Naammaktunga (“I am well”)!

Feeding Families and People-Food Relationships in Kugluktuk, Nunavut: Exploring What the Lenses of Food Sovereignty and Indigenous Resilience Can Offer to Food System Governance

by

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Abstract

Despite extremely high costs of living, many people in small, remote communities in the Canadian Arctic appear to be successfully feeding their families. In academic and policy literatures, the food security lens has contributed important knowledge about hunger in the north; however, its emphasis on deficits and problems risks overlooking *enabling* mechanisms of people-food relationships. Lenses (and their underlying worldviews) have been shown to shape food system governance, including responses to food-related phenomena such as hunger. By exploring the capacities of different lenses (food security, food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience) to characterise key aspects of people-food relationships, this in-depth ethnographic research examines and illustrates their potential impacts on northern food system governance.

In order to achieve this, I developed a grassroots, holistic understanding of people-food relationships in the hamlet of Kugluktuk, Nunavut using a modified grounded theory approach. Three key overarching themes emerged: identity, living in relation and power/resources. Individual/collective wellbeing is at the heart of these themes. Food nourishes a sense of 'self' and identity, which is foundational to living in relation through (food) sharing, being on the land together, visiting and knowledge transmission. Identity and relationships are shaped by participation in power systems (*e.g.* local/external institutions) and control of resources (*e.g.* food, livelihood, governance). The lenses under investigation were then applied to emergent themes, revealing that Indigenous resilience was most capable of representing these.

This is the first study of its kind in Nunavut, with several important research findings. Northern food system governance may benefit by continuing to enhance community-level decision-making authority, and acknowledging/enabling peoples' abilities to successfully feed their families and foster individual/collective wellbeing. Continued focus on mitigating factors –

what *enables* – will likely benefit future food-related policy practice and research, and help recognise and support the strengths, resiliencies and wellbeing of northerners. The complexity and nuance of people-food relationships necessitates consideration of appropriate food lenses, such as those informed by Indigenous and wellbeing practices (*e.g.* living in relation, reciprocity, occupancy) and scholarship, as well as how these are interpreted (*e.g.* user perspectives), in order to further enhance northern food system governance.

Lay Summary

This research examines grassroots, holistic people-food relationships in the Hamlet of Kugluktuk, Nunavut, exploring the capacities of different food lenses (food security, food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience) to encapsulate key aspects of the food system. The thesis considers what enables people to successfully feed their families despite the high costs of living in the Canadian Arctic, thereby moving *beyond* the conventional focus on hunger (*i.e.* food *in*security). This is the first in-depth study of its kind. Research findings suggest that in Kugluktuk wellbeing is at the heart of people-food relationships. The inherent complexity and nuance of people-food relationships requires consideration of both lenses *and* their users. Northern food system governance may benefit from (1) increased community-level decision making, which can help acknowledge/enable local peoples' abilities to successfully feed their families and foster individual/collective wellbeing, and (2) adoption of food system lenses informed by Indigenous- (*e.g.* Inuit) and wellbeing-centered scholarship and practices.

Preface

This work would not have been possible without the permission and support of the land of Kugluktuk and her peoples. This dissertation is an original intellectual product of the author, R. Klady, which was fundamentally informed by contributions from *Kugluktummiut* and others. Fieldwork was covered by the Nunavut Research Institute Scientific Research Licenses #0400314N-M (2014) & 0401615R-M (2015) and the University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board certificate # H13-02193. Research grants supporting this work include the UBC 4YF, NSTP travel grant, a SSHRC Insight Development Grant under PI John Innes and a SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship.

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ACL – Arctic Cooperatives Ltd.

CCA – Council of Canadian Academies

CFG – Canada Food Guide

CP – co-participant

CPNP – Canadian Pre-natal Nutrition Program

DEA – District Education Authority

EIT – Elder-in-training

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations

FMF – Feeding My Family

FS – Food Security

FSov – Food Sovereignty

HBC – Hudson's Bay Company

HTO – Hunters and Trappers Organisation

IA – Income Assistance

ICC-A – Alaskan Inuit Circumpolar Council

INAC – Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada

IQ – *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*

IR – Indigenous Resilience

ITK – Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

KCL – Kugluktuk Co-op Ltd

NFSC – Nunavut Food Security Coalition

NNC – Nutrition North Canada

NRI – Nunavut Research Institute

NWMP – Northwest Mounted Police

NWT – Northwest Territories

PO – Participant observation

RCMP – Royal Canadian Mounted Police

(R)NFB – (Revised) Northern Food Basket

RQ – Research question

SA – Social Assistance

UNDRIP – United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

WHO – World Health Organisation

Glossary

Canadian Pre-natal Nutrition Program – a Canadian federal program that provides funding to community groups whose aim supports improving the health of women and their babies.

Country food – term used by many Inuit to describe the foods generally originating from within the immediate region or food system where they grew up or currently live; typically includes wildlife (marine, terrestrial) and plants (*e.g.* berries).

Customary – describes Indigenous/traditional/place-based values, practices, beliefs and/or systems. These are not necessarily always clearly distinguishable from 'formal' values, practices, beliefs and/or systems. The word 'customary' may be a misnomer, as it does not seem to adequately represent the imperatives of survival that inform evolution of local culture (*i.e.* customary practices, values, beliefs). Environmental factors, for example, may be important determinants of certain historical and present day customary practices.

District Education Authority – a locally-elected body comprised of community members who are interested in education. The DEA works with the school staff and Regional School Operations (RSO) staff to serve many of the functions of a school board. They are responsible for the administration of the school. Members are elected for a four-year term.

Food Security – simply put, access and availability to food; *"…when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Based on this definition, four food security dimensions can be identified: food availability, economic and physical access to food, food utilization and stability over time*" (FAO et al. 2017:107).

Food Sovereignty – a recently emergent lens that considers power dynamics in food systems; "*the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments*" (Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2010:2).

Formal – describes values, practices, beliefs and/or systems that are rooted in or connected to more recent cultural influences, including particularly colonial or settler influences.

Indigenous Resilience – "*…the natural, human capacity to navigate life well*" (HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003:1).

Internal social services – A customary system of care that is internal to the community, not part of an organised effort by formal government, corporate or non-governmental agencies. In this system people – including children – are noticed. People offer appreciation of one another and may attempt to provide support for those who are struggling.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami – A non-profit organisation that represents the Inuit of *Inuit Nunangat* (Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut). One principle aim is to preserve

Inuit culture and Inuit languages. It represents these Inuit before the Government of Canada and engages in advocacy work.

Inuinnaqtun – Indigenous Inuit language of the Western Kitikmeot region of Nunavut; considered dialect of Inuvialuktun or Inuktitut; written using Roman Orthography.

Inuit – Indigenous people of the Arctic.

Inuit Nunangat – Inuit (home)land.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit – *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* or *IQ* refers to the knowledge paradigm of Inuit (*i.e.* 'Inuit knowledge'), arguably much of which is based on a long-standing relationship with the land/environment (traditional, cultural, place-based). The principles of IQ embody "*…all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions, and expectations*" (Anonymous, as cited in Wenzel 2004:240). Principles of IQ can be understood differently, and in some cases quite narrowly particularly by non-Inuit or those without similar Inuit traditions (Karetak and Tester 2017; Tester and Irniq 2008).

Inuk – singular of Inuit.

Kabloonak – *Inuinnaqtun* word for outsiders, 'white people'. Spelled variously, including *Qallunat*. Can be considered mildly derogatory in some instances.

Kugluktummiut – people of Kugluktuk.

Local – refers to two principle things: (1) a geographic area associated with a group of people and their associated culture (practices, values and beliefs), and (2) people of Inuit ancestry and most often Inuit living in Kugluktuk. This was a term used internally in Kugluktuk by other Inuit (*e.g.* participant #24).

Maligait – "*…the core laws of relationship that govern how one connects to other people and how one connects to the environment…*" (Nunavut Department of Education 2007:27).

Mitkolik – (winter) boots made from the leg skins of a caribou.

Nattiq Frolics – a week-long spring celebration; 'Nattiq' means 'seal' in *Inuinnaqtun*.

Nunavummiuq – Person from Nunavut, singular.

Nunavummiut – the people of Nunavut.

Nunavut – territory of northern Canada; homeland of Nunavummiut.

Nunavut Sivuniksavut – ‘Our land is our future’: an Inuit-centered post-secondary training program.

Nutrition North Canada – a federal government food subsidy program that “…seeks to make nutritious food more accessible and affordable to residents of isolated northern communities…[it] alleviates the costs of shipping healthy foods by air…” (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017).

Parka – warm (winter) jacket.

Qamutiq – Local word for sleds that are pulled behind dogs or snow machines. In Kugluktuk, these tended to be made of rough timber tied together with rope to create a flat surface, which was connected to timber skis (metal runners). Qamutiqs were used to haul equipment, people, animal carcasses and other materials. These could be different lengths, depending on the size of load being hauled.

Quana – *Inuinnaqtun* word for ‘thank you’.

Sila – “*The substance of life (Leduc 2010), including the land, spirituality, and the knowledge and practices of the ancestors who came before”* (Tulloch 2015:9).

Worldview – A concept that describes how we perceive the world and guides how we make sense of phenomena within and around us. Worldviews are linked with the philosophical/ conceptual realms of ontologies, epistemologies and axiologies. See also Hart (2010)

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Deep gratitude to all my family and relations – seen and unseen – the ones who have come before, those who follow and those who have been helping me grow along my way: may love flow and spread in ever widening circles and may there always be room for repair.

Dedication

> *"The truth is, regardless of who you are and where you're from, our Ancestors have been through a lot ~ There are many things that tried to obliterate all forms of goodness & you are living, loving proof that it didn't work ~"*
>
> Pulxaneeks Love, Haisla Nation

A friend attending a workshop offered this prayer: "*We are about to eat our ancestors, so be mindful and grateful*". Increasingly, I see my own relationship with food as a journey of (re-) awakening. Diné scholar activist Tso writes, "*Food is our relatives. Food is our ancestors*" (2014:38). Enrique Salmón (Rarámuri, Tarahumara), scholar activist – writes about "*eating the landscape*" (2012) . The wisdom of 'eating our ancestors' helps make space to more deeply acknowledge the act of eating as incorporating into our bodies all life in the past, present and future, seen and unseen, where each morsel of food is part of someone or something fundamentally alive and connected to us, as we are part of the web of life. In this way, each opportunity to nourish our bodies – from our ancestors and of the landscape – is also an opportunity to nourish our soul(s), families and 'villages'. Furthermore, we can do this in mindfulness or waste thoughtlessly in thoughtlessness.

I dedicate this work to my son, Nemiah, whose radiance and curiosity nourishes me every day and helps me to be a better (human) being. Your love keeps me here and kept me going.

I also dedicate this work to Bessie Sitatak and her husband Fred, who patiently mimes his care and humour to those of us with lamentable lack of *Inuinnaqtun*. Bessie passed away in the autumn of 2018. My heavy heart has been blessed by having spent time with this amazing being.

Prologue

Researching and writing about people-food relationships is like sewing a pair of *mitkolik*[1]. First one must find the patterns – the pieces that seem to match up. From a cardboard box of dried, unworked leg skins, some fit together well, others not. Finding the ones that match is a process – there are moments of meditation and contemplation, others of frustration. Sewing together the different pieces of the research story, I need to keep making space to step back – to see the broader context before moving forward and getting focused again. As with the *mitkolik*, I stepped into this research after someone else. With the *mitkolik*, others found the caribou, killed and skinned them with the skill born of generations at every step. Family, friends, those in need and in companionship shared those caribou – their flesh, blood, bones, the tasty net of fat that covers the stomach and the skin. In these ways, much knowledge was reinforced, renewed, passed along; then along I came. My first sewing in Kugluktuk was a pair of mittens, using chemically tanned sealskin purchased from one of the local commercial stores. That was a wonderful, rich experience and my hands were warm. I also felt connection – with people, place and the animal whose skin I worked with, but I wanted more. Along came a box full of donated caribou leg skins: thus began my next journey – in a place and space where I learned, was encouraged and laughed at – to sew *mitkolik*, to make meaning from all the pieces, to honour the knowledge, wisdom and strength of the people with whom I worked, the ones who belong to the land where I was. Sometime later a particular elder came along. She showed me that when I thought I was ready to begin sewing the pieces together, after so much effort scraping and softening, I was in fact only just beginning to see what was in those skins, what they had (and perhaps wanted) to give. They gave a lot: now my feet are warm too. So much learning in a pair

[1] This is the word that was used to describe boots or *kamiks* sewn from caribou leg skins

of boots! I brought them back ‘home’ with me, completing them shortly before becoming pregnant. Now that my boots are complete and I have birthed my son, it is time to birth this work.

Introduction

Chapter 1: Introduction

Concerns about hunger and the high cost of food in the Canadian Arctic have been the focus of international attention (*e.g.* De Schutter 2012) and are echoed through scholarly food security research, internal government reports and publications, and in popular media. The 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey found that over 60% of Inuit households in Arctic Canada are food insecure (Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012), and the Nunavut Bureau of Statistics suggests that *Nunavummiut*[2] pay twice as much as other Canadians for food and other commercial goods (2017). The Council of Canadian Academies' (CCA) assessment of the state of knowledge about northern food security reports, "…*among northern Aboriginal peoples* [food security] *is a problem that requires urgent attention to address and mitigate…*" (2014:xiv). These concerns are not trivial. Nonetheless, how do we reconcile them with the fact that Inuit continue to successfully feed their families (e.g. Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012)? What might be learned if, for example, the other side of Inuit Health Survey findings were considered – in other words, the approximately 40% of households that are considered *food secure*?

This research puts forward two related, but distinct arguments in connection with the apparent tension described above: (1) prevailing understandings of people-food relationships in the north may not be adequate for appropriate and effective food system governance, including responding to food-related phenomena, whether hunger or wellbeing; and (2) the prevailing lens of food security may not be an appropriate tool for food system governance because of its failure to adequately consider the broader scope of people-food relationships. Prevailing interpretations

[2] *i.e.* The people of Nunavut

of the term 'food security' are based on the World Health Organisation's definition[3] (FAO et al. 2017:107) and refer principally to the access and availability of food (Wiebe and Wipf 2011:4). Food system frameworks or conceptual lenses – how we conceptualise phenomena – shape our understandings of people-food relationships and fundamentally impact food system governance, including how we respond to food-related phenomena (*e.g.* hunger) (Renzaho and Mellor 2010; Scott 2013; Hall 1993; Wiebe and Wipf 2011; Bravo 2009; Martens et al. 2016; Huambachano 2016). In this regard, it becomes imperative to consider the capacities of different lenses to encapsulate on the ground people-food relationships and how these might influence food system governance.

Tulloch writes: *"Self-government movements, land claims, Indigenous control of education, and economic development have led to increased opportunities for Indigenous Canadians to participate in society on their own terms… Despite these positive developments, we too often hear deficit discourses…*" (2015:1). Dominant approaches to understanding people-food relationships in Canada and elsewhere through a food security lens have contributed important knowledge about food insufficiency (*i.e.* food *in*security) and vulnerability (e.g. Natcher 2015; Statham 2012; Chan et al. 2006; Ford 2009a; Ford and Berrang-Ford 2009); however, as Tulloch (2015) points out, such problem-oriented and deficit-focused[4] approaches with limited scope also risk overlooking existing strengths associated with what enables people to feed their families. Taking a more appreciative approach may contribute to more holistic understandings of people-food relationships.

[3] See Chapter 2.3a
[4] See Valencia (2012) for expanded description and context

Given these identified knowledge gaps, this thesis first develops a grassroots, holistic understanding of people-food relationships in a case study community. This involves consideration of the practices, values, beliefs and other factors (*e.g.* institutions, actors, food sources, relationships) that impact people's abilities to feed their families including what *enables* those relationships. Emergent themes establish the foundation upon which the second part of the thesis is based.

The second part of this thesis focuses on how food system lenses impact understandings of people-food relationships, and considers how emergent understandings may impact northern food system governance. The three lenses under examination – food security, food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience – are explored for their respective capacities to encapsulate salient aspects of people-food relationships. This is intended to help contribute towards theoretical development around food system governance. A comprehensive critique of prevailing interpretations of the historically dominant food security lens is provided in the literature review (Ch. 2.3a), while food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience[5] as more recent emergent and potentially viable alternative lenses are discussed in more depth in the research findings.

As mentioned previously, food security in this work is conservatively translated as access and availability of food following Wiebe and Wipf's analysis and interpretation (2011:4). Wittman *et al.* describe food sovereignty as "*the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments*" (2010:2); it considers power dynamics in food systems. The food sovereignty lens has not been broadly applied in Nunavut, although that appears to be changing. There is no fixed definition of Indigenous resilience. In this work it is interpreted roughly as, *"…the natural,*

[5] Lenses are described in more detail in Ch.2.3

human capacity to navigate life well" (HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003:1). Other generalisations include a "*positive dimension*" and "*…a collective aspect, combining spirituality, family strength, Elders, ceremonial rituals, oral traditions, identity, and support networks*" (HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003; Andersson 2008:3–4). At the time of writing this dissertation, the Indigenous resilience lens has not previously been used in a food-specific context.

This research fits within several fields of scholarship, including food studies (Koc, Sumner, and Winson 2017), food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience, appreciative inquiry and multi/transdisciplinary research among others. How this work is situated within these fields is explored in greater detail in Chapter 6.4.

1.1 Research Objectives & Questions

This research has two main objectives:

- Improve in-depth understandings of people-food relationships in a Nunavut community, including what factors currently impact individual and collective relationships with food and how, focusing particularly on knowledge gaps about enabling mechanisms
- Explore the capacity of different food system lenses to represent important aspects of people-food relationships (*i.e.* appropriateness) and contribute to northern food system governance (*i.e.* effectiveness)

This dissertation addresses the following research questions within these objectives, towards developing recommendations that may enhance food system governance:

Research Question 1: What constitutes people-food relationships in a case-study community in Nunavut? What are emergent themes in people's lives (Table 6, Appendix B) and how do these themes characterise people-food relationships? How are themes interconnected? What characterises food system governance in the case-study community?

<u>Research Question 2</u>: How do the lenses of food security, food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience encompass people-food relationships (*i.e.* emergent themes) in a Nunavut community? Relevant sub-questions include:

a) Broadly, what themes resonated with or were not well represented by each of the three lenses?

b) How do the lenses of food sovereignty or Indigenous resilience help us understand people-food relationships in a Nunavut community, and potentially improve food system governance?

c) Is there potential for these lenses to work synergistically to form a more appropriate or effective hybrid lens? Are there other candidate lenses that emerge?

1.2 Dissertation Structure

This dissertation is divided into four principle parts, with seven chapters. Broadly, the Introduction (Ch. 1-3) presents the research problem, provides a review of relevant literature and describes the methods. The results (Ch. 4-5) and the discussion section follow (Ch. 6). The final chapter (Ch. 7) concludes by summarising responses to research questions, findings and recommendations (Ch. 7). Appendices provide supportive material, including a policy brief.

In the results chapters, following my *mitkolik* metaphor, Chapter 4 finds us sorting through the box of caribou skins, laying out all the pieces, grouping the ones that fit, the ones that match. This chapter looks broadly at what people in Kugluktuk spoke about and then explores how this relates this to food; it is an iterative process, involving observation, grouping and re-grouping until a resonant whole emerges. Chapter 5 is the work of preparing the skins. It is tool gathering (lenses), chewing, abrading and scraping – stripping away sinew and dried tissue, to reveal what each strip of skin can offer. This is where we see how different tools can impact what materializes, whether skins for sewing or people-food relationships. Chapter 6

unites the whole, sewing together the various essential emergent parts. Here the skins are attached to the sole, and the embodied wisdom, knowledge, skill and experience of countless generations manifest as something beautiful and pragmatic. In the concluding chapter, a summary of responses to research questions, findings and recommendations, the trimmings are added to the almost finished *Mitkolik*, but are no less important: cuffs that help hold the boots in place, the liners that give added insulation. Food and warm feet: in an environment where these underlie not only survival, but continuity and thriving, the research presented here is about much more than just food security and hunger, just as 'good' boots means more than just warm feet.

More specifically, Chapter 1 introduces the research rationale and describes the thesis, research objectives and anticipated research contributions for this work. Chapter 2 – a literature review – provides key definitions and concepts, and summarises research gaps (Section 2.1) as they relate to food systems. Food systems are described broadly and then with emphasis on northern food systems (Section 2.2). The concept of research lenses follows (Section 2.3), including a detailed critique of the food security lens and situating the concept of hunger as it relates to food security. An overview of northern food security is described in Section 2.4. Chapter 3 describes the methods – an exploratory case study using an in-depth, ethnographic approach, informed by appreciative inquiry, modified grounded theory and Indigenous methodologies. In order to create a listening space within the researcher and in connection with community members, the research methodology was open, appreciative, curious and (self-) reflective.

Chapter 4 results address the first research question (RQ1a & b), moving towards developing a grassroots (bottom-up) understanding of what constitutes people-food relationships in Kugluktuk. This chapter begins with study demographics (Section 4.1) in order to provide a

sense of the people who inform this research. Emergent themes and sub-themes, informed by study participants' interests and information relevant to the local food system are provided in Table 6 and described in detail in Appendix B. These are then summarised in some instances or re-framed exclusively within people-food relationships in Kugluktuk (Section 4.2). The resultant enhanced (grassroots, holistic) understandings of people-food relationships are used to inform the development of a conceptual model (Fig. 4), illustrating and describing connections between and among key themes or factors. The chapter concludes (Section 4.3) with two personal vignettes in order to help ground and illustrate different aspects of Kugluktuk's food system, including how emergent themes manifest within the whole.

Chapter 5 results address the second research question (RQ2), broadly focusing on applying the lenses under investigation (*i.e.* food security, food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience) to people-food relationships in Kugluktuk (from Section 4.2), including specifically the relative abilities of the three different lenses to encompass these enhanced understandings (Section 5.1). Subsequent sections focus primarily on food sovereignty (Section 5.2) and Indigenous resilience (Section 5.3) lenses, since considerations regarding the food security lens are presented in depth within the literature review (Ch. 2). This chapter concludes with a brief exploration of other potentially relevant lenses (Section 5.4), such as the framework of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*[6] (IQ), which is grounded in *Inuit Nunangat*[7].

[6] *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* or *IQ* refers to the knowledge paradigm of Inuit (*i.e.* 'Inuit knowledge'), arguably much of which is based on a long-standing relationship with the land/environment. The principles of IQ embody "…*all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions, and expectations*" (Anonymous, as cited in Wenzel 2004:240). Principles of IQ can be understood differently, and in some cases quite narrowly particularly by non-Inuit or those without similar Inuit traditions (Karetak and Tester 2017; Tester and Irniq 2008).

[7] Inuit home(lands)

The discussion in Chapter 6 considers people-food relationships more holistically, expanding the conversation tentatively ever further across boundaries, including the geographic bounds of Kugluktuk. This chapter weaves together findings from the previous two chapters (Ch. 4 & 5); it is an offering of outsider insights that emphasize what *enables* people to successfully feed their families (Section 6.1), explores how positionality affects the ability to perceive people-food relationships (Section 6.2) and how research findings contribute to northern food system governance considerations (Section 6.3). Section 6.4 identifies distinctive research contributions and attempts to position findings within larger scholarly arenas. The chapter concludes with a summary of study limitations (Section 6.5).

Chapter 7 concludes by first summarising responses to research questions (Section 7.1) and key findings (Section 7.2), then offering a list of recommendations for enhancing northern food system governance (Section 7.3). The final section (Section 7.4) lists potential directions for future northern food system research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The following chapter begins by re-visiting and expanding upon research gaps, and then covers three foundational topics: food systems, food system lenses and Northern food security. Section 2.1 provides an overview of research gaps identified in academic literatures. Section 2.2 offers scholarly conceptions of food systems, including northern food systems. Section 2.3 is a detailed description of the three different food system lenses that are the focus of this research, namely food security (FS), food sovereignty (FSov) and Indigenous resilience (IR). Section 2.3a offers a critique of FS grounded in academic literatures[8], and includes a conceptual diagram of food security in a northern food system (Fig.1). Hunger, a concept that is tightly coupled with food systems, wellbeing and the concept of food security – is also described. Sections 2.3b and c describe the FSov and IR lenses. Section 2.4 offers more depth regarding northern food security, and introduces different mechanisms or drivers that impact people-food relationships.

2.1 Research Gaps

Despite prevailing discourses about food insecurity, concerns about hunger and the high costs of food, many people in the Canadian Arctic appear to be successfully feeding their families. Findings from Statistics Canada, for example, report that 96% of Inuit households in Canada shared country[9] foods with people outside of their household (Statistics Canada 2006). Rosol *et al.'*s findings from the 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey indicate that nearly 80% of households distributed country food, and the Qikiqtani Inuit Association's recent report on food sovereignty and harvesting states, "*Some studies have suggested that this sharing economy more*

[8] Food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience lenses are discussed in more depth in the results.
[9] *Country food* in Nunavut, also known as *local* or *traditional* food elsewhere, refers to food that is procured from the immediate landscape and is part of place-based, cultural and historical Inuit diet (Ford and Berrang-Ford 2009). This includes marine organisms such as whales, seals or polar bears, terrestrial organisms such as caribou or muskox, as well as fish, berries, algae and plants.

effectively distributes food to those in need than social assistance" (2019:8). How should we make meaning of these seemingly divergent realities? As Thompson points out, there are different kinds of food insecurity – some of the most solvable can be addressed through measures such as emergency shipments of food; others require a different tack, in great part owing to the complexity of the problem: "*The more intractable ethical problems of food security concern people whose poverty prevents them from having access to adequate diets even when food is available and plentiful in local markets*" (2015a:73).

In 2000, Kuhnlein and Chan noted, "*There is currently a research gap concerning… how personal food choices are made in the total context of family and community life*" (2000:618). The emergence of *Feeding My Family* in 2012 (Papatsie et al. 2013) – a northern, grassroots, online social media movement concerned with raising awareness about high food (and living) costs in the north, paired alongside widespread dissatisfaction with Canada's federal food subsidy program for remote communities[10] (Chin-Yee and Chin-Yee 2015), suggests that current responses to northern food insecurity may not be serving the very people for whom interventions may be most needed. Research focused on northern food (*in*)security often cites low income and unemployment as covariates or correlates of hunger (*e.g.* Council of Canadian Academies 2014; Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2014); however, given the potential importance of other factors to individual and collective food security, such as sharing practices, it seems there is a need to complicate understandings of people-food relationships. What other factors underlie food insufficiency? How well are policies, programs and services meeting the needs of the people for whom these are intended to serve?

[10] Formerly *Food Mail*, more recently replaced by *Nutrition North Canada* (NNC). See Ch. 2.4a-i for more information.

These questions point to possible gaps in foundational understandings about individual and collective people-food relationships, and suggest a need for bottom-up approaches to policy development (Martin and Arnos 2017). To what extent are these gaps attributable to the particular tools (*e.g.* food system lenses) used to assess people-food relationships, which then inform food system governance? Academic literatures suggest that gaps in understanding are persistent (Willows 2005; Akande et al. 2015; Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:22). If influencing drivers[11] or mechanisms of people-food relationships are unknown or overlooked (*e.g.* power relations, culture[12], place-based practices/values/ beliefs) this can have implications for successfully feeding families. For example, Pakseresht *et al*. suggest that "…*simply subsidizing the cost of certain foods will continue to increase the likelihood of food insecurity in the Canadian Arctic*" (2014:6).

By focusing on issues of food *access* and *availability* – the basic tenets of food security – some authors argue that this fails to call to account the socio-political and collective contexts of food, including the roles of people, environment, power dynamics and histories (Wittman 2011; Martin and Arnos 2017), and demonstrates a lack of understanding about food systems (Pimbert 2009; Wiebe and Wipf 2011). The lenses used by policy-makers are influenced by factors such as personal and collective norms and experiences, which in turn shape both understandings of people-food relationships and food system governance. Asking whether feeding our families is limited to access and availability of food (*i.e.* food security lens) is predicated on assumptions about people-food relationships; however, do these assumptions bear out under scrutiny?

[11] In this research, drivers are factors or mechanisms that cause, instigate or enable food security and feeding families (see also Section 2.4a).

[12] 'Culture' here refers to the values, practices, beliefs that shape people's lives, meaning and sense of purpose/value. Culture is not static, but is continually re-created and negotiated by the people who identify with any given culture. I see culture as shaped in turn by many different factors, such as history, geographies, other cultures, mass media and others.

The following sections offer a detailed look into the different factors that currently inform understandings of food systems, food system lenses, and northern food security.

2.2 Food Systems

A food system is comprised of those elements connected to the production, acquisition, transportation, consumption and marketing of human foodstuffs, which may include industrial[13], 'traditional'[14] (*e.g.* country/native) and other foods. Pimbert describes food systems in the following:

> *"Local food systems start at the household level and expand to neighbourhood, municipal and regional levels. Food systems include not just the production aspects of food but also processing, distribution, access, use, recycling and waste. They include the actors that both participate in and benefit from these activities (Tansey and Worsley,1995; Ericksen, 2006)"* (2009:8).

Food systems and their components are variable over space and time, and may be influenced by different factors, such as agricultural and hunting practices, or politics, legislation and policy or other food systems. There are many factors and interactions at play in any food system; these form an integral part of how food (in)security is experienced by any one person (Ericksen et al. 2010:30–31; Liverman and Kapadia 2010:3). International economies and external markets influence smaller scale food systems in a variety of ways; the outcomes of these influences may be understood and/or predictable, while other aspects remain unknown and/or unpredictable (Maxwell 1996; Ericksen et al. 2010:30–31; Headey and Fan 2010). Aspects of interest in *individual food systems* in this study include, for example, details about kinds of foods people are

[13] The terms '*store food'*, '*agricultural food'*, '*industrial food*' and '*market food'* are used interchangeably in this research. There are some instances where country foods, such as local marine organisms (*e.g.* fish) or land animals (*e.g.* caribou) are also sold in stores.

[14] I use this word throughout the text, but would like to note that I find it problematic. I attribute this in part to the underlying assumptions about homogeneity or consistency of meaning, as well as the implication that somehow there is a timelessness of 'traditional' practices. If change is a constant in human societies, what does the word 'traditional' actually mean? In this work 'traditional' implies something that is both historical and part of cultural identity.

eating, how people acquire food – including their connections to other personal and communal food systems, what variables affect these relationships, and the role of issues such as time (*e.g.* seasonality). The *community food system* includes kinship and other intra-personal relationships – both within a settlement and potentially *intra*-settlement relations, commercial enterprises that import and sell food locally, organisations such as the *Hunters and Trappers Organisation* (HTO), and other sources of inputs and outputs to the community, including how food is transported.

a) Food Systems are Dynamic

Nutritional anthropology tells us that human food systems are dynamic (Pelto and Vargas 1992:160; Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996:424). Changes in content, quality and abundance of food are dictated by environmental and social factors (Popkin 2006:289), both within and beyond the control of human society. These factors remain inherent to modern day food systems; however, some important new influences are now at play, and are affecting the acquisition and availability of food for northern families and communities. For example, food systems are increasingly becoming part of an international market – a global food system more interconnected and dynamic than it possibly ever was (Pelto and Pelto 1983:507; Maxwell 1996; Ericksen et al. 2010:30–31; Headey and Fan 2010). Global economy and external markets affect local prices of staples such as corn (maize), wheat and rice (McCarthy et al. 2005:947; Headey and Fan 2010:xiii). In this sense, global markets can act as enabling mechanisms of food security, increasing access to low cost products; alternatively, they can destabilize local economies, acting instead as disabling mechanisms of food security. The rate of change in global and local food systems is also increasing, owing to several factors. Changes associated with transportation (Pelto and Pelto 1983:509, 526), agricultural technologies and practices

(Burchi, Fanzo, and Frison 2011; Wiebe and Wipf 2011:6–7), and energy accumulation in the global climate system (Brohan et al. 2006) impact global and local food systems, but are poorly understood and difficult to predict (Stern 2007:v–vi; Meakin and Kurvits 2009:5). These changes and (re-)structuring of food systems tend to disconnect producers from consumers, which can lead to decreased accountability, transparency and sustainability of the food system (Morrison 2011:103–104; Wiebe and Wipf 2011:5, 6, 8, 12).

In the Canadian Arctic, the food systems that exist today are also undergoing change – in some cases quite dramatic change – relative to even a few decades ago (Draper 1977; Stenbaek 1987; Mead et al. 2010). While change can create new opportunities, it can also introduce new challenges that impact wellbeing. Underlying drivers of change are many and subtle, and some are more recent while others have been taking place over decades. Some drivers may be more transparent, such as oil and gas prices, crop failures in other parts of the world and global food market prices (Liverman and Kapadia 2010:15–16), while others such as employment and intra-community relationships may be more obscure. The latter showed up in Ulukhaktok (Nunavut), for example, as changing patterns of social networks (*i.e.* kin relations) based on different economic strategies: wage earners were found to emphasize ties with parents and siblings, while hunters cultivated ties with distant and collateral kin (Collings 2011). Each strategy has different individual and collective impacts, particularly on the flow and distribution of resources, whether food or knowledge transfer (*ibid.*).

Another important modern driver of change in the food system across the Arctic is the cost of fossil fuels: gasoline is used to power snowmobiles, boats, planes, trucks, four-wheelers and other technologies that form an important part of human practices in the North. Air transport today is part of Northern life (Ford 2008; NEB 2011), providing a wide range of goods and

services from food staples to health care (Cameron 2007; Ford and Beaumier 2011). In Nunavut, from 1999 – 2006, 40% of the Territory's petroleum product purchases were to support transportation energy (Government of Nunavut 2007:6); changes in fuel prices can have meaningful consequences for product and service delivery. The combination of a demographically young and rapidly expanding northern population (Gionet 2008; Stats Can 2011), heavy reliance on fossil fuels for transport of many goods and services, and high or rising fuel prices (Government of Nunavut 2007) contributes to a challenging situation for many communities (Ah-You and Leng 1999; NEB 2011). These facts affect collective and individual food systems, and more specifically local food security (Mead et al. 2010; Ford and Beaumier 2011; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012).

Climate is an important driver of change in every food system. Expectations in polar and coastal regions are for generally more rapid and extreme effects of current climate change relative to other geographic locations (ACIA 2004:10). Potential and observed impacts include shoreline erosion, rapid and widespread permafrost thaw, changing sea ice conditions, snow cover, and changes in vegetation and wildlife habitats (cited in Duerden 2004; Hinzman et al. 2005; Lenton et al. 2008). These changes will have important consequences for the Arctic landscape, wildlife and its peoples, including interactions among these (ACIA 2004:8–18; Hinzman et al. 2005). In the circumpolar Arctic, food scarcity is seasonal (Lévesque et al. 2002; Ford and Beaumier 2011) and wildlife distribution patchy. These factors have always been important influences on the successful acquisition of food. Recent changes in climate, however, may compound these challenges by affecting migratory or life-cycle patterns of wildlife, and sea ice or weather conditions, which in turn affects the timing, success and safety of the hunt (Ford et al. 2008). It is unclear how the combination of climate change and a rapidly growing Northern

population (Gionet 2008; Stats Can 2011), whose relative ability to respond to local environmental conditions has become restricted (*i.e.* sedentism[15]), will impact the potential for human settlements in the Arctic to rely on local animal and plant populations for sustenance.

How will these influences play out in modern Arctic food systems? How can the people most directly affected by these changes – many of whom may be excluded from decision making authority (Morrison 2011:98; Wiebe and Wipf 2011:13) – play a more decisive role in shaping their food systems?

b) Food Systems and Human Health

Nutritional transition refers to shifting patterns of food consumption and activity patterns over time (Popkin 2006:289) within a given group of individuals. Kuhnlein and Receveur describe this shift as 'non-directed'; in other words, "…*a by-product or consequence of other events in the environment*" (1996:423). Nutritional transitions within human societies around the globe are not new; however, current drivers and consequences of these transitions may have new and meaningful implications for human health, and for individual and collective food security (Popkin 2006). Among the Maasai of Kenya, for example, increased reliance on foodstuffs provided by aid agencies has been identified as contributing to loss of local, place-based knowledge, since knowledge of local edible plants and animals, particularly during times of drought, is essential for survival (Oiye et al. 2009:248). In many parts of North America, including the Arctic, nutritional deficiencies and over-nutrition are conditions linked to nutritional transition and food insecurity (Kuhnlein et al. 2004; Bjerregaard et al. 2004; Erber et

[15] Kelly suggests that *sedentism* is frequently understood as reduced mobility of human groups "…to the point where they remain residentially stationary year-round" (1992:49)

al. 2010; Hopping et al. 2010; Seligman, Laraia, and Kushel 2010; Egeland, Johnson-Down, et al. 2011).

Recent nutrition transition in Indigenous communities in the Canadian Arctic, among the people of *Inuit Nunagat*[16], has been linked to increasing involvement in the wage economy, changing government policy and legislation, and population growth that exceeds local environmental carrying capacity (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Hopping et al. 2010). Over-nutrition, nutritional deficiencies and associated non-communicable diseases (NCDs) are widely reported phenomena that have been linked to a variety of factors, including urbanization, economic growth, changes in technology and culture, as well as income (Kuhnlein et al. 2004; Popkin 2006; Hopping et al. 2010; Seligman, Laraia, and Kushel 2010; Schaefer et al. 2011; Hruschka 2012). In the example of country food harvesting and sharing in Arctic Canada, the food security of people in (Inuit) sharing networks are impacted by the health of hunters and others responsible for food provision (Damas 1972; Collings, Wenzel, and Condon 1998; Duhaime et al. 2002; Collings 2011; Statham 2012:85, 86, 98, 108).

Global industrial (and other human) practices are also impacting Arctic food systems via food chain contamination. For example, air and ocean circulation patterns transport industrially produced chemicals from more southerly locations to the Arctic (Dreyer et al. 2009; Stemmler and Lammel 2010), where they are deposited and bio-accumulate. These chemicals are harmful to the environment – including human health – and are comprised of persistent organic pollutants (POPs) such as PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyl) and various pesticides (*e.g.* (Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane - DDT, hexachlorocyclohexane, endosulfan), flame retardants

[16] Homeland of the Inuit of Canada, and includes Nunavut, Nunatsiavut, Nunavik and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

such as polybrominated diphenyl ethers (PBDEs) and polychlorinated naphthalenes (PCNs), as well as heavy metals (lead, mercury) (Callaghan et al. 2005:254; McCarthy et al. 2005:952, 964; Lougheed 2010). As with other drivers of change in the Arctic, risks and benefits of consuming country foods need to be considered as part of an ongoing discussion. For example, on the balance of findings, when risks associated with high contaminant levels are weighed against the social, psychological, physical and economic benefits of local country food consumption and breastfeeding, evidence appears to be in favour of continued consumption of these foods (Kinloch, Kuhnlein, and Muir 1992; Furgal, Powell, and Myers 2005).

c) Northern Food Systems

In a northern context, food systems are defined as follows:

> *…all that goes into the production, processing, distribution and consumption of traditional foods. In the Alaska Arctic this definition breaks down to all steps and components needed to feed our people. These steps include storing, sharing, trading, feasts, distribution and management of foods, and education/transfer of knowledge, language, etc. Also included in a food system is learning how to be within the environment through traditional and cultural knowledge transmitted over multiple generations, how to remain safe and how to respect life and take care of the environment.*
> (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015b)

The food systems of the Canadian Arctic have been described as binary, with acquisition of food originating from local, non-agricultural (*i.e.* country/traditional) sources *and* store foods – imported agricultural sources (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Lambden et al. 2006; Loring and Gerlach 2009; Gombay 2010a:75). Store foods and other non-food items (*e.g.* 'personal orders'[17], skidoos, boats, clothing) are brought in typically by plane, and when feasible by ship in

[17] An individual or collectives may place a food order directly with a southern supplier from a list of registered southern suppliers. This is fairly straightforward in principle, but in practice there are a number of complications: for retailers, the registration process is cumbersome, and for clients, the necessity of owning and managing a credit card, for example, can present a variety of challenges – whether there is a local bank, learning the particularities of managing finances *via* a credit card, online banking with poor internet service, *etc.*

summer. This results in high transportation and more generally operating costs, which are indirectly transferred to customers through increased prices (Boult 2004:6). In addition to country and store foods, there are *homemade* foods. These may include a combination of store foods (*e.g.* cakes, pasta dishes), Bannock and tea, or a combination of store and country foods, such as in many stews, 'char chowder', cakes with local berries, or other foods (*e.g.* muskox meatballs, *etc.*).

i. Store Foods

In Nunavut, two different commercial enterprises are the primary source of store or market foods in many communities. One is the *Northern* store and the other is Arctic Cooperatives Limited (ACL). On the surface, these two organisations might seem the same, but concerning food sovereignty there is at least one important difference in their underlying governance structure. ACL, one of the largest co-op Federations in Canada (Findlay 2006), was established in 1972 and is comprised of 31 autonomous co-operatives distributed throughout seven ACL electoral districts (ACL 2013). Co-op members are those that purchase and hold shares of a local Co-op, with some measure of power sharing – at least in theory – through a "one member, one vote" policy for democratic elections of the local co-op's Board of Directors (BOD) (ACL 2013). Consequently, members are able to provide input regarding their cooperative's operations, policies and future direction (ACL 2013).

The agricultural food system is comprised of foods that have been imported and frequently do not originate from the same region or even from within Canada. Agricultural foods tend to be available for purchase either through a commercial outlet – stores such as the *Northern* or the *Co-op* – or via bulk 'personal order'. Non-perishables are typically delivered by ship during the summer, with most perishables delivered by plane.

ii. Country Foods

> *…"subsistence"…comprise*[s] *an essential component of northern Aboriginal cultures (Thornton 1998)... defined as the local production and distribution of goods and services (Lonner 1980) where the objective is not total self-sufficiency nor capital accumulation but rather a continuous flow of goods and services (Sahlins 1971)..* [A]s *a specialized mode of production and exchange,* [it] *also entails the transmission of social norms and cultural values… the psychic income or nonmonetary awards of wildlife harvesting. Participation… is fundament in maintaining the social vitality and cultural continuity of Aboriginal communities (Freeman 1986: 29).*
>
> (Natcher 2009:85)

Simpson, of the Mississauga Nishnaabeg, writes about how country food is part of community health and wellbeing (cultural, emotional, physical and spiritual wellness), contributes to local (informal) economies, strengthens community support systems (*e.g.* family) and spiritual grounding, revitalisation of culture, language and ceremony, and "…*reinforces our sovereignty within our families, communities and Nations*" (2003:130). In the circumpolar Arctic, there are many places where consumption of country foods remains high (Blanchet et al. 2002; Hopping et al. 2010) (Table 1).

Table 1. Patterns of Country Food Consumption

Circumpolar Location	**Daily values (%)**
Nunavik	
Energy	20-35
Protein	39-65
Lipids	22-40
Nunavut	
Fall	16-39
Winter	10-42
Greenland	
Energy	22
Alaska (St. Lawrence Island)	
Energy	25
Protein	50

(Blanchet et al. 2002:51, 54)

In 2005, Statistics Canada reported that *"…68% of Inuit adults in the Canadian Arctic harvested country food*" (2009). The 2001 Aboriginal People's Survey showed that 70% of Inuit adults in Nunavut (15-54 yrs) frequently or occasionally engaged in harvesting country food, and that approximately half the meat or fish consumed by 73% of the households was country food (Tait 2001:6–7). In one community in the Baffin (*Qikiqtaaluk*) region, Kuhnlein *et al*. (1996:159) found that in 1988 children consumed 15% of their energy from country food, adults 20 – 40 years of age ~ 30%, and those 41 – 60 years of age 46 – 51%[18].

Egeland *et* al. (2009:19) reported that in 1997/98 almost two thirds of adult respondents reported consuming 41% of energy from country food in the same region. Hopping *et al*. found that in three communities across Nunavut, country food consumption was on average 1.9 times per day, while individuals over 50 years of age consumed this food more frequently (2.3 times/day)(2010). In cases where consumption of country foods is relatively low, these foods are still attributed high personal and cultural value (Chan et al. 2006; Myers, Powell, and Duhaime 2008; Ford and Goldhar 2012; Statham 2012:77).

Country foods form an important source of protein for many families in the Arctic (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996:431; Tait 2001; Egeland et al. 2009:11; Ford 2009b; Schaefer et al. 2011). Studies have shown that access to local food resources reduces food insecurity in many communities across the Canadian Arctic (Chan et al. 2006; Egeland, Johnson-Down, et al. 2011; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012). This becomes particularly meaningful in light of findings that decreased access to sources of country food correlates with increasingly unpredictable weather patterns and diminished sea ice quality and extent (ACIA 2004:82; Communities of Arctic Bay,

[18] These values may be influenced by *opportunity*, which tends not to be taken into consideration in these kinds of measures.

Kugaaruk & Repulse Bay et al. 2005; Hovelsrud et al. 2011; Wassmann et al. 2011). Country food access is also directly impacted by mechanisms such as government policies and regulations (McCarthy et al. 2005:965; Theriault et al. 2005; Chan et al. 2006). Other important factors affecting access to country foods include financial costs associated with country food acquisition, quality of relevant and necessary place-based knowledge/expertise (Chan et al. 2006; Statham 2012:106), hunting safety (Whitfield 2012:36, 41), choice and *opportunity*.

2.3 Food System Lenses

Food system lenses shape our understandings of people-food relationships and fundamentally impact food system governance (Renzaho and Mellor 2010; Scott 2013; Hall 1993; Wiebe and Wipf 2011; Bravo 2009; Martens et al. 2016; Huambachano 2016). Conceptual lenses (*e.g.* security, sovereignty, resilience) are utilised in the process of meaning-making, and are influenced by personal and societal worldviews[19]. Just as a camera lens helps to sharpen focus on something of interest, conceptual lenses or food system frameworks help to make sense of specific phenomena. For example, many decision makers and leaders around the world are using food security – a relatively recently developed lens itself – to grapple with how to define and respond to the challenges of food insufficiency and hunger, which some perceive as components of poverty (e.g. World Food Program USA 2019). As such, these lenses can be seen as tools; however, as with any tool there are limitations, some of which may be obvious and others unrecognised. Perspectives that inform concepts such as poverty, food insufficiency and hunger impact how people conceptualise, measure and then formulate or enact responses. In this

[19] A worldview – whether conscious or unconscious – is a concept that describes how we perceive the world and guides how we make sense of phenomena within and around us. Worldviews are linked with the philosophical/conceptual realms of ontologies, epistemologies and axiologies.

regard, food security can provide a tool for measuring food insufficiency, but may also reflect the mindset(s) of those who employ it.

The following sections describe in detail the three principle lenses or conceptual frameworks used in this study: food security (FS), food sovereignty (FSov) and Indigenous resilience (IR). Briefly, FS (see Sect. 2.3a) refers primarily to the access and availability of food. FSov (see Sect. 2.3b) is concerned primarily with power dynamics and structures in food systems. IR (see Sect. 2.3c) – while more elusive to define – is culture-oriented, holistic and grounded in an appreciation of strengths and resiliencies, wellbeing and thriving.

a) Food Security (FS) Lens

The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines food security as existing

> "*…when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Based on this definition, four food security dimensions can be identified: food availability, economic and physical access to food, food utilization and stability over time*" (FAO et al. 2017:107).

The WHO definition is the starting point from which relationships between people and food – particularly poverty and hunger, food systems and food system governance tend to be considered; from this emerges a number of key issues and concerns explored in the section following (Ch. 2.1a-i). As the current tool for informing food-related policy, programming and services in Nunavut, food security (FS) forms the foundation of the Nunavut Food Security Coalition's (NFSC)[20] commitment to create a Nunavut Food Security Strategy, and is interpreted in close alignment with the World Health Organisation's (WHO) definition of food

[20] The NFSC is a product of the 2010-2011 Nunavut Roundtable for Poverty Reduction. It is a collaborative group of government departments, Inuit organizations, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector that is working together to improve food security in Nunavut (Government of Nunavut 2011; Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017).

security. In this research, FS is interpreted according to prevailing definitions that focus on *access* and *availability*, which in praxis has tended to emphasize the production of more food at a lower cost (Wiebe and Wipf 2011:4).

The following figure (Fig. 1) provides a simplified conceptual model developed by the researcher based on the presumed foundations of food security (*i.e.* access & availability) (Wiebe and Wipf 2011:4). A spectrum of individual/ collective food security is shown and ranges from food insecure (red dots) to food secure (green dots), dependent upon 'food access' on the y-axis (*e.g.* cost, availability of financial resources) and 'food availability' on the x-axis (*e.g.* volume/quantity of food). Placement along this spectrum is a function of the presence/absence of different drivers of food security (*i.e.* enabling/disabling mechanisms).

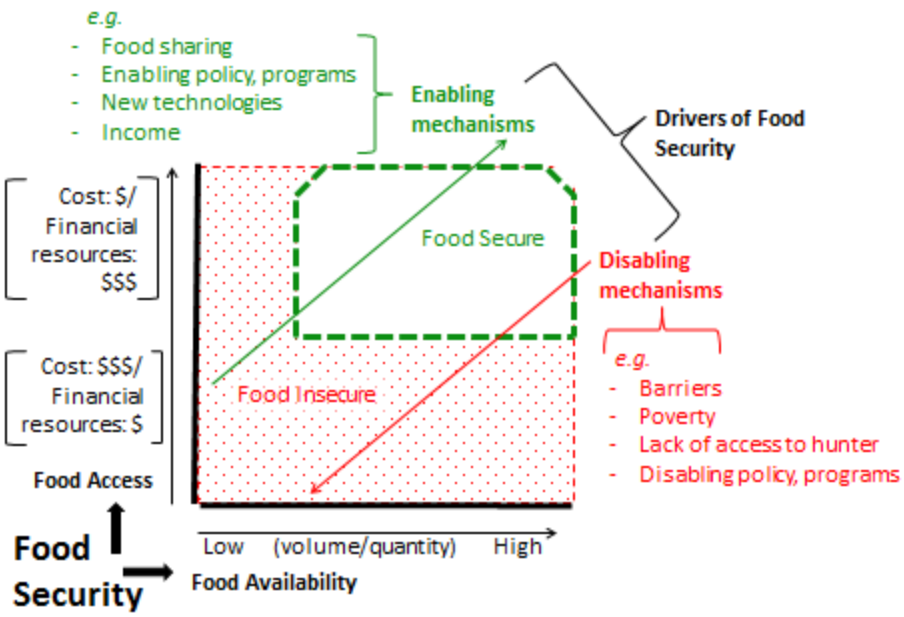


Figure 1. Food security in a (northern) food system: simplified conceptual diagram.

Article 25.1 of the 1948 United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights introduced into the international forum the idea that access to food is a basic human right; Article 25.2 emphasizes this protection for mothers and children (UN 1948:sec. 25.1, 25.2). The decades subsequent to the UN Declaration have seen conceptualizations of and interest in food security ebb and flow across continents and nation states, particularly as crises have arisen. At the 1974 *World Food Conference* and later at the 1996 *World Food Summit*, the concept of food security re-emerged and was further refined in the international arena by the WHO. Today, food security falls under the UN Development Programme "Human Security". Under this program, there are seven broad categories of human security specified, one of which is food security (Hoogensen et al. 2004). Hoogensen *et al.* suggest that human security refers to "*a dynamic process through which basic material needs are met, while concurrently securing and realizing human dignity*" (2004:192). Despite this seemingly simple conceptualization, questions about how to measure, develop solutions or implement changes in human security – including food security – are not straightforward.

In Canada, the Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM) emphasizes access to food using 18 questions "…*focus*[ing] *on self-reports of uncertain, insufficient or inadequate food access, availability and utilization due to limited financial resources, and the compromised eating patterns and food consumption that may result*" (Health Canada Website, accessed 16.08.2013, www.hc-sc.gc.ca). In other cases, emphasis is placed on hunger prevention, or consumption of 'healthy' foods (Mercille, Receveur, and Potvin 2012), which includes the local and non-local foods that are accessed, and whether these provide sufficient nutrition[21]

[21] The idea of 'sufficient nutrition' is based on conceptualisations that are themselves tied to the prevalent government paradigm about what constitutes 'nutritious' or 'healthy', which may not conform with local or traditional beliefs and practices. See also Ch.6.2f

(Lambden, Receveur, and Kuhnlein 2007; Hopping et al. 2010; Sharma 2010). Others have used hypothesized or assumed socio-demographic and dietary correlates of food security (typically *in*security), such as obesity, various blood values like HDL/LDL cholesterol, nutritional status, food intake, or any combination of these (Egeland, Johnson-Down, et al. 2011; Hruschka 2012).

The next two sub-sections provide a critique of the scope and limitations of the food security lens and review the related issue of hunger.

i. Critical Analysis of Food Security

In the case of food security, there are different definitions that have been developed internationally over the past decade (Jarosz 2014; Schiavoni 2017). In Canada and elsewhere, these appear to have largely emerged out of the problem of hunger (McIntyre, Patterson, et al. 2016; Jarosz 2014). This limited focus offers challenges to translating definitions to policy and programming for Nation States and communities. The WHO definition of food security (FS) has served as an important starting point from which to consider food system phenomena such as hunger; nonetheless, some argue that it excludes or otherwise limits other ways of understanding people-food relationships and food systems, which has meaningful consequences for both individuals and collectives (Huish 2008; Power 2008; Theriault 2009; Wiebe and Wipf 2011). In this regard, prevailing conceptualisations about food security require deconstruction: for example, who is privileged to define 'sufficient', affordable or 'nutritious' food? Each of these terms is subject to cultural and other lenses, power structures and histories that impact how we understand, measure and respond to food system phenomena *including* hunger.

The FS framework fails to consider the broader context within which it exists, such as people-food relationships and drivers, including the power dynamics that influence individual and collective capacities to effect lasting positive change (*e.g.* creating a more equitable and

sustainable food system). Figure 1 highlights this tendency to limit imaginings of people-food relationships and the food system, focusing on *access* to and *availability* of food, which on a broader scale emphasizes food production in ways that support the industrialization of agriculture, shifting control of agricultural production from small-scale farmers who contribute to local or community-level food security, to widespread control in the 'hands of the few' and powerful (Wiebe and Wipf 2011:4). This is a scenario that has global impacts, which are beyond the scope of this study to explore here, but are being increasingly documented in food sovereignty literatures.

Focusing on access and availability also serves to perpetuate dependencies on government and industry in ways that may make the community more vulnerable to hunger over the long term. Patel writes, "*As far as the terms of food security go, it is entirely possible for people to be food secure in prison or under a dictatorship*" (2009:665). The lack of consideration of power and autonomy, including decision making authority – who gets to decide what food is important is a function of interpretations of FS that focus on access and availability. This approach neglects to account for how these features are enabled and who is involved in decision making (*i.e.* food sovereignty), excluding considerations such as sustainability (*e.g.* food source and quality), including the roles of local, endogenous and cultural values, beliefs and practices that *support* or *enable* people to nourish their families in meaningful and autonomous ways. The FS lens also tends to neglect collective mechanisms in favour of the individual. As Martin and Arnos write, this focus tends to ignore major contextual factors within a society – for example changing employment patterns, technological advancements, environmental destruction and "*other measures of 'progress'*" – and assumes that these are "*…unavoidable by-products of development, as opposed to direct consequences of colonization, unfettered economic*

development, and the privileging of corporate interests…" (2017:206). In many regards, the focus of FS seems to emphasize a triage-like approach or – as Renzaho and Mellor identify – coping strategies (Renzaho and Mellor 2010) , putting into question its usefulness regarding long-term sustainability. As an ideal, the 'stability over time' dimension of FS (FAO et al. 2017:107) is admirable; however, whether or not this is achievable remains an open question.

Findings from the 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey overwhelmingly focus on food *in*security and the problem of hunger. Dominant FS approaches tend to be primarily preoccupied with 'hunger'(food *in*security); assumptions about root causes and how these need to be addressed include improving access to financial resources (*e.g.* employment, welfare), store food and/or 'proper' food 'education' that would lead to 'better' food choices (Government of Nunavut 2011; Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017). Headey and Fan argue that strategies for addressing FS across the globe, within nation states and at household and individual levels, continues to be inadequate (2010:81). Approaches to understanding and responding to food (in)security have tended to focus on satiety, such as *via* food drops (*e.g.* some forms of foreign aid), food banks, soup kitchens and federal food subsidy programs such as Nutrition North Canada in northern and remote communities in Canada (food transportation subsidy - see Ch. 2.4a-i). Many of these approaches have been criticized and their efficacy called into question (e.g. Tarasuk 2017; Tarasuk, Dachner, and Loopstra 2014; Dargo 2008; Galloway 2014), including the empirical basis that informs relevant programming, policy and services (e.g. Galloway 2014; Ch. 6.2d). McIntyre *et al.* (2016) write, "*Clearly, in Canada from 1995 to 2012, the power of imagery around food insecurity did not depend on scientific accuracy*". The risk is that these approaches may be contributing to the ongoing challenges of food insecurity in northern and remote communities in Canada.

It is meaningful that high numbers of people in the north are experiencing hunger, including children (Lawn and Harvey 2003; Rosol et al. 2011; Findlay, Langlois, and Kohen 2013; Egeland et al. 2010). This raises important questions about what the food security lens may be overlooking, such as the underlying causes of hunger, the role of culture in food security, or how wellbeing relates to relationships between people and food. Since lenses are shaped by the people and institutions that define and use them, in the example of FS, can the framework be re-shaped to move beyond hunger, to consider other issues – single and compound – that inform people-food relationships and might better support thriving individuals, collectives and food systems? Or is there some inherent limit attached to the words themselves that cannot be (re)shaped? Are historical practices or understandings of FS simply too enmeshed in (colonial[22]) mindsets to accommodate some of the identified gaps from this research? Some of the fundamental considerations necessary for shaping food system governance and people-food relationships include deciding what will be emphasised; in terms of people-food relationships, is satiety enough?

When discourses are focused on food *in*security, interest in identifying and supporting practices that enable food *security* tend to be excluded. As Kim Tallbear describes, "…[the] *narratives of shortcomings and failures*" are stories told about Indigenous 'others' about their Nation's 'failure' to meet imposed 'standards (2016). These stories are powerful (Smith et al. 2017), and tend to problematize social challenges, which can have the effect of limiting the inherent creativity of communities to identify means for addressing their own concerns

[22] 'Colonialism' as interpreted here is roughly in line with Dietler's description, as *"…the projects and practices of control deployed in interactions between societies linked in asymmetrical relations of power and the processes of social and cultural transformation resulting from those practices*" (2006:220). It is imposed, top-down, 'conservative' in the sense of a lack of responsiveness to local feedback, including values, practices and beliefs In some respects. The term is also used as a catchall that roughly distinguishes Inuit *vs.* 'outsiders' (not of Inuit ancestry or affinity), particularly those of British ancestry.

(Tuhiwai-Smith 1999:90–92; Mertens 2009 p. 184 cited in Chilisa 2012), or in the worst case contribute to community disempowerment (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999:90–92). In this regard, the ways that stories are told can influence the stories we tell about ourselves and others, influencing our respective realities for better or for worse (Furniss 1997).

From a deficit standpoint, knowledge about successful practices and what contributes to these is more likely to be absent from political discourses about northerners and northern life, including policy and programming discussions and responses, but also more broadly in popular media or academic debate (Tulloch 2015; Fast and Collin-Vézina 2019; HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003). What about the other 40% of households who are considered food secure – what are the experiences of these people? The corollary of food insecurity findings – that large portions of the population do *not* experience severe food insecurity and reasons underlying *why* – can contribute information about the practices, values and beliefs among *both* food secure and insecure individuals and collectives that could help inform policy and programming development, and perhaps also broader discourses about resilience and wellbeing. In their report on proposed Indigenous food system interventions Kuhnlein *et al.* propose a need for *"…evidence and documentation of successful food-based interventions that … improv*[e] *the well-being and health of indigenous peoples…"* (2006:1015). The demonstrated ability of northerners and specifically Inuit to feed their families highlights that there is something to learn about enabling practices of individuals and households along a food security spectrum.

In the case of food systems, by emphasizing deficits those who are *food secure* are effectively ignored, along with any temporal or situational factors or the supports that exist even in the presence of food insecurity; by logical extension, the practices and values that enable us to feed our families successfully become at best of lesser importance, or at worst inconsequential.

Failure to recognise and acknowledge existing supportive practices and systems can lead to the temptation to develop entirely new ones (*e.g.* mechanisms, systems, programs, policies), which may themselves be based on unsuccessful aspects of other mechanisms or systems. This appears to be a widespread phenomenon in areas such as foreign aid (e.g. Easterly 2006), governance (e.g. Harvey 1996), or arguably even food security programs in the Canadian Arctic, as with the former Food Mail program (Dargo 2008). Despite extremely high financial costs of living, many people in small, remote communities in the Canadian Arctic successfully feed their families. The very persistence of 'traditional' or cultural practices suggests that at least some of these are well suited to the existing environment (social, physical, political). In the context of Northern communities, this is particularly relevant given ongoing practices such as sharing (see Ch. 2.3d), which are widespread (Egeland 2010; Statistics Canada 2006:14), including country food (Damas 1972; Collings, Wenzel, and Condon 1998; Collings 2011; Statham 2012:85, 86, 98, 108), equipment, money and store food (Myers, Powell, and Duhaime 2008). What would be the impact of knowing about not only northerners' struggles to nourish their families, but also their strengths and successes? How do these stories impact the potential for positive change for individuals, families and communities?

Recognising that more conventional interpretations of FS may emphasize or overlook certain aspects of people-food relationships, it follows that different lenses might help reveal other themes and connections important to people-food relationships, food system governance and food-related phenomena. These insights may in turn enhance our understandings of issues such as hunger and the high cost of food in the north, as well as potentially the larger contexts in which these issues exist, including their relative importance and roles, and consequently options for responding to issues that arise (Coulthard, Johnson, and McGregor 2011).

ii. Situating Hunger

A major impetus for this research was based on concerns about chronic hunger and persistent food insecurity in remote and northern communities across Canada. The experience of hunger also informs food security metrics to some extent, for example the United States Department of Agriculture household food security survey, which has been used as the template across Canada, including in the north (*e.g.* AD3: "*In the last 12 months, were you ever hungry but didn't eat because there wasn't enough money for food?*"); therefore, it is worth offering some sense of how this term is understood. According to Wikipedia, "*In politics, humanitarian aid, and social science, hunger is a condition in which a person, for a sustained period, is unable to eat sufficient food to meet basic nutritional needs. So in the field of hunger relief, the term hunger is used in a sense that goes beyond the common desire for food that all humans experience*" (2019). The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) states that, "*Hunger is usually understood as an uncomfortable or painful sensation caused by insufficient food energy consumption. Scientifically, hunger is referred to as food deprivation*"; they link hunger and food security by stating, "*Simply put, all hungry people are food insecure, but not all food insecure people are hungry, as there are other causes of food insecurity, including those due to poor intake of micro-nutrients*" (2008:3).

b) Food Sovereignty (FSov) Lens

Food Sovereignty is broadly defined as "*the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments* (Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2010:2)." When attempting to understand relative differences between FS and FSov lenses, Jarosz says, "*Differentiating between a rights-based approach that is collective and emphasizes fair access and equitable distribution* [i.e. food

sovereignty] *and one that is individuated, holding persons and groups responsible for ensuring their food rights through jobs and access to other forms of entitlement* [i.e. food security] *is also significant. How the discourses understand states' interventions, responsibility, and accountability for ensuring food rights, food security and food sovereignty is also important in understanding the relationality and opposition between the discourses in specific places"* (2014:176). According to Wiebe and Wipf, the definition of FSov highlights gaps in the original UN conceptualisation of food security by considering the "…*defining power relations that determine production, distribution and consumption patterns within the food system* (2011:4). It is yet unclear exactly how this definition translates to praxis, but it offers a different way of thinking about food systems, hunger and how food security is envisioned and enabled in ways that calls to attention issues of power, resource control, and perhaps also sustainability. Sonnino *et al.* write, "…*food sovereignty distinguishes itself for its capacity to situate food security in a multilevel governance system where local struggles become connected with national and international dynamics*" (2016:480).

La Via Campesina is credited as being the first to articulate the term "food sovereignty" (La Via Campesina 1996, cited by Wiebe and Wipf 2011). This transnational grassroots movement is comprised of peasants, small-scale farmers, farm workers and Indigenous communities, initially located in Latin America. The movement was consolidated in 1993, bringing international attention to issues of power and control in food systems (Pimbert 2009; Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2010; Wiebe and Wipf 2011) – concerns that are echoed in the food democracy and justice literatures (Bedore 2010). The emergence of food sovereignty as a concept has helped raise awareness about the failure of existing food systems to meet the basic needs of human populations (Wiebe and Wipf 2011). Some authors argue that how we conceive

and practice food security fails to consider issues such as the role of people, environment and power dynamics, and may in fact demonstrate a lack of understanding about food systems (Pimbert 2009, ch 1; Wiebe and Wipf 2011; Wittman 2011). For example, Wiebe and Wipf (2011:4) argue that dominant definitions of food security focus on *access* and *availability*, with policy and legislation responses structured accordingly, to produce more food at a lower cost.

Food security and food sovereignty are not mutually exclusive, but are also not necessarily mutually reinforcing. Wiebe and Wipf (2011) draw attention to current food security policies and associated social, political and economic structures in Canada that appear to undermine food sovereignty, such as bilateral trade agreements, industrialised agriculture, lack of evidence-based and self-reflexive/accountable, transparent and responsive food-related policies. Many of these issues are echoed in global, indigenous contexts (Martin and Arnos 2017). These issues form a link between food security and sovereignty. As Menezes (2001) suggests, the power structures and dynamics identified by *La Via Campesina* are not separate from the concept of food security; however, important differences remain. For example, does focusing on food sovereignty necessarily guarantee food security (*i.e.* access to, and availability of food)? Power relations shape not only how we relate to one another, but also fundamentally define our relationship with food and more broadly how we feed our families. This makes the consideration of power essential from different vantages – perhaps with sustainability at the forefront.

In order to change systemic problems and injustices, which are integrally tied to power, it is first necessary to recognise them. One of the particular challenges of (externally imposed) power dynamics is the tendency for these forces to remain anonymous (Findlay 2006) in ways that preclude accountability. By acknowledging and attempting to name the different dynamics,

more opportunities arise in which they may be (re-) shaped to better support collective and individual needs, including wellbeing. Making power more transparent provides opportunities to ask where and how power is enabling and disabling, and to see, acknowledge and value the range of different facets affected by these influences (Freire 2000). If we want to disassemble and deconstruct structures of power that disenfranchise, marginalise and de-humanise, it becomes necessary to first make these structures visible. It is no easy thing, however, to make transparent that which is often invisible. Structures of power are social constructs, which audre lorde – early Afro-lesbian-feminist-activist – refers to as "the master's tools" (Lorde and Clarke 2007:112). In order to "*…define and seek a world in which we can all flourish…to take our differences and make them strengths"*, she says, "*…the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change...*" (*ibid.*). Freire, who writes explicitly about power in the context of education, echoes lorde's words:

> "… [the] *task of the oppressed* [is] *to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. Any attempt to "soften" the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity; indeed, the attempt never goes beyond this*." (2000:44).

Food sovereignty positions the 'consumer' at the heart of who is privileged to define which foods are important to the food system, including considerations beyond physical sustenance, such as social, cultural and/or spiritual values and practices that link to wellbeing, which in turn link back to food security and sovereignty (Martin and Arnos 2017; Morrison 2011). Using this lens may help identify important linkages and feedbacks that might otherwise

remain unseen, if only access and availability of food (*i.e.* food security) are considered. In the decision-making process, when certain key players are absent from the negotiating table, responses to the problem of hunger or more broadly how food system governance is structured risks being inequitable and possibly perpetuating or exacerbating food insecurity (Pimbert 2009). When a food system is examined along its entire chain, from food production, through distribution and consumption, important questions raised through a FSov lens may include the following: Which stakeholders have decision-making authority? Why? Who is ex/included? What effect does food system structuring have on stakeholder groups, how the food system operates, and ultimately individual and collective food security?

Sustainability is a founding principle of (Indigenous) food sovereignty (Wiebe and Wipf 2011:5; Morrison 2011:98–99). The mechanisms we employ to achieve increased access and availability of food can impact food systems across space and time in many different and often unforeseen ways. For example, if we increase use of fertilizers, pesticides and industrial farming techniques, this can have long-term consequences for environment and society. Many of these consequences are demonstrably negative, and raise the question of risks and benefits. Reliance on global markets to provide artificially inexpensive sources of food can also have important implications, which have been demonstrated in worldwide food crises, collapse of local markets and ultimately reduced self-sufficiency and autonomy. Patel writes about the influences of international political economy on food security discourse, drawing attention to how the food sovereignty movement has emerged partly in a climate that is responding to "*US-style neoliberal capitalism*", saying "*The terms on which food is, or is not, made available … has been … given to the market, which is guided by an altogether different calculus*" (2009:664) . The emergence of La via Campesina helped begin raising questions about the power relations *"… that*

characterise decisions about how food security should be attained…[and] *the first exposition of food sovereignty recognised …* ab initio*, that the power politics of the food system needed very explicitly to feature in the discussion*" (Patel 2009:665). The dominant food security approach fails to consider the associated costs and benefits of enabling mechanisms, including socio-cultural, political, environmental impacts across space and time.

Food sovereignty places emphasis on shared responsibility for problem solving and empowerment through representative participation and different forms of social justice. Allen (2008:158) suggests that "[s]*olving justice problems in food and agriculture begins with recognizing that problems are created by people and thus resolvable by people*." Allen (2008:157) also draws links between food sovereignty and social and indigenous justice[23] by interpreting social justice as *"… meeting basic human needs, freedom from exploitation and oppression, and access to opportunity and participation*." The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) Article 20 identifies the right of Indigenous peoples to maintain and develop systems, institutions, traditional and other economic activities, and engage in means of subsistence; UNDRIP was adopted in 2007[24] (UN 2007). Representative participation, described by Articles 3 – 5 of UNDRIP, privileges self-determination, self-government and the strengthening of indigenous institutions (UN 2007). The sum of these rights could also be applied to the context of autonomous determination of food systems, themselves being inherently linked with 'culture' (Article 8, UN 2007). This is about personal and collective agency; food sovereignty may indirectly help create spaces that shift the valuation of food in human societies, beyond physical sustenance to include aspects such as social, cultural or spiritual values. A

[23] Indigenous justice can inform thinking about any institutions or systems, whether indigenous or not. In the Canadian Arctic in most instances peoples of Inuit heritage represent the vast majority
[24] Canada did not unreservedly support the declaration until 2016

recent report in Nunavut calls for a shift in thinking about food system governance, which they suggest is the food sovereignty lens (QIA 2019:24); this is perhaps the first of its kind to explicitly invoke this paradigm, using the specific terminology of food sovereignty.

In this study, the food sovereignty lens is used to invite curiosity about the structure of Kugluktuk's food system, how it operates, how it affects different stakeholder groups and *vice versa*, as well as identify what mechanisms contribute to food security – including associated costs and benefits to socio-cultural, political and environmental systems across space and time. Broadly speaking, this is a more limited interpretation of the lens, as more expressly linked to food, rather than the more holistic or inclusive imaginings of Indigenous food sovereignty, for example (*e.g.* Martens et al. 2016; Huambachano 2016; Daigle 2017).

c) Indigenous Resilience (IR) Lens

HeavyRunner and Marshall describe resilience as *"…the natural, human capacity to navigate life well*" (2003:1). This is in line with the angle of interpretation taken in this study. *Indigenous resilience* (IR) is a relatively new theoretical lens that is being explored in various realms of psychology and health (*e.g.* wellbeing)[25], although it does not appear to have been applied yet in a food system context. In some respects it is similar to Gartaula *et al.*'s use of the food wellbeing approach (see also Sect. 5.4).

Although there is no fixed definition of IR, some generalisations include a "*positive dimension*" and "*…a collective aspect, combining spirituality, family strength, Elders, ceremonial rituals, oral traditions, identity, and support networks*" (HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003; Andersson 2008:3–4). As an expression of Indigenous scholarship, community practices

[25] Resilience research covers a range of different applications, from ecological and socio-ecological research to psychology, with areas of overlap or consistency. For more detail see *e.g.* Scott (2013).

and values, and elements of resistance and re-centering (Kirmayer et al. 2011), these qualities of IR contribute to the relative flexibility and holistic nature of this lens. As an emergent area of study, the Indigenous resilience lens is the least clearly defined of the three lenses selected for study.

In an effort to illustrate the qualities of IR, Andersson uses the example of smoking among aboriginal youth to illustrate the advantages of this lens. More dominant approaches would identify that 72% of Aboriginal youth who smoke are more likely to drink; in contrast, the resilience approach identified that non-smoking Aboriginal youth are three times more likely to be involved in cultural activities – an important insight that can be translated to policy directives (Andersson 2008). In this way, emphasizing successful formal and customary supports (Ch. 2.3a) celebrates the strengths and resiliencies already in practice by communities, which in turn can be important to maintaining the integrity of cultural practices, help reinforce premises of empowerment and autonomy (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999:243), and as Andersson suggests, "*the positive tone of resilience research changes the terms of engagement between researchers and the communities*" (Andersson 2008:3).

Indigenous views of resilience go beyond the individual and negative tone implicit in more conventional interpretations of resilience in psychology, namely "*the capability of individuals to cope and flourish successfully in the face of significant adversity or risk*" (Andersson 2008). Rather than focus on disabling mechanisms and dysfunction in the system (*e.g.* vulnerability), the resilience lens emphasizes AI and privileges Indigenous ways of being, which helps draw attention to successful formal and customary supports for individuals and collectives in the food system. This approach can help elicit important information, by creating a framework or lens that intentionally draws attention to certain discourses or aspects of discourses

about the food system. The resilience framework can help to focus on existing and embedded "successful" systems and strategies, building upon or using elements that highlight or create positive opportunities, address identified gaps in knowledge (Tulloch 2015; Fast and Collin-Vézina 2019; Butler Walker et al. 2017) , and otherwise focus energies on empowerment and positive transformation (Andersson 2008; Ludema, Cooperrider, and Barrett 2008).

Andersson summarizes the difference more generally between vulnerability and resilience approaches: "*Almost everyone is interested to learn about their own strengths. Few are motivated by being told yet again about their problems, though this is what they will be dealing with as they develop their strengths*" (2008:3). Korhonen, citing Park (2004, p. 50), says that rather than focusing on specific problems, "[the] *goal… should be not merely surviving in the face of adversity but actually growing throughout life*" (2007:39). The strengths and resiliencies already in practice by individuals and collectives can in turn link to the integrity of cultural practices, and potentially reinforce the premise of power and autonomy. Knowledge of strengths or successes in the food system can provide important information about existing supports that should be considered in food system governance. The advantages of not only highlighting but also deconstructing 'successes' and successful approaches are highlighted throughout Jorgensen's book, 'Rebuilding Native Nations' (Jorgensen 2007), as well as many Canada-specific examples (e.g. Ponting and Voyageur 2001; Chandler and Lalonde 2008).

The resilience lens was also used in part here to help reveal and value the relationality that is fundamentally a part of communal life – including human, spiritual and environmental relationships (HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003; Andersson 2008:3–4). It can help identify the inherent creativity of communities to problem solve and thrive, based on "successful" systems and strategies, using elements that help create positive opportunities, identify and address gaps in

knowledge, and focus efforts on empowerment and positive transformation. This can help counteract the temptation to develop entirely new 'solutions' based on the identification of unsuccessful mechanisms or systems at play. In addition, while the initial focus of IR is on enabling mechanisms, a resilience lens can also offer insights into reasons underlying disabling mechanisms associated with food insecurity and vulnerability, since these tend to present themselves irrespective of the initial stance of inquiry (Andersson 2008), and vulnerability and resilience are linked (Scott 2013).

d) Research Lens Selection

In an effort to shift and widen the scope of understanding about hunger and more broadly relationships between people and food, the conceptual frameworks or *lenses* of food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience need to be tested. The first lens is relatively recent in emergent food system literatures; the latter lens has not yet been applied specifically in the context of food systems, to the best of my knowledge. These two lenses, which are underlain by certain paradigms, may help expand understandings of people-food relationships for a variety of reasons. Perhaps most conspicuous is that each lens considers additional dimensions to people-food relationships, beyond issues of access and availability; both have broader, more holistic frameworks than FS. Concerns about power dynamics and decision making authority, which FSov explicitly considers, are particularly important when settler/colonial-Inuit histories are part of ongoing relations. Both IR and FSov are described in the academic literature as grounded in strengths-based, appreciative inquiry, which Tuhiwai-Smith and others identify as important when working with peoples and circumstances that have ongoing sites of marginalisation and discrimination – in other words, power imbalances (e.g. Tuhiwai-Smith 1999).

Since IR has not previously been used in food systems research contexts, what are the grounds for its use? In connection with my desire to better understand the apparent disconnect between portrayals of northerners in various publications (*e.g.* popular media, government, academic), which seemed to focus on vulnerabilities, relative to my own limited observations of strength and resilience, I began encountering literatures focused on wellbeing and resilience. These discourses provided a very different focus relative to food security (particularly in more conventional publications); however, something was still missing. It was only with the concept of *Indigenous* resilience that culture, identified as an important to wellbeing for many people(s) (Chandler and Lalonde 1998; Wexler 2006; Huambachano 2018), is recognised for its potential influence. Further justification is found in the high percentage of northern people (~90% in the case study community) who self-identify as Indigenous, specifically Inuit (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a). The IR lens introduces the possibility of examining more explicitly the roles of resilience and wellbeing in people-food relationships, to see whether these qualities have perhaps been overlooked using other lenses.

Comparing the capacities of a FS lens relative to FSov and IR to enhance our understanding of people-food relationships in Arctic Canada is a unique approach. Burchi *et al.* (2011) suggest that approaches to addressing poverty-related hunger need to account for the diverse needs of human food systems beyond availability and access of food. Since FSov and IR at least in principle also consider socio-cultural enabling mechanisms, this may increase the chances of better understanding the needs of individuals and collectives (*e.g.* families, community). When considered symbiotically, FS, FSov and IR may help inform each other in ways that contribute to more equitable, autonomous and sustainable food systems, which

themselves are more responsive to changing environmental and socio-cultural needs and conditions.

