize and access the data very easily.

The initial steps of thematic analysis involved identifying a topical set of codes. Topical codes were clusters of quotes that all focussed on a single topic. For example, a number of participants

spoke about duck-hunting in relation to the process involved in preparing and undertaking a hunt, the knowledge shared during the hunt, the social aspects of duck-hunting, and some of the rules and regulations surrounding the hunt. This step in the coding process became a very important organizational tool because data that clustered around a single topic allowed a more complex analysis of the data. Although I was responsible for assigning this initial set of codes and for the subsequent analysis of them, the topics that emerged were based on the stories that were discussed during the data collection. In this way, the 'topical codes' assigned came directly from the participants' stories.

Once the topical coding was completed, shared concepts that occurred across codes were identified. For example, if 'healthy eating' was discussed within a number of 'topical codes', then a number of 'sub-codes' would be created. For example, when participants discussed healthy eating when they were talking about 'duck-hunting', 'salmon fishing' and 'store-bought foods', sub-codes would be labelled 'Healthy Eating: Duck-Hunting', 'Healthy Eating: Rabbit-Catching' and 'Healthy Eating: Store-Bought Foods' . Once all of the 'conceptual-level' coding was completed, I began moving codes into the feature of Atlas/ti called 'Code Families'. At this stage, all of the topical codes associated with 'Healthy Eating' , such as 'Cost of Food' and 'Food-Related Activities' were collected and placed into a code family called 'Living Healthfully'.

The next step involved creating 'Network Views', which allow both codes and code families to be organized using a concept mapping technique that Atlas/ti calls 'Networks'. Networks identify relationships between different codes and code families using a visual 'map' that links together certain concepts based on their relationship to one another. For example, if the code 'pollution' is linked to the code 'living to excess', then the relationship between the two can be denoted as 'pollution is associated with living to excess'. For the purposes of this study, four different network views were created, called 'our cultural lens', 'off-balance', 'seeking balance' and 'maintaining Indigenous ways'. Each Network View was used to begin the process of writing.

Narrative Analysis

Given that thematic analysis involves 'de-constructing' the text, narrative analysis offers a way to preserve the 'whole' text. Narrative analysis is a particularly useful way to analyze stories, since it is concerned with how the story is organized, how the teller allows the story to

unfold, as well as how the narrative begins and ends (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Like thematic analysis, techniques are used that ask questions of the text, such as *'what was this about?', 'then what happened?,* or *'so what?'*. The difference between narrative and thematic analysis lies in the way that narrative analysis aims to preserve the 'whole' story, rather than 'take it apart' as is the goal of thematic analysis. Narrative analysis facilitates a more comprehensive overview of an entire story, or story-telling session. An additional aspect of narrative analysis which I found quite insightful in terms of thinking conceptually about the stories was to ask questions of the entire story regarding its underlying themes. In other words, '*why is this story being told to me?'* and '*what does this story tell me about the story-teller?'* I recorded my thoughts about these questions in the 'memos' section of Atlas/ti, which is also where I had uploaded my field notes. Keeping both my field notes and thoughts about narrative analysis together allowed me to shift back and forth between the two to identify thoughts that I had recorded during data collection that might inform or shape the way I was now attempting to analyse the data.

Analysing the data using two different methods of data analysis provided me with the opportunity to identify some of the generational differences that existed among participants. Key among these differences is the way in which stories were told to me by people of different ages. For instance, the story-telling sessions with many of the younger and middle-aged participants took the form of a question-and-answer format, with some of the 'answers' containing food stories that provided examples of their changing relationships to food. This format lent itself to thematic analysis because it could be taken apart quite easily and analyzed according to specific topic areas. In addition, it was easy to note when one topic had begun and another had ended, since the beginning of a topic was usually punctuated by a question.

In contrast, interviews with the older generation were often unstructured, with stories being the focal point of the interview, and my questions being generated in response to the stories or to clarify a point within a story. This 'style' of story-telling was most common with the older generation, although there were a few examples of this type of story-telling in the younger and middle-aged generations. Narrative analysis was more useful in this case, since it was more helpful to keep the entire story intact, in order to understand all of the concepts that were included within a story and to think about why the story was told in that way and what

additional information could be learned by keeping the entire story 'together'. For example, many stories contained 'stories within stories', meaning that the telling of a story was often punctuated by smaller stories, each of which always linked back to the original story-line. Had each 'smaller' story been extracted from the context from which it came, then the meaning behind the 'larger' story would have been lost.

Analysis of Photographs

One of the unique aspects of including photographs in research is that the interpretation does not 'stop' with the researcher; it can continue long after the researcher has presented the photograph in the research (Penn, 2000). Offering the reader of the research the opportunity to 'see' more than just text provides that person with a 'say' in how the photographs are interpreted. After analysing the photographs, I decided to present them in the findings as a supplement to the existing text. In other words, they are used to present a still image of what has been conveyed through writing. These photographs are presented alongside the stories, and are not given any interpretation beyond their presence in a particular section of text and a short descriptive caption. The presence of a photograph within a particular section of text is meant to help the reader get a better sense of what is being conveyed through the text. In some instances, I refer to the photos in the adjacent text, adding an additional layer of interpretation. I hope to explore additional types of analyses more extensively once my dissertation is complete.

Plans for Community Dissemination

Plans for disseminating the results of this study to the community are on-going. Currently, I am in the process of using an on-line slideshow presentation called VoiceThread to present the findings of this study back to the people of St. Lewis and to members of the Labrador Metis Nation. The VoiceThread program allows viewers to provide feedback on the content of the slideshow. I will encourage those who view the slideshow to provide suggestions and feedback as to how the results from this study can be best utilized. It may be that study participants would like to work together to make suggestions for policy changes, or they may have suggestions as to how the findings could be used to advocate for self-determination in Labrador

Inuit-Metis communities. Results of the study will also be presented at conferences and will be submitted for publication in relevant peer-reviewed journals.

Introduction to the Findings

Two Inukshuks being 'watched' by a loyal friend.
This artwork sits atop one of the huge rock cuts at the
entrance to the community.

The overarching theme that describes the findings of this study centres on the interconnections between the health of the economy, the local ecosystems and the people. A key feature of this theme is the changing role that the state and the market economy have played in influencing all three elements. Through 'food stories' the participants in this study demonstrate how important it is to acknowledge the existence of a distinct Inuit-Metis culture in all decisions that affect the health of their economy, their local ecosystems, and ultimately, the overall health of both individuals and the community of St. Lewis.

The findings are divided into four chapters. The first chapter (Chapter Six) begins with an exploration of the history of the local economy with respect to how it has shaped interactions between community members and 'outsiders,' and the rise of a distinct Inuit-Metis culture that is characterized by sharing with others, frugality, and respect for the natural world. History is

presented from the perspectives of all three generations that took part in the study. This chapter pays particular attention to how local Inuit-Metis culture has been shaped by the neglect of federal and provincial governments and the absence of state services up until the mid-1950s.

In the second and third chapters (Chapters Seven and Eight) the focus shifts from the historical community-government relationship that was characterized by neglect on the part of the state, to the virtual opposite – the imposition of government policies and regulations that have often been implemented without giving due consideration to existing cultural practices and norms within the community. In particular, the second chapter highlights how the health of the local, natural environment is understood by both people in St. Lewis and by people who often make policy decisions about the environment. In this section, study participants discuss how imposed government regulations directed at protecting resources might, in fact, have the opposite effect when they are applied without taking into account the cultural context of the community. The third chapter explores some of the more indirect ways in which government policies and the market economy are influencing the people of St. Lewis's ability to engage in cultural activities related to food. This chapter demonstrates that expressions of culture are often being maintained in spite of, and not because of, the involvement of the market and the government in changes being implemented in the community.

The fourth chapter (Chapter Nine) discuses the health of the people of St. Lewis in relation to the overall health of their economy and local ecosystems, and how important the health of the natural world is for maintaining and strengthening the health and well-being of both individuals and the community. Woven through this discussion are some of the difficulties, challenges and contradictions associated with expressions of culture as a result of socio-economic and political changes that have occurred in the community in the past thirty to forty years.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the methodological approach used for the study, as well as the corresponding study design, including the methods and analysis of the data. Adhering to a

reflexive approach to both the research design and analysis requires a certain respect for the fluid nature of social research. Using multiple interpretative frameworks provides an opportunity for different perspectives to be given equal consideration, moving towards balance, rather than the more common approach of privileging certain types of knowledge over others (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2004). This chapter ends with an introduction to the findings, which are presented in the proceeding four chapters.

Chapter Six: "Everyone was in the same boat" – The health of the market economy

The settlement of St. Lewis over five-hundred years ago was in large part due to the market economy. The isolation of Labrador from the rest of Canada, and its extremely long, cold and snowy winters meant that virtually the only exposure that the people of St. Lewis had to the 'outside' world occurred during the summer months, when the people would trade fish and furs for basic foods supplies such as sugar, flour and root vegetables with seasonal merchants. Yet even though the market provided the only link to the 'outside' world and trade relationships were key to the settlement of St. Lewis, the market could not be completely relied upon for all of the food supplies that one needed to live in Labrador, since market access was only seasonal. During the winter, when the bays and lakes were frozen and the community of St. Lewis was accessible only by dogsled, families would typically trap furs and survive on foods they could procure themselves. Essentially, market foods acted as a 'supplement' to local supplies of fish, meat, berries and birds. Until the late 1950s, the people of St. Lewis had very little access to government-run services such as education, health care, employment insurance or other basic services provided to other people in Canada, so the market was relied upon for both supplies and news of the world outside of the Labrador coast. During a time when many other communities in Newfoundland and other parts of Canada were witnessing the introduction of television and fast-food outlets, the lifestyle in St. Lewis continued much as it had for many generations previous.

The eldest person interviewed for this study was Iris Poole, a non-Aboriginal woman in her late seventies who had lived her entire life in and around St. Lewis. She was born at a time when there was very little consistent or lasting contact with people from places beyond the Labrador coast, and yet the life she described was very much tied to places far beyond that of her community, since the trade economy provided her with some basic foods, like flour, molasses and root vegetables that could not be procured locally. Still, from her stories, it is clear that even though she is linked to a world outside of her community, her knowledge about this world was derived from her local social and natural environment. In the quote below, Iris describes a time

when families along the coast of Labrador would engage in what has been called by anthropologists, 'seasonal transhumance'. That is, they would live along the coast in the summer months so that they could harvest fish. The fish would be traded to merchants for basic food supplies, and these supplies would be used throughout the winter months, when the families would move inland to trap furs.

> *Iris: The more fish you sold in the summer, the more [supplies] you'd have for the winter...You'd get your fish and put it in salt in the stage [wharf], and then later on in the fall you'd take it out and wash the salt off and then you'd bring it up on a hill and spread it out on flat rocks...And then you'd bring it to Battle Harbour and sell it. Yes.*
> *Interviewer: And were there other ways that you would get money for the winter?*
> *Iris: No, not really. That was the only thing then. But then, like, later on, November, last part of October, November, then we'd move up in Lewis' Bay. Then [the men would] go in the woods and go trapping...We'd get lots of things in there, rabbits, partridges, porcupines, stuff like that. We'd have that, along with the fish and little bit of extra stuff, and that was the winter. It was alright. I missed it, when I stopped at it.*
> *~ Iris Poole, female, older generation*

It is difficult to imagine a lifestyle where families were entirely reliant upon their own wherewithal during the winter months to feed their families, particularly when there was never a guarantee that food would be available. Doubtless there are many tales of incredible hardship faced in St. Lewis that I was not told, but the stories that were shared gave me some sense of what life must have been like in the very recent past. Many of the stories I did hear were told to me by the younger generations.

One of the younger study participants relayed a story about the small community of Deep Water Creek, which was resettled to St. Lewis in the 1960s, during a sponsored provincial government re-location program. We had been talking about the difficulties that older people in the community faced in order to provide enough food for their families in the years gone by.

> *One spring, the people in Deep Water Creek were getting low on food, since the ice in the harbor had not yet broken up enough to allow them to go out and hunt for seals.*

On the first day that the sea ice had cleared enough to permit a boat to pass through, two young men rowed out to a section of ice where some seals were sitting in order to hunt them and bring back some much-needed seal meat for their families. But while they were out on the water, the wind changed direction and the ice began pushing them further and further out to sea. The families of the two young men watched helplessly as they drifted away. The young men were never seen again.~ Taken from field notes with Unnamed Participant

Stories such as the one above are an integral part of how people in the community see themselves today. Many of the elders in the community hold memories that are doubtlessly very difficult to speak about. Yet aside from the difficulty associated with remembering hard times, there is also a keen awareness that many of these difficulties were perpetuated by a government that simply did not pay attention to the people of Labrador. Elaine Chubbs grew up in a small city on the island of Newfoundland and moved to St. Lewis when she married Warwick Chubbs. She says that even though they grew up in the same province in the same time period, she cannot believe some of the hardships faced by her husband's family when he was a young boy.

Elaine: It amazed me when Warwick told me 'Elaine we've never had that' and I said 'Warwick I can't believe that because we're living in the same era' but still they didn't have what we had…And that really baffled me you know?...I think they were mistreated. I really do. I don't think they were treated right, definitely not. No... I can't believe the difference in the way that they had to live and the way we did…Now you can't forget that the people on the island [Newfoundland] had it hard too because my parents came from a little fishing village…I mean they were isolated and they had it hard too, but the fact still remains that I think the people [in Labrador] were not treated the same as the people on the Island…Definitely not. Not from the stories I've heard…you know stories I could hardly believe… ~Elaine Chubbs, female, middle generation

Warwick shared one story that he heard his father tell many times, about a young mother who was living in Lewis' Bay, where many families spent the winter months. Warwick's father

was asked to travel to Lewis' Bay in the early spring to pick up the young woman because they were having trouble finding enough food to eat. She was breast-feeding an infant, but her milk had stopped and there was nothing else available to feed her baby. When Warwick's father arrived, she had been feeding her baby flour mixed with water.

> *Elaine: I could hardly believe that a mother would have to give her baby flour water, you know like I find that so hard to believe…*
> *Warwick: Instead of milk…It was in the Spring, the families that lived up in Lewis' Bay and they had no way of getting out, and my father had a motor boat and there was a lot of other people that had motor boats too, but somehow they got a word out to my father asking would he go up in the Bay and bring them out here, this family. So my father went up in his motor boat and brought them here and when they came up to the house…they had a baby…and the mother had flour water in the bottle for it to drink. And the mother throwed it out and mixed up a bottle of milk for him. I heard him speak about that hundreds of times. ~Elaine Chubbs, female, middle generation and Warwick Chubbs, male, older generation*

Since the communities along the coast of Labrador were incredibly isolated and difficult to access during many months of the year, they existed apart from the socio-economic and political developments that were taking place in the rest of the province. In effect, the only time attention was paid to this part of Labrador was when there was a need for merchants to trade their goods. As Warwick Chubbs explained, *"I don't think the government worried too much about us up here."*

Calvin Poole and Warwick Chubbs, both men from the older generation (both in their early 60s), provide a glimpse into how even short, intermittent contacts with people from outside of the community began to shape how the people of St. Lewis saw themselves in relation to the 'outside' world. Around 1957, the American Air Force set up a radar station in St. Lewis, which was designed to protect North American airspace. There were similar radar stations set up all along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. For a short period of time, American Airmen lived in St. Lewis, setting up their small base at the top of a hill that overlooked the community. Warwick and Calvin discussed how the Americans would offer community members food, when

they had extra. It is likely that the Americans became quickly aware of the lack of basic services available to the people in St. Lewis, and so they would sometimes offer community members some of their own provisions. These offerings were accepted with gratitude by the people of St. Lewis, but one is left wondering how such significant social inequalities between the visitors and the locals helped to shape how the people of St. Lewis viewed themselves in relation to the outside world. One might be tempted to think that the virtual absence of any government services might simply be attributed to oversight or a simple lack of awareness of what life was like in Labrador on the part of the Canadian or Newfoundland governments. However, this does not fit with the fact that merchants, military personnel, fishers and explorers from all over the world were able to interact with the people of Labrador and developed extensive trading relationships. In many respects, St. Lewis appears to have been influenced more by the economic policies and military imperatives of international governments than it was by its own domestic government.

Warwick: When the Americans were up there and they'd have corn flakes and all kinds of cereals like that and if that got outdated, they'd bring that down for the village people to eat, wouldn't they Cal?
Calvin: Come down with a big old truckload.
Interviewer: Once it was outdated?
Warwick: Yes, they wouldn't want it. They'd bring that down then and everybody'd be going off with their flour bags.
Calvin: I seen them bring fruits and vegetables too. If they had anything leftover when a new shipment would come in, they'd come down and share it out.
Warwick: Fresh pepper. The first I ever seen was from that. Never seen that before. Until they came.
Interviewer: It's funny though, that they would wait until they couldn't eat it and then they would give it to you guys.
Warwick: That never came in our minds, then. We didn't know what a date was, that could have been 25 years old. We wouldn't know the difference ~Group Story-Telling Session

In some instances, however, it seems the Americans did not want the locals to eat the foods that they wanted to throw away. Instead, they would go out of their way to ensure that the locals would *not* have access to their unused food, even when they did not want to eat it themselves. Warwick says that it was often the case that the first time he ever saw certain types of foods, like chicken, was when he 'found' them after the Americans had already discarded them.

Warwick: I remembers the first chicken ever we seen eat too. I'll tell you where we got him at too. Down on the beach....The old boat was anchored over there, the Irene M*, she was called. And they had a freezer aboard, they brought in frozen food and the freezer give out, and the food partly thawed. So, then, there was no such thing as bringing it ashore and throwing it in the dump, it went overboard.*
Calvin: Everything went over the side.
Warwick: So they throwed it overboard and the way the wind was it drifted in, down there around the beach. Old pieces of fresh beef in boxes and chicken. So we went down there and picked it up. 'What's this?' Someone said it was chicken. 'What do you do with it?' 'Eat it'. All hands cooked the chicken and we eat it and it didn't kill nobody...The freezer give out. And they wouldn't eat it if it thawed.
Calvin: ...You'd never turn nothing like that down then. ~ Group story-telling session

Warwick: Another time, there was beer and soft drinks. They was froze see. They was in cans or something.
Interviewer: This was the Americans?
Warwick: Yes, they brought it down below where the dump is at, at that marshy place. Over the hill. And they throwed it all to one side and they threw some diesel oil on it and caught it afire.
Calvin: Well, they had just caught the grass on fire.
Warwick: And well, you talk about fellers going with komatiks [Inuit word for sled]! Trying to get their beer to put on their komatiks.
Calvin: Now some of the cans got hot and the stuff inside came off in the can. If you opened up a can and poured it in your glass you'd see this black stuff. It was the lining of the can. But they'd strain that out and have a drink. ~ Group story-telling session

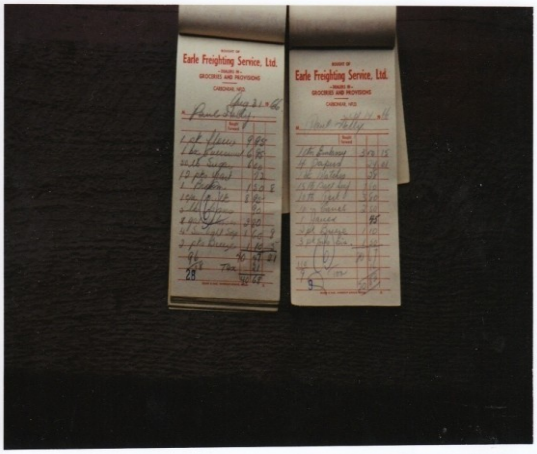
In another story, Calvin Poole and Warwick Chubbs recall more benevolent attempts made by 'outsiders' to address poverty within the community. They describe an airplane that would drop bundles of clothing from the air when it flew over the community. They were not entirely sure who was responsible for dropping off the clothing, but they think it may have been the either the American Air Force or the Canadian Air Force, both of whom were stationed in central Labrador at the time. Once the clothing was dropped from the airplane and landed on the ground, everyone in the community would gather to distribute it, but the children would get the first 'pick'. Although these benevolent attempts to address issues of poverty were very welcome by community members, they did not provide any lasting or consistent change.

Warwick: And Cal, can you remember years ago. I can't remember much about it, but I can barely remember, but like years ago, I can remember that someone used to come in and fly over the pond and drop a bale of clothing. Do you remember that?
Calvin: They done that a couple of times.
Warwick: ... I remember the plane used to come in, or helicopter, whatever it was. I think it was a plane.
Calvin: A plane, yeah.
Warwick: Used to drop this bale of clothing. And someone, somebody I guess would be designated to go in and pick it up...
Calvin: It was a transport plane.
Warwick: And then the people in the harbour would gather around and pick out clothing for the children. I remember that. Yes, it would come up from Goose Bay, see. Around Christmas time. Just before Christmas. [chuckling]
Elaine: Why are you laughing, Warwick?
Warwick: Going in through the woods, picking up clothes! See them big bales of clothes comin' in. When they'd strike the ground, they'd go into a ball and roll over and over and over.
Calvin: They dropped the clothes on the ice on Fox Harbour Pond, one time right. Clothes goin' everywhere!
Interviewer: So where did the clothes come from?

Calvin: I believe it was the Canadian Air Force. But I'm not sure about that. Down from Goose Bay, anyway. ~Group story-telling session

In many ways, the lack of attention that was paid to Labrador meant that its people had to rely solely upon their own means and ends for survival. This independence was not borne out of a desire to improve one's individual wealth at the expense of others, but rather, emerged out of a need to do all that one could to contribute to the overall well-being of the community. From my time spent in the community, in addition to stories I have read that were written about the trade relationships between merchants and the community, people often referred to many of the merchants as being 'crooks.' Since merchants controlled the distribution of goods, they could apply very subjective measures to decide how much or how little a family would receive in return for the furs or fish they wished to trade. In most cases, no credit would be issued, since the merchants had no guarantee that they would be repaid in the following year. As a result, if a family member got sick or injured and was unable to hunt, trap or fish, it would in all likelihood result in little or no income for that family until the following year.

There was no unemployment insurance then. If you had a dollar in the fall, you had one. If you didn't, then you wouldn't see another one until the next summer. That was it. ~ Calvin Poole, male, older generation



A copy of a receipt for supplies that my late grandfather, Paul Holley, purchased after a season of fishing in 1966

Beyond the influence of the market economy

Although the market economy provided very important food supplements, key sources of food like birds, fish, land animals, berries and other plants came from the local environment. As important as the market economy was for providing certain food supplies, when the long months of winter approached, it was the natural world that became the most important source of food.

> *That's the way life was then. Like I said if it wasn't for seals and ducks you'd never live on the coast, not in the wintertime, not in the fifties. The store had very little food. People had no money, even if there was any to buy. ~Calvin Poole, male, older generation*

Virtually all of the activities in the community prior to the 1950s and '60s somehow directly or indirectly related to the need to obtain food. As a result, different seasons and times of the year were closely associated with particular foods. For example, the spring was often a very hard time of the year to find food, since melting ice and snow made it very difficult to get out on the land to hunt. As such, the first seal that was caught in the spring was met with great celebration.

> *Yeah, well geez, if someone went out and got a seal and they come in, and they'd skin it off, and they'd say, we got a seal! We got a seal! Come and get it if you wants it! That was it 'till it was gone. And like, in the spring of the year, there wasn't…well, in the winter there was rabbits and partridges and stuff like that, but by the time we'd move out of the Bay, we was in Lewis' Bay then, well, that was a wonderful thing to see someone coming with a seal. ~ Iris Poole, female, older generation*

> *...years ago we didn't have very much. We were very poor. Everyone was in the same boat right...one was no better off than the other. We all helped one another. We all lived out on Fox Harbour Point. Your mom knows...They went out in the Spring of the year and some of them got a seal and bring it in and carve it up and share it,*

everyone would come and get a piece of their seal right? No matter who got it. Everyone was alike. ~ Calvin Poole, male, older generation

A culture of sharing

I never misses what I give away. I probably give away enough to keep another family going.~ Darry Holley, male, younger generation

The sharing of food is as much a part of the Inuit-Metis culture as the food itself. Virtually all of the participants in this study spent time telling me about the generosity and kindness of their neighbours. Sharing food was talked about as a way of life; it is something that people do for one another without question. Just as you would give your neighbour a meal of salmon when it was available to you, he or she would give you a meal of duck when it was available to them. Muriel and Albert Poole talked about food being 'shared as far as it would go', often to the extent that the person who hunted or collected the food in the first place might be left with very little, or sometimes none at all. The family and community had to work collectively to ensure that there was enough food for everyone.

Sharing benefitted not only the recipient, but also the giver. Since sharing involved reciprocity, providing food for someone else was a way to ensure that you and your family were also protected in case someone in your family became sick or injured. For example, if your family was unable to get out to procure food, but you had provided food for someone else's family in the past, then you could rely on them to provide your family with food. In this sense, food-sharing is an act of benevolence, but also a way to protect oneself and one's own family against hunger.

Interdependence among community members was fostered through sharing, since those who hunted food were dependent on all others in the community for all of the things that were essential to a successful hunting or trapping season. Although hunters were typically men, the women, children and the elderly all had important roles to play in ensuring a successful hunt. Often the women in the community would make and mend warm clothes for the men to wear while hunting. The children would learn to help with preparations for the hunt and begin to

hunt themselves as they got older. The elderly people would share their stories and knowledge with the younger generations to make sure that all of the knowledge about the land, the sea, and the weather would keep a hunter safe. Although the ultimate success of a hunt depended on the hunter's knowledge and abilities, he could not take all of the credit for a hunt, since his ability to do so was largely dependent on his friends and family. Since those who needed the food the most were often those who could not get out to get it themselves (i.e., the young, the sick or the elderly), they were given the first opportunity to take advantage of a fresh meal. If those who shared the food were not left with anything, then it was simply a matter of going out and getting more the next day.

> *Well, we didn't have much back then, but what we had we shared with one another. If you went out and got a seal in the spring of year, everybody in the community would have a meal of that seal. Everybody. It was just, people would gather around, when you was pelting the seal down on the ice...And everybody would get a meal of that seal. And the person who killed that seal probably would be lucky if he got a meal. Oh yeah, he'd be lucky if he got a meal. I've been out years ago, and got seals and come in and never even got a meal myself. When I realized that a lot of people was around getting a meal of seal, the next thing it would be all gone. But we'd probably have a meal or two from the day before that, so. ~ Guy Poole, male, older generation*

When the harsh winter months arrived and the community was bound by ice and snow, there would be no additional food supplies entering the community until the following spring. Aside from what was locally referred to as 'rough grub' (which included such as things as potatoes, carrots, turnip, flour and tea), everything came from the land, the sea or the air. Although food formed an important part of the Inuit-Metis culture and identity, the people of the Labrador coast were also constantly reminded that food is ultimately about survival. As such, without the sharing of food, many people would have gone hungry. Thus, giving food to others was not about displaying your generosity, or expecting something in return, it was simply a gesture of kindness that stems from a tradition of 'looking out for one another' and ensuring that no one goes without.

