

Embodying Self-Determination: Re-placing Food Sovereignty through  
Everyday Geographies of Indigenous Resurgence

Michelle D. Daigle

A dissertation  
submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2015

Reading Committee:

Matthew Sparke, Chair

Lucy Jarosz

Victoria Lawson

Christopher Teuton

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Geography

© Copyright 2015

Michelle D. Daigle

University of Washington

**Abstract**

Embodying Self-Determination: Re-placing Food Sovereignty through  
Everyday Geographies of Indigenous Resurgence

Michelle D. Daigle

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:  
Dr. Matthew Sparke  
Geography

This text is centered on how Indigenous foodways, specifically those of Anishinaabe people from the Treaty 3 territory in northwestern Ontario, cultivate an embodied self-determination from nourishing bodies, minds and spirits to cultivating kinship relations, to renewing political economies and governance structures. Specifically, I bring place-based Anishinaabe knowledge and experiences into dialogue with food sovereignty scholarship, Indigenous studies and feminist geographies to examine how Indigenous foodways have and continue to be impacted by colonial-capitalist structures of violence, including historical legacies of genocidal practices of assimilation and contemporary colonialism reproduced through industry-sponsored forms of state-making, development and resource exploitation. Subsequently, I examine how Anishinaabe people embody self-determination through a balance of anti-colonial resistance and a resurgent politics. I argue that a resurgent politics is founded on the renewal of responsibilities to and a decolonial love for land, including the nexus of cultural traditions that make up land-based food practices such as language, storytelling and ceremonial protocols. Namely, everyday acts of resurgent decolonial love entail the rebuilding of intimate and spiritual relationships with family and land, the reclamation of ancestral territories and the re-envisioning, experimentation and embodiment of alternative political economies and governance structures. For Anishinaabe

people, this resurgent decolonial love is founded in their ancestral law of mino bimaadiziwin or “living the good life”.

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	iii
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	iv
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	v
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction Re-placing Food Sovereignty</b> .....	1
<b>PART 1. The Centrality of Indigenous Foodways</b> .....	57
<b>Chapter 2. The Embodied Scales of Anishinaabe Foodways</b> .....	57
<b>PART 2. Embodied Geographies of Colonial Violence</b> .....	104
<b>Chapter 3. Tracing the Coloniality of Dispossession</b> .....	104
<b>Chapter 4. The Embodiment of Colonial Dispossession</b> .....	126
<b>PART 3. Embodying Self-determination</b> .....	185
<b>Chapter 5. Everyday Geographies of Indigenous Resurgence</b> .....	185
<b>Chapter 6. Conclusion Geographies of Decolonial Futures</b> .....	257
<b>References</b> .....	268

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1</b> Fall Harvest.....	1
<b>Figure 2</b> Map of the Treaty 3 Territory.....	50
<b>Figure 3</b> Indigenous Foodways.....	63
<b>Figure 4</b> Storytelling and songs, Fall Harvest.....	80
<b>Figure 5</b> Language Immersion Workshop.....	88
<b>Figure 6</b> Fall Harvest.....	95
<b>Figure 7</b> Wild rice grounds, Lake of the Woods.....	98
<b>Figure 8</b> Cooking bannock at the Fall Harvest.....	101
<b>Figure 9</b> Colonization Road, Fort Frances, Ontario.....	104
<b>Figure 10</b> Campbell’s Cabins 1937.....	135
<b>Figure 11</b> Campbell’s Cabins 2015.....	136
<b>Figure 12</b> Clear-cutting, Grassy Narrows First Nation.....	137
<b>Figure 13</b> Wild rice cedar basket and poles.....	140
<b>Figure 14</b> Cartoon, Bill C-51.....	163
<b>Figure 15</b> St. Marguerite Indian Residential School, 1908.....	171
<b>Figure 16</b> St. Marguerite Indian Residential School, 1965.....	172
<b>Figure 17</b> Nurse taking a blood sample from Indigenous child.....	176
<b>Figure 18</b> Idle No More and Defenders of the Land.....	202
<b>Figure 19</b> Roadblock, Grassy Narrows First Nation.....	204
<b>Figure 20</b> Fall Harvest, reconnecting women and youth.....	219
<b>Figure 21</b> Fall Harvest, role reconnecting women and youth.....	220
<b>Figure 22</b> Trapping Workshop.....	227

**Figure 23** Trapping Workshop.....228  
**Figure 24** Hunting and fishing grounds, Lake of the Woods.....232

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, meegwetch to all Anishinaabe community members from the Treaty 3 territory for their generosity and mentorship. This project would not be possible without their guidance and support. Specifically, I would like to thank the Horton family, the Jones family, the Kabatay family, the Jourdain family, the Hunter family and the Geyschick family. I would also like to say meegwetch to the Duwamish people as I have had the honor to live and work on their ancestral lands while being a doctoral student at the University of Washington in Seattle.