2.4 Northern Food Security

The 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey covered three jurisdictions in Arctic Canada[26] , reporting that just over 60% of Inuit households surveyed (*n* = 1901) were food insecure and almost 30% of these households were identified as 'severely food insecure' (Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012)[27]. The Nunavut Food Security Coalition (NFSC) reports that nearly 70% of Inuit homes in Nunavut are food insecure (Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012). Although by no means definitive (see Findlay, Langlois, and Kohen 2013), at risk groups in particular include: children (Egeland et al. 2010; Johnson-Down and Egeland 2010), single[28] parents (Duhaime and Bernard 2008:317; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012) and elders/elderly (Chan et al. 2006).

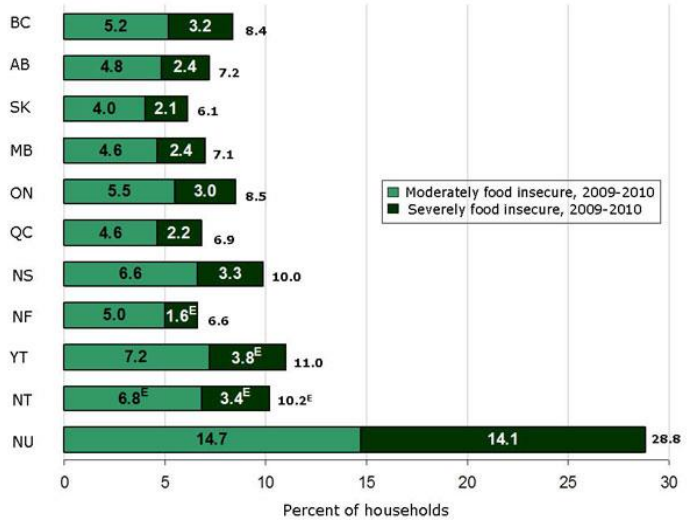
Health Canada's Household Food Security Survey Module indicates that food insecurity is approximately 3.5 times higher in Nunavut relative to the average of all other Canadian provinces and territories (8.2%; Fig. 2) (Health Canada Government of Canada 2010). Incidence of household food insecurity among Inuit preschoolers in Nunavut is indicated to be high (~70%), with ~25% categorised as 'severely food insecure' (Egeland et al. 2010). In a study of 36 communities across the Canadian Arctic, Huet *et al.* (2012) reported mean household grocery costs as being higher in food-insecure relative to food-secure homes, and food insecurity

[26] Nunavut, Nunatsiavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region

[27] In this survey food security was assessed using a modified (more 'culturally appropriate/relevant') 18-item USDA food security survey module.

[28] The language around describing households or 'families' has changed; previously, families that had one or more children with only one caregiver were referred to as single parent families. The term used now by agencies such as Statistics Canada is "*lone-parent family*" and "…*families containing only one parent with his or her child(ren)*" (Government of Canada 2016).

correlated with household crowding[29], household member(s) receiving income support, public housing, single adult households, having a home in need of major repairs, absence of an active hunter in the household and households at more southern latitudes. Carrying forward the logic of risks, we might then expect that at least 39% of *Nunavummiut* are 'at-risk' of food insecurity, based on the proportion of the population described in the 2006 Census as experiencing household crowding (Gionet 2008:60).



[E] Data with a coefficient of variation from 16.6% to 33.3%; interpret with caution (Health Canada 2012)

Figure 2. Household food insecurity by Canadian province and territory, 2009-2010

Within these main elements of Northern food systems, individuals and families must balance their involvement in different economies in the pursuit of food (Ford 2009b). Insufficient income, including unemployment, low income and high food costs are frequently

[29] The subjective/culturally defined nature of the concept of household crowding makes it difficult to calculate and standardize across cultures. For example, reported average household size may not suggest crowding, since the distribution of household sizes may be uneven and the ratio of occupants to the number of available bedrooms within a house are not indicated by these values. Statistics Canada defines household crowding as "*Persons per room and is calculated by dividing the number of persons in the household by the number of rooms in the dwelling*" (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017b; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012).

perceived as a major barrier to food security (Statistics Canada 2006; Beaumier and Ford 2010; Ford and Beaumier 2011; Egeland 2010). For example, access to money permits the use of technologies (*e.g.* snowmobiles, boats) that can extend ranges and allow people to return to traditional/family hunting territories, thereby reducing time spent in travel (Condon, Collings, and Wenzel 1995), potentially improving chances of encountering wildlife, and enabling people to stay connected to historical and culturally valued spaces. Others describe the relatively recent existence of wage economies in the Canadian Arctic as disruptive to social systems, and the inflexible schedules associated with wage employment as interfering with opportunities to acquire country foods when weather, rather than working conditions permit (Condon, Collings, and Wenzel 1995; Laidler et al. 2009:389; Ford and Beaumier 2011). Some authors have proposed that unemployment can actually contribute to food security in certain regards, by permitting those with hunting skills time to hunt, which might be infeasible when limited by conventional wage employment structures (Chan et al. 2006; Ford et al. 2008; Collings 2011; Whitfield 2012). Nonetheless, utilisation of recently developed technologies (*e.g.* snowmachines) requires some source of financial resources, in order to pay for essentials such as fuel (Brinkman et al. 2014; Ready and Power 2018; Wenzel 2000; BurnSilver et al. 2016).

Today the practice of sharing country food continues (Damas 1972; Collings, Wenzel, and Condon 1998; Collings 2011; Statham 2012:85, 86, 98, 108), including sharing equipment, store food and money (Wenzel 1995; Myers, Powell, and Duhaime 2008; Mead et al. 2010; Ford and Beaumier 2011). Food sharing networks offer a source of food obtained through customary practices in the food system; because food sharing works through social networks, in any given human settlement network distribution – and consequently resource distribution (Ready 2018) – tends to be uneven (Duhaime and Godmaine 2002:98–99; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012;

Loring, Gerlach, and Harrison 2013). This is illustrated in the fact that those who do not have connections (*e.g.* kinship ties, social relationships) to an active hunter are considered at increased risk of experiencing food insecurity (Chan et al. 2006; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012). Sharing of foodstuffs among family groups and other affiliated individuals (Collings, Wenzel, and Condon 1998; Laidler et al. 2009) is a practice that contributes to food security and has also been described as helping to maintain family and community ties (Ford and Beaumier 2011; Collings 2011; Harder and Wenzel 2012). In many cases, these ties are not limited to *intra*-settlement boundaries, but extend into *inter*-settlement relationships (Ford and Beaumier 2011; Statham 2012:97). Presently, food sharing is supported through programs such as the community freezer[30], operated by the hamlets or the local hunters and trappers organizations, which "…play a critical role in providing storage facilities for community hunts" (Inuit Tuttarvingat 2013) and hunter income support[31], whereby proceeds can be put into a community freezer, or shared directly with community members.

Relatively recent policy interventions, such as Nutrition North Canada (NNC)[32], do not appear to have addressed the issue of hunger in the North. In the instance of NNC, it is important to note that the concerns that underlie the creation of this program are not limited to industrial foods, but include other commercial goods that many people consider part of essential needs (*e.g.* diapers, clothing)(Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017).

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[30] Community freezers emerged in the 1970s in Nunavik (Organ 2012:6) and in some regards follow traditions around food caching in the north. Community freezers can be used as a means of both food sharing and banking/storage for times of limited success obtaining country foods.

[31] In Nunavut, the Nunavut Harvester Support Program (NHSP) – established in 1993 – is administered by Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI), who provides financial assistance to individual and collective beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) (NTI 2013). Support is for equipment for hunting and supplies for sewing.

[32] Nutrition North Canada is a federal government food subsidy program that "…*seeks to make nutritious food more accessible and affordable to residents of isolated northern communities*…[it] *alleviates the costs of shipping healthy foods by air*…" (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017).

For example, in the mixed economies of small, remote communities where country foods serve a number of different essential functions, hunter-gatherer activities are impacted (Smith and Wright 1989; Chan et al. 2006; Müller-Wille 1978). Prohibitively high costs of ammunition, fuel, clothing and other hunting/gathering equipment affects not only food security, but also a variety of other aspects of peoples' lives in these communities, from local knowledge to wellbeing.

Despite identification of widespread food insecurity in the north, estimating individual and family-specific financial needs to obtain adequate sustenance can be challenging even in the simplest scenarios. Food and people-food relationships likely have meaning far beyond monetary ones. Statistics may also be variable from year to year, and metrics may not be sufficient to capture salient information. Assigning monetary value to food has many points of ambiguity and is informed by social norms, regardless of whether it is country or store foods. Estimating place- and people/culture-specific needs requires in-depth and nuanced knowledge about food systems and people-food relationships, which others have already identified as lacking in the realms of public policy and research (Wittman 2011; Martin and Arnos 2017; Pimbert 2009; Wiebe and Wipf 2011; Willows 2005; Akande et al. 2015; Kuhnlein and Chan 2000; Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a). Some examples include the distribution funds and other resources within a settlement (*e.g.* within and among family groups) such as employment, subsidies, transfer payments, food sharing and other factors that influence access to food and total income. In places where both collective and individual efforts are essential to feeding families, a number of factors present additional challenges to determining the precise financial resources required. For example, widespread sharing practices, ongoing and regular food provision by different

institutions (*e.g.* HTOs, Elder Centres, schools breakfast programs, soup kitchens, community feasts), availability of country food and *opportunity* to obtain country food (*e.g.* through social networks, intermittent wildlife availability) impact food provisioning.

a) Drivers of Northern Food Security

Food systems include the formal and customary[33] mechanisms or 'drivers' that impact people's abilities to feed their families. In some – perhaps many – instances this binary blurs into hybrids of both systems. A number of different mechanisms in Nunavut affect food security; an important interpretive aspect of this dissertation considers the enabling, disabling or mixed impacts of various drivers of people-food relationships (*e.g.* Ch. 6.1 & 6.3). Drivers of food security are what cause or contribute to certain phenomena, such as experiences (individual/collective) of satiety or hunger. Some drivers of people-food relationships may facilitate access/availability of food, while others hinder.

Drivers that enable northern food security (broadly conceptualized) may include health, adequate 'resources' (*e.g.* subsistence equipment/knowledge, employment), food sharing, policies and programs that make food more accessible and available (*e.g.* government support for food and nutrition programs, school breakfast programs, food banks, soup kitchens) and certain technologies (*e.g.* greenhouses, community freezers) or infrastructure (*e.g.* local meat processing plants)(Council of Canadian Academies 2014; Government of Nunavut 2011; Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017). Commonly cited international drivers of hunger include conflict, extreme weather events, natural disasters and poverty (World Food Program USA 2019). The

[33] The word 'customary' may be a misnomer, as it does not seem to adequately represent the imperatives of survival that inform evolution of local culture (*i.e.* customary practices, values, beliefs). Environmental factors, for example, may be important determinants of certain historical and present day customary practices.

CCA assessment of the state of knowledge regarding northern food security in Canada lists the following contemporary drivers of food *in*security (*i.e.* disabling mechanisms): processes of colonialism and environmental dispossession (*e.g.* see also 'Historical', 2.3a-iv), rapid and/or unpredictable environmental change, economic transitions and material poverty, changing demographics, and current logistical challenges, food safety issues, changing food knowledge and preferences, practices of intergenerational knowledge transmission and self-determination (Council of Canadian Academies 2014:xvii). Other drivers may include health challenges, lack of access to a hunter and insufficient support for food-related programs (Council of Canadian Academies 2014; Government of Nunavut 2011; Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017). It is important to note the distinction between drivers *versus* indicators of food security. Household crowding, for example, is considered by some to be an indicator of food insecurity (Ruiz-Castell et al. 2015), but other drivers or en/disabling mechanisms may also contribute to these kinds of correlates.

Without sufficient understanding and awareness of the various mechanisms and complexities of people-food relationships that enable people to feed their families successfully, food system policy, programming and services may not only fail to capitalise on these, but may also risk actually causing interference or interruption in functioning food systems, with potential consequences for individual and collective wellbeing. Given the paucity of material regarding enabling mechanisms, the research presented here emphasizes this particular aspect of people-food relationships; nonetheless, both aspects – enabling and disabling – are examined. Some of these are explored following within the principle categories of formal, informal and hybrid

mechanisms that drive people-food relationships, and by extension food security. These help to further characterise northern food systems.

i. Formal Mechanisms

In this work, *formal mechanisms* for food security are interpreted as programs, policies, infrastructures and other mechanisms that may be legitimised or otherwise supported through government frameworks. These tend to be externally organised or controlled through prevailing government systems. The presence or *absence* of certain mechanisms also impact food security. Employment disparities that exist[34], based on a range of different influences, may reflect policy that is absent or insufficiently addresses the distribution of systemic power and resources, including systemic marginalisation.

In the past, food drops, food banks and soup kitchens have been used a means by which to reduce hunger and – in principle – address food (in)security. Some of the current formal, institutional programs currently in place in Nunavut attempt to help people to better feed their families by lowering costs of imported agricultural foods (*e.g.* NNC), or by supporting acquisition and distribution of country foods (*e.g.* Hunters and Trappers Organisations).

Nutrition North Canada (NNC) – the *Food Mail* program's successor – is the current federal food subsidy program for northern communities, which is aimed at reducing costs of perishable "healthy food" in remote northern communities (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017). Initially, Food Mail was designed to prevent an unreasonable financial burden being transferred to the residents of Northern communities, and ultimately

[34] Median individual income for Inuit relative to non-Indigenous individuals in Inuit Nunangat: $23,485 *vs*. $92,011 (ITK 2017, citing Statistics Canada 2016).

"*...improv*[e] *nutrition, health and well-being in isolated communities that do not have year-round surface transportation* (Dargo 2008:7)." Today, NNC subsidizes the transport of a variety of perishable foods, such as fruits, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat and cheese, as well as country foods commercially processed in the North, and direct or '*personal'* orders (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Government of Canada 2010). NNC provides subsidy through Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC) directly to registered retailers, suppliers, and country food processors, but it is a joint initiative among CIRNAC, Indigenous Services Canada (First Nation & Inuit Health Branch) and the Public Health Agency of Canada. Attempting to address widespread criticism of the program, NNC published a report in 2017 based on extensive public consultation, including with northern and remote communities. The report includes a number of key findings, which the program presumably intends to act upon. Decision-making authority has tended to fall outside the purview of territorial influence, including community-level feedback (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017). A recent report identified a lack of transparency about how transport costs are calculated, subsidized and then incorporated into product prices of items sold in northern retail stores (Dargo 2008:15; Strapagiel 2012; Nunatsiaq News 2017; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017), and has been described as a barrier to understanding and resolving the problem of providing targeted settlements with affordable access to store food.

Widespread protests and dissatisfaction about rising costs of food in Nunavut led to the creation of the Nunavut Food Security Coalition (NFSC), in which government departments, Inuit organizations, and community groups formed an advisory board connected to Nunavut's pre-existing anti-poverty *Makimaniq Plan*. In January 2013, the NFSC met for the first time

officially with government representatives, academics, industry (*e.g.* The Northern and The Co-op food stores), NGOs and other stakeholders to formulate an integrated food security action plan in Nunavut. The NFSC has since conducted two food price surveys, the latter across all Nunavut communities (spring 2013 & 2014), and released the *Nunavut Food Security Strategy and Action Plan 2014-16* in May 2014.

The Northern Food Basket (NFB) was developed in 1990 by the Federal government to monitor store food costs in northern communities (DAAND 2008). The NFB was changed in 2007 *"…to reflect information from* [the] *nutrition surveys as well as updated nutrition recommendations in the Dietary Reference Intakes and the new version of Canada's Food Guide*", and is referred to as the *Revised Northern Food Basket* (DAAND 2013). The RNFB assigns a dollar value to the average weekly grocery bill of perishable and/or non- perishable foodstuffs for an average family of four, defined as one girl and boy each (9-13 yrs), and a man and a woman (31-50 yrs)(DAAND 2013). In theory, this allows for comparison of food costs across communities and over time. Calculations are based on Agriculture Canada's '*Thrifty Nutritious Food Basket'* (DAAND 2008), a program that was created to increase transparency about northern food systems in Canada. The RNFB model serves as a basis for informing programs such as NNC and considerations of food (in)security. Despite the demonstrated cultural and practical importance of country foods to the diet of Northerners (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996:431; Chan et al. 2006; Myers, Powell, and Duhaime 2008; Egeland et al. 2009:11; Schaefer et al. 2011; Ford and Goldhar 2012; Statham 2012:77), it has not historically been incorporated in RNFB calculations or NNC subsidy. Recent changes to the NNC program

may begin to account for the roles of country food in northerner's lives (Hill and 2019 2019; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017).

Other examples of northern programs that theoretically directly or indirectly support food security include the *Breakfast program* for school children. Another program sends young offenders to outpost camps to learn traditional, place-based skills, and the *Brighter Futures* program is a community-based program for First Nations and Inuit communities that *"...strive*[s] *to increase awareness, change attitudes, build knowledge and enhance skills*" (Government of Canada 2007). The *Commercial Fisheries Freight Subsidy & Fur Pricing Program* is largely aimed at market interests. There is also the Federal *Growing Forward* program, which is a national agriculture framework that coordinates Canadian federal and provincial agriculture policy, but has also been used to support "…*sustainable and innovative commercial harvesting activities in Nunavut*", as well as a joint federal-territorial investment in a community greenhouse development program (Government of Nunavut 2009).

ii. Customary Mechanisms

Customary mechanisms are part of local practices, values and beliefs, some of which may also be rooted in tradition. These include relationships, socio-cultural practices and spaces where individual and collective food security is impacted, and may have little or no formal government support or acknowledgement. Examples of customary supports include food sharing networks, bartering or the infrastructure of the family home or community spaces that enable food security. Across the Arctic, *food sharing* is an important customary enabling mechanism, which impacts – among other things – individual and collective food security. This ongoing practice, which originates with customary country food sharing/exchange networks (see Ch. 2.2a-i for more

detail), has been described within various different terms and frameworks as fundamental to the 'mixed economies[35]' of the north (e.g. BurnSilver et al. 2016; Harder and Wenzel 2012), including 'subsistence economies'(e.g. Chabot 2003; Mueller-Wille 1978), 'land-based economies' (e.g. Myers et al. 2005) and 'social economies' (e.g. Natcher 2009), to name a few. As Kishigami and others point out, these practices and relationships are highly complex, place-based and non-uniform (Kishigami 2004; Ready and Power 2018; Ready 2019). One researcher has proposed the term 'sharing economy' as a means of putting into context sharing practices in 'modern' mixed northern economies (Susan Rowley, pers. comm., Nov. 2018).

According to the 2001 Aboriginal People's Survey in Canada, 96% of Inuit households shared harvested foods with others (Tait 2001). Food sharing is part of a long standing and important tradition among the Inuit of Arctic Canada (Damas 1972; Collings, Wenzel, and Condon 1998; Bennett and Rowley 2004:86–94; Egeland et al. 2009:20), and currently includes country and cultural foods, store and homemade foods, among other 'resources' (*e.g.* money, equipment, knowledge, *etc.*)(Kishigami 2004; Wenzel 2000). Acknowledging the importance of food sharing in northern food systems can lead to opportunities to evaluate its contributions to food security. Arguably, all components of a food system need to work together to meet the needs of the community (Myers, Powell, and Duhaime 2004; Gombay 2010a:75).

iii. Hybrid Mechanisms

Hybrid food system mechanisms may have aspects rooted in contemporary customary practices, values and beliefs, as well as more formal mechanisms. Across Nunavut, public protests about the high cost of food for purchase in local stores (Weber 2012; CBC 2012;

[35] 'Mixed economy' in Arctic contexts more recently is used to refer to the practice of subsistence (*e.g.* hunting, fishing, gathering, but perhaps also more generally 'being out on the land') alongside or paired with market-based practices (*e.g.* wage employment) (Wenzel 2013).

Dawson 2013) led to the emergence of a grassroots movement – a Facebook (Inc.) page called '*Feeding My Family*'[36] (FMF). This particular expression of collective frustration was co-created by two Inuit, Leesee Papatsie and Eric Joamie from Nunavut (Murphy 2012; Joamie and Papatsie 2012). The FMF movement may be one example of a hybrid mechanism. It is enabled through the formal legal mechanism of freedom of speech, as part of an internationally acknowledged human right. At the same time, FMF's customary aspect (more 'traditional' in this instance) could be interpreted as people 'telling their stories' to "*…restore harmony…*" (Bennett and Rowley 2004:99), in this way emerging out of the grassroots level to inform formal government. The stated objectives of the organisation are as follows:

> *1. Encourage Northerners to empower themselves to create independence from within the people at the grass roots level.*
> *2. Unify people across the North to share one voice.*
> *3. Encourage Government policy-makers and retailers to find better ways to lower the cost of food (Nutrition North Canada is not doing enough).*
> *4. Encourage new food suppliers to operate in the North in order to increase competition and lower prices.*
> *5. Encourage improvements in food quality through better inventory control, such as: Removing inedible and rotting food from store shelves; Proper food shipping and handling; and Reducing transit time for perishable foods.*
> *6. Encourage establishment of more Food Banks.*
> *7. Work with Government and other NGOs to improve the overall quality of life for Northerners.*
>
> (n.d. www.feedingmyfamily.org/)

The objectives of FMF represent an accumulation of feedback – comments, protests, requests – from Northerners (and Southerners) across Canada. While each source of knowledge and information comes with its own inherent biases, FMF's stated objectives represent an opportunity to inform the direction of society's responses (*e.g.* government policy and programming development, industry, research) to emergent concerns. In addition, FMF

[36] "Feeding my Family" was created in the spring of 2012.

membership numbers[37] indicate widespread interest in and importance of food security to people across the Arctic and elsewhere in Canada.

The FMF movement has helped gain widespread attention for food security challenges in the north, bringing people together at the grassroots level to undertake community-based food surveys (Gladstone 2012), boycott major northern retailers (Rohner 2015) and stimulate conversation in the Nunavut legislature and in Parliament (Wing-sea Leung 2015). These 'hybrid' forms of expression can be quite powerful. Similar to Rachel Carson's 1962 book, *Silent Spring*, which led to the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in the United States in 1972 (Thompson 2015b), FMF "…*has provided a sense of urgency to the work of the Nunavut Food Security Coalition*" (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2014:3). As a grassroots movement, it illustrates the power and potential of what might be considered a demonstration of food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience.

b) Socio-Political and Historical Contexts of Northern Food Systems

Investigations into present day food security of personal and collective food systems in the Canadian Arctic draw on many different themes and considerations, including historical and contextual influences. Public government in Nunavut is guided by the principles of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ) and self-government, as part of the Nunavut Agreement – a comprehensive land claim agreement. The creation of Nunavut in 1999 reflects the hard work, perseverance and vision of Inuit and others in this region. The impact of this new governance arrangement has been important to various aspects of public life. Wildlife management, the language of governance, delivery of public services and other aspects are continually shaped by

[37] 22,666 members as of July 16, 2019

the underlying principle of IQ. Just as this form of governance creates the possibility of shaping existing or creating new systems to better suit the needs of *Nunavummiut*, governance styles also affect personal and collective relationships to food.

For Indigenous people throughout Canada, including in the Canadian Arctic, residential schooling is a legacy for those who experienced it directly as well as for subsequent generations (Fast and Collin-Vézina 2019). Tester and colleagues describe the residential school period as reflecting an underlying violence of the larger Canadian society, in which children were forcibly removed into a subjugative system that dehumanized and de-valued their own practices and norms (Tester and Kulchyski 1994; Tester and McNicoll 2004). The first 'residential school' in Northern Canada (a 'federal hostel') was opened in 1951 in Chesterfield Inlet; by June 1964, 75% of Inuit children and youth (6 – 15 y) were enrolled in these schools (King 2006; Tait 2008). The last school, Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife, closed in 1986 (King 2006). A number of reports of Akaitcho Hall residential school, which many *Kugluktummiut*[38] and others from Kitikmeot and Kivalliq regions attended, were positive relative to other residential schools in Canada. Children were also sent to Inuvik and/or Aklavik, where there were reports of abuse (*e.g.* Grollier Hall) (Department of Education et al. 2013). Some Inuit describe residential schooling experiences as having been positive (King 2006; Tait 2008), including Edna Elias from Kugluktuk who attended Stringer Hall (Department of Education et al. 2013), and in certain respects *enabling*, as Zebedee Nungak conveyed in an excerpt from the film "*Qallunaat! Why White People Are Funny*"; at the same time, Zebedee expressed a profound sense of loss regarding his cultural heritage (Sandiford 2006). Whether or not there were overt abuses does not change the potential impacts of being removed as a child from one's family, in many

[38] *Kugluktummiut* refers to the people of Kugluktuk.

instances for years at a time, and the attendant experience of returning ‘changed’ to one’s home, unable to communicate through language or culture. Inuit and other Indigenous youth who attended residential schools report abuses ranging from sexual and physical abuse (Llewellyn 2002; King 2006; Regan 2010). The era of residential schooling offers insights into the social climate and colonial mindsets that appear to have been pervasive at the time.

In addition to residential school, Inuit have been seriously impacted by a very long and intense legacy of illness and disease. Grygier writes, “[b]y 1956, one out of every seven Inuit was in a southern sanatorium. At least one-third of the Inuit population of the 1950s was infected with TB, and many required several lengthy stays in hospital” (1994:xxi). The resultant knowledge gap through interrupted intergenerational knowledge transmission, cycles of abuse and ongoing disempowerment are perhaps some of the foremost aftershocks that current generations of Inuit and other Indigenous peoples continue to address (Ohmagari and Berkes 1997; Tester and McNicoll 2004; Regan 2010). Other authors suggest that modern education continues to prevent transmission of (cultural) knowledge (Schlag and Fast 2005) – including language (Llewellyn 2002; Tester and McNicoll 2004), or that more broadly the influence of colonialism continues to present barriers to knowledge transfer even today (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Cameron 2012). In this research, the terms ‘colonial’ or ‘colonialism’ invoke more restricted definitions, such as (i) the control or governing influence of a nation over a dependent country, territory, or people, (ii) the system or policy by which a nation maintains or advocates such control or influence (Random House 2019). Whyte describes North American settler colonization as *“…a structured process of erasing another population’s range of adaptation options*” (2016:12) – in effect antithetical to ideas of sovereignty and Indigenous resilience.

The importance of maintaining and continuing to develop knowledge and language, including that which is connected to food acquisition, preparation and sustainability of the food source is paramount to food security in an environment of scarcity, climatic extremes and other associated risks. Without maintaining or continuing to develop skills and knowledge tied to land food acquisition, for example, Northerners risk losing access to a food source that serves many important functions beyond sustenance (Watt-Cloutier 2015:137; Adelson 1998; Natcher 2009). Inuit have also experienced tremendous change over only a few generations, which can be incredibly challenging to navigate, particularly in the presence of so many other stressors (Kral and Idlout 2012). The combination of these various factors suggests that both formal and customary aspects of Northerners' lives – including historical experiences – that support or present barriers to food security need to be considered within a holistic context.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter the methodological approach (Section 3.1) used to inform data collection and analysis, and the study boundaries (Section 3.2), including the rationale for working in Kugluktuk, are described. Following are data collection (Section 3.3), sampling (Section 3.4), and data analysis (Section 3.5). The chapter concludes with some consideration of researcher positionality (Section 3.6) and approvals and ethics (Section 3.7).

3.1 Methodological Approach

In order to undertake this research I chose to employ an in-depth exploratory case study using an ethnographic approach, informed by appreciative inquiry (AI) (Reed 2011; Chilisa 2012:243–245) and to a lesser extent Indigenous methodologies (e.g. Kovach 2010; Wilson 2008; Chilisa 2012; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). The theoretical frameworks that informed this work were modified grounded theory (constructivist) (Charmaz 2006:130–131), and food security (FS), food sovereignty (FSov) and Indigenous resilience (IR) respectively[39]. Detailed descriptions of the theoretical lenses of FS, FSov and IR are provided in Chapter 2.3. In order to create a listening space within the researcher and in connection with community members, the research methodology was open, appreciative, gently curious and (self-) reflective.

Cerwonka and Malkki suggest that ethnography is particularly useful for "*developing and revising theories concerning social structures, social transformations, cultural negotiation, and 'friction'*", as well as working with interdisciplinarity and collectives – "*systems of relationship*" *versus* "*units of a population*" (2007:14; 166; citing Tsing 2005). The authors describe interpretive ethnography as a "…*process of data collection and an epistemology that allows one to better understand human agency in the context of social and institutional*

[39] Tested separately.

discourses and that can attend to the influence of history" (*ibid*). Ethnography is also useful for studying the agency of particular groups, and involves a "*...dialectical process of moving between the whole and the part…between theory and empirical social facts in a dialectic that often reshapes our theoretical ideas as well as our view of the empirical data*" (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007:15). Human-food relationships tend to be situated within a range of different socio-political, environmental, cultural and other structures, crossing disciplines, and necessarily navigating realms of theory and praxis. In this regard, an ethnographic approach seemed well suited to the journey of exploring and – perhaps – de/re-constructing people-food relationships in Kugluktuk. Fletcher's research on the nexus between food and Inuit offers support for this approach (2016). The principle challenges of ethnography are both the richness of data and the researcher's newness to the field of social research.

AI complements Indigenous methodologies and ethnographies, using research questions as a tool to make space for different responses to emerge, whereby questions and standpoints tend to be positive and appreciative (Chilisa 2012:243–245). "*What we focus on becomes our reality. In choosing to focus on what works, participants create a sense of possibility rather than a sense of limitation*", which Reed suggests "… *engages people more deeply, and for a longer time*" (Reed 2011:27). Its premise is that the intentional structuring of questions, whether for interviews, surveys or other research methods, is a tool that can be used to make space for the participant to envision (*ibid*). AI creates the possibility of exploring issues from an open, positive and appreciative stance, as compared to more conventional problem-focused, deficit-oriented approaches and paradigms. This approach does not preclude deficits and negative perspectives from emerging through the research (Reed 2011:40); rather, it was utilised in response to clear gaps in the scholarly literatures that identified a lack of positive, enabling or

appreciative perspectives and as part of facilitating more holistic understandings to emerge under circumstances that otherwise tend to focus exclusively on problems and deficits. AI helps keep the focus on existing and embedded "successful" systems and strategies, building upon or using elements that create positive opportunities, addressing identified gaps in knowledge, and otherwise focusing energies on empowerment and positive transformation (Andersson 2008; Ludema, Cooperrider, and Barrett 2008). In this regard, 'wellbeing' (as a holistic construct) was the closest approximation to an appreciative and positive alternative to hunger and food insecurity. This represents an attempt at introducing a counter-narrative to conversations about people-food relationships. Another criticism of AI is that it may not attend sufficiently to issues of power (Reed 2011:40). In this particular application, given the other frameworks informing this research (Indigenous methodologies, food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience) and issues of power that are addressed in the study limitations, this concern may have largely been addressed.

Glaser has described grounded theory as a "'*theory of resolving a main concern' that can be theoretically coded in many ways*" (Charmaz 2006:133). It is an inductive approach that allows middle-range 'theory' to emerge from the data, with several key distinctions described in detail by Charmaz (*ibid*) and summarised by O'Reilly and Charmaz, respectively (2012:93; 2001:6396). There are different interpretations of what 'theory' in grounded theory entails – for example "… *categor*[ies]*,…an explication of process,…a relationships between variables,…an abstract understanding, …a description"* and others (Charmaz 2006:133–135). This study offers 'theory' in two principle forms: (1) as abstract understanding of people-food relationships *via* emergent themes, including relationships among these, and (2) how food system lenses impact understandings of people-food relationship themes and food system governance.

This thesis uses modified grounded theory (constructivist) (Charmaz 2006:130–131) – the 'modification' being principally a function of several inter-dependent factors that result in a methodological approach slightly varied from more 'conventional' grounded theory. These include student learning, limited access to research site, and being sensitive and responsive to the (human) environment in which research was taking place. One example where grounded theory was modified was in the relative distinctiveness or separation of the phases of data collection and analysis, whereas more conventional grounded theory in principle involves pairing of data analysis and sampling.

Constructivist grounded theory acknowledges that *"…both data and analysis* [are] *created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other sources of data*", and "*…is contextually situated in time, place, culture, and situation*", which also necessitates a more reflexive stance (Charmaz 2006:1300–131). Constructivist grounded theory can help reveal 'big picture' and hidden elements in the data (*e.g.* positions, networks, relationships), including hierarchies of power, which are particularly relevant to this study. Grounded theory also has identified drawbacks, principally, a lack of theoretical development in favour of descriptive written pieces (O'Reilly 2012). Charmaz writes that "*…theory generation continues to be the unfilled promise and potential of grounded theory*" (2006: 135).

The approach of modifying 'conventional' research methods to better accommodate local and/or Indigenous practices has been described as helping to improve the conditions of the data collection process (Chilisa 2012) and the research insights and outcomes (Kovach 2010; Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a). The emphasis of both ethnography and grounded theory (Charmaz 2006) on process is in alignment with what prominent Indigenous authors have written about Indigenous methodologies, whether implicitly or explicitly (e.g. Morrison 2011; Wilson

2008; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Chilisa 2012). As Cerwonka and Malkki describe, for example, "…*ethnography is not 'a methodology'*[;]… *rel*[ying] *on improvisation*…[It is] *a process rather than…a methodological doctrine*" (2007:20). Each approach has attendant advantages and disadvantages (*e.g.* may not obtain the desired information, bias towards relationally/socially acceptable topics) according to the nature of the relationship with participants, as well as the nature of topics explored. The flexibility of this approach was vital for supporting responsiveness to the needs of time, space and human actors (including myself, as a new student of these fields), as well as accommodating the co-production of knowledge.

The approaches described here were intended to help create the conditions to maintain a more exploratory stance at all stages of the research. Most importantly I believe they helped me 'listen' more deeply and reflectively to what people spoke about and my own roles in the co-production of knowledge.

3.2 Study Boundaries & Context

The Hamlet of Kugluktuk (population ~1500), the westernmost community in the Kitikmeot region, Nunavut Territory, Canada (Fig. 3) is situated near the mouth of the Coppermine River, which empties into Coronation Gulf. Kugluktuk is an environmental and socio-political system comprised of nested sub-systems, and as a community is nested within larger scale systems. Families and individuals, their relationships to one another, the environment, ancestors, histories and much more comprise what is called Kugluktuk; these are likely to inform the people-food relationships that shape Kugluktuk's food system – bottom-up and top-down. Many facets of the environment and life in Kugluktuk are likely shared with other circumpolar communities, while place-based, historical and other influences contribute to the uniqueness of each community.

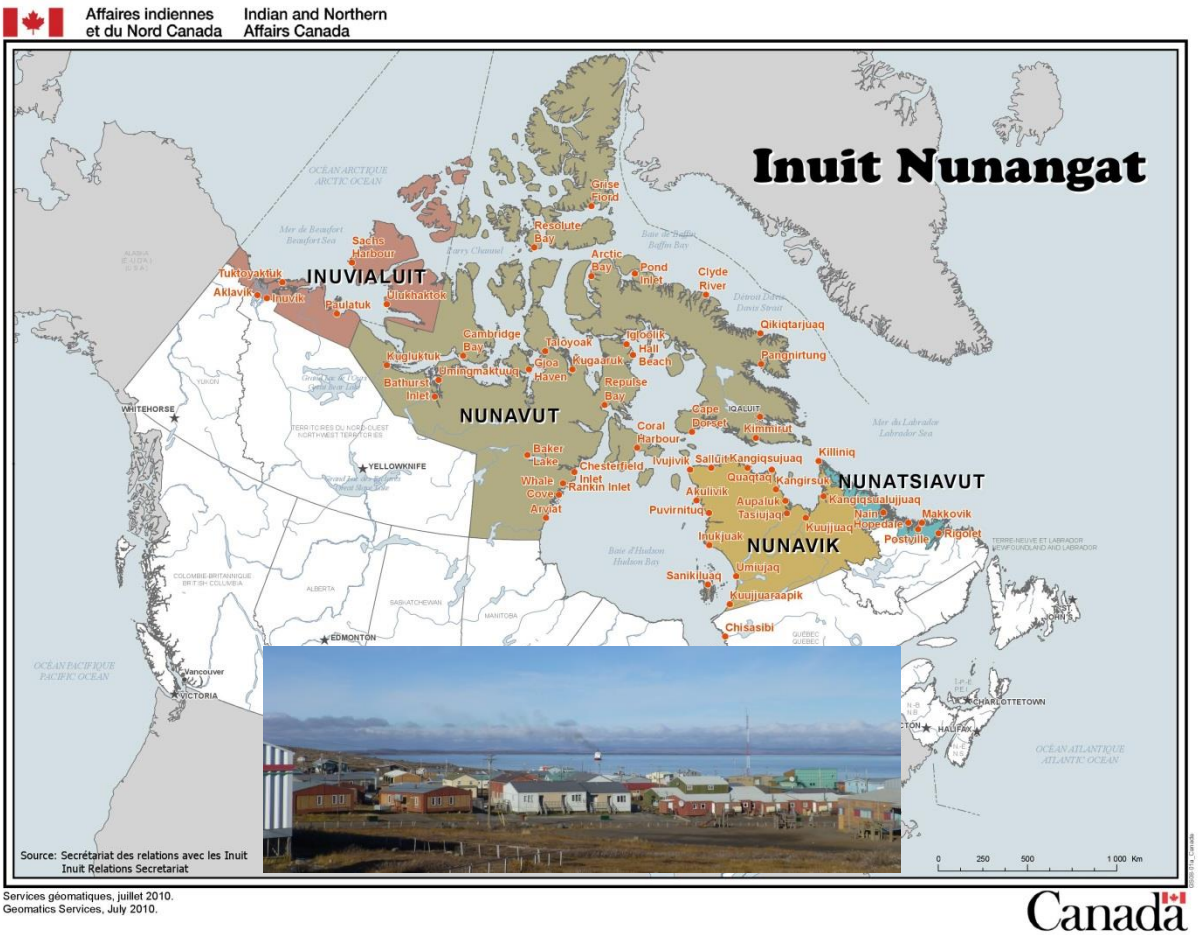

Figure 3. Geopolitical location of Kugluktuk (Nunavut, Canada). Map reprinted with permission (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada 2010)(Photo inset R. Klady).

Kugluktuk was selected as the focus of this research because it is well situated (*e.g.* geographic, socio-demographic, political) to explore issues of northern food security and people-food relationships. The population size of the community is close to the average for Nunavut communities[40]. Kugluktuk is a community where I had a long-term contact with one community member whom I met at an Arctic Climate Change workshop in 2007. In this regard, my contact was able to introduce me to other key contacts in the community and build trust in the project, an

[40] Average ~1200 population as of 2019, excluding the Territory's capital, Iqaluit.

essential aspect of ethnographic research in (Indigenous) communities; this in turn helped shape the research in meaningful ways, including the capacity to incorporate community-identified knowledge gaps and interests.

a) Relevant Hamlet Statistics

Kugluktuk's 2016 census population was 1491, the median age was ~26; 69% of the population was younger than 15 years old (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a). The Canadian average median age is ~ 42 and 11% of the total population is younger than 15 years old (*ibid*). These statistics highlight that a substantial proportion of Kugluktuk's population is currently too young to earn a meaningful income; however, they will soon be eligible to enter the workforce, which has implications for employment opportunities. The hamlet has 430 occupied dwellings, 130 of these are lone parent families (*ibid*). In Kugluktuk, the employment rate in 2016 was approximately 47%; average full-time employment income of recipients aged 15 years and over in households was approximately $89,000 (*ibid*). Approximately 90% of Kugluktuk's population (≤15 yrs.) received government transfers[41] in one form or another (*ibid*).

Even if employment opportunities in Kugluktuk were more abundant, many positions require specialized training that cannot be obtained locally, but necessitate leaving the community to train elsewhere, such as urban centres where social and family networks may not exist – particularly among certain (cultural) demographics. Alternatively, self-employment often requires a great deal of start-up financing, in addition to adequate support to initiate. These facts

[41] Government transfers: "*All cash benefits received from federal, provincial, territorial or municipal governments during the reference period*…" (*e.g.* Old Age Security pension, Guaranteed Income Supplement, retirement, disability, Employment Insurance, child benefits, social assistance, *etc.*) (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a).

are germane to food security, sovereignty and Indigenous resilience, as they present meaningful challenges to those in pursuit of employment: for example, because they must effectively abandon family ties (Kral and Idlout 2012; Pauktuutit 2006) and/or arrange for childcare in the case of lone caregiver families[42], in order to pursue the necessary training and 'education' to access certain jobs.

In Kugluktuk, 90% of the 2016 census population self-identify as Inuit (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a). Kugluktuk is comprised of effectively two different ancestral Inuit sub-groups – including inland and coastal Inuit (Damas 2002:162, 192; Brody 1975:45) . The vast majority of the Hamlet Census population self-identify as Christian (82%) (StatsCan 2013). A dialect of Inuktitut, *Inuinnaqtun*, was identified as the mother tongue by approximately 16% of the census population; otherwise English is the current primary mother tongue[43] (74%) (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a).

b) Hamlet History

The hamlet's origins are tied to the fur trade, when a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post and a Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) post were established circa 1916 and 1919, respectively (Payette 2010; Pool 2012; AINA 2013). The Inuit name for what became the settlement was always Kugluktuk or *Qurluqtuq*, which translates from *Inuinnaqtun* to 'water is rushing down'(Ohokak, Kadlun, and Harnum 2011), describing the nature of the nearby Coppermine River. It was described by non-Inuit as Fort Hearne and then Coppermine, until the

[42] In Kugluktuk, 38% of the census population are '*lone parents*', of these 76% are women and 24% are men (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a). In the instance of education, extensive family networks frequently help with childcare support for lone parent families (Rodon and Lévesque 2018). The relevance of this information to people-food relationships is described in Appendix B, b-iii and discussed more extensively in Ch. 6.3.
[43] Other language origins comprise the remaining 10% (*e.g.* other Inuit languages, French, *etc.*).

Inuit name for the Hamlet was re-instated in 1996 (Pool 2012). There was no prior permanent habitation of the area, although the region is part of ancestral territories (Usher 1965).

Prior to the establishment of a colonial presence (*e.g*. trading and police posts), Inuit families in this region led exclusively mobile, land- and ocean/sea-based lifestyles, according to resource availability (Stenbaek 1987:307; Damas 2002:75; Prno et al. 2011). By the late 1920s, a mining company and two churches (National Film Board of Canada 2008) had joined the HBC and NWMP posts; by the 1950s, there was also a school, a small hospital, and radio and meteorology stations (Damas 2002:75). By the end of 1965, 450 residents lived in Kugluktuk, predominantly in government housing, and by 1968 there were 93 Inuit-occupied dwellings, with garbage and sewage collection services (Damas 2002:161). The present existence of the Hamlet of Kugluktuk, therefore, can be largely attributed to market forces (fur trade, mining), policies of the Canadian government, and settlement by Inuit and peoples of other origins (Damas 2002:162, 192). Many of these immigrants were from the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe (Brody 1975:45).

With the arrival of non-Inuit settlers, meaningful shifts occurred for many northern peoples: dietary practices, modes and sources of food acquisition, language traditions, family life and social organisation, economies, technologies, health, governance, inter-cultural relationships, and even the experience of time (Draper 1977; Stenbaek 1987; Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Stern 2003; Price 2007). These changes have impacted Inuit values and practices in various ways, the more commonly noted being loss of historical and place-based knowledge, skills and language through a variety of different mechanisms, such as residential schooling (King 2006; Pauktuutit 2006), disease/epidemics (Damas 2002:40, 116; Bjerregaard et al. 2004; National Film Board of Canada 2008), sedentarisation (Damas 2002:191, 195; Ford et al. 2008),

utilization of/reliance on money (*i.e.* flat currency), and marginalization stemming from a paternalistic and colonial/ imperial system of governance (Williamson 2006; Czyzewski 2011; Regan 2010), which devalued and alienated Inuit (Tester and McNicoll 2004; Wexler 2009; Williamson 2006). Participation in the wage economy, in whatever form (*e.g.* employment, social assistance), makes accessible the use of certain introduced technologies (*e.g.* snowmobiles, boats, guns, ammunition, GPS, satellite phones, *etc.*), and can impact access to country foods, by extending hunting ranges and reducing time spent in travel (Condon, Collings, and Wenzel 1995), and potentially improving the chances of encountering wildlife. The existence of more diverse food sources through access to the global food system via industrial food (a.k.a. 'store food') arguably reduces the risk of starvation (Briggs 1991) and possibly also pressure on local food sources. Recently introduced processed and energy dense foods (fat and/or refined sugar/ carbohydrate-rich) also impact human health (Hruschka 2012; Popkin 2001; Kuhnlein et al. 2004). Some services such as public health care have reduced the impacts of certain diseases and increased birth survival rates (Bjerregaard et al. 2004).

c) Kugluktuk's Food System

As is typical of most settlements in Nunavut, there is no road connecting Kugluktuk to any other communities; consequently, Kugluktuk is serviced – including delivery of food and other non-food items (*e.g.* 'personal orders', skidoos, boats, clothing) – by plane throughout the year and also by barge during the summer. Delivery by plane is expensive. Kugluktuk's local food system is comprised of two main food sources, store food and local country food. Two different commercial enterprises are the primary source of store or market foods: the *Northern* store and the *Kugluktuk Co-op Ltd* (KCL). As mentioned previously, on the surface these two organisations seem similar: both stores carry many of the same products and prices do not appear

to differ greatly. The main difference between the two stores is their governance model, the Northern being a corporate model, while the Co-op – in theory – is based on more cooperative governance. A number of residents remarked during my time in Kugluktuk, however, that the Co-op seemed not to exercise its full governance potential, but rather interfaced as a corporate body similar to the Northern.

Regarding country foods, wildlife (Torretti, Garrett & Griller, pers. comm. 2013; Niptanatiak & Akana pers. comm. 2014) and edible berries (Desrosiers 2017; Davis 2008) are reported to be locally abundant (*i.e.* for human consumption), with seasonal and annual variability.

d) Important Institutions in Kugluktuk

A number of other institutions and infrastructures in the community are important to the community, as well as having relevance to Kugluktuk's food system(s). These include: two public schools (elementary & secondary), Arctic College, a government run health centre, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Parole Office, two main buildings that house various Territorial and Regional Government Departments, the Hamlet Office (local governance), the Elder Centre, Community and Youth Centre (*e.g.* Nearest & Dearest program[44], sports, community events), a relatively newly (ca. 2015) constructed Visitor's Centre (the 'Ulu building'), a building that houses the Canadian Pre-natal Nutrition Program (CPNP), the daycare (Kakayak), the Housing office, Illavut[45], the local Hunter's and Trapper's Organisation (HTO), the post office, and the two main sources of market foods, the Northern and the Kugluktuk Cooperative Ltd..

[44] *Nearest and dearest* is a publically funded program for parents and young children (0-5yrs) in Kugluktuk to support children to develop their motor skills, socialize and play. It runs Saturdays (1-3 p.m.).
[45] Serves the territory as a minimum security corrections or healing facility, located in Kugluktuk.

e) Food Security in Kugluktuk

The following table (Table 2) provides the demographics for the Hamlet of Kugluktuk, in the Kitikmeot region of Nunavut. These data are important in the context of food security and food system governance.

Table 2. Population demographics[1] (2016) for the Hamlet of Kugluktuk (Nunavut) and Revised Northern Food Basket estimates

Variables	Counts	%	Median, annual income (CAD)
Statistics			
Total pop'n	1,491		
Pop'n (≤15 yrs.)	1030	69	$19,872
Employment income in 2015 for full-time, year-round workers (≤15 yrs.)	235	23	$88,832
Unemployed (≤15 yrs.)	185	18	$17,012[2]
Household	430		$57,429
Average household size	3.4		
Revised Northern Food Basket[3]			
Kugluktuk[4]			$1702/mo
Iqaluit[4]			$1633/mo
Vancouver[5]			$1093/mo

[1](Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a; census subdivision)
[2](Maytree 2019; 2017 Iqaluit, NU, annual, approx.)
[3]Average monthly cost ($CAD) for a family of four
[4](INAC 2018; calculated using average 2016 + 2017 data)
[5](BC Centre for Disease Control 2018:9)

Income Assistance (IA) is the territorial program in Nunavut that provides monetary supplements for a range of different circumstances: Social Assistance (SA) (*e.g.* unemployment), the 'Child Benefit' for low income families with children, the Senior Citizen Supplementary Benefit, Senior Fuel Subsidy and Daycare Subsidy. In Kugluktuk, SA has a meaningful impact on individuals and collectives. Approximately 23% of Kugluktuk's population has full-time, year round employment, whereas approximately 47% of residents receive some form of IA

(Government of Nunavut 2018). SA, which falls under the umbrella of IA, includes what is called a '*Productive Choice Agreement'*. 'Productive choices' and 'career development' are integral to the SA program (Government of Nunavut 2019a) and are contingent to receiving SA. These are intended to offer alternatives "*to assist and encourage decisions and productive choices from among community opportunities in wellness, learning, training, and work experience to gain and maintain a greater degree of financial independence*" (Government of Nunavut 2019b). Of the program's five objectives, one of these is "*to recognize the roles of tradition and culture in people's lives and the importance of family*…", and another "*to make better use of…community human resources*" (*ibid*). According to one IA support worker in Kugluktuk, this agreement indicates what the client is doing in his/her life, such as parenting, career, disability or 'wellness' activities (*e.g.* addictions counselling)(April 24, 2014). A range of different career development options may be supported by SA, including "…*schooling, training, parenting under certain circumstances, employment, community work* [/volunteer], *harvesting and/or individual mental health or alcohol and drug counseling*…"; however, these options may be dependent upon community-specific opportunities, which are limited to course availability (*e.g.* frequency, topic areas).

According to the 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey, average household food spending in Nunavut was $1875 per month, $1992 for households with children (Egeland 2010). Average spending for other Canadian households was reported as $609 per month (*ibid*). In 2015, median monthly housing (rental[46]) costs in Kugluktuk were $127/month, which includes rent and the costs of electricity, heat and municipal services (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017b). Table 3 shows incoming financial resources relative to estimated food costs:

[46] Approximately 78% of housing in Kugluktuk was rented, according to the 2011 Statistics Canada data.

Table 3. Incoming *versus* outgoing financial resources & anticipated food costs in Kugluktuk, Nunavut

Income Source	Annual Amount (CAD)	Food Costing Source	Estimated Annual Food Costs (CAD)
Median income[1]	$19,872	Average household (children) food spending[4] ($1992/mo)	$23,904
Employment (full-time) [1]	$88,832	Average household (no children) food spending[4] ($1875/mo)	$22,500
Private household median income[1]	$57,429	RNFB[5,6] ($1702/mo)	$20,426
Social Assistance			
single parent + one child ($1417/mo)[2]	$17,012		
family of four: two children ($1100/mo, pp)[3]	$26,400		

[1](Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a; census subdivision)
[2](Maytree 2019; 2017 Iqaluit, NU, annual, approx., single parent one child)
[3] Approximate 2014 values obtained from Income Assistance workers in Kugluktuk
[4](Egeland 2010; average for Nunavut)
[5] Approximate average monthly cost ($CAD) for a family of four
[6](INAC 2018; calculated using average 2016 + 2017 data)

The cost of groceries for a family of four in Kugluktuk (2016 – 2017[47] RNFB) runs approximately $426 per family week or $20,426 CAD/year (INAC 2018). One long-time, politically active Kugluktuk resident suggested it is relatively rare that only one person in a couple (intimate relationship) is employed[48]; more commonly, both partners of a couple are either employed or unemployed. In the instance of two parents on SA (~$26,400/yr) with two young children there remains ~$6,000 per year after RNFB costs, $10,120 in households with

[47] Average values.
[48] In a rough estimate of the community, this person figured approximately five households had only one employed partner (CP4, July 6, 2015).

children, and $11,524 in households without children. In contrast, a family with full-time income (median) might have ~$157,240 remaining[49].

Using the values provided in Table 3, a family dependent upon SA in Kugluktuk spends approximately 60% of household income on food. A study by Brandle showed that family food expenditures in Igloolik and Kimmirut (Nunavut) consumed approximately 45 – 60% of the monthly household income (2012). Kugluktuk's RNFB value is similar to other communities in Nunavut. In comparison, Canadian household average food expenditure was $8,527[50], representing approximately 12% of median household income ($70, 336) (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017d; Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017c). The disparity between food basket costs and annual incomes suggests that other mechanisms are enabling families to survive. While empty refrigerators in Kugluktuk may not be uncommon (Torretti 2013, pers. comm.), the absence of widespread starvation[51] suggests that there may be other critical supports enabling people to feed their families despite issues of high unemployment and living costs.

The values presented in the above tables (Tables 2 & 3) and figure (Fig. 2) suggest the possibility that a meaningful proportion of individuals and families in Kugluktuk may experience financial shortfall if all food consumed is store food and sharing networks or other

[49] Using RFNB values.
[50] In 2017.
[51] Assumed on the balance of evidence: did not arise in conversation with Kugluktummiut, including a variety of health care practitioners, decision makers, friends or otherwise), published documentation.

organisations are unable to offer additional supports. The reality is that families need to cover other very *basic* needs, such as housing[52], utilities, clothing[53] and transportation, to name a few.

3.3 Data Collection

This thesis draws on three forms of data: qualitative interviews, discussion groups and participant observation. These are described in detail following. The data were supplemented by field notes and journaling. The arrangement of data collection methods was intended to provide some degree of information triangulation (Yin 2011:79, 153; Chilisa 2012:165–167) and address Research Question 1b, to draw on more participatory and non-oral resources to inform my understandings of people-food relationships where connections between emergent themes and food were not obvious.

The research took place in the Hamlet of Kugluktuk, Nunavut, principally from January – May 2014, and June – July 2015. My final visit to the community – to solicit comments on the preliminary community report – was in September 2015. These were reportedly good times of the year to conduct this research because more people would be available to participate (pers. comm. Torretti 2013). During my time in Kugluktuk I strove to be fully present and connect to what people were sharing and what was happening around me, rather than filter everything through the different research lenses, including food. One local Elder shared some feedback about my time in the community: "*Some researchers come; they're not visible like you"* (CP1, March 26, 2014; 1:20:35). I was also eventually invited to meet with a prominent (at the Territorial level) community member who initially refused to speak with me.

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[52] Approximately 89% of tenant households are subsidized housing (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017b).

[53] Clothing needs and costs to survive environmental conditions of -50°C are substantial, irrespective of whether those clothes are 'traditional' (*e.g.* furs, skins) or more industrial origins.

In some instances, topics or issues might have arisen for which further exploration was prompted to better understand nuances. In an attempt to account for 'researcher filtering' (see Ch. 3.6), topics of discussion were pursued to test my own personal assumptions and expectations, as well of those of others. During an interview or other interactions, statements might be included about my personal feelings, with explanation about why I was curious, or I might offer my own opinions. This particular approach is in fitting with Kovach's writing about the conversational method, which she describes as *"... congruent with an Indigenous paradigm,* [which] *honour*[s] *core Indigenous research values of respect, relevancy, reciprocity, and responsibility*" (2010:45). This 'attuned' approach to interviewing and data collection is also more in alignment with creating a sense of safety and trust, as described in the praxis and theory of knowledge about attachment in human relationships (Geller and Porges 2014).

a) Research Collaboration Continuum & Co-participants

This research was informed by a hybrid model of partnership, situated along a 'collaboration continuum' (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008), from co-*researcher* to *collaborator*. The collaboration continuum is effectively based on interaction intensity with research participants, in my case with *Kugluktummiut* and other residents. '*Co-researcher*', based loosely on Chilisa's conceptualisation, is a team of residents who are involved in designing and enacting the various stages of the research together (Chilisa 2012:249–254). For a variety of reasons, including my relative newness to both Kugluktuk and the practice of social research, as well as a wish to regularly ground myself in the practice of being human(e) first and 'researcher' second, the place I most often found myself on the collaboration continuum was more towards 'collaborator'. The term *co-participant* (CP) designates individuals who engaged in the research process in a capacity more conventionally referred to as 'respondents' or research

participants. This term is my acknowledgment to the people in the community who interacted with me, thereby shaping this research. The wisdom or knowledge about food and feeding families is informed from the place and its people; without the good will and expertise of *Kugluktummiut* this work would not have been possible. (Truly, I stand on the shoulders of giants – *Quana*). Less intentional conversations are reported as 'PO' (*i.e.* engaged participant observation – see Section 3.3c). The majority of people participating requested that their identities remain anonymous.

Chilisa suggests that the power dynamics inherent in the research relationship between researcher and researched become more equitable using participatory practice and indigenous methods, in effect situating the academic researcher in the role of partner and in many cases 'student' (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Chilisa 2012:236). Elements of 'power sharing', 'empowering outcomes' and 'bicultural' or 'partnership research' are identified by Tuhiwai-Smith (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999:176–178) as important to more equitable research relationships, in particular with indigenous communities, and are also well aligned with principles that underlie food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience and IQ. This model of interaction is also described in principles laid out by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) and the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI), in a collaborative document entitled, '*Negotiating research relationships with Inuit communities: a guide for researchers'* (ITK and NRI 2007), as well as Bagele Chilisa's '*Transformative Participatory Action Research*' (TPAR) (2012:235–236).

A more collaborative, co-participant approach helped balance the tension between initiating the study within a clear research framework and the need for flexibility, adaptability and responsiveness to working in a community setting, a desire to honour the hopes and needs of

residents, and create a less invasive space from which to develop relationships and listen. Approaching my relationships with community members in this way helped me be more mindful of the power dynamics inherent in the research process. The flexibility afforded by this approach allowed me to consider, as much as possible, internal and external needs and interests of all parties involved, such as residents' interest and capacity to commit their attention to a research project initiated at my request, rather than by the community. It also permitted me to work within my own limitations, including – for example – my nascent interview skills, and helped support more fluid relationship building with residents, including the opportunity to develop sufficient trust to work together. My sense was that it was vitally important to the quality and quantity of interviews to allow time and space for relationships to emerge, rather than attempt to impose my own ideas and perpetuate more colonial ways of relating (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Hart 2010). Trust relationships have been cited as important to the research relationship and quality of the research (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999:112, 157; Ford and Pearce 2012; Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin 2012). Consequently, interviews were largely 'qualitative' (Yin 2011).

The collaborative relationship can also help triangulate approaches to and interpretation of the research, a process described as 'progressive subjectivity' (Chilisa 2012:166). This kind of involvement can benefit the research by helping to keep it relevant and appropriate, at the same time establishing a relationship of reciprocity, respect and accountability, and establish the rights and internal 'regulations' of the Hamlet (Chilisa 2012:7). It can help identify opportunities to enhance personal and collective wellbeing that are better aligned with community values and ways of interacting, capitalising on existing customary supports and enabling mechanisms (Swadener and Mutua 2008 citing GH Smith 2002; Chilisa 2012). As

Martens *et al.* write, these collaborative approaches produce "…*results* [that are] *more relevant to the needs of the community, and … grounded in cultural and spiritual ways*" (2016). These practices also follow more closely with Indigenous resilience and food sovereignty principles.

b) Interviews

Qualitative interviews (Yin 2011)(including a single facilitated group discussion) were informed by the 'conversation as method' described Kovach (2010) and are utilized by organisations such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC-A) (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:107). Throughout the text the term 'conversation' is used, but strictly as an alternative term to 'interviews'. Interviews were conducted in order to develop a better understanding of Kugluktuk's food system, resident values, preferences practices and beliefs, as well as to create the possibility to explore together with CPs the formal and customary mechanisms connected to individual and collective food security, food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience. Interviews tended to flow freely, rarely conforming to the structure of the original interview script that had been developed prior to working in the community. I allowed the practice of relationship building to guide the breadth and depth of topics covered, following different points of inquiry as a negotiation between CPs and my needs and interests at any given moment (Chilisa 2012:chap. 7; Kovach 2010; Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a). Interviews took place at a location of the CP's convenience, most often their homes and I was the sole interviewer. All interviews were conducted in English – the most common language spoken in the Hamlet. This precluded direct conversation with the few people who spoke principally *Inuinnaqtun*; however, in two separate instances I was able to accompany two such individuals on separate day-long trips on the land. I also used interviews to test my understanding/interpretations of emergent content and

further explore some of the various topics that had arisen earlier in conversations with others, so in some instances there were multiple conversations with the same person/people.

The approach to interviewing was modified to allow local practices to inform their precise structure, informed by an approach that Chilisa (2012:chap. 7) describes as postcolonial indigenous methods. Chilisa suggests that "*a postcolonial indigenous research paradigm… privilege*[s] *relational ways of knowing that valorize respect for relations people have with one another and with the environment*" (2012:206). Interview modifications refer primarily to their 'conversational' (see Kovach 2010) nature and other interactions described above, in response to the interests and context of the relationship between the CP and the student researcher at the time of the interview. Individuals or groups were free to discuss topics beyond those that might be more obviously within the purview of 'food sovereignty, security or Indigenous resilience'. Prompts were used to initiate conversation in some instances, but typically became open and responsive once a flow had been established. There were also situations where an envisioning tool was employed (Reed 2011:27), where I suggested that they could wave a magic wand and anything they wished for would come true, particularly in the context of something for their community.

Some interviews were digitally voice recorded (n = 6), including people from the group interview), accompanied by note taking for later transcription or reference. The majority of interviews were recorded as written notes. These are indicated throughout the text using < " "> to distinguish from direct quotes. In the instance of some CPs who engaged in multiple interview sessions, some sessions were digitally recorded and others involved only written notes. The method of recording responses depended on several factors: my reading of the co-participant's

comfort with either approach[54] (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:107), how comfortable each of us –the CP(s) and I – felt with each other, whether I felt CPs would feel comfortable declining to be digitally recorded, or whether I was prepared to immediately engage in the interview process[55]. Regarding this last point, in at least one case I had assumed I would book a time for a future appointment with a potential CP, but instead they immediately indicated their willingness by engaging in an extended conversation. Recorded interviews were transcribed in most instances by a professional transcription company, Transcript Heroes.

c) Discussion Group

'Discussion group' is conceptualised as an approach similar to focus group, but with less structure and less rigid power dynamics. Focus groups are described by Barbour (2007) as an approach that have a high capacity for capitalising on the creative problem-solving skills of group members and is used in more collaborative, ethnographic approaches to research (Lassiter 2005:chap. 8). Chilisa describes indigenous focus group interviews as having overlap with how communication happens in natural settings: when there is a problem, people get together to discuss the matter (2012:212).

Only one discussion group was organised in this research. This was digitally voice recorded (with accompanying written notes) for later transcription and reference; consent was given orally. Group size was six self-selected people, all members of the local women's group, of whom 4 were from similar socio-economic status, age and gender (local, employed, >40 yrs.

[54] Prior to visiting Kugluktuk, I had spoken with another researcher who shared with me her own research experience in the same community. She used a lot of 'post-it' notes during her interviews, sensing the discomfort of her interview partners in being voice recorded (Sarah Desrosiers, pers. comm. 2012).

[55] Many interviews occurred as part of the spontaneous and seemingly haphazard way of village life encounters. It was not unusual that upon introducing myself – including the reason for my presence in Kugluktuk – that people immediately entered into conversation.

old) and the other two were outsiders (employed, ~40 yrs. old) who had lived in the community only for a relatively short period of time (1 – 3 yrs.). Tea and snacks were provided. I facilitated the meeting when a given topic appeared to be exhausted (*i.e.* no one else felt moved to comment).

d) Engaged Participant Observation & Journaling

In this study, participant observation (PO) encompassed a wide variety of possibilities. I use the term 'engaged' to indicate that these were rarely events in which I was a passive, neutral observer. Aspects of engaged PO in this work echo Collings' 'phased assertion', which helped provide valuable data verification (2009). Robey and Taylor (2018) describe engaged participant observation in the context of 'engaged practitioner-scholars' – a scenario that does not fully describe my own situation, but nonetheless includes a detailed exploration of the potential benefits and risks. The latter includes four principle concerns: (1) identity and relationship work, (2) potentially biased interpretation, (3) ethical conduct, and (4) publication (*ibid*).

PO occurred along a spectrum, from casual conversations to witnessing or participating in various events (*e.g.* community feasts, on-the-land trips, soup kitchen, *etc.*). After these engaged interactions or very occasionally during, I made notes about issues that were discussed, practices and values I observed, as well as other personal reflections about the experience and what I felt. Interactions might involve joining individuals and families (*i.e.* 'visiting') for 'tea' or meals at people's homes when invited. I also accompanied one of the high school classes on several outings with local Elder hunters in the community that involved seal hunting, trapping fox and fishing. I participated in other larger social events (*e.g.* soup kitchen, Bingo, community

feasts, *Nattiq Frolics*[56]), and journaled about subsequently, recalling conversations, interactions, and making other observations. I attempted to journal every evening, to record interactions, experiences, thoughts and reflections about the day. All PO and journal data are anonymous, since express permission to use quotations or names was not given to report these data.

I had not originally planned to regularly participate in the local soup kitchen[57]. At the time I was making preparations to live/work in Kugluktuk, the soup kitchen was still in the realisation process; it was only upon my arrival that the program became a regular event. There is a very limited literature that describes or assesses community food program usage (*e.g.* soup kitchens, food banks, HTOs or Elder Centres)(e.g. Ford et al. 2013). despite the fact that the clients of these programs may be experiencing some of the most extreme social and economic marginalisation in their communities (Ford et al. 2013; Tarasuk, Dachner, and Loopstra 2014), Consequently, this became an opportunity to be mindful of which community demographics were represented in this study. Being mindful of a range of potential issues (*e.g.* insider/outsider, trust, power dynamics), it may be that this particular approach also allowed me to witness, without bringing potentially unwanted attention to people in attendance.

3.4 Sampling

a) Participant Recruitment

Co-participants were identified initially using semi-purposive and snowball sampling, (Babbie 2001:chap. 7; Yin 2011:88–89), attempting to sample across a diversity of participants as well as represent a range of community demographics (Babbie 2001:chap. 7). This was

[56] *Nattiq Frolics* is a local spring celebration much anticipated by and enjoyed by the community at large.
[57] Described in detail in Ch. 4.3a. The Saturday soup kitchen was a local initiative that offered lunch every Saturday in Kugluktuk to families on IA or otherwise in need. It ran December 2013 – April 2014 and served homemade food, typically with some country food.

followed by an approximation of theoretical sampling (Charmaz 2001:6398), enabling more flexible and responsive sampling than other methodological approaches.

This study included a combination of primary data sources, including CPs and POs. The number of CPs participating was *n* = 52. These include individual (*n* = 42 individuals) and three group[58] interviews consisting of 10 people total (6 + 2 + 2). PO interviews of individuals was approximately *n* = 24. Since a number of group PO interviews were unanticipated, it was not possible to analyze group participant voices separately. In the data analysis, unanticipated PO meetings were analysed as though they were individuals. The total number of POs, therefore, is uncertain. Altogether there were 12 groups of POs of varying numbers (approximately *n* = 2 – 50 people). PO meetings included principally several smaller group meetings (*n* = 2 – 8 people), such as committee meetings (*e.g.* Wellness Committee), but also community meetings and one council meeting.

Participant demographics are reported in Chapter 4.1. Recruitment of CPs involved a variety of approaches, based on researcher capacity and normalised, place-based social practices. It was necessary to be flexible and responsive to opportunities that arose, as well as accommodate different styles of relating – both for my own needs, as well as those of residents. Recruitment occurred through word-of-mouth recommendations, invitation following initial relationship building, and displaying informational posters in strategic locations within the community. CPs needed to demonstrate a willingness to participate following informed consent; otherwise these conversations were treated as participant observation in the data processing phase.

[58] 'Group' is defined as more than one person present.

Regarding youth participation, I was in contact with young people of many ages consistently throughout my time in Kugluktuk; however, youth were not intentionally interviewed or otherwise solicited for information relevant to my research, given the research topic and institutional ethical considerations. At the same time, I did not try to ignore observations or insights during interactions, such as secondary school outings (seal hunting, trapping foxes, fishing), 'socialising' more broadly at public and some private occasions (*e.g.* public events, invitations to share food), volunteering at a local soup kitchen that was housed in the high school/public library, and I occasionally worked as a substitute teacher and teacher's aide. Only one participant was younger than 19 years, but s/he specifically requested an interview.

Certain individuals in the community became important sources of guidance, in some cases recommending other individuals and/or local organisations to approach, or more generally providing information and context for the research themes. Several individuals also provided valuable feedback and recommendations concerning recruitment criteria and strategies. The recruitment strategies employed are similar to those that have been practiced in other northern research (e.g. Ford et al. 2008; Wexler 2009; Ford and Beaumier 2011; Whitfield 2012:19), and seemed relatively well suited to both the small community size, as well as in terms of respecting local practices and values, the relatively constrained period of time I had available for data collection, as well as my desire to gather information with a relatively wide scope. No interpreter was required to facilitate communications – the majority of residents are primarily English speakers. Posters and consent forms were translated into *Inuinnaqtun* in order to both

acknowledge and ensure that the full spectrum of the community had the opportunity contribute to the research in their language of preference.

b) Reimbursement

Acknowledgement was provided as *honoraria* ($50 – 150) to co-participants who consented to interviews. Use of 'Honoraria' is a common practice in many communities in Nunavut and is considered particularly appropriate where experts are solicited for an opinion. The amount was considered appropriate by an embedded researcher from Clyde River (Dr. Shari Fox Gearheard) as well as one of my primary contacts (non-local) in Kugluktuk who works for the government. One exception is that interviews conducted at people's place of employment during work hours were typically not given honoraria, unless they were particularly helpful and provided additional assistance beyond a single interview.

3.5 Data Analysis

In order to address the research questions, data (interviews, discussion group, participant observation) were analysed using a constructivist-leaning modified grounded theory approach to develop initial codes, then categories and finally themes (Charmaz 2006). Given the large volumes of data, QSR NVivo (v.10 – 12) was used to organise and code content (Yin 2009:129). Interviews were coded inductively, using simultaneous, line-by-line and open coding in most cases (Saldana 2012:chap. 1; Charmaz 2006:chap. 3). Data analysis (*i.e.* initial coding) was initiated subsequent to the first field trip, and informed the second field data collection phase, which roughly follows Grounded Theory's process of theoretical sampling to develop increasingly focused codes based on iterative sampling that informs coding (Charmaz 2006; O'Reilly 2012). Coding or category development went through several stages or iterations,

whereby new data was used to test how well the initial coding framework reflected emergent categories (*e.g.* aggregative coding). Initial coding (Charmaz 2006:chap. 3) was based on a selection of approximately 10 – 15 interviews, the majority of which tended to be lengthier, richer interviews. In the analysis, group interviews were separated into individual CPs/files. In this regard, some CPs (*e.g.* CP1) were interviewed in both individual and group settings. Multiple interviews with the same person at different times within and across the different phases of data collection were aggregated into a single file for analysis, such that repeat interviews with the same person would be coded as a single data collection event. The analysis began with assigning codes to the text, working for the most part on a line-by-line basis; from simple codes, aggregative codes began to emerge. As the coding began to develop some structure other CPs' responses were then coded and incorporated into the developing structure. Initial codes emerged as categories, eventually revealing more sophisticated themes, including connections between people and food.

Upon completion of CP interview coding, participant observation data were then coded. There were no substantive changes to emergent categories at this stage. Slightly fewer than 30% of coded interviews were re-visited, emphasizing longer duration interview sessions. At this juncture, the number of codes applied to any single section of text was reduced, attempting within reason for a maximum of three codes for any given section of text. In general, it seemed that interviews coded later in the analysis were less subject to 'splitting' – the problem of (overly) densely coded text.

Using modified grounded theory (constructivist)(Charmaz 2006:130–131) helped reveal a disconnect between more deductive approaches to analysis, and subsequently how to navigate this gap by stepping back to re-examine my initial coding from a more inductive stance, to see

whether or not the coding framework changed. The framework of emergent themes did change and seemed to better describe the content, but required in some respects a second phase of analysis in order to link themes of importance to participants with food. Themes were used to develop emergent theory, applying the various food system lenses (informed by scholarly literatures) in order to determine each lens' capacity to describe salient aspects of people-food relationships. Where appropriate, findings were triangulated *via* corroboration across diverse literatures.

My academic committee checked my procedural approach and interpretation of the data. I also worked with community collaborators to review initial 'findings' in the draft community report. A draft report of preliminary findings was presented in September 2015 to the Hamlet Council. This same report was shared with the Kugluktuk Women's group and other community members in order to solicit feedback and improve content representativeness. This may be regarded as another form of 'collaboration' and triangulation, which can help bring transparency to the research process for Hamlet residents, and may lend further robustness to data interpretation.

3.6 Positionality

The following is a collection of considerations with regards to some of the various limitations of this research.

a) Personal Reflections

I want to be able to tell a story that does justice to what emerged in conversation and observation during my time in Kugluktuk. How can I honour the vulnerability and beauty of what people shared with me about the things that matter in their lives? At some level, I know that I am unable. How can I begin to tell a story as an outsider, outside my comfort zone (my

personal ‘bubble’) and along with other features (*e.g.* newness to social sciences, including nascent interview, qualitative analysis and writing techniques; relative newness to the subject matter)? Owing to the complexities inherent in relationships between people and food and my own positionality as an outsider researcher (*i.e.* position of power, histories of abuses of power), it is questionable whether it is appropriate to comment in any definitive way on the present state of hunger or food security in Kugluktuk. My observations, experiences and what was shared with me by community members and others are tempered by my own interpretations, seen and understood through my own personal lens(es), which may be very different from those of community members (Borland 1991).There are likely some – or perhaps *many* – things I missed or got ‘wrong’. My hope, nonetheless, is that I have managed to reflect back or offer at least some measure of the humbling strength, courage and integrity that *Kugluktummiut* shared with and showed me.

What I reflect about my research journey is the ways in which the people around me mirrored back the very things that are important or meaningful in my own life: intimate connection – with myself, others, land, ancestors, culture/identity, sharing, meaningful engagement/occupation, and personal power. I witnessed individuals and at times the entire community navigate tragedy, grief, dislocation, systemic injustices and inherited trauma; I was struck by the resiliencies and capacities to contain apparent extremes and still thrive. My research journey, such a large part of which is tied to my experiences in Kugluktuk, has been a deeply decolonizing and humanizing one. These things I suspect may be part of the guiding ideologies that conventional research or statistics may overlook, much to the detriment of the

Academy; when we fail to acknowledge each other's strengths and humanity, we fail to support and collaborate with those strengths, sustainably and over the long term.

This research journey and – as Indigenous academic Shawn Wilson describes it – research *ceremony* (2008) have been an awakening for me….or rather, *awakenings*, including in regards to my own positionality. I was aware that I needed and wanted to be responsive to the realities of co-participants, including situational appropriateness and my own capacities. Often it was imperative to discard certain academic structures in favour of simply being present, in connection and open to seeing and hearing. I feel this helped me arrive at insights or understandings that were perhaps more rooted in place, time and connection rather than in the realm of ideas and the mind. I suggest that the way in which I was called to practice my work is a reflection of the deeply relational practices that inform the lives of *Kugluktummiut*; these practices, values and beliefs have also emerged as essential to the relationships between people and food.

b) Relational Considerations in Research

Broader issues connected to outsider positionality are also discussed more broadly in Chapters 6.2 and 6.5; personal positionality raises questions about how I, as the researcher, have shaped this work. Being new to the field of social sciences was impactful at all stages of the research, but specifically in terms of relational/relationships, such as with interviewing skills and capacities to listen attentively while also capturing salient ideas, statements or reflections. Even the act of notetaking had its attendant challenges – missing words, misinterpretation – whereas voice recorded interviews were less subject to these kinds of issues.

Personal positionality likely influenced research findings: for example, how much was the emergence of wellbeing a reflection of my own personal interests, relative to whether this more consistently and broadly informs people's underlying needs and values? Chilisa and others suggest that one of the most meaningful challenges in research is 'researcher filtering' (Yin 2011:269–270; Chilisa 2012:168). In the research presented, this includes the influence of my thinking and relationships in the context of this research, my personal and professional ontologies, limitations, gifts and values. Berger, citing LoBiondo-Wood and Haber, writes, "*researcher bias will color what is learned by covertly directing observation and interview, as well as shading the interpretation of data*" (2001:12). In this regard, I influenced the content and direction of interviews in many different ways, and my approach to interviewing and other interactions with community members was in turn informed by academic literatures, co-participants in Kugluktuk, participant observation and my interpretations.

The relationships formed with different residents in Kugluktuk may have also influenced the research. These are relevant regarding research with Indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin 2012) and also specifically Inuit communities (Cunningham 2010; Grimwood et al. 2012). The quality of pre-existing relationships or new connections developed during the research process can have meaningful impacts on interactions with study participants, as well as study outcomes (Kovach 2010). For example, if I worked in close and obvious partnership with any given resident, certain co-participants may be more or less guarded about what they say, owing to perceived risks or benefits of associating with my perceived relational network.

In addition to the various ways in which I bring my 'self' to this work, the voices that emerge in the following are also based on conversations with people who represent different

demographics. In this study, certain voices may be over- or underrepresented; in the latter case, particular those experiencing persistent hardship, perhaps especially hunger, as well as specifically Inuit or 'local' voices (see 'Study Demographics', Ch. 4.1). Consequently, findings from this study may not offer an accurate reflection of the wider community's demographics (*e.g.* welfare recipients, single parents, those navigating mental health or addictions). Despite potential gaps in the direct representation that emerges through interviews, it is also possible that the collection of voices presented here nonetheless encompasses important themes for individuals and collectives in Kugluktuk with regards to grassroots needs, values, practices and beliefs that comprise people-food relationships. In combination with participant observation at particular key events, the apparent extent of close kinship and broader collective ties (e.g. Ready and Power 2018; Harder and Wenzel 2012; Damas 1972) that traverse a range of demographics[59], consequently, may offer relatively accurate insights into the experiences of others within those networks. This relatively inclusive awareness is also described in subsequent sections (*e.g.* Appendix B, a-ii, iii, b, Ch. 4.2d, Ch. 6.2).The degree of overlap of findings with other relevant literatures (discussed in Ch. 6.4) offers some assessment of the reliability of results.