Joan: Say if you know, even someone who is across the harbour didn't get out, didn't get out in the salmon fishery or didn't get out in the cod fishery, you'd bring it. And I know the same thing with birds, and with ducks and that...
Interviewer: It would be shared around.
Joan: yeah.
Interviewer: And where do you think that comes from?
Joan: I says its, to me, years ago when there wasn't much. Rather than see someone starve. I would say. I know, I remember a story my mom told, and I've heard dozens and dozens of times. Not only from Mom, but from the woman who had helped. Mom's mother got sick, she got sick with the flu, right? ...and Mom was a baby and of course, then it was all breast milk. And Nan, when she still had the flu, her breast milk dried up. So she couldn't feed Mom. Now there was nothing then...later on you could get pablum. And her Nan's best friend, Mary, had a daughter the same age as Mom who was on the breast. So Mary took Mom and had Mom on one breast and had her daughter on the other breast. ... 'Cause it was just, you would just starve. 'Cause if there wasn't breast milk there was nothing else. There was no milk, not then. Not here anyway. Yeah. I heard Mom tell that story dozens and dozens of times.... She lived because of Mary. How often did I hear her say that I wonder? Because Mary fed her. Now I don't know how long it was for, for a couple of weeks or a couple of days or what, but I'd say it's from then. Years ago, if you get something, you share it.~ Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation

The reciprocal nature of sharing also meant that sometimes foods would be traded for other supplies or services. For example, Calvin Poole explains that his grandfather would often trade tobacco with my great-grandfather to get a meal of ducks.

And the same with ducks. I know your great grandfather Holley they used to have ducks, and my grandfather Poole, I often seen him give [your great grandfather] a stick of tobacco for a duck right?...People would trade like that right. ~ Calvin Poole, male, older generation

The informal trading of services and food is still very common in the community today. While I was staying with my Aunt Dora and Uncle Edgar Poole in St. Lewis, we returned one day to find a bag of frozen caribou lying in the kitchen sink. Someone had dropped it off while we were out. Aunt Dora realized that it must have been her neighbours, since she had recently provided them with a meal of ducks. Similarly, Uncle Edgar explained that it was often the case if someone was building a house there would be so many people offering to help with the construction that the family who would be living in the house hardly had to do anything. In return, that family might provide those who helped with a meal of fresh meat or fish.

The tradition of sharing food stemmed from a collective and pragmatic need to ensure that everyone had enough to eat and remained healthy, and it is a tradition that still continues today. Every person included in the study talked about the ethic of sharing that still exists in the community.

Interviewer: And do you think that people still do that kind of thing? Share? Like if someone gets salmon in the spring…
Joan: Oh yes, I know they do. Oh yes. I know, like, years ago, I remember growing up and the salmon season would open and they'd go out and set their nets come salmon season time and whoever ...had the first salmon, whether he was a four pounder or whether he was a ten pounder, he was shared. And there was like, six or seven families out there. You might have only got one mouthful each, but it was shared. The first salmon. And I know still today, same thing, when the food fishery opens...it's the same thing. If you know the ones next door to you didn't have a salmon yet today, you'd bring over a meal. It's the same.~ Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation

Warwick: If you only had four salmon and your next-door neighbor never had a license to get one, you'd still give him a meal of salmon.
Interviewer: You'd still give him the salmon.
Warwick: Oh yes. Guaranteed. Oh yes. He'd be guaranteed to get a meal of salmon, oh yes.
Interviewer: So that's a good thing.
Warwick: Yes. Absolutely.

Elaine: Lots of times like somebody like [our neighbour] might go trouting, and you know he'll catch some trout and he'll share with everybody. You know? He'll bring us some trout or give [neighbour] a trout yeah, yeah. Okay like [neighbour] come here the other evening with a meal of smelts for us you know so, oh yeah that's still there. And that's a custom I hope they never lose because a lot of places now don't have that. ~Elaine Chubbs, female, middle generation and Warwick Chubbs, male, older generation

The sharing of food is also a way of offering comfort to those in need. For example, if there is a tragedy in the community, or if someone is sick, people often respond by providing the families who are most affected with meals. Many participants said they know who in the community is unable to get out hunting or fishing because they might be sick or injured. In such cases, their neighbours will give them a meal of codfish, or salmon or birds or moose.

Elaine: Well like when we came back when I came back from my surgery, hey Warwick, we walked in the door and people started bringing stuff you know, like soup and desserts and everything and that's a wonderful feeling to have, and sometimes if I am cooking something and [our next door neighbours], we'll probably share with them or they'll share with us you know like, yeah, so it's a wonderful feeling… Oh yeah people are good like that. Yeah, Yeah.
Interviewer: That's wonderful.
Elaine: They haven't lost that. ~ Elaine Chubbs, female, middle generation

If someone is sick or if someone is dying or someone is sent home to die or…especially if someone has died. That's a big community thing there. Like there's food brought in and everything is done that can be done, right. It's just so close-knit when it comes to like that. When it matters, everyone is there. ~ Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation

Procuring traditional foods from the land, sea and air remains a vital part of life and provides an important source of food for people, just as it was years ago. The difference is that today many of these activities are increasingly dependent upon the market economy, since money is

needed in order to purchase hunting licenses, ammunition, transportation and so on. Even the store owners who were included in the study believe that most meats and fish are not purchased in the store, but are procured locally. Eating traditional foods still seems to be the preferred choice of food for most people that I interviewed for the study.

Eva: We'll eat mostly traditional food…From the land…From the sea or from the land. Anything we can gather up ourselves.
Interview: And is there a reason you choose to do that?
Eva: Because we like it. We prefer that kind of food rather than go down to the shop and buy some chicken or beef. ~Eva Luther, female, middle generation

Foods still hold cultural significance and are eaten not just for their preferred taste, but because the activities involved in procuring those foods are considered a way of life in the community. Many study participants from all three generations continue to engage in hunting and fishing because they enjoy it and because it has always been a part of their lives. As well, when animals are hunted they can also be used for purposes besides food, which reinforce cultural connections to the land. For example, the feathers and down from ducks can be used to make warm clothing, blankets, and even mattresses and pillows.

Arthur: I have a sleeping bag made entirely out of duck feathers out in White Point….yeah, geez I was over there saving feathers and had a big old sleeping bag made.
Interviewer: That must be warm.
Arthur: Oh yeah, it's good.
Eva: We used to keep them for pillows and everything eh?
Arthur: Well years ago people used to have them for mattresses then. ~Eva Luther, female, middle generation, and Arthur Luther, male, older generation

Some sources of food, like seals, continue to play an important cultural role in the community, even though they also provide a source of income. Seal serves many purposes, aside from its rich, nutritious meat. Traditionally, sealskin would be laid out to dry and then cut into strips to make snowshoes. It was also used to make *babiche*, the Inuit name for the dog

traces used for dogsleds, as well as for sleeping bags and warm clothing such as moccasins, parkas and mittens. The meat itself was used for baking, frying and making pies, and seal blubber was used for lamps and for heat. Any excess meat would be combined with caribou moss and excess fish heads and livers to be boiled for dog food.

> *... If we went out and got a seal, you know, and in lots of cases the seal was skinned and the women made skin boots for their husbands and their sons and daughters. We wore the skins of the seal. Sealskin mitts, sealskin cap, sealskin sleeping bag, I've seen it all, they made it all. Here in this community, we weren't wasteful. We weren't wasteful.~ Guy Poole, male, older generation*

Beautiful sealskin boots made by Eva Luther – Photo taken by Eva Luther

Aside from the cultural significance of eating traditional foods and engaging in traditional food-related activities, some of the study participants noted that traditional foods are cheaper to eat than buying meats from the grocery store. For people in the community who are supporting families with only seasonal employment, it is very important that means of accessing traditional foods continue to be available to them, since these foods are an important source of nutrition outside of what can be purchased. One of the participants said that he provides for his family almost entirely with wild foods because it is much more affordable than relying on store-bought foods. He feels that if it was not for his ability to provide for his family through hunting and fishing, he would not be able to survive in the community. Darry and Bev Holley also feel that accessing traditional foods is very important, because it supplements their employment

income and allows them to eat more inexpensively than if they only ate foods from the grocery store.

> *Darry: We eats a lot of wild game. I knows it costs money to do it, but it's cheaper.*
> *Interviewer: I guess initially you've gun costs, and ski-doo costs and whatever, but I guess once you've got that…*
> *Darry: Well, lots of times, there's not very many times I've went and come back with nothing. Knock on wood. But most times, if I go and buy $20 worth of gas, and If I got to pay $10 for a box of shells. And I can go out and with that $30, and I got enough meals for, perhaps a dozen meals...But for people who don't like it, every couple of weeks you've got to go and buy four or five hundred dollars worth of canned stuff and chicken and pizza pockets and sausages and hamburger.*
> *Bev: I mean, we buy it, but it's not very often.*
> *Darry: Very seldom. ~Darry Holley, male, younger generation and Bev Holley, female, younger generation*

Beliefs about the natural world

There is a belief in the community that the environment is able to provide all that is needed to live and thrive. In the past, aside from some market supplies, the natural world offered everything one needed to live healthfully on the land. This belief emerged from a time when there was a need to rely upon the natural world for survival, especially during the winter months. Iris Poole, from the older generation, notes that whenever a meal was needed, the natural world seemed to provide it.

> *But it seemed like, you get up in the morning and you'd say, oh, I got nothing for dinner, you know, for Sunday, it was all you had to do, was go outdoors and kill it. Yeah. That's the way it was. Partridges, rabbit, porcupine and then soon as the ice would freeze up, we'd go trouting every day and smelts and it was good. You know, that kind of a food, you know. It was only a bit of shop stuff then, your bit of salt beef and your vegetables and you had it all! ~ Iris Poole, female, older generation*

One participant from the younger generation, who spends a great deal of time hunting and fishing, told me that *the stuff that is from the land and the water is a big part of us, and when you learn and live on the land and the water, you learn to see the bigger picture* ~paraphrased from field notes. 'The bigger picture' seems to involve the inter-connectedness that people have with their surroundings. When the ability to feed yourself and your family is dependent upon the generosity of the land, it becomes necessary to believe in, observe, and learn about, the interrelatedness of all things.

> *So the people lived off the land one time...They lived, you know there was a pristine wilderness in Labrador as there is now, of course. The people lived off the land and they lived off the water. They ate the birds, they ate the fish, they ate the seals and they ate the ducks and the rabbits and the partridges. ~ Guy Poole, male, older generation*

A number of study participants emphasized that living off the land and the sea fostered humility for the natural world. Since the natural world provided all that one needs to live and thrive, there is no desire to take more than you need, nor is there is a desire to kill for the sake of killing. Taking more than you need is a sign of disrespect and not an acceptable way to hunt. Even the greatest of hunters would never take more than they needed, since that would demonstrate disrespect. As Guy Poole explains, respecting and preserving the environment is about thinking about the natural world in terms of making it healthier, and not about reaping the resources until there is nothing left. Approaching the natural environment as if you are responsible for it, rather than as something to be exploited, ensures that our children and our children's children can continue to enjoy and benefit from all that the natural world has to offer.

> *Guy: Everything that we do has an impact on the environment. Everything that we do. Everything. ...So we got to be really careful. Just do it, but be really careful...Because when you go out and take a whole lot ...guess what you're doing? You're taking it away from our children and their children. You're not taking it away from us, we've got plenty. Our bellies is going to be [plenty] big, but what about our children and their children? ~Guy Poole, male, older generation*

In the following story, Lar Rumbolt, an elder in the community, tells of a time when his young family had very little food and no money, and yet when he saw two large moose, he did not kill them because he had no one with him to help him prepare the meat and it would have been wasted.

The time me, [my wife] and the youngsters went up the bay...to tell you the truth now, we couldn't afford to get a bit of meat to take with us…we never had a cent of money in the house. Now we had lots of 'rough grub' like flour and butter and stuff like that. But we never had no meats or nothing...cause we couldn't afford to get neither one, see....So, I went up, got the youngsters all settled away at the camp....I had to go to Sarah's Brook to get some water. That's a nice ways up the bay see. I took the .22 with me. 'I'm going to go partridge hunting before I comes back...I won't be very long, I'll look for a meal of spruce partridges.' So I went up the brook and got me water...I didn't walk very far...I run into a partridge. Killed one there. I never went very far, up to the end of the woods and I seen another...I killed another one....By and by, I sees something. Something moving in the trees, like this...two moose! ...I wanted to kill one....If I had someone with me, I would've killed one.....Went back to the camp, brought the water in. 'Get either partridge?'. 'Yes, I got five.' They scrambled for the partridges. The youngsters did...[My wife] got the pot ready. And she cooked the five of them. She put everything in together. Turnip, potato, carrot. Whatever she had there, all cooked together. Well, my maid, what a feed, what a feed we had. They ate the five of them, and they drank the juice out of the pot. They licked the pot right out. The youngsters loved it. ~Lawrence Rumbolt, male, older generation

A large part of respecting the natural world involves not throwing anything away and not being wasteful. This meant that everything was used to its fullest capacity. In terms of food, this meant that whatever parts of an animal could be eaten, were eaten.

We eats salmon heads, and the spawn and all that right. No, no. Nothing gets throwed away. You appreciate things like that. The cod, the salmon, the ducks. It's

what we grew up on. It's what we're used to. It's good. ~ Judy Pye, female, middle generation

When I interviewed Eva and Arthur Luther, they, like many others, also talked about the importance of not throwing anything away. Eva found a poem that Arthur's mother used to say that nicely captures the benefits of not being wasteful. Eva was not sure where the poem came from, all she knows is that Arthur's mother learned it from her own mother, and it got passed along orally until Eva decided to write it down.

I must not throw upon the floor the crust I cannot eat
For many a hungry little child would think it quite a treat
For willful waste makes willful want
And I might live to say
That I wish I had the crust
That once I threw away.

As the poem above demonstrates, the decision not to waste was about ensuring that there would always be enough food to sustain one's family and community. Wasting simply could not be tolerated, since what you throw away might be needed or put to good use at a later time.

They couldn't throw away crumbs. You'd heave them in your hand and you'd go over and put them in a cup. You'd be at that for a week and then you'd have enough crumbs to stuff in the duck...It was just the mindset that we had. I guess it was because, I guess, well, it was because we are here. Because if we throwed away stuff, we'd be hungry and we'd be starving to death...we had this mindset that we didn't throw away anything. Because everything is useful...And it just goes to show that's how we survived - being resilient and being tough and not throwing anything away.~ Guy Poole, male, older generation

For Elaine Chubbs, this was a lesson that she learned upon moving to the community. Although she also grew up with a strong appreciation for the natural world, she notes that when she married Warwick, she learned about the extreme importance that he placed upon frugality

and never throwing anything away, especially food. Although Elaine is from the middle generation and Warwick is from the older generation, there is less than ten years difference in their ages. The different emphasis that Elaine and Warwick both place on frugality seems to come as much from the different lifestyles they led in different parts of the province as much as any generational difference that might exist between them.

> *Warwick threw out a little piece of green line and he put it in the garbage. I went then, and cleaned out the fridge. And I took this piece of bread, it was in a plastic bag, and I said, 'that's freezer burned, so I'll throw that in the garbage'. Later on that afternoon, [Warwick] decides that he's going to use that little piece of green line that he threw in the garbage. When he went in, he saw the plastic bag with the bread in it and he came out and he approached me and he said, 'who put that in there?' And I said, 'I did.' And he said, 'you do not waste.' And I said, 'well, it looked like it had freezer burn to me.' He said 'I am going to eat it.' He took it out of the garbage, it was in a plastic bag, and he ate it. So, he was taught not to throw anything away, whereas it meant nothing to me. So that's the difference. Now Mom wasn't wasteful by no means, but I guess I came from a different school, and that didn't mean anything to me. …well, now when I go to throw out stuff, I'll pack it in bags and go over and throw it out in my neighbour's garbage box. [laughter] I'll say to [my neighbours], I'll say 'I've got some things that I need to throw out that I don't want Warwick to see, can I throw them in your garbage box?' [laughter] But...I am conscious now of not being so wasteful since I've come here. ~Elaine Chubbs during Group story-telling session, female, middle generation*

Chapter Seven: "We takes what we needs, not what we wants" – The accessibility of traditional foods

Arthur Luther cleaning his salmon – photo by Eva Luther

As recently as thirty years ago, the people of St. Lewis harvested from the land and sea as needed, and there were no government restrictions or laws which prevented people from accessing food. Indeed, a number of study participants suggested that had restrictions been placed upon how much food families were allowed to harvest, people would have starved had they followed those regulations. Even today, many participants suggested that harvesting foods from the local environment is so important to them that without access to these foods, they would go hungry.

> *We have to be able to go and have a picnic on the beach and whatever is available we should be allowed to catch it and eat it for food…if they stopped us, what would we do? I mean we'd starve. ~Eva Luther, female, middle generation*

Given the integral importance of accessing food from the land and sea for survival, many people in the community have difficulties comprehending the scope of influence that federal and provincial regulators currently have over their traditional territories. Fisheries and Wildlife Officers are charged with monitoring and protecting the land and the sea from over-harvesting. This is done by licensing, setting strict limits on the total allowable catch per household, and by designating certain times of the year for hunting particular species. Government regulations are generally designed to protect and preserve natural resources, which is, in and of itself, an important undertaking in order to preserve the overall health of local ecosystems. But when the rules and regulations put in place do not consider the culture of the people who are supposed to abide by those rules, then it is possible, and indeed, likely, that some of the rules and regulations might contradict, undermine or ignore existing cultural practices.

Most, if not all, participants in this study agree that that some regulation of the natural environment is needed. With the rise of the market economy, there seem to be increasing incidents where people are exploiting the natural environment for personal gain suggesting that there is also a growing need for the natural environment to be protected and monitored. Exploitation of resources is not respected or condoned by community members in St. Lewis. However, tension exists between the community and government with respect to *how* resources are protected and monitored.

> *Judy: The government won't allow you to fish so much now, right. Not as much as we'd like to...And you're allowed to have, we're allowed to catch six salmon a summer in our nets and fifty trout, I think, yep. Which is not too bad.*
> *Interviewer: But that's different than years ago.*
> *Judy: Oh my goodness, years ago, when we were growing up, you were allowed to catch whatever you wanted. ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation*

The rules and regulations set out by the government are designed with the intent to conserve the particular resource in question as opposed to treating the natural world as a dynamic system that is interconnected with all things present in that environment, both living and non-living. Thus, the implementation of regulations based on the government's approach does not account for the ways in which continued engagement with the natural environment

can actually serve to protect and enhance the healthfulness of natural resources. As Muriel and Albert Poole pointed out, *it is okay to control the resources, but you have to keep in mind that they were put there for people to use [taken from field notes]*.

There is a concern that measures being taken to control the natural environment restrict the community members' ability to engage in food-related activities, this undermines their ability to maintain their traditional access to these foods. Although study participants agree that resource conservation and protection is necessary, they argue that there are multiple ways of enacting conservation and protection, and that the approach taken by government is not always most appropriate for the community.

> *Interviewer: So is there anything you feel has changed in the last little while that has affected your ability to access certain things?*
> *Eva: The laws.*
> *Interviewer: Restrictions?*
> *Eva: Yes restrictions on when you can go there, when you can go do this and that…you're only allowed to take so much.*
> *Arthur: That's the bad part when you're only allowed to get some and they cut you off …You know what I mean?*
> *Interviewer: Yeah.*
> *Eva: …we weren't allowed to have salmon. We weren't allowed to have wrinkles, we weren't allowed to have almost anything for a while, right? ...It sort of changed the way you went out in boat. You were always looking over your shoulder because you did want these things…*
> *Interviewer: So not to be able to do it…*
> *Eva: Oh yeah you weren't even allowed to set a wrinkle pot out or nothing you know. They'd threaten to take your boat and stuff away… I think it had a lot to do with government regulations. We used to wonder who stays awake at night to make our life miserable (laughter). ~ Eva Luther, female, middle generation and Arthur Luther, male, older generation*

As the following sections demonstrate, when government regulations are applied to communities without consideration for how they will be interpreted within the community, they can inadvertently have the opposite effect. In other words, scenarios are often created where the unintended result is that resources are over-harvested, wasted, or under-utilized.

Over-harvesting of resources

A number of study participants discussed the issue of over-harvesting, or what is also referred to as 'poaching.' There appear to be a number of issues related to poaching, particularly regarding the motivation for taking more than the 'legal limit.' There are some people in the community who take more than they are 'allowed' in order to provide enough wild food for their family to live on. Those who told me that they do this do not consider themselves poachers, since they are only harvesting enough food for their families to eat, just as they have always been able to do.

One study participant spoke about the importance of being able to access enough food for his family during tough financial times. In particular, he described a time when his son was a baby and he and his wife were turned down for social assistance, because they had made just enough money to have passed the eligibility 'cut-off' for social assistance. He says that he would not have gotten through such a difficult time without being able to rely on his ability to hunt and fish. When he told this story, he also acknowledged that some people would look down on him because of the fact that he was 'poaching.' He felt strongly that what he was doing was not poaching, but providing for his family. He says that regardless of what laws and regulations say, he will continue to provide for his family the way he sees fit. He says that it is those who are hunting to excess and taking more than they need that should take responsibility for their actions. Just as his relatives who lived in Labrador not so long ago had to rely on their ability to provide for themselves, he feels that he has the right to do the same.

Poaching was also described as a means of harvesting food for other families in the community. In most cases, the extra wild food goes to families that cannot get out on the land themselves, including the elderly and the sick. The same person noted above also told me about

the time when he and his friend went hunting one night and killed 88 ducks, which is far more than any single family could possibly eat. He says that when people hear that story they are often quick to judge him and look down on him. His argument, however, is that what he did was not wrong, since the catch was shared out amongst five or six different families and not one duck went to waste. In total, he ended up with sixteen ducks for his own family, and this, in combination with other wild foods that he had procured, is what got them through the winter. Additionally, he was able to provide food for other, mainly elderly, people in the community who might not otherwise have had the means to access these foods. The principles of sharing with others and respecting the natural environment by ensuring that none of their catch was wasted are closely aligned with the basic principles that emerged years ago when everyone made sure that everyone else in the community had enough to eat. Today, the same principles apply, although layered on top of these values are government regulations which are put in place to prevent people from taking more than what their 'quotas' allow. As a result, if families need to supplement their income with wild foods, it is very difficult for them to do so without breaking the law.

In addition to providing food for one's family and for others in the community who are in need, there are also those who poach for the purpose of selling. No one in this study told me that they had done this, although many told me that it has been known to happen in the community, and in some instances, people from outside the community have entered the community for the purpose of poaching. Although the money earned from selling the catch might be used to support one's family in the same way that other types of poaching also support families, over-harvesting for the purpose of monetary gain was viewed by many in the study as unacceptable. Part of the reason for this is that those who sell their catch are motivated to harvest as much as they can, because this will make more money.

Currently, poaching regulations do not make distinctions based on the 'type' of over-harvesting one is engaging in, so anyone who over-harvests is at risk of being penalized. The blending of a market economy and a 'traditional' economy that is based more on reciprocity and need than monetary gain has created challenges in implementing regulations that discourage disrespectful use of resources, which simultaneously allow people to obtain enough wild foods for their families, and in doing so, maintain a cultural connection to the natural world.

As a result of the risk associated with harvesting more than the 'legal limit,' tensions can arise between community members that challenge historical notions of sharing and reciprocity. When some people wish to take more than the 'legal limit' but their reasons for over-harvesting differ (in other words, some might only harvest a 'little' extra for their personal use, while others might be over-harvesting to feed a number of families), tensions arise. For example, if a game warden or fisheries officer enters the community to go after a person who is taking substantially more than their quota would allow, it might be the case that a person who is only taking enough extra food for his family might be the one who is caught.

> *Well they're only allowing so many ducks and a lot of people...is doing it for the older people, right? 'Cause they're coming in and they're trading ducks for gas and shells so they can go out the next day and get 12 more ducks for this other, older couple... I got no problem with that, if they go out and they're doing that, killing 50-60 ducks and giving it to the older people...[but] I goes out, and kills, you're only allowed six ducks in your possession, and I goes out and kills eight ducks, seven or eight ducks and comes in, the Wildlife could be there, waiting for these other fellers and I'll end up getting caught for doing, going over by a little bit and they [get] off. That's what bugs me. ~Unnamed Participant*

Although the philosophies of both the Inuit-Metis and the government wish to maintain healthy populations of plants and animals, the means through which conservation efforts are approached differ substantially. This can create tensions within the community when people differ with respect to how they choose to negotiate these regulations in their own lives. Perhaps even more importantly, it can also create a scenario where people are unable to access enough wild foods for their families without breaking the law. Ultimately, even though government regulations are put in place to protect resources from over-harvesting, it appears that it is the social and cultural norms in the community, and not the existence of government-imposed laws and restrictions, that have created respect for the resources and which prevent people from taking more than they need.

Usually when I thinks I got enough for my winter, in the fall, if I'm at it, same thing with fish and berries. When I thinks I got enough, that's it then. Usually takes what we needs, not what we wants. 'Cause if you minded to, you could go and fill up every fridge that's in the harbour. ~Darry Holley, male, younger generation

Under-utilization of resources

Eva and Arthur Luther having a 'mug up' on the beach

We grew up here…and we should be allowed to…get whatever is at our door….we should be allowed to catch our salmon and our trout. ~Eva Luther female, middle generation

When government restrictions prevent people from eating foods that are available right at their front door, some people feel that this undermines their historical access to these foods, which only serves to upset the balance that exists between people and the natural environment. Just as the resources were put there for the people to use, so too, is there a responsibility for people to maintain and protect the resources through respectful harvesting. When people do not engage respectfully with the natural environment, or try to exist apart from it, imbalances occur.

I was a person that never hurt or harmed nothing in my life and I'm a conservationist and...if I went out there and got a salmon, I'm going to bring it home and eat it, for my family. Like we always done. Do the things that we always done....[the depletion of] the salmon stocks, like everywhere else in the world, is because of commercial [fishery], not because of food. I mean, the food fishery that's what it's there for. The Creator put the food fishery there for us to eat for sure. And once we starts catching it and selling it for money, that's when it starts to get, the balance gets all out of whack. ~Guy Poole, male, older generation

With limitations placed on the amount of food one is allowed to harvest, there are some cases when families are no longer able get enough of certain traditional foods to last for the year. For example, regulations currently limit the number of ducks that anyone can have in their possession. This set limit means that once the duck season closes, people in the community are no longer allowed to hunt ducks until the following year. Deano Poole is from the younger generation and as he points out, the amount one is allowed to hunt is certainly not enough to feed his family of five, even though he supplements with a lot of other wild foods.