Meegwetch to my doctoral committee whom I respect and care for dearly. Christopher Teuton, it has been a pleasure to get to know you as you joined the UW community. It meant the world to me that you were part of this process. Thank you for challenging me as I move forward as a Cree scholar and community member. Victoria Lawson, meegwetch for teaching me how to be a strong and loving scholar, teacher and friend. I have learned so much from observing the way you carry yourself in the world. You have had a significant impact on me. Lucy Jarosz, meegwetch for always knowing when I needed extra support and guidance throughout this process and for constantly reminding me of the important aspects of this project. I have truly enjoyed the friendship that we have built during my time at UW and I hope to share many more good conversations and meals over the years. Matthew Sparke, meegwetch for continually cultivating my creativity and intellectual growth. You have always reassured me to trust myself and to be true to my ideas and beliefs while challenging me in the most meaningful ways. It has been a true pleasure and honor to work with you over the years.

To my dear colleagues and friends who have supported, challenged and inspired me throughout this process: Eloho Basikoro, Kristy Copeland, Lawrence Curley, Monica Farias, Katie Gillespie, Meredith Krueger, Jesse McClelland, Amy Piedalue, Brett Ramey, Katie Schultz, Amir Sheikh, Yolanda Valencia and Jason Young.

I would like to say a special meegwetch to my kindred spirits and sisters. Glenda Breiler, meegwetch for teaching me the value of kindness. You are a beautiful spirit and I have learned a great deal from your commitment and love for our people, land and cultural traditions. Neena Makhija, meegwetch for teaching me the value of empathy and how to be a caring and loving friend. I continue to learn from you as you carry yourself in the everyday with so much compassion and good humor. Magie Ramirez, meegwetch for teaching me about the value of courage and embodying a gentle strength. Your support and love has meant the world to me and I look forward to the many adventures that await us in the decolonial future. Lynda Turet, meegwetch for teaching me the value of leadership and creativity. I continue to learn from your endless energy and enthusiasm as you make your own place in the world.

Meegwetch to the Indigenous community at the University of Washington who have been a constant source of strength and inspiration. Specifically, I would like to thank the strong Indigenous women who are part of the *Indigenous Ways of Knowing Cultural Food Practices and Ecological Knowledge* planning committee: Susan Balbas, Charlotte Cote, Clarita Lefthand-Begay, Dian Million, Melissa Montgomery and Melissa Woodrow. Meegwetch for challenging me and cultivating my growth as a Cree woman and scholar by embodying what you believe in.

Meegwetch to my formative mentors Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel for cultivating my intellectual and personal growth from a young age. Meegwetch for your continual support and patience. I continue to carry and learn from the knowledge and lessons you have generously shared with me.

Meegwetch to my relatives and first teachers in the Daigle and Moore families. To my dad Gerry, meegwetch for cultivating my intellectual curiosity for enriching my life with good food and conversation. Meegwetch for respecting, embodying and teaching me the Cree knowledge that you have learned throughout your lifetime. To my sister Kristen, meegwetch for being my partner in this all from the very beginning. Meegwetch for all of the adventures and food laughs over the years and I look forward to many more. Meegwetch to my grandparents Angela and Bert Moore who are the founding strength for our family. I have learned so much from both of you.

Meegwetch to my partner and best friend Jeffrey for your continual support, patience and love. You are an incredibly thoughtful and generous spirit. I am thankful that we have grown together over the years and I look forward to our new journey.

Finally, meegwetch to my mom, Jackie, for teaching and reminding me of my responsibilities by embodying them through the generous and loving woman that you are. I have learned so much from our travels and conversations. You are truly the reason why I do this work and I look forward to continuing to do it together.

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this work to my dear cousin Ernie Moore, Jr. (1992-2014). May you rest in power as you dance and fly with the eagles.

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction: Re-placing Food Sovereignty



**Figure 1: Fall Harvest, Seven Generations Education Institute, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**

*It was the last week of September in 2013 and the sun was unseasonably warm in Anishinaabe territory, in what's now known as the Treaty 3 territory in northwestern Ontario. When I arrived, I was immediately flooded with memories of being on Lake of the Woods as a child. There was something familiar and comforting about being back in this place. It wasn't my home territory of the Treaty 9 but the land, the local foods and the language were all familiar. A few days after my arrival, I reconnected with old family friends Laura and Delbert Horton. They had learned about my doctoral research on Indigenous foodways. After catching up over wild rice soup and grilled walleye, they offered to help by introducing me to people in the area who are knowledgeable in Anishinaabe food practices. Laura said I could begin by helping out with the fall harvest gathering the following week.*