The facts and facets described above may have attendant advantages and disadvantages; they affect how I understood and interpreted experiences, influence what people chose or felt comfortable to share with me, as well as perhaps the content of what was said to me (or not), what I observed (and how), and the experiences to which I was exposed. In addition, I spent a relatively limited time living in the community, and this was largely for the purposes of research, including relationships building, developing contextual familiarity and data collection. This has

[59] Although resource sharing may not necessarily include the same demographic breadth see *e.g.* Ready (2018).

the potential to limit my understandings and capacity to 'verify' information, particularly in areas that were more challenging to access, such as insights into experiences of hunger in the community.

c) 'Other', 'Outsider', Colonizer in Relation

Additional factors in this research that need to be made more transparent may have had potentially meaningful influences: for example, my status as an 'outsider' and a representative of an institution (*i.e.* the University) in which historical and ongoing relationships with the 'researched' continue to be problematic (*e.g.* CP1 & CP14)(Tuhiwai-Smith 1999:71; Chilisa 2012:89). Labelling myself as an 'outsider' means in this instance that I do not have ancestral roots in Kugluktuk, nor did I grow up or otherwise spend substantial time living in this region. I grew up in semi-rural environs in southern Ontario in relative privilege ('white', financially solvent, educated predominantly according to more colonial or European norms prior to secondary school) as the youngest of a 'blended' family of five. My parents come from relatively disparate backgrounds: in my father's case a 'marginal' minority religious/cultural group, whereas my mother's roots fall within social privilege and 'acceptability', despite having also been a single parent for some time, with her own (ancestral) history of trauma. I also have a son, who at the time of writing this is 3 years old, and I have been his primary caregiver for much of this time.

Jones and Jenkins (2008) write about the Indigene-Colonizer hyphen, drawing attention to the risks inherent in the outsider-insider relationships. For example, the unique values, beliefs and experiences of both community partners and residents can become subsumed in a sort of average with those of the university researcher's (e.g. Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Wilson 2008; Hart 2010). Bishop describes this as an "hegemony of ideas" (1994), particularly where collaborative

efforts are designed to develop 'mutual understanding' or consensus about data analysis and interpretation among research partners. This scenario risks erasing the inherent "tension of difference" (Jones and Jenkins 2008:473–474) that offers nuance and complexity critical to developing recommendations for change and governance decisions.

Another challenge encountered was how to see around, beneath, behind, and sometimes beyond personal perceptions, as well as those of other people's, particularly in regards to making space for appreciation or an appreciative stance. For example, when someone spoke of their concerns for youth, their worry might be an indication of love – how much they wish the best for young people and want them to thrive. Then again, it might not. It was at times difficult to see beyond problems, what was perceived as 'not working' and the struggles that people shared with me. In part this problem may be attributed to the genre my own upbringing, embedded within the greater society that at times appears to be preoccupied with criticism and judgement.

d) Mitigation

In an attempt to acknowledge and mitigate some of the influences described here, I employed a number of different practices. Some of these included maintaining vigilance regarding my role and contributions to the research, maintaining a stance of listening, learning and acceptance of "radical uncertainty" (Jones and Jenkins 2008:481), and understanding that my own experiences and knowledge were insufficient to fully understand the lived experiences of the people with whom I worked. Given that each person brings their own lenses or paradigms to the work (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999:137; Yin 2011:270–272; Chilisa 2012:166, 173–174), as often as possible I engaged in self-reflection, identifying, examining and re-examining my own and others assumptions independently (*e.g.* journaling) and in relation with residents and other

experts to increase transparency of the research to myself and others. Throughout the research process I tried to be aware of and remain open and sensitive to different ways of understanding the world, the practice of living/being in relation in Kugluktuk, and how these ways of relating – while they might fall outside of the context of my own ontologies – may be foundational to individual and collective food security, sovereignty and Indigenous resilience.

In the interview context and more broadly, while living in the community, I shared with co-participants and residents about my experiences, thoughts and opinions, and gratefully acknowledge that I learned and grew in relation with these individuals and the collective. As Kovach (2010:49) writes, "*Because I was a co-participant, my own self-knowledge deepened with each conversation*". In some regards, this more fluid approach to interviewing is in line with certain traditions of grounded theory (Charmaz 2006:29–35), and were part of 'relational interviewing' – in other words, being in relation with community members and remaining responsive to explicit or implicit needs and interests at a given time and place.

3.7 Approvals & Ethics

Approval for this work was granted by the Nunavut Research Institute (Scientific Research Licenses #0400314N-M & 0401615R-M) and the University of British Columbia's Behavioural Research Ethics Board (certificate # H13-02193), and was under the guidance of my PhD supervisory committee. The work was funded via a SSHRC PhD Fellowship and SSHRC Insight Development grant.

Results

Chapter 4: People-Food Relationships (RQ1)

Broad co-participant demographics (Section 4.1) provide context for interpretation of results and transparency/clarity regarding study participation. More detailed information about each CP or PO is provided in Appendix A. Section 4.2 explicitly links emergent themes (Table 6, Appendix B) to people-food relationships and speaks to the inevitable overlap and interconnection between/among these (2- & 3-way interactions). Connecting emergent themes explicitly to food helps develop a more holistic conceptual understanding of bottom-up (grassroots) people-food relationships. I propose a conceptual model (Fig. 4) that encapsulates these relationships. Emergent themes cover a wide range of topics, offering some indication of community practices, beliefs, values, needs and concerns, which are then linked explicitly to food (RQ1).

Quotes (CPs, POs), interwoven throughout the text, help to elucidate and anchor important issues and perceptions, as does the concluding section (Section 4.3) with two vignettes in my own voice, describing personal experiences while living and working in Kugluktuk that help illustrate the local food system and emergent themes.

4.1 Study Demographics

The following describes inferred[60] demographics of co-participant (CP) and participant observation (PO) (Table 4). This study represents the voices of a mixed, northern community, not exclusively *Inuit* voices, despite having used *Indigenous* resilience as one of the candidate

[60] The data presented in Table 4 and Appendix A were not obtained directly from participants; rather these are inferred by the researcher. Some verification was possible *via* other sources, such as other community members, extended and frequent contact, or in some instances confirmed through publicly available information online.

food lenses. Furthermore, it is important to note that study demographics may be unrepresentative of the community as a whole. The analysis presented in subsequent sections of this chapter is based on a combination of individual and group CP and PO data. In various instances people spoke on behalf of others. For example, people not originally from Kugluktuk (*i.e.* 'outsiders') spoke about their observations with regards to local (*i.e.* Inuit) practices, values and beliefs. The combination of these various factors presents additional complexity with regard to interpretation of the data, but also concerning considerations of identity in particular. Finally, demographics data were not provided directly by participants. Rather, these were obtained through various indirect methods, including what CPs and POs said about themselves or others, researcher inference and some degree of validation through online resources. Individual participant demographics are provided in Appendix A.

There were 42[61] individual CPs, 20 individual and 12 group (<1 person) POs (approximate total $n = 85$). Quite often participant observation took place in groups; consequently, CP demographics are generally more precise. It is important to keep in mind the relative subjectivity and (un/underrepresented) complexity of each category, and that category labels have been assigned by the researcher. The demographics presented here offer a generalised picture of who shaped this research; however, two particular ways in which these data may also have gaps are discussed in the limitations of demographic data (Ch.4.1a).

[61] These included three groups, but were separated out (CPs 2, 20 & 48).

Table 4. Interview co-participant (CP) and participant observation (PO) demographics as inferred by the researcher

	Gender		
	Women	**Men**	**Groups**
CP	24	18	2
PO	16	8	8

	Age Group				
	Youth, child (0-18y)	**Adult (~19-45y)**	**Elder-in-Training (~45-60y)**	**Elder (~60y+, retired)**	**Groups**
CP	2	20	10	10	0
PO	1	1	17	4	6

	Occupancy						
	Paid occupancy, full time employment	**Intermittent paid occupancy**	**Unpaid occupancy**	**Elder pension**	**Income assistance**	**Groups**	**Unknown**
CP	32	2	2	4	2	0	0
PO	18	3	0	2	0	6	2

	Birth Origin				
	Local, from Kugluktuk, Inuit ancestry	**Nunavut/ Northern local**	**Outsider, not from Kugluktuk/ Nunavut**	**Groups**	**Unknown**
CP	25	2	15	0	0
PO	13	1	9	2	1

	Embedded in the community? Likely to stay?			
	Yes	**No**	**Groups**	**Unknown**
CP	31	11	0	0
PO	15	9	2	4

‘Gender’ is self-explanatory – only three ‘group’ interviews took place and these were separated into individual CPs for the purposes of analysis. ‘Groups’ describe instances in which more than one CP or PO was present and contributing to the conversation(s). ‘Age group’ demographics are assigned based on researcher interpretations and require elucidation: ‘Youth’ includes people approximately 0-18 years old; ‘Adult’ refers to people around the age of majority (19y) up to approximately 45 years old; ‘Elders-in-training’ (EIT) included people

approximately 45-60 years old. Here the term EIT is used in a more generalised, age-specific context, even though it is grounded in local culture: two different people from Kugluktuk used this term (*e.g.* CPs 2ii & 24 – see Appendix B, b-iv for more context) and one local Elder described this life phase as "…*Learning to be an elder. Learning the roles of an elder*" (CP2ii, April 03, 2014). The first time this term was used one local was apparently teasing another (and perhaps also themselves) about getting older. 'Elders' were around 60 years or older and typically 'retired', in the sense that they might be receiving an Elder Pension. The definition of an Elder in government documentation is somewhat flexible. According to one Government of Nunavut publication, "*an Elder, is an individual with a role or status in the community that is not linked to a specific age. Generally, senior's benefits can begin as early as fifty-five, depending on the program*" (Government of Nunavut 2017:1). Pakseresht *et al.* used similar age categories (2014), with the exception of EITs.

The category 'Occupancy' emerged out of data analysis. It was introduced by Elder CP4 (non-local, embedded) who spoke about the changes they had observed in the extent of occupancy since Kugluktuk was a new settlement. Local EIT CP27 also spoke about people being 'occupied'. It could be summarized roughly as '*keeping busy*' (Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2015) or '*engaged*' (Tulloch 2015), and tends to have aspects that are concerned with contributing to collective (kin, family) livelihood, rather than solely individual/personal gain. It is described in greater detail in Appendix B, c-iii and Chapter 5. Today this may also include other forms of engagement, including employment or 'volunteer' activities. Sub-themes of occupancy that emerged move beyond individual productivity such as (wage) employment. They acknowledge other expressions of 'being' or 'contributing' in Kugluktuk. One of the important emergent findings is that *both* employment and non-wage activities generate essential

goods and services that contribute more broadly to individual/collective wellbeing[62]. In Kugluktuk, as in many other northern communities, one's 'productivity' (related to occupancy) in society is measured less by what any given individual earns, but rather what they contribute towards the good of the social collective (Damas 1972; Duhaime et al. 2004; Wenzel 1995).

Regarding the various sub-themes of occupancy, 'paid occupancy' refers to formal employment (*e.g.* wage, self-employed), 'intermittent paid occupancy' is paid work that might only be seasonally available or otherwise not providing full-time income. This category might also include self-employment (*e.g.* carving, fur harvesting, sewing crafts). 'Unpaid occupancy' may include harvesting activities (hunting, fishing, gathering), volunteer work, childcare (*e.g.* stay at home parent, grandparent looking after grandchildren) or unemployed youth; 'elder pension' is the Nunavut equivalent of retirement pension (*i.e.* retired) – individuals in this occupancy category have the potential to make remarkable daily contributions to the wellbeing of their community in various ways; 'income assistance' (see also Ch. 3.2d) may include people receiving employment insurance or social assistance (*e.g.* disability, unemployment); 'mixed' refers to groups where occupancy was mixed.

'Birth origin' was more complex than can be represented in the table. Distinguishing between someone who is 'local' *versus* 'Northern local' is somewhat arbitrary, owing to immigration among communities (*e.g. via* marriage, employment opportunities), particularly among those in relatively close proximity to Kugluktuk (*e.g.* Cambridge Bay, Ulukhaktok). The term 'local' is employed throughout the document and generally refers to people of Inuit ancestry, typically someone from Kugluktuk or otherwise Nunavut. In order to illustrate, a 'local

[62] For example, those who provide childcare, knowledge/skills transmission or regularly hunted or fished and distributed food throughout social networks provide essential services to their community in ways that do not involve monetary re-payment, but nonetheless were crucial contributions to individual and collective wellbeing.

EIT' is a person approximately 45-60 years old who is Inuit. A non-local EIT is described as an 'EIT' or a 'non-local EIT'. The term 'local' was used internally in Kugluktuk by other Inuit (*e.g.* CP24). The rationale for using this approach is to help reduce researcher and reader assumptions associated with the label 'Inuit' to allow other facets – perhaps more salient ones – to emerge, in an effort to circumvent preconceived notions particularly about Inuit, as well as 'otherness'[63]. Nonetheless, in some instances it may be important to distinguish particularly between local and non-local people ('outsiders'), owing to ancestral and other place-based influences on a person's worldviews, such as whether or not they were raised on the land (outside of permanent settlements, migratory, subsistence lifestyle), familial ties and otherwise.

While it can be risky to generalise, it may also be helpful to attempt to better characterise the quality of birth origin. In a broad sense, every individual has their own unique personality, preferences, opinions, life experience or otherwise, some of which may overlap between outsiders and locals. In this regard, birth origin may not be a meaningful factor. In other instances it may be important. The non-Inuit CPs whose voices may be disproportionately represented in this work – at least in terms of demographics[64] – tended to be people who had been living or working in the north over an extended period, had extensive contact with other Inuit, and/or were married to local people. These include one highly embedded politician, one long-term bureaucrat, five government workers – one of whom has lived and worked several years in the community, and three others who are married to Inuit. The two health workers had extensive northern experience, as did the RCMP officer, the two educators and one store

[63] (Zevallos 2011)
[64] Approximately 60:40 Inuit to non-Inuit for both CPs and POs.

employee. With regards to POs, these tended to have more people who were newer to the community, less embedded (see following).

'Embeddedness', which could also be referred to as 'permanence', describes the researcher's interpretation of an individual's stated and/or manifest intention to remain living in the community over the long-term. This may be worth distinguishing because of the potential dynamics this reflects. In some instances this binary might be ascertained through the existence of intimate relationships that include offspring.

CPs who engaged in multiple interviews are summarised in Table 5. CPs #1, 4, 14, 20, 24, 32 and 64 had multiple interview sessions audio recorded. Repeat interviews are characterized largely by a mix of local and non-local (embedded/temporary residents) decision makers and Elders. Interview length was variable, from brief (~ 10 mins) to extended (~ 2 hrs.) exchanges. The most frequent interviews were principally locals. The person in the 9x category was one of my initial community contacts, a non-local decision maker with whom interviews tended to be short, but fairly frequent based on their area of expertise.

Table 5. Summary of interview frequencies

	Interview frequency of Co-Participants (CPs)				
	1x	**2x**	**3x**	**5x**	**9x**
Total # CPs	26	6	5	4	1

a) Limitations of Demographic Data

This section addresses two ways in which the study demographics presented in Table 4 may be unrepresentative principally of (1) census data and (2) the broader array of human influences that shaped this work. The majority of comments here focus on CP demographic representation, in part this is because these PO demographics were more difficult to characterise.

CP gender was the only category that was somewhat characteristic (~50:50) of 2016 census data for Kugluktuk (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017b). PO gender differences may reflect to some extent the observation that men in the community may be somehow less 'visible' (see Appendix B, a-iii) relative to women, but could also be a function of other factors (*e.g.* cultural norms around social interactions with newcomer/outsiders, specific gender, *etc.*). With regards to age categories, Kugluktuk's population distribution runs approximately as follows: 'youth' n= 575, 'adult' n= 530, 'Elder-in-training' n= 245, and 'Elder' n= 140 (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017b). Clearly in this study youth and children are underrepresented – largely a function of ethical considerations – while EITs and Elders are overrepresented. The 2016 Census unemployment rate in Kugluktuk is 30%, approximately 62% of the population (ages $15y^{+}$) receive government transfers, approximately 48% (ages $15y^{+}$) receive income from employment, and only around 16% (ages $15y^{+}$) have full-time employment throughout the year (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a). In this regard the study over represents those with full-time employment, and under represents other categories.

In addition, a disproportionate number of 'outsider' voices (~36% CPs) relative to 'locals' (~59%) are presented, given that census data indicate that approximately 93% (n= 990) of *Kugluktummiut* self-identify as 'Inuk'[65] (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a). This relatively unbalanced dynamic is also reflected in people described as embedded in the community. The issue of participant origins and embeddedness (*i.e.* 'outsider' *vs.* 'local') is an interesting one given the findings of this study – particularly how the distribution of power and resource control in Kugluktuk may be impacted by one's embeddedness in the community (*e.g.*

[65] *Inuk* is the singular form for *Inuit*.

Ch. 6.2). Given the importance of power and resource control in this study, it may be reasonable to suggest that the proportions of locals relative to outsider CPs may have been appropriate for detecting potential differences; however, in this research the data were not analysed separately according to birth origin or embeddedness. Findings and community recommendations (Appendix C) presented in this study need to be understood as a reflection of participants' contributions, rather than 'Inuit' or the community as a whole. Concurrently, binaries such as 'outsider/local' and 'embedded/not embedded' are problematic in their own ways and should be interpreted with caution. Grounded theory explicitly emphasizes theoretical construction through theoretical sampling, saturation and sensitivity, shifting – for example – the emphasis of sampling from population representativeness (*i.e.* individuals) to content (*i.e.* incidents) (Charmaz 2006:6). This may have helped ensure community-level relevance of the findings as well as sampling flexibility. Further analysis exploring how results might vary if responses were to be separated according to their respective demographics could yield useful insights.

The other principle limitation here is that CP and PO demographics presented in Table 4 do not reflect the myriad conversations, interactions and observations outside of the context of CP and PO data, which did not directly inform the emergence of categories but would have provided context and influenced the interpretation of people's words that led to emergent themes. Participant observation included the several public events, programs or presence in other spaces (public/private) that richly informed this research, including where CP demographics were potentially under represented. At the local soup kitchen (see Ch. 4.3a), for example, I volunteered for food preparation and then ate with attending families (1x/week, 2.5 months), I joined a local sewing group (1-2x/week, ~2 months) and was almost daily at the secondary school/local library for varying lengths of time. I participated in Bingo, the Nattiq Frolics,

community feasts and dances, shared meals/tea, camped, hunted and socialised with various folks (frequently local) throughout the duration of my time in Kugluktuk. Many fleeting interactions and exchanges went formally unrecorded, except perhaps as journal entries. Nonetheless, these are sources of knowledge or insights grounded in familial connections and a lifetime in Kugluktuk and surrounds.

4.2 How do emergent themes help characterise people-food relationships in Kugluktuk?

This section is largely interpretive, addressing the first research question (RQ1). Emergent themes (Table 6, Appendix B) were used to develop a conceptual model of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk (Fig. 4, Section 4.2a), which are informed by study demographics (*i.e.* informed by Inuit *and* outsider perspectives). Sections 4.2b – d provide explicit links between food and emergent themes/factors as follows: food + identity (4.2b), food + living in relation (*i.e.* connection/relationships) (4.2c) and food + power/resources (4.2d). These help to further characterise and elucidate people-food relationships in Kugluktuk and more broadly, including enabling/constraining factors in people-food relationships and salient aspects related to food system governance.

Table 6. Emergent central themes (bolded) and sub-themes from community-based dialogue and observation in Kugluktuk

Identity	Living in Relation	Resources & Power
Culture, values, practices, beliefs	Family bonds, community integrity, social networks	Resources & resource control: material, social, knowledge
Real food that people eat	Visiting, concern for/honouring each other, parenting	Power & leadership
Being out on the land: camping, relationship to land, weather-environment	Contributing: reciprocity, sharing, giving & internal social services	Occupancy: making a living, 'employment', engagement, Income Assistance
Wellbeing: healing, wellness, spiritual/cultural purpose	Preparing for life: learning, education, wisdom, knowledge, knowledge transfer	There are a lot of good things that happen up here; I wish...
Change: old ways, new ways	Working together: partnerships, communication, cooperation	
	Activities - in town, having fun, play, relief from stress	

a) Conceptual model

This section proposes a conceptual model of people-food relationships that I developed (Fig. 4), drawing connections between and among emergent themes and food (Table 6, Appendix B). Many different factors inform the practice of feeding families in Kugluktuk in rich, nuanced ways. Three overarching themes describe people-food relationships: (1) identity (*e.g.* needs, values, beliefs and practices), (2) living in relation (*i.e.* relationships & connection) and (3) resources and power. Each major theme has several sub-themes described in detail in Appendix B and listed by theme in each of the following sections; these are excluded from the model for the sake of simplicity.

In Kugluktuk, two-way relationships are evident in how food sustains and nourishes identity, and in turn identity influences food choices and practices. Food is itself a resource; possession and sharing of this resource with others confers power (Ready and Power 2018), which in turn enables access to food. Food helps build relationships and connection, which also enables access to food. Sharing practices are part of a redistribution of material goods (TallBear 2016). Three-way relationships are evident in how identity influences and enables power and access to resources, and provides opportunities for relationships and connection. In Kugluktuk, relationships and resources influence identity. Living in relation (*e.g.* human relationships) appears to affect the flow and structure of power and resources, which in turn impacts and can help nourish identity, as well as relationships/ connection. Living in relation also impacts creativity – through access to resources (*e.g.* love, confidence, infrastructure, knowledge), to (self-) actualize and envision, as well as the ability to contribute meaningfully to feeding one's family or be in service in other ways.

Wellbeing is at the heart of all themes, underlying relationships between people and food. Consequently, each of the overarching themes may be considered essential not only to people-food relationships but also to wellbeing. Complexity, while clearly a fundamental aspect of relationships between people is not adequately described by the conceptual model, given its function to simplify rather than complicate.

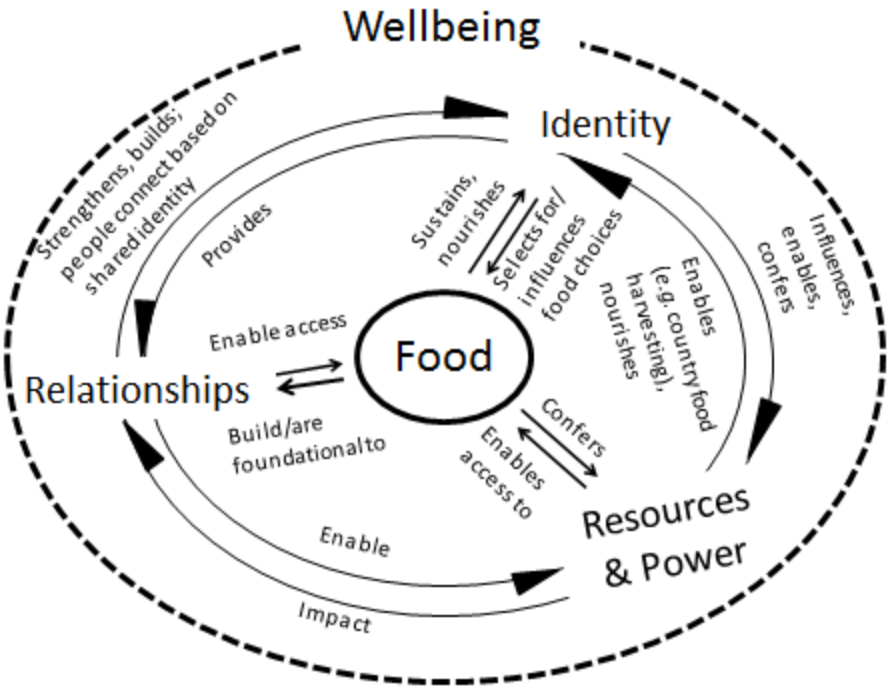

Figure 4. Conceptual model of people-food relationships and wellbeing

Briefly, wellbeing can be understood in this context as part of a system of feedback loops, similar to an ecosystem. One part of that system includes food security; however, this is only a small part of an otherwise multi-thematic experience with multiple interconnected, interdependent and perhaps compounding parts. Wellbeing was also an emergent theme, which people spoke about directly and indirectly, principally as part of identity (*e.g.* wellness, healing, spiritual/cultural purpose, being on the land, *etc.*).

Grassroots perspectives of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk revealed the multi-layered and broad, interconnected multi-thematic nature of relationships between people and food, including the influence of scale, whether individual or collective (*e.g.* family, community, territorial).

b) Food nourishes & sustains identity; identity influences food choice

- Identity, 'self' & food
- Socio-cultural connections to different types of food
- Store food & externally imposed constructs
- Country foods (being out on the land, country food harvesting, connections to individual/collective wellness & identity)
- Homemade food
- 'Unhealthy' foods & purchasing practices
- Local institutions & food

Fischler states that "*...the eater's life and health are at stake whenever the decision is taken to incorporate* [*i.e*. eat]*, but so too are his place in the universe, his essence, his nature, in short his identity. ...Food makes the eater: it is therefore natural that the eater should try to make himself by eating...This is the clear consequence of the principle of incorporation: if we do not know what we eat, how can we know what we are?"*(1988:281–282). The *self*, as I interpret Fischler's argument, requires that we *nourish* our bodies; in this way, the imperative to feed the body is different from physiological need and is also of great importance. For example, if living in proximity or *in connection* to other humans fulfills a fundamental need for protection from predators (*i.e.* safety) and resource sharing to stave off starvation, as well as one that fulfills needs for connection, love and acknowledgment, then food actually nourishes identity, the self and the soul – individually and collectively. When identity is at the heart of what we feed our families, we have moved beyond nutrition to *nourishment*. In this sense, the type of food we feed our bodies matters greatly, and by extension, if what we eat changes drastically in a lifetime or over only a few generations, our identities may struggle to find grounding and balance (Kral and Idlout 2012).

The fact that all *Kugluktummiut* likely consume store food raises questions about how the consumption of these non-local foods influences identity, and by extension interpersonal and

other relationships and wellbeing. People shared various imported beverages or foods, such as tea, bannock, mayo on *mipku*, as well as other less 'traditional' foods, from pre-prepared fruit/veggie plates to homemade cakes or soda pop. The following is a personal *vignette* that describes common day-to-day food sharing practices in many families, in which store food features prominently:

> *I was visiting a local Elder one day around lunch time. This was during the school year, on a conventional school day. Several children showed up, with various parents, caregivers and friends stopping by at different times to share in the meal or just say "Hellokaffi!" ("Hello everyone!"). For many homes in Kugluktuk, this kind of 'visiting' is a normal and regular practice: at different times in the day, fewer or lesser numbers of family and/or friends stop by, have tea, eat, visit and then stay or leave, to be repeated the following day. On this particular day, we prepared and ate soup and grilled cheese*[66] *and "drank tea"*[67] *together. Children and adults were seated wherever they could find space in the single room that housed the combined living room and kitchen. At the end of lunch, everyone disappeared to their respective callings (e.g. wage employment, school, etc.).*"

In this same household I witnessed similar scenarios where primarily country food was consumed. In many respects, the consumption of store food has the potential to fit into daily rhythms and socio-cultural practices similar to country food – as a medium that nourishes human connection, as well as physical needs; however, there are other ways in which store food and country food are different in their effects on identity. Collection and consumption of country food at some point requires a social network that includes a family member who is a hunter, the direct knowledge, skill, wisdom/experience and equipment to hunt, or a relevant Inuit-centered organization like the HTO. Most *Kugluktummiut* are likely aware of the effort and various resources involved in harvesting different country food, including the pervasive risk that all efforts may result in no meat but various expenses nonetheless[68] (*e.g.* fuel, spare equipment,

[66] Sandwiches consisting of processed cheese slices, white bread with margarine, fried in margarine.
[67] Loosely interpreted. The main focus was sitting around, drinking something, sharing each other's company.
[68] Including risk of death.

damaged equipment, time, food costs, *etc.*). In addition, as mentioned previously, eating country food involves and sustains a direct and historical relationship with the land, which comes with specific spiritual, cultural and/or ancestral connections to that food – connections that also appear to nourish or 'feed' wellbeing.

Store food may not invoke the sense of identity – the same kind of powerful (and often powerfully positive) emotional connection to food – as country or homemade food, although it unquestionably is a meaningful part of people's diets in the community. Tea and certain homemade foods such as bannock, which is based on store food ingredients, are exceptions. Or perhaps the kind of identity invoked is different – where country food feeds different aspects of identity than store food. In the following, Fischler offers some ideas about the changing relationship between people and food, one which intersects identity with the increasingly industrial food system of store food:*...The modern eater has become a "mere consumer",* ...[where] *food is… increasingly... remote from the eyes and knowledge of the eater, …* [and] [t]*he sociocultural frameworks which traditionally governed and constrained food have been considerably eroded by economic and technical changes in life-style,* [which] *has opened up a gap or crisis in the socially recognized criteria regulating eating habits…*[q]*uite literally, we know less and less what we are really eating. ...Modern food has become...without identity*" (1988:289).

I question Fischler's assertion that store food is without identity; rather, perhaps of greater importance is that the 'identity' of store food – and by extension its consumers – is often constructed by outside forces (see also Ch. 4.2d). These forces have values, practices and beliefs that are often disconnected from consumers (*e.g.* by geographies or ideologies), and are not shaped by connection or respect for local identities (*e.g.* cultural values, practices and beliefs) or

consideration for wellbeing, human (consumers, producers) or otherwise[69]. In Kugluktuk, some people's experiences and beliefs tended to emphasize country food consumption as healthier and more sustaining than store food, a phenomenon also noted by Adelson among the Whapmagoostui Cree of northern Quebec (1998). Some of the most obvious negative impacts of store foods were through forced reliance (*e.g. via* IA, marketing), associated power dynamics impacting individual and collective empowerment (*e.g.* corporate influences), and likely impacts of physiological incompatibilities (*e.g.* high sugar/carbohydrate, food intolerances/allergies).

Country foods were absolutely fundamental to identity and people-food relationships in Kugluktuk. With regard to country foods, Natcher writes,

> "*… for many Arctic residents, consuming wild foods is fundamentally important for personal and cultural well-being. When one loses access to wild foods, a subsequent effect is the loss in personal identity and a deterioration in one's overall sense of self (Wein and Freeman 1992). Because … cultural values are perpetuated through continued land use activities, the cultural significance of subsistence pursuits cannot be quantified exclusively in economic terms. … the harvesting of wildlife resources is not done to simply satisfy economic or nutritional needs, but rather to provide a fundamental basis for the social identity, cultural survival, and spiritual life of northern Aboriginal peoples.*" (2009:87)

Much of the above content is echoed by others (e.g. Chan et al. 2006; Myers, Powell, and Duhaime 2008; Ford and Goldhar 2012; Statham 2012), including Watt-Cloutier (2015), a prominent Inuk spokesperson who was born in Kuujjuaq (Nunavik) in 1953. Peoples' connections to country food in Kugluktuk involves a complex of relationships among country food, identity, land/place, culture, health, knowledge and spiritual life, and is part of many *Kugluktummiut*'s contemporary and ancestral roots.

[69] Some of these issues entered public consciousness through the 2003 Canadian documentary 'The Corporation'. Subsequently, many other and more food-specific documentaries have uncovered the complexities, motivations and power dynamics that constitute 'modern' food systems.

What are the potential impacts if outsiders and decision makers are unaware of these and other qualities that are part of country food? Microbiologist Aviaja Lyberth Hauptmann's research focuses on microbes in the historical Greenlandic diet that have protective effects against chronic health issues, such as diabetes and allergies (George 2018a). Hauptmann's work is an illustration of the powerful relationships that evolve among people, culture and place through the medium of food, where at the level of microbes wellbeing is impacted. In this respect, perhaps with regards to country food there is an energetic resonance or place-based connection specific to that food's origin which the body senses in some way, which contributes to the holistic wellbeing that surrounds consumption of country food for many people.

Homemade food may hold different meaning for people relative to either store or country food, if only for the fact that one has a better sense of the effort and resources involved in preparation relative to store food. Store food - especially most 'junk' food or ready-made foods have not been locally harvested or prepared to any great extent (*e.g.* butchered, baked, ground, cooked). It follows that when primarily only convenience store foods are consumed on a daily basis people may not have the same kind of relationships with what they are putting into their bodies – whether in Kugluktuk or elsewhere. This may be of fundamental importance in the realm of individual and collective wellbeing, since food has such multifaceted meaning for people, including identity, wellbeing, connection (social, cultural, ancestral, environmental), self-worth and relational autonomy[70].

Following from Fischler's argument about the connection between food consumption and identity, it follows that food purchasing practices both reflect and shape identity, including

[70] *i.e.* Feeling self-sufficient, self-reliant and in possession of decision making authority in relation with family, land, ancestors, *etc*.

impacts on culture and traditional knowledge. The theme of junk-, fast- and unhealthy food was often conflated with budgeting by a broad demographic, in some instances with emotional intensity. Some people attempted to identify causative factors using single explanatory variables, a practice that itself reveals a desire to make sense of something that is experienced as distressing. Broadly speaking, people likely choose foods based on multiple interacting, inter-dependent factors, (e.g. Findlay, Langlois, and Kohen 2013; Akande et al. 2015; Pakseresht et al. 2014), which themselves are not well understood either independently or in concert. These may need to be made explicit for a variety of reasons, such as impacts on health, links with (local) food knowledge, and the underlying power structures that impact human experiences, from celebration of identity to the structuring of food-related programs, policy and services. This particular aspect of people-food relationships would require in-depth exploration that is beyond the scope of this dissertation. In Kugluktuk, choices were influenced by personal preference, government, corporations, culture (local/internal, external/outsider), wellbeing, power dynamics, resources, culture and (social) norms. Owing to the complex nature of the relationships between people and food, including the breadth of experiences and emotions that underlie purchasing behaviours, in combination with factors such as marketing strategies, it is important to consider what factors motivate food choice from different perspectives and invite curiosity about overt judgements. In the north, for example, some authors suggest that preferences for frozen prepared foods may actually be in alignment with Inuit traditions of consuming foods that require limited preparation (Lawn and Harvey 2001).

In Kugluktuk, two locally managed and run institutions – the HTO and Elder Centre – were clearly supportive of and informed by local identity. The HTO was instrumental in supporting country food harvesting in Kugluktuk, which in turn supports vital local knowledge

maintenance and development as well as cultural pride, and helped provide highly valued country food for those in need. The Elder Centre offered a range of different programs and activities, such as evening sewing classes where materials and expertise were made available to everyone, helping to maintain and develop critical place-based knowledge about clothing appropriate to the environment (*e.g.* being out on the land in winter), seasons and purposes, and creating a space for people to gather, share and celebrate this and other knowledge. The Elder Centre offered regular feasts for elders, where others in the community were also welcome. There were also regular and ongoing classes during the school year offered to the elementary school, which helped provide a space where children could interact regularly with experienced and knowledgeable elders from their community. This arrangement helped foster trust relationships that are part of the 'internal social services' of the community, as well as cultural pride and valuable place-based knowledge development/exchange. It is vital to support and acknowledge the contributions of these kinds of institutions to local identity, given the potential for associated loss of (local, place-based) knowledge regarding preparation of country or other homemade foods when reliance on store foods is supported, in some instances to the exclusion of other food sources, and since this is shaped over time by relationships with food.

c) Food helps build relationships/connection; connections enable relationships to food

- IQ & food
- Relational & holistic
- Co-reliant relationships: sharing, internal social services, hunger
- Social relations, food sufficiency
- Kinship ties, culture, governance impact power & resources
- Wellness & food
- Lone/single parenting
- Injustice, trauma, thriving

"Inuit worldview is strongly grounded in social accountability and unity. All individuals have a responsibility to those around them. This includes sharing what they

have, serving and caring for others and contributing to the collective wellbeing through their efforts and activities."

(Nunavut Department of Education 2007:28)

"When people consider their relationship to people and behave in ways that build this relationship, they build strength both in themselves and in others and together as a community."

(ibid 2007:32)

The two quotes above, which describe aspects of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), the Inuit guiding principles to 'live well' individually and collectively – draw attention to the fundamental roles of relationship and connection in certain customary place-based *maligait* or Inuit 'natural laws'. These laws focus on *"…interconnectedness in the world and the spiritual supports available to aid in survival…*[and are] *the core laws of relationship that govern how one connects to other people and how one connects to the environment…"* (Nunavut Department of Education 2007:27). Maligait are informed by a number of beliefs that impact people-food relationships, including for example, "*Working for the common good, being respectful of all living things* [and] *maintaining harmony".*

In Kugluktuk, it is clear that people-food relationships are fundamentally relational. The roles of relationality in daily life and feeding our families are rich and holistic (Wenzel 2000). In this way, issues such as hunger affect not just the individual but also the collective and *vice versa*; the same is true for happiness (Haller and Hadler 2006; Fowler and Christakis 2008; Hsu and Chang 2015). Living in relation, identity and wellbeing appear foundational to people-food relationships. Some examples where relationality plays an important role include visiting with one another, sharing (*e.g.* food, hunting equipment, money), and being out on the land together, engaging in land-based activities of which hunting, fishing and gathering are frequent and vital activities.

Many people expressed pride about different manifestations of sharing in Kugluktuk and the extent to which co-reliant relationships enabled individuals and collectives, including access to meaningful relationships with food. Food features prominently in the sharing practices that are part of place-based cultural values, practices and beliefs. The role of families in the wellbeing of individuals and collectives was highly valued and typically enabled through cooperation, collaboration and partnerships, where tangible and intangible resources were shared. For many *Kugluktummiut*, strong social connections, demonstrated care, support and love for one another and the sharing of resources – including food – are areas of great strength and resiliency[71]. As part of Kugluktuk's 'internal social services'[72], it is possible that relatively few people experienced sustained hunger because local collective(s) ensure that children and others were fed. Government interventions (local and external) play a role in this outcome; however, without people (individuals, collectives) also taking responsibility for those around them – as in the practices of *maligait* (Nunavut Department of Education 2007) – hunger might otherwise be more prevalent, given income statistics and presumed food costs from the Revised Northern Food Basket (see Ch.2.3d). The local soup kitchen, for example, was made possible because people were supported to bring limited resources and abundant skills and abilities together in service of community-identified needs. The importance of sharing resources – a redistribution of wealth – is a theme in many Indigenous communities across northern Canada (e.g. Ready 2018; Collings et al. 2016; McMillan and Parlee 2013; Kishigami 2004), although perhaps not as neutral or egalitarian as has at times been portrayed or interpreted in earlier research (Ready and Power 2018).

[71] Even though (re)distribution of 'resources' may not be even throughout the community, as noted elsewhere by Ready & Power (2018)
[72] See Appendix B, b-iii

Wenzel cites how Damas' 1972 publication about Central Inuit food sharing clearly establishes "*…the primacy of social relations…in Inuit resource allocation*" (2000:61). Considering the topic of financial resources he cites Fienup-Riordan whose work was in Alaska: "'*…(monetary income) is perceived as the means to accomplish and facilitate the harvest, and not an end in itself'*", rather Wenzel suggests "*... it is the scarcity of money, or at least limitations on access to money, that, as much as weather or prey conditions, presently affect Clyde subsistence relations*" (2000:62). In this regard, multiple interacting stressors that negatively impact social relations (*e.g.* resulting in relationship disconnection or rupture) and interfere with supportive relationships, can in turn impact people-food relationships, including those that help people to feed their families. Some examples of stressors might include financial insufficiency, wellness challenges (*e.g.* addictions, intergenerational traumas) and persistent systemic injustices – including imposed disconnects from local culture and inequitable power structures that affect resource control. When there is disconnection, people may experience feelings of loneliness and isolation (*i.e. dis*connection) (Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2015), diminished access to resources such as food (Ready 2018), knowledge and culture (Lalonde 2005), and love and wellbeing (Elkins 2016; Porges - preface in Badenoch 2017). Supporting people to build, maintain or repair interruptions/ disruption in connection, therefore, can enable people to 'grow' and participate in the kinds of repair needed to heal problematic experiences and relationships (Elkins 2016), which in turn may positively impact not only individual and collective people-food relationships but also wellbeing (Fowler and Christakis 2008; Laneuville 2015:95–96; 118; Hsu and Chang 2015). In this regard, resources (*e.g.* spaces, events/activities), socio-cultural and governance systems (*i.e.* power & resource control) that facilitate connection

(*e.g.* social, environmental, spiritual/cultural) can help support individuals and collectives to better meet fundamental needs such as feeding families.

In Kugluktuk, power dynamics appear to be affected by the relationships and connections people have to one another. Strong kinship ties in Kugluktuk means that some aspects of power in Kugluktuk are informed by culture, and these seem to be manifest particularly in locally managed institutions. In addition, small settlement size and cultural practices around sharing and socialising are factors that collectively may help counter (systemic) marginalisation of people who might otherwise be at risk under other circumstances (*e.g.* lone caregivers, people navigating trauma and addictions, those with 'disabilities' or wellness challenges, people that are unemployed/ have limited financial resources, children), as well as influence power and resource control, affecting people's respective capacities to feed their families in empowered, locally-informed ways. Small settlement size may also have consequences in terms of how responsive governance structures are to local needs, such as for country food, housing, education, opportunities for social connection, transmission of knowledge and culture, celebration of identity and other practices/values that help people to feed their families and support wellbeing. Relationships and connections in Kugluktuk may be one of the reasons underlying why people do not appear to be confronted with hunger in ways that other northern and remote communities might be experiencing. Analysis of urban (*e.g.* Iqaluit) food security seems to suggest that the quality of people's social networks has an important impact on relationships with food (Statham 2012).

Wellness extends out through social networks, which on a practical level helps people to feed their families: "*People's happiness depends on the happiness of others with whom they are connected. This provides further justification for seeing happiness, like health, as a collective*

phenomenon" (Fowler and Christakis 2008:1). People who feel securely connected to others in their social networks have a better capacity to help others in need, or even help themselves when shortages arise, such as asking for help (*e.g.* food, finances, love) from friends and family (Larose et al. 1999; Elkins 2016). This web of relationality – where hunger, love, trauma, wellbeing, *etc.* are shared by association – means that individual and collective capacities, strengths, skills, challenges and other qualities affect also collective relationships with food. In Kugluktuk, individuals and collectives (*e.g.* families, the community) are integrally connected in many different ways – through blood relations, ancestral linkages (*e.g.* name sharing), shared values, beliefs and practices and histories, and others; when these connections are overlooked or devalued, this has implications for feeding families and wellbeing. Creating opportunities to (re)build (social) connection can help support wellness, through positive sense of identity, healing, (restorative) local justice and learning; these in turn can directly or indirectly support people to feed their families in autonomous and sustainable ways. Programming and policy development for Kugluktuk may be able to capitalise from this knowledge.

As described in Ch. 3.2a, according to the 2016 Census data ~ 30% of households in Kugluktuk are described as lone parent families; approximately 15% of these have three or more children, 30% have two children and 56% have one child (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017b). Lone/single parents in Kugluktuk may experience meaningful social and other forms of support relative to caregivers elsewhere (*e.g.* large urban centers), and can be attributed to strong familial/social ties and cultural values/practices, and can help reduce the degree or extent of stresses that can be unique in lone/single parent caregiving. Nonetheless, for these parents in Kugluktuk, some resources may be just a little further out of reach because of extra stresses. In addition, since social networks in Kugluktuk fundamentally affect people-food

relationships as well as more broadly access to power and resources, a lone parent of young children may be more susceptible and vulnerable to ruptures in these networks, including the capacity to navigate connection and repair ruptures. When these and/or other stresses are present (*e.g.* financial, emotional, housing, wellbeing), one's capacity to access power and resources and affect/advocate for systemic change in areas that impact their lives directly may be impacted (*e.g.* food costs, SA/IA, accessing country food or other basic needs).

Systemic injustices (*e.g.* residential schooling) that perpetrate unresolved trauma (intergenerational or otherwise) or the larger societal/systemic failure to attend to (*i.e.* repair, heal) particularly large scale injustices, can lead to family disconnection and dysfunction, which in turn affects people's capacities to thrive (*e.g.* Appendix B, a-iii, CP48). This can impact youth's capacities to gain access to the kinds of education that enable them to feel valuable as individuals and as part of collectives (*e.g.* family, community, society), including occupancy *via* book learning, life skills and/or IQ. People may not become sufficiently resourced (*e.g.* knowledge, love/care/guidance, skills, social/emotional/spiritual connection) in ways that can impact subsequent generations' abilities to thrive, including adequately feeding their families with autonomy. Without attention to gaps and injustices (*i.e.* manifestations of social disconnections) such as these, people-food relationships can be negatively impacted inter-generationally.

d) Power & resources enable access to food; this confers resources & power

- **Principal arenas of power:** Internal, External
- Overview power & resource control, power transparency
- Power, resources & resource control & marginalisation
- Kugluktuk's resources
- Systemic responsiveness
- <u>Internal/Local</u>
    - Institutions'

    - Knowledge institutions
    - 'Local' influences: mentorship & governance
- External/Outsider
    - Outsider influences, decision making authority, impositions/interruptions
    - Externally controlled systems: welfare/SA, bureaucracy, public education, NNC
    - Employment
    - Resource distribution disparities, gaps
    - Supports/barriers: connection, culture
    - 'Accounting' for occupancy

Two main arenas of power in Kugluktuk seem to influence the food system: those that are internal (local), grounded in culture (*i.e.* customary, grassroots) and emergent, *versus* those connected to external, imposed, non-local power structures (*e.g.* colonial, formal). With local power systems or dynamics it appears that individuals or collectives have the potential to alter their circumstances through particular behavioural modification. For example, resource access and control – such as country foods – can be increased (*e.g.* through sharing networks) by adhering to certain social norms. If someone behaves in ways that contribute to collective wellbeing, such as sharing country food harvests with elders and single parents in town, this may earn them the respect of others, which can be powerful in a variety of ways, such as various forms of assistance – borrowing replacement parts for a machine, borrowing equipment or money, *etc*. In this regard, internal power systems may value practices such as sharing or occupancy differently, relative to external power structures.

Power and resources inform food systems and feeding families in Kugluktuk in myriad different ways. People in positions of power can impact individual and collective people-food relationships, food system governance, access to resources, and wellbeing, as well as influencing collective and individual mindsets. The moral imperatives that attend possession of power and resources also impact collective people-food relationships and wellbeing. If people in positions

of power are inclined to maintain these positions of authority and attendant resource control to the detriment or deprivation of others, these disparities are experienced quite differently from the scenario where possession of power and resources is attended by a strong sense of obligation and responsibility to care for those with less, including beyond one's kin networks (Ready and Power 2018). Nepotism, for example, can have the effect of maintaining and exaggerating power and resource imbalances, while certain kinds of advocacy and mentorship may counter these dynamics.

Links between power relations and wellbeing (Kral et al. 2011) and food security (*i.e.* 'resources') (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:16) make opening discussions about power dynamics imperative. This includes institutions that impact people-food relationships directly and indirectly. Some institutions are presently locally run or controlled, such as the Elder Centre, programs for families with children such as CPNP (Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program) and 'Nearest & Dearest', the HTO (Hunters and Trappers Organisation) and Wildlife Management; other institutions appeared to have a high degree of control or influence by non-locals (*e.g.* key staff at the Hamlet Office, Health Centre, RCMP, the High school).

Transparency concerning power dynamics and impacts on resources are vital, because *"…one of the ways that dominant systems maintain and reproduce themselves*…[is that] *the dominant group is rarely challenged to even think about its dominance, because that's one of the key characteristics of power and privilege, the ability to go unexamined, lacking introspection, in fact being rendered invisible, in large measure, in the discourse about issues that are primarily about us* [i.e. the dominant systems]" (Katz 2012). Despite their potential impact on feeding families, power dynamics, nonetheless, can be extremely subtle (*ibid*) and sources of imbalances or inequities can be difficult to identify and then rectify. The potential impacts of power and

resource distribution as part of people-food relationships combined with a lack of transparency and relatively high degree of abstractness suggest a complexity that is not easily simplified.

If possession of and access to resources is intimately connected with power, then control of resources may be strongly linked to one's position within existing power structures (see also Appendix B, d-iv). Gaining access to certain kinds of power, such as political positions (*e.g.* Wolf's organisational and structural power), may necessitate possession of preexisting resources, such as money, social connections, 'education', wellbeing (*e.g.* 'personal attributes, capacity to impose one's will), or more fundamentally shelter, food and love.

Access to positions of power, furthermore, may facilitate or lead to the acquisition of further resources (*e.g.* infrastructure, knowledge, social capital, employment, equipment)(e.g. Ready and Power 2018), including food, as acknowledgement for services or assistance rendered, as attempts to curry favour or otherwise strengthen connections to power (*e.g.* reciprocal relationships). In turn, lack of access to these kinds of resources may preclude people from accessing the very forms of power that impact one's access to and control of resources, such as decision making venues like the Hamlet Council or local store management, or even (local) knowledge and by extension food (*e.g.* harvesting knowledge). This scenario can exacerbate systemic discrimination and marginalisation. As Battiste, Bell and Findlay write,

> "*The destiny of a people is intricately bound to the way its children are educated. Education is the transmission of cultural DNA from one generation to the next. It shapes the language and pathways of thinking, the contours of character and values, the social skills and creative potential of the individual. It determines the productive skills of a people*." (2002:82).

Kugluktuk is a community with a substantial wealth of resources and resourcefulness. According to co-participants, some examples of this include leadership, traditional culture, sharing/reciprocity, the land, on-the-land opportunities (particularly for youth and elders), local

institutions and art/creativity (see also Appendix B, c-iv).While some individuals do experience hunger, it seems that the community of Kugluktuk may not experience widespread, persistent hunger. This may be attributable to a variety of different factors: local histories, abundance of country food, integrity of cultural practices and values such as sharing/reciprocity, sense of identity and programs and institutions such as the Elder Centre, HTO and CPNP. As one non-local health worker related about their personal experience, < "*Compared to Eastern Nunavut communities, Kugluktuk is rich! Look at peoples' parkas, kamiks, snowmachines. In* [some eastern communities, such as Igloolik]*... it is common that people didn't eat for a few days*"> (CP40, March 04, 2014). Nonetheless, some people appear to be doing better in this regard than others.

Systemic responsiveness to requests for change can have meaningful impacts – from food system governance to feeding families. Sometimes, despite an awareness of need, a great deal of effort and time can be involved in mobilising responses if the capacity of the system to respond is limited. The 2014 Kugluktuk Saturday soup kitchen provides a useful illustration of some of the 'normal' challenges encountered when attempting to establish a new community service. This event provided approximately 250 meals over approximately three months in winter – a time of year when people are more likely to be socially isolated and struggle to access country food. Approximately one year of persistence was needed in order to obtain the necessary funding and permissions to host the soup kitchen. Elder Bessie Sitatak – a key organiser – and others might have given up at many points based on various challenges they encountered in establishing and maintaining the program. Systemic responsiveness is an important aspect of power and resource control in the local and larger food systems because they impact the relative capacities for change, such as responding to hunger or supporting wellbeing.

i. **Internal/Local Systems**

Local institutions, which are examples of internal systems of power, are important to the wellbeing of individuals and the community; these provide opportunities for different kinds of capacity building (*i.e.* resources) in various (holistic) realms (*e.g.* occupancy – including people-food relationships, traditional/cultural practices, governance), and are important for local autonomy and resource control. In Kugluktuk, a number of locally controlled institutions and practices help support place-based practices and values that in turn support wellbeing. The HTO, for example, provides a manner of social assistance that is culturally informed, by improving community access to country food: even when someone in the community does not have access to a hunter – one of the criteria used for determining food security in the most recent Inuit Health Survey (2007-2008). In this way, this local organisation supports people to maintain cultural values in their relationship with local foods and offers a form of re-distribution of 'wealth'. The HTO program also helps support a few individuals in the community to maintain hunting expertise, which has value for supporting local knowledge, cultural pride, community-level access to country foods and wellbeing.

People expressed desire to capitalise on local knowledge and capacities in various ways, including locally-run programs (*e.g.* the Kugluktuk branch of Arctic College, the Elder Centre) that offered training opportunities to 'feed the mind' and support wellbeing (*e.g.* through social cohesion, celebration and maintenance of 'traditional' culture, healing practices), which in turn impact people-food relationships. Several politically prominent people (CPs 2ii, 4, 14) spoke about the potential to offer programs based on existing ('unrealized') expertise within Kugluktuk to outsiders, as well as community members, such as a Master Hunter program, renewable resource harvesting, or land skills and resilience-adaptation 'university'(Appendix B, b-iv). The

intent in part seemed to be about creating local institutions that capitalise on and celebrate local knowledge, expertise and place-based education – including those specific to food/feeding families. This kind of resourcefulness reflects a sense of pride in existing capacities within the community. Institutions and practices that are locally-informed and situationally compatible can help maintain and/or strengthen the kinds of local resources that in turn help *Kugluktummiut* feed their families and support wellbeing (*e.g.* knowledge of country food harvesting, environmental survival, clothing production, social cohesion).

ii. External, Outsider Systems

As Mintz and Bois write, "*Anthropologists have more commonly recognized peoples on the move - migrants, refugees, <u>and colonizers</u> - as agents of dietary change*" (2002:105 emphasis my own). For example, the practices, values and beliefs of 'outsiders' who live in Kugluktuk or who may have decision making authority (*e.g.* developing regulations, structuring services and programs) or even simply the knowledge and power can influence decision making within the local food system. Provisioning of store food, for example, is subject to outside influences such as corporate policies, local management and staffing, governance (*e.g.* food subsidies based on particular, possibly colonial ideologies) or even more distantly but no less powerfully the various food systems that market and supply store food, within Canada and globally. In Kugluktuk's food system, many outsiders in the community have a disproportionate percentage of financial wealth and power (*e.g.* decision making authority, social connections with people in 'powerful' positions, 'education') relative to many locals; this translates to purchasing power that influences store foods (see also Ch. 6.2e). As Freeman writes,

> *"…ideological assaults on the people of the North…may have far greater impacts upon them than any caused by biophysical environmental challenges and changes…Moreover, the damage caused by these new threats is not restricted to bodily assault, but can also*

> *afflict the spirit and the will of a people… In this way, such assaults may cause long-term cultural changes that, arguably, will affect future generations much more profoundly than illness or death caused by infections, carcinomas, substance abuse, or violence*" (1997:8).

In addition, interruption of access to foods through externally imposed (outsider) regulations and/or values (*e.g.* wildlife 'management' regulations, public 'education' system) is an important area of consideration in terms of people-food relationships, particularly given the potential to feed into and support various aspects of individual and collective wellbeing (*e.g.* cultural identity, financial support for hunters and others skilled in country food preparation to feed the community).

As Coulthard *et al.* point out, external power systems *"…can either reinforce existing patterns of 'winning' and 'losing' or create new 'winners' and 'losers'"* (2011:454): is this different from internally or locally controlled power structures that produce 'winners' and 'losers'? There may be no difference, although the sense of personal and collective autonomy may be important. Externally controlled power structures may also demand behavioural modifications that are not aligned with local cultural values, practices and beliefs, which can impact people-food relationships, social cohesion and wellbeing. As an example of this, historical and ongoing structuring of government programs such as welfare illustrate how able bodied and potentially productive individuals may effectively be rendered without occupation[73], unless they are able to obtain the necessary 'education' to fill vacant positions of wage employment. These same individuals in a local system (*i.e.* locally controlled power) might otherwise be engaged in feeding their families and contributing in different ways to collective wellbeing. Nunavut's SA program does not necessarily follow this particular pattern; however,

[73] 'Rendered without occupation' because valuation emphasizes conventional employment over other forms of occupancy.

as described previously (Appendix B, c-iii), it is presently unclear whether there are gaps between theory and praxis of the program, particularly given existing capacities within each community (*e.g.* funding, expertise, infrastructure, course availability). In addition, as a program historically based on outsider interpretations and assumptions, SA irrefutably creates and sustains dependencies on an external, global food system whose links in the food chain are typically outside of local control. Corporate presences – such as food stores like the Northern – represent institutions that are motivated by profit, rather than collective interests and needs. Reliance on store foods, particularly fast or junk food, also has important implications for those experiencing financial hardship (*e.g.* families on IA), owing to the high up front cost of these types of food and various health impacts of consuming these foods in (large) quantities over a sustained period of time (e.g. Gittelsohn et al. 1998; Kolahdooz et al. 2017), as well as concurrent risks for loss of local, place-based knowledge. SA also seems to work on the assumption that money will be used to purchase store food, rather than support country food harvesting and sharing networks.

Bureaucracy is an example of externally controlled power structures described as problematic in a number of different contexts by one prominent, long-term Kugluktuk resident and Elder (CP4, non-local, embedded), that affects the flow of resources and power. As described previously, this person also spoke about the relative power of bureaucracies, raising concerns about these powerful positions that have also been described in academic literatures (*e.g.* see Max Weber's theories about bureaucracies). Elder CP4 spoke about the problem of when politicians or bureaucrats (*i.e.* those with power and control of resources) are too far removed from the kinds of realities (*e.g.* power and resources) that marginalised voices experience, which can lead to governance decisions and programs that risk not only overlooking

these voices and experiences, but may also exacerbate the very challenges that comprise the realities of certain demographics (*e.g.* systemic discrimination). Marginalisation can be described as *"…mak*[ing] *or keep*[ing] *someone powerless and on the margins of activity and decision-making*" (Griffin 2017). While this definition implies some measure of intent, this is not necessarily always true. In Kugluktuk, the persistence or perpetuation of cultural divides and colonial structures through powerful individuals and institutional bodies, which may stem from colonial histories may not be intentional but nonetheless appears to maintain 'difference' in ways that may result in discrimination and marginalisation. The words 'voice', 'identity' and 'place in the world' describe issues that are connected to resource access, control and power. Pimbert, a leading academic expert on food sovereignty, lists conventional bureaucracies as fundamentally problematic to food sovereignty (2007; 2009). In Kugluktuk, bureaucracy and other related issues, such as (micro) management and insufficient communication among organisations (*e.g.* responsiveness to requests and concerns, interagency communication – CP2i) (*e.g.* CPs 27 & 3i), affect (support/facilitate, delay/prevent) local programming and other initiatives that impact people-food relationships and collective/individual wellbeing.

Despite being the purview of the Nunavut Government, in many respects the current public education system remains an example of another externally informed (*e.g. via* Alberta curriculum, colonial school structure) power structure in Kugluktuk that shapes local behaviours and practices, emphasizing as Damas suggested, how to "…*compete in the white man's economy*" (1965:122). Much local knowledge and skill that enables productive people-food relationships has been lost through this particular system (Schlag and Fast 2005; Llewellyn 2002; Tester and McNicoll 2004; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Cameron 2012), encouraging behaviours and practices that appear to be poorly suited to local conditions and needs. As mentioned previously,

locally controlled education was very different (*i.e.* place-based, shaped by relationships with one-another, the environment, the land and its inhabitants, the ancestors and spirits, revolving around food and wellbeing) (e.g. Bennett and Rowley 2004). The *status quo* of current external/outsider power structures (*e.g.* health, justice, education, spirituality) controls or shapes many aspects of life in Kugluktuk, including people-food relationships and fundamental life experiences (*e.g.* birth, death) , which in turn impacts individual and collective autonomy and wellbeing. The Nutrition North Canada (NNC) subsidy program and its predecessor, the former Food Mail program, are manifestations of external power structures that in principle were meant to help address the problem of hunger, but ultimately seem to benefit people who were not necessarily in financial need (Dargo 2008:16).

The influences of power as it relates to resources – financial and otherwise – and people-food relationships are convoluted. In the current systemic arrangements (*e.g.* government, society, economy), one of the ways that connections between power and resource control fundamentally impact people-food relationships is through employment, which enables access to financial resources and by extension food resources (country, store or homemade foods). Financial income can not only benefit individuals, but also collectives. Harvesting, for example, is an important source of country food for the community and presently requires financial capital (*e.g. via* employment). Even camping requires meaningful financial investment. In Kugluktuk, the positive impacts on individual/collective wellbeing through having access to country food and being out on the land were clear in terms of (re-) building social cohesion, reinforcing cultural values, and maintaining and building valuable knowledges. While employment (and by extension financial income) is clearly valuable to people-food relationships, increased employment opportunities – at least in their more conventional or conservative (outsider)

interpretations (*e.g.* qualifications, job structuring) – cannot help resolve food system issues such as hunger, nor would they guarantee improvements in wellbeing. Self-employment may not be an alternative because the initial financial capital and other resources required may simply be too high in many instances. In Kugluktuk, there may be more opportunities for more local entrepreneurship and innovation than currently realized, possibly owing to lack of supports described by one non-local government employee who was new to the community (PO9, April 08, 2014). These and other barriers raise questions about the extent to which employment, including management positions and related opportunities in Kugluktuk are informed by local practices, and whether there are opportunities for change.

Disparities in the distribution of essential resources, such as housing, money, employment, food, skills, social and/or support networks and equipment, seemed to emerge as a function of power dynamics. These were revealed in some institutional practices around power sharing and social divides that appeared to be manifestations of cultural divides and colonial histories. For example, in Kugluktuk participation in wage employment can enable people to feed their families (store, country, homemade foods); however, as mentioned previously, access to wage employment involves a great number of barriers – particularly for locals. Some of these barriers may be associated with colonial histories and power structures that perpetrate(d) systemic injustices (*e.g.* education, residential schooling, employment), whereby certain individuals or groups of individuals historically and presently experience barriers to accessing certain forms of power and resources that impact relationships with food.

Indications of potential gaps in power/resources may include, for example, low graduation rates (Nunavut Literacy Council 2007; Government of Canada 2019), employment gaps (*i.e.* lack of local representation in certain positions), tensions between service providers

and service users (expressed by co-participants), and systemic injustices. These disconnects may reflect differences in perceived notions about what contributes to wellbeing, such as for policy makers relative to those for whom policy and programming are intended (Coulthard, Johnson, and McGregor 2011); gaps can have the effect of magnifying challenges in people-food relationships. While *Kugluktummiut* are generally doing well, disconnects become particularly important when they impact people in marginal circumstances – who may be more at risk from shifts in resource access – and can exacerbate marginalisation and systemic injustices.

In Kugluktuk, access to power networks that affect resource access (*e.g.* skills, knowledge, wisdom, food – country food sharing/ distribution) and control (*e.g. via* employment, governance, 'education') are fundamentally influenced by human connection and culture. Connection in turn can enable a sense of safety that supports individual and collective creativity (Porges 2017), which can lead to enhanced resources (*e.g.* empowerment, knowledge exchange, skills development, socio-cultural integrity). Pairing and sharing skills, assets and resources enables community service (another form of resources), such as with the soup kitchen, the Elder Centre or the HTO – supported feeding families and collective wellbeing. This form of socially connected pooling of resources seems to be a fundamental part of relationships in Kugluktuk, and more broadly Inuit culture, as described previously (*i.e.* IQ).

As described in Appendix B, in sections focused on occupancy and education, the capacity to leave one's community in order to seek specialised training can involve a range of not insubstantial challenges. Some people who accessed or were planning to access education outside of their home communities were supported by families or other social connections that provided necessary resources (*e.g.* finances, secure attachment, encouragement/ mentoring, childcare support). This highlights the importance of social connection and integrity and

suggests the value of supporting good connections, including creating and advocating for opportunities in which *Kugluktummiut* can build and maintain relationships or repair ruptures in connection (*e.g.* 'healing'). Concurrently, comments from CPs about 'have/have not' families in Kugluktuk raises questions about the potential impacts of uneven distribution of 'resources' in the community. Could these exacerbate or otherwise serve to maintain uneven power and resource distribution in the community? This is a potential topic for further investigation.

The extensively relational nature of food means that different practices, beliefs and values in connection with food are shaped by a variety of different influences; these can be reinforcing (*e.g.* sharing country food), altering (*e.g.* commercial marketing), internally co-created (*e.g.* adoption of bannock as culturally meaningful food), externally imposed (*e.g.* using the CFG to determine food subsidy candidates for the NNC program) or otherwise. Sonnino *et al.* write, *"…we have to begin to recognise that all food practices are indeed local, but some are more local than others*" (2016:484). Outside or external influences (*e.g.* governance, corporations, marketing) or local practices and institutions (*e.g.* food sharing, HTO) have the power to contribute meaningfully in terms of local food practices and wellbeing over the short- and long-term.

Outsider power and influence is evident in the ways that different systems account for 'productivity', such as failing to register the full value of occupancy as a powerful and valuable community and societal 'resource'. Accounting for these practices in more conventional terms can be challenging. With modern harvesting, for example, snowmachines cannot be eaten and the values are mixed (*e.g.* monetary, customary, wellbeing, knowledge/skills development). *Kugluktummiut* engage in various forms of 'occupancy; some of these earn money, but others contribute in myriad essential ways, including feeding families. Prominent examples of

occupancy include hunting to provide one's family and community with country foods, food preparation (homemade *etc.*), child care – or more broadly caregiving, including caring for family members and friends (*e.g.* elders, those with illness or disability), sewing/making and repairing clothing for family members, and knowledge transfer (*e.g.* mentorship, 'socialising'). It is meaningful that these occupations are not included in GDP calculations or considerations about employment rates and productivity, despite positive contributions to individual and collective wellbeing. Interestingly, many of these *are* considered by Nunavut's SA productive choice agreement.

4.3 Using Lived Experiences to Illustrate Kugluktuk's Food System

In the following, I attempt to deepen descriptions of people-food relationships in the community of Kugluktuk through my own experiences. These are interactions that occurred in two different spaces and times: the Saturday soup kitchen caribou hunting 'on the land'[74] with a local hunter. Each illustration is used to highlight the richness of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, including how emergent themes from this study – identity, connection and power/resources – are interconnected and foundational to these relationships.

a) Saturday Soup Kitchen

The Saturday soup kitchen – a local initiative of the Kugluktuk Wellness Committee and the Kugluktuk Women's group – offered lunch every Saturday to those struggling to feed their families (on IA or otherwise in need) from January – April 2014. Describing this event/program here is intended to help illustrate different aspects of the relationships between people and food, as well as the capacity of *Kugluktummiut* to respond uniquely as a community to local issues of

[74] From my understanding, this expression was used to describe any activity that was not within a building and about connection to one's environment. This might include camping, staying at one's cabin 'out on the land', or picking berries even just at the edges of town. My sense was that the activity might take place on land or water.

concern. In certain respects the soup kitchen is an example of a hybrid driver of food security, involving both external and internal systems. This was a valuable opportunity for me to observe and interact with individuals and families in ways that felt more socially acceptable, relatively unobtrusive and non-traumatizing for the attending community members.

The Saturday soup kitchen was a collaborative effort among the Kugluktuk Wellness Committee, the Kugluktuk Women's group, the Hamlet and high school, spearheaded and carried through principally by Bessie Sitatak. The idea for the soup kitchen reportedly emerged out of an ongoing conversation between Bessie and a colleague at Illavut, where they had been receiving calls – particularly from women with small children – asking for food:

> "*We used to get calls all the time from community members all the time who had no meat or nothing. They used to phone for hampers too, which we couldn't provide…Whenever we're* [*i.e.* Illavut] *successful in the hunts we share half with the community and – but it's constant phone calls from community members for hampers.* [My colleague] *and I started talking about trying a soup kitchen. That was last year and I brought up the idea to the wellness committee and that took about half the year, from spring time to this fall."*
> (Bessie Sitatak, March 26, 2014)

The soup kitchen was situated in the open floor space of the public library, which also happens to be part of the high school. Approval to use the High school kitchen and public library (located in the High school) was obtained from the DEA and High school principal. The Hamlet was approached for and granted funding. On November 16, 2013, the first soup kitchen was offered as a trial. Initially, this was understood by many as a community event. Given the limited resources, restrictions were put on who could attend, focusing on families on IA or others in need. Subsequently the soup kitchen ran from approximately January – April 2014, throughout months when it was anticipated that more people might encounter challenges feeding their families, obtaining country food or otherwise. The day after I arrived in Kugluktuk, I was picked

up by Peter Taktogon and driven to the high school to volunteer. I continued attending the soup kitchen in this capacity until the last one, which ended shortly prior to the Nattiq Frolics.

I cooked together with other volunteers from the community. These were largely not local people, with the exception of Bessie and one local youth of high school age. Sometimes there were different volunteers present, including some other youths, but there was a core group who attended regularly. Bessie took on organisational responsibility, making sure volunteers were in place, the necessary food was purchased, and that someone would help transport supplies and volunteers to the school. She cooked, served and ensured that the space and offering were respected. Food was served at an appointed time assembly line style, with volunteers serving. Most often there was muskox stew and fish (Arctic char) chowder, along with bannock and juice. Sometimes one of the volunteers would bring something sweet to share after the meal. Some people came alone to the soup kitchen, while others came as families, often with young children in tow. Most often there was anywhere from 15-20 people in attendance.

Once the food was served, there would be a prayer of thanks offered, typically by Bessie. Then everyone would eat. With permission, I would join different people to eat together, introducing myself as a visitor to Kugluktuk for research. Children who attended the soup kitchen with caregivers often spent part of their time reading books or colouring. Many children also borrowed books to read at home. Once people had finished eating, the volunteers would clean up the library and kitchen. Leftover food might be taken home by one of the volunteers, but was often left for the high school breakfast program.

Wellbeing was the overarching theme in the Saturday soup kitchen. Identity was expressed through sharing and eating store and country food, providing access to country food as

a ready-made product. Incidentally, the soup kitchen may have also provided a space in which there was an opportunity to develop different, more empowering, enabling relationship with spaces and systems that have historically been – and for some people remain – problematic. Relationships and connection were expressed through internal social services, cooperation, knowledge transfer (*e.g.* mentoring gratitude, illustrating the use of country food as homemade food), visiting and play. Partnerships and cooperation among different organisations and individuals, including locals and non-locals, contributed to a successful program at many respects. The various partnerships seemed to reflect a willingness to share (personal) resources in service of and genuine care for the wellbeing of one's community. The collaborative use of resources, including infrastructure, skills, motivation, funding and personal resources (*e.g.* leadership, skills, equipment, time, energy) reflected local practices around resource control and power dynamics. A great deal of coordination, determination and perseverance were needed in order to respond to what was perceived as an essential service to meet emergent needs in the community.

The soup kitchen demonstrated how people-centered and locally driven institutions can achieve goals by providing a platform to transform experiences. Positive social interactions were experienced by both volunteers and attending families. From one non-local volunteer, *"*[The soup kitchen] – *of course I run for it!* [laughs] *I do. The whole experience is just awesome. I don't know what it is about the soup kitchen. I just want to get up and go! I'll really miss it. It was an awesome experience"* (CP2vi). Several other parents/caregivers also spoke about how they liked coming to the soup kitchen because they found it good to talk with other people, to socialize and eat country food. In some cases, (single) parents with children were happy to get out of the house and have somewhere to eat. One local person did also mention a sense of shame

about attending the soup kitchen, which was experienced by some people (PO 62, February 2014).

Youth who came to volunteer at the soup kitchen had the opportunity to be exposed to various forms of knowledge transmission, including food preparation and meal planning, as well as sharing stories with a respected elder (*i.e.* Bessie Sitatak) – another form of knowledge transmission, and participating in positive social interactions. Based on my observations, some youth in the community may not have access to these kinds of opportunities in their own homes.

A high degree of collaboration and cooperation among the various organisations and individuals, and the skills and resources brought to bear on making the soup kitchen a 'success' (useful, functional). Bringing idea to reality was no small feat, given a variety of challenges: permissions, funding applications – with attendant issues of timeliness, format, bureaucracy and gaining the support of decision makers (*e.g.* committee members, Hamlet Council, DEA, high school principal). It is an important testament to the willingness, cooperation and collaboration of the various people and institutions – including Bessie's tenacity and persistence, among other things – that the soup kitchen happened at all, let alone for the length of time that it did. Ongoing logistics were also challenging. There were many people involved in making the soup kitchen available on a regular basis. There were Bessie Sitatak's regular contributions, including preparatory efforts to ensure that groceries were purchased at the right time, receipts submitted to the Hamlet, sufficient volunteers present, transport of goods and volunteers to the high school if necessary, and opening/closing the high school every Saturday. There were various volunteers who contributed food (*e.g.* baked bannock, country food, baked deserts), cooked, served and cleaned up. Donations of char for fish chowder were made by the processing plant in Rankin Inlet. Ground muskox was frequently donated by Illavut for stew.

The various challenges of making the soup kitchen a reality were tremendous, but people pulled together to make it happen. It was an honour to participate in this and witness a community come together to try to find a way to help meet needs, in their own, autonomous way(s). It was also an informative experience with regards to identifying food-related, local practices that contribute to wellbeing in Kugluktuk. The program does not appear to have continued in subsequent years, in part because Bessie Sitatak said that she needed to step down due to health concerns and no one took it on.

b) On the Land, Out of Town

In April 2014, I accompanied my friend Akana – local Elder and experienced huntsman – caribou hunting. I have chosen this experience an important illustration of the various emergent themes that comprise relationships between people and food, exemplifying how they are interconnected in intricate and nuanced ways. It was such a rich experience, revealing how important it is to be out on the land – out of town, the value and variety of social interactions, the humbling array and depth of knowledge and wisdom, the ways in which this learning is passed on, and what it means for *Kugluktummiut* to harvest, consume and share (country) food. Being on the land and harvesting country food has changed its form from historical to present practices, and that change will likely continue

The invitation to go caribou hunting was spontaneous and – as with any experience out on the land – dependent on weather, the availability of at least one highly skilled hunter, timing that would not interfere with the strictures of wage employment, the presence of migrating caribou within reasonable distance of Kugluktuk by snow machine, and the financial resources to pay for gas and other equipment. I had previously been on the land with high school students and on fishing trips, but this was different. I helped Akana prepare for our trip the day prior. We

purchased food from one of the local stores and hauled the necessary equipment out of storage. Akana tuned the snow machine[75] and then filled it and a number of resupply containers with gas. The equipment we loaded onto the *qamutiq* the following morning was a mix of historical and modern. An untanned moose hide was used for cushioning equipment (and potentially people) on the *qamutiq*. Caribou skins were to be used as a form of sleeping platform. Other necessary items included a canvas tent, shortwave radio, camping stove and fuel, cooking equipment, guns, ammunition, butchering equipment, tarps, rope, spare parts and extra outerwear, among other things. Necessary outerwear included down jackets with fur trimmed hood, specialised gloves and boots, as well as skidoo pants, neck warmer, hat, goggles and/or sunglasses. The majority of these items were essential, in order to survive the extremely cold temperatures, which at that time ranged anywhere from slightly below 0°C to approximately -50^{0}C. Extreme temperatures were exacerbated by sitting for long periods, traveling on the snow machine, and night fall. These details are important: they help illustrate some of the financial costs of hunting practices and the lack of frivolousness of the equipment that people rely on.

Finally we were packed and ready to go. Along the way to our destination we stopped to talk with several groups of people who were headed back to town or were heading out to go hunting, gathering information about the caribou – how many, where and when, as well as weather and travel conditions ahead, who else was out on the land, and how many caribou had been shot by different people. I saw that some people had large or smaller *qamutiq*, and in some cases two *qamutiq* were tied together. I observed how they were loaded and with what. We traveled several hours from town by snow machine over varied terrain.

[75] To the best of my knowledge, there was only one family still using sled dogs in the community. More commonly four-wheelers, snow machines and boats are the primary mode of travel both within and outside of town. Naturally, the mode of transport varies somewhat depending on the season/travel conditions.

Towards the end of the first day, we ended up sharing a camp site with a couple – Sharron and Phil – who had some success hunting that day. This couple became important partners in our hunting expedition, including on the journey home through difficult weather conditions. Shortly after arriving at their campsite, we were offered some frozen meat to snack on from the caribou they had begun to butcher. We shared breakfast the following morning in their tent, fished together with them and another couple who stopped by to visit later, and hunted together over the two days that we were away from town. During the time at our campsite, there were several groups who passed by, and two sets of couples who stopped to visit. This typically involved sharing some food and boiling water on the camp stove for tea. Although we observed many caribou tracks during our journey and had pursued a few caribou (unsuccessfully), by the time we packed up camp we had not yet shot any caribou.

On our return trip, we stopped to visit briefly with another group who were in the process of butchering several caribou on the ice. We were able to note the condition of the caribou that the hunters had gotten – observations that can be very important over time, for indicating what phase the caribou are at in their migration, and longer term trends of caribou health, including how the caribou are impacted by environmental (including climate) and other influences and changes. During this particular visit the hunters shared with us the location where they first encountered the caribou.

We headed in the direction the hunters described and shortly saw a small group of caribou. The men detached their *qamutiqs* and rode off on their snow machines to pursue. Sharron and I began walking in the direction from which we heard several shots. The information from those hunters had led us to finding and killing four young male caribou – two for each hunter (in this case Phil and Akana). Once we found the hunters (Fig. 5), we tied the

caribou to the snow machines and hauled them to the sea ice, where the terrain was easier for rough butchering. We all participated in this. At some point Sharron came by to collect some blood from (Fig. 6) for blood soup, which she had not had in some time. She told me it was a traditional food and she was looking forward to having some. She also introduced me to eating the net of fat that covers the caribou's stomachs – I found it very tasty. She said that the old people also used to eat the fetuses, too, but that is not commonly practiced anymore. Once the butchering was finished Sharron made tea and we drank and ate together (Fig.7). At some point we noticed that the weather was changing – looking a bit as though a storm was on its way. We packed up in a hurry and continued our ride home.