The season closes the last of March? February? February, I think it was. And from now [beginning of March], till…the third Saturday in November before the season opens again on ducks. So…and well, you've got December, January and February. Three months on ducks. You got nine months to live on the 12 ducks....If I had 12 ducks saved up when the season closed, I wouldn't have neither duck for a good many months. ~ Deano Poole, male, younger generation

A number of people from each generation spoke about how government regulations are also making it more and more difficult to engage in food procurement activities. Many people interviewed spoke about increasing amounts of 'red tape' that one has to get through in order to hunt or fish in the way they always have. In addition to regulations that govern when a hunt can take place, or how many fish or birds or animals one can harvest at a particular time, there are also a variety of licenses, certificates and courses that are being introduced that make it more difficult to simply go out on the land or the water and harvest the food that is needed.

These additional requirements all cost money, which makes the process of hunting, fishing and trapping an increasingly expensive venture and necessarily connected to the market economy. For example, there are regulations regarding fish and game licensing, firearms acquisition certification, courses for small water craft operation, etc. which all have licensing fees attached to them. One woman from the younger generation who does not have her driver's license told me that she was prevented from getting her moose license until she paid for provincial photo identification. This delay caused her to miss out on that year's moose hunting season. This is very different from years ago when people could go out on the land or the sea and get what they needed as they needed it. Arthur Luther, who is from the older generation, told me that even though he fished for fifty-seven years, he is now being required to take a course, which provides a certificate indicating he knows how to safely operate his boat. As he suggested '*if I don't know how to operate a boat after fifty-seven years, I guess I'll never know.'*

> *Everything is so, I guess it's the government trying to do a good job, but I think we're regulated to death. A piece of paper for this and a piece of paper for that. We done things one time, a very simple life. If we wanted a duck, we went and got him when we wanted one. And, if you wanted a seal, we went and got him when we wanted. We never asked anybody. We just went out on the land and got what we wanted.*
> *~Guy Poole, male, older generation*

Many people felt that if a particular plant or animal population is healthy and not in danger of over-harvesting, then it makes little sense to have strict regulations as to how much individual families can access, particularly when there is a growing tourism sector that supports guided hunting and fishing excursions. At least four people in the study mentioned that they felt the government is creating a double-standard by restricting the amount that people in the community can harvest, while at the same time investing government money to promote adventure tourism. Often this type of tourism encourages wastage of resources, since hunting and fishing is treated as a 'sport,' rather than a way of life. Although adventure tourism is not common in St. Lewis, there is still awareness that the Newfoundland and Labrador government is supporting this type of activity, and yet community members are unable to access the resources that they need, not only for survival, but to maintain their cultural identity.

Arthur: When a bird gets killed here you can eat it down to its last bit its liver and gizzard and everything. You see them on TV hunting geese chop the breast off it and throw the rest away. …And we're only allowed to catch so many. These people can catch them and throw them away.
Eva: Yeah, and besides that you, go down to the States where they hunt with their blinds, and kill the geese.
Arthur: Chop the rest off and have a barbecue.
Eva: Chop the rest off and have a barbecue breast and that's it. I mean we keep them for the winter and we eat the gizzards, the hearts the liver…
Arthur: We make use of it right, we use the entire animal. ~Eva Luther, female, middle generation and Arthur Luther, male, older generation

An additional disadvantage to current restrictions on hunting and fishing is that sometimes the restrictions are so tight that families simply cannot access enough traditional foods if they abide by the law. As a result, people in the community must rely more and more upon the market economy to provide foods that only thirty years ago no one would have dreamed would be available for purchase.

Calvin: And there's a lot of salmon imported here that comes up from South America too and it comes up there from Peru and stuff....You can go to local stores here, certain local stores and buy fresh salmon or frozen salmon.
Interviewer: Does anyone around here go to the store and buy, I mean would they go to the store and buy a salmon?
Calvin: Oh yes. I buy it myself sometimes....Well legally you're only allowed to get six and that's not a whole lot. ~Calvin Poole, male, older generation

Wasted resources

In addition to creating scenarios where community members are unable to access wild foods without breaking government-imposed regulations, there are also cases where abiding by government laws actually increases wastage of food, something that is unacceptable to many

people in the community. Many community members described the salmon fishery as an integral part of community life, since the first catch of the year has always signified the coming of spring. Just like other traditional foods, salmon have always been shared amongst community members, reinforcing important principles about sharing what is harvested, and passing along generational knowledge about how they are caught, and how important harvesting local foods has always been in terms of survival and reinforcing cultural identity.

The means through which the salmon fishery occurs today differs significantly from in years past. For example, the traditional practice of netting salmon is strictly regulated and enforced by provincial fisheries and wildlife officials. A limit is set on the number of salmon allowed per net, and if any additional salmon are caught, according to the government regulations, they must be discarded, even when most of them are already dead. Those who keep more than their allocated amount of salmon risk stiff penalties and fines. Although community members appreciate the need for regulation of resources in order to maintain healthy salmon populations, throwing away food is counter to their beliefs about minimizing food wastage and encouraging food-sharing.

> *I went out in boat, you know, as a Metis woman and got my six salmon and the rest went…I've seen five and six salmon come out of my net and go to the bottom. And honest to god, tears ran down over my cheeks...my head was spinning with 'oh my, who would love this salmon' ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation*

> *...it's hard to do, because like I said, we're not used to throwing…let's just say, me, for instance, if I goes out tomorrow morning and hauls my net ...and I'm allowed six salmon, and there's seven or eight salmon. That's two more than I'm supposed to have. Now for the love of God, it doesn't make sense; it gets my gall to throw them two salmon away. That's food. Like, if I got six say, well that's okay for me, but why can't I bring those two salmon home and give them to somebody that doesn't have any, and then they put two tags on them. Why can't that be done? Instead I've got to take the two salmon and throw them away. ~Guy Poole, male, older generation*

Some community members feel that if people find extra salmon in their nets, it would make more sense to be allowed to give those salmon to people in the community who are unable to get out in boat to catch their own salmon.

> *Elaine: We have older people in the community, who can't get out in boats, who can't do that. Wouldn't it be better to take what was left over and probably share it with those people, then probably have that thrown away or discarded in some other way? That really bothers me you know.… there's lots of better [ways], to give [it] to anyone, than to throw it back in the water for the worms to eat it. Right?*
> *Warwick: there's a [senior's] home over there [in Mary's Harbour], people in that home could eat a meal of salmon you know?...There are a lot of things they could do with it, than throwing it back in the water. That's the worst thing that could come out of it….You put out your net and you caught twenty salmon. You can't help that… You don't have any control over that. You pull your net in every two hours and go back to check them and there's 20 salmon or 14 or 15 or 28. We have no control over that. ~ Warwick Chubbs, male, older generation and Elaine Chubbs, female, middle generation*

One of the study participants is a recently retired fisheries officer, who has lived in the community his entire life. He points out that he respects the regulations and feels it was his duty to enforce them, since the regulations are ultimately put in place to protect the health of the natural resources. He explains that one year, he and his colleagues took the excess salmon that people had in their nets and distributed it to the community. They did this without permission from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, and got in trouble for doing so. In subsequent years, they were required to throw the fish back in the water, even if they were already dead.

> *There's two sides to that see. When I worked for the Department, I mean, people would say, well if they're dead, what would you want to heave them away for? And if you said, well, you can keep the dead ones, well, they'd be all dead...On the other hand, about three or four years ago, when they had a legal Metis fishery. We'd be out checking the nets and talking to people and seeing how many salmon they've caught. And we went up to a fellow, and he had a license for six salmon and he might have*

had ten. And he might have had twenty, perhaps, sometimes. And we'd say, okay, bring in your salmon. And sometimes we'd go in with him, ...And when we'd get in, we'd call other people who had a license and couldn't get out in boat. So we'd say, 'well, we got ten extra salmon here, so come and get your six salmon,' right. And then we had some more, they had a community fridge in Goose bay, and we said, 'come out now, we've got all these extra salmon that so-and-so got out in their net. So take them now and put them in the community fridge.' We done that on our own, the Department didn't sanction it and the next year, when they found out, they gave us all hell for it. You've got your six, whatever's in the net has got to go. That didn't make no sense to me, now, whatsoever. ~ Calvin Poole, male, older generation, during Group story-telling session

Calvin Poole explained that there is a difference between someone who goes out and harvests enough food to feed his family and someone who goes out just simply to see how many he can catch, but this difference is not currently reflected in the way that the government regulations are set up. The result is that salmon which could be eaten by people in the community are being thrown away.

You know, and it's sad. But what do you do? Because if you're allowed to catch a hundred salmon, you're still going to have poachers out there. No matter how much you're allowed to catch, you're still going to have poachers....The way I looked at it too, like all through the years, a fellow is out there catching an old salmon and having it for his supper...That's not going to hurt nothing. It's not going to destroy nothing. But now the other fellow will go out and put out his net and catch a boatload of salmon and ends up throwing it out.~ Calvin Poole, male, older generation

A community freezer

There are some contradictions between imposed government regulations and the cultural values of the community. The community members included in this study have responded to these contradictions with a number of innovative solutions for maintaining cultural practices of

food-sharing while also respecting the need for sustainable resource management. In the example presented here, they propose that the community be allowed to re-allocate excess salmon to community members through the implementation of community freezers.

> *Interviewer: And I guess the community freezer idea that you were talking about earlier, that might encourage that in some ways. Because it would ensure [food-sharing], if you went out and got excess salmon, you could share it [rather than] waste it, right.*
> *Joan Jenkins: yeah, it should be, it should be. I think every community should have it and like I said some years the freezer would be empty, but then there would be other years that…'cause like everything runs in a cycle, so…other years it would be full. ~ Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation*

Such community-based solutions have the potential to strengthen and maintain ties to the local environment, ensure community members are able to avail of fresh, locally-procured salmon without relying on external markets, and perhaps most importantly, protect and preserve the health of local salmon populations for future generations.

> *And not only that, it might employ a person or two if it was set up so that you could have a drop-in time, so you could manage who gets what and you know...And I mean, it could be like if you got a community freezer and you got salmon there and then, well, you got 200 salmon in the freezer. Well, you won't get rid of that this winter because everybody got their salmon and people won't start running out of salmon until the salmon season comes around again. But, there's things you can do. You can smoke it, you can bottle it.... It can just be preserved so that it would last forever. ~Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation*

> *Chantelle: ...And then at least you're not throwing food away.*
> *Deano: It would be good for fundraisers too, like if someone, like the fire brigade or the school or the church is having someone is having a big supper, they can go to the fridge and cook it up. And like, fundraise...~Deano Poole, male, younger generation and Chantelle Poole, female, younger generation*

A community freezer would also ensure that people in the community who are unable to go in boat are still able to access a meal of salmon from someone else in the community. In this way, food could continue to be shared in much the same way as it always has been.

> *Joan: If you got a senior who is in the food fishery and [has] to rely on someone else who has a boat and a motor and good weather to get them [out on the water]...I mean, you should be able to bring those salmon in and say to [the Fisheries Officer], "I have these salmon, and you have 'so-and-so' on your list...fill their tags, pass it over to them and they don't have to go out [on the water]"...come February or March month, people in the community or people along the Labrador coast is going to need that. Right? It's just a wastage. ~ Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation*

Negotiating the right to subsistence through Aboriginal identity

The overall goals of hunting and fishing regulations imposed by the federal and provincial governments are intended to protect the health of natural resources. Similarly, Inuit-Metis communities formed the Labrador Metis Association in the early 1980s (later re-named the Labrador Metis Nation) with a goal of protecting local resources and strengthening Inuit-Metis identity. However, the LMN's impetus for protecting the resources was slightly different than that of the government, since the LMN holds a vision of protecting and maintaining an environment that can support the hunting and fishing activities of its people. Without a land claim agreement, and prior to recent negotiations, the Labrador Metis were subject to provincial and federal rules and regulations that were prohibitive of maintaining their traditional lifestyle. Essentially, the federal and provincial fishing and wildlife regulations viewed their traditional engagement with the land as a threat to the health of the natural resources and subsequently outlawed many of their activities.

The Labrador Metis Nation effectively lobbied for the right to be able to hunt and fish according to a special set of regulations, as long as they carry their 'Metis card' with them while

they are on the land. The right to do this, however, did not come without a fight. In 1999, the Labrador Metis held a salmon fishery protest to simply be allowed to fish for salmon for their families. This protest ended in negotiations with the provincial government for special hunting and fishing rights, which they still practice today.

> *Interviewer: So you think the Labrador Metis Nation had a good…*
> *Eva: Oh, they had a good say, yeah, in negotiating what we could fish. I mean we even had to ask them if we could have herring, wasn't it?*
> *Arthur: We wasn't even allowed to have herring…*
> *Eva: So we took part in the protest for the salmon fishery…Anything that lives there in the water that we could get for our food we should be allowed to take it.*
> *Eva: …now it's regulated… but if you have six salmon that's okay.*
> *Arthur: Better then neither one.*
> *Eva: Better then none. Better than none at all. I mean it got us out got us out on the water. But there for a couple of years we couldn't get out in the water. When the time comes to put out your net you know the community seems to come alive, then everyone's smoking salmon you know…You know everywhere you go they're frying it up or cooking it up… So it makes all the difference in the world. ~Eva Luther, female, middle generation and Arthur Luther, male, older generation*

Although negotiations with the provincial government ended with a loosening of restrictions on the salmon fishery (called a 'food fishery') for the Inuit-Metis, some people felt that the Inuit-Metis might have gotten further with their land claim negotiations had they not negotiated a food fishery at all. The alternative would have been to go to court and fight for the right to access and govern the land and the resources themselves. The difficulty with agreeing to go to court, however, was the length of time it would have taken to negotiate a deal, and in the meantime, the people were left with very little access to the land or water.

> *Guy: ... I had charges up against me, and I was supposed to go to court for fishing violations. Had the nets out in the water on the protest and for the life of me I couldn't believe that the government was going to take me to court...and I'd probably*

have to sell my house to prove that I had a right to go out and catch a salmon, come in and give it to my family. And I was prepared to do it.

Interviewer: And what happened?

Guy: Well, all the charges was stayed, and they basically, or the Department of Fisheries said that you take up your nets and we'll come and sit down to the table and I'm not saying that I went along with it 100% but I had no other choice. We had to do that. I honestly believe at that particular time, if we had said, 'no, we're not taking up our nets, we're going to court,' and I think by now we'd have had our rights. If we'd had patience...You got to have a vision for your people for your children and that. And like I said, I never felt that I had done anything wrong. ...and what come out of it was a food fishery for the Labrador Métis. And we're allowed to go out now and get a half a dozen salmon, now I think right. ~Guy Poole, male, older generation

Although the need for restrictions is respected, some question how effective the restrictions are when the people who created them often live some distance from the local area and are not aware of the cultural practices that already exist in the community, in particular cultural practices have been designed specifically to respect and uphold the health of the local ecosystem.

The Labrador Metis Nation has been very successful as an organized political body in negotiating for the right to fish, hunt and trap as means of upholding culturally appropriate food-gathering activities. However, the creation of a political body representing the rights of people whose care and concern for one another historically stemmed from a collective need to survive is felt, by some participants, to be somewhat counter-intuitive. One study participant from the younger generation, who is Inuit-Metis, notes that he does not rely upon his Metis status to hunt and fish what he needs to feed his family, since he has 'always' gotten what he needed regardless of what any regulations tell him he can and cannot do. In other words, although the LMN, as a political body, has made tremendous advances in negotiating the 'right' for the Inuit-Metis to access their traditional resources, many people in the community do not view their access to the land as a 'right' so much as a basic part of who they are.

Additionally, there are many people in Labrador Inuit-Metis communities who do not hold Inuit ancestry, although they and their ancestors have historically accessed the land and the sea through knowledge gained from their Inuit-Metis neighbours. At least three Inuit-Metis people who were included in the study were very grateful for the additional rights afforded to them by the Labrador Metis Nation, however, by the same token, they were dismayed that people in their community who have always accessed the lands and the waters for food, are not afforded the same rights because they do not have Inuit ancestry or political status.

In essence, even though cultural identity is somewhat protected through the auspices of the Labrador Metis Nation, many community members feel it is unfortunate that the only way that the LMN can justify their cultural identity to government is through their ancestral heritage. Since the LMN has few, if any, other options for defining who can be included and excluded, the government is creating a scenario where some people in the community have access to certain amounts of foods that others do not.

Despite this unequal access to resources, the people in the community still continue to practice many of the same cultural values and beliefs, including food sharing, even though community members may differ as to the amount of foods they are allowed to harvest. In this small way, the sense of cultural identity as it has emerged from the community is being reinforced, in spite of government pressures to define it otherwise.

> *If somebody went out and got ducks, it would be everybody's ducks. And, I tell you, it still holds true in some respects. Around here...the Métis people get six salmon, the white people get four...They get four salmon and that's all they're allowed to catch. But they'd still be willing to give that little bit to somebody else…And everybody does it. ~ Diane Poole, female, younger generation*

Chapter Eight: "I don't think they realize that the cultures are different"—Maintaining cultural connections through food

The previous two chapters have shown that government policies, regardless of whether they are based on benign neglect or whether they are based on the imposition of rules and regulations with little input from the community, have important implications for the accessibility and availability of food. The following chapter reinforces this point by exploring some of the more indirect ways in which government policies and the market economy influence the ability of the people of St. Lewis to access and avail of traditional foods. This chapter also shows that even when local culture is not included in the implementation of economic development and policy decisions that affect the community, culture still emerges as a key means through which community members understand the changes that are happening.

In many respects, the market economy and the local economy of sharing and reciprocity have always been very much interconnected, since furs and fish that were harvested for the market would also form an important part of the food that would be eaten locally. Seal harvesting provides a very important example of how, over successive generations, a very traditional, cultural practice has been successfully integrated into the market economy. Seals have been a very important source of food and clothing for the people of St. Lewis for hundreds and hundreds of years, and have always reinforced cultural norms of sharing. Participants in the study spoke about how the first seal caught in the spring has always been shared amongst community members, which is a practice that still continues today. Yet for even the oldest generations included in the study, seals have also been an important source of income, since seal pelts have been traded for food supplements and other supplies for many, many generations.

Over the past thirty years, however, there has been rising opposition to the seal hunt from animal rights activists, who feel that harvesting seals is cruel and unnecessary (International Fund for Animal Welfare, 2007). In particular, animal rights activists feel that seals are simply being killed for their 'monetary value,' since they are mainly being harvested for their pelts, and

that killing animals for their furs is not acceptable. What is not understood by animal rights activists is that even when a hunt is being undertaken mainly for economic purposes, it still holds cultural significance. In other words, culture and economy are not mutually exclusive. Although the seal harvest is mainly conducted for trading purposes, the act of engaging in a seal hunt and sharing the meat with community members reinforces cultural connections within their community. When people who oppose the seal hunt disregard the cultural aspect of the hunt, the people of St. Lewis who continue to engage in the seal hunt are subjected to slanderous remarks and even threats of physical violence by seal protestors.

> *Edgar: We was out, stood up in the ice, waiting for the season to open and [the boat filled with seal protesters] passed down along...They called us something, 'barbarians' was it?*
> *Dora: Barbarians. ~Edgar Poole, male, middle generation and Dora Poole, female, middle generation*

Although the people of St. Lewis can share endless tales of hardship and survival, no story from St. Lewis has ever grabbed as much media attention or been the been the subject of so many international trade agreements as the seal hunt (Daoust et al., 2002). Seals provide vital income to a community that has always relied upon the resources of the land and sea for survival. To engage in the seal hunt maintains and upholds a traditional activity that is important both for cultural identity and income.

> *If you're living in the city and have never been exposed to that way of life, then you probably might think that it's disgusting or that you're trying to destroy the environment. It's like those seal protestors. Like they have absolutely no idea what a seal meant to people and to so many people financially. And, like, they have no idea...they don't know how dependent we were on nature. To survive. And I think that it still holds true in our culture today. Probably depend on it just to keep our traditions alive. Not so much if people need it to survive like we used to, but I think we need it to maintain our connection with our past and with our culture...it makes me so mad...they have no idea what that meant. ~ Diane Poole, female, younger generation*

Even international government policies have the potential to significantly affect the residents of St. Lewis' ability to engage in the seal hunt. As of 2009, the European Union has banned the import of Canadian seal products in response to the growing protest against the seal hunt. This ban has driven down the cost of seal pelts, making it very difficult for seal harvesters from St. Lewis to supplement their yearly income through the annual seal harvest. Although it may not be pleasing or acceptable to others, it is a way of life and holds tremendous cultural significance that goes beyond its monetary importance. As Calvin Poole suggests, it is as though there is no ability to understand that cultural differences exist.

> *Calvin: I got good friends down in the States and I've been down there a couple of times on business and you tell them that you eat seal they look at you with this look right?*
> *Interviewer: Yeah.*
> *Calvin: And say 'where do you come from' right. But I don't think they realize that the cultures are different.*
> *Interviewer: Yeah, Yeah.*
> *Calvin: Seal is just a normal thing to us. But they didn't take to that very much at all. ~ Calvin Poole, male, older generation*

Leaving home

In addition to the very recent ban on seal pelts in Europe, other socio-economic factors have also affected the ability of St. Lewis residents to secure employment in the community. In 1992, the cod fishery closed as a result of the depletion of the cod stocks in and around the waters of Newfoundland and Labrador. Until that time, the cod fishery provided the single most important source of income for the people of St. Lewis. Virtually all of the employment in the community was either directly or indirectly related to the fishery. Although there are various theories as to why the cod stocks dropped so dramatically as to necessitate the closure of the fishery, many agree that it was due, at least in part, to government mismanagement, along with over-harvesting by large trawlers. There is concern among many participants in the study that

without an industry to replace the fishery, the community will die out completely if young people are not able to make a living in the local area.

> *Calvin: It depends on the future too see, if the kids are going to grow up and move away to the city and go to work, well then…*
> *Elaine: Yes, that's right.*
> *Warwick: But the way it's going now, the kids are not going to stay around here, because there's nothing around here for them to stay for.*
> *Chantelle: No.*
> *Interviewer: How important is it that some kids do stay here and learn?*
> *Judy: Oh my god, it is very important.*
> *Elaine: Its very important.*
> *Dora: It would be really sad to see all those…*
> *Judy: Each community, I mean, you know, if we're going to lose our children, then our community is going to die.*
> *Calvin: All that's left is the older people. ~Group Story-Telling Session*

The loss of young people from the community of St. Lewis has been steady and on-going since the cod fishery closed in 1992. Although many people in the community still fish, it is often done off-shore, meaning that those who fish must now leave for long periods of time. For those who chose not to continue fishing, many have left the community completely, or are employed in jobs that require working away from home for extended periods of time, such as the Alberta oil sands. In any case, the community has seen a significant decline in population.

The loss of young people from the community, however, is tempered by the realization that many young people are thinking about ways to remain connected to the community that were not possible in the past. With increased means of transportation to the from the community, the community is no longer as isolated as it once was, so people can come and go much easier. This makes it more feasible for individuals and families to live and work away for extended periods of time, and return seasonally to live in the community. This seems to be happening more and more frequently.

Calvin: Young people is not going to stay if there's no way to make a living. They've got to make a living.
Warwick: No, they've got to make a living.
Judy: It's not their choice, I don't think, most of them don't want to leave, it's just that they have to.
Calvin: They don't have a choice.
Warwick: They've got no other choice. Now I can see what's happening now, people are going away and works their months and comes home for their two weeks or whatever. That's happening more and more too.
Judy: Yeah.
Warwick: Yeah, well it's easier access too, now, to go and come right.
Calvin: But years ago, you wouldn't be able to do that because there was no way in and no way out. ~Group story-telling session

Leaving the community for periods of time means that their connection and belonging to the local natural environment is severed, at least for the period of time they are away. Cultural identity, in the sense that it has historically existed – through a deep and intimate connection to the natural environment – is no longer a 'given' for many of the younger people in the community in the same way that it was for previous generations. Instead, if young people who move away from the community wish to retain an active connection to their traditional lands and to engage in traditional activities, they must consciously create opportunities for this to happen. This often requires an enormous effort, but one which many young people are willing to make. Bev and Darry Holley have a son who is attending university in St. John's. Even though he is away and is not able to engage in traditional activities as much as he would like, they note that he looks forward to returning to the community whenever he can so that he can take part in these activities with his father. Because of this, Darry has been able to pass on the knowledge that he holds regarding the local environment that was originally passed on to him by his own father.

Darry: I just loves to hunt, right. I was brought up with it. I've been going with my father ever since I was big enough to go. When he would let me go. As I got older, I

started going more often, then he started trusting me to go on my own, and I took it from there.

Interviewer: And do you think your sons will follow?

Darry: Oh, most definitely, yes. One of them especially.

Interviewer: What about your son in university? Do you think that he will?

Bev: When he comes home, I mean, when he came home Christmas, he couldn't wait to come home and do this with Dad and do that with Dad. But he can't wait now to get home in April, he's hoping the ski-dooing is still going to be good, so he can go ice-fishing and maybe seal hunting.

Darry: But he's been hunting with me several times. ~Darry Holley, male, younger generation and Bev Holley, female, younger generation

One of Darry's sons sitting amongst a pile of fox pelts

Darry and Bev note that when their son cannot get home, he often gets together with other friends from Labrador and they share foods that their parents have sent to them. Many other study participants also note that if they have family members who live away from the community, they will often send them care packages of traditional foods like salmon, cod, ducks and bakeapples.

Bev: Well, he's got friends in there and they'll get together and they'll cook up. Like I know a little while ago, he and a couple of his friends got together and cooked up scallops...and whatnot.
Interviewer: And is that people from Labrador?
Darry: Yes. ~Darry Holley, male, younger generation and Bev Holley, female, younger generation

In some cases, families make the tough decision for one partner to leave the community for employment, while the other stays behind to look after the children. Often, this is done on a seasonal basis, so families might be separated for weeks or months at a time. Darry Holley explains that he decided to move to Alberta for one summer to work, leaving his family at home. He said that even though he was making a decent wage in Alberta, he decided to return home after only three weeks, because he found it very difficult to be separated from his family.