Figure 5. Richard Akana's hunting success – two male caribou

Figure 6. Sharron collecting caribou blood for soup

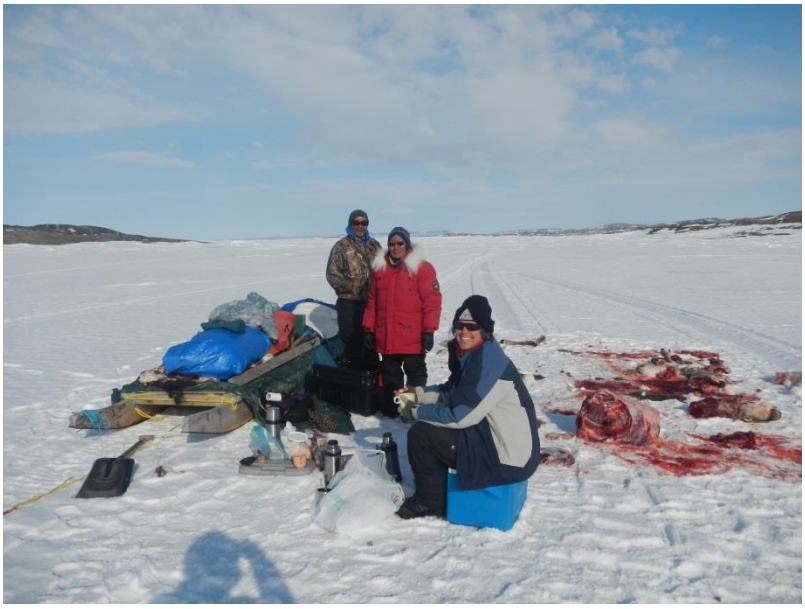

Figure 7. Sharron, Phil & me resting up for ride home after butchering

Photo credit: Richard Akana

At some point along the way, visibility became extremely limited. In addition, I got very cold. During this trip and others, people generally pay close attention to how everyone was doing – especially children and visitors/*Kabloonak*. My back hurt from the rough riding conditions of the past few days and sleeping 'rough'. We stopped so I could climb into the *qamutiq*, which had a sort of open box. I was able to lie down to get out of the wind and change the position of my body. The remainder of the ride home was quite rough – it was cold, I felt tired and sore, and weather conditions continued to worsen. We split off from our travel companions at some point to head to Akana's cabin outside of town, to unload the *qamutiq*, further process the caribou meat to ready it for distribution in the community and dry out sensitive equipment and clothing in the cabin. The two caribou were distributed among ten households, including Akana's. Recipients included various Elders, single parents, family member(s) and others (including me). Most people received single sections (*e.g.* front or back leg), one single mother received the ribs and brisket, and another single mother with four children received the stomach fat, ribs, backstrap, hearts, tongues and tenderloin.

This one, fairly short and relatively commonplace event illustrated so many different important themes in the people/food relationships fundamental to *Kugluktummiut*. **Identity** was expressed and celebrated through valuing country food, using store food to complement and supplement country food, sharing cultural foods together (*e.g.* caribou, bannock, tea, 'camping food'), engaging in practices that connect with cultural identity and support wellbeing (*e.g.* sharing food together, eating country food, being out on the land together), changing and adapting 'traditional' practices (what animals are eaten, what parts, use of 'camping food' – Klik/Spam, quick oats, pilots biscuit, *etc.*). Intersections between being on the land and wellness (*i.e.* healing, wellbeing, spiritual/cultural purpose) touch on many other important themes, from

identity to various aspects of relationships (including learning/knowledge transmission) and resources. Perhaps most importantly is the wealth of benefits that a wide range of people seem to experience by being part of on-the-land activities.

Living in relation was expressed through continuing to build and sharing knowledge, such as how to pack a qamutik properly, (re)learning changing travel conditions, considering safety and noticing others' state of being (*e.g.* children and outsiders getting cold during travel). There was also visiting and other social interactions focused on knowledge exchange, which were part of building and maintaining social connection, as well as working together (*e.g.* sharing knowledge that led to successfully harvesting country food) and sharing space (camping together), which also increases safety. There are so many examples here where partnership, collaboration and communication were essential and made it possible for many people to feed their families in culturally-grounded and meaningful ways. This example and others help to demonstrate the value of supporting good communication and fostering a collaborative environment in order to facilitate the development of partnerships. These are part of age old practices described by Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.

Owning and maintaining the necessary equipment – for safety, comfort and survival, knowledge (*e.g.* of the land/travel conditions, where the caribou migrate, safety), occupancy expressed through hunting for one's family/community, sharing in the work by hunting communally, processing the kill together, having sufficient wellness to be able to hunt, travel and butcher were some of the various expressions of power and resources that led to bringing valued food back to the community, to support collective wellbeing.

Chapter 5: Food Lenses (RQ2)

The selectivity of any given lens shapes which themes are considered relevant to people-food relationships, just as this is also shaped by the lens' user (see Section 6.2a). This chapter addresses the second research question (RQ2), which is focused on the relative capacities of each lens to represent and understand important aspects of people-food relationships in a Nunavut community. Emphasizing FSov and IR[76], the relative insights of each lens and the potential outcomes and consequences for individual and collective relationships with food and food system governance are considered broadly as weaknesses or strengths – in an effort to increase clarity, despite the challenges attendant to assigning binary labels.

The relative performance of the three lenses is assessed (Section 5.1), considering which emergent themes and sub-themes from Chapter 4 are included (or not) within each lens (Table 7); results are illustrated at the macro scale in Figure 8 (below). Weak representation in a given sub-category is indicated by a question mark ('?'). For example, FS is relevant to '*Being out on the land…*' because there is a high probability of accessing country food; nonetheless, the experience and value of being out on the land itself and the human-environment relationships did not seem to be central or emphasized through the lens of food security. The specific details of where the different lenses performed well or not are important because they reveal respective strengths and limitations[77]. Lens performance is explored in detail for FSov (Section 5.2) and IR (Section 5.3) following. Potential alternatives (*e.g.* hybrids, food wellbeing, *etc.*) are described in Section 5.4.

[76] See Sections 2.3a and 2.4 for in-depth considerations of the FS lens.
[77] How each lens is interpreted will also affect perceptions of people-food relationships (*e.g.* Ch. 6.2).

5.1 Overall Assessment of Lens Capabilities

Broadly speaking, some themes were captured by all lenses (resources, employment, real food that people eat), but others had little or no overlap (activities, visiting, preparing for life). FS encompassed 4/15 sub-themes and was partially or questionably represented in three other sub- themes. FS showed the least amount of coverage of the three lenses in the theme *Living in Relation* (1/6 themes represented) and *Identity* (1/5). Representation under *Identity* was related to eating ('*Real food…*') and under *Living in Relation* was related to food sharing. FSov performed well in the areas of *Identity* and *Resources & Power* but did not represent the different aspects (sub- themes) of *Living in Relation* particularly well, where only 3/6 themes were represented. In total, 12/15 sub- themes were encompassed by this lens. The IR lens represented all sub- themes and was the only lens to also include the themes of '*family bonds…*', '*visiting…*' and '*activities…*' It seems the IR lens was also best equipped to describe wellbeing and complexity – inherent components of the relationships between people and food in Kugluktuk. Both the FSov and IR lenses helped make more visible the power structures that affect local food system equitability. Based on prevailing interpretations of FS used in this study, this lens considers resources, but does not expressly take into account issues of power, which is an issue previously identified by Patel and others (Patel 2009; Wiebe and Wipf 2011).

Table 7. Macro- and micro-scale emergent themes encompassed by each of the three lenses (food security, food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience)

	Food Security	Food Sovereignty	Indigenous Resilience
Theme 1: Identity			
Values & practices, culture, relationship to food, taboos		x	x
Real food that people eat	x	x	x
Being out on the land: camping, relationship to land, weather-environment	?	x	x
Wellness: healing, well-being, spiritual/ cultural purpose	?	x	x
Change: old ways, new ways....		x	x
Theme 2: Living in Relation			
Family bonds, community integrity, social networks			x
Visiting, concern for & honouring each other, parenting			x
Contributing: sharing, giving & reciprocity, helping & internal social services	?	x	x
Preparing for Life: Learning/education, wisdom-knowledge, knowledge transfer		x	x
Working together: Partnerships, communication, cooperation		x	x
Activities - in town, having fun, play, relief from stress			x
Theme 3: Resources & Power			
Resources/assets: spaces, places, people, practices, things	x	x	x
Power, leadership, resource control		x	x
Occupancy: Making a living, 'Employment', Engagement, Social assistance	x	x	x
There are a lot of good things that happen up here; I wish...	x	x	x

Figure 8 illustrates how each lens revealed a different capacity to capture the different emergent themes. The IR lens is positioned to show its capacity to encompass all three key themes and

their sub-themes, while FS almost completely encompasses key and sub-themes of 'power/resources', some aspects of 'identity', but effectively no aspects of 'relationships'.

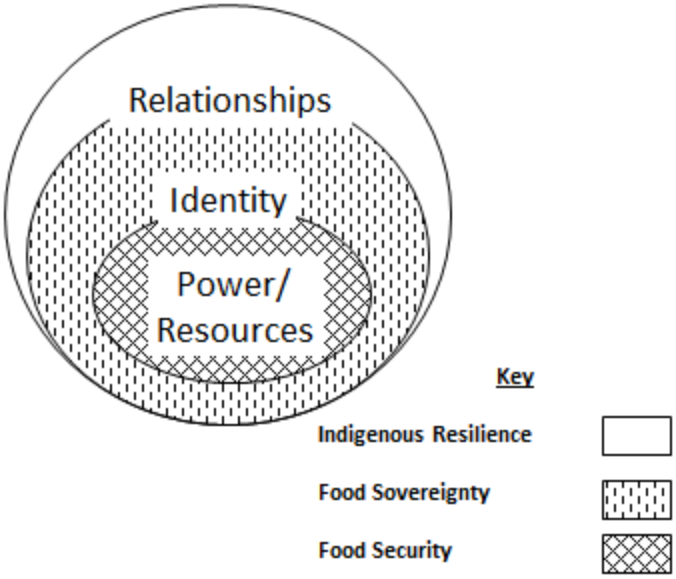

Figure 8. Macro-scale illustration of the relative capacities of food system lenses to encompass the three overarching themes of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, Nunavut.

Examining the strengths and limitations of the various lenses can help illuminate underlying assumptions (transparent and opaque), biases and gaps in understanding, and explain why programming and policy responses may fail to achieve their intended effect. In this section, a broad assessment of each of the lenses is provided, first focusing attention on the food security (FS) lens, followed by the food sovereignty (FSov) and Indigenous resilience (IR) lenses.

The FS lens appears to be the most poorly equipped to account for complexity and human connection. This may highlight assumptions that underlie the metrics that inform FS regarding the root causes of hunger, which emphasize financial resources (*e.g.* income, employment, government welfare program) (Dachner and Tarasuk 2017; Tarasuk 2017; Riches 1999) as the

solution to hunger, and the importance of employment, and overlook the contributions of occupation/livelihood to feeding families. In certain instances, these assumptions were not only inaccurate, but may also be contributing to food insecurity. By emphasizing financial resources, for example, place-based or local food sovereignty and security (*e.g.* local harvesting) is overlooked, such as with IA, particularly as this tends to facilitate dependence on store foods for many people. When employment – rather than occupancy – is emphasized in conventional educational approaches, this can interrupt the acquisition of requisite knowledge and experience to be able to harvest locally. Even the implicit lack of value ascribed to occupation overlooks the various contributions that other family or community members – such as non-hunters/harvesters – make to the collective good and ultimately feeding families. In this regard, FS also appears to overlook the importance of collectives, focusing on individual satiety to the exclusion of relationships, connections and the various benefits of sharing besides simply satiety. These are long-term considerations with long-term impacts. The FS lens also showed limited representation of themes associated with identity, including the importance of country food in people's lives. Power relations (power, leadership, resource control) and how these connect to wellbeing were also poorly represented.

These aspects of bottom-up, holistic people-food relationships in Kugluktuk that are overlooked suggest that the FS lens as interpreted in this study tends to be top-down, short-term, triage- and deficit-oriented, with limited perspective (overly simplified), and focused largely on individuals, financial resources, employment and store-foods, and lacks any internal imperative for reflexivity that questions its own underlying power dynamics and asks whether people's needs have been interpreted accurately. Some of the above limitations were manifest as inappropriate metrics for determining food security, including a focus on *insecurity*. Another

metric more recently incorporated into food security assessments that in principle better aligns with norther realities is ‘access to hunters’. This metric assumes a correlation between hunters and household food (in)security. In Kugluktuk, presumed correlations did not seem so clear. One local government employee, for example, wrote in response to having been asked whether any caribou had been seen recently: “*As for the caribou I don’t know, I don’t have a hunter, LOL*” (CP2i, October 29, 2015). This is a person powerfully connected in the community – so it was surprising that they seemed to be saying they might not have access to a hunter. One local hunter said, <“*Hunters rarely keep more than 25% of their catch* [or harvest]”> (CP30, January 30, 2014). So where does this food go? How is it presently distributed throughout communities? More recent publications suggest that the perceived roles of hunters in northern communities may be more complex than previously described (e.g. Power 2008; Ready and Power 2018; Ready 2018; Ready 2019), which raises questions about the relevance of metrics that are fundamentally informed by the FS paradigm.

Prevailing applications of the FS lens tend to be too specific, with the consequence that certain drivers of people-food relationships are overlooked; this in turn potentially limits valuable enabling mechanisms. The tendency for FS to emphasize food *access* and *availability* along with a focus on hunger effectively reduces the complexity of our understanding about people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, encouraging responses that may be overly simplified, insufficiently sensitive, and possibly less effective. What are the consequences of false or inappropriate assumptions of different lenses and their users? Does a narrow focus on hunger bias evaluation of and responses to these kinds of issues towards the tangible and functional – in other words, more limited considerations of the relationship between people and food and wellbeing, overlooking factors that may be more ‘esoteric’, holistic or qualitative (*e.g.* culture,

spirituality)? One of the most important aspects that have been revealed in this work by applying the various lenses may be their respective capacities to accommodate the complexity of people-food relationships. The tendency for the FS lens to limit understandings of people-food relationships to access and availability, for example, reflects a limited capacity to account for the multifaceted and nuanced aspects of food systems. The limitations observed here bring into question the appropriateness and effectiveness of this lens for food system governance. As prevailing interpretations of this lens change, however, its capacities may also improve. Within a northern context, more recent publications (research, territorial government documents) are beginning to include broader conceptualisations of food security (e.g. Qaujigiartiit AHRN-NU 2009; Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017; Government of Nunavut 2011; Theriault 2009; Council of Canadian Academies 2014).

Broadly speaking, FSov was more holistic than FS; both were less than IR. The IR lens was the most inclusive of the three lenses, having the capacity to identify issues of hunger, as well as the broader context in which hunger exists from a strengths-based stance, and the values, practices and beliefs that help people feed their families and contribute to wellbeing. IR also seemed most closely aligned with wellbeing. The FS lens effectively limits the possibility of approaching people-food relationships more holistically and sustainably because of the combination of emergent themes that were overlooked, and an underlying deficit-oriented focus on hunger and triage-like approach, which focuses narrowly on urgent, short-term responses, rather than underlying issue(s) over the long-term. The FSov lens was more comprehensive than the FS lens, but less than the IR lens, lacking the same range of considerations in realms relating to social or human connection.

Both FSov and IR helped identify where power helps or hinders (*e.g.* disenfranchises) and acknowledge different forms or expressions of power, such as those more aligned with empowerment, healing, solidarity, connection, sustainability, wellness and other qualities connected with local values, practices and beliefs in Kugluktuk. Perhaps another important difference between FS relative to either FSov or IR lenses is the emphasis on specific *outcomes* (which also tend to be dictated by outsider authorities) relative to *processes*. Wexler, DiFluvio and Burke (2009), for example, hint at the importance of process to IR, while Lalonde states this more explicitly (2005:57). Relative to the interpretation of FS used here, the FSov and IR lenses seem better equipped to help inform policy, planning and programming efforts to address hunger and wellbeing, particularly over the long-term relative to conventional interpretations of FS. IR in particular may offer the most fruitful path to identifying meaningful and sustainable systemic responses.

Childcare – caring for, raising or parenting children, whether in nuclear family or village contexts – is one example where a FS lens fails to take into consideration the value of occupancy. A great deal of resources – social networks, knowledge, love, patience and otherwise – can be involved in raising children. These various 'resources' are different forms of occupancy; these can be of critical value to the future persistence, sustainability and wellbeing of individuals and collectives (Budlender 2010). Ignoring, de-valuing or otherwise failing to acknowledge (and perhaps valorize) these kinds of important contributions may be problematic (e.g. Lindstrom et al. 2016), and may be evident in circumstances where lack of support prevails (*e.g.* extreme poverty, parental addictions and/or mental health challenges). The FSov and IR lenses appear to be better equipped to recognise and value the contributions of occupancy practices in ways that FS cannot.

Critical consideration of the utility of the FS paradigm should continue, including the broader implications of its use in Nunavut as a tool for responding to issues of hunger and more broadly the relationships between people and food. Consideration and inclusion of country food in more recent FS-focused research suggests movement toward more locally relevant metrics. In many respects, the FS lens as it has been applied in the recent past reflects a fundamental lack of understanding about people-food relationships. Its characteristics in practice may actually be contributing to food insecurity over the long term, through imagining people-food relationships that are static (less process-oriented) and 'simplifying' the food system by focusing on hunger – rather than asking how hunger fits into the broader relationship of people and food – as well as access to financial (*i.e.* wage employment, IA, money) and corporate (*i.e.* store food) resources. This limited focus tends to be to the exclusion of the very practices, beliefs and values that appear to be part of facilitating positive relationships between people and food and wellbeing.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the more interpretive aspects of this portion of the research focus predominantly on FSov and IR because a critique of the FS lens is provided in the literature review (Ch. 2), which serves as a reference point for comparison with FSov, IR and other lenses described in this chapter.

5.2 Food Sovereignty Lens (FSov)

This study identified several key factors or insights arising from consideration of FSov. The following identifies strengths and weaknesses of this lens.

a) Strength: Roles of Power & Resource Control

As Loring and Gerlach suggest, "*...food security in the North remains primarily a social and political rather than a biogeographic or ecological problem. ...the problem is not that adequate healthy foods are not available, but that people do not enjoy consistent and reliable access to*

these foods…" (2015b:387). Rather, the authors suggest that fundamental drivers of food insecurity include "*…top-down governance structures, policies regarding land use and resource management that are not sufficiently flexible or responsive to rapid environmental change, and economic development agendas that marginalize the rights and needs of Indigenous peoples*" (*ibid*). What might be interpreted as 'healthy foods' and whether 'consistent and reliable access' represents what is needed to respond to hunger is worth deconstructing; nonetheless, what Loring and Gerlach describe are primarily issues that are rooted in power and resource control, for which the FSov lens is particularly well equipped to recognise and contextualise.

These are the kinds of concerns that a food sovereignty lens can help to highlight, which includes questions about who the existing systems privilege, to making decisions about what circumstances require 'help' and who is enabled to give this. Unconscious power and privilege are established through programs such as those rooted in neoliberal welfare and charity models, such as the structuring of IA in many instances (Riches 1999:205) or food banks respectively (Riches 2002; Riches 1999:205). Based on the spectrum of emergent themes in this research, power and resource control are important to the relationships between people and food, but they are also not the only facets that need to be considered. In this study, the FSov lens was helpful for bringing issues of resource control and power to the forefront of considerations; however, this same feature may be problematic if it focuses on power to the exclusion of other essential aspects of relationships between people and food.

b) Strength: Making Power More Transparent

The FSov lens seemed particularly adept at bringing issues of power dynamics and resource control to the fore, helping to identify, characterise and consider these dynamics, thereby making them more transparent. This lens was useful for distinguishing both the subtle

(*e.g.* emotional/psychological power dynamics) and overt (top-down food security-related programs that do not include client feedback loops) power dynamics, as well as the different types of power in Kugluktuk (*i.e.* internal/external, personal/collective), and how these interact in the realm of theory *versus* praxis. Public transparency and participation in decision making, for example, is theoretically a requirement for various projects and developments within and around Kugluktuk; however, the ways in which this is enacted may (sometimes/often) miss the mark. This is particularly important because colonial legacies are still part of governance systems and practices in Kugluktuk. Power and resource control in food systems affects not only the relationships between people and food, but also more explicitly resource control, which has implications for individual and collective capacities to feed families in sovereign and sustainable ways (e.g. Loring and Gerlach 2015b).

Characterising the power dynamics in Kugluktuk, these appear to fall into two broad categories: 'internal/external' and individual/collective. The first category shares elements with the 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' development to which Ironside refers (2000). In my categorization, internal power dynamics include customary and local practices, while external power dynamics I associate with systems that continue to be shaped by imposed traditions rooted in colonial histories and power structures (*e.g.* Federal government), including for example many aspects of the health care system, the justice system, public education and religion (*e.g.* Christian churches), as well as global markets and economics. These dynamics exist simultaneously and interactively, which can make identifying them and untangling their respective roles and impacts extremely challenging. Internal dynamics seem to be grounded in both particular places and specific people, as well as longer-term practices (relative to external dynamics) such as those associated with IQ. Local and territorial government institutions are guided by internal power

dynamics, but because they are public does not necessarily guarantee that the public have sufficient influence in how programming, policy or resource control happen, despite the existence of democratic mechanisms such as voting. These institutions can also engage in decision making without public input or influence. Individual power and sovereignty seems to be rooted in identity and wellbeing, and is influenced by other individuals and collectives. Collective power is illustrated in governance, family/community wellbeing, corporate control of resources and others.

c) Strength: Power Inequities

Patel, a prominent writer about food sovereignty suggests that "*If we talk about food sovereignty, we talk about rights, and if we do that, we must talk about ways to ensure that those rights are met, across a range of geographies, by everyone, in substantive and meaningful ways*." (2009:671). This shifts our focus from money and hunger to one that includes a broader scope of considerations, particularly underlying and persistent power inequities. As Patel points out, talk of 'rights' implies that any one particular authority, such as the state, has the power to determine what these rights should look like, while food sovereignty implicitly challenges this kind of exclusivity and concentration of power and decision making authority (2009:670). It creates space for everyone to have the possibility to shape food policy in ways that help shift the kinds of power dynamics inherent in sexism, patriarchy, racism and classism (*ibid*). In this sense, the more egalitarian roots of Inuit traditions (Williamson 2006) resonate well with the lens of food sovereignty.

d) Strength: Identifying Power Across Scales

The power to inform and influence institutions that play meaningful roles in helping people to feed their families in autonomous and empowered ways requires individual and

collective choice, along with channels of communication and power dynamics that enable people to share about their experiences and needs. Given the various potential consequences of social divisions that may be rooted in power and resource control disparities (*e.g.* marginalisation, discrimination, institutional disparities in health, justice, education and resources), it is important for institutions in powerful positions to be informed by local place-based needs, values and practices. Based on this research, it appears that institutional (*e.g.* local food stores, schools, health centre, police) receptivity to feedback and interpretation of needs (*e.g.* health, wellbeing, justice) is impactful for individual and collective access to resources (including food) and wellbeing. This also includes the individuals that work for these institutions. A report on the life and concerns of Inuit women of Nunavik in which the impact of "*police officers' bad attitude towards Inuit*" helps to illustrate the potentially powerful impacts on individual and collective harmony and wellbeing, using a more extreme example. One section of the report describes how tensions of difference between Inuit citizens and non-Inuit police play out, with one participant describing how this "*provokes more violence…and … that some of them arrest people without taking the time to understand the situation*" (Laneuville 2015:95). People in positions of authority contribute to the structure and atmosphere of the community, influencing programming and policy through providing reports (*e.g.* police reports), statistics and recommendations to the Hamlet council. These are the more obvious contributions, but as Laneuville's report shows, attitudes can be impactful on individual and collective experiences.

In Kugluktuk, the local HTO is an example of a locally-informed and responsive institution. In contrast, the two main commercial stores are primarily corporate-driven systems whose mandates and accountability appear to be largely motivated by money (profit) and politics. These motivations may not be sufficiently concerned with individual or collective

welfare, or otherwise responsive to local values, practices, beliefs and needs. An article in the *Nunatsiaq News* (George 2018b) reported on a store recently opened by 25 year resident of Cambridge Bay, Keith Lear. He was quoted as saying, "*The big stores here, they are told what to sell. We want to offer what our customers want*". Does this signal a potential gap, where certain power structures exist and may be influencing individual and collective relationships with food and wellbeing? The store owner quoted may be signaling issues around purchasing power and perhaps institutional responsiveness to emergent community needs. These kinds of considerations become meaningful in the case of operations that sell food, equipment and other supplies (*e.g.* diapers, clothing, *etc.*). There are systemic (*e.g.* SA) and evolved or chosen dependencies on the kinds of material goods (*e.g.* use of snow machines, guns and ammunition) that are inherently tied to – and impacted by – flat currency (*i.e.* money), capitalist systems.

e) Strength: Systemic Capacity for Self-Reflection

Regardless of whether the focus is internal or external power dynamics, it is important that – as circumstances change (*e.g.* environment, community values, other control structures) – power and resource control dynamics that affect different aspects of individual and collective relationships between people and food be re-considered and re-shaped, asking whether these are continuing to serve families and the community in ways that people want. For example, *Nunavummiut* benefit from ongoing re-examination of the dominant educational structures of the Nunavut curriculum. In this case, *Nunavummiut* have taken the opportunity to consider the impacts of current pedagogical approaches and ask whether these might be changed in ways that better reflect and enable local values, practices and beliefs (McGregor 2015). An opportunity for these kinds of examinations that is more obviously connected to considerations about food security would involve asking how *Kugluktummiut* could be more involved in the governance

and role of local stores in the community. Similar questions apply to all the external power systems previously mentioned, including even local, Hamlet-level governance structures, practices and values. If, however, one does not perceive power dynamics at all, or otherwise perceive them as relevant to issues such as wellbeing, hunger or more broadly the relationships between people and food, the need for reflexivity becomes moot. An awareness of power dynamics and both individual and collective (*e.g.* institutional) capacity to critically consider and self-reflect may be fundamental to creating food systems that are more sustainable and sovereign (Duhaime and Godmaine 2002; Loring and Gerlach 2015b).

f) Limitation: Encompassing Social Aspects

Some authors suggest that food sovereignty widens the scope of considerations, including issues connected to human rights, self-sufficiency and sustainable development (Jarosz 2014; Gartaula et al. 2017); it is frequently described in academic literatures as a more holistic model of measuring and responding to particular aspects of people-food relationships, emphasizing the roles that food plays in human societies beyond physical sustenance and satiety. In this study, the FSov lens in this study tended to be problem oriented, particularly focused on problematic power dynamics. In addition, FSov had more limited relevance to the relationships between people and food than originally anticipated. It did not encompass themes relating to social or human connection, specifically 'Visiting, concern for one another and parenting' and 'Activities in town, having fun, play'. This contradicts Iles and Montenegro de Wit (Cited by Daigle 2017) and Patel's (2009) assertions that sovereignty is relational, owing to the fact that it emerged out of unified collective efforts[78] around a perceived need for political action.

[78] Emergence of the food sovereignty concept and movement through collective political action by *La Via Campesina* (La Via Campesina 1996, cited by Wiebe and Wipf 2011).

Perhaps some of the mismatch between anticipated *versus* realized capacities of the FSov lens can be attributed to how emergent themes and the lens of food sovereignty itself were interpreted in this work. There may not have been sufficient emphasis on its ability to capture the value of living in relation, particularly social relations among people. Some of the mismatch may have also been different in this research if an Indigenous food sovereignty lens had been employed, where process and culture are more explicitly considered (Morrison 2011). Indigenous food sovereignty seems to be imagined in more diverse and more relational ways by others (Daigle 2017; Kamal et al. 2015; Huambachano 2016; Whyte 2016; HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003). Whyte describes Indigenous food sovereignty as *"…a strategic process of Indigenous resurgence that negotiates structures of settler colonialism…"* (2016:354–55). Wenzel (Cited in Duhaime et al. 2004) identifies ways in which the histories of Indigenous peoples that inform IFSov are rooted in sustainable practices that have themselves developed into ideologies. This is echoed by Morrison, who writes about 'Indigenous Eco-Philosophy' (2011:98–99). These approaches offer extremely long-range outlooks that have been tested and tried over generations. In addition to considerations of power, Whyte and others (Schiavoni 2017) invite the dynamism of *process* and the importance of culture in imaginings of (Indigenous) food sovereignty. These are qualities that are also present in Indigenous resilience.

As the FSov lens emerges on the world stage as a viable alternative for food system governance and management, it is valuable to develop a body of evidence that demonstrates its capacities. In this regard, while encapsulating valid and important aspects of people-food relationships that are not necessarily represented by the more conventional lens of FS (and its more conservative interpretations), this work demonstrates that current interpretations of FSov may have meaningful, perhaps unanticipated limitations.

g) Limitation? Ambiguity, Subjectivity – Theory *vs.* Praxis

Whyte writes, "*For Thompson, concepts of food sovereignty are useful for cultural continuance and identity, but too idealistic for dealing with the challenges of food security in the context of globalization*" (2016:4). One challenge in working with new concepts is how to translate theory into praxis; in the realm of FSov, challenges may include scope, recognising and realising potential applications and implications, particularly within different power systems (*e.g.* external power systems), which themselves may limit or enable different forms of sovereignty. In addition, local and international conceptualisations and practices of sovereignty differ (Schiavoni 2017; Jarosz 2014), but need to be bridged in mutually supportive ways.

5.3 Indigenous Resilience Lens (IR)

In some regards, Indigenous resilience was the most challenging to interpret. Why should this be so? In part this may be attributable to the psycho-socio-cultural milieu in which I – as the user of this lens – was raised and currently live, which often emphasizes difference and deficiency, rather than strength, resilience and wellbeing. As Weyakpa Najin Win (Pat McCabe) suggests, when we do not have a narrative for something it remains largely invisible to us (2019). In addition, when funding, programs, services and ultimately governance are aimed at those "in need", this puts attention (and resources) towards dysfunction and what disables, rather than what *enables* people to successfully feed their families (*e.g.* culture, social networks/spaces/ opportunities, locally-controlled programming). In the North (and elsewhere), too often food *in*security and vulnerability have been emphasized at the cost of recognising and working towards wellbeing based on existing strengths.

a) Strength: Appreciative

> *…we mustn't dwell on all the problems that we have, and God knows we have many, because we also have some successes…you know, if we say that these 30% do it, but we have 70% that don't do it…We have a long ways to go, but I think we also moved a little bit.*
>
> (CP4, June 7, 2015)

Tracy Bear says "*framing conversations about reconciliation through the lens of perseverance allows Indigenous people to come to the conversation from a place of strength*" (Muzyka 2018). In this way, IR is similar to Bear's 'perseverance' – it shapes peoples' positionality and interpretation of needs and phenomena in ways that are more positive, encouraging, hopeful and perhaps even productive. IR is more in line with 'empowerment', and speaks about place-based practices, beliefs and values that support wellbeing, having evolved with the land and people over time. Indigenous resilience after Andersson (2008) or '*strengths-based resilience'* (HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003) is similar to Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai-Smith's approach '*celebrating survival'*, which helps indigenous communities *"…celebrate our resistances at an ordinary human level and…affirm our identities…* (1999:145)".

In order to change systemic problems and injustices, it is first necessary to recognise them; it is also necessary to recognise what constitutes and contributes to conditions of thriving. This is echoed by the words of CP 24 quoted above, and is where the IR lens has exhibited a superior capacity to reveal or 'see' the many ways in which *Kugluktummiut* are strong and resilient. The IR lens offers us a different view – broader, appreciative and rooted in culture, which allows us to (re)consider 'conventional' wisdoms about hunger, relationships between people and food and wellbeing.

Broadly speaking, the Indigenous resilience lens helped shift focus to imagining more holistic, strengths-based interpretations, which in turn enabled me to better perceive what supports *Kugluktummiut* to feed their families – tangibles and intangibles that are shaped by and centered around local values, practices and beliefs. The IR lens was also helpful for placing challenges within an appreciative framework; it places challenges within their contexts, allowing the strength, courage, wisdom, skill and gifts of *Kugluktummiut* to shine through, to see where people were continuing to care for themselves and others despite at times meaningful daily struggles. This echoes Tulloch's sentiments about the need for more appreciative discourses given how people in the north are thriving *despite* difficulties, but also simply how people are thriving (*e.g.* self-government movements, land claims, Indigenous control of education, economic development) (2015:1).

b) Strength: Holistic view of phenomena

Whyte speaks to the scope of Indigenous resilience in the field of Indigenous environmental studies and science: "*The environmental dimensions of resilience are just as much issues of genuine moral responsibility–trust, consent, reciprocity, and more–as they are issues of biology and ecology*" (Whyte 2018 p. 140). This holistic stance, one which considers relationality and accountability, seems somehow inherent to the IR lens and may be crucial to offering insights into phenomena such as hunger and wellbeing. Among the three lenses, the Indigenous resilience lens seems to have a unique capacity to look at phenomena such as skipping meals from different angles. It can be perceived as a clue to the importance of interruptions in socio-cultural integrity, the corollary – the importance of social relations in helping to ensure that families are fed, often in sovereign and resilient ways, or it may be viewed as an imposed social norm. When viewed through the IR lens, the importance of different factors

such as relationality to people's relationships with food comes into sharper focus. Food system management practices that emphasize access and availability of food to the exclusion of other factors can render food system management responses to hunger less effective, or even inappropriate and unsustainable, and, therefore, less likely to address the root causes of hunger.

c) Strength: Emphasizes different values, shifts power structures

> *"Euro-Canadian lifestyles and its domineering influence have to a large extent subjugated Inuit cultural traditions"*
>
> (Akande et al. 2015:14)

IR appears to create the possibility of levelling the playing field of what is important in human lives – placing essential pieces such as wellbeing, sustainability, community and connection (Muzyka 2018) at the forefront of considerations, in positions of shared power and authority. This seems to be the case whether in the realm of governance, corporate involvement or private lives. The very foundation of IR interrupts the more common hierarchical and limited worldviews of many institutions and cultures (*e.g.* colonial), which is perhaps reflected in the IR lens' demonstrated capacity to encompass key emergent themes in this research, particularly relative to the other lenses. In this regard, the IR lens may offer people more opportunities to be able to speak and operate from places of greater safety, security, accountability and relationality, sensing that they have a place of belonging, where their values, practices and beliefs are valid and essential to wellbeing. The IR lens seems particularly adept at creating the conditions necessary to recognise, acknowledge and support locally-informed processes, giving value to noticing the unique strengths and guidance of locally-informed daily practices, values and beliefs. This can have implications for individual and collective sense of agency, although perhaps differently relative to FSov. Walsh-Dilley *et al.* advocate for resilience thinking for

policy and program development, as it "…*has the potential to radically transform this arena in favor of social and environmental justice…*" (2016:1).

d) Strength: Wellbeing & culture feeds families

With IR the discussion is ultimately about wellbeing, of which culture plays a fundamental role. The connection with wellbeing makes sense, since IR emerged out of certain health fields, although it has not historically been used in the context of people-food relationships. As a tool to consider food-related issues such as hunger, it may be particularly useful because it has the capacity to link the essential role of culture to feeding families and individual and collective wellbeing (Ares et al. 2016; Chandler and Lalonde 1998; Howell 2008; Huambachano 2018). The importance of culture to wellbeing has also been identified throughout the Arctic (Kruse et al. 2008; Tulloch 2015). Lauster and Tester's research on household crowding in the Arctic shows how the role of culture – including the culture of governance, or individual/societal norms – impacts individual and collective relationships to material (in)equality, including how these are perceived by different people (2010). In Kugluktuk, culture helps ensure there is food on the table. Given the widespread importance of culture to feeding families and individual/collective wellbeing, it seems imperative and wise to ensure that the spaces and places where place-based values, practices and beliefs – including those rooted in local/traditional culture – are identified and enabled. Using lenses such as IR may be crucial to recognising and achieving a shift in focus that emphasizes holistic wellbeing, whether in academic or political practices.

e) Strength: Social networks, country food sharing and access

The IR lens was helpful for acknowledging the impact of social ties on people's capacities to acquire country food, particularly for those in situations of financial need. In

Kugluktuk, hunters were valued for their provision of country food within a network of relations and friends, including particularly single parents, children and elders. It seemed that social connections were an essential part of sharing country food. Various forms of sharing continue to constitute the primary means by which a large proportion of northern (Indigenous) communities are able to acquire country food (Kishigami 2004; McMillan and Parlee 2013; Duhaime et al. 2002; Damas 1972). The combined impact of seasonal availability of certain preferred country foods (*e.g.* muskox, caribou) and limited funding, despite contributions from the HTO, creates a scenario where regular access to country food is fundamentally tied to social networks (and sharing), a fact that was most clearly revealed through the IR lens, only weakly recognised by FSov, and unacknowledged by FS.

f) Limitation (?): Ambiguity, Subjectivity – Theory *vs.* Praxis

From a governance perspective one particular challenge of the Indigenous resilience lens is its relative subjectivity; as with FSov, this lens may not lend itself to the kind of conventional measures (*e.g.* standard demographics) used by government. By its very nature the IR lens may be most appropriately interpreted and defined locally, which also presents a kind of ambiguity that many governance systems have difficulty accommodating.

In addition, IR may not emphasize or privilege hunger in the same ways or to the same extent as conventional interpretations of the FS lens. This is important to consider when selecting which food system tools to help respond to issues of (chronic) hunger, inform understandings of people-food relationships or shape food-related policy, programming and services. Whether or not this implies that IR may be a more appropriate lens in certain circumstances and not others would require further consideration and testing. It remains an open question whether some lenses may be better suited to triage-like circumstances or not. At the same time, it is arguable that

issues such as persistent or chronic hunger *are* complex and require approaches to understanding and responses that are more holistic, responsive, receptive to feedback and intuitive, rooted in local, place-based experiences, values, beliefs and practices (*e.g.* culture-informed) in order to inform effective responses over the short- and long-term. Determining the relative importance of the different aspects or themes of people-food relationships that are emphasized or not by different lenses may also help establish which ones best suit governance intentions.

5.4 Alternative Lenses: Hybrid(s), Food Wellbeing, Indigenous- & Inuit-Centered

In this research, what Tso calls a 'food lens' (2014) offers us opportunities to self-reflect, to consider how relationships with food are perceived and how our respective stances impact our abilities to understand these relationships within broader contexts, noticing the subtleness and richness of those relationships, and by extension how we also respond to food-related issues. If from this stance we begin to approach the problem of hunger, how might we understand and respond differently? The forces that shape (research) lenses, including metrics and their underlying and overt assumptions require deconstruction and room to explore other options in order to shift systemic issues such as discrimination and interruptions of successful place-based practices (e.g. Lauster and Tester 2010)[79].

Given the varying capacities of the different lenses used in this study to describe people-food relationships, is there an opportunity for a hybrid lens? Are there other appropriate lenses in use or being developed? I attend to these questions briefly in the following.

[79] Lauster and Tester's work focused on housing/over-crowding metrics, but illustrates concisely issues that also underlie food security as it has conventionally been interpreted and employed.

a) Hybrid lenses?

Perhaps the way to enhance the effectiveness of food system governance in Kugluktuk and more broadly Nunavut is to develop a lens comprised of aspects of many different lenses – a hybrid of sorts, while the finer details and control are dictated by the relevant scale (*e.g.* Hamlet, Territory), including how programming and services are shaped. In terms of better understanding people-food relationships – the foundation upon which lenses need to be shaped, this requires both qualitative and quantitative data, which is fundamentally informed and controlled by the people who will be impacted by those understandings. Any of the useful insights described in the previous sections combined with the following lenses can be used to help inform understandings of people-food relationships and food system governance. Additional exploration of lenses and perception can be found in Chapter 6.2b.

b) (Food) Wellbeing

The theme of 'resources' has been described by Gartaula *et al.* (2017:576) in the context of what they term 'food wellbeing': "*The material dimension emphasizes the resources people have and the extent to which the needs of the person are met*". These authors suggest that resources represent one of several necessary conditions for food wellbeing. The food wellbeing lens was first introduced in Chapter 4.2d. This lens is a recent proposition developed by Gartaula *et al.* to enhance understandings of the different phenomena manifest in relationships between people and food, including food security (2017). In order to understand certain food-specific trends, the authors suggest, *"…context specific subjective and social relational factors highlighted by the food wellbeing approach are key...*" The authors describe the failure of both food security and sovereignty to take these factors into consideration (*ibid*), which corroborates findings from this study, perhaps with the caveat that each lens may be interpreted differently, by

different people, which can impact the extent to which different aspects of people food relationships are considered or overlooked (see Ch. 6.2), such as the subjective context and social relations that Gartuala *et al*. describe.

When we limit our scope of perception to issues such as hunger or the high cost of food to access and availability of food (*i.e.* food security), it seems we are effectively reducing our scope of interest and understanding to survival. In this research, returning iteratively to ask what is important to individual and collective relationships with food led to the recurring theme of wellbeing (*e.g.* health, wellness, 'feeling good'). Consequently, it seemed natural to explore relevant literatures, such as food wellbeing. According to Gartaula *et al.*, food wellbeing "*…combines insights from food security, food sovereignty, and social wellbeing perspectives*" (2017:573). The concept appears to resonate well with emergent themes from this work and may be more likely to produce sustainable responses to issues such as hunger or the desire to support wellbeing. Many different facets of the human relationship to food fall within the purview of food wellbeing. "*People do not simply strive to increase their physical supply of food…Neither do they only seek to build their capability to access food…or simply seek the freedom to make food-related choices... People … persistently look for ways to improve their wellbeing in ways that are meaningful to them*" (Gartaula et al. 2017:576). The authors suggest this is represented by "*…a state where people are able to produce, choose, and consume food that is socially, culturally, ecologically appropriate and calorically, nutritionally, and subjectively satisfying*" (*ibid*). Food wellbeing presents a much broader understanding of relationships between people and food, of which hunger is only a small part of the picture; furthermore, it implies the need for an approach to understanding and responding to hunger in a way that is more holistic.

c) Indigenous Lenses

Towards the conclusion of this work additional lenses grounded in Indigenous-informed ideals (ontologies, axiology) or 'Indigenous worldviews' (Hart 2010; Wilson 2008) emerged. In light of the relative performance of the IR lens (Ch. 5.3), it seems "Indigenous approaches" emergent in various scholarly discourses – and in some instances governance-oriented documents (e.g. QIA 2019; Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a) – may have the capacity to shift the roles and importance of different aspects of food systems, people-food relationships and food system governance. Various factors may be driving these differences among lenses. For example, the presence/absence of certain informing criteria or qualities of each lens (*e.g.* culture, power, wellbeing), or shifting emphasis on specific criteria such as with the IR lens, which places culture, relationships, connection and wellbeing on a more even playing field relative to more conventional criteria (*e.g.* access and availability of food) (Gartaula et al. 2017). Other possible drivers of observed performance of the IR lens may include researcher bias and what might be referred to as the 'Indigenous modifier'. In the latter instance, would other lenses take on qualities similar to IR if viewed from Indigenous-informed ideals? Would the incorporation of Indigenous worldviews affect the relative capacities of other lenses? Based on my survey of different Indigenous-themed literatures, the response to the above questions seems to be 'yes' – an Indigenous lens may help take into consideration a broader array of themes (*i.e.* more holistic and nuanced) and elevate or potentially privilege certain themes that some authors argue are otherwise persistently overlooked or ignored (Huambachano 2018). This suggests that IR is a framework within an Indigenous lens.

Exploring different imaginings of *Indigenous* food sovereignty offers a means of expanding understandings and resisting the tendency to limit potential through imposing

structured definitions. Coté, for example, describes how "*'Indigenizing' food sovereignty moves beyond a rights based discourse by emphasizing the cultural responsibilities and relationships Indigenous peoples have with their environment and the efforts being made by Indigenous communities to restore these relationships through the revitalization of Indigenous foods and ecological knowledge systems as they assert control over their own foods and practices*" (2016:1). Daigle's explorations of food sovereignty grounded in Indigenous practices, values and beliefs makes a case for multiple possible expressions of sovereignty, what she calls '*Indigenous food sovereignties*' (2017). Kalt & Singer (2003:1) suggest that what they call 'tribal self-rule' – in other words Indigenous sovereignty – "…*has proven to be the only policy that has shown concrete success in breaking debilitating economic dependence on federal spending programs and replenishing the social and cultural fabric that can support vibrant and healthy communities and families*".

Martens *et al.* describe Indigenous food sovereignty as "…*interconnections among culture, heritage, spirituality, and politics"*, which they suggest presents challenges to defining in more specific (positivist, colonial) terms (2016:22). Martin and Arnos suggest that Indigenous food sovereignty – relative to non-Indigenous food sovereignty – advocates for more collective, relational approaches and is more likely to result in policy demands that focus on rectifying systemic issues (misalignments) through structural change across scales (2017:209). More broadly, some authors suggest that Indigenous worldviews tend to have more inclusive understandings of kinship, with a fundamental responsibility to maintaining and navigating those relationships (Kovach 2010; Wilson 2008; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). This focus on relationships naturally invokes consideration of power relations, and by extension aspects of identity (*e.g.* in relation with the land, ancestors, *etc.*), wellbeing and complexity – elements identified as

essential components of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, which the IR and *Indigenous* FSov lenses are able to encompass.

Incorporating Indigenous worldviews into lenses such as food security and food sovereignty – as Huambachano and others have done (Martens et al. 2016; Coté 2016; Morrison 2011; Kepkiewicz and Dale 2018; McKerchar et al. 2015; Shukla et al. 2019; Huambachano 2016; Tso 2014) – shifts the sense of agency and capacity of existing prevailing food system governance to conceptualise people-food relationships more holistically, humanely and sustainably, and then incorporates these new understandings into institutional and systemic values and practices. Similar tendencies emerge in the shift from resilience to Indigenous resilience in health fields. This raises a question: does the apparent conflict between Indigenous *versus* prevailing understandings and values in part highlight overt and implicit marginalisation of and discrimination against Indigenous world views that challenge the hegemony and 'natural authority' of colonial government and corporate practices and systems, particularly in connection with food systems and people-food relationships?

Explorations into the potential impacts of Indigenising understandings of people-food relationships and food system governance demand a caveat; it requires re-examination of positionality – of both lenses *and* their users. This is of critical importance given the range and extent of influence that 'outsider' perceptions can have on food system governance. Indigenous lenses may have the capacity to acknowledge, accommodate and value important elements of the people-food relationships, seeing them holistically, and to account for wellbeing and the challenges of non-linear, complex systems. These qualities seem to be at odds with food-related programming and policy that has been developed out of relatively colonial understandings of people-food relationships, which may in part be attributable to the tendency of Indigenous

worldviews to be informed by wellbeing, rather than economics. Using lenses that are shaped by Indigenous voices has the potential to offer ideas and valuable insights for food system governance and future research direction.

d) Inuit Principles & Practices

Why were Inuit-informed lenses not investigated from the outset of this research? The advantage of the approach presented in this work was in part to identify disconnects between existing conventional food system governance *versus* people's needs (*e.g.* occupancy, country food harvesting, importance of social relations and wellbeing), as expressed through grassroots understandings of people-food relationships and highlighting strengths and resiliencies. Exploring the capacity of each lens to encompass important aspects of people-food relationships helped bring strengths and resiliencies into focus. Instead, the following offers a brief glimpse into Nunavut- or community-specific knowledge described by other (often more embedded) researchers, which may be useful for guiding future development of food system policy, programming or services and/or offer guidance for future research endeavors from more Inuit-centered vantages. While in-depth exploration of Inuit-centered knowledge is beyond the scope of this study, the following is an attempt to describe some areas of overlap between Inuit principles and my own research, and then explore how Inuit principles in Nunavut are understood and have the potential to inform governance practices.

In a recent collaborative storytelling venture in Kugluktuk, Elder and Hunter Akana said,

> "*When you travel forward, always look back to see where you come from. That way when you're going back home again you could recognise where you came from; that way you could make it home*" (Vonesch 2017:sec. 1:55-2:08).

We may each of us interpret this wisdom differently. For me, Akana's words offer metaphor and advice for wellbeing and relationships with food, which are grounded in the better part of a

lifetime in Kugluktuk, with extensive local connections to family and land. I interpret his words to mean that where we are going in our lives as individuals and collectively is rooted in where we have been, where we come from, where our ancestors are from. Our histories – looking back to see where we came from – are part of what we bring forward into our lives, both present and future. Remembering and honouring where we come from (*i.e.* "home") can help bring vitality and wisdom into our lives, since home – represented as safety, nurturing, emotional intimacy/ connection – and wellbeing are fundamentally connected. Learning from and carrying forward certain aspects of our past can offer wisdom for the future, the wellbeing of our families and relationships with food. Looking back to our roots – where we come from – can help us (re)turn 'home' to wellbeing. From my limited knowledge, Inuit societal values seem to be woven through Akana's words.

Jackie Price's (2007) extensive study of Inuit governance highlights the myriad ways Inuit governance systems are undermined in government, the academy, and industry. In their 2014 report, the Nunavut Food Security Coalition invoked guidance from place-based practices and principles: "*Achieving food security must be done in a manner consistent with Inuit Societal Values, principles of conservation and sustainability, and the rights of Inuit as enshrined in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*" (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2014:4). These values and principles – which include *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (IQ), what Janet Tamalik McGrath (2011) calls 'Aupilaarjuk's triad'[80], and other similar knowledges – are effectively recipes for wellbeing that continue to evolve over time and space. Certain external or state influences and structures

[80] Aupilaarjuk, an Inuk Elder, teacher, philosopher from the Kivalliq region in Nunavut mentored Janet Tamalik McGrath. 'Aupilaarjuk's triad' (*inuuqatigiingniq, inuusiqattiarniq, niqiqainnarniq*) can be explained broadly as Inuit principles that place wellbeing at the forefront, which are inherently interconnected and interdependent with people-food relationships. The terms roughly translate respectively as collective 'peoplehood', family and social groupings; individual 'personhood', inner spirit; and livelihood, relationship to land, sustenance, 'occupation', being productive, "always having meat" (McGrath 2011; Gabel and Cameron 2017).

(*e.g.* modern/colonial governance, religion, corporations) continue to shape the lives of *Kugluktummiut* in ways that impact food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience and wellbeing. McGrath relays that *"…Aupilaarjuk has observed that an understanding of these primary relationships* [*i.e.* IQ, *inuuqatigiingniq, inuusiqattiarniq, niqiqainnarniq*] *is missing*" (2011:197). Does the limited application of Inuit principles and practices in the recent history of food security in Nunavut underlie some of the disparities emergent in this research, such as tensions between local values, practices and beliefs *versus* governing institutions such as education, health, justice, corporate bodies and others?

One document produced by the Nunavut Department of Education states according to IQ "*…When people consider their relationship to people and behave in ways that build this relationship, they build strength both in themselves and in others and together as a community"* (2007:27). Much of this is echoed in the research presented here (*e.g.* social connection as foundational to collective wellbeing, being in service to others, sharing and caring for one another, communicating openly and inclusively), including the words of co-participants and through participant observation. *Piliriqatigiingniq* in the education framework speaks about "*… developing a collaborative relationship or working together for a common purpose*" (Nunavut Department of Education 2007:32), which is reflected in the themes of collaboration and harmony in this research (*i.e. w*orking together, wellbeing, sharing).

Gabel and Cameron, citing McGrath write, "*Well-being, in an Inuit framework, is based on the interrelation of collective and individual well-being, and grounded in collective and individual capacities to provide food and livelihood. …all must be strong and valued for overall well-being*" (2017:98). Various aspects of *niqiqainnariq*, for example, help to confirm some of the fundamental emergent themes and interconnections in this research. The idea of

niqiqainnarniq helps frame both historical and present relationships with food, as well as the intersection of these with the 'modern economy' in ways that seem important to the findings of this work, particularly that of 'occupancy' in service of the collective good:

> "*Niqiqainnariq…is not reducible to either waged work or the ability to eat …*[it] *also refers to cherished skills, relationships, and practices that build individual and collective wellbeing overall. … that people are grounded in the skills and relationships that enable them to contribute to their community, provide for themselves and others, practice skills, nurture relationships with the land, and promote overall social, cultural, and economic well-being. This offers a very different conceptualization of the importance of both waged work and food provisioning in Inuit communities than the model employed in most government programs and assessment processes"* (Gabel and Cameron 2017:98–99).

The Inuit knowledge expressed here from elders such as Aupilaarjuk, Akana and others in Kugluktuk highlights their invaluable roles in northern communities (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:16), concerning food system governance and the mentorship of young people. Knowledge rooted in lifetimes of learning and practicing these principles offers a unique and invaluable resource for shaping responses to issues of hunger and supporting sustainable (human, environmental) food system governance in Nunavut. This knowledge and wisdom can guide the development of governance frameworks that facilitate opportunities to support and strengthen local (Inuit) values, practices and beliefs that are integral to local food security, food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience and wellbeing. They are able to offer invaluable place-based perspectives, insights, experiences and fluency around the complexity of people-food relationships that are grounded in wellbeing.

In light of the valuable sources of knowledge and wisdom in Inuit ways of knowing and eldership, this may translate to an imperative for governance in Nunavut – including Federal and corporate entities – to support opportunities for knowledge transfer and sharing, not only between government representatives and elders/knowledge holders, but also among other

knowledge holders from a broad range of demographics and ages in every community. Inuit principles are not unreservedly the 'right' choice; there also needs to be consideration about who comes to the (decision-making) table, who is privileged to identify responses/solutions/ opportunities, which demographics are represented, or how much space and time is available to acknowledge needs such as relationship/trust building. Nonetheless, some Inuit principles in particular appear to offer guidance that is well situated for supporting resiliencies and addressing gaps identified in the research presented herein. In effect, the intersection of findings from this research with these Inuit principles highlights an opportunity – for existing place-based (local), sovereign and sustainable values to guide the development of food-related policy and programming in each community and for Nunavut. Some of these principles are currently informing governance bodies and actions, but on-the-ground experiences and observations suggest that there is room for much more.

In what ways might (food system) governance as policy, regulations and programming look different if they were to accommodate local, place-based paradigms or lenses, such as those that consider being on the land and country food as core or fundamental to people's identity, spirituality and wellbeing? Given what I observed during my time in Kugluktuk, how people spoke about the land and country food, my sense is that conceptualizations about food system governance might begin from and/or return to expressed core values. Broadly speaking, programs and services that emerge through community input and involvement may be more likely to produce community-based solutions that are embedded in people's lived experiences, (cultural) practices and values and, therefore, more effectively serve the people for whom they are intended, as well as help bring people together for a common purpose, grounded in local autonomy and agency. In this sense, bodies such as the Wellness Committee, the Kugluktuk

Women's Group, the Elder Centre, and the HTO may be particularly important in the context of feeding families and the wellbeing of *Kugluktummiut* because of their relative autonomy and practices that are guided by local needs, values, practices and beliefs (*e.g.* local & territorial funding, locally governed and/or locally-informed governance).

Discussion

Chapter 6: People-Food Relationships and Food System Governance

There are many interconnected, complex and dynamic themes in this work; the following is an attempt to weave together fuller understandings of people-food relationships (Ch. 4) and applicable lenses (Ch. 5) in ways that may offer some insights and implications for northern food system governance. Given the place-based nature of emergent values, practices and beliefs described in this work, extrapolation and generalization needs to be undertaken with great caution (Lalonde 2005). In addition, it is important to be mindful that these findings represent a spectrum of voices that may be unrepresentative of some northern communities, owing to participant demographics that included a significant number of non-Inuit people.

Amidst concerns about food system challenges the very practices, values and beliefs that presently enable people to successfully feed their families can be easily overlooked. Section 6.1 identifies explicitly enabling mechanisms. Section 6.2 sheds light on bias: how lenses – metaphorical and actual – shape not only how the world is represented, but also food system governance. This is achieved not only through the technology of the lens, but also by its user. Synthesizing various emergent aspects of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk is used to help inform broad principles for northern food system governance (6.3). The final section (6.4) situates research findings beyond the bounds of Kugluktuk, framed by the three lenses that were the focus of this research.

6.1 Enabling Mechanisms: Feeding our Families

Chapter 2.3a introduced the idea of food security drivers. This section attempts to shift emphasis from food security to people-food relationships, highlighting emergent enabling

mechanisms or drivers (*e.g.* practices, values, beliefs) of these relationships in Kugluktuk, including what *Kugluktummiut* and others in the community do to successfully feed their families – individually and collectively – as part of formal and customary institutions. This includes: (a) reflections on vital strengths and resiliencies; (b) contributions to wellbeing, which in turn helps feed families; (c) how country food is fundamental to social cohesion; (d) how social cohesion is underlain by sharing, reciprocity, and working together for the collective good, (e) how gathering is vital to feeding families and wellbeing; and (f) how perceiving and navigating complexity may be foundational to food system governance. In combination with community-level input and guidance, these different aspects can be used to help inform understandings of potential key factors that enable people in Kugluktuk to feed their families, as well as offer guidance for food system governance.

a) The Importance of Strength and Resilience in Kugluktuk

> *"Inuit are good at coming together for a common goal and have been working together to fight hunger for hundreds of years"* (Papatsie et al. 2013:77)

In Kugluktuk there is occasional hunger. One local program manager said, "…*they ate so little yesterday and food is pretty hard to get in a community when you have such a low income"* (March 10, 2014). Another local person shared about how their nieces and nephews from one sibling "…*eat really fast because they don't know when there will be something to eat again*" (April 24, 2014). Other indicators suggest that at least some people experience periodic hunger, likely with varying frequencies based on a range of different factors. In this sense, in the presence of hunger there are also times of satiety. Many people expressed a wish that everyone

in their community would be well fed, with country food or otherwise, as well as loved, thriving, proud and/or strong.

The existence of hunger in Kugluktuk does not preclude the fact that people are also well. As one local Elder said, "*Not many people say they are starving now*" (CP41, March 9, 2014). Overlooking the individual and collective strengths and resiliencies that presently exist by focusing on vulnerability, adversity or perceived failures is fundamentally problematic. Making space and time to consider the larger contexts within which different food system phenomena exist has been vital to recognising the array of supports in Kugluktuk that enable people to feed their families in ways that also contribute profoundly to wellbeing. One of the teachings from the IR lens was that where there are problems we may also find valuable illustrations of strengths and resiliencies. For example, through the IR lens it was possible to see that youth in Kugluktuk are *noticed* and impactful. When people *notice* one another, when we matter to others, when our voices matter – this begins to describe a cohesive social group where fundamental human needs for intimate connection are being met. I also witnessed children from families in need being fed by others without question or comment; I saw Elders holding the babies of young mothers to give them a break or allow them to engage in important activities, such as sewing. This evidence of care and connection suggest that there is a strong foundation for (re)building strong, sovereign and resilient communities.

It is important to perceive *all* aspects of the food system (*i.e.* holistically). Problems are only one part of truth and they are not the only things worth noticing. This is echoed in a publication about food security in the Yukon, which emerged out of community-based research: "*To highlight the harsh realities of food insecurity across the North is an important part to raising awareness of the issue, but sharing stories of strength is also a significant motivator for*

sustained action" (Butler Walker et al. 2017:37). Within Kugluktuk there is a wealth of human skill, ability, knowledge, experience and wisdom; *Kugluktummiut* have a high degree of resourcefulness. Several people spoke about the substantial capacities in town in terms of people – particularly men – being able to fix their own equipment, for example. One CP said, <"*At Illavut, lots of men can fix machines with rope and wire*"> (CP23, April 12, 2014). People shared stories about different experiences where these kinds of skills and knowledge contributed materially and emotionally to individual and collective wellbeing. One local Elder said that people find "…*kids behave better when there is community involvement in the school*" (CP1, March 26, 2014).

There are many opportunities to engage these kinds of invaluable resources in different ways, such as through mentorship, health and healing (*i.e.* wellbeing) practices, and knowledge transmission (*e.g.* historical, cultural, place-based). Collective or community capacity can be impacted (enhanced/diminished) by how – or whether – this resourcefulness is perceived and supported. Culture, as an aspect of identity, was celebrated, particularly 'traditional' practices, such as harvesting, sharing and eating country food, being out on the land, sharing (*e.g.* resources), speaking *Inuinnaqtun*, drumming and singing (cultural) songs, and sewing. The value of culture was prominent in conversations with the two local youths. There is a high degree of social cohesion, connectedness, caring and support in Kugluktuk. Some descriptors that people in Kugluktuk used to describe each other include tough, observant, resourceful, skilled in survival (under extreme conditions), supportive, collaborative and appreciative (grateful, acknowledging other's abilities). Also important were the degree and manner of inclusivity, welcome and encouragement, which I experienced personally, but also observed with youth,

children, babies, parents or caregivers and other residents. All these helped to ensure that families were fed and by extension helped support wellbeing.

A 2006 report produced by Statistics Canada, which focused on harvesting and community wellbeing among Inuit, found that 48% of Inuit adults felt that "more jobs" would make life in their community better (2006:17). In this instance, the Indigenous resilience lens can help create space for multiple interpretations and understandings to emerge: there might be the standard interpretation – that employment leads to increased financial resources (and the illusion of 'safety and security') – but "more jobs" might also indicate a desire for more occupancy, engagement and livelihood opportunities with attendant systemic recognition of the value of these practices. This is supported by Condon *et al.*'s work, in which the authors write of young Inuit males: "*it may be impossible to separate motivational factors from economic factors. The same high motivation that contributes to a young person's success at a high-paying job may also contribute to his desire to be a productive hunter.*" (1995:37). One prominent and politically active Elder (embedded, non-local) said:

> *" I think a lot of the young people frankly feel useless because they didn't manage to…finish school, so they don't have anything to offer up in that regard. They have not gotten any skills. They don't know any of the traditional old skills, which are not marketable for money anyhow, but they don't have anything. They can't go and say, "I'm a carpenter," or even a half-assed carpenter or whatever. They really don't have anything… it's the same reason I think we have so much criminality"* (CP4, July 06, 2019)

This Elder's comment underscores the role and importance of occupancy – including identity (*e.g.* as competent, able to feed one's family, Inuit/cultural values) – in people's lives, which impacts individual and collective wellbeing. The value derived from contributing positively to

one's family and/or community that is part of IQ appears to persist in Kugluktuk – and more broadly Nunavut (e.g. Tulloch 2015) today.

b) Wellbeing and Food Are Integrally Connected

> *"…Living in balance and maintaining harmony were viewed as essential practices. Balanced harmony provided for the wellbeing of the group and showed respect and responsibility. If issues arose, practices were well defined for dealing with these so that harmony within a group would be quickly restored. Resiliency was highly valued and dealing with issues promptly assured that unresolved concerns would not hinder relationships with others or be passed along"*(Nunavut Department of Education 2007:29, re: IQ; emphasis my own)

According to the Alianait Inuit Mental Wellness Plan, "*The relationship between Inuit and Inuit Nunangat (lands) is a key factor in Inuit mental wellness. Eating country foods, spending time on the land, is an important factor in establishing and maintaining a strong cultural identity. As documented by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, cultural identity is an important component of mental wellness"* (Alianait Inuit-Specific Mental Wellness Task Group 2007:8). In addition, given the closely connected nature of people's relationships in Kugluktuk, challenges and hardships experienced by family and friends (*e.g.* financial hardship, addictions, depression) also impact the larger community. 'Health' (wellbeing) forms part of the foundation of how we provide for our families and communities, and how we are enabled do this in meaningful and sustainable ways. In this regard, health and wellbeing need to be understood inclusively and holistically, including the following elements, which emerged from this research:

- Personal wellbeing (mental, emotional, spiritual, physical/physiological)
- Collective/community wellbeing: sense of belonging, service, connectedness (*sila*), pride
- Intimate connections (*e.g.* 'family', romantic relationships, hunting/fishing/trapping partners, *etc.*), including connections with the ancestors, ourselves and environment

The Makimaniq Antipoverty Plan links identity, resources (skills development) and connection (sharing networks) with food and wellbeing:

> "*Food security is linked strongly with… wellbeing... During community dialogues, many people spoke about not having enough to eat, or not having access to nutritious, healthy, store-bought food or country food. We want Nunavut to be food secure, meaning that all Nunavummiut at all times will have physical and economic access to sufficient, nutritious and culturally-relevant foods. …the connection between food security* [and] *the ability to access country foods…are linked strongly with other benefits including personal and cultural identity, skills development, and sharing networks in our homes and communities*" (Government of Nunavut 2011:6).

Wellbeing is arguably an issue of key importance to everyone. The wellbeing of children for example – including the experience of hunger – is contingent upon not only the wellbeing of individual caregivers, but also of collectives (*e.g.* extended family, community), which is contingent upon social cohesion (*i.e.* strength and quality of connections). Engaging in practices that help contribute to sustained connection (*sila*) with one's local food sources, with one another, one's cultural values and environment is an important component of wellbeing in Kugluktuk. These are things that help maintain vital social connections, and have been described as essential in a number of endogenously-generated studies and publications (Tulloch 2015; Government of Nunavut 2011; Alianait Inuit-Specific Mental Wellness Task Group 2007). In Kugluktuk, the value of consuming country food in particular crosses boundaries of health, culture, education/learning and others. Wellbeing was at the heart of this, and consuming country food could be described as a spiritual experience. Being out on the land offers spaces and experiences with predominantly positive associations, even when there may have been difficult events involving harm or the death of loved ones. Through sharing country food, love of being on the land persists and sustains wellbeing. Country food helps maintain the 'aliveness' of

local knowledge, values and practices, and is vital in helping to keep a sense of autonomy. Harvesting, eating and/or sharing country food are wellbeing rituals in and of themselves.

Critical inquiry about the essence of people-food relationships – one of the core intents of the research presented herein – requires consideration of perspectives such as Fischler's Principle of Incorporation (1988), which ties together the act of eating with one's fundamental identity and wellbeing. Huambachano (2018:1013) describes Māori and Quechua expressions of Indigenous food security and sovereignty as fundamentally underlain by a kinship system (human and non-human) oriented towards the land, which are part of the *"…intrinsic culture–land/resource relationships… fundamental to Indigenous Peoples' food and livelihood systems and thereby wellbeing*". In a northern context, Natcher's work weaves together scholarship that links social identity, culture and spirituality (2009). The integral connections between wellbeing and feeding families in Kugluktuk can offer direction for food system governance. In this regard, wellbeing may be a useful tool for framing food-related research and food system governance. Kral and Idlout cite authors who link wellbeing with sovereignty, writing that "*Collective self-efficacy is at the core of community wellness and empowerment, from having personal control to political power and influence*" (2012, p. 395). This situates wellbeing as a form of personal power that impacts people in a range of different ways, from accessing educational resources to helping youth feel a sense of empowerment. In many northern Indigenous communities, lack of wellbeing has been linked to youth suicide, systemic colonisation, marginalisation and disruption of place-based family practices and values (Kral et al. 2011). The Canadian Council of Academies state that "[i]*ntergenerational well-being and cultural well-being are both drivers and outcomes of food security*" (2014:59). This idea – that food and wellbeing are linked – is echoed by the Nunavut Food Security Strategy and Action Plan (Nunavut Food Security

Coalition 2014), which in turn is informed to some extent by Inuit knowledge systems. These publications may also indicate the emergence of more broadly conceptualised people-food relationships, perhaps most notably in the north and Indigenous communities across Canada (e.g. Daigle 2017; McKerchar et al. 2015; Kamal et al. 2015; Morrison 2008).

Wellbeing as a construct is old – it has been considered and debated by many people throughout the ages, from Aristotle to Buddha's teachings (Coulthard 2012). The Harvard Centre for Health and Happiness describes wellbeing in the following ways:

> *Well-being is a broad construct that encompasses multiple dimensions, which can essentially be divided into two large domains: objective and subjective well-being. …objective well-being is often assessed using indicators that measure aspects of education, physical and built environment, community, and economy. This approach tends to capture a societal rather than an individual perspective on well-being that is based on material, tangible and quantitative indicators. …Subjective well-being is characterized by the individual's internal subjective assessment, based on cognitive judgments and affective reactions, of their own life as a whole. There are various sub-dimensions that investigators consider within the domain of subjective well-being. These include psychological, social, and spiritual aspects of well-being*
>
> (Harvard Centre for Health & Happiness 2017)

The Harvard Centre's research also suggests that resilience and wellbeing are related albeit separate constructs. Ares *et al.* write, "*Wellbeing is a complex concept that lacks a common definition*" (2016:63); their findings in a food related context are similar to the Harvard Centre's described above, pointing out that wellbeing has multiple dimensions, is holistic, and involves subjective perception of one's own life, including the influence of culture (2016). The authors describe the growing body of literature that relates food to wellbeing, citing *"…body functioning and physical health…, mood and emotions, as well as global life judgment and social relationships….*" (2016:63).

Healing, one emergent component of identity, social connection and wellbeing, has the potential to play an important role in people-food relationships, including experiences of hunger.

Intergenerational traumas (*e.g.* residential schooling, historical trauma, ongoing systemic oppression) are present in Kugluktuk. If grief and trauma are relational, then as one local EIT said, "*In order to love, you have to be loved…"* (CP48, May 05, 2014) – in other words, healing happens *in connection*, rather than isolation. This speaks to the social qualities and, in this instance, *requirements* of healing. Aspects of attachment theory and social relationships research support this proposition (Elkins 2016; Badenoch 2017). Porges – a prominent researcher and writer who links physiology with human development and behaviour – states,

> "*…the capacity to feel safe in the arms of another…is selectively damaged by trauma. ….when contextual cues convey risk to the nervous system, defensive strategies are… activated to reflexively protect the individual by increasing the physical and psychological distance from a potential predator…*[these] *defense strategies…limit opportunities for prosocial interactions and functionally marginalize the individual from social contact. …In response to cues of safety, the nervous system promotes a state of safety …* [which] *promotes social and societal health…*[H]*umans evolved to connect and co-regulate* [;] *the consequences of being functionally stuck in a neural platform that is optimized for defense compromises all aspects of human health and wellbeing*" (Badenoch 2017: preface).

Porges' work offers arguments in favour of assigning greater value to the collective benefits of food sharing – as important to social cohesion, healing and wellbeing among the various other benefits. Connections among (social) relationships[81], healing and wellbeing, which impact people-food relationships singly and in combination, present a strong argument for supporting and emphasizing situated (*e.g.* place-based, locally informed) individual and collective healing opportunities and practices. The collective, connected/relational nature of healing also underlies the concept and (Indigenous) practices of restorative justice. In this way, healing and justice become additional considerations in the theme of people-food relationships (*e.g.* reconciliation).

[81] I bracket *social* here because this I think it may be beneficial to work from broader understandings of relationships and connection, not just with other people, but also with land, animals, ancestors and others.

It was not explicitly the intention of this work to investigate wellbeing at the outset; however, many of the facets of people-food relationships that emerged during my time in Kugluktuk have a high degree of overlap with research connected to holistic concepts of wellness, healing and spiritual and cultural purpose and belonging. Kral and Idlout write about wellbeing among Inuit in Arctic Canada: "*...happy people do not spend that much time being self-focused. Rather, they are deeply engaged...*" (2012:387). Kral *et al.*(2011:430) found that, "*Being with family, speaking with family, visiting, going on the land together, sharing food together, and many other family-related activities were closely associated with wellness, happiness, health, and healing… Clearly, despite the profound changes in community life brought by colonization and sedentarisation, the family still holds a central place in Inuit life*". Talking, communication and IQ were factors that Kral *et al.* identified as key to wellbeing and were considered highly interrelated (2011). In my own work, a sense of collective identity and shared (and celebrated) culture also appeared to contribute to wellbeing across generations, with food very much a part of this. Coulthard, writing about wellbeing in the context of sustainable fisheries management, describes how wellbeing can be considered through three inter-related dimensions: *objective* (*e.g.* material), *subjective* (*e.g.* thinking/feeling) and *social* (*e.g.* relational) (2012). These correspond to some extent with the three emergent overarching themes from this research (*i.e.* 'power and resources', 'identity' and 'living in relation').

Being out on the land is an essential part of wellbeing for individuals and collectives in Kugluktuk, and is fundamental to harvesting country food. Access to opportunities that contribute to a positive sense of self such as being out on the land may be less accessible to people without the financial resources to support conventional harvesting practices. In turn, social connections may suffer, which can negatively impact access to resources such as food,

familial support or other kinds of nourishment. Harvesting country food, eating and/or sharing country food contribute to wellness, including healing. On the land healing may be particularly important because it offers a rich array of benefits that are in line with local values, practices and beliefs, including pursuit, sharing and consumption of country food, which is an important part of wellbeing. Being on the land helps people connect with their culture in various ways that seemed to be 'healthy', productive and empowering. It provides benefits through building relationships with the land and one's 'ancestors'(Adelson 1998; Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2015) and each other. The presence of elders or otherwise those knowledgeable about the land becomes part of a feedback that involves communication, cultural knowledge transmission and intergenerational relationships that can support social cohesion. Social cohesion – specifically within the family, but also other social relationships within the larger community – have been identified as an essential component of wellbeing for Inuit of Arctic Canada (Kral and Idlout 2012). From physiological and psycho-spiritual vantages, being out in fresh air, in open, natural spaces can serve as an important counterbalance to crowded housing conditions or being 'stuck at home'/in town, to which one elder referred (CP1). Many of these benefits have also been described by others (e.g. Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2015; Richmond and Ross 2009).

In an environment where preferred country food may be only sporadically available, it is an important part of wellbeing, resilience and sovereignty for people to have choices with regards to food sourcing (store/country/homemade foods). The importance of dietary 'supplementation' with country food is well documented in the field of health studies (e.g. Sheehy et al. 2015; Johnson et al. 2009; Kuhnlein et al. 2000). This raises questions about impacts on individuals or families who have low income or are reliant on IA and, therefore, may be more dependent on the strength of social connections (e.g. Findlay, Langlois, and Kohen 2013) and/or the HTO for

country food provision. Findlay *et al.* found that children who were reported as having experienced hunger were more likely to live in households with lower mean income (*e.g.* households reliant on IA); at the same time, they also consumed country foods more often than "never-hungry" Inuit children (2013). Given the financial barriers of harvesting that exist today (Kumar et al. 2019), it can be assumed that much country food is acquired through social networks. Kumar *et al*. found a possible trend of declining participation in country food harvesting among working-age adults (70% in 2006; 63% in 2012; 58% in 2017)(2019:4). This highlights the increasingly vital role of good relationships and social networks for access to country foods, as well as ensuring that place-based knowledge is maintained and transmitted in order for communities to maintain their autonomy and sovereignty through country food harvesting, which benefits the community at large.

In Kugluktuk, children and youth play important roles in collective wellbeing. Many people expressed concern about parenting challenges. As I had not yet become a parent during the time I lived in Kugluktuk, it took some time to realise that expressed concerns are about children's wellbeing. These concerns and love and appreciation for children were evident in many different ways, including the frequency with which people shared their resources – quite often food – with children of family members and others, regardless of need. Caring for children in these ways can in turn benefit collectives, since children have been found to promote 'healthier' behaviours (Riva, Larsen, and Bjerregaard 2014).

If wellbeing is integral to people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, how might conventional food system governance practices (*e.g.* food security) change if this became the overarching priority? Parlee and Furgal point out that not enough is known about what contributes to wellbeing in the Canadian Arctic (2012). There is clearly a need to not only better

understand what contributes to wellbeing, but also to explore the potential for wellbeing to guide food system governance, including the development of policy, programming and services.

c) Country Food

> *The animals that are our country food connect us to the water and the land, to the "source" of our life, to God. Often when I prepared country food, my hands fully covered in blood, I would think that those who garden in the South must feel the same, their hands covered in the soil in which their vegetables grow. Source is source, whether it is the blood of the animals we hunt and eat, or the soil in which we grow our food. All comes from the same place*
>
> (Watt-Cloutier 2015:137)

Country food is a vital part of individual and collective relationships with wellbeing in Kugluktuk. It serves not just as physical sustenance, but it forms an essential part of wellbeing (including healing), being out on the land, harvesting, eating and sharing food, having meaningful occupation and obtaining the resources to feed one's family. These in turn deeply inform the connections between people and food. Country food helps maintain the 'aliveness' of local knowledge, values and practices, and helps to foster or maintain a sense of autonomy around feeding families. As Mintz and Bois write, *"In consecrated contexts, food 'binds' people to their faiths through 'powerful links between food and memory (Feeley-Harnik 1995; see Sutton 2001)...Eating in ritual contexts can reaffirm or transform relationships with visible others (Munn 1986, Murphy 1986, Buitelaar 1993, Feeley-Harnik 1994, Brown 1995)"* (2002:107) . Country food is part of Mintz and Bois' "consecrated contexts" and "faith", such that harvesting, eating and/or sharing country food is in itself ritual or ceremony[82].

Holthaus writes, "*Maybe we have to learn everything twice: once from others, and again in our own experience…so as elders, we pass our learning on…speak*[ing] *not only from our*

[82] *Apropos* of Shawn Wilson's interpretive leanings detailed in his book "*Research is Ceremony*".

learning but from the conviction that arises from an authentic life of personal engagement and experience" (2008:76). Holthaus' argument is predicated on the values of subsistence worldviews and the attendant cultural values, practices and beliefs that contribute to more sustainable livelihood and lived experiences. This line of argument essentialises the role of country food in collective livelihoods, particularly for youth, to enable cultural continuity and sustainability. In this regard, the relationship to industrial store foods is markedly different.

Based on findings from this research it is clear that people's connections with country food continues to play a fundamental role in the experience of thriving and wellbeing – including the absence or exclusion of these connections (*e.g.* being out on the land, harvesting and eating/sharing country foods), such as through present approaches to youth public education. Efforts to respond to food system challenges such as hunger and scarcity can benefit from ensuring that country food forms a core part of food system governance discussions, as well as considering country and store food as integrated systems. Just as economies are mixed, store and country food do not benefit from being perceived as completely dichotomous. Incorporation of diversification and (local) complexity into food system governance may have increasing importance in the contexts of changing climates (environmental, socio-political, cultural, *etc.*).

d) Social Cohesion: Sharing, Reciprocity, Working Together for the Collective Good

> *"…the collective ideal, as an imaginary drawn from the pre-capitalist past, should not be dismissed or under-estimated, particularly where this strongly motivates new communal identities and forms of organization as counter-hegemony"*
>
> (Tilzey 2018:328)

In Kugluktuk, opportunities to gather, celebrate connection and engage in social relations that encourage social accountability (*e.g.* sharing) are part of what contributes to social cohesion. Social cohesion in turn facilitates practices such as (resource) sharing (*e.g.* food) and can help

foster individual and collective wellbeing. Social cohesion is what enables people to cooperate, communicate and work together to form partnerships, working together for collective wellbeing. Social cohesion in the community was demonstrated through people's sense of responsibility and commitment to one another, care, awareness and compassion, with attendant flexible expectations. These qualities exemplify the benefits of positive relationships.