Interviewer: What didn't you like about it?
Darry: Well, the most reason was, away from the family, right. The first time I ever been away from them.
Interviewer: I guess that was a change.
Darry: Just the same as if you cut off my foot and throwed it away. Oh yeah, it's a different lifestyle, no doubt.
Interviewer: So was it good money?
Darry: Best part about it, was the money. It was good money. I'd never make so much around here with a trade. I went out there with no trade at all and I was making $24 an hour. After 40 hours you was time and a half. ~Darry Holley, male, younger generation

Although his wife thought that it might be more financially feasible for the whole family to move to Alberta, where he had found stable employment, he did not think this was a good idea because even though he would make more money, the cost of living there is much higher. Also, after he went away and returned home again, he realized that there were many intangible things that St. Lewis had to offer that he just could not find in Alberta.

Darry: So she said, 'perhaps next year we'll pack up and go'. I said, 'well, it's easier said than done. You gotta have money, you gotta have a place, you gotta have a job, you gotta have all this for when you're going, for when you gets there'. I said, 'I'm going to go and find out what it's about'. If I had my time back, I wouldn't have went. Money is not everything.~Darry Holly, male, younger generation

Ultimately, even though his family would be more financially stable if he moved to Alberta at least seasonally, he has chosen to live at home full-time, despite the financial insecurity. Part of the reason is that neither he nor his wife Bev liked the way that their lifestyle had changed when he lived away. Bev explains that while he was gone, she found it very difficult to get out berry-picking or salmon fishing, or any of the other outdoor activities that they normally enjoyed as a family.

Bev: Well, our lifestyle changed as well. I was working at the time, and we never got out fishing or berry-picking, only if the kids went with their grandparents. I knows that [my oldest son] got his salmon license and he went salmon fishing with his grandfather, but it's not the same. Like, we used to go for boil-ups in the summer. Like every second weekend that I got off, we were always gone somewhere, weather-permitting...like we'd go off berry-picking. I don't know if I went berry-picking at all last summer. It was a big change for me. ~ Bev Holley, female, younger generation

Other families in St. Lewis have made the decision to have one partner work 'away' from the community. Despite all of the difficulties associated with having families separated from one another, it means that the children of these families can grow up in St. Lewis and experience and learn what life is like there. Diane Poole's husband works in Alberta, while she and her two sons stay in St. Lewis. Like Bev, Diane says that she does not eat as much wild food while her husband is away, but her children are growing up in the community and are very active in outdoor activities. When her husband returns to the community, he can take his sons out on the land and teach them how to hunt and fish.

Diane: I like preserving culture and I like for my kids, my boys to have snowshoes. And you know, I like preserving that for them. And I'd like for them to enjoy it...they go and they have rabbit slips out and they go with their father partridge hunting and in the summer they go fishing...But I think a lot of it too, is putting an emphasis on the importance of it when they are kids, so that they'll say, have good memories of it and say, want to pass that on. ~Diane Poole, female, younger generation

Many community members told me about family members who were living away from the community, but who make tremendous efforts to maintain many aspects of the lifestyle they led while living in the community. This often entails frequent visits to St. Lewis during different seasons, to take advantage of seasonal hunting and fishing opportunities.

Judy: ...when they go away, and especially when they go away from home, then they appreciate it more. Because they can't get it. Because when they're away, they realize, geez, I can't have salmon today even though Mom got salmon for dinner, I can't have it. You know what I mean? It's not there, readily available as if they were home. They appreciate it more when they go away and then they long for it more too...I know I've heard a lot, a lot of parents say like, especially if their kids are gone away to school or whatever, so-and-so will be home next week for Christmas holidays and her first meal has to be ducks or fried salmon or something like that right. ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation

Judy also notes that even though her son works full-time in a larger centre in Labrador, he still likes to return home to visit so he can take part in hunting and fishing activities. She also notes that since he is busy working, she and her husband play an important role in introducing their grandchildren to traditional activities.

Interviewer: And what about your son, is he interested in that kind of stuff too?
Judy: Yes, he is, but he don't have time. He's busy working. But he usually comes home in the summertime and he likes to go out and do that, he really does. So I really think it'll be passed on to my grandchildren. Either with us or with their dad and their mom. ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation

As Judy points out, returning to St. Lewis to procure traditional foods has been happening for a long time. She was living in Goose Bay when her (now grown) children were born, and she recalls visiting St. Lewis during the summer months and 'stocking up' on fresh fish and other local foods to bring back with her to Goose Bay.

> *I doubt very much if there's a household here whose child had growed up without any kind of wild food at all....Or they were used to it at an early age, for sure....Even mine, they lived in Goose Bay, they were born down there...and I mean, down there you didn't go hunting...you were just working all the time....But like, we'd call home and I'd say to Dad I wants a meal of ducks or fish. Or when I come home from summer holidays I'd make sure when I went back I had a year's supply of salmon or fish or something. ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation*

Traditional foods play a very important role in maintaining and strengthening cultural identity, even for those who no longer live in St. Lewis. Despite a growing market-based economy, the people of the community go to great lengths to ensure that they and their children maintain a lifestyle that honours traditional food-related activities. Foods provide important opportunities to engage in traditional activities, but are also valued for their taste and what they symbolize. Many people who live away will take traditional foods with them after they visit St. Lewis, or they will get a friend or family member to send them foods. So in many respects, cultural identity is being re-invigorated, even when community members leave home and build lives that are far away from the community. As such, engagement in the market economy can sometimes permit families to continue to live and experience life in St. Lewis.

> *My brother lives in Halifax, but he comes home every winter to go partridge hunting and rabbit catching. He's 30, and it's part of his culture and he loves to do that. And when the summer comes he likes to come home for a week in the summer and do summer things...And I mean, he's privileged to do that and lots of people can't, but I think that when people go away from home they become homesick. I think that one of the first things they miss is the food. And like, the, I don't know, the freedom maybe. That way of life. ~ Diane Poole, female, younger generation*

Since the knowledge, values and beliefs of the people of St. Lewis evolved over centuries of living in direct contact with their natural surroundings, their cultural identity and their relationship to the land and sea are inseparable. Where direct access to the land and sea was once vital for survival, today, access continues to be vital for the protection and survival of cultural identity. As Judy Pye suggests, there is a unique heritage and culture found in St. Lewis that is not available elsewhere, and so it is important for people to continue to be able visit the community in order to experience the culture.

> *I think there's a lot of people that still look at us now, as living in coastal Labrador, or anywhere in Labrador, or Newfoundland, when it comes to that matter, and thinks we're poor. You sit down and you listen to the news and stuff like that. But to me, I don't think we're poor...I would much rather live where I am today, than to go somewhere ...and live on two or three times the salary that we're getting right here now...We've got it good, we really do. I think we are well blessed. I said to someone one time, 'you know', I said, 'we're so lucky to live in place like this' and she said 'no, Judy, you're not lucky, you're privileged'. And I think we are. ~Judy Pye in Group Story-Telling Session, female, middle generation*

Judy Pye ice-fishing for smelts

Gendered relationships to food

The men and women interviewed in this study described changes in how men and women approached their roles and responsibilities related to food in response to their changing relationship to the market economy. In the years previous to the introduction of government services (i.e., prior to the 1950s and in some cases, '60s), gendered differences appeared to be very clearly delineated, with men's roles and responsibilities related to food being very different from those of women. When I spoke to the men and women from the older and middle-aged generations about the past, they described very clear food-related roles and responsibilities that were divided along gender lines.

> *Interviewer: How were the tasks divided up between men and women?*
> *Judy: Well, the men were busy, see, in the fishing boat, and in the winter, they were in the woods. And then preparing for the fishery in the spring and stuff like that. But, women did housework and men did the outdoor work. ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation*

Although roles and responsibilities were gender divided, they were interconnected and non-hierarchical, since both men's and women's food-related activities were integral to ensuring the availability and accessibility of food for everyone. Women's responsibilities included, for example, engaging in activities that would allow the men to engage in hunting, fishing and trapping, such as making and mending clothes, preparing meals for men to take with them while away, as well as activities that involved preparing and cooking foods once they were procured by the men, such as picking ducks, cleaning and salting fish, and bottling or smoking meats. As a result, both men's and women's roles and responsibilities regarding food were both considered very valuable and important and contributed to accessing and availing of local foods. For each participant of the older and middle-aged generations, virtually all of their time was spent working towards activities either directly or indirectly related to procuring food for themselves and their families.

Even market economy activities such as formal employment were predominantly activities that involved procuring food, like fishing or hunting. In most cases, both men and women were involved equally in procuring and preparing foods or furs that were intended for the market

economy. However, in contrast to subsistence activities, when activities were undertaken for the market economy, only the men were acknowledged and paid for their work. Through informal conversations with study participants and others who live in the community, I learned that merchants would not 'deal' with women, even if the women in the household were the ones who managed the family's finances. In the case of my grandparents, for example, even though my grandmother was literate and my grandfather was not, he was the only person in the household who could 'straighten up' with the merchants at the end of the fishing season. My grandmother would take care of all of the paperwork, sign his name on his behalf, and then he would mark his 'x' next to his name to indicate that he 'approved' of her filling out his paperwork. In cases where the male 'head of the household' was ill or unable to meet with the merchants, then a son might go on his behalf. In some cases, the sons sent to negotiate with the merchants were little more than children, sometimes as young as twelve. This inevitably created a gendered hierarchy of power within the family that was imposed by the merchants and was not part of how men and women had traditionally negotiated their roles and responsibilities.

In more recent years, although the people of St. Lewis no longer deal directly with merchants to trade their goods, there has been an increasing reliance upon employment in the market economy, which continues to change the traditional food-related roles and responsibilities of men and women in the community. In some cases, it appears that the increasing role of the market economy has meant that gendered roles and responsibilities regarding food procurement and preparation are blurred, whereas in other cases, the market economy seems to be reinforcing gendered stereotypes and even creating new ones.

Blurring gendered food-related roles and responsibilities

Today, among each generation included in the study, traditional responsibilities around food still exist, but there seems to be less delineation along gendered lines. For example, many of the men and women from each generation reported that they enjoy 'getting out on the land' to procure foods. Where once this was an activity in which only men would engage, a number of women told me that they also enjoy engaging in food procurement activities that were traditionally 'men's' domain – like fishing, hunting and trapping.

I remember one time...2004, I think it was the year that my first grandson was born. Anyway, [husband] said to me, 'we've got to go up the river now,' he said, 'we'll catch our salmon to bring down to...[our son].' 'I don't know,' I said...'well, you haven't really tried it. Wait until you've tried it…you'll love it I know you will.' So anyway, we went up, and got up really early in the morning, like 5 or 6 o'clock and we got up and he fixed up the rod for me. And he said 'here, you go up and try for a salmon'. I said, 'I'm not really interested, but I'll try it just to see.' And my dear, I wasn't there no time and all of a sudden I got this salmon on! Oh my god! I said '[husband], oh my god, I got this salmon on!' 'Well, he said, 'now you've got to get it in now'. 'You come over and haul it in for me'. 'No', he said, 'no, you've got to learn how to do it yourself.' He coached me through it. So anyway, I hauled in this really nice little salmon. And I was right proud...So we had something to eat and I couldn't wait to get back fishing again. I was right excited by this time. And anyway, me and him walked out to the rocks together and I threw out my hook and he threw out his, and all of sudden he said 'look! You see that salmon that just jumped up there!' I said 'yes, it's on my hook!'...And I hauled in two. Two lovely salmon. I loved it. ~ Judy Pye, female, middle generation

One might suppose that the reason older and middle-aged women might be engaging in more hunting, fishing and trapping activities might simply be related to having more time to pursue new interests now that they are older and have fewer responsibilities related to child-care. Indeed, most of the older and middle-aged women interviewed reported that they now engage in more traditional food procurement activities than they did when they were younger. However, it was also the case that some of the younger generation of women are also showing interest in these activities as well, indicating that the growing interest among women for what used to be considered 'men's' activities is occurring among all three generations. Chantelle Poole, for example, told me that she loves to hunt moose and frequently takes her children in the woods to go rabbit-catching and partridge hunting during the winter months. Some of the younger women also indicated that they would be interested in engaging in these activities, but that child-care responsibilities made it difficult to partake in the same activities as their male partners. So it seems that although there may be some degree of generational difference with

respect to how often women engage in traditional food procurement activities, there is an overall sense that more women are engaging in these activities than in previous years.

At the same time, activities that were once considered solely 'women's' activities, are now being undertaken by men. For example, Rene Poole notes that now that his wife works full-time and his work is seasonal, he is usually the one to cook most of the meals. Bev Holley also said that her husband is usually the 'chief cook and bottle-washer' at her home because she works full-time at one of the local grocery stores. Thus, it appears that the traditional gendered roles that were once clearly defined are less so today. The reason for the change in gendered roles and responsibilities seems to be at least in part related to the nature of the employment in which community members are engaged. The increasing role of the market economy means that both genders must bring in income for their families and must also take on responsibility for child-care and preparing meals at home. Since women's food-related responsibilities at home are being shared with their male partners, there is also more opportunity for women to engage in food procurement activities outside of the home that were traditionally only undertaken by men.

Barriers created by the market economy

Although the gendered responsibilities related to food become somewhat blurred, there are also differences with respect to how these changes are being negotiated within families. For example, Diane Poole spoke about having 'less time' to procure and prepare food because one or both partners might work outside of the home. For Diane, this has meant that her children eat less traditional food than she did when she grew up, because her husband is away for many months of the year. Although she still enjoys eating traditional foods and feels it is important for her children to be involved in food-related activities, the actual process of going out and getting the food has become more difficult with her husband away.

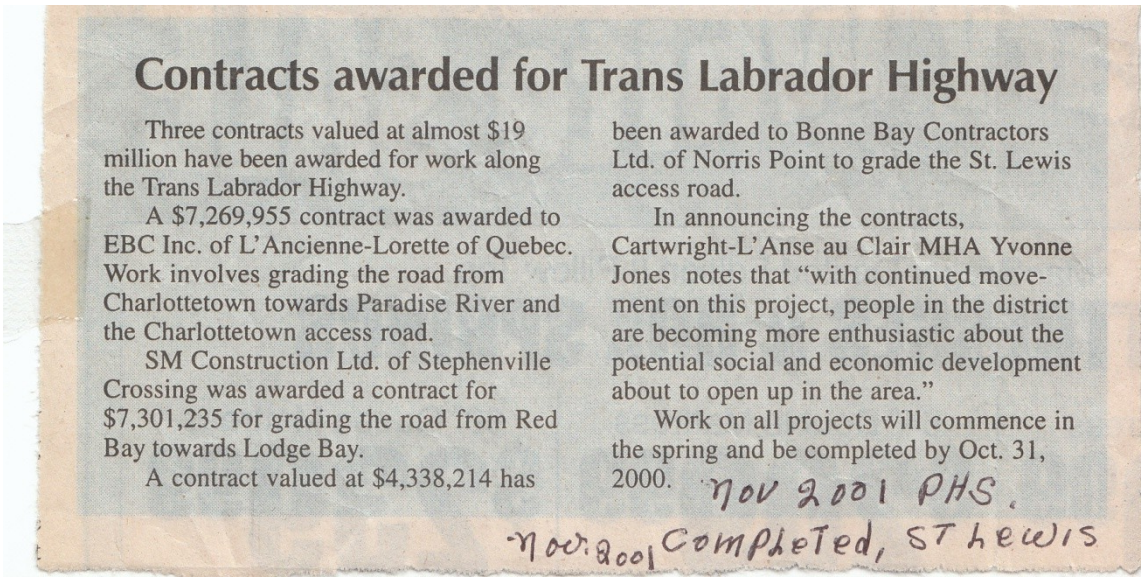
> *Moms are out working, dads are out working, you don't have the time to prepare like you used to...I know, since [my husband] has been working in Alberta maybe seven, eight months a year, we don't get ducks in the fall anymore.~ Diane Poole, female, younger generation*

The shifting responsibilities related to procuring foods have also meant that the older generations are re-thinking how the duties and responsibilities related to food are shared. Prior to the introduction of grocery stores, procuring and preparing food was a constant duty that was undertaken by both husband and wife. Today, this is no longer the case, since 'procurement' of food might involve shopping at the grocery store in addition to hunting and fishing. If procuring the bulk of the food was traditionally the man's responsibility, and he no longer has to go out and get this food (or, alternatively, he is no longer able to procure food) for his family, Guy Poole suggests that this might influence how he sees himself as a 'provider' for his family.

> *When you get up in the morning, if you don't take the gun and go out and bring home something for your family to eat, it's almost like you're not a good provider anymore, you don't do justice somehow. It's somewhat of a mindset that we used to have. ~ Guy Poole, male, older generation*

At some level, it seems as though more and more women have the opportunity to engage in traditional food-related activities than ever before, since gendered responsibilities have changed over time. At the same time, the growing need to engage in an increasingly competitive market economy has also meant that traditional food-related activities that once were clearly gendered are now engaged in by men and women. Although this might appear to imply a more 'equal' distribution of labour, the division of labour is not always done equitably. For example, one woman who participated in the study told me that she fished with her husband on occasion. She did so because it was financially more affordable to have her fishing rather than to hire someone from outside of the family. She notes that she enjoyed fishing, but that when she was 'on shore,' she was still expected to complete the same responsibilities as she would when she was not fishing. So, at lunch time, she would prepare the meals for the entire crew and then go back fishing with them in the afternoon.

A changing landscape



Contracts awarded for Trans Labrador Highway

Three contracts valued at almost $19 million have been awarded for work along the Trans Labrador Highway.

A $7,269,955 contract was awarded to EBC Inc. of L'Ancienne-Lorette of Quebec. Work involves grading the road from Charlottetown towards Paradise River and the Charlottetown access road.

SM Construction Ltd. of Stephenville Crossing was awarded a contract for $7,301,235 for grading the road from Red Bay towards Lodge Bay.

A contract valued at $4,338,214 has been awarded to Bonne Bay Contractors Ltd. of Norris Point to grade the St. Lewis access road.

In announcing the contracts, Cartwright-L'Anse au Clair MHA Yvonne Jones notes that "with continued movement on this project, people in the district are becoming more enthusiastic about the potential social and economic development about to open up in the area."

Work on all projects will commence in the spring and be completed by Oct. 31, 2000. Nov 2001 PHS.

Nov. 2001 Completed, ST Lewis

An article about the opening of the Trans-Labrador Highway from the *Northern Pen* newspaper (2001) provided by Iris Poole

In 2000, a road was constructed that connects the community of St. Lewis to the newly developed Trans Labrador Highway (TLH). The southern portion of the TLH is 409 kilometres and currently extends from the Quebec border as far north as Cartwright. Road construction is continuing to expand as far as the central Labrador town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay. The purpose of creating the road was to provide residents with year-round access to ground shipment of goods, and to allow ease of entry and exit to the community. The road creates greater accessibility to the interior of this portion of the Labrador coast, filled with pristine forests, lakes, rivers and streams. Although tourism has increased in some Labrador communities since the introduction of the road, tourism does not form a large part of the local economy in St. Lewis because it is located some distance off the highway. The community has a small out-fitting business that offers fishing trips, a bed and breakfast, a heritage museum that is open during the summer months and a walking trail that leads to an abandoned fishing out-post where a small number of families used to live during the summer months.

View of the Pinware River along the Trans Labrador Highway. This was taken during my initial community visit in the fall of 2007

When driving along the TLH, it gives one pause to think of the enormity of the task of constructing a road through such a rocky and rough terrain. In numerous places along the highway, the road has been blasted through huge rock cuts and in other places it scales along the sides of steep cliffs. However, the most impressive feature of the TLH lies neither in its construction nor in the breathtakingly beautiful views along the drive. It is the tremendous amount of resources that have to be put in place each year in order to keep the road passable during the winter months. Snowfall amounts are measured in metres along the coast of Labrador, and most winters will see many metres of snowfall on the highway, requiring tremendous effort to clear the roads. The difficulty in keeping the road clear during the winter months often leads to extreme winter driving conditions. The forces of the winter weather and its influence on the road can perhaps best be conveyed through the illustrations below. The photos were taken on the TLH between Red Bay and Mary's Harbour after a winter storm in 2004.

Depending on the severity of the winter storm, road-clearing on the Trans-Labrador Highway can take days or weeks. During this time the road is impassable. The photo above illustrates the process that must be followed to clear the roads of snow. A front-end loader digs a trench to allow a snow-plough to push its way through, creating a narrow passageway.

Even when roads are cleared, they can still be very dangerous to drive, since there is a risk of the towering walls of snow falling onto passing vehicles. Both of these photos were taken by Jamie Pye who lives in the area. The two photos above were retrieved from http://www.thedieselgypsy.com/Labrador%20Snow.htm

When the TLH opened in 2000, most residents of St. Lewis welcomed it and felt that it was long overdue. The road provides a way for residents to drive to other communities nearby for

groceries, and to access the ferry, from which they can drive to larger cities and towns on the island portion of the province.

Interviewer: And what impact do you think the road has had on food?
Calvin: Oh, the road has had quite an impact I think overall because...we can go down the Straits for a day and do some shopping and the prices are not a lot of difference but one thing you got more variety.
Interviewer: Right.
Calvin: So you can go around to the stores and go to Quebec. They've got a couple of nice supermarkets there right?
Interviewer: Right.
Calvin: So you'll pick up a lot of things that you can't get here...I can leave here in the morning and be in Corner Brook by two o'clock right? ...the year before last year I made eight trips in to Corner Brook... So you go in and pick up stuff there and...the stores gets their groceries and freight more regular...because every Thursday the truck comes in with their freight...Before we had to rely on the boats...And so the road made a lot of difference. Same with locally, you want something and it's not there, it's only to...pick it up at the supermarket or one of the other stores. Oh yeah the road made a lot of difference for life here.
Interviewer: Yeah.
Calvin: It made it one hundred percent better I think.
Interviewer: Do you think so?
Calvin: Oh yes.
Interviewer: Do you think there's any downside to having the road?
Calvin: No. No, I don't think so. ~Calvin Poole, male, older generation

For some, the economic spin-offs created by the road have made its construction worthwhile. The road could be seen as a symbol of 'progress,' or what some community members referred to as 'catching up with the rest of the world.' Greater access to the outside world means that people are travelling more than ever before, they are seeing products and services that could benefit the local community, and bringing home new ideas and new experiences. As well, the community has greater access to external food markets, so fresh

fruits, vegetables and other perishables are in greater supply. Rene and Brenda Poole are a young couple who own one of the local grocery stores. They have noticed that since the road opened, people in the community are more likely to ask them to stock different types of fruits and vegetables. They feel that the exposure to different types of foods has created more opportunities for people to eat healthier because they have greater access to fresh fruits, vegetables and dairy products than ever before.

> *Interviewer: Do you think people's diets have changed since the road has come through?*
> *Rene: People are eating healthier because they are more aware of what to be eating.*
> *Brenda: And that's even like, products such as yoghurt and this kind of stuff. We sell a lot more yoghurt now then first when we…yeah. Yoghurt, sour cream, cottage cheese…*
> *Rene: Yes, before nobody would know what that is. We wouldn't. ~Rene Poole, male, younger generation and Brenda Poole, female, younger generation*

Although the road has provided access to more types of non-traditional foods, none of the participants in the study said that they rely entirely upon the local grocery stores for all of their foods. Instead, most participants in the study treat store-bought foods as a supplement to more 'traditional' or wild foods, rather than a replacement for them. In some cases, this is a choice made out of economic necessity since foods obtained locally are cheaper than foods obtained at a grocery store. Even though the road has made more types of foods available, not all community members are able to afford these foods. Indeed, many people noted that it has become much more expensive to live in the community since the road opened, since most people now own vehicles and have to pay for gas, insurance and all other associated costs. In addition, the cost of transporting food into the community has not decreased, since freight is expensive regardless of whether food arrives by ground, sea or air. Warwick Chubbs points out that many of the food subsidies that were available when the community was more isolated have been reduced or eliminated.

> *When the road was going to go through, [people said] that everything was going to be cheaper. I said no, it means everything is going to get more expensive….[When the*

food arrived] on the boat the government used to subsidize the freight, but on the road they don't…. It's more expensive to live here now than before the road went through. Much more expensive. Much more.~ Warwick Chubbs, male, older generation

In addition to this, Edgar Poole, who is from the middle generation, points out that with greater access to more market foods and other items for sale, people tend to buy more, even if they do not need it. He suggests that when there is a limited amount available, people tend to buy only what is necessary and very little else. He says that nowadays, people travel more frequently to larger centres where 'every time you turn around you need money'. As a result, even though the prices of foods might be lower in larger centres, you end up spending more simply because there is more to buy. In the same way, the economic benefit of being able to pick up groceries in a nearby community that has more variety and lower prices is no longer a benefit if people are ultimately spending more on additional items that they do not need, along with the costs of travelling to and from the community.

Aside from providing greater access to 'outside' sources of foods, in some unexpected ways, the road has also created opportunities for community members to participate more easily in traditional food-related activities. When I asked participants about how the road has influenced the community in terms of food access, many people told me about increased access to store-bought foods, which was what I had expected to hear. For many others, however, the introduction of the road meant increased access to more remote berry-picking and hunting grounds.

Joan: Most of the berry-picking grounds is in the road. And like, years ago when there was no road, there was foot paths going in there, yes, but it was a day's walk to get in there and back...now you can get aboard your vehicle and go in there and stop anywhere at all and most of the marshes, within half a kilometre, or kilometre from the road. ~Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation

Interviewer: Has the road changed your access to foods?

Eva: Oh I just love going down the Cartwright road picking partridgeberries… It's the most beautiful place in the world. It's so good for walking…And we go up on the road for blueberries. I mean we didn't pick as many blueberries before, as we picked since the road went in.

Interviewer: So it opened up access for you.

Eva: And partridgeberries. Yes it opens up access.~ Eva Luther, female, middle generation

Warwick Chubbs picking bakeapples – photo taken by Elaine Chubbs

Although the introduction of the road has provided the community with increasing options with respect to how they access and avail of foods, as store-owner Phyllis Mangrove points out, the road can never completely eliminate the isolation of the community, since its geographic location and remoteness are unchanged. The weather still creates difficulties for transporting food during the winter months, and even the road cannot eliminate the distance between St. Lewis and larger shopping and service centres. Although this creates opportunities for protecting and enhancing cultural activities related to food, Phyllis worries that the road will be used as a means for government to justify the centralization of essential services along the coast of Labrador, including schools, medical services and freight delivery. If this is the case,

increasing numbers of people may leave the local community in favour of places that offer more services. She contends that the future of St. Lewis largely depends on which direction the government chooses to go – in terms of adding more services to the community or centralizing them in one location.

> *Phyllis: I predict that maybe in ten years there won't be many small stores in small communities, I don't think...Because we're still in Labrador and we still have rugged weather, really stormy weather and really cold weather in the wintertime, right. Like they're talking about closing the hospital, schools closing and they're going to put it all in Port Hope Simpson, but I mean...with the type of weather we have's here, it's no good. It's never going to be no good, because of the region and because of the weather and the way it is...But to close everything down in small communities, in surrounding communities, and then trust to getting to one community, it's not going to happen, not in the wintertime. If you had an emergency here in the last three days that the road was closed, you can't go by road. But I think that's the worst with the road, everything that we had, we lost, and again, it's all for the worst. ~Phyllis Mangrove, female, middle generation*

Road access to the community appears to be both a blessing and a curse for the community. Although the road has brought opportunities for community members to continue to engage in traditional food-related activities like berry-picking, cutting wood and hunting, there is a genuine worry that the road will be used to justify taking away services from St. Lewis and putting them in a more central location that serves a number of communities simultaneously. Unfortunately, community members from all generations seem to feel that decisions about services that will be offered in St. Lewis in the future are largely in the hands of government officials with little opportunity for community members to have input into these decisions.

A little bit of tradition and modernity

> *I wouldn't like to see people go back in time, we move on, and we can be productive, but even Aboriginal people, we have to adapt to new ways and new things. I've always said that we've got to be careful. When we do things, we do them slow. There's no big rush. The land has been here for millions and millions of years and if we can't take the oil out of Lewis' Bay or the rocks out of Voisey's Bay without polluting the environment, then don't do it. Leave it. For the next hundred years and then the technology will be here. ~ Guy Poole, male, older generation*

At a glance, it may seem that cultural identity might diminish or erode over the course of time through out-migration and increasing exposure to the world 'outside' of St. Lewis. And yet, it seems as if cultural identity is not in fact dying, so much as being redefined in light of significant socio-economic and political changes. Inasmuch as cultural identity has always hinged upon community members' ability to adapt and respond to changes in their local environment, this adaptation continues to be happening today. Although the changes may be happening at a faster pace than in years previous, they are nevertheless being negotiated by people in ways that reflect their cultural perspectives.

Diane: And it's funny because the other day my son was doing a social studies project and he said, 'mom, favourite pastimes and hobbies, can I say riding ski-doo?' And it was supposed to be traditional. And I said 'you know, [son's name], it might be a new type of tradition, but yeah, I guess it is a new type of tradition for you guys'. Isn't it?
Interviewer: Yeah, I guess it's a new tradition.
Diane: It is. It is a tradition. Snowmobiling for them, after school and on the weekends. And I said [son's name], yeah you're right, I guess it is a part of your culture...It's a new type of tradition, but its traditional for them, right. ~ Diane Poole, female, younger generation

With greater access to the 'outside' world than ever before, more people are travelling into and out of the community. A few years back, Eva and Arthur took in Japanese boarders who visited the local school to teach for a year. Eva noted that both Japanese women loved eating traditional Inuit foods because they were very similar to their Japanese diet. During their visit, Eva learned to cook many new dishes that combined her traditional foods, including *kuak,* which is the Inuit word for raw caribou, *kuanjuak* (kelp), which they would harvest from their boat, and sea urchin eggs (the orange roe inside the sea urchin), with the recipes provided by her Japanese boarders. Eva says that now whenever she travels outside of the community she often shops for Japanese spices and sauces that she can bring home to make new dishes.

A Japanese stir-fry made with local squid and home-grown vegetables – photo by Eva Luther

Like Eva, Edgar Poole has also been able to use the growing exposure to the 'outside' world to reinforce his own cultural connections to traditional foods. He has taken an old 7-Up cooler and transformed it into a smokehouse for fish. Traditionally, smokehouses were constructed out of wood and had shelves added inside on which fillets of fish were laid. A fire was lit inside the smokehouse and usually boughs of blackberry or juniper bushes would be used to add the smoke flavour to the fish. Edgar says the 7-Up cooler is a perfect alternative to the traditional smokehouse since it already has wire shelving inside which can act as shelves for fish fillets. Its sealed doors provide an excellent barrier to keep the smoke inside the cooler. What was once a vessel for keeping carbonated beverages cold has now been reincarnated into a tool for preserving fish.

This is an example of a traditional smokehouse.

Edgar Poole's new use for an old 7-Up cooler

Chapter Nine: "Now we got lots to eat and they're telling us not to eat it"—strengthening the health of the people

You think about it now, we got all that technology. We got the chainsaws and we got the ski-doos and everything now...I remember the first chainsaw that we had, I mean, we thought we had died and went to heaven. It was just amazing. But one time, the stuff that we done was all physical work. We look at it now as hard work, but it was the best thing for us. It was the best thing for us. Only now we realize that. I can remember you know, like I said, I am only 64 years old, but I can remember when I was growing up, you would hardly ever see, and I got no disrespect for people that got pot-bellies, don't get me wrong. But you'd hardly ever see a person with a pot-belly. You know, with weight around their waist. It's because I guess, the stuff that we were doing, we were working it off...And [we've gone] from eating say, ducks and partridges and fish, you know, stuff from the land, and the water, to going to the store and buying the chicken.~ Guy Poole, male, older generation

The previous three chapters have shown that both economic development and environmental conservation in St. Lewis both occur within the cultural context of the community even when that context has not been accounted for by 'outside' forces of change, including government regulations or economic development. Community members often have ideas and solutions to existing community problems that can help address issues regarding both the economy and the environment. The following chapter demonstrates that in addition to holding potentially important knowledge and solutions improving the health of the environment and the economy, St. Lewis and its residents view the overall health of the community as being intimately linked to their surroundings. Efforts to maintain and strengthen the health of the environment and economy influence, and are influenced by, the health of people who live in the community.

When one's knowledge of food is interlaced with one's natural surroundings, food is not only about its taste, its nutritional content, or the way it looks, although those things play key

roles. As the story below indicates, when one relies upon the natural world for food, there arises a pragmatic understanding of the way that nature 'works', and the interconnections between all living things. There is a recognition that this knowledge is never complete, since all animals and plants exist in cycles that change according to the seasons, the weather and their natural life cycles. Thus, the natural world is in a constant flux, necessitating continual awareness of one's surroundings and a need to remain aware of the land, even as it changes. For example, in order to be successful as a trapper, one has to learn not only about where foxes live, but also their behaviours, what they eat, and how they react under certain conditions. In addition, one must learn about types of bait that would lure a fox, but would not attract other animals to avoid unnecessarily trapping them. All of this knowledge combines to create a very intricate understanding of 'food'.

> *Fox got a little path...It's no trouble to catch a fox. But the best way to catch a fox, it's no good to put his snare out in the open, you got to put him in thick woods, and make sure you put them in under the limbs, so he won't see it... If he goes in there...and the sun or moon is shining...he's going to see [the trap], isn't he? He's not going to go for [it]. But if you put [it] in thick woods, under the limbs somewhere, where the sun or the moon don't shine, you'll get him every shot...You figure out what they're doing, which way they're going, what kind of bait you wants, how much stuff to put on your trap and all this stuff....you learn a lot about it, you pick it up on your own. Years ago when a man started off trapping, he had to learn on his own, didn't he? ~Lar Rumbolt, male, older generation*

Lar Rumbolt proudly displaying one of his wolf furs

Learning from the natural world also means learning about how certain foods interact with the body. These interactions are not reduced to biochemical understandings, but instead are observed through an on-going process of trial and error that is passed on from generation to generation. For example, certain foods are assigned medicinal roles, since plants and animals were traditionally relied on to treat illnesses and injuries. I was told many stories about how people used certain plants and animals for their healing properties as tonics, salves and drinks.

> *Warwick: My father used to boil juniper for a bad back…You know the little trees, and all its little branches…you break off the tips…put it in a dipper, put it on the stove, and boil it. ~ Warwick Chubbs, male, older generation*

> *Judy: I remember when we were growing up, really small, we didn't have any fruits back then, like you couldn't get fruits. So mom would, in the spring of the year, she'd say, 'oh, you needs a good glass of berry juice to make you better'. And she'd go and pick berries in the spring of the year, like say, in April when the snow was melting and you'd go and there would be berries left from the previous fall, she'd pick those and make juice and she'd swear it would make you better and I swear it does too. ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation*

Years ago, the need to consider the origins of foods stemmed mainly from understanding the habitats, seasonal behaviours and cycles of particular plants and animals, since most foods were procured locally. Today, with more variety of foods entering the community through the market economy, this desire to know 'where their foods come from' has taken on a new meaning, since this information is often not readily available if one purchases foods from the local grocery store. As well, since more and more community members seem to be experiencing health problems that can at least partly be controlled through food, such as diabetes, heart disease and obesity, there is a growing need to learn about the role foods play in making people healthy or unhealthy. A number of study participants from all generations seemed very aware of what it means to eat locally, believing that local foods are healthier because they are not processed or 'pumped full of chemicals'. As a result, the importance of maintaining access to traditional foods has taken on a different meaning, since local foods are viewed as being generally healthier than those that come from the grocery store.

Interviewer: Do you eat a lot of traditional food?
Judy: *Oh yes, we eat a lot of traditional food. We eat caribou and rabbit and moose and partridge. We hardly ever go the store and buy a roast, say. Yeah, I'd much rather have a moose or a caribou. At least you know what you're eating then. You know, those old chemical-based cows. You don't know what you're eating...But moose and caribou and fish and char and trout and codfish. It's delicious. We eat a lot of that.~Judy Pye, female, middle generation*

Interviewer: Do you think it's healthier for you? Do you think that if you hunt and fish, do you think that meat is better for you than the stuff you get in the stores?
Dora: oh yes, definitely. It's definitely better. That stuff we buys in the store we don't know what kind of chemicals is into it to get it to grow. But the wild animals, they just eat what's natural. It makes sense.
Edgar: Yes, it makes sense. Everything now has got chemicals pumped into it now, I guess. Chickens and turkeys and all this stuff, to get it to grow, to get it off the market.
Dora: Even vegetables. That be's pumped full of all kind of chemicals so that they can get it to grow fast, so that they can get a quick dollar, I guess right. The more

chemicals they pumps in it, the faster they can get it to grow, and they can sell it faster. ~ Edgar Poole, male, middle generation and Dora Poole, female, middle generation

Even though all participants in the study agreed that local foods, particularly meats and fish, were healthier to eat, they acknowledged that people are still choosing to buy foods from the stores on occasion. The people included in the Group Story-Telling Session seem to feel that it may be because people are less aware today of where their foods come from and what chemicals and hormones are added to foods in order to get them to grow.

Judy: A lot of salmon is farmed now.
Calvin: 10-11 years ago the salmon fishery closed, in '97 see. The farmed salmon got the market took over.
Elaine: But if people knew what they were eating in farmed salmon.
Judy: Yes.
Elaine: It's poison.
Judy: They wouldn't be long coming back to Labrador to get their salmon!
Elaine: Yes.
Judy: You don't know what's in it.
Elaine: If you only knew the antibiotics… ~Group story-telling session.

In years past, foods were viewed for their healthful properties – they could prevent hunger, cure nutrient deficiencies and other illnesses, and also act as gauges for the health of the overall ecosystem. As such, to think of foods as being potentially harmful or as the source of disease and illness has required a considerable shift in the way people have traditionally understood the role of food. With the increased availability of foods from the market economy, foods are now virtually always 'within reach' and there is very little physical activity that one has to do in order to procure them. This significant shift over time, from ensuring that one has enough to eat to paying attention to the types and amount of foods eaten has required a different 'way' of understanding food.

Diane: A couple of weeks ago I was in [the hospital] and I met [a man] and he was going to have a stress test. And he's from William's Harbour, and he said 'well you know it's a really screwed up world we live in' and I said 'how so?'. He said 'one time we couldn't get enough to eat and we were hungry all the time. Now,' he said 'we got lots to eat and they're telling us not to eat it'...I had never thought about it like that. I guess the people of his generation, they know what it's like to be hungry.
Interviewer: So he was an older man, was he?
Diane: Yeah, he was probably about 60 or so...So he was at that age, and at that time, I'm sure many of them were hungry and knew what it was like to be hungry and to live on bread and tea maybe until they got something to sustain themselves, right. ~Diane Poole, female, younger generation

'Store' food

People in the community historically ate foods as they were seasonally available, since there was no way to store foods for long periods of time. Prior to the existence of grocery stores in the community, most people ate foods that were fresh. Foods that were kept for longer periods had to be either smoked, salted or kept frozen outdoors. Iris Poole, from the older generation, spoke about always having to ensure that fresh foods never went to waste.

But I knows one time when we was up in Lewis' Bay, we went up early that year. It was the first year we was married, I suppose...it was a Saturday morning, [husband] was in getting wood, getting stuff for the house. That's what it was, like a log cabin. So, he said to me in the morning when he was getting ready to go in the woods, he said 'I wish I'd get a few partridges today, for dinner tomorrow'....And he left, and wasn't gone very long...and he killed 25 partridges! And like, no fridges or nothing then. I was like, 'how was I going to keep them from spoilin'?'... we had too much!...So anyway, I gave Uncle a lot of it and he brought it out to his crowd, so anyway, it never spoiled! (laughs). ~Iris Poole, female, older generation

Eating foods that were seasonally available had nutritional advantages, not the least of which was a diet filled with only the freshest of meats and berries. As well, since most plants and animals were available on a seasonal basis, there was an incredible variety of foods. Although many people spoke about the increasing variety of store-bought foods available as a result of the new road, it seems that a great deal of this variety was related to fruits and vegetables, but also packaged, frozen, canned and pre-prepared foods such as chicken nuggets, French fries, cereals, etc. The variety of meats and fish one could acquire locally could never be paralleled by the local grocery store. Dora Poole notes that even today, they will often eat over nine or ten different types of seafood, aside from the meat from other wild birds and animals throughout the year.

> *I know back a couple of years ago, we had nine or ten difference kinds of seafood. We had the mussel, we had the whelk, we had scallop, and crab, what else? Cod. Salmon, trout, char, shrimp, and mackerel and herring and smelts. ~Dora Poole, female, middle generation*

A typical meal in St. Lewis today usually combines some store bought and locally procured foods. For example, during my stay with my Aunt and Uncle, a 'typical supper' would consist of some type of wild meat, such as caribou, seal, duck or rabbit, or fish (during my stay we ate salmon, smelt, trout, cod and scallops). This would be supplemented with potatoes and other root vegetables such as turnip and carrot, purchased from the local store. Bread (bought from the locally bakery) and tea are usually served with every meal. Many of the older families in St. Lewis often eat meals corresponding to the days of the week. For example, some type of fish is often served on Fridays, pea soup on Saturdays, roasted duck or goose on Sundays, etc. This tradition started many years back and ensured that foods were not wasted, since pre-planning each meal meant that leftovers (or what many people locally called '*couldins'*) from one day would be incorporated into the meal for the following day. Some of the younger families also said that they try to follow this 'rule,' although in most cases, it was not something they do regularly because there are many quick meals available that make pre-planning less of a necessity.

In Iris Poole's lifetime, she has experienced a shift in the meaning of food. Whereas years ago, she had to ensure there was always enough food for her family, today, the problem is not getting enough food, but learning about which foods she should and should not eat. She explains that she has recently had to re-learn 'how to eat' after her diabetes diagnoses, since her doctors had to provide her with a 'list' of things that were the 'right' foods to eat and which foods should be avoided or eaten very infrequently. She notes that shopping at the grocery store has become more challenging, since she is learning to avoid certain foods and to purchase more fruits and vegetables than she has been accustomed to eating. Her husband does most of the shopping, so he has also had to learn about what things she can and cannot eat. In many ways, the types and quantities of food that are eaten are no longer the responsibility of the people in the community, but are left up to medical and nutritional professionals who 'know' more about which foods are good and which are bad.

> *But now you can go to the store. There's nobody hungry now! Well, there was nobody hungry then, I suppose. I was over to [the hospital in] St. Anthony, see, and they put me on a special diet. And [husband] said 'what's I gonna get over to the shop for you? I don't know what to pick up for you'. I said 'I don't' know'. There's less to go buy… and so I got the list now, of what to have. I looks at it, and I sits at the table and I looks at it and I says 'sure that's only going to be one good mouthful for me' but still, 'tis the right foods. That's what it is. It's the right foods. ~Iris Poole, female, older generation*

In a photo taken in the 1970s, Iris Poole shows off her bakeapples after a berry-picking trip 'up the bay'

Phyllis Mangrove also talks about what I have termed the increasing 'professionalization' of food. She has owned a grocery store in St. Lewis for over thirty years and has witnessed many different changes beyond the significant difference in the types and amounts of foods for purchase. One of the most problematic changes she sees is the degree to which the control of market food is regulated by government officials and taken away from the store owner. The problem she has is that 'store' foods, like salad dressings, cookies, cereals and other processed foods often reach their expiry date before they are sold. Public health regulations require her to throw this food away. As someone who has grown up in the community her entire life, she finds it difficult to throw away food because of an arbitrary date set by a company. She notes that years ago nothing had an 'expiry date,' but now that virtually all foods have them, people will not buy them or eat them if the expiry date has passed.

> *Phyllis: well, one time when I first started selling there was no such things as dates on anything. There was no dates on anything. But now, everything got a date on it, right. So, and, there's two kinds of dates, there's the expiry date, which would be on milk and that right. And there's a best before date, that the product is still good after. And I think a lot of people don't know, or gets it confused, because when a lot of people sees a best before date, they're not buying that either. ~ Phyllis Mangrove, female, middle generation*

Part of the irony in throwing away food is that many of the foods that are considered 'fit' to sell in the store are actually grown with chemical fertilizers. The result is that there is a perception that the quality of fresh foods has deteriorated, and they spoil much more quickly than they did in the past.

> *Phyllis: But a lot of older people say there's too much fertilizer on the food, or whatever it is that they boost them up with.*
> *Interviewer: So they grow faster.*
> *Phyllis: So they grow faster. It had to be something.*
> *Interviewer: And do you think that's a concern for the people eating it?*
> *Phyllis: Oh yeah. Well, that's what I said when I looked at it. I said, you wonders why there's so much sickness and so much cancer. It gotta be. You know. Like, it burned up*

the vegetables so bad that they just went to water. I mean there's gotta be something wrong with it. It's not fit to eat. That's always my expression when I takes it out. It's not fit to eat. And that's the truth, I mean, I knows because I handles it. And I was going to even put it out there and get a picture of it and send it back… I didn't do it after, I just took it and put it in the dump.~ Phyllis Mangrove, female, middle generation

A display of fruits and vegetables at Phyllis Mangrove's store during the Fall of 2007

Drinking water

Not only is the accessibility and availability of foods changing, but so is the accessibility and availability of water. The community of St. Lewis did not have municipal water and sewer until about ten years ago. Prior to this, people would lug water from one of the local brooks to their houses. During the group story-telling session, some of the residents recalled making trips to Port Marland Brook where everyone from the community would bring their salt fish to soak. They would place the fish in a cloth bag and tie it to a tree so it could not float away, then they would go upstream to collect water to bring home for drinking and washing. A number of people remarked that there were no worries about water pollution in those days, so getting sick

from the water was never an issue. Rene Poole, who is 33 years old, recalls going to the local brook every day after school to bring home water.

> *In the winter, after school, my job was to go to the brook and get the water… in the summer months, we'd have a hose going to the brook. One time we had to lug all of it, but then people start getting water hoses, running it in the summer, and in the winter we'd lug it from the brook. On ski-doo. You'd throw your buckets in your cart and you'd go and get your water…But we used to have a big grey vat down in the basement, and in the winter, you'd have to lug water and pour it in the grey vat every day. It would still go through the house, but you'd still have to lug it. ~ Rene Poole, male, younger generation*

Today, even though most of the community has access to municipal water, there are some differences of opinion as to what is the 'best' source of water. Some people choose to drink the municipal water because they know that it has been treated and tested. For example, Joan Jenkins prefers the municipal water to the fresh water that is in her Artesian well, even though her well water has been deemed 'safe' to drink.

> *Joan: And we have an artesian well. Which we don't drink. We have everything in our water here except for gold and oil! That's it. We had it analyzed when we first moved in the house, and when the analysis came back, the tech had a note on the bottom of the analysis sheet that said 'if you don't understand anything give me a buzz'. So I called him and I asked what was this and this and this, cause it was all chemicals and he was telling me, and he had a note on the bottom, 'your water is drinkable'. And I said 'my son, you can come here and drink it, but I'm not putting that in my body'. And he said 'why not?' and I said 'if you seen how that turned my washcloths and my glasses and my mugs, I'm sorry to tell you, but I'm not putting that in my body'.~Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation*

Contrary to this, Phyllis Mangrove does not believe the town water is safe to drink because of the chemicals added in order to kill the bacteria. She prefers to drink the water out of her Artesian well instead.

Phyllis: I wouldn't drink the town water because it's filled with chlorine. And that's like Javex to me. And you knows what Javex does to your clothes, so just imagine what chlorine can do to your body. So again, it's just another one of those, that I find, it's probably causing a lot of sickness and illness. And years ago, I'm talking like I'm right old or whatever, but years ago before the Artesian well, we'd go across the brook to Mary's Cove, your mother knows where that is, and that's where you'd get your water from. And it must have been okay, and it must have been good because all them people in them days, they all lived to be 70, 80, 90 years old. So water wasn't hurting them. And food stored in the winter wasn't hurting them. But now these days you got all this concern. ~Phyllis Mangrove, female, middle generation

The municipal water supply offers standardized water testing for households, and it is often the case during the summer months that bacteria levels in the water get too high, so a boil water order is issued. This usually lasts for at least a couple of months. During that time, people have the option of boiling their water, getting water from natural sources, like springs, or buying their water from the store. Some community members said that they often get into the 'habit' of buying water, and continue to do so long after the boil water order has been lifted. Brenda and Rene Poole own one of the local grocery stores, and said that they plan on getting a water filtration system installed at their store because currently none of the stores in the community have one, and people are travelling to the nearest town of Port Hope Simpson to fill up their water coolers. However, another store owner, Phyllis Mangrove, says that she never buys water and does not encourage her customers to do so. She does not like the idea of buying water, since you can never be certain where the water has come from, nor what has been added to it. She says that at least when you fetch water yourself, you know where it has come from and that no chemical additives are in it.

Phyllis: And if you go over there and dip up a bit of water out of the brook, its probably a lot better for you than to go buy one, but no, I don't, personally, I don't buy water. I don't drink it and I wouldn't even think about drinking it…You don't know right. You don't know what it is. And it shouldn't be like that. If they're selling it, you should know what you're buying…But I sell it in the summertime, and I'll even say to

customers, 'why are you drinking that? That's not fit to drink. Its better you go out there and get a dipperful out of the brook or the spring or whatever'. It's true. As far as I'm concerned it's true anyway. That's just me. ~Phyllis Mangrove, female, middle generation

Food choices

Growing rates of non-communicable diseases in the community, combined with stricter hunting and fishing regulations, and economic developments like the Trans Labrador Highway, have all combined to create a very different understanding of food than only thirty years ago. Each of these changes has required the people of St. Lewis to make choices about which foods to eat and which to avoid. It means that the community has had to change and adapt. Of course, change and adaptation is nothing new, since the people of the Labrador coast have always had to pay attention to changes in their surroundings in order to ensure their very survival. The difference in the changes that are occurring today, however, is that they are happening at a much faster pace and often with little input from community members as to how, or whether, they will affect the overall health of the community.

One result of the changes occurring in the community is that people have more food choices than in the past. This means that children who grow up in St. Lewis often have considerable 'say' in what they want to eat. This differs significantly from years ago, when children had to eat 'whatever was put in front of them' or else go hungry, since there was little opportunity for children to pick and choose the types of foods they wanted. Today, many of the participants in the study note that while some parents encourage their children to eat traditional foods, others end up making a number of meals to accommodate the diversity of 'tastes' that might exist in one household.

Deano: A lot of it is our kids.
Interviewer: They don't want to eat it?
Deano: They don't want to eat it and where it's faster paced today than it was then, you just grab something and go.

Chantelle: Well, they have other things to do…getting them to karate….
Deano: Well, almost every night there is something on the go, right. It's faster…
Interviewer: Do they like that kind of food and there is just no time to cook it, or is it that they just don't like it?
Deano: They likes it, it's just that the food that is in the stores today, it spoils them. Well, if they can go and get a pizza pocket or a small pizza or hot dogs or chicken nuggets, they're going to have that, or want that, instead of fish. ~ Deano Poole, male, younger generation and Chantelle Poole, female, younger generation

A number of people in the study feel that part of the reason that youth are less inclined to eat traditional foods is because their parents do not encourage them to eat those foods.

I think a lot of young people now, like I say, I think a lot of young people now do have the chicken fingers and stuff like that, right. And I think that's probably because the parents didn't say, 'no…you're going to eat what I'm eating'. Because I know where I deal with customers, I know they're always, a lot of them is trying to buy something different for the youngsters for supper or dinner, even though they're having say, duck or rabbit or whatever ~ Phyllis Mangrove, female, middle generation

An additional reason may be because many youth are no longer involved in procuring foods in the way that their parents once were. Deano Poole, for example, notes that his son does not show the same interest in hunting and fishing as he did when he was the same age. He thinks that much of the reason for this is that his son has so many more 'things' to occupy his time, such as television, video games and the computer. Calvin Poole suggests that television to youth is 'the same as daylight' was to him when he was young.

We're pulling away from them traditional pastimes. Like kids had pastimes that were like driving a dog or whatever and now they're sitting on a ski-doo…Or playing video games. ~Diane Poole, female, younger generation

This lack of interest does not hold true for all youth; many participants told me that their children love to eat traditional foods and also love to engage in activities related to hunting and

fishing. Joan Jenkins says that since food-related activities are more of a 'choice' for youth, some of them are choosing to get involved in traditional activities and others are choosing not to.

> *Joan: It's just not something that they have to do now. Like, years ago they had to do it. They had to learn how to do it for survival. And, now it's just an extravagance in some cases. It's not, you don't have to go and learn how to hunt and trap to go and put food on your table... Well, I have two [sons]. One is 17 and the other will turn 16 in June. The 17 year old, you put it on the table and he'll eat it. Certain things, certain kinds of wild meat. But if you had to tell him he had to learn to set up a snare to catch a rabbit, no, you wouldn't pay him enough money... And, the other fellow, he loves that stuff. He can't wait for the time to come when he can get old enough to do his FAC [Firearms Acquisition Certificate] and get his bird license and that stuff right. And like, he'll hunt rabbits but he's not old enough to have a gun yet, but that stuff he's interested in. Like going in the woods and hunting rabbits and that sort of thing, but the other fella, if he got lost in the woods in the night he'd never survive it. ~Joan Jenkins, female, middle generation*

Judy Pye suggests that maybe more young people will show an interest in traditional activities as they get older.