Sharing in Kugluktuk in one form or another was part of 'social relations' (Wenzel 2000), gathering together and outward manifestations of care. The collection of related social interactions that might be considered part of 'sharing' – visiting, working together, parenting, occupation, knowledge transfer, ceremony, helping and others – impacted many different aspects of peoples' lives, including individual and collective relationships with food and wellbeing. Different elements of sharing, reciprocity and working together can be mutually reinforcing, and were informed by local or customary values, practices and beliefs, and an important part of re-distributing wealth in the community, including ensuring that families were being fed. Sharing practices, however, are not necessarily predictable and may be changing (see Appendix B, c-iv). In addition, some – or perhaps many – aspects of sharing practices still do not seem to be well understood (e.g. Collings 2009). A recent study in a Nunavik community identified that "*much food sharing appears to be driven by reciprocity between high-harvest households, meaning that poor, low-harvest households tend to have less sharing-based social capital than more affluent, high-harvest households…"*; in other words, "[g]*iving patterns do not closely track food need but rather are driven by reciprocity and by traditional considerations that, in today's economy, are neither exclusively nor always associated with poverty or food insecurity* (Ready 2018:1, 12). Minor writes that for 'modern Inuit', "[t]*hrough a lack of traditional communal order, the emphasis has shifted from communal responsibility to individual*

survival" (1992:79), which could be expected to show up as increasing reliance on institutions such as the local HTO. Although the particulars of collectivity may vary regionally (Henderson 2009), these kinds of dynamics impact individual and collective relationships, sense of identity, and resource sharing – which in turn impact social cohesion, people-food relationships and individual and collective wellbeing.

In many respects, working together (*e.g.* partnerships, collaboration, communication) reflects certain aspects of sharing: people came together to share their ideas, gifts, knowledge and/or skills with a willingness to be in close relationship. People's willingness to work together achieved a great deal. This speaks to the power of the collective, as well as customary supports: good relationships make things happen. In this way, that which supports people to be well and to navigate living in relation contributes towards feeding families and more broadly to individual and collective wellbeing. This is meaningful in the context of caregiving. What I call (customary) 'internal social services' in Kugluktuk helps ensure that families are part of helping networks. These internal social services are also part of caring for children when caregivers are unable. People notice when there is need and try to find ways to meet those needs. Internal social services also monitor individual contributions to the collective good through occupation and livelihood, for example. Without social cohesion, internal social services cannot be effective.

e) Gathering: spaces in town or on the land to connect

Out of this work 'connection' – human or otherwise – appears to be deeply impactful for people-food relationships, feeding our families and wellbeing in Kugluktuk. Historically, much of daily life involved gregarious social activities, which had the power to inform survival and prosperity for Arctic northern peoples (Bennett and Rowley 2004; CP48). Food is an essential

part of visiting and socialising, and appears to fulfil fundamental needs beyond satiety, including connection (human, culture, food), maintaining social networks, knowledge transmission, wellness, and maintaining/ revitalizing highly functional cultural traditions. Gathering together, as part of a core value and human need for connectedness and intimacy, is fundamentally tied to wellbeing (Tulloch 2015), and can be part of co-creating and strengthening a sense of identity.

People come together around food as medicine in many different ways. Whether in town or on the land, healing spaces and occasions provide opportunities to support wellbeing; creating nourishing, healing spaces and opportunities is important because people's wellbeing impacts their ability to feed their families. Food is central to so much of this in Kugluktuk. Spaces and events where people gathered – whether in town or on the land – were frequently part of individual and collective wellbeing. Social activities represented the following opportunities:

- share food & other resources (*e.g.* knowledge, information, fundraising)
- celebrate culture: share cultural, identity & meaning-making practices & values co-created by the community, share positive affirmation of identity & belonging
- (re)build/strengthen connection (*e.g.* social networks, inter-generational relationships, land/others/self/ ancestors)
- experience 'village parenting'
- heal & experience wellbeing
- help one another
- gain nourishment (*e.g.* physical, social, spiritual)

There was an appreciation of and expressed need for people to come together around specific purposes, whether laughter and enjoyment (*e.g.* 'comedy night', open-mike events, family fun nights)(Kuliktana 2013), healing, being out on the land together, sharing (traditional/cultural/ place-based) or visiting.

i. In Town

In town, social activities and gatherings (*e.g.* Elder Centre, feasts, square dancing) were important particularly for those who may not have had the means (*e.g.* financial, knowledge,

social connections) or desire to go out on the land. Physical spaces and events, whether structured (*e.g.* cultural or sports events, coffee houses, feasts) or unstructured (*e.g.* drop-in at the Elder centre, impromptu meetings such as at local stores or schools/library) were essential for creating the possibility to come together and to help one-another (PO45iv, April 28, 2014). The Elder Centre is a public space that offers different (regular) opportunities to gather and share resources (*e.g.* food, knowledge, companionship). It is a physical space and local initiative that brings people together in various ways (*e.g.* social, sewing, sharing, learning). There are opportunities for children to connect with Elders, benefit from their wisdom and knowledge (and *vice versa*!), and celebrate culture together. The places/spaces in town where people most often found regular, daily sustenance (*e.g.* physical, social), however, were in each other's homes. This is important from a governance perspective. It offers some direction in terms of the relative contributions of how people in the community are supported to feed their families successfully, and invites questions about how different levels of government might better support these existing enabling mechanisms.

Inclusiveness was an important aspect of many gatherings and benefitted both individuals and the collective community (*e.g.* CP41). In addition to multi-generational and family-oriented gatherings, this includes efforts people took to ensure that those with mobility challenges or otherwise (*e.g.* Elders, physical mobility challenges, caregivers of young children) were not excluded.

ii. On the Land

> *Subsistence is more than a mode of production… it is a powerful ideology… that extends into other areas of life, including the raising of children and the treatment of elders. It also contributes to the structure of social relations, community leadership and moral authority...* (Duhaime et al. 2004:313)

In order for people to gather socially, infrastructure – in the sense of a specific architectural structure or 'building' in the prevailing urban sense – is not necessarily essential. At times what was required was facilitation through a combination of expertise (*e.g.* mentorship, participatory knowledge transmission), equipment and/or ensuring that essential needs such as warmth, food and protection were available, such as during outdoor events like Nattiq Frolics or trips out on the land (*e.g.* school trips, elder-youth camps, healing camps, hunting/fishing/ gathering). As mentioned previously, on the land activities (*i.e.* 'being on the land') – regular or otherwise – are vital to wellbeing for many *Kugluktummiut*, enabling nourishment (*e.g.* physical, social, spiritual) and profound connection, to the land, each other and ones' inner self (*e.g.* identity). Having access to the land, to being 'out of town' (*e.g.* cabins, camping, harvesting) was fundamentally important to many people across a range of demographics, evoking the *Inuinnaqtun* phrase, "*nuna ugaunnaktok"* ("I miss the land") when people were no longer able to go out (CP27, draft community report, September 2015). What might be the long-term consequences for individuals and collectives (*i.e.* families, the community) of improving access to different on-the-land (*i.e.* land-based) activities for these people? It seems that perhaps all individuals and collectives in Kugluktuk might greatly benefit from more opportunities to be on the land, particularly in a healing/ ceremonial context, given an expressed desire for more individual and collective healing opportunities (Appendix B, a-iv about wellness), and the need for these to be compatible with and/or help reinforce cultural practices, values and beliefs.

Nuttall and colleagues (2005:654) write,

> *The living resources of the Arctic do not just sustain indigenous peoples in an economic and nutritional sense, but provide a fundamental basis for social identity, cultural survival, and spiritual life…they are as much important cultural resources as they are economic ones. This dependence on animals for food and social, cultural, and economic well-being is reflected in rules for community hunting, in herding traditions, and in*

> *patterns of sharing and gift-giving based on kinship ties and other forms of close social relatedness. Participation in family and community hunting, herding, and fishing activities contributes to defining and establishing a sense of social relatedness and is important for community and cultural identity, as well as for providing a moral framework for relationships between people and between people and animals.*

According to Wenzel, "[s]*ubsistence was both an extractive and social process for Inuit, Cree, and Dene*" (2013:187). Todd writes, "*If we recognize that hunting and fishing serve a range of purposes beyond the purely utilitarian, we will be able to respond more appropriately to the issues – such as ecological disturbances, variations in the food supply, and the erosion of traditional customs and livelihoods…"*(2016:196). More often than not, for *Kugluktummiut* 'subsistence' was a matter of simply 'being on the land', whether hunting, fishing, gathering or simply 'camping', out at one's 'cabin', 'out of town'. The importance of being on the land to *Kugluktummiut* and other northerners is evident through the tremendous investment of resources people invest in being out on the land (*e.g.* money, time, energy, equipment, skills, knowledge) (Mueller-Wille 1978; Chabot 2003; Brinkman et al. 2014) and the desire to ensure that youth have the kind of knowledge and skills that their environment demands. Time together on the land can help strengthen social networks, (re)vitalise knowledge (*e.g.* local, historical), and strengthen inter-generational ties. Being out on the land in these ways also offers an educational environment that is incredibly rich and holistic, and in this study was described as healing for many people.

f) Complexity matters in food system governance

> *"…food needs to be understood as a wider cultural concept that interweaves complex Indigenous cultural and environmental relations…"* (Panelli and Tipa 2009:458)

> '*My own little igloo happy heart! Since I Moved in these are my favorite words to say "My fridge is full the cubberts* [*sic*.] *have food"!*' (Kugluktuk youth, Facebook entry, Nov. 22, 2018)

The social media entry from a Kugluktuk youth (above, second quote) was written when this person moved into their own living space after many years navigating shelter that was fundamentally unsafe, including intermittent hunger. Their words speak to how relationships with food can appear deceptively simple, overlooking how for many people even occasionally full cupboards may represent persistent and resilient efforts towards wellbeing. The multi-thematic and complex nature of people-food relationships and food systems over space and time (*e.g.* Ch. 4.2) was evident in Kugluktuk, as well as in other food-related research focused on health and wellbeing (Ares et al. 2016; Mead et al. 2010; Adelson 1998), harvesting (Coulthard 2012), resource sharing (*e.g.* country food) relationships in the Arctic (see e.g. Kishigami 2004; Wenzel 1995; Collings, Wenzel, and Condon 1998) and their community-specific distributions (Ready 2018), or more philosophical explorations in Anthropology (Mintz and Bois 2002) in connection with identity (Fischler 1988) – including specifically Inuit identity (Searles 2002; Condon, Collings, and Wenzel 1995; Wenzel 2000). This is particularly well reflected in the Alaskan Inuit Circumpolar Council's report on Inuit food security[83] (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:18), including their place-based definition of a food system (Ch. 2.2), it is also echoed in elements of the FAO's 2017 report on global food security (FAO et al. 2017:22).

As some earlier critiques of FS have identified, over-simplifying people-food relationships can be problematic, reducing appropriateness and effectiveness of this lens as a tool for food system governance and in supporting people in their capacities to thrive. People-food relationships, for example, are not steady-state arrangements. Fluctuations or variability are an inherent part of these relationships, from historical periods of privation when local food was scarce, to financial insufficiencies just prior to receiving employment or SA income – a

[83] See quote in section 6.2b.

phenomenon that tends to be attributed to individual budgeting capacities (Council of Canadian Academies 2014), which may or may not accurately reflect peoples' realities. As described previously (CP24), financial resources can be variable from season-to-season and year-to-year. Support networks as a single variable have been found to be important to children's hunger in single parents families, but not as part of multi-variate relationships (Findlay, Langlois, and Kohen 2013). Feedbacks also play important roles in feeding families (*e.g.* Ch. 4.2a) and add to the complexity of people-food relationships. When primary caregivers describe skipping meals (e.g. Rosol et al. 2011; CP20iii March 10, 2014) or other forms of persistent hunger, for example, it is essential to ask what underlies this, without expectations that single explanatory variables (*e.g.* financial resources) will emerge. It is possible that over-simplification of these relationships may actually lead to the limitation of individual and collective abilities to feed families and possibly also thrive.

6.2 Behind the Lenses: Positionality and Food-System Governance

> *It is life on the land and the view of the world…that create subsistence and sustain culture. Since our own* [North American, colonial] *culture no longer maintains such ties to the land…it might adopt to its advantage…* [this] *worldview*
>
> (Holthaus 2008:69).

> *…the most powerful weapon in the hands of the colonizer is the mind of the colonized.*
>
> (Grey & Patel, 2014)

Privileging and working with place-based knowledge, grounded in local values, beliefs and practices increases the likelihood that problem identification and response formulation are better informed by local realities, including the strengths and resiliencies of which outsiders may be unaware. The risks with earlier approaches to addressing issues such as hunger from conventional food security perspectives are interruption and devaluation of existing practices, values and beliefs that may be essential to people-food relationships and wellbeing. Food offers

us an opportunity to better understand our selves – how we relate to the worlds that are around, part of and within us. Along this line of thought, the following sections explore some of the ways in which lenses and their users – including different aspects of positionality and worldviews – shape understandings of people-food relationships and inform food system governance.

a) Behind the Camera: the Viewer is As Important as the Lens

> *… nutritional value, calories and money needed to purchase food* [: this is] *not what we are talking about when we say food security. We are speaking about the entire Arctic ecosystem and the relationships between all components within…We are talking about what food security means to us, to our people, to our environment and how we see this environment; we are talking about our culture.*
>
> (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015b:5)

A camera – an apt metaphor for conceptual lenses (see Ch. 2.3) – sharpens the focus on something of interest; at the same time, it is the photographer who chooses which lens to use and where to direct attention. In this way, the person – or people – behind the lens may be as valuable to consider as the lens itself, irrespective of whether the mechanism is a camera or conceptual lens. Lenses are socially constructed and, therefore, not neutral. How each of us perceives people-food relationships, our underlying assumptions (*e.g.* worldviews), expectations, needs and desires can have important impacts on how we understand and respond individually and collectively to food-related phenomena; in turn, peoples' perceptions can impact food system governance and by extension individual and collective people-food relationships and wellbeing. Cerwonka and Malkki (citing Gadamer 1999) write, "*Understanding inevitably involves the concrete, historically situated personhood of the researcher…we can only ever understand something from a point of view...*[therefore,] *what we seek to understand is always*

mediated by the personality of the inquirer ” (2007:25–26). It is, therefore, imperative to consider the eye of the beholder – the worldview(s) that inform a person’s interpretation of phenomena – given, for example, indications of resource and power disparities between Inuit and non-Inuit in *Inuit Nunangat*, such as median individual income ($23,485 *vs*. $92,011, Inuit and non-Inuit respectively), as described in (ITK 2017, citing Statistics Canada 2016).

Even ‘standardised’ definitions for a given lens have room for interpretation. Huambachano states that “…*from an Indigenous perspective, food security is food sovereignty*”, noting that *“…cultural and environmental indicators of wellbeing... resonate*[ ] *with conceptualizations of food sovereignty*” (2018:1003; 2016:ii). In Huambachano’s work, despite the arguably clear (standardized) and conservative food security framework, she fundamentally re-shapes and (re)centers food security lens. Todd echoes this: “…*local meanings of food security and what it is to be ‘food secure’ are shaped by local food histories and cultural values*” (2010:10). While there may be some inherent shape(s) to each lens, *who* perceives people-food relationships or phenomena (*i.e.* positionality – insiders/outsiders, top-down/bottom up, gender, life experience, *etc.*) and how these are subjectively/objectively measured and valued are impactful.

Bravo (2009) argues that the way certain narratives are presented (or perceived) can sometimes exclude the very people most directly impacted by those narratives. Similarly, Cameron (2012) describes a growing and powerful rhetoric of vulnerability-focused research in the Canadian Arctic – research that structures *what* is researched, *how* and by *whom*, how findings are interpreted and then acted upon by governance bodies. While this work tends to be couched as ‘neutral science’, it is nonetheless embedded in existing hierarchical structures of society, which are not neutral and possess a great deal of influence (*ibid*). Sites or experiences of

disenfranchisement that are part of daily life in Kugluktuk may simply be part of the human condition; nonetheless, these seem likely to persist without fundamentally making space to acknowledge the extent to which lenses, by *whom* they are used and *how* powerfully shapes understandings of people-food relationships and food system governance. These powerful influences create an imperative for lenses such as food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience because of their capacities to help reveal power dynamics – including those of the user (*i.e.* positionality) – and to consider how these influence people-food relationships and wellbeing more broadly.

Failure to engage in this kind of necessary self-reflection and transparency may also impact recognition of existing strengths, successes and resiliencies, or the ability to perceive issues more holistically, in ways that make space for appreciation. If one can perceive and acknowledge the direct or indirect impacts of practices such as gathering together (*e.g.* visiting) on people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, for example, this creates the possibility to better understand what helps people to feed their families, recognise conditions that impact wellbeing, and then support or create more of these (or otherwise not hinder). This is where locally-informed, grassroots decision making and resource control are so valuable, because they can help to ground perceptions and food system governance practices in local realities, keeping focus on what is important. Food system governance outcomes may be very different whether one is focused on satiety *versus* holistic wellbeing, for example. Scale (*e.g.* individual, collectives), environmental or socio-political systems (*e.g.* grassroots, corporate, government) within which a given lens is used and other factors may also work together to shape how different lenses are applied and interpreted.

b) Powerful Outsider Perspectives & Discourses

Potential emergent contributions from this research to the realms of food system governance worth noting are (1) *Kugluktummiut* have (and always have had) the capacity to sort out their own needs, including how to navigate hunger or wellbeing, and that (2) as an outsider, at this juncture in time, the imperative for outsiders may actually be listening and learning rather than teaching[84] or directing. Consequently, perhaps one of the principle values of the work herein is a translation – an opportunity to 'read between the lines', highlighting what outsiders may not know (but may need to know) if requested to lend support or collaborate.

Many outsider influences in Kugluktuk as well as more broadly throughout the north impact food system governance, such as institutional focus (*i.e.* perspectives). Korpi and Palme explain, "*institutional structures affect the ways in which citizens come to define their interests and preferences*" (1998:664); *ipso facto*, food system governance that is preoccupied with the problem of hunger and deficits sets the tone for the larger society. This in turn risks reinforcing governance regimes that overlook and undervalue certain practices, values or beliefs that are important to feeding families and people-food relationships more broadly (*e.g.* autonomy, social networks, locally defined wellbeing). As Collin-Vézina write, "*central governments have tended to be more willing to address issues of Indigenous poverty than issues of Indigenous self-determination*" (2019:177). It is one of the ways in which disconnects emerge, those between people's needs and lived experiences *versus* the capacities of centralized governments and other outsiders to understand and respond appropriately to those needs (Korpi and Palme 1998) – including acknowledging the need for power and resource sharing. In the worst case, institutional focus may actually impede people's abilities to successfully feed their families. The power of

[84] This refers specifically to power dynamics, rather than the occupation of teaching.

outsider voices is in part why grassroots movements such as *Feeding My Family* and the NFSC in the north are so important: they provide necessary links between communities (bottom-up) and decision makers (top-down), particularly those that may be far removed (*e.g.* Federal governing bodies). The following examples help to further illustrate how positionality impacts people-food relationships and food system governance, specifically bringing awareness to the influences of 'outsider' institutions.

Arctic research focused on northern food web contaminants and their impacts on humans has produced some powerful messages, including that some country food is toxic and should not be consumed, or only in small quantities (e.g. Kinloch, Kuhnlein, and Muir 1992; Rosol 2009). These messages have had a range of documented impacts on communities who rely on and/or celebrate their relationships with local foods and their environment, which some argue are – on balance – to the detriment of community wellbeing (Furgal, Powell, and Myers 2005). More recent research looking at short- and long-term health of northern communities suggests that the various benefits of consuming country food may outweigh risks of chemical contamination (e.g. Furgal, Powell, and Myers 2005; Kuhnlein and Chan 2000).

In this study, depending on an individual's identity (*e.g.* cultural practices), embeddedness in the community[85] and relationship to/embodiment of colonial practices/beliefs, conversations that overtly or indirectly touched on food security seemed to differ in their tone regarding how to address the problem of hunger. Some CPs emphasized the need for education regarding purchasing choices (store food); others advocated for improving access to country food and related knowledge development and embodiment. Some people perceived harmonization of

[85] The degree of embeddedness seemed to influence people's focus, the information to which they might be privy and how they might understand the broader context of various individual and collective human experiences and realities in connection to food (*e.g.* addictions and the various possibly underlying causes).

the two food systems – country and store food – as the means to support both wellness and satiety. For example, one local EIT pointed out, <"*The Northern and Coop* [*i.e.* Kugluktuk Co-op] *keep people from starving*"> (CP 27, February 05, 2014) – in some regards, store food supplements country food (CP14, March 28, 2014). It is important to be aware of the various perspectives and perceptions of people-food relationships held by those with decision making authority (Korpi and Palme 1998). Imaginings of food security, including how it is understood broadly and specifically (*e.g.* within Kugluktuk), how these translate or connect (or not) with the various realities in the community, and the array of possible responses are shaped by those with decision making authority. The imaginings of individuals and collectives manifest through services and programming, bureaucracy, corporate practices regarding store food, school food programs and related education, or even in connection with issues of justice *via* wildlife management practices, regulation development and law enforcement. This degree of influence creates an imperative to have open dialogue across scales about people-food relationships in order to bring to light the underlying worldviews, and better inform food system governance in terms of local needs, values, practices and beliefs, which in turn may better support long-term food system sustainability.

Outsider mindsets around people-food relationships are also revealed through government and research attempts to gauge or respond to food security concerns in the north (*e.g.* surveys, Northern Food Basket, NNC). The NNC program is an example of powerful outsider influences: it was shaped by forces outside of Kugluktuk or even Nunavut, with seemingly little opportunity for feedback from the very people it was purported to serve. Only after widespread complaints and international-level criticism (De Schutter 2012; Gregoire 2014; Chin-Yee and Chin-Yee 2015) has NNC undertaken widespread consultation with communities

and other stakeholders (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017). The power of outsider mindsets becomes clear when one considers the exclusion of country food in food security responses (e.g. Stanton 2011), for example, despite its role as a (cultural) food staple and widespread associations between country food and livelihood, health and wellbeing. It is concerning that relationships with food are being shaped in these ways by outsider influences (*e.g.* government, capitalist/corporate bodies, researchers).

Since programs and services are socially constructed by those who develop and manage (*i.e.* interpret) them, this establishes an imperative to develop greater awareness and acknowledgement of these influences and their overt and covert impacts (see also 6.2a). Programs and services need to be (collaboratively) evaluated as to whether they are effective or otherwise locally appropriate, given their potential impact on long-term people-food relationships. For example, are mechanisms such as food banks or IA, which are intended to help resolve hunger and poverty, effective as long-term strategies? Do these programs achieve what they purport to offer[86]? Elder Bessie Sitatak – despite her initiative with the local soup kitchen said, "*I always think that it's better to teach them how to feed their family*" (March 26, 2014).

Another example is IA. As described previously in this document (Appendix B, a-i & Table 3) and in the Makimaniq Plan 2 (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017), income assistance in Nunavut is considered insufficient for meeting the basic costs of living, including the purchase of store food (monthly RNFB $1702 *vs*. $1417 SA), which raises questions about the underlying intent and assumptions of this program. Many of the attendant issues with SA, such as emphasizing money, store food and 'employment' (see Ch.4.2) are likely indicators of

[86] See *e.g.* Tarasuk's work evaluating food banks in Canada.

certain mindsets (*e.g.* colonial) that persist and are perpetuated through societal and governance norms.

c) Deconstructing Food System Governance Tools

How well does any given tool (*e.g.* lenses, metrics) help to reveal the context (*e.g.* drivers) within which certain phenomena (*e.g.* hunger, wellbeing) exist, or help inform understandings of people-food relationships and food system governance (e.g. Power 2008)? This in part is determined by the tool itself, as well as how it is applied by its user (*e.g.* Ch. 6.2b). The Council of Canadian Academies (CCA) report on food insecurity in the Canadian North suggests that "*... food insecurity is experienced differently*...[;] *... it follows that strategies to mitigate food insecurity must be similarly diverse.*" (2014:xxi). This speaks to the complexity of people-food relationships and calls into question reductionist approaches, perspectives or responses, which risk overlooking, minimizing and (over) simplifying. Gaps in understandings of people-food relationships can result in ineffectual food system governance and diminishes the capacity to acknowledge the need for and affect systemic change – the very thing that may be needed for everything from better supporting wellbeing to addressing underlying causes of hunger (*e.g.* trauma, wellbeing, systemic injustices, interrupted customary practices, inappropriate distribution of power).

Some approaches to food system research and governance that are rooted in colonial food relations and practices are perpetuated through the lens of "scientific" approaches, couched as 'neutral science'. The more recent introduction of evidence-based approaches in some regards further legitimizes the scientific approach if it is narrowly, rather than more inclusively defined (e.g. Chiappelli et al. 2006). Surveys, for example, attempt to take highly subjective information and make it concrete, quantifiable and 'objective'; however, survey structure and content are also

deeply informed by the developer's perceptions (*e.g.* of hunger, insufficiency). In addition, the resultant data are interpreted by those with particular worldviews, within larger societal, institutional or other frameworks. The experience of hunger, for example, may be subjective and embedded within a range of different factors that influence one's interpretation of need (*e.g.* cultural norms, sense of connectedness and security, state of wellbeing). Problems arise when assumptions are made about the underlying meaning of certain (possibly culturally-embedded) data, and when the chosen metrics do not adequately capture the needs being assessed.

How do different tools and their associated constructs by which food-related practices, values and beliefs are quantified or characterised affect the capacity to understand and impact communities as living systems, comprised of smaller sub-systems that are dynamic in time and space? In North America, food systems research has tended to rely on the United States Department of Agriculture Food Survey (Tarasuk 2017) to establish baseline data and identify emergent concerns. One of the survey's questions includes, for example, *"(I/We) couldn't feed (my/our) child/the children) a balanced meal, because (I/we) couldn't afford that…"* (United States Department of Agriculture 2012). While only one of many survey questions, the extent of its cultural embeddedness is revealed in several ways: implied societal norms about '*meals*' (*vs.* snacking or grazing food), frequency of consumption (*e.g.* three meals per day) and '*balanced*' (implying 'healthy') food consumption, as well as normalised reliance on money and store foods in *'…couldn't afford that*'. This last is a widely held assumption of many food security-informed approaches, in which the experience of food insufficiency is linked implicitly with (insufficient) income at the levels of individuals and households. While there may be reasonable evidence to support this assumption (see *e.g.* Tarasuk), nonetheless it is both contextually informed, limited and a potentially problematic view of people-food relationships. Even the measurement unit of

‘household’ is another example of built-in, imposed assumptions about what constitutes ‘normal’, suggesting in this instance that people-food relationships operate primarily within nuclear families. This is frequently at odds with the realities in Kugluktuk, as well as many other communities and cultures (Power 2008) where the lines between families may not follow the same patterns as the assumed ‘normal’, including differences between rural *versus* more urban/populous settlements (Usher, Duhaime, and Searles 2003; Power 2008).

With these various embedded (albeit opaquely) culturally informed values, practices and beliefs in an otherwise ‘quantitative’, ‘objective’ research tool, the deconstruction provided offers a small glimpse into the extent to which food system governance tools such as surveys have an embedded subjectivity informed by underlying concepts, how questions are framed or findings interpreted (*e.g.* insider- *vs.* outsider-informed), who administers surveys and other factors. Collectively, these shape the pictures that emerge of people’s relationships with food, which is then used to guide policy, programming and service development. This is powerful. These tools can help provide crucial information for food system governance; however, as an integral part of people-food relationships, drivers are complex and the context out of which responses emerge is a vital part of understanding results and responding appropriately.

There is a great deal that evidence-based research (*e.g.* outsider-informed, top-down, surveys) can offer to food system governance, including opportunities to make more visible the kinds of disconnects that exist between management decisions and resultant benefits (or lack thereof) relative to peoples’ respective realities and needs. Nonetheless, scientific approaches can overlook other ways of knowing, missing opportunities to improve robustness of understanding and responses through including different world views (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Tuhiwai Smith 2005; Little Bear 2000). These struggles are apparent in the ongoing tensions of

legitimizing the inclusion of 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge' in research for example, such as in environmental and wildlife co-management literatures and governance (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:42; Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2000; Cole 2017). While perhaps less overt, the relative paucity of bottom-up food system research in the north may reflect a similar gap – overlooking locally informed knowledge and practices about people-food relationships.

Who defines what constitutes '*evidence'* and how this should be gathered (*e.g.* food security surveys) reflects the power dynamics that underlie the authority to determine these parameters: "*What may appear to be politically neutral routines and procedures are important sites of contemporary colonial power, through which Indigenous resistance is managed and diffused*" (Schreiber 2006:20). Furthermore, the data generated using colonial or 'outsider' metrics to assess food security, health, wellbeing or other valuable parameters tend to be interpreted by outsiders; this is problematic without input or feedback from the populations who are being described (Akande et al. 2015) and governed, and is illustrated in this study by the relatively sparse coverage of e various emergent facets of people-food relationships using a more conventional interpretation of the FS lens (Table 7). Pimbert refers to the democratisation of science and technology research through '*endogenous knowledge generation*' as a vital aspect of the FSov approach (2007:11–12).

All tools need to be evaluated for their efficacy and appropriateness, whether more conventional (colonial) or those deemed[87] 'culturally appropriate'. In an attempt to better account for the cultural embeddedness of people-food relationships and improve the accuracy of food (in)security metrics, more recent food security surveys in the north have included questions about 'access to hunters' (per household). Having direct access to a hunter to obtain country

[87] Perhaps particularly by 'outsider' researchers.

food is cited as serving not only as a potential means of enhancing people's food supply (e.g. Rosol et al. 2011) by helping to stretch income (Chan et al. 2006), but also by affecting wellbeing through a sense of connection to culture (local Elder CP14, March 28) (Gorman 2010; Wein & Freeman 1992, cited in Natcher 2009; Kral and Idlout 2012; Ares et al. 2016; Wexler 2014), one another (*e.g.* co-reliant relationships) (Haller and Hadler 2006; Howe 2011) and one's environment (Shanahan et al. 2016). While this metric is assumed to correlate with country food access (e.g. Lawn and Harvey 2003; 2007 - 2008 Inuit Health Survey), in Kugluktuk presumed correlations did not seem so clear. In fact, while some scholarly research in other northern communities found that households with an active hunter have higher country food consumption levels than households without a male or active hunter (Chan et al. 2006; Duhaime, Chabot, and Gaudreault 2002), Myers *et al.* found that across three different communities in Nunavut "…*the absence of a male harvester…did not undermine country food consumption; all single female households consumed country food and most participated in harvesting and sharing*" (2008:130). If the underlying assumption is that lack of direct access to a hunter precludes country food access (*i.e.* no hunter in the household), this risks failing to account for the prominence of HTOs in communities throughout Nunavut, for example, who provide country food to those in need[88]. HTOs may play an increasingly important role particularly for households that struggle in terms of financial and country-food resources (Ready 2018).

On the surface, 'access to hunters' offers a useful and relevant illustration of how seemingly simple, straightforward, logical or even appropriate metrics used to inform food system governance may appear. Inclusion of this metric in the 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey

[88] HTO assistance is also dependent upon funding and availability of country food sources.

represents – in principle – a move towards obtaining more accurate and relevant data for informing food system governance; however, the realities that underlie these relationships may be far more complex and connected to broader issues than may be revealed by these kinds of metrics. How can such disconnects be bridged? Perhaps to some extent this offers an argument in favour of ensuring that data gathering tools also include meaningful local involvement (*i.e.* 'bottom-up') as essential to interpreting data and finding ways to enable supportive people-food relationships, along with qualitative – not solely quantitative – inquiry. It might be important, for example, to understand whether this and other metrics have the capacity to capture changing trends in harvesting (hunting, fishing, trapping) for example (Kumar et al. 2019).Without attending to the need for sensitive, open and inclusive approaches, it might be relatively easy to overlook changing trends such as increases or decreases in the numbers of hunters through (inherited, imposed) interruption of knowledge transmission, costs of hunting, inflexible/ incompatible work schedules or other factors.

As Parlee *et al.* write in their work describing socio-ecological relationships between Gwich'in women and berry harvesting, "*…the process of defining indicators is inherently reductionist, which sets up the potential for miscategorization or misinterpretation of values and experiences that are holistic in nature*…" (2005:134). In this regard, the FS lens may be a useful tool for describing certain aspects of the relationship between people and food, but it is also clear that in its current prevalent form it fails to consider other meaningful aspects (Ready 2016), including the interconnectedness and larger frameworks within which people-food relationships are situated. Some factors, such as key aspects of identity, including cultural values, wellbeing and change, human connection and interactions, and certain aspects of power dynamics may be essential to long-term, sustainable people-food relationships and wellbeing. Academic critiques

of FS as well as the gaps identified in this study raise questions about its suitability as a tool for responding to complex issues, whether the ones that have arisen in recent years or those that could be expected to emerge in the near future. It also remains an open question whether the FS lens has been useful for supporting the kind of change necessary to address challenges of hunger and food (in)security in the north – particularly in the realm of governance.

Approaches to understanding different aspects of people-food relationship issues and shaping food system governance responses require holistic, place-based (bottom-up), sensitive, and reflexive frameworks. The scope of what may be inferred by research findings, as well as assumptions and limitations of the tools and their users need to be made more explicit. When combined with practices such as reflexivity and incorporation of different world views, research into program efficacy can help to make more transparent the kinds of (cultural) assumptions that underlie food system governance, including programming and policy measures.

d) How Power & Resources Impact People-Food Relationships

Partial or in many cases complete dependency on commercial enterprises for food (*i.e.* store food) – and by extension global food markets – is a reality throughout Canada and in many other places in the world. In order to nourish oneself and one's family from these sources, it is necessary to be discerning. There are various overt and covert impacts of participating in the industrial food system to be considered. Today, food choices effectuate global impacts – challenges to social and environmental justice and human health connected to herbicide and pesticide use, GMOs, habitat alteration/destruction and many other impacts. For any 'educated' (at least in a certain sense) individual who wishes to leave as few and gentle footprints as possible on this earth, it is easy to be overwhelmed by the extent of choice involved in purchasing store foods. Even when decisions are based upon the best information available, there

other factors that can powerfully influence food choice, such as purchaser energy levels and hunger, emotional state, social influences and shopping companions. Naturally, more concealed aspects of the global food system mean that 'poorly informed' decisions are likely to persist, with little choice about whether and how to control or change these circumstances. The challenges described here are currently inherent to purchasing store food and participating in global food markets – where the distribution of power and decision making authority is grossly uneven. It would be useful to understand how power systems (internal/external) differ and overlap in terms of their respective impacts on people-food relationships, from systemic responsiveness to appropriateness/effectiveness of activities (*i.e.* programming, services *vs.* local practices). For example, when systems are locally designed and managed (*e.g.* Elder Centre, HTO), are they inherently more responsive? These questions are beyond the scope of this research, but may warrant attention for future research.

What enables *Kugluktummiut* to navigate these kinds of questions and issues? What measure of control do individuals and communities have over these particular aspects of their food systems? On the one hand stores advertise that they carry the products that their clients want to have; on the other hand, in some regards there is relatively limited choice and the situation is more complex than simply supply and demand. Are there creative, out-of-the-box ways in which the current arrangements might be altered to provide more options, ones that support a better balance of power in Kugluktuk's food system? What opportunities could be created to shift power and decision making authority, to increase local autonomy and exert a greater degree of influence and enhance local benefits? In many northern communities, local cooperatives have been important vehicles through which northerners could lead the development of their own economic (flat currency) markets in ways that were better aligned with

identity, relationships and (historical, cultural) power structures; this in turn has had a range of important consequences and benefits for people in the region in terms of food security, sovereignty and Indigenous resilience (Vallee 1964; Stopp 2012). Is there room for the local Co-op to play a more meaningful role in community lives and livelihood? If institutional management of local stores is influenced to a large extent by outsiders and purchasing power, as may be the conventional operational practice for many corporate entities, those who lack purchasing power may be excluded from decisions that impact them directly (Fergurson 2011). Consequently, families who rely on IA, for example, may have even less capacity to influence institutions such as stores by the simple fact of having a limited income (*i.e.* purchasing power). In 2016, the number of people receiving social assistance in 2016 was 777[89], approximately 52% of Kugluktuk's population (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a; Government of Nunavut 2018). Without explicit considerations about resource control and power, it becomes relatively easy to overlook how these kinds of dynamics (subtle or overt) may be impacting a substantial portion of Kugluktuk's population.

Examining the power dynamics inherent in food systems can help to make more transparent the impacts of even seemingly subtle interactions that might otherwise be easily overlooked as part of food system governance. Both overt and covert power dynamics can have important consequences; they can shape people's perceptions about their own individual or collective capacities to influence institutions that are meaningful in their lives, whether part of the food system or otherwise.

[89] Portion of the population ≥18 years.

e) Deconstructing Hunger

The following quote characterises the potent influences that prominent international institutions can have on public perception (Korpi and Palme 1998), in this instance implying that both hunger and poverty are definitively understood: "*While poverty is undoubtedly a cause of hunger, lack of adequate and proper nutrition itself is an underlying cause of poverty*" (FAO 2008). This statement is problematic for several reasons. In Kugluktuk, the factors that appear to play important roles in people-food relationships – including the experience of hunger – were more richly complex and subtly nuanced than the above statement would imply. As Kruse *et al.* write, "*social problems are…aggregates of individual problems*" (2008:121). Questioning what underlies food security assessments, local and international concerns about food insecurity – such as expressed by the United Nations report of the *Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food* (De Schutter 2012), and current perceptions about drivers of hunger, poverty or wellbeing present opportunities to be curious about both overt and covert assumptions concerning people-food relationships across a range of scales.

Discussions about hunger present meaningful challenges to governance structures. The degree of complexity of food systems today presents challenges to food system governance. In one scholarly publication, Egeland *et al.*, for example, position 'skipping meals' as inappropriate or problematic (2011); however, this practice is also shaped by cultural, environmental and historical norms (e.g. Huet 2011:55; Egeland, Williamson-Bathory, et al. 2011; Todd 2010). Historically, for many peoples occasional hunger was part of human existence, given inherent environmental unpredictability, amongst other factors (*e.g.* war, disease, changes to flow of trade); the Arctic was no exception (Bennett and Rowley 2004; Todd 2010). While hunger may be a useful means of gauging imbalances in human food systems, prevailing assumptions (*e.g.*

institutional, societal) about drivers of hunger may be shaping food system governance in ways that overlook underlying causes, failing to identify the larger context of broader needs in which hunger exists. In this regard, if persistent hunger is underlain by systemic issues, the broader context will need to be considered in order to address this issue – including long-term, sustainable responses based in resilient place-based practices, values and beliefs, guided by what contributes to wellbeing.

Different understandings of hunger, food insecurity and wellbeing inform the basis for food security assessments. Results and interpretations as well as responses to perceived concerns tend to be shaped by many different people. When wellbeing for individuals and collectives is not well understood by people with decision making authority, this presents additional important challenges. There may be meaningful barriers (*e.g.* systemic discrimination and marginalisation, failure to acknowledge needs for safety, security and trust when building connections) to bridging gaps in understanding. That the food security approach does not tend to consider issues of power, autonomy or food source (*e.g.* country *vs.* store food) introduces additional complications.

While De Schutter's UN report highlighted large disparities in food security between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, the story about hunger in Kugluktuk cannot be summarised in a single statement. It seems, nonetheless, that the intactness of social networks, along with other local practices, values and beliefs, resources such as the support of local, territorial and federal programming and services, and autonomy through locally informed and governed institutions prevent more serious outcomes when individuals and/or collectives are struggling to feed their families in Kugluktuk. In terms of starvation and hunger, IA and employment play important roles; however, as Tarasuk writes, the picture of food insecurity is

complex, affecting different demographics variably (2017) and at different times. Perhaps less overt factors that support people to feed their families in ways that contribute to satiety *and* wellbeing: a sense and celebration of identity, living in relation (*e.g.* sharing) and accessing resources in sovereign and meaningful ways. There are no clear answers to the problem of food insecurity, in part perhaps because the real challenge (and problem) involves shifting focus and asking different questions.

Clearly, persistent and pervasive hunger is a critical situation that requires the attention of society and governments across scales. Nonetheless, focusing on hunger as a way to govern is problematic. As stated in the introduction to the thesis, if the primary concern is hunger and food insecurity, we may learn about hunger and respond accordingly by providing food. The problem is that this response may be insufficient and appears not to address underlying causes (Tarasuk 2017). The focus too quickly and easily limits the scope of consideration, neglecting the complexity of human relationships with food. Food system governance that fails to accord attention and value to major themes of people-food relationships beyond hunger or access and availability creates a scenario in the present and future that is about survival and not thriving. It is a scenario focused on reducing or stopping the conditions of – for example – illness, rather considering what is also needed for wellbeing. As Thompson writes, "*continuance of the community depends upon people caring for one another and looking after the ways that they have long endured through the production, preparation, and consumption of their food. … It is in the performance of these practices that the institutions and relationships of the local community are reproduced over time. Destruction of this nexus of institutions and material practices means destruction of the community. Individuals might survive…*[t]*hey might achieve what FAO calls food security…but would that be justice?*" (2015a:75–76).

f) Deconstructing 'Healthy'

> "*…the intimate links between food practices and the embodiment of identity and between commensality and politics make the domain of food an important arena for the working out of colonial struggles over the colonization of consciousness and strategies of appropriation and resistance*" (Dietler 2006:218)

The term 'healthy' seems to invoke unconscious expectations about what this means and should look like. Debates around what is healthy are meaningful because the term is used in ways that connect to power and resource control, and by extension are relevant to people-food relationships and wellbeing. Some aspects of this have been discussed previously in Chapter 4.2b in specific (*e.g.* expediency) and wider contexts (*e.g.* soothing trauma); the following continues to complicate this discussion.

Particularly from a governance perspective, to what extent do individual or collective practices, perspectives or intuition inform discussions about what defines or constitutes 'healthy' food? There are instances where local practices may be at odds with leading scientific evidence or marketed ideals, whether these are the government-sanctioned CFG recommendations or corporate advertising for 'nutritious' and 'healthy' foods[90]. As a tool used for food system governance (*e.g.* by NNC, government nutritionists), the CFG is just that, a *guide*; however, arguing about semantics does not diminish the fact that it is also an implicitly powerful and powerfully socio-cultural- and politically- and economically-informed tool (Savage 2008; Kondro 2006). This is made explicit by noticing how it is used to shape funding, policy, programming and services. The foods selected for subsidy in the Nutrition North program historically were not selected using transparent criteria (Dargo 2008). The disconnects between ideologies that underlie the CFG and people's relationships to different foods in Kugluktuk show

[90] Certain promoted foods may actually contain specific ingredients or proportions of certain ingredients (*e.g.* sugar in yogourt products) that negatively impact health over time (*e.g. via* food intolerance triggers).

up in different culturally-embedded food preferences that are not supported by the CFG, the most obvious being foods such as bannock. Until recently, lard – one of the primary ingredients often used to make bannock – was not subsidized by the NNC program because it did not fit into the CFG's category of a 'healthy' food. In Kugluktuk, bannock is often paired with the consumption of country food or other principally healthy foods (*e.g.* stew). Given the powerful impacts on wellbeing of consuming country *versus* store foods, this omission suggests a linear and limited logic in the NNC program that leads to a meaningful site of conflict or tension, by offering a powerful message to those who are the 'beneficiaries' of NNC – that their needs and values are not relevant to food system governance. While the potential negative health impacts of consuming foods such as bannock on a regular basis have been documented (Kolahdooz et al. 2014; Gittelsohn et al. 1998), what are the potential benefits, given its importance to people in Kugluktuk as 'cultural food'? When bannock is accompanied by country food, there have already been physical and psycho-social benefits from harvesting as a family out on the land together, and it may be followed by positive social interactions that include celebration of culturally valued foods. These are circumstances that can foster wellbeing in ways that tend not to be taken into account in discourses centered on 'healthy-unhealthy' binaries.

The intention here is not to advocate for better access to highly processed foods or other potentially 'unhealthy' foods, which themselves may be produced unsustainably, using and/or containing chemicals detrimental for living beings; nonetheless, it seems important to attempt to complicate assumptions about what is 'healthy' or not because, as identified at the beginning of this section, these are powerful discourses. For example, Kolahdooz *et al.* found that people in Inuvialuit and Nunavut were better able to accommodate 'healthy' food choices when focused on the foods that they connect with culturally, as a fundamental part of their identity (2014). These

authors draw attention in their own work and internationally to the observation that healthy changes in diet seemed to be more likely to involve local country foods, rather than industrial store foods (*ibid*). Furthermore, some important country foods (nutritionally and otherwise) may effectively fall into maligned, externally imposed categories of 'ready-made' or 'fast food' in the sense that they do not require cooking but – once processed (*e.g.* air dried) – are 'ready' to eat. Piffy and mipku (dried fish and caribou) are two examples of this. These are much like other kinds of meat jerky[91], although for a variety of reasons, including government regulations around food quality and health standards, they have been largely prohibited from commercial sale. This example offers an opportunity to critically consider who has the right to label, categorise and control food.

In attempting to further untangle and simultaneously (necessarily) complicate human relationships with food, just as different foods might be judged as 'good' or 'bad', so are food purchasing practices and food choices. One of the challenges in untangling these is that they are an important aspect of identity. If we accept that food and identity are integrally linked, it may be valuable to pay attention to instances where strong emotions are expressed in connection with particular types of food, such as with what might be called *cravings*. These may be divided roughly into two different types – cravings for foods that nourish our bodies and souls in ways that help support wellbeing, or those that may be more likely connected to a variety of other issues, such as trauma or imbalances (physical, emotional, spiritual). In the first category, there is the possibility that we might crave certain foods as part of a particular 'body wisdom'. One example of this is craving country foods that help people keep warm in the cold, as described in Ch.4.2b. For country food, perhaps a body wisdom informs cravings for certain foods because

[91] Importantly, these protein sources are not part of an industrial, corporate food system.

they meet the place-based physiological demands of the body, as well as nourish the self through reaffirming culture (values, practices and beliefs), connections with the ancestors, relationships with one another, and support a place-based resonance that is necessary for wellbeing.

With regards to the second category of food cravings, a scoping review by Nelson and Wilson (2017) highlights that some behaviours may be misunderstood if not considered within a larger context (*e.g.* historical trauma, loss of culture/ systemic discrimination). In some instances people might suggest that cravings for "unsustainable foods" (*e.g.* 'junk food') or other addictive substances (*e.g.* substance use) may represent an attempt to (self) soothe (old) trauma (Moulton et al. 2015), when healing practices and spaces are insufficient. It is at this juncture that Gabor Maté's writings on "*feeding the Hungry Ghost*"[92] may be informative:

> "*The inhabitants of the Hungry Ghost Realm…is the domain of addiction, where we constantly seek something outside ourselves to curb an insatiable yearning for relief or fulfillment. The aching emptiness is perpetual because the substances, objects or pursuits we hope will soothe it are not what we really need. We don't know what we need, and so long as we stay in the hungry ghost mode, we'll never know. We haunt our lives without being fully present.*" (2009:1).

In this regard, the kinds of cravings that are judged inappropriate or 'unhealthy' may instead offer direction for improving the kinds of supports required to heal trauma – rather than adding further judgement and misplaced expectations. Consumption of 'unhealthy' foods can also be instigated by fatigue, or imbalances in the body (e.g. gut flora - see Alcock, Maley, and Aktipis 2014). If the consumption of food in general and specifically 'junk food' (that feeds cravings) were to be understood within a more holistic framework and subject to cultural filters rather than

[92] This is part of a concept borrowed from the Buddhist Wheel of Life in which Maté says there are six realms, the realm of the Hungry Ghost being one of these.

judgement and condemnation, it may become possible to respond more productively to identified concerns around food choices.

From a food sovereignty and indigenous resilience vantage, it may be essential for individuals and collectives (*e.g.* Nations) to feel empowered to define and navigate for themselves what is 'healthy'. While there are particular challenges associated with learning to discern between different kinds of cravings, accounting for psycho-spiritual, physiological, corporate/marketing, social and other influences on what we crave and when, and then how to respond these body signals, without more open, curious, self-reflective and reflexive dialogue, untangling people-food relationships, identifying core needs and responsive change will not be possible.

6.3 Toward Principles for Better Northern Food Systems

The contents of the preceding sections provide (holistic) insight into two important areas of inquiry: people-food relationships and food system governance. We see what enables people to feed their families in Kugluktuk, as well as how perspective, positionality and subjectivity shape perhaps all aspects of people-food relationships, from relationships themselves (*e.g.* values, practices, beliefs) to food system governance. Then the respective capacities of certain food system management tools are explored and how these in turn impact and are impacted by food system governance. This section attempts to fill some of the gaps in this research between people-food relationships and food system governance in Kugluktuk. In many respects, this section attempts to link more explicitly the three emergent themes together with food system governance, which itself is fundamentally informed perhaps most obviously by power and resource control, but also identity and relationships. The lenses under investigation – singly or in combination – are also discussed in terms of how they might function as more appropriate (*i.e.*

responsive to local needs, culture, environmental limits, adaptive/flexible) and sustainable governance tools.

Governance can impact a wide array of life spheres – including relationships between people and food – through creating opportunities to develop and maintain country food harvesting skills, supporting wellbeing (which increases people's capacities to feed their families well), improving access to different food sources – including those that support wellbeing (*e.g.* country food), and creating the possibility for more locally appropriate, timely and flexible responses to local needs, values and practices, including challenges that arise in a community, such as hunger. In order to continue to thrive and meet challenges, as northerners have done for generations, Kugluktuk – like Nunavut – will need to find ways to navigate a range of issues: sustainable and sovereign governance, living and development, wage employment in the face of a rapidly growing population and attendant challenges in 'education', pressures from global financial markets, and interests and incursions from other countries with their own agendas. As formerly ice-locked Arctic waters become navigable, to name a few. When there is insufficient knowledge or understanding about different people's realities, such as the relationships between people and food, this can translate to gaps in food system policies, programming and services.

When decision makers or service providers are disconnected from the realities of their clients, the inherent and often essential complexities of people-food relationships may be overlooked, such as through searching out single variable explanations. This can be problematic because failure to acknowledge the different realities that exist may increase the likelihood that underlying causative, interactive and potentially compounding factors are overlooked. Programs that were run more autonomously in Kugluktuk by *Kugluktummiut* appeared to be less prone to this disconnect (*e.g.* local HTO, Elder Centre).

a) Food Systems & Drivers of People-Food Relationships

Food systems and drivers of people-food relationships are sufficiently complex as to resist reductionist-leaning approaches (see 6.2a). This may offer further support for food system governance at smaller scales (*e.g.* settlement-level). By reducing the scale of governance, the degree of complexity may also be reduced or is otherwise more familiar and perhaps better understood at these scales. Many drivers have been described and discussed throughout the text, and there are likely many that have been overlooked – some are more transparent than others (*e.g.* food prices *vs.* social networks, power dynamics), while many are inherently dynamic (*e.g.* climate change, culture – reflected as needs, values, practices, beliefs). In addition, some drivers of people-food relationships connect to larger issues of – for example – social and environmental justice. As Thompson suggests, many food system governance issues identified as problematic are effectively a reflection of broader issues: "*… the argument starts to circle back to a common theme...A Marxist is not surprised to find issues of justice in a neoliberal corporate food regime, but they are symptomatic of issues that exist throughout a capitalist economy. Food winds up merely as a convenient tool for raising peoples' consciousness of a more widespread type of oppression*" (Thompson 2015a:77). Perhaps one of the clear advantages of Indigenous worldviews or Indigenous-informed lenses is that they serve as a grounding point, reminding users that issues are interconnected, holistic, and that scope and scale are meaningful.

b) Connections: Financial Resources, Occupation & Wellbeing

> *"Capitalism and the modern state reify growth…. In reality…the capital–state nexus creates the basis for poverty materially by sundering people from their means of livelihood and by ensuring that people can access the means of production only by selling their labour power to the capitalist. And it reconstructs poverty discursively by redefining it according to quantitative and monetary criteria, whereby its reduction can be assured only through the accumulation of commodities."*

(Tilzey 2018:316)

> "*The cultural aspect to me is the values that went with the life that we used to live. Not the material things we live with*" (CP4, July 2015).

As an ecologist by training, I have learned to be wary of linear relationships; this is no different for people-food relationships, such as between financial resources and food security (Tarasuk 2017; Ready 2016). Wage employment, IA and some government funded programs are frequently perceived (internally/locally and externally) as a means of enabling people-food relationships (typically food security) in the north (e.g. Chan et al. 2006). Emphasizing access to financial (*i.e.* wage employment, IA, money) and corporate (*i.e.* store food) resources as a means of responding to hunger (McIntyre, Patterson, et al. 2016), has some empirical foundation (Wenzel 2000); however, the situation is also more complex than this and overlooking this complexity may actually contribute to food insecurity. For example, some authors found that part-time or seasonal employment (as opposed to full-time employment) facilitated more opportunities for people to spend time on the land (Todd 2010; Condon, Collings, and Wenzel 1995), which in turn impacted collective food security and wellbeing (*e.g.* through country food distribution). There may also be a relationship between employment and reliance on money and technology. One local Elder (CP41, March 9, 2014) mentioned that their spouse stopped having a dog team when they started working in the 1960s. This single example is insufficient evidence of causality, but it does raise questions about how the reliance of conventional employment influences people's relationships to different food sources, including the knowledge and practice of country food acquisition. In addition, full time employment opportunities are limited, both in absolute numbers and prohibitive job qualifications, as described previously. Increasingly, there is a call for guaranteeing basic income as an empirically proven measure that improves security

and wellbeing, particularly for those who are struggling to feed their families (Forget, Marando, and Surman 2016; McIntyre, Kwok, et al. 2016; Tarasuk 2017). Kulchyski, however, suggests otherwise, writing that the '*bush mode of production*' (*e.g.* subsistence) prevalent throughout the Canadian North involves a dynamic that not only does not 'fit' with these kinds of assumptions, but perhaps is part of "*the politics of oppression and resistance*" (Kulchyski 2016:98).

Rosol *et al.* attempt to broaden conceptualisations of food security, describing it as "*...a condition where all community residents obtain a safe, culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice (1)* [Boult 2004]. *To be food secure, individuals and households must be able to reliably access food via income levels that are sufficient to offset the high cost of food (2,3)*[Duhaime et al. 2002; Lambden et al. 2006]*, and must have access to a sufficient supply of nutritious market and traditional food at the community level (4)* [Power 2008]*"* (2011:489). This framework shifts the balance of power, de-emphasizing the role of financial resources to allow other values to emerge, such as sustainability, autonomy and social-justice. Furthermore, Rosol *et al.*'s framing reminds readers that the price of food is relative to the purchaser's resource status. In other words, prices that may seem reasonable for one person may be high or out of reach for another.

Mindsets around food system governance issues such as poverty and hunger appear to reveal a fundamental lack of understanding about people-food relationships and underlying drivers. For example, Korpi and Palme describe the 'paradox of redistribution': "…*The more we target benefits at the poor only and the more concerned we are with creating equality via equal public transfers to all, the less likely we are to reduce poverty and inequality*" (1998:681–82). Marx *et al*. (2017) conclude that Korpi and Palme's work (2013) may not be so pronounced as

the authors suggest, but Tarasuk's work shows that a range of different variables need to be addressed in concert and with a high degree of commitment (*e.g.* meaningful financial contributions to families with low income and SA, responsive to inflation) in order to be effective.

Emphasizing the importance of and dependence on IA seems particularly problematic in light of concerns raised about the inadequacy of related programs (*e.g.* SA) to meet the financial needs of families with regards to food sufficiency (Tarasuk 2017; Boult 2004; CP21 2014). IA may be negatively impacting personal power through devaluing individual and collective occupancy or livelihood and supporting dependencies on flat currency (*i.e.* money) and the external, global food system (*i.e.* industrial, store or 'corporate food') whose links in the food chain are typically outside of local control, which for a large percentage of the population places them at risk. These issues raise important questions about assumptions that underlie – for example – governance approaches to and understandings of phenomena such as poverty, hunger or wellbeing. From a governance perspective, in Kugluktuk and more broadly Nunavut, there appears to be a number of underlying assumptions about hunger: (1) people experiencing financial hardship (*i.e.* poverty) will come to experience persistent hunger, (2) which can reasonably be measured and (3) then remedied by providing access to financial resources to purchase store food (McIntyre, Patterson, et al. 2016). In the effort to reduce complex issues to suit governance regimes, much important information can be lost. This kind of (linear) logic presented above risks oversimplifying and overlooking important factors that underlie (drive) relationships between people and food.

Wenzel, citing Sahlins, writes, "*One of the Big Surprises of 'late capitalism' is that 'traditional' cultures are not inevitably incompatible with it nor vulnerable to* [money]" (2013).

Wenzel states, "*.... money, per se, does not preclude or displace social relations as a key organiser of economic behaviour. Inuit still hunt because meat remains culturally significant and the produce of hunting is still the best source of high-quality food. ... Money…* [is] *used to fulfill traditional objectives"*(2013:192). Furthermore, this applies not only to the realm of the individual, but also collectives, such that people and organisations come together (*e.g.* pool resources) in service of meeting needs for country food (Kishigami 2004; Gombay 2010b; Chabot 2003; Wenzel 2013). According to Wenzel, for Inuit "…[money] *is perceived as the means to accomplish and facilitate the harvest, and not as an end in itself*" (1986:314). This presents particular challenges for conventional FS metrics, which limit their considerations to the role and importance of market foods in individual and collective practices of feeding families and the experience of hunger (Ready 2016).

In the mixed economy of northern life today, money *is* important and *does* help contribute to feeding families (BurnSilver et al. 2016)[93]. This may offer an argument in favour of guaranteed basic income, given positive outcomes of Canada-specific pilots studies (McIntyre, Kwok, et al. 2016; Forget, Marando, and Surman 2016). In the Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin) region, access to monetary resources has been proposed to impact total volume and per capita availability of wild foods – in this particular instance owing to the collapse of the European sealskin market (~1983-84)(Wenzel, Dolan, and Brown 2016). Nonetheless, as Tarasuk describes of food insecurity in Ontario, there are many different variables that need to be accounted for in order to positively impact the ability of people to feed their families (2017). In Kugluktuk, social networks impact country food distribution, along with knowledge, culture, language and other factors… *in addition to* financial resources. Furthermore, as mentioned

[93] Albeit not exclusively.

previously, emphasizing the use of financial resources towards the purchase of store food has its own attendant issues. While many of the practices in Kugluktuk that enable people to successfully feed their families are affected by access to financial resources (*e.g.* hunting, production of crafts), possession of money may not necessarily predict hunger, food security or wellbeing. An example is that in the presence of addictions (*e.g.* substance use, gambling) one might nonetheless experience hunger despite access to financial resources (*e.g.* CP4, July 7, 2015).

As with financial resources, the potential benefits of employment are fairly clear with respect to feeding families, particularly in connection with the capacity to purchase store foods. Financial resources obtained through employment can also facilitate the current practice of certain subsistence activities, which in turn helps reinforce local culture (knowledge, identity, meaning-making) (Kruse et al. 2008). As described in Chapter 4, however, in many instances employment requirements and job structuring remain at odds with local needs, values and practices in Kugluktuk. Assumptions that insufficient food and/or financial resources (including employment and IA) are the root causes of hunger are only partially consistent with findings from this research. As we see from emergent bottom-up themes describing salient aspects of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, material goods (*i.e.* resources) are meaningful, but comprise only one part of people-food relationships. When food system governance – including addressing issues such as hunger –narrowly focuses on financial resources as the basis of people-food relationships, this misappropriates other valuable contributions to what enables people to feed their families, as well as support wellbeing.

Irrespective of whether the focus is money, employment or the related theme of IA, there is a risk is overlooking the valuable contributions of ‘occupation’ or livelihood to both individual

and collective wellbeing in Kugluktuk. Government responses focused on supplementing incomes, such as SA, may unintentionally emphasize the importance of individual rather than collective (financial) resources, and effectively devalue the role and importance of occupation and livelihood for individuals and collectives. Where there is systemic failure to acknowledge the potential contribution of occupation to individual and collective wellbeing, the consequence is diminished community capacity, as opportunities for skills/knowledge development and transfer in particular become tied to a currently limited resource: employment. This is important not only in the short but also long-term if opportunities for the continuance of local capacities are overlooked for individuals and collectives. Using a more extreme example, one embedded non-local Elder (CP4) spoke about historical suicide among Inuit in a way that may provide meaningful insight: *…in the old days, if you reached a stage in your life when you were a burden to your family – to your group – and no longer a help to them, you usually disposed of yourself because life was so harsh then that you couldn't afford to have any non-contributors to the society in which you lived* (July 6, 2015). Does an individual's sense of usefulness to their family collective or community impact the desire to live and thrive? Extending this idea to people-food relationships in Kugluktuk – guided by Fischler's principle of incorporation – may help explain in some measure the sense of meaning people expressed in finding, harvesting, preparing and/or sharing country food. Even for those who do not identify with those particular practices (*i.e.* country food consumption), it seems that underestimating the potential personal and profound value of contributing to the collective good not only creates conditions in which opportunities to support thriving are overlooked, but may risk deteriorating individual and collective wellbeing. Various points raised throughout this research suggest that the role of employment may be much bigger than simply income – at the heart it may be more about

identity, engagement/connection, and contributing to individual and collective wellbeing. This offers a different imperative for government-supported initiatives that are designed to enable productive people-food relationships and wellbeing.

c) Social Connection, Customary Practices & Sharing

The 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey found that more than 75% of Nunavut households shared country food with others in their community (Egeland 2010), and 96% of Inuit households in Canada shared country foods with people outside of their household (Statistics Canada 2006:14). Overlooking the very practices, beliefs and values that appear to be part of facilitating good relationships between people and food may actually worsen food insecurity. Sharing is something that seems to happen in many different ways, largely within customary practices rather than (federal, 'formal') government programs or within a colonial or capitalist/colonial economic framework. Values around sharing and helping one another also permeate local organisations such as the HTO, Hamlet and industry in some instances (*e.g.* the Northern store, the Co-op). This is another important quality that the FS lens overlooks, which (I)FSov and IR lenses highlight: there is sovereignty in people's choosing to participate in sharing despite outside pressures (*e.g.* capitalist, government, marketing) and in the ways which this is done. In turn, the ways that people share are an expression of Indigenous resilience, reflecting cultural practices, values and beliefs, rather than shaped predominantly by exogenous people, systems and institutions.

Considering the relative influence of formal *versus* customary systems on wellbeing and satiety, Leesee Papatsie – a prominent spokesperson for food security in Nunavut – said, "*The only reason why there's no starvation is because we share food. I believe that… there's no*

starvation because we share our country food… and store bought food" (15.02.2014). In this regard, it may be that the current food system in Kugluktuk 'works' (*e.g.* there is not more hunger than currently experienced) specifically *because* of different enabling factors, such as (food) sharing. Food sharing reflects the role of collectivist underpinnings in Kugluktuk and more broadly in what some describe as subsistence-based societies, where "…*security and well-being tend to be more associated with system maintenance than individual gain. Security and well-being are achieved through cooperative production, wide distribution, and mutual aid, each organized by kinship. This is celebrated, consolidated, reinforced, and reproduced by sharing, feasting, ritual observance, and associated ethical norms. There is much incentive to maintain the system, little to disrupt it*" (Usher, Duhaime, and Searles 2003:179). These pieces suggest that these internal systems may be sufficient on their own. In many respects this may be true; however, this is where lenses such as IR may be critical to expanding our understandings of people-food relationships. Similar to many other places in Canada and elsewhere in the world, there are so many different moving parts to (northern) food systems (*e.g.* people, place, time, scale), investigations into what is needed must be informed by lenses that are better equipped to work holistically and with complexity, and placing relationships (*e.g.* collectivist) and identity at the core of inquiry. The challenges of quantifying hunger and food (in)security because of the sharing practices that are prevalent in Kugluktuk, for example, presents a weighty argument for using different approaches to understanding people-food relationships, and working towards identifying indicators of security and wellbeing that are rooted in local practices, values and beliefs.

Distinctions between individual *versus* collective food security are important. Conventional interpretation of FS was shown not to consider collective practices that affect

people's access to and availability of food; rather, the focus is on the individual or a restricted definition of collective as 'household' (Lauster and Tester 2010). Given the observed role and importance of identity and relationality to *Kugluktummiut*, this particular orientation may be more likely to overlook collective practices that are resilient and sovereign, and enable people to feed their families. Examples of such collective or institutional enabling practices might include country food provision by the HTO, or the customary (country food) sharing networks that exist throughout the community. What Tuhiwai-Smith describes as the "project of modernity" focuses on the individual, individual autonomy and self-interest, and the right of the individual to pursue economic self-interest; these perspectives and practices she links – among other things – to ongoing systemic colonisation and de-humanisation of Indigenous peoples (1999:118–120). In Kugluktuk, people did not seem to see themselves or speak as individuals, in isolation from others; rather, there was a sense of embeddedness – seeing oneself as integrally connected to others, living in relation (to the land, ancestors, *etc*.). Awareness of this can help guide approaches to policy and programming, suggesting to me in this instance the need to support family- or community-centred approaches. In this sense, the FS approach appears to be aligned with values, practices and beliefs that do not necessarily align with those of *Kugluktummiut*.

Another insight stemming from the importance and emphasis of collective cohesion in Kugluktuk is that *both* individual and collective wellbeing are important, not only to feeding families but also collective health and wellness in a broader sense (*i.e.* holistic wellbeing, spiritual-, mental-, physical-, social-wellbeing, *etc.*). Throughout this dissertation attachment theory has been used to give weight to the importance and impacts of living in relation – emotionally, physiologically and otherwise; however, the focus of this theory tends to be confined to parent/caregiver-child interactions – effectively *individual* relationships. While this

may be characteristic of some prevailing mindsets (*e.g.* capitalist, individualist), what appears to emerge in the research presented here is that individual and collective wellbeing are *both* important, not only to feeding families but also collective health and wellness in a broader sense (*i.e.* holistic wellbeing, spiritual-, mental-, physical-, social-, *etc.* wellbeing). This is supported by Lindstrom *et al.*'s review of scholarly writing about First Nations parenting (2016). Following this logic, extending certain ideas from attachment theory[94], moving beyond individual relationships to consider collectives (*e.g.* families) and the 'village' or community, the critical steps in weaving together the kind of larger and smaller systems that enable people to feed their families and collective wellbeing may be twofold: (1) perceiving and acknowledging – holistically and specifically – the function and dysfunction (*i.e.* attachment & rupture) of these systems (*e.g.* food system, health, justice, education, family systems), accompanied by (2) repair (*e.g.* envisioning different realities). With regards to the second point, perhaps in the act of 'dreaming' about repair and re-connection it becomes easier to move beyond the confines or limitations of our present knowledge and experience (*e.g.* trauma, colonial *vs.* Inuit) into a space/place where these become tools to inform and enrich future directions.

As mentioned previously, sharing networks play many important roles in people-food relationships, but these rich and subtle connections are not defined by linear equations; consequently, it is difficult to know when or what might lead to ruptures, which can in turn lead to hunger. In this way, it seems wise to focus efforts on strengthening those supportive relationships, rather than measuring breaking points, which themselves may be affected by so many different variables over space and time. In fact, there may already be some deterioration of

[94] Specifically, the human need for attachment, inevitable periods of rupture, and the value of repair to the quality of relationships (Howe 2011).

vital practices such as sharing (Ford and Beaumier 2011). Several different people mentioned that people were not sharing as they did historically. It seemed that some individuals and families who regularly asked others for food or money were experiencing shortages. Can practices around 'borrowing' or asking for resources within social networks place strain on those relationships (Ford and Beaumier 2011) over the long term? As Natcher reports, in Little Red River Cree Nation (northern Alberta) less than 3% of households were responsible for procuring and distributing nearly half (135,525lbs) of their community's total wild food harvest (293,498 lbs.)(2015). These numbers may suggest that breakdowns within these primary provider collectives (*i.e.* families, households) can have meaningful impacts for the entire community. Looking at this from an IR perspective, it also reveals that there are opportunities to help bolster food sharing in a variety of different ways, from supporting those families that provide, to ensuring that those who are not providing in this way are supported to contribute to collective food security and wellbeing in other ways (*e.g.* occupancy). A breakdown of customary systems has the potential to have a domino effect for formalised government systems, particularly when contributions of practices such as sharing are unknown. In this regard, it seems important that the dominant system of governance formally acknowledge such contributions to the wellbeing of individuals and collectives. Determining the contribution of 'customary' enabling practices more definitively may be valuable, but perhaps just as important is to consider what supports satiety and wellbeing? Are there limits to the particular aspects of local food systems that enable these? Current approaches to understanding people-food relationships represent lost opportunities to formally acknowledge, validate and valorize the very place-based practices that are enabling satiety and wellbeing.

In the realm of governance – specifically power and resource control – relative to many other parts of Canada, in Kugluktuk it seems there is awareness of the various realities that exist, and both accountability and responsiveness to these. An important part of this is the high degree of relationship cohesion and integrity. It seems that disconnects among different realities result in uneven distribution of power and resources. This can lead to gaps between programming for perceived needs *versus* what is actually needed and (systemic) marginalisation and discrimination. It can also impact the flow of (limited) resources, including people's skills (knowledge, energy, love) and even employment, which have direct and indirect impacts on people's relationships with food. Some responses to different individual and community-level challenges may offer short-term relief, but fail to support long-term sovereignty, security or resilience, and may even hinder them. Often it seems as though the issues that can potentially underlie persistent hunger, such as (intergenerational) grief and trauma, need to be considered alongside economic and other factors. Social connections that facilitate country food sharing serve functions beyond merely food provision (*e.g.* knowledge transmission, resource sharing, psycho-spiritual connection, opportunities for critical dialogue). Given this knowledge it would be important to consider the actual or potential impacts of overlooking these. If values such as social connection and identity are overlooked, as with the FS and even to some extent the FSov lenses, it seems unlikely that interventions will be able to ascribe importance or even recognise them. The failure to perceive and esteem such aspects in the people-food relationships can have unintended consequences, such as interruption of social networks and other fundamental, enabling practices. This has the potential to lead to increases in food insecurity (e.g. Pakseresht et al. 2014).

In Kugluktuk, social connections were an essential part of sharing country food. What might be the effect of consistently providing food without obligation (*e.g.* government food provisioning, charity) – irrespective of whether it is country food via the HTO, a food bank or a soup kitchen – on social accountability and opportunities for meaningful connection and contribution to one's community that otherwise form the foundation of social relations? The local soup kitchen did not appear problematic in this regard, and seemed to include a number of seemingly important – albeit unexpected – benefits, some of which are discussed in the methods section. In addition, local Elder Bessie Sitatak pointed out that IA recipients tend to buy expensive readymade foods, whereas the soup kitchen cost only $100 CDN to feed 35-40 people (March 26, 2014).

On the other hand, one local Elder commented, "*...we spoiled them by providing them with country food...*" (CP1, March 26, 2014). My sense is that this person was describing the problematic nature of dependencies established by providing country food through institutions (Illavut, in this instance); perhaps particularly those whose mandate is not about food provision, as with the HTO. Eichelberger also encountered use of this word by Alaskan Iñupiat in the context of water insecurity. She interpreted the word 'spoiled' as an expression of "*...the historical domination by the state over their social reproduction in ways that produce and exacerbate the insecurities characterizing daily life in these remote village*" (Eichelberger 2011 Abstract). Both usages indicate a sense of social strain or tension around how to respond to expressed insufficiencies within a familial or community context, navigating complex social and moral ties and obligations.

Perhaps another potential challenge in approaching the issue of hunger from a food security vantage – particularly food provisioning – is that it can also be disempowering,

stemming from underlying power dynamics. The Kugluktuk soup kitchen, for example, may have helped reduce the amount of support family members might need to provide or ask for from others, but does it also create potentially problematic dependencies? Given the inherent adaptability of humans – and certainly Inuit (e.g. Wenzel 2009) – there is more likely a spectrum, such that a once-per-week soup kitchen offers a positive contribution to individual and collective needs, but only while resources last. When these programs or offerings do not continue, if there is a need another – perhaps different – response or solution will emerge, depending on available resources. This last point emphasizes again the need for local autonomy because it is at the local level that responses can be most adaptive.

Noticing what enables the kinds of practices and opportunities that help keep families fed and well, I suspect that FSov – and most particularly IFSov – and IR lenses have more potential to reveal these, relative to FS. For example, the importance of sharing power, resources and decision making authority, as well as social connection that fosters conditions for sustainable people-food relationships and wellbeing. The various examples of institutionally supported sharing of country food, including the HTO, Elder's Centre and Soup Kitchen are extremely valuable resources for contributing to food security and sovereignty and Indigenous resilience. Nonetheless, more can be done to reduce barriers for other approaches or practices to be developed or expanded to meet resident's needs and interests, contribute to capacity building/community development from the bottom-up, and work to address fundamental issues around health and wellbeing, connectedness (land, people, spirits – ancestors), self-actualisation and empowerment.

d) Lone Caregivers

A variety of people in Kugluktuk – locals and long-term/embedded community members – expressed concern about single parents[95] regarding a range of different issues (*e.g.* Appendix B, b-iii). Without extended social constellations/networks many resources may be just a little further out of reach of single parent families, in part owing to stresses involved in solo parenting, especially those with young children. Disruptions in cultural practices and social connection can exacerbate these challenges in a variety of ways. According to the psychological model of attachment theory, a child who receives the necessary loving connection and repair (when connection is unavailable or ruptured) is more likely to learn how to navigate their emotions and needs and is better equipped as an adult to be in the world and meaningfully in connection with others (Howe 2011). In theoretical terms, people-food relationships may be particularly important for lone parent/caregiver families: a child's wellbeing or experiences of hunger may be strongly coupled with the wellbeing of their caregiver(s). The wellbeing of caregivers in turn may be affected by factors such as the state of one's social relations, particularly since there may only be one (primary) caregiver available.

In Kugluktuk, approximately 30% of '*census families in private households*' are '*lone parent*' families; around 77% of those are single mothers (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017a). An important caveat for understanding both people-food relationships and application of attachment theory is that the socio-cultural (and other) contexts in which these measures are made – including the lens(es) (and users) that are embedded in both measures and interpretation of these kinds of data – may be of critical importance. For example, in Kugluktuk

[95] In Kugluktuk this was most commonly phrased as 'single moms'; however, single fathers were also mentioned. Other various constellations were not uncommon, such as grandparents or other family members, 'foster' parent(s), *etc*.

lone parent families with extensive support networks – such as multi-generational households – may be more resilient in terms of food sufficiency.

Some northern food security research indicates that lone parent status may not be as problematic in certain communities as previously reported and assumed. As mentioned earlier, Myers *et al.* (2008:130) found that single parent families in some Nunavut communities participated in country food sharing networks (receiving, harvesting, sharing), as well as giving and receiving store foods. Findlay *et al*. found that the number of caregivers in a given household had no impact on children's (2-5y old) likelihood to experience hunger; in both uni- & multi-variate results, household income, education (*i.e.* secondary school completion), perceived availability of cultural activities and other variables were more important (2013). Support networks were important as uni- but not multi-variate factors.

Families with at least two primary caregivers living in the same home (*e.g.* grandparents, aunties, uncles, cousins) or nearby may have additional resources to help with daily needs, whether physical, emotional, spiritual, mental or otherwise. The meaningful roles that kin relations and the wider 'village' play in child welfare, including food-related experiences, in Kugluktuk and more broadly (Lindstrom et al. 2016) suggests that implications for people-food relationships in lone caregiver families may be more complex and specific (*e.g.* community-specific) than is presently understood. Each parent/caregiver brings his/her own family members and social connections, which may or may not be shared with a partner, and this expands a child's sphere of influence, resources (including access to food) and options. Some families can fall outside of helping networks. Sometimes caregivers of young children are 'stuck at home' with limited access to resources (*e.g.* money, being out on the land, positive social interactions) when social networks are too heavily leaned upon or when environmental conditions are not

conducive to being outside (*e.g.* snow storms). Children who have more than one caregiver in their lives may have greater access to people with different 'resources' (knowledge, experience, time, food, sharing/teaching practices, life philosophies, spiritual, mental and emotional practices or social networks).

e) Reliance: Store Food and Corporations

One of the potential benefits of global food systems becoming integrated with local food systems is the possibility to even out local gaps in availability. As we see with various issues that have arisen in today's global food system, there are also very real problems with tightly coupling local food systems with global systems (*e.g.* widespread introduction of genetically modified organism – GMO – seeds, exploitation of land and people, use of fertilizers and pesticides, unsustainable industrialization of agriculture). One particular risk with systemically encouraged or enforced reliance on store food is that it may lead to a complete loss or forfeit of knowledge. This loss of place-based knowledge about harvesting and how to utilise local/country foods reinforces dependency on global food systems (and colonisation), effectively institutionalizing this for *Kugluktummiut*. This situation affects people's current and future capacity to autonomously obtain country food, which creates a dependency on a system (*i.e.* the market food system) that is largely controlled by politics and the global financial market, thereby introducing further complexity and diminished control over local food systems. In some regards, these trends may be seen as the product of the worldviews that underlie aspects of food system governance in Canada, which are supported by the prevailing interpretations of food security (Wiebe and Wipf 2011:4).

In Kugluktuk and elsewhere in the world, local resources are inherently unstable. The current store food system in Kugluktuk – in combination with government subsidies (*e.g.* IA,

Nutrition North Canada) – contributes to an illusion of stability. It is particularly an illusion because there are so many more links in the food chain with industrial foods; this means that the vulnerability of this system is largely unknown, and may be greater than with country food. Programs like SA (intentionally or unintentionally) prioritorise store foods, whereas the HTO attempts to respond to community needs and interests by providing certain types of country food to those in need. Corporations are not accountable to people, environment or the law in the same ways as individuals, and the global nature of many store foods may further diminish local accountability and control. By emphasizing reliance on (corporate) agricultural products from distant locations, this can serve to de-emphasize the value of and access to local foods. It seems that there are opportunities for different food sources to function in more complementary ways – to support wellbeing and create the conditions for satiety. Detailed exploration of these real and potential impacts is beyond the scope of this work. One final consideration is technologies such as greenhouses: these are unlikely to solve the problem of hunger, although they may help contribute community wellbeing where there is sufficient interest and capacity to run and maintain such endeavors. As one local person said, <"*A greenhouse needs to provide real food that people use*"> (CP2i, February 26, 2014): in other words, it only makes sense to grow the kinds of foods that people can and want to consume.

f) Local Voices, Food System Governance, Policy Tools & Local Institutions

> "*…humans do not manage the land, but instead can only manage our behaviours in relation to it*" (Morrison 2011:99)

The above quote essentialises for me the potential value of local governance: as much as anyone can 'know' the land, it is the people who live every day, day-in and day-out in connection with their environment – with the land that owns them – who will know it best. Over

generations this seems to develop into a visceral knowledge – of environmental and social needs, what practices, values and beliefs are 'successful' over time and situated in place. As one prominent local person said, <"*Policy is good for guidelines, but you need to use the best way a culture functions*"> (CP48i, May 6, 2014). This places an imperative on local voices to play important roles in local determination of food system governance.