> *Judy: I don't know, I think maybe when you are younger, you really don't have time, like you're going through your teenage years and what teenager wants to be out berry-picking? You know, like with Mom and Dad. Well, we all did it when we were growing up, but we are much older than you are of course. But, I, there's not too many young people, like teenagers that goes out berry-picking. Very seldom. Few and far between. And that's sad. ~Judy Pye, female, middle generation*

Liz's Walk: A journey across the Big Land

I had this vision of walking across Labrador. But I guess a walk, or a journey starts with just one step. ~ Guy Poole, male, older generation

Many of the participants acknowledged a growing awareness that the key to maintaining the health of the community, both in terms of the environment and in terms of the people, lies in returning to many of the traditional activities that were such an important part of life in the community in previous years. Participants were quick to point out that this does not necessarily mean that we 'have to return to the past,' but rather, that we must move forward in ways that respect the knowledge and activities imparted by the elder generation.

Diane: But you know, diabetes is the biggest, biggest event, I guess, that happened here. Like obviously there has to be a correlation with what they are eating. I think so. It's just amazing. Like that [older] population that never had it, never knew what it was and it's gotta be what we're eating. And I noticed that other countries when they just started getting McDonald's, how they are getting overweight. Like their whole population, the history of their whole population never had weight problems…And just heart problems and stuff is on the rise.
Interviewer: But here there is no take-out.
Diane: No, not here, but the kids live on junk. You know, chocolate and chips and okay, let's see, I'll go look in my fridge. Pizza-ronis, pizzas, chicken fingers, chicken nuggets, fish nuggets, bagel bites. And they all require 'dipping grease' for the most part. And I really, it obviously has to be diet…and the pop and you know. Yeah, I mean, I don't know. I really thinks it's got to be. And obviously a contributing factor is the lack of exercise. Yeah, I think that's the biggest thing that I can think of that…you can point and look and say this is what's happening. ~ Diane Poole, female, younger generation

Before Guy Poole's wife died from complications related to diabetes, he told her that he wanted to walk across Labrador. According to Guy, she just smiled and said 'you're going to need a good pair of boots to do that.' After she passed away, Guy decided to take his dream one step further: he was going to walk across Labrador to raise awareness of diabetes and to encourage others to get active by walking. In doing so, he also planned to raise money, which

would be donated to the Newfoundland and Labrador Diabetes Association and to community projects dedicated to preventing diabetes in Labrador communities. Each year he walks for about one week, totalling approximately 200kms per walk. Guy's efforts have been well-received and in the first year of his walk, community members all along the coast of Labrador prepared meals for his arrival and held a small celebration before he moved on to the next community. Guy feels that diabetes awareness is incredibly important in Labrador communities, since it is a disease that has spread rampantly over the past thirty to forty years. He attributes the rise in rates of diabetes to the changes in lifestyle that have occurred over that same time period.

> *You see some of those people who is 80-90 years old and they are still active. And you kind of wonder sometimes, you know, we must have ate the right kind of food in our lifetime for them to be that healthy. They must have done something right, you know. But then, sometimes you see some people, that's got diseases and…maybe a lot of it is the change in our lifestyle; what we ate when we were young compared to what we eat now…[and] we were doing exercise back then. We were walking and we were chopping wood and we were lugging water, and by the time 12 o'clock come, you couldn't wait for dinner to come. For one reason you'd get a spell [rest], and for another reason, you was hungry by that time. And we had the seasons then as now, and we ate different stuff. Like in the spring we'd eat different stuff than in the winter time and in the fall we'd eat different. And in the summer we lived off fish.~ Guy Poole, male, older generation*

'For the good of his heart'

To the people of St. Lewis, their relationships to food, through its procurement, processing and consumption, is intimately and inextricably linked to the local natural environment. Food is also viewed as very important for health, but not just in terms of an individual's health. Food and all of the activities related to food are linked as much to the health of the natural environment as it is to the health of the people. The way that health is understood can perhaps be best captured through a story told to me by Edgar Poole, my Uncle. He told me that the same

year the cod fishery closed he was fishing at his summer camp in Murray's Harbour. One morning three men went out in boat to fish for capelin, when the boat they were in flipped over, drowning two of the men aboard. He told me that one of the men was 'fishing for the good of his heart.' What he meant by this was that he was harvesting fish not for himself, but for someone else, without expecting anything in return. 'For the good of his heart' suggests that his overall sense of well-being, and thus his health, was linked to doing good for others.

> *It was the good of his heart…that he got drowned. He was preparing food for his daughters for the winter. Getting capelin for his daughters up here [in St. Lewis]. He had a capelin net out, and they were hauling the capelin net, there were three of them in the boat and they hauled the net aboard and it was full of capelin and by and by someone seen the water coming in the boat, and with that she flipped… I think that's what took the good out of Murray's Harbour, the people.~ Edgar Poole, male, middle generation*

Chapter Eleven: Discussion

On September 13, 2007 the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly in support of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which includes the right to self-determination, land, cultural identity and protection against genocide and discrimination for the world's 370 million Indigenous peoples (United Nations, 2009). Begun in 1977, it is the longest debated human rights Declaration in United Nations history. Its creation has involved Indigenous peoples from all over the world who, by nature of their presence at an international forum without sanction from their respective ruling governments, risked their lives to ensure that the Declaration addresses the pressing human rights needs of their peoples (Frichner, 2009). This landmark Declaration builds upon key international human rights treaties, including two 1966 International Covenants, one on Economic and Social and Cultural Rights, and one on Civil and Political Rights. The signing of the UN Declaration represents a major shift in international policy from previous years which were predominantly characterized by either an absence of recognized Indigenous peoples' rights, or blatant disregard of those rights.

Damman, Eide and Kuhnlein (2008, p. 138) point out that Indigenous peoples' right to adequate food cannot be understood outside the context of all other human rights, because "traditional food is at the core of Indigenous cultures and economies". Some of the key highlights of the Declaration state that Indigenous peoples should be able to exercise their rights according to their Indigenous identities, and these diverse Indigenous identities include the right to practice and revitalize cultural traditions and customs within their traditional territories. Damman et al. (2008) note that Indigenous peoples' dependence on the natural world for food makes them particularly vulnerable to human rights violations; there are many examples of Indigenous land ownership that is not recognized or upheld by the ruling parties that govern them.

Prior to the adoption of the Declaration, a United Nations Permanent Forum on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was created that now meets each year to discuss global issues that are of growing importance among the world's Indigenous peoples. In both 2008 and 2009, the Forum

focussed on global change, specifically climate change, and its impact on bio-diversity and the livelihoods of Indigenous peoples. A press release issued just prior to the 2008 conference stated that:

> *Indigenous peoples are among the first to face the direct consequences of climate change, owing to their dependence upon, and close relationship with the environment and its resources. Climate change exacerbates the difficulties already faced by indigenous communities, including political and economic marginalization, loss of land and resources, human rights violations, discrimination and unemployment. Although they contribute very little to the underlying causes of climate change, indigenous peoples are helping enhance the resilience of ecosystems they inhabit and are interpreting and reacting to the impacts of climate change in creative ways, drawing on traditional knowledge and other technologies to find solutions which may help society at large to cope with impending changes. (United Nations, 2008a)*

Over 148 countries participated in the vote to ratify the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the vote was overwhelmingly in favour of its adoption. Out of 148 countries included, only four voted against it– the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. In April 2009, Australia changed their position and voted to ratify the Declaration (UN News Service, 2009). Canada has even gone so far as to claim that since they have voted against the Declaration, it should not have to apply within Canada. According to Amnesty International, this is the first time that Canada has asked to be exempt from a human rights standard, and the first time they have suggested that a country should be able to choose which human rights standards they wish to follow and which they will choose to ignore (Amnesty International, 2008).

In Canada, the ruling Conservative government's argument against the signing of the Declaration is that it contravenes the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. They argue that signing the Declaration would mean that the rights of individuals are overridden in favour of the rights of Canada's Aboriginal peoples. However, Amnesty International says this fear is unfounded, since the Declaration explicitly states that it has a paramount objective of advancing

the rights of *all* people to achieve the basic human rights to justice, equality, democracy and non-discrimination and, "no legal rationale has ever been provided to back the claim that the adoption of this new human rights standard would somehow override – rather than complement - all the other human rights laws and standards that already exist" (Amnesty International, 2008, np).

Any discussion about Indigenous peoples' ability to strengthen and uphold their relationships to food cannot occur without a simultaneous discussion about the importance of maintaining access to their traditional lands and waters, which according to the Declaration, is a fundamental human right. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by the United Nations Human Rights Council, deals specifically with issues related to the right to subsistence, upholding expressions of culture (including non-discrimination related to gender), the right to individual and collective health and well-being and the ultimate right to self-determination. Each of these four issues represents four pillars upon which the concerns raised in this study are addressed.

The right to subsistence

> *Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems or institutions, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own means of subsistence and development, and to engage freely in all their traditional and other economic activities (United Nations, 2009a, p. 8).*

Essentially, the 'right to subsistence' means more than simply being able to hunt, fish and trap, even though these activities remain central to many Indigenous cultures worldwide (United Nations, 2009). Rather, it also means that Indigenous peoples have the right to 'subsist', that is, to engage in activities that allow them to maintain and strengthen their ability to engage with the natural world. These activities might sometimes be linked to economic activity, to conservation activities, or to the procurement of traditional foods. Either way, they are activities that are required for Indigenous peoples to live, to subsist, in a particular area. Thus

'subsistence' is about being able to maintain strong connections to local ecologies through a variety of means, not solely through traditional activities.

For Indigenous peoples, subsistence is closely linked to expressions of cultural identity, but there is a prevailing belief within the Canadian political system that respecting Aboriginal cultural identities is simply a symbolic gesture (Abele, 1997; Macklem, 2001). When court orders are issued that require the federal and provincial governments to uphold the cultural rights of Aboriginal peoples to traditional subsistence activities, the rationale for doing so is often out of a sense of duty to respect an historical era that is considered long past. The participants in this study have demonstrated is that there are often cases where 'traditional' activities related to food often meld with, or complement, activities that also provide a means of economic survival.

The following two sub-sections discuss different forms of subsistence that are essential for Inuit-Metis communities to remain socially and economically viable. These two sections deal with both historical and 'modern' subsistence activities, and how each has to work together to ensure both economic and cultural survival.

Historical subsistence

Within the Canadian state, there is a pervasive belief that the erosion of cultures through economic development is a signal of 'progress' and a movement towards 'modernization' (Abele, 1997). In the quest for this version of progress, there is little need to draw upon the diversity of views held by different cultures or even to acknowledge that they exist, since it is felt that ultimately all cultures aspire to achieve the same economic development goals as those held by the dominant, Western society. What is not acknowledged is that diverse cultures have world views that might hold fundamentally different measures of success, progress, wealth and happiness than those of the state or the dominant society (Makokis, 2008). When there is an assumption that one single perspective is all that is needed to answer questions of economic development, conservation, health and other aspects of well-being for all peoples of all races, colours, ages, genders and cultures, this represents a threat to economic, environmental and human health.

As each generation of study participants have pointed out, there has always been a strong relationship between the outside world and St. Lewis. Even the oldest participants in this study noted that the subsistence lifestyles they led prior to the 1970s were still intimately tied to the market economy. 'Subsistence' has required some degree of interaction with the merchants and traders since as early as the 1600s (Fitzhugh, 1999). The United Nations (2009a) points out that the right to subsistence encompasses the right to "engage freely in all their traditional and economic activities," but as many participants from all generations in this study have pointed out, it was frequently the case that the mechanisms through which they were able to participate in a market economy were by no means 'free' in the literal sense of the term. There are many written accounts of unjust dealings and questionable accounting practices by the merchants who worked along the Labrador coast. Through stories told to me during my time spent in the community and through stories passed on by my relatives, I have learned that merchants treated their 'customers' with a great degree of paternalism. Merchants would not permit 'locals' to work for them and would only hire those who came from Newfoundland or from parts of Europe. In some cases, they would withhold payment to fishers and trappers unless they attended church on Sundays. Although it may have been the case that some community members would have gladly attended church without being forced to do so, these stories suggest that men would be required to attend even after they had spent the week fishing and trapping for as much as 18 hours a day. To place the additional burden of church attendance as a requirement for payment seems unjust. Fitzhugh (1999) also notes that merchants would never allow fishers and trappers access to their own accounting, which meant that fishers were always dependent upon their merchants, who could choose to provide or withhold foods and supplies at will. It is this type of 'free market economy' in the absence of government regulation that characterized the colonial encounter for the people of coastal Labrador.

The absence of government services and poor treatment by the merchants meant that others who entered the community and offered 'help' in the form of sharing their extra food supplies or clothing were very welcome. Both Calvin Poole and Warwick Chubbs recalled feeling grateful for the extra food and supplies that they acquired from U.S military personnel. It is disturbing to note that the military personnel would sometimes go out of their way to prevent community members from accessing their additional or excess food supplies. However, it is perhaps equally disturbing that at times the military personnel would give community members

their extra food supplies, indicating that they were aware of the lack of basic foods in St. Lewis, yet there did not appear to be any effort to engage in any humanitarian relief or to lobby the Newfoundland government to provide these services to Inuit-Metis communities.

The traditional infused with the modern

When Indigenous subsistence activities – whether part of a 'traditional' or 'modern' form of subsistence are undermined there is little opportunity to acknowledge or affirm economic activities that take place in Indigenous communities that might complement traditional subsistence activities. Indeed, it is more often the case that the 'economic value' of traditional foods goes unrecorded, since conventional economic analysis does not value the cultural and health value of traditional foods, nor does it account for the significant contributions made by the by-products of traditional foods such as arts, crafts and clothing (Damman et al., 2008). Many of the older and middle-aged adults in this study said that even when an animal was harvested for the market economy, all parts of the animal were kept and used beyond its purpose for the market. For example, when a seal was killed, its pelt would be sold, and its meat would be eaten. This is very different from the way that animals are harvested within the modern market economy, since the expectation is that an animal is harvested for a single purpose – for its fur, or its meat, or its skins. As a result, the rest of the animal is often thrown away or wasted.

When Labrador Inuit-Metis hunters harvest seals or beavers or ducks for their families, they may do so with the intent to use various parts of the animal for different purposes. The skins and furs of animals might be used to make clothing, bedding, shelter and/or traded for other supplies, and the meat might be used for food or as bait to catch other animals. In this version of economic activity, production and output are valued not in terms of the number of animals harvested, or what monetary value can be assigned to them, but instead, according to the greater purpose that each animal provides to the individuals, families and communities that they support. Thus, the mark of a successful hunter is not hunting as many animals as possible (indeed, that would be antithetical to maintaining a healthy population of animals for future harvesting), but rather, the quality and value assigned to the hunt. Differences in the way that economies are expressed should not be indicative of inadequacy or barbarism, but rather, that

diverse cultures use different means to achieve their needs, which results in very different scales of values (Pearson, 2000). This makes it challenging to measure or compare one form of economics with another. The participants in this study have demonstrated that this ethic of conservation should form an important part of the market economy. For example, if one is hunting animals for the purpose of selling meat or furs, other parts of the animal can still be used to make tools, crafts, clothing and medicines. When this happens, the animal's life is not being sacrificed solely for material gain, and the people who are harvesting can also benefit economically and there is little, if any, wastage.

The seal hunt

On May 5, 2009, the European Union, experiencing strong opposition towards the seal hunt from animal welfare groups and the public, voted to ban the import of seal products. The European Union referred to the seal hunt as being 'inherently inhumane', citing concerns about the pain, suffering and distress that the seals must endure as reasons for the ban. The ban, however, does not apply to the Inuit of Canada, as long as they hunt for 'subsistence' purposes and as long as the hunts in which they partake are conducted 'traditionally'. This, by definition, excludes hunting seals for economic purposes, assuming that the market and one's traditional activities are mutually exclusive.

> *The fundamental economic and social interests of Inuit communities engaged in the hunting of seals as a means to ensure their subsistence should not be adversely affected. The hunt is an integrated part of the culture and the identity of the members of the Inuit society, and as such is recognised by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples . Therefore, seal products deriving from hunts traditionally conducted by Inuit and other indigenous communities and which contribute to their subsistence should be allowed to be placed on the market .* (European Parliament, 2009).

What the EU ban argues is that living a 'traditional' lifestyle represents an acceptable means to live, and the alternative, 'modernity' (i.e., participating in the seal hunt for economic gain) is unacceptable. As well, it presumes that anyone who does not hold an Inuit identity is

immediately 'to blame' for an inhumane slaughter of seals. What the ban does not address is whether or not new technologies actually permit seals to be killed *more* humanely. A study conducted by Daoust et al. (2002) suggests that in certain instances it may actually be more humane to kill using traditional weapons. Nor does the ban answer questions about why a traditional hunt is somehow viewed as more acceptable, except to say that the Inuit deserve 'special privileges' simply because their rights are protected under the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Rather than reflect a respect for an alternative method of income for people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, whose lives have historically been linked to the seal hunt, the EU has taken the position that respecting Indigenous rights seems to be a token gesture that happens to be protected by the United Nations. It is almost as if there exists a definitive line that can be drawn between tradition and modernity, and that if one crosses that line into modernity, then all subsequent actions that appear traditional, but benefit from the market, are subject to intense scrutiny and judgment.

Upholding expressions of culture

It has been said that global change is contributing to the creation of a mono-culture, a 'global village' where all people, regardless of age, gender, class, culture or sexuality are being subsumed within a global economy of trade, technology and travel (Davis, 2003). Davis (2003) argues that the threat of a 'bland and generic' mono-culture *is* real and that unless dramatic steps are taken to create appreciation for diverse worldviews, then Indigenous cultures are at risk of being subsumed within a single, global culture. He calls the collective of cultures that exist worldwide the 'ethnosphere', and he argues that the diverse perspectives that make up the ethnosphere are as integral to the health of the planet as the biosphere. Davis (2000, np) argues that the ethnosphere is comprised of multiple world views and that these "different ways of life create different human beings, and there are profound lessons to be drawn from different world views". Although there are very few who dispute that globalization is causing the destruction of the biosphere, we often do not think of the preservation of cultures as being at least as important as the preservation of natural resources in our efforts to protect the biosphere. However, as Davis (2000) argues,

> *Every view of the world that fades away, every culture that disappears, diminishes the possibilities of human life. We lose not only knowledge of the natural world but also intuitions about the meaning of the cosmos. We reduce the human repertoire of adaptive responses to the common problems that confront all humanity. (Davis, 2000, np)*

If it is true that a generic mono-culture is being created through globalization, then we certainly have reason to be worried about the health of our planet. Saul (2008) notes that policies and programs of the Canadian state have historically not acknowledged the existence of alternative perspectives. A singular way of seeing the world has been institutionalized through Canada's social and political structures (Saul, 2008). As such, it is very difficult for those who operate within its structures to consider ways in which problems and concerns might be understood from perspectives that differ from the dominant, mainstream perspective.

Recognizing the rights of Indigenous peoples to their traditional lands, to subsistence activities and to expressions of culture are issues gaining substantial international attention through the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Canada's reluctance to participate in these discussions speaks volumes about its willingness to deal with the issues facing its Aboriginal peoples. This study has demonstrated that there exist diverse perspectives within the Canadian mosaic whose varied needs cannot hope to be met through the application of generic policies and programs. Without formal acknowledgement of these diverse perspectives, each are treated as if they are part of a mono-culture, the result of which threatens the health of the people, the environment and the economy.

Even in the face of global changes threatening to erode diversity within Canada through the application of generic rules and regulations, there are those who argue that diverse cultures within Canada still have considerable agency with respect to what aspects of globalization they are choosing to embrace and which they are choosing to resist (Miller, 2005). Miller (2005) argues that even when faced with global changes that assume that the whole world is a 'global village' where differences have simply vanished, Indigenous cultures, when provided opportunity, are choosing to interpret these generic changes in very unique ways that actually celebrate rather than erode their unique cultural identities. The problem seems not to be the

actual threat of a mono-culture so much as the assumptions made by the state that one already exists. In other words, discussions about the inevitable emergence of a mono-culture often carry the underlying assumption that there is one dominant, mainstream culture emerging from the Western world that serves as a benchmark against which all other cultures are measured and to which all other cultures aspire. Thus, it is assumed that the small, local community will inevitably be subsumed within one dominant society, and any evidence of uniqueness or cultural identity will be obliterated.

The food stories told by the participants in this study suggest that although they are being influenced by social, economic, political and environmental changes at a faster rate than ever before, they still hold a distinct Inuit-Metis identity (one that includes *all* members of the community and not just those who hold a political identity) that will not simply 'go away' when faced with globalization. Despite technological advancements, new transportation routes and increasing dependence upon a market economy, the people of St. Lewis have negotiated these changes in ways that respect the knowledge and values of its community members and uphold their traditional relationships to food. Rather than viewing snowmobiles as the decimation of a culture, they are viewed as a 'new tradition' among young people that allows easier access to the lakes and woodlands of the local area for hunting and fishing; motor boats provide a new way to catch ducks; the road offers better access to berry-picking grounds; and, out-migration actually affords some the opportunity to remain connected to their community, to their traditional values and beliefs about food, and to their traditional foods and food-related activities. This does not mean that the people included in this study feel that all economic development activities are for the betterment of the community, but rather that change and fluidity are inherent aspects of what it means to be Inuit-Metis.

Makokis (2008, p.40) argues that in order for Indigenous communities to uphold and strengthen their own perspectives and epistemologies, they must do so by re-framing the questions they want answered within their own "systems of thought". This means that issues of identity, control over resources and territories, as well as processes of governance must all be defined and upheld according to the collective values and beliefs of Labrador Inuit-Metis people, rather than the current status quo, which requires the LMN to respond to these issues as requirements of the state or of global economic markets. Even though the efforts of the LMN

are undoubtedly contributing to the rights of the Labrador Metis peoples, they also must define, characterize and politicize themselves in ways that are sometimes 'un-Metis' in order for their efforts to make any headway. For example, they must create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in order to access government services as designated for Aboriginal peoples. In creating these boundaries, some are excluded (for example, those who cannot identify as Labrador Metis) and others face additional challenges (for example, getting enough food to eat for one's family and community without being worried about breaking the law). This particularly troublesome conundrum of identity politics has negative implications for the Labrador Inuit-Metis, who are required to navigate within the nation state, but whose values and beliefs are sometimes contradicted or undermined through the process of adhering to government-imposed rules and regulations.

Miller (2005) challenges the notion that globalization is a dangerous icon of change and instead suggests that local communities respond and react to global changes in a way that is symbolic of local culture. Miller suggests that use of Coca-Cola in Trinidad, for example, reinforces local identity because 'black drinks' have always been a significant part of Trinidadian culture and Coke represents nothing more than a 'black drink' that happens to be readily available. Miller suggests that Coca-Cola's success on a global level might not reflect the brilliant marketing schemes of Coke's advertising executives, or the rise of a dominant culture intent on subsuming all others, so much as the ability for a local culture to use the Coke product to reflect their own cultural identity and values. This example suggests that, even if cultures outwardly appear to conform to the globalizing tendencies of the mainstream, they may do so under circumstances of their own choosing.

At the root of the debate of whether or not global change is obliterating Inuit-Metis society as we know it, is the age-old dichotomy of tradition versus modernity. At one end, there are those who argue that globalization threatens cultural diversity through global trade, international markets, increasing technologies and climate change, and thus the very traditional lifestyles and food-related activities of Indigenous peoples. And at the other end are those who believe that globalization is not subsuming all cultures, nor is it threatening the existence of Indigenous cultures, since these cultures have tremendous agency in shaping how they react and respond to global changes happening around them. This study suggests that a more

nuanced discussion of both tradition and modernity is warranted, since neither can fully encapsulate what it means to be Indigenous in a globalizing world, nor can it capture all of the diverse perspectives held by diverse Indigenous cultures with respect to globalization.

This study supports Miller's assertion that globalization is not creating a mono-culture, but it also argues that threats to the existence of diverse cultures and the subsequent deterioration of the health of the environment, the economy and the people, as Davis (2003) suggests, are real, and that the two arguments are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Rather, it is the ability for Indigenous peoples to negotiate these changes in ways that are culturally appropriate that will determine whether or not they will continue to thrive. It is not change itself that the people of St. Lewis argue against; indeed, change has always been an integral part of their very survival. Rather, it is their ability to have a legitimate say in what changes to their community look like that is vital to the process of cultural survival, and in turn, the health and well-being of both the people of St. Lewis and their local environment.

The participants in this study acknowledge that the changes occurring around them are happening at a greater pace than in years previous. Indisputably, this is making activities related to food procurement look very different than they did just thirty years ago, but these differences are not indicative that the community itself is losing its uniqueness or its culture. Indeed, many of the changes that are occurring have not been unwelcome. For many, it was the very absence of these changes, and the inexcusable length of time it took for basic services such as education, health care, and food supplements to reach the coast of Labrador that signalled ignorance on the part of the federal and provincial governments. As a result, the introduction of the road into the community, for example, and the subsequent services that are available as a result of the road, is interpreted by many as a movement towards reconciling some of the historical inequities they have dealt with in years past. The new road has not only opened up access for community members to travel to other places and see new things, but it also allows them to travel more easily to the interior of their local territory and to pick berries, cut wood, fish and hunt in places that were once a day's voyage away by dogsled.

Of course, new changes also bring new challenges, of which the people of St. Lewis are acutely aware. Even before construction began on the Trans Labrador Highway, a number of

people along the coast of Labrador, including people in St. Lewis, were in opposition to it. Most of the opposition to the creation of the road was related to the impact it would have on salmon, berries, and fresh water sources – all concerns that are in some way related to food. Those who opposed it were criticized for being 'against progress' and against the idea that the road was a necessary and natural part of modernizing communities along the coast of Labrador. Those who were in opposition to the road were thought to be 'stuck in the past' and unwilling to accept change. As Guy Poole points out, however, his opposition to the road had nothing to do with being against progress, as much as it was against the way in which the development of the road took place because of its impact on the local environment and subsequently, local sources of food. Indeed, opposition to the creation of the road was a result of a lack of community consultation or any type of environmental needs assessment prior to beginning its construction. As a result, road construction workers were unaware of which streams and lakes were important spawning grounds for salmon, or which forests should be protected because they provide important habitat for birds and fur-bearing animals – all information that local people have in abundance because of their historical need to navigate their natural surroundings to obtain food. This information could have been provided by community members had they been invited to take part in the initial discussions regarding the construction of the road. Although the LMN opposed the construction of the road from the beginning, the provincial government did not concede that there was a duty to consult with them until half-way through the road construction when the matter was finally brought before the court (Garrido & Stanley, 2002). This has meant that a large portion of the road has been constructed without any type of environmental assessment, posing challenges for future research that wishes to assess the impact of the road on the local environment.