As described in Chapter 4.2d, Kugluktuk has (at least) two broad arenas of power, including local emergent and external imposed power. Local power may be more likely to be informed by IQ values, such as getting along, or "*living in harmony*" (Nunavut Department of Education 2007), which tends to translate to governance and leadership that moves beyond survival to thriving; this invokes different dynamics from the external, imposed constellations of power[96]. External, imposed power was observable particularly through federal government programs and many instances of bureaucracy. It is through these different forms of power that decision making authority and access to resources are impacted, affecting also people-food relationships. Sonnino *et al.* write, "*A critical and more embedded place-making approach to food security needs to embrace the complexities and contingencies involved in virtual and physical food-related flows…creat*[ing] *new spaces and places of possibility for producers and consumers to reconnect outside formal private interests or governmental regulatory conditions…*" (2016:485).

Positions that carry a great deal of power and authority sometimes lack transparency or accountability. When this occurs abuses of power, including control of limited resources (*e.g.* access to health care, justice, education, funding/assistance programs, training, *etc.*), becomes a meaningful concern if the relative influences of such positions remains unacknowledged, and if

[96] See Pat McCabe, "power-over" paradigm (McCabe 2019).

those in leadership positions fail to take reasonable steps to share power (*e.g.* checks and balances). These abuses of power may not always be readily recognisable – in Freire's terms, by either oppressors or the oppressed (2000). This is something that discourses around marginalisation and decolonizing literatures identify as problematic (e.g. Jones, Cunsolo, and Harper 2018; Koopman 2008). Even just introducing questions about power and decision making authority into public and policy discourses represents a shift in power as more people begin to participate in the very conversations that shape governance and the public sphere, including decisions about people-food relationships, the food system and how people feed their families.

As Butler Walker *et al.* write, "*…we must connect the grassroots to the grass-tips…*" (2017:38) – in other words, bridging the gap that can emerge between policies, programming and service delivery. There is a need for greater co-production of knowledge and local authority and participation in food-related decision making towards programming, services and policy development. This is echoed by Nunavut's poverty reduction approach, the *Makimaniq Plan – Theme 4: Food Security* identifies the need to increase "*support for community-driven food security initiatives*" (Government of Nunavut 2011:6), as well as various other sources (Fergurson 2011; Council of Canadian Academies 2014; Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a). When cultural practices and needs inform leadership and there are strong connections with/involvement in community, this may help encourage excellence and resourcefulness, such as increasing opportunities for meaningful engagement and occupation that include skills maintenance and development through occupancy, which may further create space for celebration of identity and culture, as well as individual and collective sense of empowerment.

In this sense, perhaps it is within and around forms of power aligned with IQ that colonial-informed aspects of prevailing governance systems and practices might look for

guidance, particularly about process – doing things 'in a good way', following principles of IQ, such as working together for collective wellbeing, maintaining harmony and being respectful. In some regards, many IQ values speak to the power dynamics that shape relationships and could be interpreted to call for more balanced ways of relating (*e.g.* more bottom-up involvement in decision making, less hierarchical). These sources of knowledge and wisdom have the potential to inform and help to shift current power regimes towards those more aligned with empowerment, healing, solidarity, connection, sustainability and other qualities connected with wellbeing, emerging out of local values, practices and beliefs.

In this research, identified gaps between governance-level understandings of people-food relationships *versus* grassroots needs, values, beliefs and practices seem to be more pronounced with Federal, relative to Territorial- or Regional/Municipal-scale government. Decision making at local and territorial levels appears to have a relatively high accountability and alignment with the values, practices, beliefs and capacities of the different Nunavut communities. This may in part reflect opportunities for input (*e.g.* frequency, processes & structures) and/or systemic receptiveness to local/ constituent input. In general, Territorial and smaller-scale governance in Nunavut in many instances is directed by politicians who have ancestral roots from the regions that they represent, with extensive familial ties, as well as shared values, practices and beliefs with the communities they represent. These factors may support leaders to be better informed and accountable to the various realities of their constituencies, particularly relative to other places where social ties are not as close and extensive; the same guarantees may not apply to bureaucrats, owing to different systems of accountability.

Community-level decision making regarding many food-related issues may be more likely to have collective wellbeing at heart (Martin and Arnos 2017). Coulthard *et al.* write,

"…a focus on human wellbeing …illuminat[es] *the importance of engaging with social, cultural and motivational heterogeneity not only amongst fishers but also amongst those seeking to influence fisheries management policy…*" (2011:454). Kuhnlein *et al.* write, "…[nutrition and health] *problems do exist and are important, but are only one part of the story… indigenous communities do have their own resources and knowledge that should be nurtured*" (2006:1013). Martin and Arnos describe widespread agreement among food researchers and Indigenous peoples: food security efforts (*i.e.* food system governance) must include local voices that "…*encompass the socio-political and community context*[s] *in which foods are eaten*" (2017:207). These authors suggest that Indigenous communities in particular are "…*uniquely positioned to challenge…assumptions because they often hold significant knowledge regarding traditional foods and all the associated values and norms that are attached to procurement, preparation, and consumption of traditional foods*" (2017:209). A recent report by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) regarding Inuit food policy highlights the clarity that exists within *Inuit Nunangat* regarding Inuit-informed visions of food system governance: "*Inuit envision a food system where we have access to affordable, nutritious, safe and culturally preferred foods that are available through a sustainable food system that reflects Inuit societal values and supports well-being*" (ITK 2017:3). While Martin and Arnos emphasize knowledge of country foods, the ITK report clearly shows that food knowledge and local governance is capable of all-encompassing conceptualisations about food systems, food governance and people-food relationships. In this regard, local solutions that reflect local needs, values and practices are more likely to be effective (Martin and Arnos 2017:209) – particularly in contrast to externally imposed responses (*e.g.* NNC). The Government of Canada's announcement in December 2018 regarding planned improvements to NNC *"…included the creation of an Inuit-Crown Food*

Security working group to focus on food security and work towards a sustainable food system in Inuit Nunangat" (Government of Canada 2018). This is a vital step for improving current food system governance, and may help substantially to improve the efficacy and appropriateness of policy, programming and services at all levels of government.

In Kugluktuk, several organisations were foundational to feeding families and individual/ collective wellbeing in Kugluktuk, particularly those that provided space to share and enhance customary, place-based knowledge. Some examples include the HTO, on-the-land camps, the Elder Centre, (Junior) Rangers and others. These created opportunities to share (customary) knowledge, (re)build relationships (*e.g.* among people, with the land), heal, harvest and prepare country food, make products (*e.g.* sewing kamiks, slippers, mittens, *etc.*), support overall wellbeing and rejuvenation, and offer a form of re-distribution of 'wealth' (resources). These organisations and programs tended to be relatively flexible and adaptive, qualities that may make them more sustainable and empowering over the long-term relative to other government programs in Kugluktuk and elsewhere, which suggests an opportunity to explore these different qualities and how this contributes to differences among programs, including the relative success of different programs to help meet their clients' and/or the community's needs.

People appreciated productive opportunities in the community focused on knowledge sharing, such as Arctic College, sewing classes or language/culture revitalisation opportunities. Spaces for people to access information and use technologies such as computers and social media provided opportunities for socialising, entertainment, professional development and self-directed education. This range of opportunities are part of what enable people to feed their families, working at least somewhat from within informal economies (*e.g.* harvesting country food, some forms of selling crafts and homemade foods), gaining skills and knowledge for

formal employment or more generally occupancy. Locally produced art and culture was perceived as part of people's identities and valued in different ways, including as part of the local formal and informal economies. Homemade foods, various art forms (*e.g.* carving, painting), sewing, guiding and other 'goods and services' represented some of the various offerings that helped to feed families and support individual and collective wellbeing in a variety of ways. Informal economies rooted in customary practices, values and beliefs reflect the ingenuity, creativity, interests, needs and values of *Kugluktummiut*.

From a food system governance or management perspective, the approaches and responses associated with the FS lens may be preferable to engaging with the seemingly unstructured, unpredictable, relational and complex realities of people's relationships with food. Nonetheless, based on findings from this research, acknowledging and making space for the kinds of 'complexities' that constitute people-food relationships is critical for efforts towards building more sustainable and compassionate futures, where the wellbeing of all life forms the basis of decision making. In this regard, speaking to the lenses used in this study, both the FSov and IR approaches are important because they consider power dynamics the placement and arrangement of decision making authority. They emphasize local, grassroots decision making because the distribution of power is considered an essential component of food security and sustainability through self-sufficiency and environmental stewardship (e.g. Gartaula et al. 2017; Pimbert 2009; Menezes 2001). As described in Chapter 5.4a, a hybrid of these two may be needed, but could also potentially include aspects of other lenses (*e.g.* IQ, food wellbeing – Ch. 5.4b-d).

6.4 Where does this research fit within the larger scope?

a) Distinctive Research Contributions

This is bridging work: as a plant ecologist, it is where I am comfortable[97] – in complex, big systems thinking. In this regard, Kugluktuk is an ecosystem comprised of smaller systems, and s simultaneously nested within much bigger systems. Individuals and families, their relationships to one another, their environment, their ancestors and histories, and much more comprise the ecosystem of what is called Kugluktuk. These are the things that inform the people-food relationships that shape Kugluktuk's food system: bottom-up and top-down. Here I have attempted to use grassroots understandings to explore different food system lenses for their respective capacities to encapsulate people's needs, including how to support the functional aspects of people-food relationship in a case study community.

This work coincides with an ever growing body of external (*e.g.* scholarly literatures) and internally produced writing (*i.e.* within Nunavut). One example of the latter is the most recent iteration of the Makimaniq Plan, which includes sections that address *Piliriqatigiingniq* ('working together'), increased community decision making, support for healing, wellbeing and life-long learning, food security and SA (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017). The work presented here was informed by and in turn can inform many different fields; however, its complex, holistic, multidisciplinary and dynamic nature tends to resist the silo-like disciplinary tendencies that some suggest trouble the academic world (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007:8–14). The array of themes and categories invoked by people-food relationships (*e.g.* justice, education, wellbeing, spirituality, culture) also cross scales (time/space, individuals/ collectives, grassroots/formal governance), including theory and praxis. As my *mitkolik* metaphor suggests,

[97] Or comfortably uncomfortable!

from methodology to research focus, the complexity of people-food relationships calls upon an unusual breadth of knowledge and as such presents challenges to situating my work within the contexts of other relevant discourses. These kinds of challenges are characteristic of emergent fields such as food studies (Koc, Sumner, and Winson 2017) and Indigenous studies, as well as with ethnography – which has been described as "… *an especially rich form of interpretive knowledge production*", and interdisciplinary research, which "…*in addition to devising new epistemologies and research forms… renegotia*[es] *a historical and politically charged categorical system that orders regimes of knowledge, status, and authority*" (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007:2–3, 9).

This is the first study of its kind to explore the performance of not just food security and sovereignty, but also a third lens – Indigenous resilience. This helped to highlight the strengths and limitations of each lens, towards identifying gaps that need to be addressed in food system governance theory and praxis. Combining this new knowledge about the suite of different lenses with further alternatives, namely Inuit-informed lenses, *Indigenous* food security/sovereignty and food wellbeing further highlights existing gaps and offers direction for future research and governance practices. Relative to more conventional research inquiry, the philosophical underpinnings of this work (*i.e.* exploratory, Indigenous, appreciative, ethnographic) contributed to using approaches that were perhaps more adaptive, responsive and co-produced.

Some of the other theoretical areas to which my work may contribute include the following: food studies, decolonizing and Indigenous literatures, (holistic) wellbeing, food systems, policy studies, foodscapes and harvesting/subsistence. As Koc, Sumner and Winson write, "*…food studies focuses on the web of relations, processes, structures, and institutional arrangements that cover human interaction with nature and other humans involving the*

production, distribution, preparation, consumption, and disposal of food. For this reason, food studies can be considered to constitute a new movement, not only as an academic discipline but also as a means to change society (Berg et al. 2003)" (2017:xiv). In the work of de/re-constructing human relationships with food, which invites individual and collective (*e.g.* systemic) accountability and reflexivity, I offer considerations about the ongoing role of colonial power relations in Kugluktuk, and more broadly Nunavut – helping to inform decolonizing, Indigenous literatures, including the various ways in which these impact people-food relationships over space and time. Both food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience lenses c/overtly invoke counter narratives to dominant discourses and make space to re-centre – knowledge, values, practices, beliefs, needs. This in turn invites us to see/perceive with different eyes, to (re) consider the direction that current momentum is carrying all of us, independently and collectively. This work also offers space to consider what enables us – as individuals and collectives – to (re-) connect with food; not only the food that sustains, but the food and relationships that nourish body, soul and mind. Using lenses such as food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience – or others such as Inuit-centered and Indigenous-centered lenses – offer space in which to (re) connect to food, (re) imagine people-food relationships in ways that nourish wellbeing, as well as describe and envision what *is* wellbeing. Kugluktuk's food system is described here from a grassroots perspective, which helps to complicate and transgress dominant implicit and explicit assumptions and break down imposed categories and binaries (*e.g.* store/commercial *vs.* country/ customary foods or resources). This in turn helps provide some measure of guidance with regards to evaluating different lenses that could and *do* (*i.e.* FS) inform policy, programming and services, in this instance emphasizing grassroots, bottom-up

perspectives and, therefore, potentially improving the evidence base for selecting different food system lenses.

Findings from this research invite questions about dominant ways in which people-food relationships in (Northern) food systems are perceived, quantified, understood and 'managed' in governance contexts. In effect, these were opportunities to ask different questions: for example, what is working? There is a clear need to better understand both people-food relationships, as well as investigative and management tools (*e.g.* lenses, metrics) in order to ensure that services, programming and policy are well matched with peoples' needs and realities, including ensuring that enabling customary practices are supported and not disrupted. This work can offer direction for program, policy and service development, towards improving (food) security and (re-) building more equitable, autonomous and culturally responsive food systems. Research outcomes may help provide a basis for public/community conversation around the roles of food in people's lives, raising awareness or serving as an advocacy tool for communities and community involvement in food system governance.

The following focuses on northern food security, food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience literatures, placing these in Inuit-relevant contexts. In general, the existing body of research regarding food security in the Arctic and specific to Nunavut is substantial, albeit with identified gaps in knowledge (Loring 2017; Council of Canadian Academies 2014). Internationally and within Canada, food sovereignty appears to be increasingly claiming a foothold in academic literatures since approximately 2010 and within northern literatures around 2015. It is a concept that seems increasingly explored and used by Indigenous scholars and communities across Canada. As of the time of writing, there are no other discourses in grey or

academic literatures within Nunavut, the Arctic or internationally that use Indigenous resilience specifically as a lens through which to understand people-food relationships.

b) Situating Food Security in *Inuit Nunangat*

In the realm of food security in *Inuit Nunangat*, the work presented here is quite possibly the first systematic analysis of the FS lens' capacity to encompass salient aspects of people-food relationships, and is one of the first explicit critiques of food security in a northern context (e.g. Loring 2017). Historical and current food security assessments appear to be based on pre-existing assumptions about the nature of people-food relationships, not necessarily grounded in evidence, while the structures, metrics and wording of food security assessments historically have not been shaped by those to whom surveys and interviews are administered or policy and programming developed (Loring and Gerlach 2015b). The grassroots approach of this research can help address the kind of gaps identified by Loring's critical research, emphasizing the need to consider – for example – political ecology in the realm of food security (2017).

More recent research concerning northern food security continues to be focused on issues such as limited (colonial) considerations of health (*e.g.* nutritionalism *vs.* holistic, place-based) (e.g. Hu, Kenny, and Chan 2018; Kenny, Hu, et al. 2018), contaminants (e.g. Laird et al. 2013) and climate change (*e.g.* ACIA reports, various publications associated with James Ford), with some consideration of drivers of food *in*security (e.g. Ruiz-Castell et al. 2015; Loring and Gerlach 2015b), reliance on country foods (e.g. Watts et al. 2017; Wenzel, Dolan, and Brown 2016), assessing and publicizing community-driven initiatives (Ford et al. 2013; Organ 2012; Kenny, Wesche, et al. 2018) and limited re-thinking of food security approaches (e.g. Loring 2017). Perhaps the most relevant publication to date has been the ICC-A report, which identified six interconnecting themes of (Alaskan) Inuit food security: 1) (food) Availability, 2) Inuit

Culture, 3) Decision-Making Power and Management, 4) Health and Wellness, 5) Stability and 6) Accessibility (2015a:31). The report defines food security as follows:

> *Alaskan Inuit food security is the natural right of all Inuit to be part of the ecosystem, to access food and to care-take, protect and respect all of life, land, water and air. It allows for all Inuit to obtain, process, store and consume sufficient amounts of healthy and nutritious preferred food – foods physically and spiritually craved and needed from the land, air and water, which provide for families and future generations through the practice of Inuit customs and spirituality, languages, knowledge, policies, management practices and self-governance. It includes the responsibility and ability to pass on knowledge to younger generations, the taste of traditional foods rooted in place and season, knowledge of how to safely obtain and prepare traditional foods for medicinal use, clothing, housing, nutrients and, overall, how to be within one's environment. It means understanding that food is a lifeline and a connection between the past and today's self and cultural identity.* (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:31)

This definition provides insight into the place-based and culturally embedded meanings of food in the lives of Alaskan Inuit; its content is echoed by much of what emerged in this dissertation, as well as other studies, such as Gwich'in berry harvesting (Parlee, Berkes, and Gwich'in 2005). As Wexler writes, "…*understandings of culture are shaped by historical experiences and modified through time*"; nonetheless, while people-food relationships in *Inuit Nunangat* may not be the same around the world or even between/among communities in relatively close geographic proximity, valuable insights can nonetheless emerge through identified commonalities and differences based on place, culture and histories, for example. In some respects, perhaps grounding food security within Inuit homelands helps to make more explicit the voices that need to inform policy-relevant discourses about people-food relationships.

c) Inuit Food Sovereignty

Food sovereignty remains an emergent area of study, much more recent than food security. Despite its consolidation as a movement in 1993, the concept was only introduced in Canada in 2001 – and not within explicitly Indigenous contexts. In 2007, Indigenous Food

Sovereignty emerged through the Food Secure Canada movement (Martin and Arnos 2017:209). In a northern context, the Council of Canadian Academics 2014 report is perhaps one of the first documents to introduce this concept, identifying not only food sovereignty and governance as priority areas for investigation, but amongst others also social determinants of food security (Council of Canadian Academies 2014:xx). A recent report produced by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association is one of the first publications within Nunavut that uses the specific terminology of food sovereignty and discusses its praxis in the context of hunting (QIA 2019). Many other approaches and research topics, including a range of internally produced (Nunavut-specific) publications that indirectly touch on different aspects of (Indigenous) FSov or IR, without actually naming it (Daigle 2017), for example hunting, country food and 'subsistence ways of life' (Holthaus 2008), wildlife (co-) management and cultural revitalisation; food security remains the dominant terminology and – in some respects – framework. Given the newness of the field in a northern context, my research offers its own contribution to expanding considerations of FSov and how this impacts governance.

Using bottom-up data to demonstrate the potential capacities of the FSov lens to capture different emergent aspects of people-food relationships is a unique contribution. Given the newness of the field and the relatively open and interpretive nature of FSov, many different interpretations in both theory and praxis are possible. Demonstrating the capacities of this lens, as I have done here, helps to illustrate how the concept of FSov can be grounded in real-world examples, which can be helpful for policy makers and other practitioners not only to explore the concept of food sovereignty, but develop ideas and expressions further. For example, several authors highlight tensions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous conceptualisations of food sovereignty (Martin and Arnos 2017; Desmarais and Wittman 2014); in this research I have

noted how an *Indigenous* lens might impact interpretations of FS and FSov in particular (*e.g.* important role of collectives, resource sharing, relationality).

d) Inuit Resilience/Indigenous Resilience

This research introduces the concept of Indigenous resilience in a northern (Indigenous) food system, and illustrates its potential capacities to encompass different salient people-food themes as a candidate for supporting food system governance. This unique contribution offers a completely new perspective for consideration, and a lens that may be used singly or in combination with others. Applying Indigenous resilience in the context of people-food relationships shifts the emphasis from the prevailing context of health and wellbeing, and broadens the scope of its application, which can in turn help inform areas of study where it is has been applied historically. Research by Waddell *et al*. (2017), for example, considers resilience, but only as it emerges out of the research – which is community-based and participatory, based on elder storytelling and other forms of knowledge sharing. While aspects of this work approximate Waddell *et al*., themes of Inuit resilience are introduced through Elder storytelling, not the other way around. The 'Indigenous' and 'resilience' aspects of this lens each provide their own respective contributions in terms of interpretation, as well as and in combination.

These are stories of hope and thriving, whether despite, because or irrespective of adversity. The field of food systems research and resurgence (*e.g.* cultural, sustainability-focused, wellbeing) seems particularly well suited to an Indigenous resilience lens. This is exemplified in stories, whether research or otherwise, about the different meanings food holds for people, how it connects and (re) centres (*e.g.* discourses, needs, values, practices, beliefs). The Kugluktuk Soup Kitchen is one example of a community-specific story that reflects resilience as it relates to people-food relationships (Ajayi and Klady 2014; Nunatsiaq News

2015). The research presented here adds to the growing suite of examples of community-led initiatives around addressing concerns related to people-food relationships, as well as celebrating those practices, values and beliefs that support wellbeing, and reflect food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience.

6.5 Summary of Study Limitations

First and foremost, this research is about a learning journey. This was a learning journey about people-food relationships, lenses and food system governance, but also it was about the researcher's learning as part of her academic program, working towards developing a new skill set and honing existing skills. In this regard, the thesis has been a work in progress. As such there are a number of potentially limiting issues that are attached to this work. These include my limited previous experience and skills in interviewing and attendant notetaking, qualitative analysis, memos (grounded theory), and using a more discursive writing style. Personal positionality (as discussed in Methods Ch. 3.6) as an 'outsider', in addition to other research-specific issues such as limited duration of field work and embeddedness within the community may have also influenced the collection and interpretation of responses. Also, given the qualitative nature of this research and attempts to modify methods to accommodate issues of power, researcher worldviews and status as an outsider, some degree of researcher subjectivity is unavoidable and likely impacted research findings in various ways that may or may not be obvious.

In this study, the various lenses applied were subject to my own interpretations, influenced by my worldviews and informed by my research interests. Given the emergence of broader definitions and imaginings of the food security lens, it may have been possible to explore

that lens along a spectrum of how it is defined, for example conservative or limited to broad, holistic interpretations. One of the advantages of this study, however, was the ability to explore for the first time very different lenses in order to broadly assess how these may impact the perception and shape of people-food relationships.

The broad scope of the subject matter and the attendant complexity (interdependence, layered, nuanced, interconnected) presented challenges to bringing together seemingly disparate themes in ways that focused and clarified understandings about relationships between people and food, while also preserving and reflecting these richly nuanced relationships across different scales in Kugluktuk. At the same time, my personal history, including becoming a mother along this research journey, moving into my fourth decade in the world and second decade of academic studies, with a supervisory committee that represents a broad array of high level expertise across disciplines, may have helped limit some of the associated pitfalls.

Participant demographics may have privileged outsider voices. Given that Kugluktuk is predominantly Inuit, there are a disproportionate number of non-local voices represented in this work. Certain demographics may also be underrepresented in the coding (*e.g.* welfare recipients, single parents). The use of theoretical sampling (apropos of grounded theory), as well as high quality relationships with several local people and immersion in many community activities (*e.g.* soup kitchen, sewing group, on-the-land activities), may have helped balance this potential bias. There may have also been a tendency during coding to privilege local voices, particularly in the themes of identity and relationships. Also, outsiders may have been more likely to speak most directly and frequently about governance related issues. The emergent themes may not only be highly participant-specific, but also community/settlement-specific, limiting the generalisability

of the study to other northern communities. Nonetheless, comparison with other recent northern and/or Indigenous-focused studies suggests significant areas of commonality (e.g. Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a; Tulloch 2015; QIA 2019; Todd 2010; Gerlach and Loring 2013; Loring 2017; Council of Canadian Academies 2014). Youth voices are also underrepresented in this work owing to ethical considerations, and the relative influence of gender was also not explicitly considered.

Conclusions

Chapter 7: Research Question Responses, Key Findings, Recommendations & Future Research

The following includes a summary of responses to research questions (Section 7.1), key findings (Section 7.2), a list of ideas for enhancing people-food relationships in Kugluktuk and more broadly (Section 7.3), concluding with recommendations for future research (Section 7.4).

7.1 Summary of Research Question Responses

This section summarises responses to the two principle research questions (*i.e.* RQ1a/b & RQ2) of this dissertation:

a) Research Question 1

What constitutes people-food relationships in a case-study community in Nunavut? What are emergent themes in people's lives (Appendix B), and how do these themes characterise people-food relationships? How are themes interconnected? What characterises food system governance in the case-study community?

Kugluktuk's food system is characterised by three principle components: store, country and homemade foods. People in Kugluktuk feed their families in many different ways, in many instances using particular combinations of country and store foods.

Emergent themes in people's lives in Kugluktuk include identity, living in relation and resources and power. Each theme is comprised of sub-themes: *Identity* includes broadly the foods that people eat, being out on the land, wellbeing and change. *Living in relation* involves relationships and human connection, how these manifest (*e.g.* visiting, parenting), contributions to collective wellbeing, learning in a quite broad, holistic sense, working together and social

activities. *Resources and power* manifest as resources and resource control, power and leadership, engagement (*e.g.* employment, occupation), and both appreciation and concerns within the settlement. These themes are interconnected: food nourishes and sustains identity, while identity influences food choices; food helps build connection, while connection enables relationships to food; resources and power enable access to food, while food – especially certain foods – confer power and may enable access to certain resources. In addition, two additional elements emerged as important to people-food relationships: wellbeing and complexity. Wellbeing drives people-food relationships, which themselves are complex.

Food system governance has both internal (*e.g.* locally managed institutions) and external systems (*e.g.* Federal programming) of power and resource control, which are influenced by customary and formal mechanisms (*e.g.* sharing networks *vs.* government welfare) that impact people-food relationships (enabling/disabling).

b) Research Question 2

How do the lenses of food security, food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience encompass people-food relationships (i.e. emergent themes) in a Nunavut community? Relevant sub-questions include:

i. Research Question 2a

What themes resonated with or were not well represented by each of the three lenses?

Broadly speaking, some themes were captured by all lenses (*i.e.* resources, employment, real food that people eat), but others had weak or no overlap (*e.g.* activities, visiting, preparing for life). Each lens has its respective strengths and limitations.

ii. Research Question 2b

How do the lenses of food sovereignty or Indigenous resilience help us understand people-food relationships in a Nunavut community, and potentially improve food system governance?

Overall, the IR lens represents the most aspects of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, and as such may be the most appropriate for food system governance. Its effectiveness, however, depends upon the criteria used to assess this: if a holistic approach is desired, IR is likely to be both appropriate and effective. If the emphasis, however, is economic then this may not be an effective lens. The IR lens represented all themes and was the only lens to also include all themes. It is appreciative and holistic. By emphasizing different values such as wellbeing and culture, IR can help shift where power is situated. On the other hand, it has not been strictly defined, nor has it been applied to food. This can present challenges to interpretation, including translating theory to praxis – an issue that is in common with all three lenses. The combination of advantageous qualities of this lens may also help invite some measure of systemic reflexivity.

FSov encompassed fewer themes. In general it has good representation in the areas of identity and resources/power, and weak representation in relationality. It was effective at identifying many different aspects of power and resource control – across scales – that are important to food system governance and wellbeing. Similar to the IR lens, FSov appears to invite consideration of people-food relationships not as something static but rather dynamic and therefore requires ongoing conversation. Systemic reflexivity may also be more likely. The FS lens was most limited in its representation of people-food relationships in the areas of identity and relationships. It captured resources well, but not power (*e.g.* resource control).

iii. Research Question 2c

Is there potential for these lenses to work synergistically to form a more appropriate or effective hybrid lens? Are there other candidate lenses that emerge?

In terms of understanding food systems and serving food system governance, the single lens (or user) that is perfect is unlikely to exist. Each lens offers a unique view – some are broader than others. Given the complexity of people-food relationships today, it may be crucial to use several different lenses, or at least attempt to fill in identified gaps as Rosol *et al.* (2011) have done by broadening the definition of food security, and as others have achieved by using Indigenous research lenses (e.g. Coté 2016; Morrison 2011; Daigle 2017; Kamal et al. 2015; Loring 2017; Martens et al. 2016; Huambachano 2016). In Nunavut, an appropriate choice for further consideration and development seems to be an Inuit-centered lens – one that can be guided and informed by place-based practices, values and beliefs (*e.g.* IQ). Another candidate lens for further exploration might be Food Wellbeing.

7.2 Summary of Key Findings

> "*...sustainable solutions to improve food security must be holistic, be enabled by traditional knowledge, respond to locally identified needs, and be paired with economic development strategies. ...support for local food systems is essential. All of these solutions require Northerners to have and continue to establish program ownership. ... Addressing food insecurity in the North is a complex challenge that touches on governance and food sovereignty, on poverty and economic development, and on self-determination and education*"
>
> (Council of Canadian Academies 2014:vii–viii)

Many aspects of this research individually are novel; considered collectively this study is entirely unique (holistic, appreciative, multiple lenses, grassroots informed, *etc.*). The following summarises some of the more salient contributions:

- Developed a holistic understanding of Kugluktuk's food system informed by emergent grassroots values, beliefs and practices (without initial imposition of defined categories)

- Presented a conceptual model of grassroots people-food relationships (Fig. 4)
- Identified grassroots-informed drivers of people-food relationships (*e.g.* wellbeing, social connection, continuity of culture/identity, occupancy)
- Used an asset-based, appreciative inquiry (*versus* more conventional deficit focused approach)
- Identified 'successful' practices that enable secure, sovereign and resilient people-food relationships
- Identified links between wellbeing and people-food relationships (Fig. 8)
- Compared the respective capacities of food security and sovereignty lenses, as well as Indigenous resilience (previously untested) to encompass people's food-related needs, values, beliefs
    - Considered additional alternative lenses (*e.g.* Indigenous- & Inuit-centered, Food Wellbeing)
    - Identified not only the impact of using different lenses, but also the influence of positionality
- Introduced an Indigenous lens to the realms of people-food relationships and food system governance
- Identified gaps between dominant conceptualisations/assumptions about food security (*e.g.* academic, popular, governance) with people's lived (grassroots) experiences (*i.e.* bottom-up informing top-down)
- Deconstructed prevailing assumptions about drivers of food security (*e.g.* hunger, 'healthy' foods, monetary resources, employment, sharing) and considered alternative perspectives
- Identified the importance of collective connection and wellbeing, thereby broadening conceptualisations about attachment from individual to collective awareness

This research emphasized three key areas of inquiry: (1) people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, (2) what enables people to feed their families, and (3) food system lenses. Within these areas, insights emerged about how perspective, positionality and subjectivity shape perhaps all aspects of people-food relationships, from relationships themselves (*e.g.* values, practices, beliefs) to food system governance; and on how the respective capacities of certain prevailing food system lenses impact food system governance. As a case study, this research provides insights and direction for food system governance situated in Kugluktuk, Nunavut; nonetheless, in following with one of the key findings of this work (*i.e.* need for local, place-based governance), extrapolation to other communities or locales may be appropriate only when

informed by situated, place-based food system governance. It is important to be mindful that findings from this study represent in part the voices of *Kugluktummiut* (*i.e.* not exclusively *Inuit* voices), and principally those of study participants, which may be unrepresentative of Kugluktuk as a whole.

People-food relationships in Kugluktuk are complex; as a reflection of human existence, they are interconnected, interdependent, holistic (*e.g.* body, mind, spirit, relationships with ancestors, environment, economy, *etc*.), and involve motivations beyond merely survival or satiety. They are fundamentally informed by identity, living in relation and resources/power; wellbeing is a thread that weaves throughout. With regards to hunger, the intactness of social networks, combined with local practices, values and beliefs, resources – such as the support of local, territorial and federal programming and services, and shared power through locally informed and governed institutions help prevent more serious outcomes when individuals and/or collectives are struggling to feed their families; aspects of these also support wellbeing.

Meaningful inroads into supporting wellbeing and transforming poverty, hunger and dysfunction in local food systems require shifts in focus. Emphasizing food prices, for example, places attention on aspects of the food system that may be effectively beyond local control, dictated to a greater extent by international markets and economies. While the cost of living in Kugluktuk is high, particularly considering demographically skewed and/or low rates of employment and financial insufficiencies, which can be exacerbated in the presence of other stressors (*e.g.* relational stresses, trauma, rapid change – social, technological, environmental, power dynamics), financial hardship is not the root cause of hunger and suffering (*e.g.* poverty). Similarly, teaching people to budget financial resources – a recommendation that was frequently mentioned – will not ‘solve’ hunger; so many other variables can influence food choices beyond

simply money management. In the current institutional, corporate and societal structures of Kugluktuk money is important but not a sufficiently complete picture.

If the scope of food system governance is narrow and limiting, there is a risk that it may not only fail to address emergent challenges, but also interfere with or worsen (functional) people-food relationships and wellbeing. As this research illustrates, particularly for food system governance, part of deciding where to go – what is needed to consider and respond to emergent challenges and support thriving – requires consideration of smaller-scale issues within the bigger picture(s), including complexity. Findings from this research suggest that it may be necessary to develop not only diverse mitigation strategies in response to food insecurity (Council of Canadian Academies 2014:xxi), but actually *perceive* the condition of food insecurity and people-food relationships differently, from radically different angles, using hybrid or multiple lenses, involving multiple voices (*e.g.* local, academic, government, industry, NGO) and with explicit consideration of power dynamics.

Examples of how to potentially shift current circumstances with regards to food systems include facilitating/supporting social connection, leadership opportunities (*e.g.* bridging knowledge gaps and world views, cultivating cultural pride and place-based practices/ knowledge), and cultivating holistic, place-based understandings of people-food relationships, wellbeing and sustainability. The appropriateness and efficacy of current local, territorial and federal governance tools in promoting sustainable and equitable food system governance practices can be assessed by identifying the assumptions that underlie food-related policy, programming and services, and asking whether these help contribute to functional people-food relationships. Achieving these things necessitate more dialogue about the ongoing influences of power dynamics such as colonial relations, how to shift specifically these dynamics, including

acknowledging the need for increased local autonomy and the importance of grounding food system governance in local knowledge, values and holistic wellbeing.

Many of the above findings overlap with Gorman's writing about the role of culture in governance: (1) programming and policy need to be informed by the people and voices for whom it these are intended; (2) local, place-based 'culture' – the *in situ* values, practices and beliefs – have fundamental and essential roles to play in guiding these voices, along with their programming/policy outcomes; and (3) making space for, supporting, and enabling cultural integrity and pride in decision making processes (among other fora) is vital to individual and collective wellbeing, and is more likely to facilitate the creation of programming and policy that is relevant and effective (2010:8, 9). This last point emphasizes the need for programming and policy practices and responses to adequately recognise, acknowledge, be responsive to and celebrate the shape of people's various realities, including those that influence people-food relationships over space and time.

a) Governance Tools

> *Here, we suggest that the understanding of food value, the defining of food security components, food security vulnerabilities and the appropriate measurement levels for food (in)security must be placebased and consider the health of the entire Arctic environment… Our traditional foods are much more than calories or nutrients; they are a lifeline throughout our culture and reflect the health of an entire ecosystem.*
>
> (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015a:13)

Perhaps foremost is that while tools may have their own inherent shape, *the* tool's users – people – also shape how the tools are used. This relationship requires that food system tools be used with awareness not only of the tools' capabilities and capacities, but also that each tool is simultaneously shaped by its user. This is an important awareness, because it ultimately impacts outcomes – including the experience of people feeding their families.

With respect to the tools themselves, *in-situ* customary practices are the most desirable starting place for addressing issues such as food insecurity and, more broadly, supporting wellbeing. The gaps that persist between different approaches to understanding phenomena such as hunger, people-food relationships and human's place in relation to 'others' are impactful (Inuit Circumpolar Council-Alaska 2015b) . In Nunavut, there are opportunities to bring place-based (local) knowledge to play increasingly active roles in directing and shaping policy and programming. In this way, in addition to making space for more grassroots, local, place-based voices, intentionally creating space for different kinds of knowledge and perceptions will be essential.

A 'food lens' (Tso 2014) makes it possible to begin reflexively deconstructing people-food relationships, towards perceiving these within much broader frameworks. More conventional, conservative understandings of these relationships overlook too many essential facets. Systemic discrimination and interruption of successful place-based practices in feeding families may be the natural consequence of lenses and users that are shaped by colonial forces, informed by prevailing (colonial) assumptions and metrics that support colonial mandates that exclude or marginalise local practices, values and beliefs. This creates an imperative to explore other options in order to reduce these risks.

Lenses that may better resonate include Indigenous-focused lenses, such as Indigenous resilience, Indigenous food sovereignty and even Indigenous food security. Food wellbeing is another candidate. In situations where it is possible to (re)connect with at least some place-based practices, values and beliefs, Indigenous lenses may help make the necessary space for place-based knowledges to come forward and shape food system governance. Guidance and direction may also be gleaned from Inuit principles such as IQ, Aupilaarjuk's triad (McGrath 2011) or

Price's "Kitchen Consultation Model" of decision-making (2007), which is grounded in Inuit values, practices, ways of knowing, and relationships. Similarly to Tso's 'food lens', people-food relationships viewed through a 'country food lens' may better acknowledge food values other than monetary ones. A resilience lens showed that accompanying problems are also valuable illustrations of strengths, resiliencies and solutions.

Based on findings from this study, the Indigenous resilience lens may be most closely aligned with Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) and similar systems, and offers support for the serious consideration of *in-situ* customary practices as the most desirable starting place for addressing issues such as food insecurity and more broadly supporting wellbeing. The food sovereignty lens was particularly useful in terms of bringing issues of power to the fore.

Efforts to quantify people-food relationships, including the development of metrics and key indicators, need to be informed by local practices, values and beliefs. Given, for example, that individual and collective relationships with food are inseparable, metrics that assume single/nuclear parent/caregiver families are inappropriate. An important part of individual and collective autonomy, sovereignty and Indigenous resilience is to decide internally, within collectives, what measures and responses are needed or helpful in each community. Given the primacy of social relations to people-food relationships in Kugluktuk, efforts to strengthen relationships (*e.g.* among people, with the land) may be more productive actions than measuring and establishing specific potential breaking/tipping points, which themselves may be affected by many different variables over space and time.

b) Place-based, local participation

Northerners are the best people to investigate, assess and resolve persistent concerns or issues, as well as identify successful practices in food system governance, rather than 'outside'

problem solving by top-down institutions. Outsider insights extend from situated experiences, within personal limitations of understanding and biases. Grassroots input can help infuse (local) governance with the values that people hold for their community and culture and belief that local practices and values have an important role to play in leadership at many levels of governance and in society. In many instances local interpretations or influences helped improve the effectiveness of programming practices, and at times larger governing structures were able to accommodate and support local modifications. Another advantage of local voices is that they bring a persistent desire to contribute to the wellbeing of their families and community in ways that outsiders cannot. It is meaningful that place-based (customary) knowledge has wellbeing as a core value and directive. The soup kitchen, sewing groups, CPNP and others provide useful illustration of these principles.

Local decision making is more likely to involve a felt sense of the various needs, values, beliefs, complexities and nuances that inform local practices. Decision making about resource allocation (*e.g.* funding) and autonomy at the community level may in turn enable the capacities of individuals and collectives to identify and respond uniquely to their own needs, and in a timely fashion. In this respect, formal governance structures and regulatory systems in Nunavut may need to be even more flexible, transparent, responsive – allowing for changing local (*i.e.* place-based, community-level) needs and input, practices (*e.g.* wage and subsistence economy, governance, infrastructure), and environmental conditions and rhythms (*e.g.* seasonal abundance, changing climate). This echoes Alex Ker's call for 'collaborative governance' at the Nunavut Food Security Symposium (January 22-24, 2013) and the NFSC's guiding principle around "… *the human right to…participate in decisions about our food system*". The recent emergence of a co-developed Arctic and northern policy framework may be an important move towards greater

collaboration – and by extension connection (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs 2019).

Sites of tension or conflict, such as government recommendations about 'healthy foods', can help reveal how programs and policies may not be in alignment with peoples' food choices. Judgement tends to be the more dominant and institutionally accepted practice; however, without curiosity (with kindness and compassion) the gap between expectations *versus* needs, needs *versus* 'wants' will persist, and programming and policy responses will continue to fall short. Consequently, more spaces and opportunities need to be created where people are able to freely ask questions and discuss where the focus is on process, as opposed to just solutions. There are people in Kugluktuk with the natural ability to bring others together in connection and "hold space". If solutions are created in community, then realms such as food, education, justice, health and others need to be the purview of local, grassroots deliberations.

There is an impressive and humbling accumulation of individual and collective gifts and abilities in Kugluktuk; these presently serve the wider community through partnerships and collaborations in programming, service delivery and business development, and have the potential for both more and other applications (*e.g.* mentorship, apprenticeship, lecture series, storytelling, coffee houses, drop-in classes). Identifying and creating more opportunities where these skills and abilities, including place-based (customary) internal social services can be supported and/or strengthened (*e.g.* sharing, visiting, learning/education, collaboration) in turn contributes to wellbeing. Communities have the potential to exert a great deal of influence on future generations, such as partnerships within the education system to foster the kind of generalist-specialist skills and resources development that supports collective wellbeing (*e.g.* sustainability, sovereignty, empowerment) in the community. This may be particularly important

in the case of young people, as well as specifically those with limited access to opportunities, experiences and the requisite mentorship from kin networks. As Jenny Rand – a northern health researcher – says, "*Youth need to see themselves in a future*" (pers. comm. 05.07.2015). Cultural continuity, for example, has fundamental importance for youth wellbeing (Chandler and Lalonde 2008).

c) Internal social services, social cohesion

Andersson's summary of Indigenous resilience research encourages taking a step beyond, and invites more curiosity about what underlies thriving (2008). In Kugluktuk, the quality of social cohesion impacts different aspects of people's lives – from relationships with food, to access to 'education' or wellbeing. Social cohesion influences opportunities to access resources such as finances (*e.g. via* employment, country food harvesting) or food (*e.g.* store/country food). Sharing practices are dependent upon and foster social cohesion, which in turn is cultivated through opportunities (*e.g.* places, spaces, events) to build, maintain and/or repair (*e.g.* heal) relationships/ connection. Sharing practices also help ensure people are fed, especially children. Social events (gendered/non-gendered, multi/uni-generational) support opportunities for people to build and strengthen communities of trust and communication, celebrate and maintain culture, and engage in culturally responsive, appropriate/sensitive and locally-determined healing practices. This may be particularly vital for people who do not have the capacity to go out on the land. While various government (*e.g.* local, territorial, federal) programming and services may prevent more serious outcomes, the integrity of social systems in Kugluktuk not only prevents more serious outcomes with regards to hunger but also supports thriving.

As described in a previous section, people-food relationships connect to fundamental aspects of the self and identity, as well as the realms of education, health, justice, governance and spirituality. In light of this, ongoing consideration of the roles of outsiders and external authorities in decision making and resource control (*i.e.* positionality within power structures) in Nunavut is important and impactful. There is a need for customary, local systems and processes to (re)gain authority, in order to develop, grow and/or change in ways that facilitate healing relationships between people and food and cultivate wellbeing.

The role, importance of and opportunities afforded by the inherent relationality in feeding our families' needs to remain at the forefront of awareness, whether in the context of local or larger scale governance decisions and programming, structuring corporate and economic practices in the community, or ensuring accessible spaces and places in Kugluktuk where people can come together to strengthen social ties through sharing food, knowledge, celebrating culture and more. This is underlain by the fact that *both* individual and collective wellbeing are important to *Kugluktummiut*.

d) Good governance through social cohesion & integrity

The 'village' (*i.e.* community with social integrity and cohesion) is essential to *both* individual and collective people-food relationships, relationship cohesion and integrity in the realm of food system management contributes to accountable and responsive food system governance. Consequently, 'good relations' can help interrupt systemic power imbalances tied to colonial and corporate histories. This establishes an imperative to foster good connections through building/maintaining relationships, developing mutual understandings, healing/repairing ruptures in connection, engaging in reflexivity at individual and collective scales, and being accountable to issues of resource control and attendant power. Social cohesion impacts people-

food relationships and wellbeing across a range of demographics, and individuals and collectives with strong social cohesion may be more resilient to the various challenges that constitute being human at this juncture in time and space, and may better foster conditions for thriving (*i.e.* wellbeing)(Stanley 2003). The practice of connection requires sufficient space, time and opportunity (*e.g.* public fora, community-led school or other educational programs).

e) Wellbeing, healing, sustainability, being on the land

Wellbeing and sustainability are not separate ideas or ideals, whether in the context of social, environmental or ancestral relationships and connection. Being out on the land brings together wellness, sustainability and healing. These are vital connections: the land is one of the best healing resources. Being out on the land 'nourishes' both body and soul by creating opportunities and outlets for people to connect with the land and each other, engage in play and have fun together, develop/maintain skills, teach/learn and reinforce cultural identity together by engaging in local practices and values. There is an imperative to improve and ensure different on-the-land activities for a wide range of demographics, particularly those with limited access.

f) Employment, Occupancy, Livelihood

> *…there are lots of strengths here: food security is not just about feeding your belly, but also the mind. We need to feel better about ourselves* (CP4, April 24, 2014).

'Education' (broadly interpreted), employment and occupancy intersect in ways that are important to resource access and control in the present and future, individual/collective wellbeing and feeding families. Perhaps one way to consider these different facets in relation to people-food relationships is through 'occupancy' or livelihood, shifting the focus in ways that create and support opportunities for people to feel of service to their families and community, representing yet another link with wellbeing. While there may be relatively limited opportunities

for wage employment in Kugluktuk, there are effectively unlimited opportunities for engagement, such as through different forms of community service.

Addressing concerns about unemployment are not just about increasing local employment opportunities, but also changing the kind of opportunities that are available, for whom (internal demographics), who controls employment (*e.g.* local, colonial, corporate), the terms of employment (*e.g.* structuring, qualification requirements) and how these affect personal, family and community development, wellbeing and sustainability over the short- and long-term. Power dynamics are important considerations; these impact local food sovereignty and potential responsiveness of food system governance. Additional questions that are beyond the scope of this research: Do jobs foster healthy families or a sense of community belonging and service? Does income feed back into the community or does it flow out, as it does in various ways with corporate involvement? Strategies for responding to concerns about employment and education need to ensure that young people in particular are provided with a diversity of opportunities, including ones that consider occupancy.

In Kugluktuk, changing the emphasis of consideration from employment to occupation or livelihood does not preclude the responsibility to consider how dominant forms of employment can be shaped to better serve individuals and the community. There is a great deal of room to foster local innovation for self-employment or business ventures, and ensure that employment also leads to the development or acquisition of more marketable skills. Governance structures have a role to play in creating opportunities by shifting expectations (*e.g.* qualifications) about employment structure (*e.g.* Monday – Friday for ‘desk jobs’) and requirements (*e.g.* colonial education).

g) Country food

Being on the land, harvesting and sharing country food, and other non-wage activities that stem from 'traditional economic systems' and contribute to the collective good (*e.g. via* 'occupation') are means through which wellbeing, resilience, empowerment, positive sense of identity and social cohesion are fostered. Consequently, the values, practices and beliefs that enable people to access country food need to be formally acknowledged and supported, whether these are family and friend networks, local feasts, programs such as CPNP, the soup kitchen or local institutions such as the HTO. The underlying value of country food to *Kugluktummiut* means that it needs to be recognised as contributing to the health and wellbeing of individuals, families and the community.

Country food provision by the HTO supports people to continue to maintain cultural values and knowledge in their relationships with local foods, helps support a few individuals with hunting expertise in the community, and offers re-distribution of 'wealth'. *Kugluktummiut* with limited financial or social resources have at least occasional access to country food; local institutions such as the HTO and Elder Centre, along with social networks play an essential role in this regard.

In the complexity of Kugluktuk's current socio-ecological and economic circumstances, it seems that a local food system which includes a mixture of food sources (*e.g.* country food, store food) may be more resilient than a system that is either entirely reliant on store *versus* country food. Complete dependency on external food systems (*i.e.* industrial, store food) may be problematic for many reasons, including that they are increasingly outside of local control and establish unsustainable dependencies, including loss of local knowledge about local harvesting, processing and food preparation. From sustainability and ecological perspectives, country foods

that may have once traditionally been eaten, and are locally in abundance (*e.g.* crustaceans, bivalves, *etc.*)(Department of Environment 2010) could be (re)incorporated.

h) Nutrition North Canada (NNC), Personal Orders

Kugluktummiut expressed a desire to be able to benefit from this subsidy and, as Dargo concluded, without any subsidy, food prices (including harvesting costs) might be substantially higher than what they are currently (Dargo 2008). There was also frustration expressed about an apparent mismatch between local needs *versus* program structuring, as well as the general lack of transparency about whether the program was serving its intended purpose. One important question to ask might be to clarify the program intent relative to its actual capacity to fulfil its stated purpose. For example, several people mentioned that the NNC did not seem to be serving the people for whom it was intended: conversations with SA staff indicated that very few of their clients made use of 'personal orders'. Even the name of the program – Nutrition North – implicitly and explicitly reveals a foundation of colonial principles and understandings of people-food relationships, place and histories. Nutrition has been defined, shaped and imposed by outside/external authorities who are less accountable and transparent about underlying motivations and benefits (*e.g.* power, money, corporate/political motivations) (Martin and Arnos 2017) relative to many northern politicians, who normally have close familial and social ties to their constituents.

Martin and Arnos suggest that "[t]*he failure to address the underlying causes of food insecurity through the spread of nutritionism amounts to a cultural oppression of food…severing the important and integral relationships people once had with their food (Scrinis 2008) and the environment*" (2017:208). In the NNC program, disconnects between decision makers (*e.g.* program managers, bureaucrats, policy makers) and program users may enable the program to

operate without the same degree of accountability, responsibility or awareness. Institutions such as the local HTO and Elder Centre may not have this same issue.

Alternatives to relying on colonial and outsider ideologies and food system management tools to inform food system governance, such as with NNC, might include allocating subsidy monies to each recipient community and allowing local governance to dictate the terms of how subsidies are applied. The less sovereign approach that was taken, but one that might at least better incorporate local values, practices and beliefs might – in the instance of NNC – involved the Federal Government maintaining control of monies, but determining a list of acceptable foods through consultation (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017).

7.3 Recommendations

The following is a list of recommendations (intended primarily for decision makers) related to northern food system governance, informed by this research, but presented principally from the researcher's (limited) perspective. See Appendix C for a broader list of ideas and suggestions from study participants and the researcher and Appendix D for a policy brief. Generally speaking, the following will only be meaningful within a decision making power structure that privileges communities and local voices, and incorporates means by which to monitor the impacts of recommendations.

a) Changes to Food System Governance

- Examine & shift power structures/dynamics:
    - Increase visibility/transparency of power relations (*e.g.* decision making authority, resource control); consider how these shape relationships with food.
    - Bring public participation into powerful conversations that shape governance and the public sphere, including decisions about food system governance and people-food relationships; privilege the voices that are most impactful to improving conditions for those struggling and those likely to be impacted by changes in policy and programming.

    - Increase local participation (authority) in developing and running programs, particularly certain federal programs and others; frame responses within a local context, informed by place-based practices, needs, values and beliefs.
    - Enable more Inuit ways of relating (*e.g.* more bottom-up involvement in decision making) to better support local needs.
    - Decision-making needs to be informed by a diversity of voices, attending to power dynamics (*e.g.* consider whose voices are represented and who they are representing?).
    - Equitable food system governance needs to be grounded in locally-informed wellbeing.
    - Attend to gaps and injustices: explore and attend to social disconnections, power dynamics and power/resource imbalances through public discussion.
- Shift focus:
    - Renew/continue efforts to (re)envision and (re)shape future food governance (and society).
    - Consider Inuit worldview and wellbeing for (re)framing food-related research and food system governance.
    - Emphasize wellbeing, thriving, sustainability.
    - Manage corporate-public relationships with more balanced power and resources (*e.g.* partnerships, locally determined regulations).
    - Acknowledge limited conceptualisations and broaden these (*e.g*. hunger, wellbeing, economics, colonial power dynamics, culture, food preferences, relationships between local and global food systems, roles and responsibilities of government/food system governance).
    - Food system governance should be holistic: need to consider/perceive the food system holistically (and complexly), govern from understanding of core issues and their root causes (including wellbeing, thriving).
- Ensure that locally resilient, place-based practices, values and beliefs inform governance responses. These tend to be guided by what contributes to wellbeing relative to outsider or imposed systems and approaches. Cultural practices and local needs/realities need to inform leadership.
- Increase local leadership and autonomy to (re)harmonize food system governance with local values, practices and beliefs.
- Coordinate intergovernmental/ inter-agency activities to reduce gaps among agencies (particularly 'vertical' gaps); support organisations and services to communicate and collaborate in order to improve program and service efficacy (*e.g.* SA with EDO).
- Create key community service roles (*e.g.* youth worker, interagency coordinator, wellbeing facilitator).
- Recognise that outsiders may have markedly different ideas about what is needed relative to the very people for whom policies, programs and services may be most impactful. Outsiders are the learners, not the teachers.
- Reductionist approaches, perspectives and responses in food system governance may be inappropriate, given the inherent complexity.
- Allocate funds to programs that make country food more accessible, not just store food.

- Consider store-, country- and homemade foods as more integrated – not entirely separate – systems.

b) Revise Income Assistance, Social Assistance

- Re-visit current structure
- Consider options for collaborating with other programs and organisations (*e.g.* Economic Development Officer) to enhance 'program effectiveness' (such as meeting clients' needs, contributions to wellbeing).
    - *e.g.* mentorship programs or other organisations that value 'alternative' skills and qualities outside of formal job qualifications – *e.g.* Rangers program, on-the-land and other (cultural) learning opportunities, volunteer or other wage-free activities that contribute to individual and collective wellbeing – particularly local capacity building in areas of local interest (*e.g.* language revitalisation, country food harvesting).
- Assess program efficacy (*e.g.* extent to which productive choice options are available or utilised).

c) Facilitate Wellbeing

- Acknowledge and Celebrate:
    - Identity
    - Skills, expertise, knowledge
    - Resilience: moving forward, looking back
    - *Kugluktummiut* have – and always have had – the capacity to sort out their needs, including hunger
- Support opportunities to enhance (men's): *e.g.* occupancy, self-worth, physical/mental health, wellbeing, sense of usefulness (*e.g. via* skills development, pursuit of interests), engagement.

d) Support Locally-defined 'Healthy' Relationships

- Support Inuit-centered approaches to healing. For example, instigate healing practices on the land as part of 'standard' therapeutic approaches.
- Emphasize social connection: without social cohesion, internal/customary social services cannot be effective. By supporting people to navigate living in relation contributes towards feeding families and more broadly individual and collective wellbeing. This is particularly impactful in the context of caregiving.
- Support (create, advocate for) opportunities (*e.g.* spaces, events/activities) that facilitate the kinds of connection(s) in which *Kugluktummiut* can build and maintain relationships or repair ruptures in connection (*e.g.* 'healing'). 'Connection' is not limited to social connections (*e.g.* environmental, spiritual/cultural).
- Support healing/ceremonial practices and spaces/opportunities compatible with and/or that help reinforce cultural practices, values and beliefs, for individual and collectives… in relation, not in isolation.
- Acknowledge and support people coming together around food as medicine. Centering healing (*e.g.* related to residential schooling, colonial power relations, ongoing social/community rifts, reconciliation), celebration of identity, relationship and

empowerment can happen through collective sharing of country and other foods that invoke a positive sense of individual and collective expression of identity and empowered existence.

- Provide support (food, shelter, healing) to children of families that are having to navigate trauma, addictions and abuse.

e) Emphasize Occupancy

- Broaden imaginings of 'occupation'/livelihood; acknowledge its connection to individual/collective wellbeing.
- Broaden conceptualisations of what constitutes 'skills' or 'knowledge'
- Change 'business as usual' employment practices to better align with local needs, values and practices (*e.g.* mentorship programs *in lieu* of 'formal' education).
- Recognise/build skills and abilities: celebrate and capitalise on effectively unlimited opportunities for engagement and service through occupation ('occupational service')
    - *e.g.* skill and knowledge sharing/ transmission (*e.g.* place-based or other forms of education), mentoring, caregiving (*e.g.* childcare) and other means of providing support to other community members (*e.g.* caring for elders), employment-specific mentorship – assisting in various jobs where skills and knowledge can be further developed.
    - What opportunities are there to create these kinds of positive feedbacks for people-food relationships and wellbeing?
- Foster local entrepreneurship and innovation: increase supports and opportunities (*e.g.* country food café); with online markets, there are emerging opportunities for sovereign engagement and connection to other markets.
- Align employment practices with local practices, values & beliefs through local governance. (*e.g.* flexibility, adaptability, control).
- Enable access to the land, to being 'out of town' (*e.g.* cabins, camping, harvesting, on-the-land camps) across a range of demographics.
- Recognise and support opportunities to hunt/be on the land together.
- Consider developing infrastructure for local hunters cooperative or guild, which can then be coordinated with formal education programs and employment/training.

f) Knowledge Transfer

- Provide more opportunities for knowledge exchange (& social cohesion).
- Sharing spaces: allocate space /time for people to share expertise (*e.g.* harvesting, machine repair, sewing, storytelling, singing, healing, philosophy, history/'Inuitstory', *etc.*).
- Privilege customary or local methods of knowledge translation (*i.e.* delivery): use different techniques and fora (*e.g.* workshops, mentoring, guest lectures at 'coffee house' nights, school programs).
- Maintain/build connection to (place-based, cultural) knowledge (*e.g.* elder-youth camps, on-going school program collaboration with elder centre, youth on the land opportunities, harvester mentorship, communal kitchen spaces).
- Utilise local expertise more fully, including as decision makers.
- Enable knowledge exchanges with anyone who has expertise, including outsiders (*e.g.* those brought in for work due to particular expertise such as construction).

g) Formal Education

- Emphasize (increase?) local decision making authority (*e.g.* structure of school hours, location, 'relevant' topics).
- Harmonise curriculum and learning environment with physical and socio-cultural environments of students; increase local relevance.
- Privilege internal, local, place-based, customary knowledge.
- Bring into school curriculum on-the-land learning opportunities, incorporate and celebrate and culture/identity.
- Introduce budgeting concepts in schools, including more philosophical conversations (*e.g.* local/global food economics, food system governance, local autonomy, sustainability, *etc.*).

h) (Envisioning) Physical Spaces

- Create/use more effective/collaborative multi-use, multi-purpose public spaces (*e.g.* skills workshops, social groups).
    - Some spaces may become either partial or full commercial ventures (*e.g.* café, machine shop/work space).
- Acknowledge and support spaces, places and people that enable place-based values, practices and beliefs – including those rooted in local culture.
- Provide dedicated spaces for social connection (*e.g.* support groups, music, movement), equipment repair (*e.g.* snow machines, boat motors, *etc.*), knowledge & skills exchange.
- Support gendered coffee houses (*e.g.* men's groups).
- Provide men's shelter.

7.4 Future Research Recommendations

A friend recently reminded me, "*not everyone can square dance, but everyone eats food*". In other words, food is essential to life. As humans, when our relationships with food are under threat, it is reasonable to try to better understand those threats and determine if and how they can be managed. Understanding how food contributes positively to our lives can impact our wellbeing and capacities to thrive individually and collectively. The following section offers a collection of questions for future research. Any of these may become the foundation to help expand and/or clarify understandings of northern people-food relationships and food system governance. Some of these questions emerged out of research findings and represent opportunities to continue and/or expand this research. Others are clearly relevant to larger or

more specific scopes (*e.g.* Kugluktuk); some could not be explored or answered in this research, but may be worth pursuing in future efforts. None of these recommendations, however, are meaningful without a power structure that privileges communities and local voices. This will likely require systemic change.

Questions have been grouped according to the following broad themes: (a) people-food relationships, (b) formal/customary supports and institutions, (c) food system governance, (d) food system governance tools, and (e) occupancy, employment and IA/SA.

a) Questions on People-Food Relationships

- How do the findings of this study compare with other northern communities?
    - What enables people to feed their families in other communities?
- People-food relationships at larger scales
    - Why are there different experiences of food security among other northern communities?
    - Are there certain key drivers that impact the prevalence of hunger?
    - People at risk of experiencing food insecurity are reported to be getting country food, but how? What sources do they use most often, when and why?
    - What are the connections between power/decision making authority and how these translate to resource distribution (*e.g.* food) within and among communities?
    - Enhance understandings of intra- and inter-community food systems
    - What enables satiety and wellbeing in other communities?
    - To what extent do the respective histories of each community influence local food systems?
    - How does cultural integrity impact people-food relationships?
    - Are there gendered dynamics in terms of people-food relationships – including the experiences of hunger or wellbeing – connected to changing family and societal roles?
    - Lone caregiver relationships with food: expand and deepen outsider perceptions based on local/insider insights
    - What is the role of addictions in people-food relationships, including the experience of (chronic) hunger?
- What are the factors that support or disrupt resilient and sustainable people-food relationships?
    - How do these impact wellbeing?
    - How are these factors similar or different from other northern communities?
- What type of education system helps support thriving communities?
- What conditions/factors assist people to access education outside of their home communities? (*e.g.* financial, secure attachment, encouragement/mentoring, childcare, *etc.*).

- What factors disrupt or enable social ties? How are these similar or different to other communities?
- Food choices: what are underlying motivations for these?
- How do various entities (institutions, programs, services) impact customary sharing relationships and practices? (*e.g.* soup kitchen)
    - Do they impact (*e.g.* reduce) the burden on other families that are providing for/sharing with others?
    - Do they create additional dependencies?
    - How important is frequency/embeddedness to service efficacy?
- How does reliance on (corporate) agricultural products from distant locations impact relationships with country foods?
- Continue exploring relationships between feeding families and changing family/societal roles
- How does paying Elders for their expertise (*e.g.* in schools) impact their role(s) in collectives (*e.g.* community); would gifts of country food or otherwise be more appropriate?
    - Do individual homes and the constellation of edifices that comprise northern communities impact people-food relationships? How could these change in subtle or more overt ways to accommodate more holistic values (present, future)?

b) Questions on Formal/Customary Supports & Institutions

- Local institutions (relative to external- or outsider-controlled organisations):
    - What institutions enable people-food relationships, including addressing hunger and supporting wellbeing? (*e.g.* Elder Centre, HTO)
    - How are these different among different northern communities?
    - How do communities benefit from each program? Do they help bring people together for a common purpose, grounded in local autonomy and agency?
    - How do locally run organisations (*e.g.* HTO, on-the-land camps, the Elder Centre, Rangers) with decision making authority (*e.g.* managed, organised, initiated, *etc.*) in other communities impact individual and collective wellbeing and distribution of 'wealth' (resources)?
    - Are locally run programs, institutions and services more flexible and adaptive to local needs?
    - How do well do programs (internal/external) serve the people for whom they are intended?
    - How do the different qualities of each power base impact the respective capacities of different programs to help meet their clients' and/or the community's needs?
    - What are impactful measures of program efficacy? (*e.g.* evidence-based, locally/community-informed)
    - Is there a way to establish more specifically (*e.g.* empirically) the contribution of these programs relative to more remotely managed institutions (*e.g.* Federal, Territorial or corporate) with respect to people-food relationships?
    - Are locally controlled programs – such as those initiated by the HTO – more sustainable and empowering over the long-term relative to non-local programs?

    - What are the relative monetary values allocated to communities through the different programs?
    - Are programs and services that emerge through community input and involvement more likely to produce solutions that align with local (cultural) practices and values?
- Understanding the HTO's role(s) more clearly:
    - Who accesses HTO food? Why? (*e.g.* life circumstances, underlying relationships to country food).
    - What are food consumption practices and values of those people? Are values and ideologies different depending on food origin (*i.e.* store, homemade or country food)?
    - How is country food provided by the HTO perceived by different people?
    - To what extent does the HTO supplement the diets of different demographics (*e.g.* income support recipients, strong/weak social networks) in different communities?
    - What happens when the HTO has no food to give away?
    - How is the HTO a different entity from food banks?
    - How does the HTO (or other relevant institutions) serve the community compared to programs such as Nutrition North Canada (formerly Food Mail)?
    - What are the relative dollar values allocated to each program and what are the respective benefits to communities?
- The places/spaces in town where people most often found sustenance (*e.g.* physical, social) were in each other's homes; this is important from a governance perspective.
    - What underlies this pattern?
    - How would changes to the availability of social meeting places impact this arrangement?
    - How do these practices contribute to people-food relationships?
- Do social relationships (with hunters) tend to be consistent, or does the nature of those relationships fluctuate?
    - What are the implications for relationships between single parents/ caregivers who are reliant on a hunter for access to country food?
    - Do single parents and women experience more barriers to obtaining country food when there is not an active hunter in the household or extended family? (see e.g. Beaumier and Ford 2010; Beaumier, Ford, and Tagalik 2015; Chan et al. 2006). Is this consistent across communities?

c) Questions on Food System Governance

- How do different power systems/structures (internal/external, customary/formal) impact people-food relationships?
    - Systemic responsiveness to change (*e.g.* changing needs)
    - Are locally designed and managed programs (*e.g.* Elder Centre, HTO) inherently more responsive and effective?
    - What are the relative contributions of bottom-up *versus* top-down decision making

- How might community- or Inuit-centered systems look different from current systems (*e.g.* people-food relationships, education, justice, health care)
- How do power dynamics shape people's perceptions about their own individual or collective capacities to influence the institutions that are meaningful in their lives, whether as part of the food system or otherwise?
- What are the opportunities for and potential contributions of intergovernmental/ inter-agency coordination/collaboration to reduce gaps – particularly 'vertical' gaps – in food system governance?
- What supports (young) people with leadership capacity?
- What encourages individual and collective initiative?
- How does the distribution of funding and human resource allocation (*e.g.* amounts and structures) impact community wellbeing?

d) Questions on Food System Governance Tools

- How do different food system management tools and their associated constructs – by which food-related practices, values and beliefs are quantified or characterised – affect the capacity to understand community as a living system, comprised of smaller sub-systems that are dynamic in time and space? This can be addressed through:

i. Lenses

- Expand critical consideration of the utility of different lenses, including the broader implications of their use in Nunavut as tools for broadly understanding people-food relationships, responding to issues of hunger or supporting wellbeing.
- How might food, wellbeing and/or Inuit-centered lenses impact current food system governance, including the development of policy, programming and services?
- How do the different lenses tested in this research compare when applied to data from other communities or when applied by other users?
- Does IR emphasize or privilege access and availability of food relative to other lenses (*e.g.* FS) in other communities?

ii. Metrics

- Are there other ways of looking at food system governance issues and people-food relationships without resorting to dollars and cents? (*i.e.* alternative metrics)
    - Should it be a priority to assign monetary values to the act of procuring country foods, or country foods themselves?
    - What might be the relative contributions to food system governance programming and policy decisions using alternative non-monetary values (*e.g.* index of wellbeing) *versus* conventional metrics (*e.g.* monetary, prevailing socio-demographics, hunger)?

e) Questions on Occupancy, Employment, IA/SA

- How is employment, including management positions and related opportunities, informed by local practices and are there opportunities for change? (*i.e.* local input/restructuring from 'business as usual')
- How does wage employment and perhaps the larger capitalist economic system within which wage employment is embedded impact or drive knowledge and culture transmission?
- Is there potential for community members to play more substantial roles in the delivery of public 'education'?
- How can existing skills and knowledge in the community be utilised/employed more creatively and effectively?
- What are opportunities are there for engagement and service through occupation ('occupational service')? *e.g.* skill and knowledge sharing/ transmission (place-based or other forms of education), mentoring, caregiving, employment-specific mentorship – assisting in various places of employment where skills and knowledge can be further developed
- (Re)consider current structure of IA/SA
- Are there opportunities to collaborate with other programs and organisations (*e.g.* Economic Development Officer) to enhance 'program effectiveness' (meeting clients' needs, contributions to wellbeing)?
- *e.g.* mentorship programs – *e.g.* Rangers program, on-the-land and other (cultural) learning opportunities, volunteer or other wage-free activities that contribute to individual and collective wellbeing – particularly local capacity building in areas of local interest (*e.g.* language revitalisation, country food harvesting)
- Assess program efficacy (*e.g.* extent to which 'productive choice' options are available or utilised).
- Re-visit current structure

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Appendices

Appendix A – Individual Participant Demographics

Co-participants		Age Group	Occupancy	Birth Origin	Embeddedness
1		E	EP	L	Y
2	i	A	PO	L	Y
2	ii	E	PO	L	Y
2	iii	E	IPO	L	Y
2	iv	A	PO	O	N
2	vi	A	PO	O	N
3	i	A	PO	L	Y
3	ii	YA	PO	L	Y
4		E	EP	O	Y
5		E	PO	O	N
10		YA	PO	L	Y
11		A	PO	L	Y
14		E	PO	L	Y
20	iii	A	PO	L	Y
20	iv	A	PO	L	Y
21		A	PO	O	N
23		E	PO	O	Y
24		A	PO	L	Y
26		A	PO	O	N
27		A	PO	L	Y
28		YA	PO	L	Y
32		YA	PO	O	N
34		A	IPO	L	Y
37		A	PO	L	Y
38		A	PO	O	N
40		A	PO	O	N
41		E	EP	L	Y
42		A	PO	L	Y
43		A	PO	O	Y
44		E	PO	NL	Y
47		A	PO	O	N
48		E	MIX	L	Y
59		Y	O	L	Y
64		Y	O	L	Y

Co-participants		Age Group	Occupancy	Birth Origin	Embeddedness
65		E	EP	O	Y
66		A	PO	L	Y
67		A	PO	O	N
68		A	PO	O	N
69		A	PO	L	Y

Participant Observation		Age group	Occupancy	Birth Origin	Embeddedness
6		YA	PO	O	N
7		E	EP	L, O	Y
9		A	PO	O	N
12		A	PO	L	Y
13		GROUP →mixed			
15		GROUP → mixed			
16		A	PO	L	Y
17		Y	IPO	L	Y
18		GROUP → mixed			
19		A	PO	L, O	na
22			MIX	L, O	
25			MIX	L, O	
29		A	PO	O	N
30		A	PO	L	Y
36		A	PO	O	N
39		A	PO	L	Y
45		A E YE	MIX	L, O	
49		E	PO	L	Y
50		YA	PO	L	Y
53		A	PO	?	Y
54		A	PO	O	N
55		A	PO	L	Y
56		A	IPO	O	N
58		E	MIX	L	Y
60		YA	PO	O	N
61		A	PO	O	N
62		A	IPO	L	Y
63		A	IPO?	L	Y
31		A	PO	NL	Y
52		A	PO	O	N
71		E	EP	L	Y

Appendix B – Emergent Themes informing Research Question 1

Emergent themes were used to characterises the community's food system (*e.g.* values, practices, beliefs, actors, institutions, sources/types of food), as well as how people in the community feed their families. These themes are based on how people view and talk about their community more generally – including relationships with food, and cover a wide range of topics and offer some indication of community practices, beliefs, values, needs and concerns. Themes were informed by what was shared through dialogue with community members (interviews, participant observation), as well as observation and participation in community life. This information is largely descriptive, providing the foundation for the dissertation.

This section provides the foundation and context for this dissertation, particularly the first research question (Ch. 4.2), identifying issues of broad interest in Kugluktuk – including how people feed their families and the local food system. It is of critical importance to recall that the results presented here are a reflection of study demographics and researcher interpretation. Findings here represent the *entire* community of Kugluktuk – insiders and outsiders, not solely local, Inuit folk, and may also be skewed given participant demographics.

Three overarching themes emerged; these include '*Identity'*, '*Living in Relation*' (relationships, connection) and '*Resources and Power*'. The influence of birth origin (*i.e.* locals/insiders *vs.* outsiders) is explored in the theme of *Identity*, including all subordinate themes. Each theme is comprised of anywhere from four to six sub-themes, summarised in Table 6 and described in detail in the following sub-sections. Bulleted lists encapsulate the content of each subordinate theme. Results are largely descriptive, covering a broad array of topics. Line-by-line, inductive and open coding led to aggregative codes that emerged through re-analysing data iteratively, paring down the number of codes assigned to text.

In some instances, people spoke directly and specifically about food, such as in the category '*Real food that people use…*'; more often people spoke about other issues of concern or interest, such as health, youth, wellness or the value of sharing. Some people also spoke directly to the issue of food security, hunger, or their perceptions about the relative success of related programs and recommendations or desire for future action, as in the category "*There's a lot of good things that happen up here; I wish…*".

a) Theme: Identity

The theme of '*identity'* here refers to an embodied sense of 'self', which manifests individually and collectively. This theme is informed by both Inuit and non-Inuit contributions, and as such does not exclusively describe Inuit *Kugluktummiut*, although the emphasis is Inuit identity. A post-analysis comparison of outsider (n = 15) and local (n = 24) contributions show broad overlap or agreement in content. Broad principle differences and those specific to *Identity* include emphasis of Inuit participants, whose views of (Inuit) identity tended to be more holistic, interconnected, in-depth/detailed and collective (rather than individual) relative to outsiders, and they also emphasized certain values, beliefs or practices of local concern or value (*e.g.* youth & culture, navigating change, wellbeing). Outsiders tended to describe (Inuit) identity and related aspects more broadly and in different terms (*e.g.* conventional, conservative, Western). One non-local ('outsider') but highly embedded Elder – CP4 – is a strong voice in this section. This *Kabloonak* was not born in the North, but has lived in northern Canada, principally Kugluktuk, for over half a century. Elder CP4 has been an active, engaged member of northern society, witnessing and embedded in radical social, technological and other change. These qualities offer a unique outsider perspective to the theme of identity.

Culture – as part of identity – is represented by values, practices and beliefs. These fundamentally inform one's sense of self (*i.e.* identity), are rooted in 'place', and are connected with the practice of feeding families. Cultural pride emerged as part of identity, particularly regarding what some people might refer to as 'traditional' Inuit practices, such as harvesting and eating country food, being out on the land, sharing (*e.g.* country food), speaking *Inuinnaqtun*, sewing[98] and spiritual connection and purpose. In the following, the sub-themes that inform identity include the following: real food that people eat, being out on the land, wellbeing and change. Relationships with food – including what foods people eat – are an expression of identity. One's environment – social, physical (*e.g.* being out on the land) and otherwise – shapes identity and *vice versa*. Culture informs the structure of many people's lives, helps them navigate what can be difficult to understand (emotions, relationships, death, life, hardship, *etc.*) (Gorman 2010), and can support wellbeing (Government of Nunavut 2011; Tulloch 2015; Ares et al. 2016). Identity is also dynamic over space and time (*i.e.* changes).

i. Real Food that People Eat

- Types of food: store, country, homemade
- Food practices
- Food importance & quality
- Relationships to food
- Food security, food costs, hunger
- Economics: food access, Income Assistance, employment
- Effectiveness of food-related programs
- (Food) power dynamics

This category includes all explicit mentions of food, including – among others – references to access to food (or lack thereof), sharing food, hunting, country and store food, food

[98] 'Sewing' includes the preparation of skins, which is no small task without the use of tanning assists, such as brain material or industrial chemicals. In Kugluktuk skins or hides are 'mechanically' tanned through different forms of abrasion, including chewing.

choices and various practices in connection with the corporate food system and hunger. Between outsiders (*n* = 17) and locals (*n* = 34), there was a high degree of overlap in content, with a few notable differences. Store food, for example, was generally perceived as complementary with country food, but local people tended to describe it as expensive, particularly for those with low income. Some people noted that there were those who experienced hunger because of lack of access to food, although fewer people than in earlier times. In contrast, several outsiders suggested that store food was not actually expensive, and one person (CP5) seemed to pose rhetorically whether anyone was actually starving, implying that perhaps the situation was not particularly serious. By far the majority of local folk spoke about country food was spoken, particularly its various values (*e.g.* cultural, health, yield/quality). A number of local people also said that some people in need (*e.g.* single parents, Elders) were shy about asking others for food, including country food.

The title of this sub-theme was taken from what one local adult said in response to a discussion about the utility of greenhouses in Kugluktuk. S/he said something to the effect that a greenhouse needs to provide <"*real food that people use*"> (CP2i, February 06, 2014), in contrast to imposed ideas or paradigms about what people *should* be eating. This imperative reveals existing tensions in Kugluktuk and places emphasis on the realities of what people *do* (*vs. should*) eat…and why. It offers a more human view of the complexities of human relationships with food. One well-known local EIT said, "*Land occupation was very important as it meant different groups were in different areas finding and feeding themselves with a much broader range of food and diversity. Today people are much too involved with just hunting for caribou. There is a lot of food out there*" (CP27, draft community report comments, September 2015). Another person – non-local but an Elder embedded in Kugluktuk – referred to this trend,

whereby people's consumption of country food has become limited to certain preferred foods (*e.g.* caribou, muskox): < "*Kugluktuk is lucky because there is a great diversity and quantity* [of food]*:* [the problem] *is not an issue of quantity*"> (CP43, March 13, 2014). Concrete examples of other country food sources not commonly harvested locally include various crustaceans, bivalves and others (Department of Environment 2010).

There are three principle food groupings in Kugluktuk: store food, country food and 'homemade food'. In the academic literature there tends to be resource binaries, such as store-country[99] food, often with implications that the two are separate from one another. The reality is that store and country food are complementary (local EIT – CP14, March 28, 2014), supporting people in Kugluktuk to feed their families in ways that honour local values, practices and beliefs. *Homemade* foods may be a combination of store foods, as in cakes, pasta dishes or other meals, or may also be comprised of a combination of store and country foods. Examples of some homemade food combinations include muskox stew with frozen vegetables, local berry pies, mipku[100] and mayonnaise, 'char chowder, cakes with local berries, or other dishes (*e.g.* muskox meatballs, *etc.*). Bannock and tea are examples of homemade foods that have become adopted as part of Inuit/Indigenous identity[101] in recent times (flour and tea are not native to the region). Some of these foods may carry particular cultural value, such as with bannock, or simply be valued because they are homemade. Many homemade foods are either unavailable or are cost-prohibitive at the store. In Kugluktuk, part of the informal economy included baked sweets and savory foods. These were sold locally via social media or door-to-door.

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[99] Country food in some literatures is also referred to as 'traditional' food (e.g. Sheehy, Roache, and Sharma 2013). The term used here – 'country food' – is used by *Kugluktummiut*. As mentioned previously, in this research 'store food' is used synonymously with 'industrial', 'market' or 'agricultural' food.
[100] Dried caribou.
[101] For exploration and explanation of the widespread adoption of bannock or 'fry bread' into Indigenous culture in North America see Tso (2014).

It was clear that people-food relationships are meaningful in Kugluktuk in many ways. Of particular importance was country food. It seemed that people's relationship with country food was in general different from store food – to the extent that it might be viewed as both a food source and part of people's identities, reflecting people's spiritual and cultural practices and values (Rosol et al. 2011; Watt-Cloutier 2015:137). People seemed to place a great deal of value on consuming and sharing country food, to the extent that it affected people's wellbeing (see Appendix B, a-iv). Perceptions about store food were more ambiguous or even clearly negative: < "*store food is full of chemicals*"> (PO30, January 30, 2014). People spoke about the problem of low-quality food (*e.g.* junk or readymade/fast food) in the context of overall health, but also in regard to keeping warm in winter, for example[102]. Regarding the soup kitchen (see Ch. 4.3a), several people – those who attended and others who had heard about it – voiced their appreciation that country food was served.

Many people shared memories about being out on the land – most often together with others, hunting, eating and sharing country food. In fact, in Kugluktuk country food could be said to be inextricably connected to sharing, hunting and being out on the land. The following is an example of a short conversation illustrating this interconnectedness and sense of identity:

> *<"Every day I eat country food. This means hunters, gas (money), a functioning skidoo and family members. Our harvest from August is almost finished now – it was mostly caribou. We get fish when the ice freezes, around 50-60 fish, such as char, trout, whitefish. We get these from October to May… We have an outpost camp… I grew up in an outpost camp but moved here when I was 18 years old. From spring through summer and then fall until Christmas we would go fishing, sealing, trapping. I prefer fish – dry, fry, boil, cake, can, and more! …I try to teach how I was taught to hunt, prepare food and skins. …the cultural practices in daily life, like relying on animals for food and getting a chance to go out to camping. My son loves hunting. Last winter he caught his fourth wolf…the summer camps*

[102] It was suggested to me by several people that country food was a superior choice for helping to keep warm. It is possible that there were also differentiations in this particular property between raw *versus* cooked country food.

in August, run by the HTO [Hunters and Trappers Organisation] *are awesome! The kids and elders are rejuvenated"*> (CP37, February 27, 2014).

Peoples' relationships with country food were in some regards similar to the relationship that people seemed to have with store food or even many kinds of home-made food, but these were also different. Akana, a local elder[103] was part of a film production in 2017 through Reel Youth, as part of the 'Moving Forward Together - Hivumut Aulaniq Atauttimut' project. In one film he said, "*I get happy when I eat native food, more than store bought – you feel different. …when you eat your store bought food, just like you're always tired all the time…*" (Vonesch 2017:sec. 4:40-4:52 Richard Akana - Program 1). One woman (PO20ii, March 11, 2014) shared about her life circumstances, which included parenting several children under school age, one of whom had debilitating health challenges. She said it had been several years since she had been out in a boat, but proudly described how on a recent trip one of her children caught an Arctic char. One comparison for how people felt about country food can be made using the more southern example of farming or gardening. For many people (*e.g.* 'southerners'), working the land forms a fundamental part of who they are. They know the value of the food they harvest because they were part of producing it; they planted it, watched it grow, and nurtured it. In this regard, the Hunters and Trappers Organisation (HTO), community feasts, the Elder Centre, and possibly the Ulu Centre/Heritage Building[104] are important places for people to access, share, learn about and celebrate country food in many different ways. The HTO, for example, supports local hunters to obtain country food for people who might not otherwise have access (*e.g.* people without requisite mobility, skills, knowledge, equipment, finances) in response to community

[103] At the time of writing, Akana might disagree that he is an Elder.
[104] The Ulu building/Visitor Centre was only recently completed during my last visit to Kugluktuk. It seemed there were still many open questions regarding its future uses and potential roles in the community.

needs. The woman mentioned previously (PO20ii) also shared that she gets country food from the HTO, stating that < "*otherwise no one brings or donates to us*"> (March 11, 2014). Sometimes country food is donated to the HTO or Elder Centre. Community feasts are another source of country food that is made widely available to *Kugluktummiut* and local values may be reinforced through attendant cultural events (*e.g.* music, hand crafts, dancing).

Many people spoke about the challenge of 'junk food', what the more recent academic literature has labelled "non-nutrient dense" or "energy dense, nutrient poor" foods (Sheehy, Roache, and Sharma 2013). In most cases, these are various refined carbohydrates, the consumption of which are believed to lead to 'over nutrition' and associated problems such as obesity, diabetes and other health problems, particularly when considered in combination with inadequate physical activity (Boeing et al. 2012; Murphy et al. 1995; Gittelsohn et al. 1998) . Junk food and 'fast food' or 'ready-made' foods were part of a recurring theme that people spoke about, saying that too many people with too little money are spending their limited resources on fast food and pre-prepared meals, sweets/junk food. A long-time resident of Kugluktuk said: <"*The people who need food most can't go out to harvest*"> (CP65 – July 04, 2015). Many people also spoke about the high cost of store food in general – two CPs mentioned this particularly in relation to Yellowknife, where people might order supplies or shop there on holidays or having medical treatment (CP20iii, CP20iv – March 10, 2014). Yellowknife is the closest hub to Kugluktuk that is connected by road with southern Canadian supplies.

Very few people spoke about food security directly; those who did were typically in government positions. A few people spoke specifically about hunger – including the sense of stigma or embarrassment (*e.g.* CPs 2ii & 20iii) experienced by some people, or feeling 'shy'

about asking for food (CP34, February 19, 2014; local EIT). One local EIT shared regarding some of the women with (young) children in Kugluktuk:

> "*...some of the ladies eat… really little* [sic] *amount of food. … it's pretty hard for them to* [identify] *… all the foods they ate because they ate so little yesterday and food is pretty hard to get in a community when you have such a low income. Food prices here are just too high, I guess. …I think it's like, what, $299.00 or $300.00 per person for a whole month. What are they going to buy for a whole month to eat on $300.00?*" (CP20iii, March 11, 2014).

Many people spoke about the high cost of living, whether food or other perceived essential supplies (*e.g.* diapers, clothing, equipment – hunting, transportation). The people who spoke about hunger were generally not people who were experiencing hunger (both locals and non-locals), but more often were in positions of decision-making authority. In some regards, sharing practices and the eating that happens when visiting other people's homes was part of a built-in or customary system that helps ensure people are fed, especially children. Potential indirect indicators of hunger and/or food insecurity may include the following: children arriving to school 'hungry'; people asking family, friends or neighbours for money and food; children who chose to eat over at friends' houses where they knew there would be food; programs where (breastfeeding) women intimated that they were skipping meals.

With store food, when the money to pay for food takes the form of government support, such as with the territorial program of IA, current amounts may be insufficient to ensure that people can adequately feed their families. In 2014, the IA program in Kugluktuk provided a family of four (two adults, two children) on SA with approximately $2200 CAD per month (CP3i, April 29, 2014; CP21, July 07, 2015), which included a food allowance of $1113/month (Government of Nunavut 2004). The Revised Northern Food Basket (RNFB) estimates of food costs for the same family of four in 2014 were $1485/month (CP21, July 07, 2015). As of

2016/17, the RNFB for Kugluktuk is now $1702/month (Canada 2018), and SA in Iqaluit[105] for a single parent with one child is $1417/month (Maytree 2019), (Tables 1 & 2). SA values reported here include child benefits and the goods and services tax (GST) refund. Participation in country food harvesting presently involves some degree of reliance on the wage economy, as government programs such as IA may not provide sufficient financial resources to support country food harvesting. Nonetheless, people in Kugluktuk with limited financial resources are supported to have at least occasional access to country food: a program through the local HTO provides some country food for individuals and families in need, depending on the resources available (*i.e.* territorial funding, seasonal wildlife abundance/ proximity, skilled hunters).

One example of where local control over food choice is minimized is the federal program *Nutrition North Canada* (Chs1 & 2.3), which is intended to help relieve people in northern and remote communities of some of the burden of food importation costs (store foods). Only a few people in Kugluktuk spoke about the program at any length. Overall – while subsidies were welcomed – the program was perceived as insufficient and/or inappropriate; it was not helping in the ways that *Kugluktummiut* would otherwise want/need (*e.g.* subsidizing preferred foods). In addition, concerns were raised about whether the stores were using the program for their own profit. One CP said the following:

> "... [Some] *politicians…don't really have an understanding of the realities that the people are going through. …the Nutrition North Program… I think this was set up as a business program. …Who in their right mind would look at the numbers and say yeah, let's go with this? …the ones to line their pockets… like the northern storeowners, the shareholders…I didn't use the Food Mail Program. That's a program that was never used by me to begin with. And… 99 percent of all other local people in our community don't use the Food Mail Program* (CP24, April 14, 2014).

[105] Iqaluit's SA data were more readily available than for Kugluktuk.

This last comment was echoed by a government employee whose work is with clients that receive IA. As described in Chapters 1 and 2.3, the program that NNC was intended to replace (*i.e.* Food Mail) also did not seem to serve the broader populace, for a variety of reasons outlined both by Dargo (2008) and the recent NNC report based on widespread consultation (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017). This portion of the program offers discounts to clients who place direct purchase orders with a select list of suppliers (*e.g.* Value Lots – under the Food Mail program[106]) – a potential benefit that at the time was difficult to realise in Kugluktuk owing to the need for a credit card. The lack of banking institutions in Kugluktuk until recently (*i.e.* 2015) contributed to an onerous credit card application, amongst other associated challenges (*e.g.* internet access, required identity documentation, *etc.*).

Another aspect of these programs was that subsidised foods or other items were dictated by federal agencies, rather than determined either through consultation with communities or under the authority of local governance. One local CP half-jokingly said that if the list had been open to community needs, mayonnaise would be on the list[107] (CP24, April 14, 2014). Recent changes to the program now include this food item (Canada 2014). Other people mentioned that perceived essential non-food items, such as diapers, were not part of the NNC program, which has also changed (*ibid*). CP4 – who had extensive experience with food system management – estimated these costs per person at approximately $2000 per year (April 24, 2014). On the other hand, some food items that were subsidized might be considered contentious, such as dairy. Given the body of evidence-based knowledge about lactose intolerance among Inuit populations (Duncan and Scott 1972; Ellestad-Sayed, Haworth, and Hildes 1978; Draper 1977), the

[106] Suppliers covered by the former Food Mail program may no longer participate or qualify under the new NNC program, or they may have opted out owing to onerous administration with the NNC program.
[107] Mayonnaise was used with both store and country foods. My first introduction to the use of mayonnaise with country foods was eating *mipku* (dried caribou meat) while visiting a friend's house. It was delicious!

underlying rationale or decision making criteria for subsidized or non-subsidized items is unclear. What are the potential consequences of consuming foods that are incompatible with an individual's constitution? The list of subsidized items in 2014 appear largely or exclusively to have been determined by the Canada Food Guide (CFG), which in itself has been shaped by military, corporate politics and industrial forces among others (Savage 2008; Kondro 2006).

Savage writes, *"…notions of 'good diet' or 'good food' are 'made intelligible for reflection and guidance' (Bratich et al., 2003: 11) and how this results in changes to the way people eat through social pressures rather than choice*" (2008:59). Furthermore, Savage asserts that *"…dietary practices are discursive and therefore never politically neutral: they order the world in particular ways and have the power to sustain social relations and endorse hierarchies*". Savage's consideration of the role of power in shaping public discourse around what is 'healthy' food helps make transparent those very influences that ultimately may have little to do with considering the community's wellbeing. CP11 – a local hunter – echoed this sentiment, saying that < "*money is the bottom line for the stores*"> (April 30, 2014). Savage's clear advocacy for grassroots, bottom-up individual and collective choice regarding food brings to mind concerns and considerations about so-called 'healthy' foods. It is interesting that despite the existence of a more locally informed source of guidelines (*e.g.* Nunavut Food Guide) the subsidy until recently has been principally informed by federal and corporate systems (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017). Alternatively, decision making about items eligible for subsidy could have been determined locally instead. The fact that this was not considered until just recently is perhaps telling in regards to the power structure of NNC, particularly given that their most recent consultations reported a relatively homogeneous list of

eligibility requests across communities (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Government of Canada 2017).

Given the apparent challenges to both the NNC and Food Mail programs, including specifically the fact that they do not seem to serve the people who might most benefit from price reductions, this raises several questions: (1) what is actually needed in the community? (2) Why do communities – who have reasonable awareness of their own issues and capacity to determine their own solutions given sufficient resources – continue to be excluded from contributing input into their own needs for wellbeing? and (3) why do external influences such as corporations and systems of governance informed by colonial histories still appear to have more control over how the NNC subsidy is structured, including its content and ultimately who benefits?

Other people spoke about the need or desire for places to get an affordable meal, such as a restaurant or café. Many of the people who mentioned this were not originally from the community. In conversation with CP1, s/he mentioned the idea of having a men's shelter in town that could also help to run a food bank and soup kitchen. This was in response to CP1's perception of needs in the community to support single men and others struggling to feed their families, and to combine services to make the best use of limited resources (*e.g.* infrastructure).

ii. Being Out On the Land: Camping, Relationship to Land, Weather-Environment

- Being out on the land
- Country food harvesting
- Connections to individual/collective wellness & identity
- Constraints/challenges to being on the land & harvesting

The title of this category emphasizes particularly local people's sense of identity and aliveness in connection with the land. Using the present participle 'being' conveys that a relationship with the land is ever present, even when not 'on the land' – such as when one is 'in

town'. Local participants uniquely connected going out on the land (*e.g.* harvesting, camping) with the development of skills that help inform not only how to harvest food, but also how to speak (*i.e.* language, social relations), how to be (well) and how to relate to others (*e.g.* people, animals, environment). Diminished time on the land was described by both locals and outsiders, albeit in different ways.

Being on the Land includes references to camping, outpost camps, land camps (*e.g.* the HTO-organised summer youth-elder camp[108]), one's relationship with the land, weather and the environment, respect for animals, hunting and being stuck in the house (in town). Some related themes that ran through conversations linked to being out on the land include the following: visiting, wellness and healing, identity, knowledge transfer – inter-generational and otherwise, cooperation, safety, sharing, 'occupation', real food that people eat and resources (*e.g.* country food that is subsequently distributed to the community).

When people talked about being out on the land, country food acquisition was emphasized. At times, however, being on the land might involve people staying at their cabins (private/family owned) – the focus in this case being together out on the land, out of town. People at their cabins may engage in a variety of activities, but various forms of food acquisition seemed also to accompany the experience. The fact that being out on the land appeared to be largely inseparable from harvesting country food, and the degree to which these activities informed daily life and conversations suggests that these activities form a fundamental part of identity and wellbeing for many *Kugluktummiut*. In a sense, being out on the land 'nourishes'

[108] Youth-elder on-the-land camps are typically organised events (*e.g.* HTO, Elder Centre, public schools) that focus on bringing youth and elders together – sometimes particularly those youth who may not otherwise have opportunities to go safely out on the land for any extended period of time (*e.g.* 1 week). In this environment elders would be expected to pass along knowledge (*e.g.* IQ) on topics about harvesting, clothing preparation and/or stories, such as those that help character development and provide moral and social guidance.

both body and soul by creating opportunities and outlets for people to connect with the land and each other, engage in stress relief and have fun together, develop and maintain skills, teach/learn and reinforce cultural identity together by engaging in local practices and values. People without access to the requisite knowledge and equipment (*e.g.* transportation, clothing, *etc*.) do not have the same opportunities to be out on the land as those who do.

As the following quote implies, being out on the land – camping, hunting, fishing, berry picking or spending time at remote cabins – forms an essential part of wellness and identity (self-confidence, cultural pride) for many people:

> *"Many times elders will talk about what it feels like to be on the land. When they are not as mobile they would say 'NUNA UGAUNNAKTOK' which means 'I miss the land' as if you were missing a loved one. There is healing just to be out on the land or out of town"* (CP27, draft community report, September 2015)

This intimate relationship with the land was by no means limited to Elders. For some people it seemed that not being able to go out on the land was experienced as a kind of stress itself, which meant that having a source of other accessible activities in town could be very important to wellbeing. It might be useful to gather data regarding the relative numbers of people for whom being out on the land was an option in a given season. Different factors might influence who might be able to go out, the duration and distance travelled, and the type of activity possible. Some elderly people no longer had the physical strength to go at certain times of the year. One local Elder lamented: "*Yeah, that's how we are. In the winter time we have no choice but to be stuck in the house*" (CP1, March 26, 2014). Some people had sufficient resources (*e.g.* equipment, knowledge, wisdom, social capital, money, time, *etc*.) to go out on the land – to fish, hunt, joyride or travel to cabins – depending on weather and travel conditions. There were times, however, that even those with the necessary resources could not safely go out on the land.

Providing that travel and weather conditions were reasonable, some people in town without resources for longer trips still had the opportunity to do some land-based activities closer to home. Two examples are trapping hikhik (ground squirrel) and fishing – either from shore or using holes in the ice drilled by Illavut residents.

For many *Kugluktummiut* on-the-land activities were a staple. Conversations might focus on who had recently gone out and with what intentions, stories people brought back from their own or others' amusing/ frightening/ impressive (mis)adventures, where abundant game or fish could be found, how much country food was brought back from a trip (or not), or the expressed longing to soon to be out on the land themselves. In Kugluktuk, camping, 'being out on the land', hunting, fishing and gathering might happen at any time of the year that it is possible to travel on the land, subject to the resources available to a given traveler. People going out on the land may travel alone, with another partner, or as groups of extended family members and friends. Sometimes people paired up more haphazardly with others encountered along the way out on the land and simply continued to travel and then settle (camp) together. These kinds of interactions can help to build and strengthen social ties, repair relationship ruptures and offer opportunities to connect with others in meaningful and healthy ways.

Many people seemed to eagerly anticipate and take the opportunity to be out on the land whenever possible; however, as mentioned previously, this was not an option open to all people at all times. Feasibility is constrained by a number of different factors, some obvious and others less so. Some of these were observed, while others were explained or pointed out. For example, Saturday through to Sunday – the 'work' weekend, might not coincide with favourable weather and travel conditions for those with wage employment, and it is more typically people who are

employed who can afford to be out on the land[109]. The costs of hunting are high (Table 8) (Mueller-Wille 1978; Brinkman et al. 2014), with attendant expenses for travel, supplies such as food and equipment (including clothing), snow machine or boat motor repairs, and shipping; these are subsidized by wage employment (Council of Canadian Academies 2014). It is expensive to purchase a snow machine, replace machine parts, or in the case of major repairs, send the machine from Kugluktuk to Yellowknife by plane. Furthermore, country food acquisition is by no means guaranteed – many different factors can affect whether an outing is successful or not; this serves to further increase the costs of hunting/harvesting. Wildlife abundance and distribution can be variable. Sufficient food to feed one's family may be harvested in a single day, or there may be none at all. Weather conditions can also present extreme challenges. The potential for lack of success in obtaining country food contributes to the high costs of country food harvesting today.

Brinkman *et al.* estimated costs of fuel for a single hunting expedition in rural Alaska at approximately $200 USD (2014). Using the values presented in Table 3, this would allow for only approximately 30 trips per year, not taking into account up front equipment costs, maintenance and repair, let alone incidental costs associated with a household (*e.g.* utilities, clothing, *etc.*). In addition to basic expenses of hunting, travelers must have sufficient knowledge (and wisdom) to use equipment and travel safely on ice, water or land. For the purposes of hunting, fishing or berrying, there needs to be sufficient resources, which is affected by such things as seasonality, density and proximity to where people live, and in itself is dependent on a person's knowledge of the land, financial resources, timing/flexibility of wage

[109] One government worker (non-local) who was advocating for a "living wage", rather than SA, pointed out that many people in in Nunavut who turn 65 find themselves suddenly no longer living below the poverty line, because of the attendant increase in income (CP21, July 07, 2015).

employment and other factors previously mentioned. These barriers can have the effect of rendering low income families and subsequent generations dependent upon store food, with attendant losses of knowledge and skills, since IA is insufficient to cover the financial costs of these activities (Ch. 3.2e).

Table B1. Estimated hunting costs in Kugluktuk for winter weekend hunt

On the Land Equipment	**Cost ($CAD)**
Fuel: 30-40 gallons required for 'weekend' hunting (Friday-Sunday)	$195 – 260
Snowmachine	$10,000^{+}
Qamutiq[110] & equipment (clothing, tent, etc.)	$1000
Gun	$700 – 3,000
Ammunition	$20 – 50
Food (per person)	$50 – 100
Total investment:	~$11,965 – 14,410

Data from Arctic Ranger (January 30, 2014), with the exception of rifle and food estimates

One CP spoke about the tension between different aspects of Kugluktuk's food system:

> *"…store bought food is quite a bit cheaper than getting country foods. Little do people really realize that when you go out there you need your snow machine, your gasoline, your hunting equipment, your spare parts*…[but] [w]*hen you hit a rock and lose your suspension and your ski, that's $1200 – $1400 worth of parts now we have to buy. You come back home with nothing. No country food to feed your family. So that $1200 would have bought a lot of chicken at one of the grocery stores. …So it's the other way around. It's not your country food harvesting* [that]*… supplement*[s] *the high cost of store bought foods."* (CP14, March 28, 2014)

This excerpt in combination with the caribou hunting vignette (Ch. 4.3b) offers a small glimpse into some of the challenges to the impetus, motivation and various resources necessary for obtaining different sources of food, whether country or store food. As an outsider, there is much that can be difficult to appreciate without some measure of direct experience. It is this last point

[110] Local word for sleds pulled behind snow machines. These are made of rough timber tied together with rope to create a flat surface connected to timber skis with metal runners. *Qamutiqs* are used to haul equipment, people, animal carcasses and other materials.

that may be relevant to governance in Nunavut: decision makers (*e.g.* politicians, bureaucrats, program managers, *etc.*) with strong socio-cultural and other ties to the region may be better aware of the various realities that exist in their constituencies – including local values and practices – relative to 'outsiders' or other non-locals with less personal/social accountability.

iii. Wellbeing: Healing, Wellness, Spiritual/cultural Purpose

- Health & wellbeing
- Supports & challenges (health/wellbeing)
- Spiritual connection & purpose
- Addictions & hunger
- Healing (trauma, safety, culturally relevant, on the land)
- Youth & men's wellbeing,
- Intersections: family, wellness, learning, being on the land

With regards to wellbeing, there was a great deal of overlap between local (n = 25) and outsider (n = 15) participants, albeit some important differences. Principal differences between the two include local considerations of safety and the healing power of being out on the land. Local folk also spoke about collective *versus* self (*i.e.* individual) care, an emphasis that is evident in descriptions of a sense of responsibility for one another (*i.e.* collective), particularly the children of families experiencing hardship, such as addictions. Finally, strongly positive associations regarding square dancing, sewing, country food and being on the land were described almost exclusively by local participants, with the exception of being on the land. Outsiders did mention this connection, but in a more observational, conceptual sense.

Many facets of what people spoke about connect to health and wellbeing in Kugluktuk in a variety of ways. These connections were made clear through exploring ideas about health, what defines 'healthy' food, and the complexity of people-food relationships. The term 'healthy' can be one that is deeply culturally informed (*e.g.* colonised), imbued with ongoing power

dynamics and in some instances violation of related dynamics and vulnerabilities. Forays into alternative models of medicine and healing (relative to Western/colonial medicine) help to illustrate different ways that wellbeing can be understood (*e.g.* physical and emotional symptoms), what healing means and individual relationships with food – what works for any particular body, given life circumstances, body type, eating habits and other factors. This theme was placed as a sub-category of 'Identity' in part because health and wellbeing connect in so many ways to people's values, practices and beliefs. The things that impact the wellbeing of *Kugluktummiut* seemed strongly connected with identity; different aspects of 'Living in Relation' and 'Resources' also link with wellness.

Many people seemed to have a good sense of things that contributed to wellness and happiness, and what they needed in their lives. People talked about challenges such as illness (*e.g.* mental health, depression), trauma (*e.g.* suicide, residential school), addictions, social conflict and being stuck in the house. One non-local health worker talked about certain fundamental challenges around safety and shelter:

> < "*Many people are living in crowded conditions, where kids do not have beds and it may be a challenge for a young girl to find a place to sleep where she is safe. Some people really have nowhere to go, and this is with children! In some cases, a person can wait for four years on the housing waiting list...*"> (CP40, March 04, 2014).

Under these kinds of conditions, it becomes necessary for survival to try to maintain some measure of harmony in relationships, even when the 'costs' may be high.

Things people spoke about or that were witnessed which seemed to contribute to wellness included being out on the land (*e.g.* cabins, land camps, outpost camps), safety, culture and a sense of identity (*e.g.* harvesting and eating country food and other cultural foods, following taboos), emotional and spiritual health and healing that involve connection or 'being in

relation' and other wellness resources (*e.g.* being out on the land, healing/sharing circles, talking with Elders), and social connection. One local person – an active advocate for cultural (re-) vitalization, (Inuit) education and community wellness – shared,

> < "*In order to love, you have to be loved: lots of healing needs to take place for things like residential school, but also from addictions. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Dewline taught alcoholism: you drink, you get drunk, you have fun. The cycle of addiction will never be dealt with until* [this legacy]…*change*[s]"> (CP48, May 06, 2014).

This quote and other examples illustrate the depth of understanding that *Kugluktummiut* demonstrate about what underlies wellness and what is needed to help heal trauma. People's wellbeing is understood in the context of not only symptoms, but also as a function of complex and interconnected factors, of which trauma, identity, connection, healing and other qualities are linked. In addition, there seemed to be calls for both individual and collective healing - in relation, not in isolation.

CP14 (March 28, 2014) spoke about wellness and the need for spiritual connection and purpose rooted in identity and culture:

> "*…Once you get to a point of spiritual confusion and lack of spiritual purpose… every little cotton-picking thing is a down and there's no way of climbing back up... In the olden days of Inuit there was a lot of spiritual things happening. You got shamanism, you got animalism… there was a spiritual connection, whether good or bad... It existed on a daily basis and there was a purpose. …then came the religious spiritual stuff* [*e.g.* Christianity] *and it didn't really connect. … it's as simple as that… If you have no purpose…there's nothing positive in your life … An easy way out, is of course, is suicide.*"

Very few other people spoke directly about spiritual beliefs and practices, although several forms of Christian churches were present in Kugluktuk, and there was a lay Anglican minister from Kugluktuk (*Inuinnaqtun* speaker). What CP14 shared above was prompted only by inviting a

discussion about what s/he felt was helpful in the context of wellness and healing for *Kugluktummiut*.

Several people spoke about addictions with compassion, and from an understanding that these may stem from trauma. 'Addictions' can encompass a much broader range of behaviours and choices beyond what is conventionally understood as substance use (*i.e.* drugs, smoking and alcohol), such as refined sugar consumption and chronic engagement with 'mind-numbing' entertainment such as television or video games. CP4 (July 06, 2015) spoke about addictions, using smoking as an example, attempting to highlight the financial impacts on people's lives:

> "*… I've asked many, many people in town…'How many people would you think smoke an average of a pack of cigarettes a day?' … let's be conservative,… say …400 people smoking a pack of cigarettes a day at Kugluktuk prices is $8,000 per day.' … we say we don't have enough food, and that's only one item. That doesn't count the illicit drugs, you know, and it doesn't count alcohol. It doesn't count gambling. And I'm not even going to look at junk foods, you know?*"

At one of the local stores, based on one week's data (summer 2015) tobacco sales were only $4000 less than the total value of dry food sales and three times more than both produce and chilled food sales combined (July 02, 2015). The larger context suggests that some instances of hunger in the community may be connected to addictions. These numbers highlight the need to understand what underlies people's spending choices and practices, including – as Andersson (2008) suggests – to explore the factors at play when people make different choices, such as those who not have active addictions or for those who are in recovery.

Several people spoke about residential school in various ways. Some people appreciated what it gave them, despite also presenting some bad experiences. For example, the way that CP14 spoke about his/her residential school experience seemed to describe a form of 'education' that could help one navigate the persistent power structures of colonial governance and economic

systems. There was a sense that being on the land and eating country food was healing to the difficult feelings that people experience – whether from residential school, other inter-generational traumas, or simply the challenges of everyday life. One EIT shared about his/her experiences living on the land at an outpost camp, going to residential school, and later as an adult returning to those places, experiencing healing on the land where s/he grew up: <"*I never thought of it as 'camping'. I went out on the land later with my brother and sister-in-law. It offered me time to be by myself with residential school. My* [partner] *went too one time. I walked behind and we stopped where his/her parent's house was before. It was healing like that, going back in time, remembering as we got to a specific place*"> (CP2ii, September 21, 2015). S/he was picked up from an outpost camp as a child and taken to school. "*I was remembering bits and pieces and placing them in my life. I talk with my sister about those pieces when we get together, we talk about positives and negatives* [of the experience], *to come to an understanding*"> (CP2ii, September 21, 2015). Another local Elder shared about on the land healing at Illavut – the Territorial justice healing/corrections facility based in Kugluktuk:

> *"*[At Illavut] *it's only men. I guess teaching them new skills was the most important because the young people don't have hunting skills or butchering skills, nothing. And some of them are first time campers. … they're afraid to go out there* [on the land] *the first time. But they love it at the end… They can go out there and scream their frustrations out. …most times the elders go with us. So, they* [Illavut residents] *can have time to talk to elders when they're out there, one on one."* (CP1, March 26, 2014)

One elder from Kugluktuk shared that when s/he returned to their family after being away several years at residential school, s/he did not want to eat country food anymore: country food would likely have comprised the main portion of diets in Kugluktuk at that time, not to mention possibly the most affordable contribution. This person was taken away as a very young child (~6 years old); s/he said that when s/he came back, s/he no longer liked country food and it took

some time to learn to like it again. S/he remembered a family member saying, "*What are you going to do if there is no other food to eat? You will go hungry*". This person said that stuck with him/her and s/he tried to (re-)learn (PO71, June 20, 2015).

Many people spoke about being on the land in ways that connected clearly with different aspects of wellness. It is important for people to access healing experiences in spaces and places that feel 'safe' – such as on the land. Without this sense of safety, the healing experience may be hindered, impossible, or in some cases re-traumatizing (Geller and Porges 2014; Ferentz 2015). There are instances where healing spaces might be problematic because they are sites of trauma and/or disenfranchisement. For example, one Elder shared that some people may not want to attend events held at the local schools because they associate them with residential school experiences or other trauma associated with schooling: "*Remember also some of these people are – come from residential school parents – and residential school is a bad experience. It's a scary place for some people*" (CP2iii, April 03, 2014). People shared their desire for youth to have on the land experiences, to help them develop their sense of self and their value in being able to contribute to their communities by helping to get country food. One non-local involved in the federal justice system (CP32) recalled an on-the-land program for youth 'at risk'[111] and described what s/he perceived as benefits:

> *"…these were youth that were either criminally charged with, like, a first offence…what the courts would consider a minor offence, or kids that have just been constantly getting in trouble and are… an inch away from getting charged. … the Community Justice Program…had a couple elders… they went out on the land* [together with these youth] *and they harvested … about 80 caribou, a wolverine, two seals I think …Three, four days out on the land…the interesting thing was the…kids that were in there …that live in a family that don't go out on the land because booze is extremely important, marijuana, extremely*

[111] The quotations here are because this term is problematic, although I have not yet discovered a replacement. As CP32 indirectly points out, the particular youth in this program may have largely found themselves involved with the 'justice system' because of early trauma and insufficient resources available for their development, from insufficient food to insufficient love, secure attachment and safety.

> *important …where there's… no food already to start with… well, you can't provide for them. … a lot of the kids would have not had that opportunity otherwise. … everything* [meat etc.] *from there was distributed to people that needed it. … it taught kids who didn't have the opportunity, skills … it gave them an experience that they couldn't have otherwise. And it taught them… why not provide for other people?"* (February 25, 2014)

There was much concern expressed by people about the wellbeing of youth, often it seemed with a longing that youth feel loved, valuable and develop a sense of pride. One non-local but prominent Elder spoke about the very real challenge of a rapidly expanding population, including concerns regarding the resources needed to care for all the community, particularly when many people are struggling just to feed and care for their families:

> *"We have a whole generation of little humans growing up that are not…wanted. They're not loved. They're not cherished. At best they're tolerated and I refer to them as our 'tolerated generation'. …unwanted pregnancies…that's not the way a child should grow up. And I really do see that as a problem. I mean if you start off life that way and you get that feeling that, I've heard* [parents] *when they're frustrated…'I should've never had you!' You can't say that to your child without emotionally hurting them. …We're not good parents up here. … That is a fairly new phenomenon. In the old days we had wonderful parenting."* (CP4, July 07, 2015)

This CP shared from their personal and professional experience and a desire to see the community thrive, in part by providing the necessary resources for children to become productive members of their families and community. This situation is not a challenge that is unique to *Kugluktummiut* or even *Nunavummiut*. In fact, it seems particularly meaningful and informative that so many people in Kugluktuk noticed and cared that children were being 'left behind' or 'left out'. Perhaps what CP4 meant is that Northerners (Inuit) are uniquely equipped to address this issue. Many people – whether in Kugluktuk or elsewhere – have lost connection to things that are the hallmark of Inuit value systems and parenting: helping children to feel loved and valued, to learn how to live in a good way with themselves and with each other, and to acquire the skills and knowledge required to live well and care for others (e.g. Briggs 1991).

Employment and meaningful engagement or occupation (*i.e.* occupancy –Appendix B, c-iii) opportunities for men in the community who fit certain demographics may be limited for a variety of reasons that broadly include the following: changing – largely diminished – (market) value of land-based products (*e.g.* furs, country *vs.* store foods); changing opportunities to access resources (*e.g.* land-based, economic); changing gender relations; increasing reliance on technologies embedded in external, capitalist, flat currency-based systems; systemic barriers to education and employment; disconnection from 'traditional' land-based skills and interruption/loss of knowledge (*via* public education system); addictions; and criminal records. All of these factors contribute to a noticeable demographic: "*We need to do something for young men: instill pride, especially in those under 20 years old: the 'walkabouts' of our community…*" (CP4, April 24, 2014). The various challenges described here may be contributing to a lack of meaningful engagement (Appendix B, c-iii), which in turn impacts men's health and wellbeing, such as through substance use, lack of motivation and social isolation: "*…he's got such a bad habit of drug addiction…* [if] *I try to get him to go and see the drug and alcohol counsellor for some counselling, he* [says] *he'd rather stay home, stay on his marijuana*." (CP20iii, March 10, 2014). People, both men and women, expressed concern about men's wellness in the community (*e.g.* PO45, CP24, CP4), aspects of which have been described by Tulloch (2015) about northern men more generally. In several interviews, participants mentioned concern about insufficient government programming for men's wellness, wanting to support them in ways that were needed, such as re-defining their self-worth and envisioning potential future roles in their families and community. Some of these dynamics may have been manifest during the spring Nattiq Frolics in 2014. At the snowmobile racing events, a large number of men were present –

particularly those 20 – 30^{+} years old; these men were largely unfamiliar to me, despite my having spent over two months in both public and private spaces in Kugluktuk.

One non-local Elder with family ties in Kugluktuk (CP4) described how men's "roles" in the community had changed. They spoke about how the 'family providers', those responsible for resource acquisition – principally wage earners – switched from men to women:

> <"*Around 1960, gender roles began changing as the price of fur dropped. The* [residential] *school in Inuvik opened in 1959. Kids 'in town' went to school in Kugluktuk, but around 1960 kids were sent to the residential school in Inuvik. The government explained to people in camps that kids should go to school. People thought this was a good idea. People said that boys should stay* [home] *to learn to hunt and trap, because they are the primary wage earner, so girls/women went to school; however, within five years that profession – hunting/trapping for fur was worth nothing. Around 1959 the Federal Government sent in administrators and jobs were created: women were qualified, but men were not. Men needed to feed the dogs* [in order to support their primary mode of] *transportation.*"> (April 24, 2014)

This same Elder explained how early planning efforts assumed that in the future people's needs for housing would accommodate couples: "*...but things changed. People at 20 years old didn't end up getting together. Women didn't want to marry young men. They wanted to do things on their terms. This resulted in lots of single* [unmarried] *people*" (CP4, April 24, 2014).

If a criminal record check is required for employment, potentially capable individuals may be prevented from applying to employment opportunities. When someone has been convicted of a crime, after they have satisfied the conditions of their sentence they may become eligible to apply to have their records suspended (*i.e.* 'pardoned'). This creates the possibility to apply for employment positions that require a criminal record check – a standard procedure at many workplaces, such as the local schools. One non-local government worker suggested that the procedure to ask for criminal record pardons is too onerous: <"*There are too many young men not able to work* [because of this]"> (CP21, September 23, 2015). According to the Parole

Board of Canada website, once eligibility has been established and the application processing fee ($631) is paid, there are typically seven subsequent steps, as follows: criminal record, court information (official details of convictions), local police record checks, documentation to support identification, Schedule 1 Exception form, Record Suspension Application Form and Measurable Benefit/Sustained Rehabilitation Form (Parole Board of Canada 2015). In addition, record suspension involves a 5 or 10 year waiting period (*ibid*). These kinds of barriers in turn impact people's abilities to feed their families with sovereignty and resiliency, and can negatively impact wellbeing (*e.g.* leading to depression, anger, resentment, social isolation). The pieces presented in this and earlier paragraphs may together point to certain gendered dynamics in the community connected to changing family and societal roles, whereby adult (~19-45y) males may not be feeling sufficiently 'useful', necessary or engaged (see also 'Occupancy' – Appendix B, c-iii) in their families and community, which in turn can impact wellbeing through social isolation and addictions.

One local EIT born in Kugluktuk shared about intersections of family values, wellness and opportunities for learning that come from spending time on the land (CP14, March 28, 2014):

> "*…I credit my parents for things that they taught me, that you're going to succeed in life, you got to do it yourself. You always have to consider yourself as the number one person in your life because if you don't, you're not capable of taking care of yourself or anybody around you…We're taught that at a very early age. …That's why I get frustrated at times. Why aren't these young people doing the things that we did in our generation? … At times I think the best way to deal with some of these younger folks is that, at a very young age, take them out there and have them live out there on the land for a year to make them appreciate what they actually get for free in these communities. Maybe that's going to happen.*"

In general, supportive kinship relationships and partnerships appear to impact individual and collective wellness, and were highly valued in Kugluktuk. As one health professional said, <"*…connections matter …family is a better safeguard* [for children's wellbeing]"> (CP40,

March 04, 2014). This was revealed in many ways. It seemed that children living in supportive families were more likely to receive the care and access to learning they required for wellbeing, relative to other youth. The practice of 'internal social services' (more detail in Appendix B, b-iii) is exemplified in custom adoption. Many people mentioned children that they had adopted into their families, adopted out to relatives, or a combination of the two at different times, according to people's life circumstances. This is an old practice among Inuit and other Indigenous peoples (Bennett and Rowley 2004; Tomasso and Finney 2015); it can help families with a desire for (more) children to have them, while others who may be struggling can help ensure their children are fed and cared for with other family members. One common example is grandparents who raise their grandchildren as their own (*i.e.* as daughters or sons). This form of adoption was not controlled by the state, but organised generally among kin as part of a customary agreement, which is important in the context of Indigenous resilience. The practice continues today, with reportedly no involvement by the territorial government (Government of Nunavut n.d.).

iv. Change: Old Ways, New Ways

- Human change (lifestyle, dietary, knowledge, governance, social, cultural, relationships)
- Environmental change

This category describes two different realms of change. One speaks about the changes that people have experienced and witnessed in their lifetimes; the other area of change concerns environmental change, such as weather patterns, ice conditions and changes in animal populations, particularly in regard to preferred country food species. The first category might refer to changing social practices, values and resources (*e.g.* material wealth) and outsiders or

newcomers. Underlying this aspect of change seemed to be strong emotions, of which the most prevalent might be described as a sense of loss or even grief. Many people spoke in different ways about trying to make sense of these changes and how to relate to them – almost as though exploring one's sense of identity amidst so many changes (*e.g.* social, cultural, technological, spiritual, environmental, political, *etc.*). In this category differences between local (n = 18) and outsider (n = 9) voices included observations about changes in environment/climate and language, which were spoken about by local people. Outsiders talked about changes in gender roles and skill cooking with "basic" ingredients.

It did not seem as though local folk desired to live once again as their parents or grandparents did, at least not in the sense of material possessions, housing or some practices. Reminiscences seemed to be about being on the land with family, possibly a time of closer connection – more integrity in human interactions, a time when things were 'simpler' – perhaps also with less certain kinds or sources of grief and, upon reflection, perhaps also different access to healing opportunities and supports. One Elder from Kugluktuk said, "<*elders gathering does not happen so much anymore…it's good for kids to see elders gathering*>" (CP41, March 09, 2014).

Dietary change was a theme that was frequently mentioned in various forms. One prominent local EIT shared, *"As a kid growing up we had seal every day. Now that we're adults, employed, I think we eat a piece of seal once a year. So things have changed, right?*" (CP14, March 28, 2014). People spoke about changes in access to country food – mostly as diminished access and availability, based on changing lifestyles (*e.g.* participation in the wage economy, receiving government financial support such as IA). Connected to this were challenges people described around the loss of knowledge about harvesting and preparing country food, but also

figuring out how to use store food. Through the Canadian Pre-natal Nutrition Program (CPNP), a variety of food types and preparation techniques are introduced. In the absence of other knowledgeable friends and family members, this is one of the few places where people can access the necessary combination of knowledge, experience, equipment and ingredients to develop these essential life skills. Clearly the presence of an increasing diversity of store foods is a major change from the pre-colonial era, but even governance tools like the CFG continue to change – as it is subject to all manner of influences (Savage 2008; Kondro 2006). Consequently, there is confusion around which store foods exactly are 'healthy', with the added complexity of the kind of emotional judgements that arise around requiring that everything we eat must fit under the label of 'healthy', otherwise we do not care for ourselves or our families.

The same EIT mentioned previously also shared more abstractly about changes in what might be labelled 'governance practices'. CP14 spoke about how governance today – specifically wildlife management – is informed by underlying principles that may be less effective. Formerly, the consumption of country food involved hunting practices that were informed by 'family wellness' and customary beliefs, values and practices:

> "*…wildlife management is, of course, a western science and it's more or less 'don't kill anything', you know. It doesn't really matter when there's nobody out there monitoring. Any time there's a law made or new legislation that human nature is – to see how far it can stretch it or break it. But taboos, you dare not break these things. So it's a good management tool – wildlife management tool. It's a good family wellness thing because it's not just about wildlife. It's about family wellness. But, you know, nowadays we make laws which everybody breaks…don't manage wildlife, manage people!"* (March 28, 2014)

Many people spoke about loss of culture. One local adult spoke about how things are changing, resulting in loss of place-based knowledge,

> "*…there's a lot of our culture and a lot of our history that has gone by the wayside because of modern conveniences, right. … modern conveniences like matches and BIC lighters and Zippos, things like that… I ask an elder what a tinder pouch was made from: 'I don't know; I don't remember'. … That part of it is starting to disappear all because it's not being passed on orally and because there's no written history of it for that gap*" (CP24, June 25, 2015).

EIT (local) CP27 said, <"*We can remember things, but we can't go back* [to how things were]*…we need to try to understand*"> (February 05, 2014). This statement is similar to what another local EIT said, about how s/he would speak with a family member about their residential school experience, "*to come to an understanding*" (CP2ii, September 21, 2015). These expressions by various local people seem to suggest a sense of loss and perhaps uncertainty about navigating changes in culture and identity. They touch on aspects of change that speak about attempting to connect one's identity to the present moment and circumstances, despite dramatic internal/external change. In addition, the quotes express particular aspects of change, including those connected to time: (1) the practice of people taking time to process their experiences, which seems both healing and remarkable given the changes in the pace of life – as one prominent local politician said,<"*Four seasons used to be the time frame; now it's to the minute*"> (CP14, March 28, 2014), and (2) the real need to process experiences and emotions, which may be a function of both great changes in people's lifetimes and/or the types of changes, such as meaningful disconnection from land-based lifestyles, particularly *via* traumatic routes (*e.g.* residential schooling/cultural genocide).

Changes in trust relationships may also intersect with changes in local practices and realities in Kugluktuk. Elder CP1 (March 26, 2014) said, "*You know when we started having our cabins out there, we used to leave them open. Anybody could use it. But they abuse what they use. They leave garbage. If it's wintertime, early spring, they leave water in the pots; the pots get*

bubble up in the bottom. So, we put a padlock on it." Changes in how people relate to one another, including sharing practices are described in other chapters (*e.g.* Appendix B, a-v, c-iv, 6.1d).

Relatively little mention was made about long-term changes in the environment, with the exception of changes in wildlife populations by the local (Inuit) wildlife officer, who spoke expressly about climate change, mentioning (seasonal) changes in sea ice, wildlife survival (*e.g.* seal and caribou populations can increase when there is more snow) (February 05, 2014). One Elder (CP1) also spoke about changing environmental conditions, including ice freezing later, exposing the water to more storms and resulting in rough ice, which makes travel difficult and sometimes dangerous. S/he also spoke about the river freezing later, so sometimes people miss the char run because it is too dangerous to set out nets unless the ice is strong. This Elder also mentioned that June is egg hunting, but that going with a snowmachine is "too scary" now, owing to the uncertainty about the ice freezing and thickness (CP1, March 26, 2014).

b) Theme: Living in Relation

The term 'living in relation' is about relationships and connection. The relational aspect of this expression offers more nuance than simply 'living in relationship' or 'in connection'. *Relation* implies not only familial connections, but also those relationships with people who have passed, those who are to come, as well as living in connection with the land, the creatures of the land and the spirit world. For example, in Kugluktuk several people spoke about needing to respect animals, *"…or they don't come back*" (*e.g.* CPs i, iii, vii, February 06, 2014). One prominent local EIT said <"*Manage and respect the land, animals, people. Don't take leaders of the herd. Respect the spirits of the animal, let them know as a sign of respect*"> (CP27,

February 05, 2014). In this way, this term is used to make room for broader understandings of what it means to be in connection, living in relation.

In this category, 'Living in relation' summarises that essential quality of people not only living together within the geographic and political confines of the Hamlet of Kugluktuk (as well as further abroad[112]), but also subtly and overtly within the confines of ancestral, familial and other relationships. 'Living in Relation' is itself largely summarised and explained by its sub-themes, which were the richest in total number and complex. It describes not only a sense of connection, but also concern that people have for one another. Living in relation describes how people are aware of one another's realities in meaningful ways, such as Nunavut politicians and bureaucrats with familial ties who cannot avoid some degree of personal knowledge of local needs and the full range of human realities, whether poverty or abundance and all their attendant complexities and realities. In more populous and less closely connected human settlement areas, such as cities, ignorance and/or avoidance of the full spectrum of human realities is possible. This is not the case in many smaller settlements precisely because people live in relation – with one's aunties, uncles, cousins, *etc.* in the same home or nearby, they are visible walking in town, at the local stores, post office or health centre. Their realities will touch everyone else's, and in such a way make visible and tangible the full spectrum of human realities.

i. Family Bonds, Community Integrity, Social Networks

- Family connection & support = healing, wellbeing
- Belonging, responsibility to one another

[112] People spoke about family (loosely interpreted) in Kugluktuk, but also elsewhere in Nunavut, Alaska, Greenland, the east coast of Canada or elsewhere in the world in ways that suggested connection and longing, particularly in cases of separation across large distances.

People spoke about the strong connection between parents and children, among individuals – family members, friends – and more broadly as part of a community, including relationships among institutions or organisations. At least one CP spoke about the power of these connections in the context of changing behaviours, such as addictions or violence, saying how change is very difficult for people without the support of one's family and community. This may be more generally the case with healing and wellbeing, such that healing – for example – must happen in relation, not in isolation (see 4.2 c). People spoke about valuing community, and a feeling that *together* everyone is strong. Part of this sense of connectedness includes helping one another, sharing, respect for one another (including each other's resources), socialising, trips on the land together, and a sense of community integrity. Highlighting the importance of connection, Kral *et al.* suggest that the interruption of family structure and function *"…appears to be the most harmful effect of the internal colonialism imposed by the Canadian government in the 1950s and 1960s*" (2011:426).

In this theme, there is also the aspect of providing for or contributing to one's family and/or community in a variety of different ways, which is linked with a sense of belonging and responsibility, including pride in one's family/community, as well as giving, caring, obligation, accountability and love. The strength of these rich, complex and intense connections is also manifest in the power of family and community to shape conversations around difficult issues (*e.g.* suicide or other interests and challenges), to create space and time for personal and collective healing, fundraise for different causes – whether for cancer research or the local

Christmas hamper food and toy drive, which raised $15,000[113] (CP24, April 14, 2014) – not an insubstantial amount in a settlement of 1,400 people.

ii. Visiting, Concern for & Honouring Each Other, Parenting

- Visiting
- Concern for/honouring each other
- Parenting

More broadly, this category includes the following themes: respecting, honouring and appreciating ourselves, one another and animals, cultural pride, gratitude, the importance of communal spaces and resources, concern for one another, 'visiting', family bonds, parenting and connection. My most treasured and profound experiences in Kugluktuk were observing the ease with which people socialised, asked for, gave and received help, accepted and showed love and affection, and connected with one another. The high degree of familiarity was evidenced in public spaces in the ways people greeted one another, whether on the streets, at the stores or out on the land, where people would wave and greet each other or take time to exchange words. Even outsiders spoke about this experience of familiarity and friendliness.

In the context of this research, 'visiting' refers to the socialising that happens among friends and family, particularly in each other's homes (irrespective of the type of dwelling), although not necessarily limited to these spaces. This socialising also happens in various public spaces, whether at the post office, stores[114], community centre and in the street or elsewhere, but also while out on the land. What I observed of the socialising that took place in people's homes, was that food was always available, even if not explicitly offered. Drink such as tea or coffee

[113] Specific date unknown; however, in 2013 the community was reported to have raised $13K.
[114] The two large commercial stores in Kugluktuk that sell food products and other items to residents: the Co-op and the Northern.

would be offered: "*Have tea*!" was a common invitation upon entering someone's house. Also, entering someone's home involved simply walking in and preparing to sit down. Many times, I witnessed or people spoke about children and adults visiting the homes of friends and relatives, where they would either be given or simply helped themselves to food. In public spaces people might exchange a quick word about various local "news", such as weather, the health of some mutual relative, hunting/fishing activities, the upcoming (radio) Bingo game or where card games were being hosted that evening.

'Honouring each other' refers to the appreciation and esteem people held for others, including the community as a whole. For example, CP2ii spoke about those who grew up on the land, living a more traditional or historical cultural way of life, exclaiming, "*How they did that*?!" with a clear tone of amazement and respect for such knowledge and skills. Others praised programs or supports for youth in the community. In general, there seemed to be a collective care, consideration and valuing of babies and young people – perhaps relative to social norms elsewhere. CP2ii spoke about how these people passed along teachings to young children, such as how to use an ulu for food preparation, or to others about skills such as sewing, including patterns and measurements. The possession of place-based knowledge and skills seemed to be widely valued and respected. There was a sense of grief from those who recognised how much this and other kinds of knowledge were currently being lost, particularly among youth.

The sense of honour and respect was reflected also in the concern people had for one another. Most often it was evidenced by the issues and concerns that people spoke about when we met, or as I observed interactions among people during my time living in Kugluktuk. These were typically focused on Kugluktummiut and issues within either Kugluktuk or Nunavut.

People might feel concern for friends or family, or more broadly to community-level issues, such as single parenting, concerns around parenting skills, the quality of food being fed to children/youth, the need for mentorship and generally support for each other, including young men in the community, or access to country food.

Many people spoke about their concern for children and youth. This may be an indication of how people are connected to one another through family ties and familiarity. At one group meeting, a local elder expressed some concern about changing practices: < "*In a very traditional home, who gets fed first? Children!* [But] *in the community hall* [at feasts] *elders get fed first – that's turning"*> (PO45ii, April 28, 2014). Then another elder emphasized this care and consideration for children saying, <"*my husband gets fed first, but a smaller portion than the kids"*> (PO45iv, April 28, 2014). At this same meeting someone drew attention to one particularly prominent family: < "*One family is very strong. They opened their house to young people and amazing music came out of there*"> (PO45iv, April 28, 2014). Another person said, < "*Young people need to feel important to the people around them. One of the people in this strong family would tell young girls what their* [Inuinnaqtun] *names meant to them*" > (PO45v, April 28, 2014). A young local parent said, <"*Really troubled youth (committing break-ins etc.) – when you give a few seconds of time or attention to them it makes a big difference to their attitudes, but juvenile delinquents or young boys out of school aren't part of school trips and* [other important activities]"> (PO45iii, April 28, 2014) – in other words, the young people who really could benefit from the time and attention of their families and community are not getting what they need.

People were acutely aware of each other's' realities and wished to help, feeling helpless and frustrated when they were not able to or when it did not change things. People expressed

concern in many ways. Sometimes this would take the form of issues raised at the Women's Group[115] meetings, individuals distributing country food on a private basis (*i.e.* not via the HTO), or simply by speaking with compassion and empathy about challenges being faced by others. This awareness was very important because it helped some people to be more effective in their work – they can really help because of their knowledge and understanding of the different systems of support, combined with knowledge of and care for the people in their community. One non-local CP who was employed in Kugluktuk's education system shared the following:

> "*…we've been having these 'all-nighters'* [*i.e.* youth evening events]. *Kids are arranging it … they have an entry fee…If a kid comes in, and… these students know that he comes from a poor family, they don't charge, they just let them go in. And this is very spontaneous, the kids decide for themselves. So it's amazing to see how kids treat each other. … Some kids, they won't let them in because they know that they are a bad influence …they know who to keep out, and who to get in.*" (CP2vi, April 03, 2014)

Local politicians and bureaucrats born or otherwise living long-term in Kugluktuk were intimately a part of the various local realities, the people for whom they were making decisions. Some of these people – particularly older Inuit who were born and/or lived on the land – had personal experiences of hunger, not to mention other challenges that affect wellbeing. Consequently, decision making about programming and policy related to food may be more likely to be based on 'on the ground' experiences of the spectrum of human experience and needs, as well as more based in compassion. CP24 summarises this in the following:

> *"… it creates a different type of attitude in a human being when you're isolated…from the realities of what other human beings are going through, you have a different mentality. You carry a different attitude. …I think of somebody like Peter Taptuna - definitely a politician, definitely head on his shoulders, all for the people, more than*

[115] The Kugluktuk Women's Group is a collective of women from the community who gather relatively regularly to discuss issues of concern in the community. Membership was open to any woman in the community.

> *willing to listen to everybody. … He also has people that he knows are down in the dumps – who can't go to their next income support cheque without having somebody help them out by giving them food or something along that line, right*." (April 14, 2014).

Local decision makers may also be more deeply and unavoidably accountable to their constituencies for the simple fact of living among family relations, with whom there may be the kind of connections that impact discourse about all manner of issues, including governance decisions.

When decision making authorities do not originate from Kugluktuk or are otherwise unaware of local realities, there may be a greater risk of making injudicious decisions and systemic divides. When a decision maker is unaware of the various individual and collective realities that affect *Kugluktummiut*, decisions made can negatively and severely impact the relationship between people and food. CP4 talks about this in the context of governance:

> *…we have to remember that … policies are set by politicians. Up here though, it's a lot of it is done by bureaucrats, and when the division happened, Nunavut got the second choice of bureaucrats. We did not get the cream of the crop. The best ones decided to stay with the NWT…. Being a Minister is not an easy job, and some are not comfortable making decisions, and [they] do have to make decisions … otherwise they get left to your bureaucrats.* (July 06, 2015)

Not only is this person drawing attention to the power and authority that non-elected bureaucrats possess in Nunavut (perhaps as a matter of circumstance, rather than intention), but is also suggesting that these bureaucrats may not be making good decisions for the territory's peoples. CP14 – a prominent local politician – also spoke specifically to disconnects that can exist between people with decision-making authority relative to local realities, such as a lack of 'down to earth' knowledge about local practices, values, beliefs and needs:

> *"It's very difficult for our key people, professionals that come from down south, to try and deal with social ills of a small community. They figure* [for example] *that family*

> *comes first and family's got to decide what's best for them during their supper time around the supper time kitchen table. Well guess what? 67% of the families here you're talking about don't have* [a] *friggin' kitchen table. So are they talking? No.* [There is a] *lack of down to earth knowledge of … the situations that these communities are in, where the people that make decisions at the end of the day."* (March 28, 2014)

Other considerations associated with bureaucracy and related issues are described and discussed in further detail in subsequent chapters (*e.g.* Appendix B, c; Ch. 4.2d-ii, 6.3f).

As noted in the explanation regarding concern for one another, parenting was something that many people spoke about in a variety of different ways. Most often, however, people talked about their concern regarding the need to support parents to develop their parenting skills. For example, CP1 – a prominent local elder in the community – describes the challenges for parents to learn how to parent without having been parented (well) themselves, which can show up as gaps in their parenting and partnering:

> *I always think that it's better to teach them how to feed their family. I don't like the idea of just handing out and not being able to provide them with some skills they need to feed their family. Because some young people lost their parents at a very young age so, parenting skills are gone …. they don't have somebody to teach them. So… provide them with what they need but also teach them"* (March 26, 2014).

One local EIT spoke about strong mothers, saying that women can also provide for families, as this person's mother did, becoming part of the 'working class' in Kugluktuk while maintaining "*a healthy lifestyle*" (CP27, February 05, 2014).

People did not seem inclined to negatively label or lay blame on children for unacceptable behaviour. More often, concerns for youth seemed to be closely tied to parenting practices and the history and family/life circumstances of the child and the child's parents (as in the quote above) were taken into consideration. People may need opportunities and support to 'heal' not just themselves, but themselves as parents. Some people talked about how others are

struggling to parent well, how much parenting has changed – with the implication that this has not been for the better.

> *"We're not good parents up here. Parenting we - I don't know how you fix that one but we really need better parenting. And that's one thing that you know that is a fairly new phenomenon. In the old days we had wonderful parenting…and it really is a problem… you can even see how a child that is not getting attention and not being praised and not being loved respond to it when they do get it. They just brighten up. …You know acceptance, approval and a recognition that we're worthwhile."*(CP4, July 07, 2015)

Other people shared the following reflections: < "*poor*[116] *families have challenges like substance abuse, cards (gambling)… some parents at Residential school had trouble, so education is not reinforced – the kids of these parents lose out.* [In my day] *we went to grade 12, job shadowed. Youth used to be sent to Elders, not justice* [i.e. RCMP]!" (April 28, 2014 - PO45vii). PO45iii said, "*Elders used to discipline youth; youth got to learn something"* (April 28, 2014).

What supports are needed today to help enable, repair or reshape these traditions of parenting, which have been an important part of *Kugluktummiut*'s survival and thriving under demanding living conditions? Given the various challenges some caregivers are facing, combined with the number of people who identified parenting skills as an area in need of attention, it seems reasonable to ask whether current supports are appropriate and/or sufficient. In this sense a food sovereignty lens can be helpful to consider how primary decision making authority with regards to current programs and initiatives in Kugluktuk to date have influenced circumstances, then establish whether this arrangement needs to change and how it might be possible to better meet the needs of a growing community. Some examples of meaningful stresses that many *Kugluktummiut* are faced with, both at the level of the individual and

[116] In the context of this conversation, my assumption is that 'poor' refers to financial circumstances.

collectively[117] include loss of identity and culture, systemic marginalisation (Tulloch 2015), addictions – which may be tied to (intergenerational) trauma (Marsh et al. 2015; Carruth and Burke 2006) and other factors. There may be the need for time, space and support to talk about struggles with parenting, linking childhood experiences to parenting approaches and practices, linking healthy families and a healthy community to the strength of the family relationships that people experience and perpetuate. Family relationships that provide love, safety, security and other qualities can help children develop into adults with the capacity to form strong and healthy relationships with others (Howe 2011), which has implications for multi-generational community-level wellbeing. If the community or 'village' itself experiences a breakdown, an essential framework for raising children is impacted.

iii. Contributing: Reciprocity, Sharing, Giving & Internal Social Services

- Reciprocity: modern practices & challenges
- Sharing: changing & persistent practices
- Internal social services (various examples)
- Single parents

In many regards this category has aspects in common with 'Visiting, Concern for and Honouring Each Other and Parenting'. It is part of a collection of related social interactions, which have in some ways an element that is more 'active', an outward manifestation of care, which is why the word 'contributing' seems to fit. 'Visiting' and 'Sharing' are distinguished by the former involving an awareness of others, including that they may not be doing so well; the latter involves doing something about that knowledge, as well as the general practice of connection through giving. Sharing, helping, giving, reciprocity and 'internal social services'

[117] This term can refer to the political entity of Kugluktuk, for example, or family groupings, or other collections or 'constellations' of people – those who are connected through ancestral lines, marriage or otherwise.

(explained following) all represented different aspects of contributing – to wellbeing and the social good.

Reciprocity is a word that has been used by other scholars in describing various aspects of Inuit social life and relationships. (e.g. Damas 1972; Wenzel 1995). People in Kugluktuk spoke about sharing and giving. These terms are not necessarily interchangeable; rather, they are related. For the purposes of this work, sharing, giving and reciprocity are all part of a cultural agreement of sorts. Some nations elsewhere in Canada have the practice of publicly noting what has been given, and to whom[118]; in Kugluktuk, the closeness of social relations and the value placed on 'occupation' or livelihood and collective wellbeing means that people were often aware of whether a given individual was in the habit of honouring these agreements.

These relationships of reciprocity – of giving and receiving – persist in Kugluktuk today (*e.g.* PO45v, April 28, 2014), although it seems their form and content are changing to reflect other changes (*e.g.* socio-cultural, environmental, economic, spiritual). In addition, the rules of engagement around certain material goods seem potentially more problematic and may be excluded from some exchanges and relationships. Examples of this include money and other more costly property, such as snow machines. Several people complained about equipment that had been loaned and then not been properly cared for by the borrower, or in other cases money had not been paid back (*e.g.* PO62, February 2014). In Kanngiqtugaapik (Clyde River), on Baffin Island, Wenzel also noted such changes (2000), as did Ford and Beaumier in Igloolik (2011). The challenge of changing relationships, expectations and practices around reciprocity mean that people may be navigating more complex situations and may not be able to rely on

[118] I heard about this approach to the practice of reciprocity from C. Sutherland – a Gitxsan Nation member – in 2015, in a potlatch scenario.

social understandings or cultural norms of behaviour that once helped to ensure that everyone in the group was in some way occupied and contributing in some way to the well-being of the collective. An important aspect of these exchanges and relationships is that the act of giving and receiving seem to establish a kind of social capital, which is connected to social cohesion, community integrity and – possibly – group wellbeing (Kishigami 2004; Damas 1972; McMillan and Parlee 2013; Duhaime et al. 2004).

Some people, such as one prominent and culturally engaged local Elder (CP44) expressed pride and identification with the practice of sharing and contributing to the greater good, even though others described situations of withholding. CPs 44 and 48 spoke most coherently about these different aspects: < "*we are proud* [of our culture]*: people share – they just need to ask; everyone shares"*> (CP44, March 14, 2014). CP48 said, < "[people are] *working together for survival;* [historically,] *if you didn't contribute, you got less; some families never got out of this"*> (March 06, 2014). CP1 and others mentioned how things had changed, saying that people were not sharing as much as was customary. The explanation seemed to be 'abuse of the system' – people taking from certain relatives and not giving back. My sense is that people were aware that the underlying reasons were complex and part of people's histories and struggles, and perhaps a matter of the diversity of human nature (*e.g.* some people are more likely to be concerned with contributing to the collective good, while others are not).

One local Elder said the following:

> "*When I was younger I didn't see that problem* [poverty]. *People had dog teams, went out hunting… If they're not lucky people help each other out. But so many changes, eh? … You know, families are just not helping each other like they used to. They're not sharing like they used to. I've heard of some needy people going to their older siblings, they know they provide themselves. But they tell them they got nothing. They're not sharing.*" (CP1, March 26, 2014)

The theme of '*people not sharing like they used to*' was echoed by other local folk (*e.g*. CP2i, February 6, 2014). Some factors potentially contributing to changes in sharing practices might include diminished personal responsibility and accountability in connection with paternalistic government programs, destruction of social networks through wellness challenges (trauma, addictions, *etc*.), and lack of exposure to local practices, beliefs and values (*e.g.* spending time with elders and others who embody customary practices).

In Kugluktuk, the failure to honour an agreement, such as money given, in some instances might result in ostracization or refusal to further support an individual, but this was not always the case. For example, one local person shared the following:

> "*…nobody really wants to share anymore because… you know, it's such a small community and, like, so much family… they know they're not spending their money right and they say why should I help them if they can't spend properly. And, at the same time, it could be single mother with a lot of children. … I know* [someone]*…when she gets her money, she goes and spend it on stuff like gambling or alcohol and very little on food. … And there are sometimes where all of us … would help her with her fuel, just so her house don't get cold. And now I got some* [people] *saying, 'Quit helping her. She only wants to drink. She only wants to play cards and she's not even going to learn'. Oh, I just totally ignore them and helped her out with her fuel, and it lasted her until she can get fuel on her own. And it's like there, she kind of waked up from there, and she did put her money towards her fuel and used some of her money for food and yet she still goes gambling.*" (CP 20iii, April 04, 2014)

From the vantage of this relationship between people and food, this example suggests a remarkable sense of responsibility and commitment, as well as compassion and perhaps also flexible expectations on the part of CP20iii. This was not unique; several other such stories were shared.

Historically, reciprocal relationships with regards to food – more commonly specific types of country food – involved in some cases very specific allocations of different animal parts to very specific people, depending on a variety of factors and conditions (Damas 1972). In this

research, people talked about providing for and contributing to one's family and community in various ways, including noticing when there is a need and trying to find ways to meet those needs. This latter describes the concept of 'internal social services' – a customary system of care that is internal to the community, not part of an organised effort by formal government, corporate or non-governmental agencies. In this system people – including children – are noticed. People offer appreciation of one another and may attempt to provide support for those who are struggling. One local elder prominent in the community said this: < "*kids who are left out – lots have mental anguish.* [They feel] *abandoned, neglected.* [This is] *really damaging to them* [and can lead to] *suicide.* [A] *person* [is] *brought to this world unable to care for themselves: parents and teachers need to be there*"> (CP27, February 05, 2014). For some children home is not safe (CP40, March 04, 2014), which emphasizes the importance of internal social services. Other ways in which this practice manifests might be through noticing that some families do not have enough money to provide hockey gear to young people and fundraising in response, fostering children or establishing a soup kitchen. Elder CP4 shared about the realities that many women are faced with, even when resources are available:

> "*…those that are not struggling and have the capability of going, I don't think bother going there* [to the HTO]. *But there are difficulties…and HTO looks after that difficulty sometimes…and that's simply transportation. I mean the town's spreading out and there are people in need of country food that live in the furthest away building up in New Town. And then you know if it's a single mother there with two little kids, how is she in the wintertime going to get down to HTO and how is she going to transport it back up?*" (CP4, July 07, 2015)

This example reflects a sense of care, responsibility and awareness that exemplifies this concept of internal social services.

There seemed to be relatively fluid boundaries with regards to where Kugluktuk children would eat. It is possible that familial connections tended to form the basis for these associations; however, it may also be that children outside of more overt family structures would not be turned away if they were hungry. For example, during the school year, at lunch break, when the schools would close and children would typically go home for lunch, some children had nothing to eat and nowhere safe to go. Options for obtaining food in town were limited to other people's homes or the local stores. The latter by default would require children to have access to money, which in some cases was unavailable. It was not uncommon that some children were fed by the families of their friends – as another form of internal social services. Visiting friends would simply be given lunch, welcomed as part of the family. One CP shared that s/he goes over to others' houses around twice each day to eat a few times throughout the week (CP59, March 17, 2014). This appeared to be practiced in relatively financially affluent homes, but may have also been a feature of homes where financial resources were scarce. One person who was actively involved in food security issues in Nunavut said, "*despite low incomes and high cost of food,* [today] *no one is starving: communities take care of each other*" (PO31, February 15, 2014). Several people mentioned sharing not only within Kugluktuk, but also among communities (*e.g.* CP2i, February 06, 2014). There was an arctic char donation to communities across Nunavut from the fish processing plant in Rankin Inlet. Part of this donation to the Hamlet of Kugluktuk was used to support the Saturday Soup Kitchen (see Ch. 4.3a) and provides one of many examples of institutional sharing and cooperation in Kugluktuk. One final extreme example of the practice of internal social services is something that was shared by one of the local RCMP about how s/he felt that the community tended to self-police drugs, with residents helping to keep out hard drugs, such as cocaine.

Many people spoke about challenges particular to single parents. Three local Elders were speaking and one said, <*"it's too expensive to go out* [on the land]*, no machines, no jobs"*> (PO58, March 17, 2014). It seems that in some cases single parents can fall outside of helping networks, an observation that has also been made in scholarly literature, specifically regarding single mothers (e.g. Duhaime and Bernard 2008:317; Huet, Rosol, and Egeland 2012). Women with young children may be at home, with little support (financial, social, *etc.*). In one group meeting, one person relayed < "*I don't know how mothers on social assistance and child tax manage, especially with bottle feeding. Costs $40 for a small container* [of formula]"> (PO45vii, April 28, 2014). This example highlights some of the additional challenges that parents may face in attempting to meet the needs of their children – in this case both having sufficient finances, as well as the experience and/or education to know how to budget or otherwise navigate commercial goods and market economies – fiscally and otherwise. One local Elder emphasized, "*... it's usually women who are asking* [for food], *right*?" This person went on to say, "*But we do get men who have no means of hunting out there, who have no equipment for hunting. Maybe they are raising – they are single parent maybe or you know some men have no hunting skills either"* (CP1, March 26, 2014). What happens to these men? How do they get help if they need it? People also spoke about others who struggle to feed their families because of addictions (CP2ii, September 21, 2016; CP20iii, March 11, 2014).

iv. Preparing for Life: Learning, Education, Wisdom, Knowledge, Knowledge Transfer

- Knowledge types: IQ, book learning, life skills
- Collective knowledge capacities
- (re-) valuing & re-defining 'education'
- book learning stats

This sub-category of '*Living in Relation*' describes the different forms of knowledge and learning that people spoke about, including the knowledge required to survive and thrive in different environments (*e.g.* out on the land, in wage employment, feeding our families – on the land or in town). People also talked about access to knowledge or learning. Roughly three groupings of knowledge types emerged, which may be important in the context of the current resources in the community that support people to feed their families. These are as follows: (1) IQ, (2) 'book learning' and (3) life skills. IQ might include learning to be an elder – also known as '*Elders-in-training*' (see Ch. 4.1 for explanation) as two different people local to Kugluktuk referred to it (CP2ii, April 03, 2014; CP24, April 14, 2014). This included more generally place-based knowledge (*e.g.* hunting), knowledge specific to being on the land (*e.g.* safety), learning to use material property carefully and wisely (*e.g.* snow machines, boats), and learning customary roles for everyone in the community (*e.g.* Elders, men/women, children). '*Book learning*' describes the kind of skills or learning connected to colonial educational institutions, such as primary and secondary school, Arctic College, University or the Nunavut Sivuniksavut program. '*Life skills*' may be considered related to IQ, including parenting and caring for our families, budgeting, 'shopping smart', and other practical, hands-on skills, such as those associated with on-the-land harvesting, resourcefulness, machine repair, sewing, and cooking (either store or country food). Depending on the environment or conditions under which someone might spend their time, some types of knowledge were more or less essential – although someone who spends most of their time within town may not have the same need for certain kinds of situated place-based, 'traditional' (inherited, acquired) knowledge as when out on the land.

There was an immense body of knowledge, skill and wisdom present in the community. Many people in the community have extensive knowledge of the land and harvesting practices, as well as various other local, place-based knowledge; some people had this type of knowledge as well as 'formal' post-secondary training. Some people – according to what they or others shared about their backgrounds – have knowledge in all themes, such as the Premier at that time (Peter Taptuna), who is from Kugluktuk. People also spoke about helping each other to fill the gaps of lost knowledge and sharing different skills and knowledge with one another or wishing that there were more opportunities to do this. When invited to share dreams for their community, one Elder said this: "*The one thing I always think about for this community is for a Master Hunter* [to] *take on* [an] *apprentice*" (CP2iii, April 03, 2014). A similar idea was expressed by another prominent Elder (non-local, embedded), who proposed partnering with Universities to offer equivalent courses such as 'renewable resource harvesting', taught by people from Kugluktuk with relevant expertise (*e.g.* Wildlife Officer, Elder hunters) (CP4, April 24, 2014). One EIT mentioned "traditional land training camps" that once existed, but were cancelled when the Alberta curriculum was introduced (February 05, 2014). One 'On the land' learning opportunity was made available through the initiative of several secondary school teachers. In this program, students received academic credit for being out on the land – sealing, trapping or fishing – accompanied by an Elder hunter. Having attended several of these outings, I witnessed meaningful changes in youth who participated regularly in on-the-land trips facilitated through the local secondary school (see Appendix B, b-iv for more details). As one non-local said, "*If education equals power, and knowledge of land is power, but kids also don't have school* [or on-the-land] *education…* [what is left for them]?*"* (CP40, March 04, 2014).

Perceived discrepancies in the valuation of book learning relative to IQ or life skills (and related knowledge/expertise) are part of a broader wish to (re)imagine what it means to 'educate'. Several Elders spoke about the need to change expectations around what constitutes meaningful learning for young people and others in the community (*e.g.* CP2iii, 4, 14). This is not only an issue about content, but also content delivery. One Elder said, "*years ago, elders used to be 'used' all the time* [in school activities]*;* [then the] *school started paying elders.* [Better to give elders] *country food – gifts that they can't get, delicacies that they grew up with (tongue, head, innards, etc.)*" (CP2ii, April 03, 2014). This speaks to changes in community involvement (quality, frequency) in the public education system; these have impacted the incorporation of local expertise in children's education. Many people spoke about their desire for more opportunities in the community for themselves and others to learn these and other kinds of skills. This connects with one embedded (non-local) Elder's comments about the need to provide incentive for young people to do well at school in Kugluktuk (see Appendix B, c-ii, CP4).

Learning and education were once fundamentally and quintessentially relational and intergenerational by necessity, and as one local Elder described it, "*teaching by example*" (CP14, March 28, 2014). Education was place-based, shaped by relationships with one-another, the environment, the land and its inhabitants, the ancestors and spirits; much education revolved around food (*e.g.* acquisition, preparation, consumption, utilizing by-products, sharing/social practices) (e.g. Bennett and Rowley 2004). The historical and ongoing dislocations of these relationships and connections are impactful. For example, the Royal Commission on Indigenous peoples states, "*One of the barriers to teaching Aboriginal languages in the public schools has been the lack of recognition by educators (at the elementary, high school and post-secondary*

levels) of the competence of elders and other fluent speakers as teachers in the school system. Because elders and other potential teachers do not hold formal qualifications, their unique expertise has not been acknowledged" (Canada, Erasmus, and Dussault 1996:435 v3). This finding is also a potent statement about systemic power dynamics.

In Kugluktuk today, young people continue to be immersed in a system of education that frequently disconnects them from their environment, community, local knowledge, heritage and in some regards their future wellbeing. There appears to be growing support to change these circumstances (*e.g.* community- and school-specific programming, curricula); however, many changes are dependent upon the initiative, imagination, interest and embeddedness of individuals (in many instances outsiders), as well as collective will and capacities to collaborate. One Elder (non-local) shared, "*... my concept of education is…to bring a person to the state where they can have a meaningful and worthwhile contribution to the lifestyle* [they're] *going to live in"* (CP4, July 07, 2015); this offers a reminder of what may constitute 'successful' education.

As Nunavut's Premier at the time of this work – Peter Taptuna – shared in a community meeting, post-secondary education will become essential in order to fill the coming need for employment, for mining, other trades and leadership, particularly with the current job market and employment structuring. Several people in attendance at the meeting mentioned problems with entrance exams – matching education levels with currently available employment opportunities in town. One person said, "*Inuit are really good at hands-on* [*i.e.* 'life skills']*: why do we need an entrance exam*?" The response from the Premier was simply, "*It's the law*" – a response that speaks in part to the existing power structures and barriers to finding alternatives that may better match people's realities. More than five decades ago, Usher wrote: "*A conflict arises between instructing a child in living off the land so that he may engage in the traditional occupations, and*

instructing him in the type of skills required to compete in the white man's economy" (1965:122). The various requirements to fulfil wage employment requirements can present insurmountable barriers. It is a strain on everyone when a person has to leave their home (*e.g.* family, friends, culture), for example, to get further training, in many instances leaving a partner or family member to take on care of children (*e.g.* CP14, CP4). One criticism of the education system in northern Canada is that it continues to be entrenched in (colonial) ideologies and practices that contribute to marginalisation and alienation, as well as hinder opportunities for developing pride and practice of cultural knowledge and values (e.g. Tulloch 2015). The fact that one of the principal barriers to employment in Kugluktuk is education – *via* job qualifications – suggest a potential systemic failure to recognise different forms of local knowledge and skill that exist (*e.g.* customary or otherwise), and perhaps illustrate the underlying power dynamics around how various systems in the community are structured (*e.g.* employment, education, health, justice).