Although the Labrador Metis Nation were eventually successful in requiring the province to consult with them regarding road construction in their traditional territory, the lack of consultation from the out-set signals the provincial government's on-going inability to acknowledge the value of a cultural perspective that might enhance, rather than undermine, economic development efforts in the province. A number of participants in this study said that traditional activities such as berry-picking and hunting have become somewhat easier as a result of the road, and the road has brought much-needed employment into the community that allows more families to remain engaged in these traditional types of food-procurement

activities. Had community members been consulted about *how* the creation of the road was to take place, they would have had the opportunity to suggest approaches that might augment and support traditional food-related activities. For example, they could have suggested that the road skirt around important berry-picking grounds or salmon-spawning rivers, simultaneously providing easier access for community members to these foods and reducing the negative environmental impact of the road on local sources of food. One is left wondering how much more beneficial the road might have been, and the degree to which its environmental impact would have been lessened, had community members been engaged in consultations about the construction of the road at the out-set.

Although those who predict the creation of a global 'mono-cultural' society might view economic development efforts such as the new road, and the out-migration of young people as representing 'the beginning of the end' for tiny communities such as St. Lewis, what appears to be happening is that young families are re-imagining their interactions with their community. So instead of living full-time in the community, increased methods of transportation into and out of St. Lewis allow young people to travel back and forth frequently or to live away and return to the community in order to continue to engage in traditional food-related activities and practices. Indeed, many of the young people in this study indicated that being able to access local foods, engage in traditional subsistence activities, and pass along generational knowledge to their children regarding traditional foods were key reasons why they want to remain in the community. This practice of moving back and forth between the community and other places is not new, but rather represents the re-emergence of an old form of mobility that was characteristic of the community for many, many generations. In many ways, it is the static, settled 'ideal' of community that is actually 'new.' These examples suggest that rather than being 'subsumed' within a globalizing world, the people of St. Lewis are continuing to make choices and decisions about their food and food-related activities that reflect their own values and beliefs within the context of global change. It is in this sense that they are both resisting and embracing various aspects of globalization.

Damman et al. (2008) argue that government policies have a role to play in fostering the cultural acceptability of food across generations. In many cases, extensive advertising of non-traditional (market) foods, combined with educational messages which are often devoid of

culturally appropriate material both "implicitly and explicitly send messages to youth on how to act and what to eat to succeed in a 'modern' youth culture" (Damman et al., 2008, p. 147). They suggest that these messages pose a pervasive threat to Inuit nutritional health, since they undermine the conviction among most Inuit that their traditional diet is healthier than a store-bought diet. Damman et al. (2008, p. 151) argue that "the more a policy or program is adapted to the local circumstances and the priorities of a community, the more likely they are to be supported and succeed within that community." This suggests that advertisements that position traditional foods as healthy and acceptable, and programs that encourage traditional food harvesting practices are important avenues for governments and community leaders to explore.

Upholding gendered expressions of culture

Both Indigenous women and men have always played key roles in all aspects of accessing and availing of food within their communities (Willows, 2005). As such, it is important to include a gendered perspective on how food-related activities are understood. A great deal of the existing sociological literature on food has gender as a central focus (Brandt, 1999; Counihan, 1999), so it might appear surprising to some that gender has not figured more prominently in the analysis of this study. Gender was not a central theme of the study, even though it is a key force behind 'who does what' in relation to daily food procurement and preparation tasks.

In years past, the men and women of St. Lewis played very distinct roles with respect to food – the men would hunt, fish and trap and the women would do all of the activities that ensured that food was prepared and stored. In recent years, more and more foods are purchased from grocery stores rather than acquired from the land or the sea, creating a change in *how* foods are obtained. To the extent that families rely on store-bought foods, this means that the activities associated with obtaining food have also changed. Many men and women still engage in food-related activities, and traditional foods still form an integral and necessary part of the diet for the people of St. Lewis. However, there are now store foods readily available if one's family has enough income to purchase these foods, if they have not accessed 'enough' traditional food to sustain themselves, or if one simply does not want to eat traditional foods. This change in the relationship to food has created differences in how food tasks are shared and

divided. Primary among these differences is that getting enough food to prevent hunger does not require the same degree of effort as it once did. In terms of gender, it appears that many people in the study now feel that most hunting, fishing and trapping activities, when engaged in for the purpose of providing food for their family, are seen as activities for all members of the family and not just for men. Although a number of families in this study still rely primarily upon traditional foods for the bulk of their diet, it is often the case that both the husband and wife, and even sometimes the children participate in setting rabbit snares, picking berries, salmon fishing or bird hunting.

Gender may have also played a role in why I did not hear *more* from the participants and others in the community about 'lean times'. I remember my mother telling me that when she was young her mother would chastise her and her siblings if they complained of hunger, because it would make my grandfather feel responsible for their hunger and there was often little he could do to prevent it. It may be that if a wife or a son or daughter spoke about times when they were hungry, it might suggest that one's husband or father was not a 'good provider'. In this study, Guy Poole mentioned that there is 'something about taking the gun and getting food for your family that makes you feel like a good provider' and it is perhaps this sense of responsibility that men felt towards their families that make it very difficult for other members of the family to talk about hunger without feeling as though they might disrespect the man's role as 'provider'.

The right to individual and collective health and well-being

The prevalence of type 2 diabetes amongst Aboriginal peoples in Canada has reached epidemic proportions, with rates three to five times those of the general Canadian population (First Nations and Inuit Health Branch, Health Canada, 2000). Jay Wortman (2008), a physician who has spent a great deal of time with the Namgis First Nation in northern British Columbia argues that the introduction of the Western diet is the primary cause of the diabetes epidemic. In a documentary aired by CBC in January of 2009 entitled 'My Big Fat Diet,' Jay Wortman asks six people from the Namgis First Nation to give up carbohydrates for one year. Wortman's rationale is that traditional Aboriginal diets mainly contained an abundance of protein and fat

and very little carbohydrates and that a return to this diet – i.e., one that contains lots of seal and fish and land-based meats – is at least part of the key to regaining a healthier, diabetes-free community. Although Wortman's social experiment might sound somewhat extreme, his message is clear: it is the introduction of highly processed and calorie-dense foods that is creating many of the health problems occurring in Aboriginal communities today.

What Wortman's argument points to is a systemic problem, which is that store-bought, processed foods are more easily-accessed and are, by and large, nutritionally inferior to the foods that characterized the traditional diets of Indigenous peoples. In less than three generations, the community of St. Lewis has gone from a community that worked together to harvest food for survival to a community which now boasts the availability of a very large variety of processed, store-bought foods. Whereas in years previous the choice of foods was limited by what was able to be obtained locally, today, the choice of foods is much greater. What this means is that the people of St. Lewis, particularly the older and middle-aged adults, have had to re-configure the way they understand food. In years past, foods were eaten because they were available at certain times of the year, because they warded off hunger and because they were associated with particular events or ceremonies (i.e., the first salmon of the year was a way to mark the arrival of spring). Foods were thought of as a way to *prevent* and even *cure* illnesses, since many of the health problems in the community were related to nutritional-deficiencies. Foods were not often viewed as a *cause* of disease. Thus, with the introduction of highly-processed, store-bought foods and the subsequent decline in the associated activities of hunting, trapping, fishing, preparing and processing, it is not surprising that the shift in thinking about foods as being very helpful, to potentially being very harmful, was not immediate.

The community has not had to think about food as a key source of illness and disease in this way before, so it is not surprising that they are now relying on 'outside' sources of information in order to understand which foods are healthy and which are unhealthy, since the foods they are concerned about came from 'outside' the community in the first place. Essentially, community members are learning new 'food stories,' stories that are told not by community members themselves, but by nutritional 'experts' who, presumably, know more about the specific nutritional content of foods and can inform people in the community about what they

'should' be eating. As Iris Poole indicated, now that she was able to get a list from her doctor of what foods she should be eating, she is now choosing the 'right' foods.

In a study which explored the impact of imported foods on the traditional diet of Labrador Inuit, Mackey (1988, p. 128) noted that traditionally, "all foods that were eaten were considered 'good' and no foods were considered 'extra' foods,' suggesting that there were similarities in how the Inuit in Northern Labrador and the Inuit-Metis in southern Labrador view the presence of market foods in their communities. Nutritional 'experts' can provide valuable dietary information to community members regarding ways to reduce their carbohydrate intake or lower the amount of trans-fats that are eaten. This information is very helpful to the extent that community members might learn about healthier food options. What is not often included within health or nutritional guidelines, however, are examples of knowledge that already exists in the community about what foods have traditionally protected against many sicknesses and illnesses for many generations. According to many of the participants in this study, there are many tonics, salves, balms and ointments that were made using local plants and animals that acted as effective treatments for numerous health issues faced by people in the community. Mackey (1998) suggests that when a culture is faced with a significant shift from traditional foods to market foods, it is important that this shift in diet is simultaneously accompanied by culturally appropriate nutrition education programs which assist in the recognition of differences in food quality and nutrient density.

Concerted efforts are being undertaken by community members to take hold of new approaches to 'health' that infuse scientific knowledge about disease and illness with traditional forms of activity. For example, Guy Poole's efforts to raise awareness of diabetes are occurring through his annual walk through various communities along the coast of Labrador. As Guy explained, walking has traditionally been an activity that one engaged in for the purpose of berry-picking, or hunting or trapping, and it was with the advent of snowmobiles, automobiles, chainsaws and other mechanical devices in the community that people replaced physical exercise with more sedentary forms of activity that still accomplished their daily tasks. Although exercise for the sake of maintaining physical health is a message advocated by healthcare professionals, it is not a message that necessarily resonates with everyone, since, for many of the older people in St. Lewis especially, physical labour has always been something that one did

for the good of the collective and not necessarily simply for oneself or for personal enjoyment. As Guy suggests, people need to begin to re-claim their old activities, not by returning to the past, but by engaging in activities like berry-picking and walking that are at once commonplace, traditional interpretations of the more recent healthcare message to `stay active.'

The right to self-determination

> *Control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs (United Nations, 2009, p. 2).*

According to the United Nations Declaration, Indigenous Peoples' ability to express their cultural identity through subsistence activities, ceremonies and traditions is a right, and this right requires access to their traditional territories (United Nations, 2009a). As Indigenous peoples, the ability for the Labrador Inuit-Metis to continue to access salmon, seal, duck, beaver and other local animals for food is a vital aspect of protecting and strengthening their cultural identity. Yet the protection of Indigenous cultural identities is made more difficult when politics and socio-economic development activities do not account for the perspectives and experiences of the Indigenous peoples who live in the local area.

The political motivations of the Canadian state for protecting natural resources have vastly different origins than how Indigenous cultures approach strengthening and maintaining their natural surroundings (Myers & Summerville, 2004). Government legislation regarding the protection of natural resources is often underpinned by the assumption that humans are driven by a desire to deplete natural resources and will do so irrespective of the environmental consequences. As such, strict regulation and monitoring of the natural environment is needed in order to 'save' the plants and animals that live there from human destruction. Given this view of environmental regulation, the protection of Labrador Inuit-Metis historical and cultural rights to access and maintain a connection with their traditional territories is often thought to be antithetical to the goals that underpin resource management, since these 'rights' assist the

Labrador Inuit-Metis in continuing to be 'allowed' to harvest plants and animals. From the government's perspective, this type of engagement with the natural world is viewed as an impediment to 'true' resource management. As a result, the Labrador Inuit-Metis are placed in a position where they must constantly prove their historical relationship to the land in order to continue to engage in traditional food-related activities, even though it is the maintenance of these activities that encourages respectful and knowledgeable use of the natural world. If they are unable to prove any historical relationship with a particular resource, then the rules and regulations of the state surrounding the use of that resources applies, and, the resource is also subject to economic development activities that often run counter to Inuit-Metis uses of the land (Richards, 2006).

The view of the state continues to take precedence over the view of the people in Labrador Inuit-Metis communities. The application of fishing legislation that ignores the Inuit-Metis peoples' historical use of salmon for ceremonial purposes is one example of this. In 1999, the Labrador Inuit-Metis engaged in a protest fishery in order to insist upon their right to fish salmon. The eventual concession by the federal government resulted in the creation of guidelines that allowed people who were members of the Labrador Metis Nation to obtain a Labrador Metis Communal Fishing License, in conjunction with the Federal Fisheries Act. While the communal fishing license allows Labrador Metis cardholders access to more salmon than they would under the federal guidelines, it does not represent a formal amendment to the Fisheries Act. Because of this, the Labrador Metis Communal Fishing License is often subjectively interpreted by different Fisheries Officers (Callaghan, 1999), so many Labrador Metis fisher people must constantly 'look over their shoulder' while they are out on the water, despite having negotiated with the federal government to be allowed to engage in a communal salmon fishery. As well, should legislation regarding methods used to harvest animal species change, the Labrador Metis will undoubtedly face the same uphill struggle to retain their existing rights.

According to the Federal Fisheries Act, "No person who is food fishing for personal use or fishing for recreational or sport purposes shall waste any fish that is suitable for human consumption." Anyone found in contravention of this regulation can be fined up to $6000 and subject to six months imprisonment. Interestingly, they are subject to the same penalty if they are caught taking more than the allocated amount. Since the traditional practice of netting

salmon means that individuals have very little control over the number of salmon that will become caught in a net, when individuals abide by the law, as it currently exists, they are legally required to throw away excess salmon. In effect, the legislation, as it currently exists, enforces the wastage of fish while simultaneously prohibiting it. Throwing back fish is counter to the strong beliefs held amongst all of the participants in the study that food should never be wasted. The result is that this government-enforced wastage of fish and the contradictions inherent in current legislation is creating skepticism in the community with respect to how committed the government actually is to issues of resource conservation.

Currently, community members are only permitted four or six salmon per year (members of the Labrador Metis Nation are permitted six salmon and non-members are permitted four). Many participants in this study felt that if they abide by these regulations, they will not have enough salmon to last for an entire year. Indeed, since many people in the community tend to give away salmon to family and friends who are unable to go and get their own fish, this leaves them with even less for themselves. If community members are unable to procure enough traditional foods to eat from the land or the water, then the only alternative is to purchase these foods from the grocery store. In terms of health, many participants felt that this food choice is the most detrimental, since, they cannot be sure how these foods were raised, whether they have been injected with hormones or chemicals or where they 'come from.' At least when they eat locally, they know that the foods they are eating are 'natural.'

The problem with allowing community members to keep all of the salmon they catch in their nets is thought to be that most people will take more than they need, perhaps for the purpose of selling it, and ultimately salmon will be unnecessarily wasted and depleted. This rationale is used to justify government legislation with respect to the conservation of fish, and indeed, of all other species of plants and animals that are harvested within the province. This opinion supports the 'Western' perspective that without government-imposed laws, communities themselves have no checks and balances upon which to control the resources in their communities. From the perspectives of the participants included in this study, however, there seems to be a general consensus that wasting food is an unacceptable way to harvest. Thus, there already exists a collective understanding that one only takes what one needs and that food wastage is not condoned. This collective understanding does not align with many of

the current hunting and fishing regulations. A number of participants in this study argued that regardless of what legislation is in place, they will continue to harvest their traditional foods, even if it means breaking the law to do so. Although this might initially appear to contravene a 'conservation ethic,' in their view rejecting existing conservation legislation and continuing to practice traditional activities in ways that respect and honour the resources in the way that they and their ancestors have for generations, is actually doing more to protect and conserve their natural world than if they abided by government-imposed laws. Moreover, it is very difficult to respect current legislation when it ends up wasting food that could be distributed within the community to those who need it the most through, for example, the implementation of a community freezer.

Government efforts appear to focus a great deal of resources towards the enforcement of laws and regulations regarding issues of poaching in Labrador Inuit-Metis communities. Greater attention to the environmental impact of economic development activities, contaminants caused by the presence of former military radar sites and pollutants from industrial plants further south might do more to improve and conserve the health of local plants and animals in Labrador Inuit-Metis communities. Currently, the only research that has collected data on the environmental impact of economic development activities in Labrador have largely taken place at the insistence of the Aboriginal peoples who live there (Scott, 2001). This suggests that protecting local resources should involve local Aboriginal peoples rather than view their traditional practices as counter to the goals of government conservation or economic development policies.

As the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has suggested, when Indigenous peoples have control over their lands and resources, they are better able to shape the natural surroundings in ways that are aligned with their development and subsistence needs. Some might argue that it would be impossible to cede control over the lands and resources that make up the Labrador Inuit-Metis territory, because in doing so, there is a risk that the small numbers of Labrador Metis would not have the capacity to manage the resources themselves and therefore there would be a risk of mismanagement or even worse, that the resources would be wasted. Saul (2008) believes that this argument makes little sense, since economic development initiatives are often undertaken by large corporations who are managed and run by a few key

players, who are most often located some distance from the lands they wish to develop and who know very little about the resource needs of the community. The Inuit-Metis call the south-eastern coast of Labrador home, and, as Saul suggests, this makes them a natural ally of the environment, and the most keenly interested in economic development projects that ensure they and their children have a solid future in the local area.

Conclusion

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has direct bearing on Inuit-Metis peoples' relationships to food, because a significant proportion of its content pertains to subsistence rights and the rights to traditional lands and territories, each of which are necessary for Inuit-Metis peoples to continue to access and avail of traditional foods. As such, in order for the Inuit-Metis people to move towards self-determination and greater control over the lands and waters from which their traditional foods are procured, Canada must sign on to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The Declaration has already been accepted by the international community, meaning that Canada, as a member of the United Nations, is expected to uphold the principles outlined in the Declaration. However, signing the Declaration is integral to acknowledging that this country supports the spirit and intent of what the Declaration has set out to do, which is to recognize that all human beings, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, have rights that deserve protection. Internationally, Canada presents itself as a forerunner of human rights. It is not possible for this country to continue to be an arbiter of human rights without supporting the rights of its own Indigenous peoples and without the formal acknowledgement of a human rights Declaration that over 75% of UN countries currently support.

Chapter Twelve: Conclusions

Science is not going to save the environment or save the world, but rather a change of mindset ~ Elder Albert Marshall

This study has explored how the people who live in one Inuit-Metis community are experiencing and understanding their relationships to food in a context of global change. It has demonstrated that the people of St. Lewis have, throughout history, used processes and procedures to access food that have involved identifying, adapting and responding to the social, economic, political and environmental changes around them in ways that are consistent with their cultural identities and histories. These processes and procedures recognize that the relationships that they have with their natural surroundings are interconnected, meaning that protecting the health of the people requires also thinking about ways to protect the environment, and vice-versa.

Although the participants who took part in this study expressed their views within a context that is shaped by their local social, economic, political and natural surroundings, the discussion of those findings was situated within a context that was considerably more global in nature. This choice was made to intentionally position the concerns and issues faced by Indigenous peoples as issues that *are* global in nature, even when they are presented as local issues. Despite the diversity of languages, localities, customs, perspectives, approaches to food and eating, beliefs, values and all other elements that make up a particular Indigenous culture, there are still shared issues that speak to histories of colonization, oppression and an overall undermining of their ways of seeing and understanding the world. If the circumstances that are preventing Indigenous peoples from accessing and availing of their traditional foods are shared, then it is important that these shared issues are identified so that they may be exposed, questioned and addressed.

This study has provided evidence that in some instances, social, economic, political and environmental forces over which the people of St. Lewis have very little control have shaped how they negotiate their access to food and all of the associated activities and practices involved in preparing, storing and consuming food. In some cases, these forces have provided increased services and supports for access to basic food supplies, as is evidenced by government subsidies that off-set the high cost of foods in Labrador. In other cases, however, restrictions and regulations have made it increasingly difficult for people to continue to access and avail of foods in ways that are consistent with their cultural practices, as we have seen with the introduction of strict hunting and fishing regulations. In all cases, social, economic, political and environmental changes have implications for the health of people in the community in multiple and complex ways.

Closely related to the accessibility and availability of food is the idea that foods affect health beyond nutritional or physical health, and include spiritual, mental and emotional health. Foods, along with their associated activities of procurement, processing and consumption all support and reinforce cultural expressions of identity that are critical for overall health and well-being for the people of St. Lewis. Lar Rumbolt's story about trapping beavers, included in the introductory chapter of this study, reminds us that being able to hunt, fish and trap is a way of life that is vitally important for food, but that the activities and practices associated with obtaining food are also vital for passing along knowledge about food-related activities to future generations.

Currently, the infusion of government policies into Inuit-Metis communities represents a double-edged sword for communities. On one hand, government programs and services are welcomed and represent a significant departure from the absence of support that characterized Inuit-Metis communities up until the 1960s. On the other hand, when government policies are imposed using a top-down approach that does not take into account the unique cultural and social considerations of Inuit-Metis communities, both the health of the environment and the health of the people can be harmed. This, as Switlo (2002) suggests can be considered a modern-day form of colonization. If historical colonization of Inuit-Metis communities was represented by the absence of government support when it was needed, the imposition of

inappropriate government services represents a re-colonization rather than a commitment to account for diverse perspectives.

Self-determination for the Labrador Inuit-Metis would mean that the people would hold greater responsibility for the health and well-being of both their natural surroundings and their community members by having a voice in the development and implementation of policies that directly affect them. Policies developed at a local level would have greater flexibility to incorporate the perspectives of diverse interests of community members. As well, a movement towards self-determination would indicate government support and respect for existing Inuit-Metis processes and procedures that are meant to protect and uphold the health and well-being of both people and their communities. For example, policies regarding trapping and hunting would consider that these activities are undertaken not only for economic gain, but also for other purposes, such as food, shelter and clothing. With these elements in mind as policies are developed, the goals of conservation would still remain a priority, as would the necessity of these activities for maintaining cultural activities and access to traditional foods.

Elder Albert Marshall's concept of Two-Eyed Seeing provided the theoretical backdrop for this study. Two-Eyed Seeing offers guiding principles for all people, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to understand the world in which we live. Two-Eyed Seeing contends that Indigenous knowledge and science can both be embraced and accepted as legitimate 'ways of knowing'. To this end, a Two-Eyed Seeing approach can inform not only scientific knowledge, but also policies and programs that influence the health and well-being of individuals and communities. It can do this by recognizing that diverse perspectives exist, and that this diversity needs to be accounted for if we are to create policies and programs that address the needs and concerns of those who are most affected by them.

To embrace Two-Eyed Seeing and accommodate diverse perspectives at the level of government, what is needed is a shift in philosophy – a fundamental re-thinking of conservation, economic development and health-related services. Currently, within Canadian federal and provincial governments, each of these 'sectors' operates under separate management and they have very little opportunity to speak to one another regarding where and how their goals and objectives overlap. And yet, as this study has shown, the creation of boundaries around what

constitutes conservation, economic development or health signals a lack of appreciation or acknowledgement for how each of these sectors not only overlap, but influence the health and well-being of both people and communities. Maintaining governmental 'silos' reinforces differences by eliminating opportunity for cross-sectoral collaborations to occur and for knowledge to be shared. For example, conservation policies meant to protect resources might actually negatively impact health by discouraging local hunting and fishing practices, inadvertently supporting the consumption of store-bought foods, which may lead to unhealthy food choices and subsequent ill-health. These sorts of interconnections and relationships cannot continue to be ignored because doing so will create greater stress on our already over-burdened health care systems and natural resources and importantly, fails to recognize the existence of Inuit-Metis cultural rights.

Two-Eyed Seeing reminds us that even though a fundamental re-thinking of existing conservation, economic development and health policies might seem like quite a grandiose and perhaps insurmountable proposition, it does not require starting from scratch. Far from it, the requirements for such a shift to occur already exist and, as most Aboriginal peoples within Canada would attest, have been demonstrated to work effectively for millennia. Re-configuring cross-sectoral collaborations should involve Aboriginal communities as much as possible because they are important sources of information on how interconnections could be created and maintained.

For Aboriginal peoples within Canada to be able to enter into collaborative relationships with the government requires re-configuring the identity politics surrounding what it means to be Aboriginal. This study has pointed out shortfalls concerning the top-down 'identity politics' imposed by the federal government upon all Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Who can identify as Aboriginal and who cannot is tightly controlled by political inclusion and exclusion criteria. Unfortunately, these criteria are not based on how diverse Aboriginal peoples have historically identified themselves in relation to others, but rather, through a very static lens that tends to position Aboriginal peoples as holding an historical identity that cannot hope to accommodate any movement towards 'modernity' or self-identification (Pearson, 2000).

The idea that people from Inuit-Metis communities are not permitted to identify as 'Aboriginal' because they do not hold a certain genealogical heritage was contested by St. Lewis residents of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal descent. Paradoxically, these criteria must be adopted if the Labrador Inuit-Metis are to enter into negotiations with the state over the right to self-determination. The difficulty with this imposed definition is that it presumes that only those who hold some degree of Inuit ancestry 'qualify' to be included as a member of the Labrador Metis Nation. As well, even the administrative representatives of the Labrador Metis Nation must impose this definition to some degree in order to achieve any sort of political leverage. This is problematic on a number of fronts, the most obvious being the 'less-than' status afforded to non-Metis peoples because they are unable to claim the, albeit very limited, rights and privileges that the Inuit-Metis are able to access. In many ways, this is perpetuating the types of hierarchical relationships that the very nature of an Inuit-Metis identity has avoided for so long. Acceptance of diverse perspectives has, since time immemorial, characterized what it means to be Inuit-Metis. It has not meant blending, subsuming or requiring others to conform to a particular worldview or to be accepted only if they met certain criteria. Building upon a strong sense of identity that does not restrict who is included or excluded based on geographic boundaries or ancestral ties seems more akin to an 'Inuit-Metis' perspective. What this relationship might look like is up for discussion and debate, but what this study clearly points to is a re-negotiation of a Labrador Inuit-Metis identity that is not simply based upon categories imposed by a colonial system.

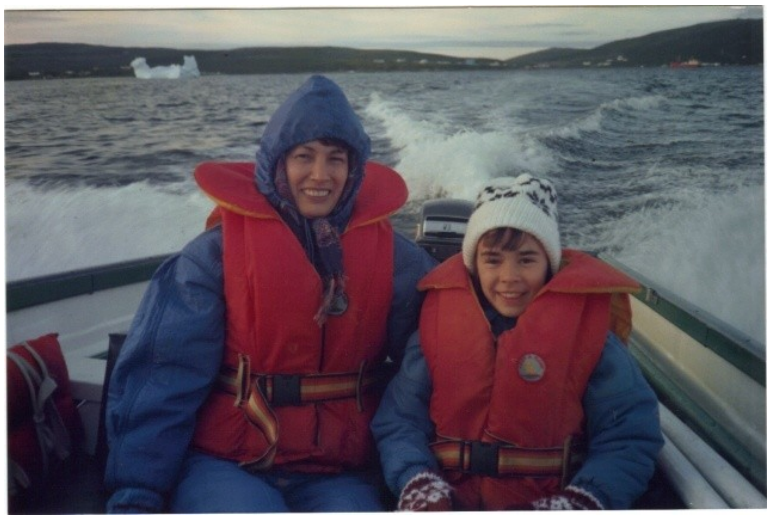
With the imposition of strict guidelines for who can 'be' Aboriginal and who cannot, the implications reach much further than being allowed access to certain government programs and services, although these services and programs are very important. What is also at stake is how diverse Aboriginal communities create balance through social and cultural norms that have very little to do with whether or not they hold membership in a particular political organization. Without being able to enact their own social and cultural norms, imbalances occur amongst people and between people and the natural world. Imbalances are evidenced by the inequities experienced between men and women in many Aboriginal communities, as well as the loss of wisdom each time an elder dies and his or her stories have not been captured or understood by the next generations. It is incumbent upon each and every one of us, as researchers, policy-

makers, and Aboriginal peoples, to become listeners to the stories that have been told time and again, but have not always been heard.