With regards to book learning, relatively low numbers of people (ages 25-64) in Kugluktuk have a secondary school diploma or equivalency certificate (12%) or post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree (43%) relative to Canadian totals (24% & 65% respectively) (Statistics Canada Government of Canada 2017b). This can present challenges to future employment, and for local folk who wish to obtain post-secondary training, attendant challenges may include the necessity to leave their home communities, which is a meaningful barrier (see in Ch. 3.2b; CP3ii).

v. Working Together: Partnerships, Communication, Cooperation

- Working together: historic to present practices
- Supports & barriers (including power)
- Youth on-the-land program
- Learning from un/successful programs
- Community participation in decision-making

The themes of partnerships, communication and cooperation frequently arose in conversation. Many different agencies in town work together for the good of their community, including service delivery and ensuring effective and appropriate services. Some individuals – whether as representatives of agencies or not – were particularly proactive, willing to cooperate and coordinate with other agencies or individuals. These cooperative relationships might be found in private or public spheres, between individuals and collectives. The themes of partnerships, cooperation and communication also linked with other themes (*e.g.* identity, wellness, power, leadership), all of which are relevant to the relationship between people and food.

Partnerships, communication and cooperation were an essential component of life in Kugluktuk, from interagency-based projects to being on the land. This may in part be attributable to customary practices around cooperation, and ongoing challenges around limited resources. One person who was local from Nunavut but not Kugluktuk shared the following:

> *"Inuit families usually go live in camps and we have to get along no matter what. Follow the leader to survive. That was the key… everybody had to get along in that camp to survive, if there was any kind of friction, it didn't work out, that meant hunger, starvation, death, alright? So that part is really strong within the Inuit.*" (PO31, February 03, 2014)

In many respects working together also mirrors 'sharing': people come together and share their ideas, gifts and skills with a willingness to be in close relationship together.

In Kugluktuk, a great deal or very little could be achieved depending upon peoples' willingness to work together. For example, the Saturday soup kitchen (see Ch. 4.3a) was made possible only through a great deal of preparatory and ongoing collaboration, partnership and

communication among organisations and individuals. If the principal, for example, had been unwilling for the soup kitchen to use the high school kitchen and the library space, trusting that the facilities would be taken care of, the soup kitchen may not have been possible. Infrastructure limitations in the town meant that there were very few spaces at the time that would have been suitable. There was a great deal of communication necessary to put funding in place to support the soup kitchen, from conversations within the Wellness Committee or the local Women's Group, to having the proposal and request for funding put before Hamlet Council. Several different organisations were involved at all stages; without cooperation among these and a shared interest in working towards the collective good, the impetus and initiative behind the soup kitchen may have been easily lost.

It can require a great deal of energy, time, trust and confidence to bring an idea to fruition, particularly where resources are limited, and the quality of existing human relationships can impact the ease with which ideas are realised or not. In some instances (early) leadership and initiative can be easily discouraged. Certain individuals may (un/consciously) inhibit or prevent action in service of the community if they are unwilling to collaborate if they hold a great deal of power, authority and control over resources. In Kugluktuk there were various instances where this could be observed. Some examples include between students and teaching staff at school, at the local stores, within the Hamlet or even at the local health clinic – impacting both individual and collective wellbeing.

People who are not emotionally and otherwise supported by the people around them, or those who have had experiences that undermine their confidence may be easily (and understandably) discouraged. '*Together we are strong'* is what came out of what people shared about the partnerships and collaboration in Kugluktuk. When people support one another and

people's skills are supported to exist synergistically, a great deal can be accomplished in service of individuals and the community. Some examples of this can be found in the Saturday Soup Kitchen (Ch. 4.3a), the Elder Centre, the HTO and an on-the-land program in the high school that was initiated by one of the high school teachers during my time in Kugluktuk. In the last example, the teacher said,

> "*The land trips were part of what was supposed to be the 'Culture and Heritage' high school option. We have had a Pre-Trades program running in the high school for years, but we were trying to offer a second specialization for students who were drawn to cultural studies. I was leading that option at the time, mostly because I really believed it to be very important, but have since been replaced* [by someone else]*...Dale Skinner was the first to initiate a more outdoor, experiential type of learning in the high school, as far as I know. It started in his Environmental science course and then he started doing the culture and heritage course*" (D. Frenette, pers. comm., April 18, 2018).

The above illustrates how cooperation, partnership and supporting people to share their gifts benefit the community at large; an idea that seemed to be initially well received was carried through by others. During my time in Kugluktuk, this program was supported by people with more authority in the educational system's power structure: the Principal at the time (Hayden George) and others, including the high school community counsellor (Kenny Taptuna) and two community Elders (Charlie Bolt, Richard Akana). I think this example is particularly important because of how it appeared to impact youth who participated, and how practices such as knowledge building, intergenerational knowledge transmission, (re)building peer and intergenerational connection, celebration of culture and identity and others were supported and enabled.

As mentioned earlier, the kinds of local initiatives described previously may not ever happen without also recognising the barriers that exist and what is needed to change circumstances; looking at 'successful' collaborations can also help identify what facilitates or

enables these kinds of programs. For example, what aspects of successful collaborations may be attributed to local and customary practices? At times, perceived 'problems' may help reveal systemic issues, such as the distribution of power/autonomy or gaps in collaboration; one example is the visitor centre, hosted in the (at the time) recently completed Ulu Building. Although people were excited about it and looking forward to realising its potential for the community – in service of the community (*e.g.* culture & heritage oriented) – it emerged in one group meeting that people in the community were also aware of and somewhat frustrated that there was no planning about how it would be used (PO45, April 28, 2014). People mentioned <"*different organisations in the community working together, talking together"*> (PO45ii, April 28, 2014), including the role of liaison officers and groups who help with interagency communication and coordination (CP2i, April 03, 2014; PO45iv, April 28, 2014). In Kugluktuk, if there is a preference towards more consensus-based decision making, current government programs may benefit from providing more opportunities for local participation in developing and running programs, particularly certain federal programs and others (*e.g.* IA, housing, justice) managed from distant locations (*e.g.* Ottawa, Iqaluit).

vi. Activities – In Town, Having Fun, Play, Relief from Stress

- Benefits, enablers/disablers
- Physical infrastructure that supports social spaces
- Social events in town
- Social media
- Being out on the land
- Social opportunities

In many regards, this sub-theme could also be considered fundamental to wellness, identity, visiting and sharing. Activities in town provided opportunities to support people to (re)build social connections, have fun, play and get relief from stress, such as the isolation that

comes from not being able to leave the house, which some (single) parents of young children, elders or those with mobility or health issues experience. Weather conditions, availability and suitability of different activities and other factors might affect the degree of isolation. One participant (CP24, April 14, 2014) said the following: "*... a lot of what goes on or what doesn't go on is…activities within the community – that creates a healthy community* [is] *where ... social activity does take place.*" Examples of activities available in the community might include sewing classes, community sports, bingo, card playing, 'all-nighters'[119], feasts or some of the government programs (*e.g.* CPNP, 'Nearest & Dearest').

Activities where public socialising was supported happened in spaces like the Elder centre, the recently opened Youth centre, Community centre and some other locations in town (*e.g.* library, local stores, post office). After school hours many people – youth in particular – used the public library (hosted by the secondary school) to access the internet, play ping-pong, colour, read and socialise. The community centre housed both a skating rink and a large gymnasium space that was used for Bingo, feasts and other events (*e.g.* meeting place for Nattiq Frolics). In general, however, public places and spaces in town where people could comfortably socialise over extended periods (*i.e.* several hours) were limited. There were no commercial establishments in town where people could sit and share food together. The Elder centre was one of the few 'public' places in town where it was possible to stop by for tea and something small to eat at specific times. It also hosts meals for elders in the community (*e.g.* once per week, funding dependent). In this way, the local soup kitchen (see Ch. 4.3a) offered a unique space, targeting families and others who presumably would not have had the financial resources

[119] 'All-nighters' in particular were evening events for youth in town that were organised by students at the local high school. The students would fundraise for the event, then charge a nominal entry fee (*e.g.* $2 for those who could afford to pay), sell food, show a movie, play games and offer other fun, safe activities for youth.

to access commercial establishments, who could come together to talk and relax while their children played safely together. The fact that the soup kitchen was in the local high school and library may have been important for those who might have directly or residually experienced (residential) school traumas. The space was shaped by the people organising/hosting the soup kitchen to create an open, welcoming and culturally supportive environment – a space with the potential to offer gentle healing of old wounds and – among other things – renew or deepen a sense of connection with others, relax and enjoy good tasting, culturally meaningful food[120].

Social media such as Facebook is also included in this sub-category of Living in Relation; it was used regularly and in a variety of ways by a wide demographic in Kugluktuk. Activities that relied on internet access were limited by both a very expensive and slow connection: at the time of writing this, the internet in Kugluktuk (as well as many other communities) operated *via* satellite. Local radio, social media and more broadly accessing the internet seemed to serve a number of different purposes, from entertainment, to selling/buying items, sharing local 'news', keeping in contact with family members and friends who were away, or connecting to culture (*e.g.* Nunavut Hunting Stories). One time at the secondary school a young woman was researching traditional Inuit tattooing on the Internet; this was an opportunity for her to (re)connect with customary practices and values.

It seemed that there was a need and interest in creating more opportunities for social activities in town or facilitated outings on the land, particularly ones with healing and/or life skills (*e.g.* IQ) themes. One of the Women's Group members spoke about a workshop they hosted entitled, '*Live, Laugh, Love'*, which was offered in February 2012. An open invitation was extended to all women in Kugluktuk to attend (ages 13^{+}). One of the workshop days

[120] Typically homemade foods based on country foods (*e.g.* Arctic char chowder, muskox chili/stew).

included a comedy night, which apparently was quite popular. In the workshop report, participants spoke about a desire for more gatherings like '*Live, Laugh, Love*' and healing workshops. One of the key recommendations out of the report suggested that "*To help the Women Laugh often in Kugluktuk with their friends and families, there is a need to create gathering opportunities for laughter. Coffee Houses, Family fun nights and more scheduled gatherings*" (Kuliktana 2013:39). During my time in Kugluktuk I did not hear about any regular events such as those described in the report, which suggests that the needs expressed in the workshop continued to be unmet.

c) Theme: Resources & Power

Resources and power are ubiquitous in peoples' lives, impacting a range of different life experiences, individually and collectively, across small and large scales. Some of the following sub-themes speak more specifically to the wide ranging roles that resources or power play in Kugluktuk, as well as different conceptualisations of these. Other sub-themes represent clear intersections of resources and power. The final sub-category – '*There's a lot of good things that happen up here; I wish…*' – speaks to the interplay of power and resources that people perceived as positive influences in Kugluktuk, followed by descriptions of where there was perceived lack or desire for more.

i. Resources & Resource Control: Material, Social, Knowledge

- Material & social goods, access
- Resourcefulness
- Resource limitations, disparities
- Housing (safety, availability, affordability, appropriateness)
- Manifestations of resource control, access to money/employment

This category describes things in the community that assist (or hinder) people in one way or another, including to feed their families, forming essential links in the relationship between people and food. In this work, 'resources' are conceptualised quite broadly, moving beyond a more limited focus on financial or other resources connected to monetary means (*e.g.* equipment, infrastructure) services available in the community, people's individual gifts (*e.g.* talents, knowledge, skills), as well as more intangible qualities, such as skills, knowledge, wisdom, love, and wellbeing (food or otherwise). Possession of certain resources and assets can influence one's ability to access and wield power, which is itself an asset. People spoke about material goods, the distribution of and opportunities to gain more resources – which in turn are connected to power, skills, knowledge or the capacity to access power structures that are part of the local food system. The theme of 'resources' has been described by Gartuala *et al.* in the context of what they term food wellbeing: "*The material dimension emphasizes the resources people have and the extent to which the needs of the person are met*" (2017:576). These authors suggest that resources represent one of several necessary conditions for food wellbeing. Some of the specified resources in Kugluktuk include infrastructure, programming and services, food security, resource management, and access to funds and funding. Different manifestations of wellness, strong familial or social networks, or the possession of personal qualities or gifts that contribute to the wellbeing of the community are also powerful resources. The flow of resources in the community is impacted by resource control, which is tied to decision-making authority within the community.

Some qualities described by 'resources' also fall under the term 'resourceful'. There is a high degree of resourcefulness in Kugluktuk. One person spoke about how some men at Illavut have the skills to repair machinery using very limited resources (CP23, 2014). In Kugluktuk,

many people develop many different kinds of skills, rather than limit their expertise to only one or a few areas. In this sense, the 'generalist-specialist' is a necessary way of life and collectively people can contribute their assets (*e.g.* skills) and resources (*e.g.* equipment) in service of the common good. Consequently, the community has the potential to exert influence on future generations, for example through partnerships with educational facilities/systems to foster the kind of skills (*e.g.* generalist-specialist) and resources that support local resourcefulness, which can in turn impact collective autonomy and wellbeing.

Some youths and others in the community do not have access to the kinds of resources (*e.g.* time, expertise/knowledge, equipment, finances, social connections) necessary for on-the-land expeditions. Two local employed people – one EIT and an adult (CP2ii & 2i, April 03, 2014) – spoke about the situation where young people may be prevented from participating in certain activities in town (*e.g.* ice hockey) due to insufficient financial resources within that child's family. These issues can be particular challenges for single parents. Reference to insufficient financial resources through the territorial SA program and un-employment were common. In some situations people also struggle with addictions, which can exacerbate resource limitations – financial and otherwise. One Elder (non-local, embedded), speaking about changes in resource distribution among families that are manifest today, shared how <"… *in the old days we were all poor, but we were all the same, so everyone was rich; now we have 'have' and 'have not' families. Some families are making $250,000 per year, while others are fourth generation welfare – no one owns a boat, skidoo...*"> (CP4, April 24, 2014). Elder CP4 pointed out that of the approximately 120 snow machines at one of the 2014 Nattiq Frolic races, these primarily belonged to the children of 'have' families – those with (financial) resources (April 24, 2014). This connects back to a wellness-related issue described in Appendix B (a-iii), in which large

numbers of (young) men who were in attendance at this event could not participate in the races because they did not have the resources (*e.g.* financial, social, knowledge) to own and/or maintain a snowmachine. This may be connected to unemployment, which is part of larger issues connected to power, meaningful occupation (see following sub-sections), social connection and wellbeing. Disparities in financial resources may be impacting (customary) sharing and giving practices in Kugluktuk, an observation that has also been made in communities such as Kanngiqtugaapik (Clyde River) (Wenzel 2000).

One of the non-local mental health workers in Kugluktuk spoke about housing and the difficulty for some people to find a safe place to sleep, particularly when there is conflict or abuse in the home. One local adult (employed) spoke about the problem of how rent is calculated for renters in public housing – based on the previous year's earnings:

> *"…a lot of young, able, capable* [people are] *willing but hesitant to go out and find gainful employment…Because … seasonal employment…*[is] *going to plough up their income for this year. …*[Our] *system…creates a group of people who are willing…in their hearts, but not willing to* [find employment] *because of fear of having to take care of that extra rent that they're going to have to pay in the following year. … I find good people will do some things that aren't exactly good things to cover their rent…and when it comes down to food security and having a family even more so. Some people in our community would literally walk to the ends of the earth to make sure that their kids have food...*" (CP24, April 14, 2014)

Elder CP4 also spoke about changing social demographics and types of dwellings available. Kugluktuk's population appears to be growing (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics 2010), as is the number of single parents (CP4, July 7, 2015). This impacts the need for single *versus* partner dwellings, and relates to the issue of how houses are designed (*i.e.* by whom and for whom?), whether these support local values and needs, and how the collective architecture of houses impacts collective wellbeing. There was also a related issue of transportation to which Elder CP4 referred, and which was vocalized at a community meeting focused on potential site locations for

a new housing development. The distance from different resources, such as store or country food (HTO or Elder Centre), can offer challenges to (single) parents of young children with limited access to transportation resources. These are complex issues because they speak to resource challenges, potential disconnects between governing systems and individual realities, and the various (difficult) choices people may face because of those disconnects and changing dynamics.

Within the government, control of resources manifests through allocation of monies –a prominent non-local Elder (CP4) speaks about this subsequently, discussing for example the relative allocations of funding to different ministries and programs. Collective land ownership (*e.g.* Inuit-owned *vs.* crown lands) and resource extraction/profit rights translate to financial resources for the territory, and impact individual and collective wellbeing in a variety of ways. At a municipal scale, resource control (and attendant power dynamics) may manifest as – for example – the ease of access that community members have to public resources, such as local infrastructure and other common property resources for collective wellbeing (*e.g.* social, cultural, healing/health, political). Knowledge or awareness of each other's skills, abilities and other resources is connected to resource control. Resource control, such as through social networks, is affected by and impacts power.

In Kugluktuk, there are relatively limited options for the acquisition of money and meaningful barriers to gainful employment, which several co-participants described. One prominent Elder spoke about some of the challenges regarding employment and meaningful occupation in Kugluktuk:

> *"We have the fastest growing population in Canada, and the youngest… In ten years* [in Kugluktuk] *we need almost 6000 new jobs. The government is not going to provide that. …the only opportunity this early in the game is mineral extraction. …… but it doesn't mean*

> *anything if nobody comes out there and starts extracting that minerals. … You need good education. And that's why in Nunavut we have the most cleanest water in Canada and not one water chemist, believe it or not. We don't have a scientist. We don't have architects. …it's time that we educate our own local Inuit, all northerners, to become professional doctors, lawyers, nurses, architects, engineers, geologists, biologists."*(local EIT CP14, March 28, 2014)

The current structuring of employment in Kugluktuk tends to overlook qualifications outside formal job requirements. In combination with limited employment opportunities, low graduation rates (Government of Canada 2019; Nunavut Literacy Council 2007) and challenges to completing post-secondary education within[121] and outside of one's home community (Kral and Idlout 2012; Pauktuutit 2006; Berger 2001), these barriers effectively render many available employment positions illusions of opportunity. There may also be other challenges present, such as having young ones at home to care for, financial repercussions of inconsistent income (*e.g.* Appendix B, c-iii; CP24, April 14, 2014), persistent criminal records[122], or having debt and financial obligations such as child support (CP48, May 06, 2014). Furthermore, social networks may affect a person's access to employment and favourable assessment during job applications. One example of this is what Elder CP4 described about 'promising' young people being supported and mentored to fill local leadership positions on the Hamlet Council (CP4, July 06, 2015).

Positions of decision making authority can impact both access to and control of resources for individuals and the collective in large and small ways. The Economic Development Officer has the possibility to impact certain types of productivity and leadership in the community, whether through access to funding or their capacity to listen to peoples' ideas and encourage initiative

[121] Interruptions of intergenerational knowledge transfer (*e.g.* residential school, modern education approaches/ content/structuring) can also impact people's capacity for formalised education through influences on wellbeing. This was mentioned by several local CPs (2iii, 45vii, 48).
[122] One CP spoke about the various barriers involved in clearing criminal records – see Appendix B, c-iii

(see also Appendix B, c-ii). The Nunavut Harvester support program[123] through the HTO has the capacity to impact access to important resources in Kugluktuk, by enabling hunters to develop and maintain local knowledge as well as equitably distribute country food. Another example of how decision making authority impacts access to resources is with social assistance (SA). An individual assessed for SA that is deemed 'employable' (*i.e.* "Career" category) is required to seek employment using a "job search form", which they submit every two months (CP3i, April 24, 2014). Efforts to seek employment are demonstrated through obtaining signatures from potential employers. Elder CP4 (non-local, embedded) described this situation and proposed an alternative:

> *"…It's a job search form. And you go around town with this. There's something utterly demeaning in that to me. And it is also a very difficult thing to do. Some of them are asked to get up to 32 signatures. There aren't 32 places in this town willing to even sign the form. …We have government offices that won't sign because they don't hire people up there. …* [And] *when your appointment day happens to fall on* [a day that]*… there's a bloody blizzard blowing? …* [what] *if we institute a different system and …scrap all of these social programs…, all the public assistance programs…and … substitute them with a guaranteed minimum income* [?]" (CP4, July 07, 2015)

Considerations about SA in particular with regard to people-food relationships are important because of the high proportion of people who are enrolled in some form of social support program: 47% in Kugluktuk (Government of Nunavut 2018) and over half of *Nunavummiut* (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017:30) . One non-local government worker pointed out that many seniors in in Nunavut who turn 65 are suddenly no longer living below the poverty line, because of the increase in income received through Elder Pension monies. This person indicated that SA may not be adequate for many families – which is supported by the Makimaniq Plan 2 (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017) – particularly given the budgeting savvy that may be

[123] *via* the HTO.

required for caregivers to ensure that their families are adequately fed, clothed and housed (CP21, July 07, 2015). How are families managing? The most obvious supports are the resource sharing and exchanges that happen through social networks, some monetary income (formal/ informal income), as well as other programs and events that supplement housing costs, and provide access to food (*e.g.* CPNP, feasts, Elder Centre, *etc.* – see Ch. 3.2c for more examples and explanations of program functions/contributions to food security).

ii. Power, Leadership

- Power
  - Defined
  - Power, leadership, decision making authority
  - Power dynamics
  - Bureaucracy, micromanagement, disconnects
  - Transparency/accountability
  - Conflict
  - Systemic reciprocity, institutional dynamics
  - Public processes
- Leadership
  - Defined, resourcefulness
  - Advocacy, impacts of uneven power dynamics
  - Local (youth) leadership opportunities
  - Resource allocation
  - Local governance

Power

Of all the emergent themes, very few people spoke directly about power. Perhaps in some regards this is because it is the most abstract, as can be inferred by the range of scholarly ideas and interpretations about this construct. Another possibility is that these themes may not commonly form part of normal discourses, whether in schools or as topics of discussion in different social and political contexts. In other words, despite its impact on peoples' lives, it is one of the less transparent aspects. Wolf (1990) describes four different modes of power, broadly summarised as personal power, power over others, power over one's environment

(‘organisational power’), and ‘the power to govern consciousness’ (‘structural power’). Dreher states, *“Objective reality expresses manifest power structures that are internalized by individual actors and become part of the subjective reality… Power structures are a human product. Power is perceived as objective reality. Human beings are a social product formed with relation to power*” (Dreher 2016:66–67). In other words, power itself is a construct – an idea. People ascribe power to someone or something; then this belief is internalized to the extent that it seems like truth. John Barry suggests that power is both socially constructed and inherently political (2013). Patel (2009:668) refers to “*…multivalent hierarchies of power and control …within the world food system…*” which can also be found affecting or within food systems at smaller scales, such as in northern and remote communities.

Some forms of power seemed to be more aligned with empowerment, healing, solidarity, connection, sustainability, wellness and other qualities connected with local values, practices and beliefs, such as IQ. Power was exhibited as leadership and ‘authority’, manifest as decision making authority, ‘education’ – as skills or knowledge, including formal and customary (*e.g.* IQ) knowledge, law making /enforcement, and sharing. In Kugluktuk, local power and leadership were manifest in positions of decision making authority that support collective wellbeing (*e.g.* local council, committees) or those involved in cultural celebration and (re)vitalization – the hunter who harvests for their family and community and the person who sews (traditional, place-based) clothing to support on-the-land activities. Individuals, organisations and institutions have decision making authority that may be rooted in customary, formal or other practices, values and beliefs, and are impactful for individuals and collectives. Examples of these include respected Elders in the community, religious/spiritual leaders, different levels of government (*e.g.* municipal, Territorial, Federal) and various institutions that may be more or less include a

mixture of customary (also locally-informed) and formal decision making authority, such as the local HTO, regional Kitikmeot Inuit Association or Pauktuutit (national – Inuit Women of Canada).

One person (non-local, employed) raised questions about power dynamics in Kugluktuk: < "*Power (e.g. financial power) is multi-faceted. So what are the consequences of different people in power? For example, are they community oriented or individual or family oriented?"*> (CP38, February 27, 2014). Two local adults – CPs20iii & 20iv (March 11, 2014) – spoke about bullying and misuse of power; both had family members who had talked about this issue. Whether this is bullying at school or people fighting together in programs provided in service to the community, this can have long term consequences for individuals and the collective. Persistent power dynamics connected to cultural difference and colonial histories were manifest in a variety of ways in Kugluktuk; one of these was as social divides. Social gatherings, for example, tended to be fairly culturally homogeneous. Some positions of employment also tended to be predominantly filled by non-locals. It is important to acknowledge difference and the tensions that can arise from these because they impact the whole community, including relationships between people and food. It also affects how people perceive themselves in relation to 'others', which can have implications for wellbeing, identity and resource access. There is important information about power structures within overt/covert tensions. Imposed systems of governance, for example, risk continued marginalisation and undermining of local values, practices and beliefs if they remain unquestioned and unexamined (Czyzewski 2011; Whyte 2016; Wildcat 2020). When people sense a mismatch between services *versus* what community members expect or hope for, this is an important opportunity – to begin asking questions, which can inform actionable efforts and reduce these divides.

Sometimes power or authority goes unquestioned by others, and may lack transparency and/or accountability at times when it may not serve individual or collective wellbeing. Elder CP4 shared the following about the challenges of bureaucracy, particularly in the north:

> *"…* [When] *there are no yard sticks by which to measure success or failure* [of systems] *then you open the things up to abuse a lot. …our legislation up north here…. is passed by legislators and the law is passed in the legislative assembly. But, every one of them, at the end of the legislation… says "the Minister may…delegate to his bureaucrats - make regulations pertaining to this legislation at any time". …the regulations…those are the real things that have the meat in it. And half the time it says that 'things shall be done…to the satisfaction of or at the discretion of an inspector'. But it doesn't say, it doesn't give a rule;…that is bureaucracy at its worst when you leave the power to make the rules that governs society to the bureaucrats. And you know, particularly when your bureaucrats are imported...*" (CP4, July 6/7 2015)

Another person – a prominent local EIT echoed this, describing disconnects between governing systems and human/environmental realities, which in this instance impact peoples' abilities to access country foods: <"*I look toward abolishing European standards: people are hurt by these. They are forced to go to the Northern or the Co-op* [because of the Wildlife Act]"> (CP27, February 05, 2014). This same person spoke about micromanagement from Iqaluit (*i.e.* territorial-level government) that (negatively) impacts *Kugluktummiut* (*ibid*).

In Kugluktuk, there is often only one person providing a given service (*e.g.* government programs, education, stores, health care). In this situation there is a risk that conflicts of interest, gatekeeping, or interpersonal conflict may interfere with people's abilities to offer and access services or resources. People may not have the necessary resources or options to resolve or move away from conflict. Depending on people's behaviours or the tone of meetings or services offered people may feel that their 'voice' (*i.e.* opinions, needs, values, practices) is valuable and belongs in public or private discourses, or not. The ways that these experiences may be reinforced or implied can be fairly subtle. For example, new people who come to the

community may not be aware of, sensitive to or interested in local ways (*e.g.* values, practices, beliefs), or have them perceived as important or germane. This issue was raised about teachers at one public meeting, and another CP described this problem with (mental) health workers (*e.g.* CP4). Not infrequently, any given person may wear many different 'hats' in the community. This kind of entanglement can require very specific skills to navigate in relationship, particularly when there is conflict between – for example – service providers and clients.

People spoke more generally about different institutions in the community in ways that raised questions about their vested power and how this influences the relationship between people and food. Two examples described previously in the literature review include various retailers in town (*e.g.* Northern store, Co-op and other suppliers). The relationship between local service providers and managing institutions situated at a geopolitical remove also has impacts. For example, the people who are employed to help community members access IA wield some power over how much assistance an applicant receives; however, their capacities to affect systemic change are ultimately tied to the managing institution – in this instance in Iqaluit, but in the case of Federal programming it might be as far removed as Ottawa. The overall 'systemic reciprocity' – corporate entities, government institutions or otherwise – and self-monitoring impacts the flow of power and resources in the community, opportunities for emergent leadership (*e.g.* local autonomy, resource control) and individual and collective wellbeing. In Kugluktuk, for example, many if not all IA workers are community members themselves with familial and social ties to many of their clients. Are the experiences of on-the-ground workers allowed to inform systemic practices? Is feedback or recommendations welcomed by the overarching institution responsible for IA? Is the system responsive to requests for change (*i.e.* systemic reciprocity)? These are important questions. There seems to be a structure and

momentum with some of the larger, more entrenched systems such as IA (also health, education, justice, *etc*.) that may resist change, particularly if entrenched bureaucracies and administrators are disconnected from clients' realities and needs. If at the various levels or points of resource control the needs of clients or employees – such as with SA – are not considered (*e.g.* ignored, responded to with hostility), this can lead to disconnect and frustration.

The role of public participation and the mechanisms/processes such as council meetings or community consultations that in principle are meant to enable people to have a voice may not be experienced or received as such. One also needs to have trust in these institutions in order to feel a desire to participate, a factor that is impacted at least in part by prior positive or negative experiences with the people and structures that govern those institutions. A sense of connection or shared power with institutions can be impacted by many factors, such as the role that elders play and whether institutional spaces and procedures are culturally attuned.

Leadership

> *"In the olden days of not too long ago all small separate camps had a leader who was in charge of the whole group. He was usually an elder with very good hunting ability and wisdom and knowledge. He was in charge and people did not question his authority but would follow. ...his ruling was looked at as law, or the right way. When the Kabloonaks (whites) came they were looked at as leaders and when the natives were told to do something this was not questioned and we see how it has affected many of the different aboriginal groups."* (CP27, draft community report comments, September 2015)

Leadership was not referred to specifically, but there are a variety of illustrative practices and approaches, as well as opportunities for emergent leadership that appears to be supported in some instances and others not. Leadership is related to power. People spoke about bullying or misuse of power, dynamics in human relationships and within institutions, particularly around

trust, obtaining permissions or asking for financial support. People also spoke about decision making, learning to live without (resources), and taboos. Leadership is a practice or act that is often interpreted too narrowly; here the term is used loosely, intentionally leaving room for broad interpretation. In Kugluktuk, leadership was demonstrated through resourcefulness, such as people's capacity to capitalise on limited resources. People kept track of resources that became available, such as an Arctic char donation from Kivalliq Arctic Foods[124], ensuring a portion of these resources would be allocated to the local soup kitchen (see Ch. 4.3a). These same people also applied for funds and worked within social circles to source soup kitchen volunteers. Another example is people who have taken on leadership roles in the Hamlet Council, HTO and other local institutions. One of the former mayors shared about this, describing how he and others collectively worked to support certain young people – particularly through mentorship –to help them take on influential/decision making positions in institutions that impact collective wellbeing. It is valuable that these young people are supported to navigate both colonial and local systems, and actively contribute to the wellbeing of their communities in different ways, including through various expressions of leadership. This form of leadership and mentorship is also a form of advocacy.

In some instances the impacts of power dynamics and resource control are uneven. Some individuals or collectives may experience greater impacts than others; some people may have greater or lesser control over their circumstances than others for a variety of reasons. Advocacy and the power to advocate have important implications for resource control at different scales. A single parent with young children at home receiving income assistance (IA) may have even less capacity to advocate for change than others. In the systems that exist today, children tend to be

[124] Facility in Rankin Inlet that processes Arctic char, caribou, muskox and *maktaaq*.

particularly compromised with regards to this kind of power and resource control. Overlooking the life contexts of others – including individual and collective access to power and resources and respective capacities to (self) advocate – can unknowingly contribute to systemic discrimination. In this regard, program titles can be misleading; for example, 'Health Care' or even 'Justice' does not necessarily mean that the people using those programs experience these as caring or just. This is important because naming is its own form of promotion or propaganda, and can (un)intentionally introduce sites of tension or marginalistion when people's experiences do not resonate with what programs or services proffer.

At the territorial level, the *Feeding My Family* movement (see Ch.1 – Introduction) is an important example of internal/local advocacy and northern leadership. One Nunavummiuq[125] said,

> "*…there was not even a*[n Inuit] *word for protest because it's against tradition* [for] *Inuit to go against* [an] *authoritative figure …And so for me* [these protests are] *working because more people are being able to speak up…Inuit are beginning to speak up. … if we don't say anything, which is the normal in Inuit tradition… people – government organizations are going to think we're okay*" (PO31, February 15, 2014).

One Elder spoke about some of the things that s/he felt were valuable in supporting (emergent) leadership, as well as some of the challenges:

> "*…we do have some very promising young people in town that are starting to take on leadership roles. …I would like… to see us start to reward excellence and encourage excellence. …if a young person goes to economic development or to the government and says, 'Look, I have an idea, and I want to do this - a business thing or a community* [thing]*…'… They'll say, '…. we can probably come up with maybe $20,000 grant,' …Well, that doesn't get you anywhere because there's no rental space available up north. … Our society and our government have no problem paying $212,000, or whatever it is now, per annum to keep* [someone] *incarcerated in Iqaluit. Plus all the god damn high court costs and everything else, but we can't come up with any capital to get* [them] *started on something excellent and good and worthwhile. We only reward failure and*

[125] Person from Nunavut, singular.

> *mediocrity with our budgets. …We have a formula that says X number of kids requires X number of classrooms, X number of teachers. A formula we have no choice in."* (CP4, July 07, 2015).

This quote offers a glimpse into the complexities and challenges faced by leadership in communities. One prominent local EIT made the following statement in reference to outsider influences on current wildlife governance and management in Nunavut: < "*My biggest wish? That the system in Nunavut be different from the rest of Canada…My inherited benefit is out there, outside; it is what's going to take care of us. Manage and respect it: land, animals, people…*"> (CP27, February 05, 2014). One local activist and EIT said, <"*Policy is good - good for guidelines, but you need to use the best way a culture functions*"> (CP48, May 06, 2014), referring to the need for locally-informed governance. These statements illustrate strong, locally-informed leadership, as well as some measure of frustration with different aspects of current governance practices. Providing leadership opportunities, mentoring and supporting local leadership can help support locally-generated initiatives that benefit the community and are rooted in place-based strategies that impact people-food relationships.

In conversation and from what other community members related, leadership seemed to arise out of a deep connection with and concern for one's community. Individuals who seemed to exhibit leadership qualities spent time and energy considering what might best serve their community's needs and how to achieve this; then they would take initiative to encourage systemic change in ways that reflect the pride and value that they hold for their community and culture, their belief that local (cultural) practices and values have an important role to play in leadership (*e.g.* working together, sharing), and their desire to contribute to the wellbeing of their families and community. As Elder CP4 said, it is important to reward these kinds of qualities.

iii. Occupancy: Making a Living, 'Employment', Engagement, Income Assistance

- Occupancy defined & illustrated
- Occupancy + wellbeing
- Systemic support of occupancy
- Community capacity
- Opportunities to re-structure

The term ‘occupancy’ emerged through data analysis and was defined by one Elder (embedded, non-local) who (re)introduced this concept:

> <*“In* [the early days, ca. 1950s]… *everyone was busy with living or ‘occupational employment’: dealing with garbage, honey buckets (or ice), bread, clothes….There were no instant foods, and people had to care for their dogs for transportation. Just to keep a dog team, it was necessary to hunt. Too many people now are without occupancy – occupation: you need to give people some kind of occupancy. In the old days people were 100% occupied.”*> (CP4, April 24, 2014)

Occupancy refers to a state of contributing to individual and collective livelihood, which may include wage employment, but also importantly or other forms of engagement as indicated by CP4’s quote. Occupancy relates to the themes of power and resources because it impacts power (*e.g.* personal, social networks, possession of resources), and is a state that typically involves the acquisition and consumption of resources in some way. The concept does not appear to have been written about explicitly in academic literatures in the context of being ‘engaged’ or ‘occupied’; rather, it is typically referred to within the framework of land ownership. Other terms that capture at least some of the qualities of occupancy as it is used in this research include *livelihood*, ‘*capital*’ (e.g. Thompson et al. 2012) or ‘*production activities*’ (Kruse et al. 2008:124), ‘*keeping busy*’ (Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2015) or ‘*engagement’* (Tulloch 2015). One example of occupancy is the time, energy and resources required to feed sled dogs, which in the past would have been woven throughout daily life. As a primary means of transportation, resources put towards their care were clearly worthwhile: dogs facilitated access to important

resources, and could be eaten in times of insufficiency or starvation (Bennett and Rowley 2004:94, 287). Many additional tasks would be added to the list of daily 'occupancy' – caring for sled dogs was only one of these. One non-local but embedded adult (CP43) offered a modern illustration of occupancy with sled dogs: for 11 dogs fed seal and fish, fish is harvested in summer and fall and lasts until the end of December (CP43, March 10, 2014), while in the fall around 30 seals would be harvested and would last until spring (*ibid*). Importantly, efforts to harvest do not always result in success. Another example of this kind of occupancy is illustrated through ice fishing, in which many people engaged just off Kugluktuk's waterfront. In April 2014, the ice was almost two meters thick, requiring approximately 10 minutes with a gas-powered ice auger to drill the hole, at -15 – 20°C temperatures, in addition to wind chill.

Internet searches (Google Scholar; University of British Columbia Library Catalogue) showed that 'livelihood' is the most commonly used term that describes certain aspects of occupancy, but tends to be narrowly defined, frequently limited to wage/self-employment and hunting[126]. Thompson *et al*. write about human, social, natural, physical and financial capital in the context of food-based community development in northern Manitoba communities (2012), but these are much more defined and specific themes. Occupancy in this work describes holistically the various contributions people make towards individual and collective 'good' or wellbeing. It is a concept that appears to involve a two-way exchange, whereby positive individual contributions to collective wellbeing benefit the individual in various ways (*e.g.* sense of belonging/value, strengthened social ties and relationships of reciprocity), and the collective benefits from individual contributions.

[126] While 'hunting' could be considered a form of self-employment, more often it seems to be perceived as a separate activity. This potentially reflects more narrow understandings of potential individual and collective contributions that are part of the various forms of capital that Thompson *et al.* write about (2012).

If individual wellbeing can be impacted by employment (*e.g.* job satisfaction) (Tay, Kuykendall, and Diener 2015), it seems reasonable to suggest that the same holds true for occupancy. Kruse *et al.* write, "… *productive activities*…[and] *opportunities (i.e. fish and game, jobs), and a sense of local control are associated with satisfaction with life as a whole*…[and] [b]*oth formal and traditional education contribute to production activities that in turn contribute to overall well-being*" (Kruse et al. 2008:123–124). Although Kruse *et al.*'s work tends to emphasize a harvesting-employment binary, their inclusion of '*production activities*' could be interpreted more broadly to mean occupation as it is practiced in Kugluktuk. This draws clear connections between occupancy and wellbeing across the Arctic, and was echoed by one EIT: "*Long before the TV* [and] *phones came people were always occupied and this* [led] *to contentment as one …was always working towards finding ways of getting food or things done without the wastefulness of energy. Land occupation was very important as it meant different groups were in different areas finding and feeding themselves with a much broader range of food and diversity*" (CP27, draft community report, September 2015). Waddell *et al.* describe links between community wellness and societal roles in Cape Dorset, focusing on whether elders felt they "*had a voice*" with youth (Waddell, Robinson, and Crawford 2017). In other words, when Elders felt occupied – engaged, connected and valued for their contributions – this was perceived to enhance collective wellbeing.

Governing systems have historically failed to acknowledge and support individual and collective benefits of occupancy. Privileging (wage) employment, money and corporate food sources (*i.e.* store food) over other forms of family or community service (*e.g.* country food harvesting, caregiving for working parents, knowledge transmission – such as place-based practices like country food harvesting) can have the effect of interrupting occupancy practices

that (traditionally) contribute to individual and collective wellbeing in Kugluktuk. Some of these issues have been described by internal (*i.e.* Nunavut) publications, such as the latest iteration of the Makimaniq Plan (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017). When the fundamental needs, values and (historical) practices of active participation in the wellbeing of one's family and community through different forms of occupancy are disregarded, this overtly and covertly devalues local practices, values and beliefs, and suggests not only a limited understanding of people-food relationships but also more broadly fundamental human needs (*e.g.* sense of purpose, value to the collective, social connection). As part of SA, the 'productive choice agreement' (see Ch. 3.2e) in Nunavut clearly ascribes value to the roles of occupancy in communities. The extent to which various options are utilised under this program, or whether any measures (subjective or otherwise) are in place to assess the extent to which productive choice options are available or utilised is presently unclear. For example, one person shared with me that they were unable to complete their teaching certificate at Arctic College due to a high dropout rate, which resulted in the program being cancelled in this person's final year. Nonetheless, this systemic support for occupancy – in theory – is unique relative to other places in Canada (*e.g.* British Columbia) and perhaps more broadly. This is an area that may benefit from further investigation, given the important role of IA in the lives of *Kugluktummiut*. More typically, however, program emphasis has been and continues to focus exclusively on employment.

Systemic failure to acknowledge and support opportunities for occupation can impact community capacity, if conceptualisations about skill and knowledge maintenance/ development are limited to current conventional education systems, (wage) employment opportunities, or acquisition of flat currency (*i.e.* money). One prominent EIT described how employment in

Kugluktuk indirectly impacts community capacity, specifically in regards to maintenance and development of place-based knowledge/occupancy:

> "*As Inuit, we want to keep our language and our culture and our traditions, right? Especially in harvesting. The ones that are passing down the knowledge are the people that are employed, that have opportunity to go out there and teach our children and their grandchildren. It's very difficult for an unemployed person to pass on any kind of knowledge to anybody. It's almost a brick wall. So the ones that are maintaining our knowledge of harvesting, cultural traditions and language are the ones that are employed and that's an extra value of country food harvesting, because you're passing on the knowledge to the next generation*." (CP14, March 28, 2014)

This EIT's statement suggests that wage employment and perhaps more broadly the larger capitalist economic system within which wage employment is embedded drives knowledge and culture transmission in Kugluktuk and possibly Nunavut. The impacts of shaping community capacity in this way are important in the short and long-term, as opportunities to support occupation can contribute to the 'betterment' and/or maintenance of local capacity for individuals and collectives across generations. There is also an implication that certain knowledge and skills risk becoming the exclusive property of those who are financially privileged; this in turn could exacerbate or at the very least perpetuate existing cycles of poverty.

When the transmission of skills and knowledge (*i.e.* resources, power) across generations is interrupted, it can be difficult to recover these lost assets, as we have seen with language revitalisation movements in Indigenous communities in North America (Sims 2005). It is also worth noting more generally that occupancy may have different underlying motivations relative to wage employment, such as the desire to contribute positively to the wellbeing of one's family and community, rather than potentially as personal gain limited to individual level with the latter.

In general, it seems that there are opportunities to shift – for example – how employment is structured in Kugluktuk. One former Mayor (Red Pedersen) shared a story that speaks to various

aspects of this, using a local example where standard wage employment was (re-) structured to be more compatible with local realities (*e.g.* practices, values, needs, climate):

> *"*[Before] we *were a 'settlement council'* [;]*...when we became a hamlet, we lost the right to bid on contracts. ...the last one we bid on was* [a project building] *22 houses ...We built them on time, and ... more than half a million dollar net profit,* [from] *which we...built our first recreation complex...all with local labour, too. ...we were a lot more flexible than the construction bosses are. I mean, if the weather was perfect... we didn't expect people to show up because, hell, we wanted to be out there hunting seals ourselves. ...we calculated a 20% absentee rate or whatever it is, then we'd hire six people instead of five. ...there's no adjustment of pay, but if you work now, you get paid now. And if you decide not to...the job didn't stop because we had that extra staffing built into it, and that seemed to work good....it's not that bloody complicated... You have to let the place where you live and work dictate to you how you live and work. ... the obligation to be here from this time to that time - why? The obligation should be we have a job to do. ...so much of what we do up here, of course, the climate dictates when ... including take time off. ...time and time again people...go out hunting on the weekend, and they get stranded out there because they have to go up in crappy weather. And then they miss work anyhow, right?* (July 07, 2015)

This example reveals two things: (1) how locally informed employment practices may better serve both individual and collective needs, and (2) that these successful practices were influenced by political re-structuring – in this instance perhaps for the worse through 'distancing' or diminishing local flexibility, adaptability and control.

iv. There's a Lot of Good Things That Happen Up Here; I Wish...

- Appreciation
- Programs/opportunities that support on-the-land learning
- Desire for productive opportunities (develop new skills, knowledge; capitalise on existing skills, knowledge)
- Concerns: change, employee turnover, cultural divides

This sub-category describes what people shared about things (people, places, practices, *etc.*) in their community/lives that they appreciated, valued or otherwise felt were generally positive. Included here is also what that people wished for. There are several local organisations

that offer different kinds of training/learning opportunities: CPNP, the Elder Centre, Arctic College and in some regards also the local public schools. A great deal of teaching/learning happened within families, but not necessarily in all families. Some of the more frequently mentioned themes are generalised.

In many respects, emergent themes and respective sub-themes are in themselves examples of things that people in Kugluktuk felt were working well. For example, the practice of sharing was something that many people spoke about in a variety of different ways, often describing it as a cultural value and practice, expressing pride in how people care for one another in this way. At a women's focus group – part of a community initiative and research partnership – one person spoke about how she appreciates that people in her community come together, work together, support each other, volunteer and help one another out. Another woman appreciated the land and its bounties, as well as 'traditional culture', such as sewing and sharing. Several people spoke about the substantial capacity in town in terms of people being able to fix their own equipment, and during various social interactions people shared stories about different experiences where these skills and knowledge were clearly lifesaving. One CP said, <"*At Illavut*[127]*, lots of men can fix machines with rope and wire*"> (CP23, April 12, 2014). This talent was by no means restricted to Illavut. Many people also explicitly and implicitly appreciated local institutions, infrastructure and key community roles, such as the Elder Centre, HTO, Youth Centre, Recreation Centre, library and secondary school (hosts different community sports for youth and adults), the Alcohol Education Committee, District Education Authority (DEA), mental health workers, the Wellness Committee, and the Kugluktuk Women's Group[128] . Other

[127] Serves the territory as a minimum-security correction or healing facility, situated in Kugluktuk.
[128] Not an exhaustive list.

people wished for a bank, coffee shop, restaurant, flower shop (*e.g.* PO45v, April 28, 2014). There was also general appreciation for locally produced art and culture, which people felt was not functioning as well as it had in the past.

Many people spoke about on-the-land learning, including what could be considered as intersections between life skills and IQ. One prominent Elder (CP14, March 28, 2014) said, "*These on the land programs are okay, but nobody is going to take it seriously unless you have to make a living doing that, right*?". Another Elder (non-local) echoed this, suggesting that < "*we need to sell that which we have, that no one else has, such as survival school for prospectors, teaching toughness and observation. …we need to teach students how to teach themselves. …there are lots of strengths here: food security is not just about feeding your belly, but also the mind. We need to feel better about ourselves"*> (CP4, April 24, 2014). One local youth said that the Elder Centre was a positive example in the community, emphasizing that elementary students get to learn about place-based cultural tools and toys (CP59, March 17, 2014). Youth-elder and other on-the-land camps were seen as extremely important experiences, for many different reasons and several people expressed a desire for more opportunities like that in the community. For example, one local elder said that kids and elders are rejuvenated after summer camp run by the HTO (CP37, February 27, 2014). Another person, a local government employee said, <"*…and seal camp. I used to love seal camp when I was a kid. They don't have it anymore, too. The whole school goes out on the land for one week – we camp - in the spring, when the squirrels and everything come out. Those are fun - they were fun"*> (CP2i, April 03, 2014). One person spoke about the Junior Ranger program[129], a program designed for youth that

[129] The Junior Canadian Rangers program is funded by the Government of Canada, Department of National Defense and the Canadian Armed Forces; it is managed by Canadian Rangers under the command of the Canadian Military.

was officially established in 1996 (Lackenbauer 2007). It has been described as "…*much less standardized and more local in orientation than the southern cadet program and the community is heavily involved in curriculum development*" – approximately 60-40 split with respect to management between the local community and the Canadian Forces (Lackenbauer 2007:199). One of the adult rangers (local) shared that it includes local intergenerational training and the content is determined internally within the group of youths: <"*You get to learn life skills – respect, counselling, mentoring, preventing harassment and abuse through successful education. The* [ranger teaching] *asks participants, 'what do you want to learn?' This gets discussed as a group. In 2013 the Kugluktuk Rangers received an achievement award. Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is also incorporated into the Ranger program*"> (PO55, February 17, 2014). In this regard, it – uniquely – offers a high degree of local control, and plays a critical role for the community, providing opportunities for youth to develop a range of important life skills and celebrate culture. Overall feedback from some Junior Rangers themselves was positive, as well as other adults.

Many people also spoke about their wish – for themselves and their community – to have more opportunities and support to learn and speak *Inuinnaqtun*. CP20iii said, "*I think that's one of the things Kugluktuk needs too, the language* [Inuinnaqtun] *to be more outspoken. There's a lot of young people don't even know most of our language anymore. It's being so lost."* (March 11, 2014).

The desire generally for more productive opportunities in the community was echoed by many different people, focusing on training, learning and knowledge sharing opportunities (*e.g.*

(Government of Canada 2013). It offers youth (12-18 years old) in remote and isolated communities training in 'community traditional skills'', Canadian Ranger skills, and life skills, with an emphasis on outdoor survival (Government of Canada 2013).

PO45, CP1, CP14) in some of the following areas: budgeting[130], cooking, shopping (to maximize use of limited budgets), understanding food value and quality, parenting, building trust in relationships, goal setting, and others. Many of these knowledge areas fall under the broad label of 'life skills'.

People spoke about wanting to have unused infrastructure in the town be used for community programs, such as a men's shelter and food bank or be used as part or full commercial ventures – in this case a restaurant or café, which could serve the dual purpose of soup kitchen. The idea of combining or matching functions desired by the community seem to have a built in sustainability, particularly in Kugluktuk, where infrastructure comes at a premium and spaces available for general or specialised use by the community are limited. Spaces such as the community hall must be paid for – in the order of $300 per use (CP2i, April 03, 2014). It was not entirely clear if community events (*e.g.* feasts, festivals, community meetings) were free of charge; however, it did seem as though applications to use this space for community events required Hamlet approval. Given that in certain instances bureaucratic roles are filled by non-locals, this in itself may present a daunting task if there are power imbalances based on cultural, personal or educational differences, for example. This is another situation where certain challenges – perceived perhaps as minor – may actually hinder or prevent such ventures. Creating more public spaces or utilising existing ones more effectively/collaboratively for multi-use/multi-purpose can help provide more opportunities for people to meet, share and learn skills/ information, experience solidarity and have fun together, which can help to (re)build the social networks that seem to be essential to practices of food sovereignty and Indigenous resilience for

[130] Budgeting/financial management was one of the most frequently mentioned.

Kugluktummiut. This is echoed by the Makimaniq Plan 2 (Nunavut Food Security Coalition 2017).

People also wished for healing opportunities and support for their community, including healing spaces. This is described in greater detail in an earlier section (Appendix B, a-iv). As mentioned previously, people (especially women) spoke about concern for men in the community: < "*Jack*, the A*nglican minister used to run the men's group*"; "*we need to support men*"> (PO45v, April 28, 2014); "*Men need to have manly support*"> (PO45vi, April 28, 2014). Someone even suggested a men's coffee house, Big Brother and opportunities for men to hunt together. These sentiments were echoed by others throughout my time in Kugluktuk. At the women's focus group, another person shared her wish that men could be given space in town to fix their equipment (*e.g.* snow machines, boat motors, *etc.*), share skills and knowledge, and come together socially and supportively (*e.g.* as a men's support group). One non-local, but embedded person (CP23, April 12, 2014) shared that at one time there was a youth worker in Kugluktuk, someone in her mid-20s who would talk to kids, offering advice and condoms, engaging with at-risk youth. One non-local Elder said that this worked out well but was quite dependent on the person doing the job; the following year it was a different person and was apparently not (as) successful (CP23, April 12, 2014). S/he felt that this role helped partially fill the role of parent or elder. Local people shared their appreciation for opportunities where the community can come together and 'dream'(Kuliktana 2013; CP3ii), and during one group meeting a local Elder said they wished there were <"*more brainstorming sessions and people helping people*"> (CP2ii, April 28, 2014).

Several local people spoke about how the practice of sharing seems to be changing (*e.g.* CP2i, February 06, 2014) and in some cases how <"*People don't share food like they used to*"> (CP1, June 30, 2015; see also PO20ii), suggesting a breakdown in societal norms. Some people spoke about the problem of high employee turnover at the local school. For example, one local parent said, *"... they're always changing teachers*" (CP20iv, March 11, 2014), which means both systemic and social time and energy investments to educate new outsiders about local ways. Several people (two locals, one outsider) at one of the group meetings (POs 45v, iii, vii, April 28, 2014) talked about the problem of helping outsiders to learn about *Kugluktummiut*, particularly teachers. One person at this meeting said that they felt as though many people do not read the information packages provided, particularly teachers. This is important: it may suggest a divide based on cultural differences. It also raises questions about how cultural divides are bridged within the prevailing systems, including food systems.

Appendix C – Community & Researcher-Generated Ideas for Change and Recommendations

The following is a compilation of requests, recommendations and appreciation (of programs, services, supports) expressed principally by community members during interviews, participant observation and a local publication (see Kuliktana 2013). These have been shaped to some extent by researcher extrapolation and interpretation. A number of ideas were generated specifically by the researcher (indicated 'R'). This list is by no means comprehensive, and requires ground-truthing by the community.

- **Social cohesion, fun**
    - Coffee houses
    - Comedy nights
    - Family fun nights, intergenerational events/programs
    - Inclusivity: facilitate mobility to events (*e.g.* large families with young children without transportation, elders, those with mobility challenges)
    - Elder gatherings
    - Especially in seasons when people are unable to go out on the land
    - Brainstorming sessions, people helping people [R]
- **Occupancy, Education**
    - Prioritorise *occupancy*, including community service; support people to provide for their families and feel valuable to their community [R]
    - More productive, IQ-informed opportunities for people in the community: *e.g.* life skills – budgeting, cooking, shopping, parenting, navigating (intimate) relationships, goal setting, deconstructing food value & quality [R], also local, place-based culture/skills/knowledge
    - Men's workshop (fix equipment, share skills & knowledge, socialise) [R]
    - Support for informal economies (homemade foods, carving and other art, sewing, guiding and other 'goods and services', local food markets)
    - Mentorship, co-op and leadership opportunities and programs [R]
    - Re-structure employment to be more inclusive (*e.g.* educational requirements, more allowances to harvest country food): consider what kind of opportunities are available, for whom (local *vs*. non-local), who controls employment and the terms of employment (local *vs*. non-local; Nunavut *vs*. 'outsiders'), and how it affects personal, family and community development & wellbeing [R]
    - Economic Development department work together with Income Support [R]
    - More inclusive understandings and practices around 'education' [R]

    - Educational program for young people in Kugluktuk to expand access to opportunities, experiences and mentorship from other community members via school partnerships with community members [R]
    - Internally developed educational/training programs, including ones that can provide post-secondary accreditation (*e.g.* Master Hunter, Sustainable Resources Management, Resiliency & Adaptation on the Land), 'customary'/place-based education
    - Improve support base and quality for self-employment and business ventures
    - Reward 'excellence'
    - Create more opportunities for outsiders with unique expertise to share (mentorships, workshops, co-ops) [R]
    - Arctic College: more learning opportunities & various fora for people to learn about what is available (*e.g.* open house, information fair); consider timing of advertising & providing more supports for community members to access learning (*e.g.* childcare, accommodations, spousal supports)
- **On the land**
    - Elder-youth programs
    - Single caregiver families
    - Men's group(s)
    - Community outpost camp
    - Seal camp
- **Food**
    - Foster relationships with country food (harvesting, butchering, preparing, sharing, eating)
    - Broaden country food diet (not so focused on caribou)
    - Lower cost of store foods that are locally valued and important
    - HTO also serve as a food bank? [R]
- **Ongoing programs** (maintain, support)
    - School breakfast program
    - Community feasts
    - Incorporation of Inuit values, beliefs and practices (*e.g.* IQ)
    - Continue support for programs & committees: Wellness committee, Women's Group, Elder Centre, HTO
    - Sewing classes, community sports, bingo, certain government programs (CPNP, 'Nearest & Dearest')
    - Junior Rangers
    - 'All nighters' for kids
    - School community counsellor (local)
    - DEA
    - Youth Centre
    - Library & public computer/internet access
    - Nunavut Sivuniksavut
    - Arctic College
    - Daycare
- **Infrastructure**

    - Multi-use spaces
    - Waive fees when use of local infrastructure (*e.g.* meeting spaces) supports wellbeing [R]
    - More affordable housing, designed with more local input, including considerations of demographics and family structuring
    - More efficient/multi-purpose use of existing infrastructure
- **Affordable meals**
    - Provide places to buy an affordable meal
    - Annual opportunities to compete locally for funding [R]
    - Offer 'healthy' (locally defined) pre-made 'fast' foods [R]
    - Include as part of IA/SA program [R]
    - Food bank & soup kitchen (which could be run by men's shelter)
    - Country food café with built-in soup kitchen [R]
    - Community breakfasts [R]
- **Healing, Wellbeing**
    - More on-the-land healing opportunities for a range of demographics using locally informed approaches
    - Collective healing (healing in relation, not in isolation)
    - Spiritual purpose (*e.g.* shamanism) [R]
    - (Re)envision what constitutes healing and wellbeing, and what underlies issues such as addictions [R]
    - Acknowledge the impacts of intergenerational trauma, ongoing systemic discrimination and marginalisation [R] & provide holistic, systemic support to navigate & heal
    - Make time & space to process change together
    - Healing spaces: importance of periodic and regular safe, compassionate spaces to share and heal (*e.g.* Live, Laugh, Love workshop, on-the-land events)
    - Men's shelter
    - Opportunities (wellbeing-oriented) for single parents/caregivers and families with young children to get out of the house, have fun activities together with others (*e.g.* Strong Start, on-the-land programs), professional development, emotional support & guidance [R]
    - "Good" youth worker(s) (*e.g.* could also be parent or elder from the community)
- **Governance**
    - Focus on wellbeing, 'family wellness', the land/country food [R]
    - More inclusive, bottom-up, grassroots, culturally-responsive, collective decision making, including around what constitutes 'healthy' foods, healing, justice, education, spirituality (also healing & empowering), colonial/European standards (*e.g.* wildlife 'management'), allocation and disbursement of monies
    - Transfer decision making for NNC funding to communities [R]
    - Review function, intent & efficacy of SA program: inclusion of occupancy, professional development opportunities
    - Acknowledge the impacts of ongoing systemic discrimination and marginalisation, outsiders in decision-making roles [R]

    - Open conversations about economic and quality of life disparities, underlying drivers and how to address these [R]
    - Restructure how payments for taxes, housing *etc.* are calculated (change reliance on assumptions of steady-state income)
    - Raise awareness about challenges of transparency and accountability in positions of power (political, bureaucrats, corporations, service providers, educators, health providers, justice representatives) [R]
    - More inclusive considerations of 'productivity' calculations, including valuing caregiving (*e.g.* child care, care of elderly, infirm, *etc.*) [R]
    - Open discussions about pardoning process
    - Intergovernmental/ inter-agency coordinator
- **Identity**
    - More cultural inclusion and community involvement in 'education' (not just in schools, but after school or alternative 'school' opportunities)
    - Support local storytelling, literature and music [R]
    - (Re)connection to culture and land (place-based practices, values & beliefs): address loss of local knowledge, including language
    - Opportunities to celebrate cultural identity

Appendix D – Policy Brief

Fostering Food Security and Wellbeing in Northern Food Systems

Executive Summary

People in northern communities are in general successfully feeding their families. How can this knowledge help inform northern food system governance, which often emphasizes food insecurity and vulnerability? This brief offers policy-relevant recommendations for northern food system governance based on literature review and a detailed ethnographic case study of people-food relationships in the Hamlet of Kugluktuk, Nunavut. Food systems are highly complex; northern food systems are no exception. In Kugluktuk, wellbeing is at the heart of people-food relationships. These are informed by identity, relationships/connection, and power/resources. Food security alone as a tool for understanding these relationships may be inadequate. It risks inadequate responses to emergent challenges, such as persistent hunger, and may fail to support broader wellbeing. In this brief, policy recommendations speak to (a) the complexity of food systems, including the need for holistic, bottom-up approaches, (b) the need to consider power dynamics in food system governance, (c) the importance of connections between food and wellbeing, (d) the individual and collective need for a sense of purpose, and finally (e) the role of education in food security and wellbeing.

Introduction

"*…policies have the potential to shape social change, including the ways in which food systems and traditions evolve*"

(Fergurson 2011)

The imperative to bridge persistent northern food policy-research gaps is well established (e.g. Loring and Gerlach 2015a; Council of Canadian Academies 2014). Research concerning hunger (food insecurity) and the high cost of food, for example, has helped reduce these gaps, but remains insufficient to guide northern food system governance, and facilitate northern food security and wellbeing. The prevailing lens of food security may not adequately consider the broader scope of human needs with regards to food. This brief provides recommendations based on holistic investigation of people-food relationships in a northern community (Kugluktuk, Nunavut). In addition, two alternative lenses (food sovereignty, Indigenous resilience) were assessed for their potential help better inform northern food system governance. Assessments were based on the respective capacities of each lens to capture salient aspects of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk.

Specifically, this brief addresses three principle issues:

> (1) How can policy help resolve emergent food-related issues in the Canadian Arctic such as hunger, if the ways that people relate to food are unknown?
>
> (2) If outsider voices determine the nature of people-food relationships, as well as designing, administering and implementing related programs and policies for emergent issues, can the needs of northern communities be met appropriately?

(3) Lastly, is emphasizing deficits in the food system the best way to inform policy and programming about what enables people to feed their families and facilitate wellbeing?

Methods, Approaches

The data used to inform this brief are based on literature review and an in-depth exploratory case study (Klady 2020) using an ethnographic approach, informed by appreciative inquiry (AI) (Reed 2011; Chilisa 2012:243–245) and to a lesser extent Indigenous methodologies (e.g. Kovach 2010; Wilson 2008; Chilisa 2012; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). The theoretical framework was modified grounded theory (constructivist) (Charmaz 2006:130–131). Study findings do not represent solely Inuit views as the data sample included people of Inuit ancestry from Kugluktuk or the north as well as 'outsiders'.

Prevailing interpretations of the term 'food security' here are conservative, based on the World Health Organisation's definition (FAO et al. 2017:107), referring principally to the access and availability of food (Wiebe and Wipf 2011:4). The food sovereignty lens – as described by Wittman *et al.* (2010:2) – considers power dynamics in food systems. The Indigenous resilience lens has not previously been used in a food-specific context. Here it is interpreted broadly as, *"…the natural, human capacity to navigate life well*", with an emphasis on culture (HeavyRunner and Marshall 2003:1).

Summary of Results/Conclusions

Grassroots perspectives of people-food relationships in Kugluktuk revealed the complex, multi-layered, interconnected, and multi-thematic nature of relationships between people and food. The following conceptual model helps to draw connections between and among the three overarching themes key to people-food relationships in Kugluktuk: (1) identity (*e.g.* needs, values, beliefs and practices), (2) living in relation (*i.e.* relationships & connection) and (3) resources and power.

Wellbeing – at the heart of people-food relationships – can be understood as part of a system of drivers and feedback loops, similar to an ecosystem. Food security represents only a small part of people-food relationships.

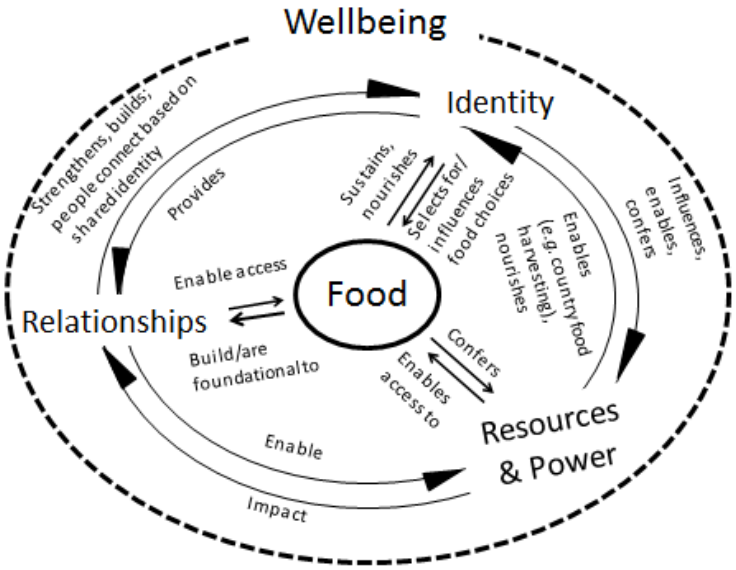

Figure: Conceptual model of people-food relationships and wellbeing in Kugluktuk

Examining the strengths and limitations of food system lenses can help illuminate underlying assumptions, biases and gaps in understanding, and explain why programming and policy responses may fail to achieve their intended effect. Broadly speaking, the Indigenous resilience lens was the most inclusive of the three lenses, having the capacity to represent issues of hunger, as well as the broader context in which hunger exists. It achieved this from a strengths-based perspective, capturing the values, practices and beliefs that help people feed their families and contribute to wellbeing. The food sovereignty lens was slightly less comprehensive than the Indigenous resilience lens, lacking sensitivity to realms of social or human connection. The food security lens as interpreted in this study tends to be top-down, short-term, triage- and deficit-oriented, with limited perspective (overly simplified, inappropriate metrics), and focused largely on individuals, financial resources, employment and store-foods. It lacks an internal imperative for reflexivity – questioning its own underlying power dynamics and asking whether people's needs have been interpreted accurately. Critical consideration of the utility of the food security paradigm should continue, including the broader implications of its use in Nunavut as a tool in food system governance and for responding to issues of hunger or understanding relationships between people and food.

Policy Recommendations

Following are research-informed, policy-relevant recommendations related to northern food system governance. Given my status as an 'outsider', these recommendations would need to be considered within a decision making (power) structure that privileges grassroots and local voices, and incorporates means by which to monitor the impacts of recommendations.

a) *Food System Governance Requires More Complex, Holistic, Bottom-up Approaches*

Widening the focus of food system governance to view hunger, for example, within a broader, more complex scope of relationships between people and food, shifts understandings of food

security drivers to include not only hunger, but also wellbeing. This can help situate responses to emergent concerns within a framework of thriving, sustainability and complexity, rather than more conventional (colonial) reductionist-, deficit-, triage- and vulnerability-focused approaches. In this regard, it is necessary to consider the implementation of other lenses than solely food security in order to better understand people-food relationships. Inuit-informed lenses and those aligned with Indigenous-informed resilience, sovereignty and wellbeing are good candidates.

The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and others explicitly link country food to Inuit culture and wellbeing (ITK 2017; Alianait Inuit-Specific Mental Wellness Task Group 2007; Government of Nunavut 2011; Natcher 2009; Statham 2012; Myers, Powell, and Duhaime 2008; Watt-Cloutier 2015). These connections also extend to other foods. As a medium for social interaction, store and country foods need to be considered as more integrated, rather than separate food systems. Also, owing to the highly relational role of food in the north – including such features as knowledge transfer, identity formation and facilitation of wellbeing – it is necessary for policy and programming to consider larger-scale collective (kin networks, community) needs and responses, rather than strictly individuals or households. This essentialises the need for community-level autonomy with regards to the design of specific programs and services, including how Territorial and Federal funds are used to support these.

b) *Address Power Dynamics to Positively Impact Food System Governance*

Power and resource imbalances impact northern food systems (Freeman 1997; Dargo 2008). It is important to distinguish among contributing factors, however. For example, large discrepancies between median individual income for Inuit relative to non-Indigenous individuals in *Inuit Nunangat* ($23,485 *vs.* $92,011 respectively) (ITK 2017) are likely rooted in colonial histories (Dietler 2006; Czyzewski 2011; Kuokkanen 2011). This is different from the distribution of power and resources rooted in Inuit traditional life (Ready and Power 2018), in which those with power and resources have an obligation and responsibility to those with less, even beyond kin groups (*ibid*). This difference has important implications for food security responses in *Inuit Nunangat*. Systemic change will be necessary to achieve place-based, community-driven food system governance rooted in *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, and applies to the realms of education, health, justice employment, and others.

Efforts to change food system governance must consider arenas of decision making authority, from bureaucratic and administrative positions to service providers, and should extend beyond the public sector. Public-corporate partnerships, for example, could be developed, where power and resource control is more balanced, using locally determined regulations and operational guidelines. The food sovereignty lens may be of critical value to food-related investigations, given clear indications that certain imbalances of power need to be rectified in order to address issues such as food security and sovereignty (Loring 2017; Morrison 2020). The Indigenous resilience lens or likely an Inuit-centered lens can also help make power more transparent, as well as ensure that wellbeing and related cultural, place-based values, practices and beliefs are considered – or even privileged – alongside other interests (*e.g.* economic).

The Qikiqtani Inuit Association's recent report on food sovereignty and harvesting states, "*Some studies have suggested that* [the] *sharing economy more effectively distributes food to those in need than social assistance*" (2019:8). Tremendous social networks and mutual support are vital to feeding and caring for families in the north, particularly given the high costs of living (*e.g.* 50% of adults putting 99% of income towards food) (Rosol et al. 2011). The importance of social networks and collective wellbeing create an imperative for northern food system governance: to acknowledge and be guided by *in situ* (place-based) values, practices and beliefs that inform people-food relationships (and more broadly) and contribute to individual and collective wellbeing. This imperative effectively shifts the emphasis of food system governance from an outsider focus on food access and availability, to locally or Inuit-informed, relationship- and wellbeing-centered initiatives.

The advantages of local control to both food security and collective wellbeing in Kugluktuk are evident in locally autonomous institutions such as the HTO and Elder Centre. These organisations provide opportunities for people to access and share culturally meaningful food together. These and other offerings facilitate good relationships (development, maintenance, repair) and knowledge transfer within the community, which in turn supports cultural continuity and collective wellbeing. Supporting inter-agency communication, coordination and collaboration (*e.g.* between Social Assistance and Economic Development Officer) may better facilitate these kinds of positive contributions. Key community service roles could be developed or re-instated, such as an interagency coordinator. Other service roles might include youth workers and wellbeing facilitators.

Local control also needs to manifest *via* 'Research sovereignty' (see e.g. Pfeifer 2018). This refers to community-level autonomy and agency to initiate, direct and interpret research that is locally relevant and meaningful, including the development of policy and programming recommendations. Individuals and collectives who undertake research in northern communities are typically accountable to external (power) frameworks through the mandates of outside institutions (*e.g.* funding, research institutions). This frequently interferes with community-based research sovereignty, and by extension people-food relationships, including food security. There needs to be increased financial and organisational support to help facilitate locally controlled research relationships. Organisations such as the Nunavut Research Institute – along with their advisors – contribute meaningfully toward research sovereignty. Other examples include the *Ittaq Heritage and Research Centre* in Clyde River, and the *Arctic Institute of Community-Based Research*, situated in the Yukon. Shelley Tulloch's (2015) report on northern men's health is a single project example. Research institutions need to be further encouraged to incorporate the practice of research sovereignty at all levels of operation.

In connection with research sovereignty and food system governance, the creation of indicators and metrics, whether wellbeing or food insecurity, need to be in alignment with Inuit principles and values. Given that people-food relationships are fundamentally complex and holistic, the metrics that provide baseline and performance data need to be controlled from the bottom-up, starting at the community-level. Locally determined metrics are likely to be more appropriate and relevant than those imposed externally. Issues of cross-scale applicability or consistency (*e.g.* across communities) are likely to be present irrespective of attempts to standardise

measures, given the subjective and changing nature of people-food relationships. In this regard, it may be more informative to see what emerges first at the community level, in order to inform the development of metrics for cross-community comparison.

c) *Good Relationships & Communication Are Inseparable*

Conflict – in its many different forms (misunderstandings, miscommunication, expressions of trauma) – is normal; however, without the supports required to help heal and repair relationships, conflict can persist. Internationally, many systems of healing and other forms of interpersonal support have been interrupted. Food system governance relies upon effective and sustainable communication. Relationships help feed families – from the development and administration of policy and programming, to community- and family-level connections. More support is required to help achieve good relationships to improve northern food system governance and enhance food security. This applies to individual and collective supports, whether on the land or in town, and may include particularly the children of families navigating trauma. It is important to consider the collective responsibilities to children and youth, as these are the future leaders of northern food system governance.

Some examples of appropriate supports might include spaces, events or activities where people can feel safe, build trusting relationships and/or repair ruptures in connection. Part of resolving conflict also requires celebration of what is 'good' and in support of wellbeing (locally defined). There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that having access to the land, to being 'out of town' (*e.g.* cabins, camping, harvesting, on-the-land camps) is foundational to wellbeing across a range of demographics. Celebration of identity and culture brings people together and strengthens relationships in ways that help people better navigate conflict. Coming together around food is its own form of medicine. Celebration of identity, relationships and empowerment that happens through collective sharing of country and other foods can invoke a positive sense of individual/collective expression of identity and empowered existence. These types of supports would need to be determined by the people involved, in alignment with individual/collective practices, values and beliefs, and with awareness that healing can be facilitated in safety and connection. Supporting people to navigate relationships contributes towards feeding families and more broadly individual and collective wellbeing.

d) *Recognise that Feeling 'Useful' Enables Community Food Security & Wellbeing*

Kral and Idlout write, "*Collective self-efficacy is at the core of community wellness and empowerment, from having personal control to political power and influence*" (2012, p. 395). A sense of usefulness and purpose may be vital to feeding families, as well as individual and collective wellbeing (e.g. Tulloch 2015; Chandler and Lalonde 2008). This is the foundation of 'occupancy' – a state of being occupied in service to one's family and community. Occupancy fits within a framework of wellbeing and can help inform northern food system governance, for example through programs such as Income Assistance (IA). IA is foundational to feeding families in the north. It is also influential, having far-reaching impacts in terms of how this is achieved. By emphasizing financial means to purchase store food, for example, a wealth of local knowledge and capabilities are under-utilised. This in turn may contribute to long-term food insecurity. Alternatively, funds could also be allocated to programs that make country food more

accessible, not just store food. Even with limited funding these kinds of assistance programs could be supported to form collaborations that enhance program effectiveness. Locally-determined measurement and monitoring of program efficacy would provide useful feedback. It would be helpful to consider, for example, how individual capacity building in areas of personal interest and motivation (*e.g.* language revitalisation, country food harvesting) impact not only food security, but also wellbeing. It would also be helpful to determine whether there are any discrepancies between theoretical *versus* realised utilisation of 'productive choice' options associated with IA.

Broadening what constitutes 'skills' or 'knowledge' may help resolve some of the persistent tensions around 'business as usual' employment practices (employment criteria, job structuring). When food system governance is better aligned with local needs, values and practices, it enables people to be in service to their communities, to express their desire to contribute through 'occupational service'. This might include harvesting country food, skill and knowledge sharing/ transmission (*e.g.* place-based or other forms of education) through workshops and mentoring, or caregiving (*e.g.* childcare, caring for elders) and other means of providing support to the community. These are opportunities to help people build and maintain skills *via* mentorship programs *in lieu* of 'formal' education, towards developing marketable and/or alternative skills and capabilities outside of formal (conservative) job qualifications. Supporting volunteerism and other wage-free activities, such as on-the-land and other (cultural) learning, contributes to feeding families, as well as wellbeing.

Fostering local entrepreneurship and innovation enables people to express their talents and gain hands-on experience and learning through sovereign and engaged means. There are emergent markets, such as *via* the internet, that can help increase people's access to collaboration and buyers. Given the range of values associated with subsistence living, for example, initiatives such as a hunter's cooperative or guild could be developed in collaboration with other organisations (*e.g.* HTO, Elder Centre, schools). These kinds of partnerships could serve the community, such as through formal education programs (*e.g.* Master Hunter program, primary & secondary school education), employment/training and cultural vitalisation.

Using local physical infrastructure effectively and creatively can help support collaborative, multi-use, multi-purpose public/private spaces. This in turn can facilitate knowledge transfer and skills development in locally attuned and empowering ways. Expertise related to harvesting, machine repair, sewing, music, healing, history/'*Inuit-story*' and others can be shared in different ways, using locally appropriate methods of knowledge translation. These kinds of opportunities enable social cohesion. Physical spaces can facilitate entrepreneurship (*e.g.* café/soup kitchen, machine shop/work space). Outsiders and visitors have expertise that could be shared creatively within the community, whether in connection with schools, evening events or other locally appropriate fora.

e) *Emphasize Place-Based Values & Practices in Education*

Education is foundational to many present successes and challenges in Kugluktuk, as well as other northern communities. There is value in both customary and conventional forms of

education. Systemic cultural disconnects and power imbalances in the realm of education, however, need to be addressed given its importance to feeding families, employment, personal and collective sovereignty, acquisition of place-based knowledge and skills, cultural pride, sense of identity, wellbeing and more. Recommendations include further emphasizing local, collective decision making authority concerning factors such as school hours (daily, seasonal), location (in town, on-the-land), and curriculum content/focus. Reflecting the physical and socio-cultural environments of students and the larger community in education can profoundly impact individual and collective food security and wellbeing. This increases local relevance, value, food security and sovereignty. Customary, place-based and cultural knowledge play an important role in feeding families; inclusion into core curriculum privileges local expertise, which may help towards healing and rectifying historical power imbalances. Conventional approaches to education can strengthen food security by exploring concepts related to (food) budgeting, local/global food economics, food system governance, local autonomy, sustainability and other topic areas. Existing initiatives that include on-the-land learning are foundational to long-term food security and individual/collective wellbeing.

Conclusions

The above recommendations related to northern food system governance need to be grounded in community-level values, practices and beliefs. Achieving this depends upon good communication and collaboration, which in turn requires a range of supports, from autonomous control of funding at the community level to creating opportunities for relationship building and repair.

One potential measure to help further enhance food system governance in the north includes creating a permanent, dedicated food security/sovereignty organisation. The Nunavut Food Security Coalition (NFSC), for example, has been a keystone force; however, by definition a coalition is temporary. This organisation, oriented towards food system governance, should be comprised of community representatives from key locally controlled institutions, whose mandates are aligned with food security, food sovereignty and wellbeing, such as HTOs and Elder Centres. An event similar to the NFSC's Poverty Reduction gatherings in 2010-2011 and the 2013 Nunavut Foody Security Symposium could be used as a platform for establishing a full-time group to function as a think tank, undertake consultations, develop and implement recommendations, and facilitate research.

While much systemic change continues to shape northern food system governance, the importance of power dynamics to food security and wellbeing requires that local, Inuit voices gain ever greater representation in decision making and administration across scales.

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