Final Thoughts

As this study has demonstrated, a Two-Eyed Seeing approach can influence research, but it can also influence policy. Research must be designed and implemented in a way that positions Aboriginal communities at the forefront of the study design. A Two-Eyed Seeing approach to research requires that all aspects of the research, from the types of questions asked to the dissemination of the findings, include the perspectives of those who are most impacted by the research. When this happens, what is considered 'research' or 'knowledge' can include things like experiences, feelings and stories. Ultimately, it is our experiences, our feelings and our stories that make us human, and it is to these uniquely human characteristics that we must turn to in order to find knowledge and wisdom.

> *When it would get dark, especially in the fall, you couldn't wait to go to the store, and you'd hear the old people talking about the hunt. The ducks and the seals and the trips and the stories. I'd hear all that, to this day I still like story-telling. And as young people, we used to look forward to that, going to the old peoples' homes, and they wouldn't actually be telling us about it, because we'd only be youngsters. But we'd be there and hearing about the stories. We'd be saying, 'that's what we'll do when we grows up.' ~ Guy Poole (male, older generation)*



Mom and I taking a ride in motor boat in St. Lewis' Bay during our visit to Labrador around 1989.

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Appendix A: Information Poster

Proposed Research Study:

Labrador Metis communities and their relationships to food in a context of global change

August-September, 2007

Student Researcher: Debbie Martin

Key Relationships:

Refers to all of the different types of social, cultural, economic, political and environmental relations that people who live in Labrador Metis communities have with various types of traditional and modern foods.

Global change:

Global change refers to all of the rapid changes that are occurring within our social and natural surroundings that affect our local communities.

Tentative Timeline

Seeking feedback on proposed study: September 2007

Ethics submission: November/December 2007

Research Study: Winter/Spring 2008

Contact Information:

Phone: (902) 494-1498

Email: dlmartin@dal.ca

Mail: and Human Performance,

Preliminary information about the proposed study

The purpose of the study I am proposing is to explore Labrador Metis communities' key relationships to food in a context of global change. (Please refer to the sidebar on the left for definitions).

I see the need for this study arising from many of the changes that have taken place in recent years that affect the ability for people who live in Labrador Metis communities to access and use particular types of foods. I believe that the people who live in Labrador Metis communities, have been keepers and stewards of their local surroundings for thousands of years, and thus possess tremendous knowledge about what works in their communities, what does not, and what changes are needed to ensure that their surroundings remain healthy and vibrant for future generations.

Seeking feedback on the proposed study

I plan to visit three communities that I hope will be included in the study. I will be asking community members to provide input about the most appropriate way to collect data for the study, as well the types of questions that I should ask community members. This will take place in September 2007.

Once I have received feedback from community members, I will seek ethical approval from the Labrador Metis Nation (LMN), as well as Dalhousie University's Research Ethics Board. More information about this stage will be available during Fall 2007 and Winter 2008. Once I have received ethics approval, I will return to Labrador to begin data collection.

Who is conducting the study?

My name is Debbie Martin and I am a member of the Labrador Metis Nation. I am currently completing my Doctorate at Dalhousie University in the Interdisciplinary PhD Programme. My research interests include health promotion for Indigenous peoples, activities related to traditional food use, as well as integrating Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives on health and well-being. My research is being funded through the Atlantic Aboriginal Health Research Programme (who are supported by the Canadian Institutes for Health Research) and the Nova Scotia Health Research Foundation.

Photo: Caribou on Trans Labrador Highway Credit: Manuel Rumbolt

Appendix B – Recruitment Poster

Got some good hunting, fishing or trapping stories?

Want to share stories about cooking and preserving local foods?

Have you noticed changes in the types of foods that you and your family members eat?

If so, you may be interested in taking part in a research study titled:

Food Stories

All participants will be asked to take part in an interview and a group story-telling session. You will be asked to share stories about:

- **Where you get your food**
- **How you prepare your food**
- **If you store food and how it gets stored**
- **If the food you eat and the activities that are related to food are different from how you remember them when you were younger.**

Everyone who participates will have their name included in a prize draw for $100!!!

You are eligible to participate if:

- **You are 16 years of age or older**
- **Have lived in or near St. Lewis for the majority of your childhood, adulthood or both**
- **Both younger and older men and women are encouraged to participate!**

If you are interested in participating in this study or would like more information, please contact Debbie Martin at [insert phone number].
This research study is being conducted as part of my PhD program at Dalhousie University.

Appendix C – Interview Guide for Individual and Joint Interviews

Themes to be discussed in all individual and joint interviews

1. Tell me about the types of foods that you eat.
   i. Where do you usually get these foods? Who gets them? How often?
   ii. Can you tell me about a time when you wanted to access these foods but couldn't? What prevented you from getting them?
2. Can you tell me about the last time that you got these foods? What was it like?
   i. How do you usually prepare these foods?
   ii. How did you learn how to prepare them in this way? Can you tell me about how difficult/easy it was to learn?
3. Have there been changes in the way that you obtain foods from when you were younger?
   i. Can you tell me about a time when you obtained a particular food when you were younger?
   ii. Describe what it is like to access the same foods today.
4. Do you feel that changes (i.e., resource depletion, increased transportation, stricter hunting and fishing regulations) in the local area are affecting how you obtain certain foods? In what ways?
   i. If accessing these foods is more difficult in recent years, are there ways to deal with these changes so that you can still get these foods?
   ii. If it is easier to access these foods, how does this influence your daily activities?
5. If some of the changes that you have mentioned continue, how do feel this will impact how younger generations obtain food and the types of foods that they will eat?
   i. Do you think that younger generations will want to obtain foods in the same way that you currently do? What differences do you foresee?
6. Have any of the changes happening in your community affected the way you interact with others in relation to food (i.e., family get-togethers, hunting, fishing, trapping activities, etc.)?
7. Do you feel that the topics we have covered address some of the major issues facing your community with respect to food? What might be some others?

Themes to be discussed using photo elicitation

Some individuals may not choose to accompany their interview with photographs. If this is the case, only the topics mentioned above will be discussed. In cases where individuals also

bring along photographs, the topics above will be covered, but additional topics will be discussed that pertain specifically to the photos.

Content-specific themes

1. Can you tell me about this photograph?
2. Can you describe what was happening when you took this photograph?
3. What sort of memories does this bring up for you?

Context-specific themes

4. Is this something that you enjoy doing/seeing?
5. How does this activity/event/place relate to the foods that you eat?
6. Is this something that you think people younger/older than you would also do/see? Why or why not?

Appendix D – Consent for Disclosure of Photographs

Consent for Disclosure of Photographs

I authorize Debbie Martin, Interdisciplinary PhD Program at Dalhousie University to use the designated photographs:

[brief description of each]
1.
2.

The photographs will be included in the doctoral study 'Food Stories: A Labrador Metis Community Speaks about Global Change'. This research will be presented in public forums such as research conferences and community meetings and will also be published in academic peer-reviewed journals.

The photographs may be used from the period [March 2008] onwards, for no other purpose than that explicitly outlined in the doctoral dissertation.

_____
Full Name

_____
Date

Signature:_____

Appendix E – Interview Guide for Group Interviews

In the group story-telling sessions, each person will share a story or two about their photographs (either stories that were shared during the interview or new stories – that will be left up to the individual).

Themes for Group Interviews

I will initially ask people to share one story about a food-related event or experience. All participants will have an opportunity to ask questions and comment on the story. The corresponding photograph (if there is one) will be passed around and looked at by all participants.

1. Reflect on some of the shared experiences that we have talked about today.
a. What makes them similar (i.e., shared values, knowledge, expectations or other common elements)?
2. Reflect on some of the more unique experiences expressed here today.
a. What is it about them that makes them unique?
b. Would that story have been considered unique in the past? What about the future?
3. How might childhood experiences of people in the group differed? What makes them different? What makes them similar?
4. Are some of the more historical food-related activities still practiced today?
a. If so, what ones?
b. If not, why not?
c. Are their historical practices that have been modified to accommodate modern circumstances (e.g., use of a snowmobile instead of dog teams for hunting, use of electricity and running water for cooking and baking instead of relying on wood stoves and external wells)
5. What might be some of the long-term implications of some of the food-related changes we have talked about?
a. How will this affect the community and future generations?
b. Can any of these changes be avoided? Can any of them be encouraged?

Appendix F – Informed Consent Form

CONSENT FORM FOR INDIVIDUAL OR JOINT INTERVIEW

Study Title: Food Stories: A Labrador Metis Community speaks about global change

Student Investigator: Debbie Martin

Contact Information: School of Health and Human Performance
Dalhousie University
6230 South Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 3J5
Email: dhmartin@dal.ca
Phone: (902) 864-2289

Student's Supervisor: Dr. Lois Jackson

Supervisor's Contact Information: School of Health and Human Performance
Dalhousie University
6230 South Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 3J5
Email: lois.jackson@dal.ca
Phone: (902) 494-1341

Introduction

You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by Debbie Martin, who is a graduate student at Dalhousie University, and this study forms part of her Interdisciplinary PhD Program. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. The quality of your health care will not be affected by whether or not you participate. The study is described below. This description tells you about the risks, inconvenience, or discomfort that you might experience. Participating in the study might not benefit you, but we might learn things that will benefit others. You should discuss any questions you have about this study with Debbie Martin.

Please keep a copy of this consent form for your files.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this is study is to understand the perspectives of people who live in one Labrador Metis community regarding their relationships (eg. social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, etc.) to food in a context of global change. Global change refers to all of the rapid changes that are occurring within our social and natural surroundings that affect our local communities. The proposed study will ask the following research question: *How do the people who live in one Labrador Metis community experience and understand their relationships to food in the context of global change?* Some additional questions are:

- How are relationships to food influenced by your age and your gender?
- How have your relationships to food changed over time?
- How do you understand and respond to changes in your relationships to food (for example, the type of food-related activities that you engage in, and the types of foods that you eat)?

Study Design

All participants in this study will be asked to participate in an individual or joint (you and one other person) interview. During the interview, participants will be asked to share stories and photographs that can help to understand their different relationships to food. This consent for will be used for the individual or joint interview. If it is convenient to do so, you may also wish to participant in a second individual interview. This is NOT mandatory, but may provide you with the opportunity to clarify or add to information in the first interview.

If you participate in an individual or joint interview, you will also be invited to attend a group interview. This group interview will provide you with the opportunity to share your stories and photographs with others, and also hear about the experiences of other people in your community. A separate consent form will be used for the group story-telling session.

Who can participate in the study?

You may participate in this study if you are over the age of 16 and have lived in or near St. Lewis, Labrador, for the majority of your childhood, adulthood or both. The study will encourage both men and women of different ages to participate. The study will include between 25-30 people. If more people than that wish to participate, the first 30 people to show their interest, who also represent different age ranges and genders will be included.

Who will be conducting the research?

All aspects of the research will be conducted by Debbie Martin as a part of her Interdisciplinary PhD Program. Ms. Martin's PhD Committee will have access to the data that is collected during the study, although they will not be conducting any of the research. The PhD committee consists of researchers who all hold PhDs. Their names are Lois Jackson, Brenda Beagan, Charlotte Loppie, Frederic Wien, and Susan Tirone.

What you will be asked to do

When you come to the interview, you will be asked to bring along between 8-10 photographs and/or objects that provide examples of some food-related activities, events or traditions in which you take part. The photographs should contain images that you are comfortable sharing publicly and do not contain images of people who will not be able to give their consent to have their photo used in a research study. During the interview, you will be asked to talk about the photographs and objects and share stories about your experiences regarding food-related activities or events (e.g., hunting, berry-picking, cooking) and about any changes that you have noticed in your community that have affected your ability to engage in these activities or events.

Before the start of the interview, the researcher will ask you if it is okay to record the interview using a digital recorder. If you are okay with this, the recorder will be turned on. If not, the researcher will take notes throughout the interview.

At the end of the interview, you will be asked if it is okay for the researcher to make a copy of the photographs that you have talked about and to take a digital photograph of any objects that you brough along for discussion. The purpose of copying the photographs and photographing the objects will be to allow the researcher to analyse them in more detail later, as well as include them in any publications or presentations. If you feel comfortable with the researcher using your photographs and/or for this purpose, you will be asked to give your verbal consent, which the researcher will make a note of. This interview will last between 1-2 hours.

Possible Risks and Discomforts

Although there are no direct risks to participating in this study, some of the things discussed in the interview may be emotional or cause some distress for you. For example, the topics covered may include the loss of traditional ways of life, or raise discussions about social problems that are being faced by family and community members as a result of the changing ability to participate in food-related activities. This may make some you uncomfortable or upset. You do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable, and you may leave at any point and for any reason throughout the interview.

Possible Benefits

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in the study. Indirectly, you may learn something about yourself or other community members with respect to your values and beliefs regarding traditional food activities. This may be beneficial to you in the sense that you may become more aware of the importance of your cultural values and beliefs regarding your relationship to food. Additionally, the research might indirectly benefit others in your community and communities similar to yours by raising awareness of the social, economic, political and environmental issues facing Labrador Metis communities at the individual, community and governmental levels.

Compensation / Reimbursement

Participants will not be compensated for their participation in the study. However, everyone who participates in an individual interview will have their name entered into a prize draw for $100. The winning name will be drawn after all of the interviews have been completed. The winner will be notified by telephone.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

Anonymity / Recognition: Your participation in this study will not be anonymous. Given the small population of the community, it will NOT be possible for others to remain unaware of your participation.

Since the information you provide in the study is considered to be owned by you and/or your community, you will have the opportunity to be recognized as a contributor to the research. If you would like to have your name acknowledged in any future publications or presentations, you will be asked to sign an Agreement that acknowledges you as a contributor. If you are not comfortable or able to sign your name, the agreement will be read to you and a note will be made if you agree or disagree.

Confidentiality: All of the information that you provide the researcher will be treated as confidential. This means that the researcher will not discuss the interview with other people and the notes and audio-recording will all be kept on a password protected laptop computer. When

the researcher returns to Dalhousie University, the information will be stored in a locked filing cabinet when not in use. The only people that will have access to the information will be Debbie Martin and her PhD committee. Although all topics discussed during the interviews will remain confidential, the researcher has a duty to report suspected child abuse or neglect, or the abuse or neglect of an adult in need of protection to the nearest RCMP detachment. All data will kept in a locked filing cabinet for five years, post publication, as is required by Dalhousie University's Policy on Research Integrity.

Questions

If you have any questions about the study or your role as a participant, please contact the researcher, Debbie Martin. Her local number is (709) 939-2243. She can also be reached by email at dhmartin@dal.ca.

Termination

Although unlikely, this study may be terminated by the researcher at any time without notice.

Problems or Concerns

If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may contact Patricia Lindley, Director of Dalhousie University's Office of Human Research Ethics Administration, for assistance (902) 494-1462, patricia.lindley@dal.ca.

Verbal Consent Page

Study Title: Food Stories:
A Labrador Metis community speaks about global change

After reviewing all of the information about the study, the following paragraph will be read to all participants:

Please let me know if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

"All aspects of the study have been explained. You have been given the opportunity to discuss it and your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. You hereby consent to take part in this study. However you realize that my participation is voluntary and that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time."

- Participant agrees to take part in the interview: _____yes _____no
- Participant agrees to have the interview audio-recorded: _____yes _____no (if not, then written notes will be taken)
- Participant agrees to have quotes from the interview used for future research publications or presentations. _____yes _____no (This will be re-confirmed after the interview is over).
- Participant agrees to have their photographs used in research publications or presentations. (The participant and the researcher will receive copies of the Photo Release Form).
- Participant agrees to be recognized as a contributor to the research. (The participant and the researcher will receive copies of the Contributor's Agreement).

_____
Participant's Name

_____
Researcher's Signature Date:_____

Appendix G – Group Interview Consent Form

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
Inspiring Minds

CONSENT FORM FOR GROUP INTERVIEW

Study Title: Food Stories: A Labrador Metis Community speaks about global change

Student Investigator: Debbie Martin

Contact Information: School of Health and Human Performance
Dalhousie University
6230 South Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 3J5
Email: dhmartin@dal.ca
Phone: (902) 864-2289

Student's Supervisor: Dr. Lois Jackson

Supervisor's Contact Information: School of Health and Human Performance
Dalhousie University
6230 South Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 3J5
Email: lois.jackson@dal.ca
Phone: (902) 494-1341

Introduction

We invite you to take part in a research study being conducted by Debbie Martin, who is a graduate student at Dalhousie University, and this study forms part of her Interdisciplinary PhD Program. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. The quality of your health care will not be affected by whether or not you participate. The study is described below. This description tells you about the risks, inconvenience, or discomfort that you might experience. Participating in the study might not benefit you, but we might learn things that will benefit others. You should discuss any questions you have about this study with Debbie Martin.

Please keep a copy of this consent form for your files.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this is study is to understand the perspectives of people who live in one Labrador Metis community regarding their relationships (eg. social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, etc.) to food in a context of global change. Global change refers to all of the rapid changes that are occurring within our social and natural surroundings that affect our local communities. The proposed study will ask the following research question: *How do the people who live in one Labrador Metis community experience and understand their relationships to food in the context of global change?* Some additional questions are:

- How are relationships to food influenced by your age and your gender?
- How have your relationships to food changed over time?
- How do you understand and respond to changes in your relationships to food (for example, the type of food-related activities that you engage in, and the types of foods that you eat)?

Study Design

All participants in this study will be asked to participate in an individual or joint (you and one other person) interview. During the interview, participants will be asked to share stories and photographs that can help to understand their different relationships to food. A separate consent form will be used for the individual or joint interview.

If you participated in an individual or joint interview, you will also be invited to attend a group interview. This group interview will be a 'story-telling session' and will provide you with the opportunity to share your stories and photographs with others, and also hear about the experiences of other people in your community. This consent form is for participation in the group interview.

Who can participate in the study?

You may participate in this study if you are over the age of 16 and have lived in or near St. Lewis, Labrador, for the majority of your childhood, adulthood or both. The study will encourage both men and women of different ages to participate. The study will include between 25-30 people. If more people wish to participate, the first 30 people to show their interest, who also represent different age ranges and genders will be included.

Who will be conducting the research?

All aspects of the research will be conducted by Debbie Martin as a part of her Interdisciplinary PhD Program. Ms. Martin's PhD Committee will have access to the data that is collected during the study, although they will not be conducting any of the research. The PhD committee consists of researchers who all hold PhDs. Their names are Lois Jackson, Brenda Beagan, Charlotte Loppie, Frederic Wien, and Susan Tirone.

What you will be asked to do

When you come to the group interview, you will be asked to bring along two photographs or objects that you have already used during the individual or joint interview. During the interview, you will be asked to talk about the photographs and/or objects and share stories about your experiences regarding food-related activities or events (e.g., hunting, berry-picking, cooking) and about any changes that you have noticed in your community that have affected your ability to engage in these activities or events. You will also be expected to listen to others share their food-related stories as well.

Before the start of the group interview, the researcher will ask you if it is okay to record the group session using a digital recorder. If all participants are okay with this, the recorder will be turned on. If not, the researcher will take notes throughout the interview. The group interview will last approximately two to three hours.

If you have used photographs or objects for the group interview that were not included in the individual or joint interview, you will be asked if it is okay for the researcher to make a copy of the photographs that you have talked about, or to take a photograph of the objects you have talked about. The purpose of having a copy of the photographs and/or objects will be to allow the researcher to analyse them in more detail later, as well as include them in any publications or presentations. If you feel comfortable with the researcher using your photographs or objects for this purpose, you will be asked to give your verbal consent, which the researcher will note on a Photo Release Form.

Possible Risks and Discomforts

Although there are no direct risks to participating in this study, some of the things discussed in the interview may be emotional or cause some distress for you. For example, the topics covered may include the loss of traditional ways of life, or raise discussions about social problems that are being faced by family and community members as a result of the changing ability to participate in food-related activities. This may make some you uncomfortable or upset. If you feel uncomfortable at any point during the group interview, you do not have to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may leave at any point and for any reason. Should you wish to leave the study, you will be asked if the information you have already provided may be used by the researcher. If not, all of the information that has been recorded will be deleted. You have the option to leave the study for up to two months after all of the data collection has been completed.

Possible Benefits

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in the study. Indirectly, you may learn something about yourself or other community members with respect to your values and beliefs regarding traditional food activities. This may be beneficial to you in the sense that you may become more aware of the importance of your cultural values and beliefs regarding your relationship to food. Additionally, the research might indirectly benefit others in your community and communities similar to yours by raising awareness of the social, economic, political and environmental issues facing Labrador Metis communities at the individual, community and governmental levels.

Compensation / Reimbursement

Participants will not be compensated for their participation in the study. However, everyone who participates in a group interview will have their name entered into a prize draw for $100. The winning name will be drawn after all of the group interviews have been completed.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

Anonymity / Recognition: Your participation in this study will not be anonymous. Given the small population of the community, it will NOT be possible for others to remain unaware of your participation. As well, in a group interview, the information you share will be heard by all group interview participants.

Since the information you provide in the study is considered to be owned by you and/or your community, you will have the opportunity to be recognized as a contributor to the research. If you would like to have your name acknowledged in any future publications or presentations, you will be asked to sign an Agreement that acknowledges you as a contributor. If you are not

comfortable or able to sign your name, the agreement will be read to you and a note will be made if you agree or disagree.

Confidentiality: All of the information that you provide the researcher will be treated as confidential. This means that the researcher will not discuss what was said in the group interview with other people and the notes and audio-recording will all be kept on a password protected laptop computer. When the researcher returns to Dalhousie University, the information will be stored in a locked filing cabinet when not in use. The only people that will have access to the information will be Debbie Martin and her PhD committee. Although all topics discussed during the group interview will remain confidential, the researcher has a duty to report suspected child abuse or neglect, or the abuse or neglect of an adult in need of protection to the nearest RCMP detachment. All data will kept in a locked filing cabinet for five years, post publication, as is required by Dalhousie University's Policy on Research Integrity.

Questions

If you have any questions about the study or your role as a participant, please contact the researcher, Debbie Martin. Her local number is (709) 939-2243. She can also be reached by email at dhmartin@dal.ca.

Termination

Although unlikely, this study may be terminated by the researcher at any time without notice.

Problems or Concerns

If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may contact Patricia Lindley, Director of Dalhousie University's Office of Human Research Ethics Administration, for assistance (902) 494-1462, patricia.lindley@dal.ca.

Verbal Consent Page

Study Title: Food Stories:
A Labrador Metis community speaks about global change

After reviewing all of the information about the study, the following paragraph will be read to all participants:

Please let me know if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

"All aspects of the study have been explained. You have been given the opportunity to discuss it and your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. You hereby consent to take part in this study. However you realize that my participation is voluntary and that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time."

- Participant agrees to take part in the group interview: _____yes _____no

- Participant agrees to have the group interview audio-recorded: _____yes _____no (if not, then written notes will be taken)

- Participant agrees to have quotes from the group interview used for future research publications or presentations. _____yes _____no (This will be re-confirmed after the group interview is over).

This section will only apply if photographs that were NOT included in the individual or joint interview are used in the group interview:

- Participant agrees to have their photographs used in research publications or presentations. (The participant and the researcher will receive copies of the Photo Release Form).

_____
Participant's Name

_____ _____
Researcher's Signature Date

Appendix H – Research Participant Contribution Agreement

[A copy of this written agreement will be provided to all participants. The agreement will be read to all participants and their assent or dissent will be noted]

Research Participant Contribution Agreement

I, _____, hereby acknowledge that I have participated in the research study entitled, 'Food Stories: A Labrador Metis Community Speaks about Global Change'.

1. As a participant in this research project, I wish to have my name acknowledged in any future dissemination of the research findings.
2. I acknowledge that although I am recognized as a contributor to the research study, the principal investigator, Debbie Martin, retains first authorship of all subsequent publications and presentations.
3. In addition, the primary document to be produced from this study, which is a doctoral dissertation, will be authored solely by Debbie Martin, and my name will appear in the 'Acknowledgements' section of this document.

_____

Participant's Name

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

Appendix I – Research Agreement with the Labrador Metis Nation

Research Study Agreement
Between **Labrador Metis Nation** and **Debbie Martin**

Research Study Title: Food Stories: A Labrador Metis Community Speaks About Global Change

Researcher Name: Debbie Martin, PhD Candidate
Researcher Contact Information: School of Health and Human Performance, 6230 South Street, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 3J5; email: dhmartin@dal.ca; phone: (902) 864-2289; fax: (902) 494-5120.

Section 2.6, Article 5 of CIHR's Guidelines for Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples states, *"Concerns of individual participants and their community regarding anonymity, privacy and confidentiality should be respected, and should be addressed in a research agreement".* With respect to this Article, the following research agreement has been reached between the **Labrador Metis Nation** and **Debbie Martin**:

1. Ms. Martin will seek ethical approval from the Labrador Metis Nation for all aspects of the research study.
2. The Labrador Metis Nation will be informed of any changes or amendments to the original ethics application, and will provide Ms. Martin with timely feedback in relation to any changes or amendments.
3. The Labrador Metis Nation will be acknowledged as providing support for the research study in any future publications or presentations. As such, the Labrador Metis Nation will not remain anonymous in any dissemination of the research findings.
4. Individual participants (who may or may not be identified as members of the Labrador Metis Nation) will have the option to choose whether or not their identities will be revealed in any subsequent publications or presentations of the research findings.
5. The Labrador Metis Nation and Ms. Martin agree that Ms. Martin will disseminate the research findings to the community in the following manner:
   a. [to be decided]
6. Should the Labrador Metis Nation strongly disagree with the findings of the research study, they will provide comments in writing to Debbie Martin outlining their concerns. Ms. Martin will address these concerns to the best of her ability prior to publication of the dissertation.

We, the undersigned, agree to the terms and conditions as outlined in the above agreement.

_____	_____
Debbie Martin	Labrador Metis Nation Representative
Date:_____	Date:_____