*On a bright and crisp morning, I made my way down one of the main roads in Fort Frances, the main town in the southern part of Treaty 3, called Colonization Road. I arrived at the Nanicost building located on Couchiching First Nation, which houses the Treaty 3 regional educational body, Seven Generations Education Institute. From 1902 to 1974, the Nanicost building was the St. Marguerite Indian Residential School where many of the Elders that were there that morning were forced to go as children. During pre-settler times, however, before this building was erected, this space known as Godiching was a gathering place where Anishinaabe people and other Indigenous peoples met for annual food gatherings. During these times, nations and communities would renew their social, economic and political relationships through the trading and gifting of foods and medicines, the ritual of local protocols, ceremonies, songs and storytelling. The fall harvest was an effort towards revitalizing this tradition.*

*Elders were in charge of teaching stations where the children would learn how to process and prepare Anishinaabe foods while the younger adults were to take on the role of helpers as guides and cooks. I was given a kit containing an axe, cooking utensils and ingredients and was told to build a fire and start making naboob (soup) and bannock that I would later serve to the group of children I would be supervising. Once the children flooded in one school bus after the other, Laura started the opening ceremony, which included a welcoming song, prayer and pipe ceremony led by an Elder. In past years, families had given a deer for the fall harvest so that children could learn how to prepare him/her in a respectful way according to Anishinaabe protocols. This time, there was no deer. And so, every morning, as part of the protocols, Laura asked the children to think about why they might not have a deer to share this year. Was it the weather? Was it the clear-cutting that was taking place in their communities? Was it the contamination of their local waterways? Was it impacts of climate change?*

*Over the course of three days, approximately 400 Anishinaabe children came through the fall harvest. I watched and learned alongside them as Elders and Knowledge Holders taught them to parch and winnow wild rice, filet and smoke fish, pluck geese, cook bannock and make Labrador tea and moccasins. They also learned about the medicinal uses of certain plants and parts of animals such as bear grease. At other moments, the children were told stories, including Anishinaabe creation and re-creation stories as well as oral histories of Elders' experiences at St. Marguerite.*

*By the end of the third day, we could feel the cool autumn settling in as the clouds rolled in and the wind became brisker. As we cleaned up the grounds after the final closing ceremony, I sheepishly felt exhausted. Soon, people would start hunting for partridge and deer. Once the snow would settle in for the winter and people started heading out to their family traplines, storytelling season would begin. The fall harvest reminded me that it was my responsibility as a Cree woman to not only listen and learn others' stories but to create my own by embodying my nation's lifeways and that I could do this by connecting to our foods.*

\*\*\*

This is a story about Indigenous peoples' relationship with our relatives, otherwise known as our traditional foods.<sup>1</sup> In many ways, this project started before it was officially envisioned for I was always connected to it through my kinship relations, that is, my family, my community

---

<sup>1</sup> When referring to the colonial boundaries of Canada, I use the term "Indigenous" and "Native" interchangeably to identify descendants of nations that occupied the land of what is now known as Canada before the arrival of European colonizers, settlers and state powers. When referring to Indigenous peoples in other national spaces and as a peoples united internationally under this political identity, I use the term "Indigenous". I use "peoples" in the plural form instead of "people" to emphasize that Indigenous peoples make up a vast number of different nations that vary geographically, socially and politically. Finally, I use the term "First Nations" to refer to Indigenous peoples legally recognized under the Canadian federal government's *Indian Act* of 1876.

Anjicome or Constance Lake First Nation, my nation the Omushkegowuk Cree and our muskeg lands located in what is now known as the Treaty 9 territory.<sup>2</sup> And, it is these kinship relations that eventually led me to do this research with the Anishinaabe people of the Treaty 3 territory. My commitment to Indigenous foodways is one grounded in the notion that our self-determination depends on them in the truest of holistic ways. The centrality of Indigenous foods and food practices that are simultaneously embedded in a nexus of storytelling traditions, our language and ceremonies, make up the interconnected scales of our lifeways, from nourishing our bodies, minds and spirits to cultivating our kinship relations, to renewing our political economies and governance structures. Our relationships with our foodways and land make up the ultimate form of self-determination, an *embodied* self-determination.

But, stories of our foodways also tell us of the violent dispossession of Indigenous lands and lifeways. Specifically, they recount the ways in which colonial violence has and continues to reshape and dispossess Indigenous peoples' relationships with their ancestral lands and foodways and how that simultaneously impacts their overall knowledge systems and cultural traditions. The devastation of local foodways and consequential forms of resistance have been widely documented and debated within food sovereignty scholarship. However, this sub-field falling under the umbrella of critical food studies and, more generally the food sovereignty movement has overwhelmingly focused on peasants, small-scale farmers and pastoralists' fight for autonomy and control of local food systems through a rights-based framework. This has resulted in limited insights on how local foodways have been impacted through colonial violence as it has largely focused on neoliberal structures of power. Moreover, it has silenced the way food sovereignty is embodied across space according to local dynamics and knowledge. That is, the

---

<sup>2</sup> Omushkegowuk translates in the English language to "people from the muskeg lands". The Anglo term for Omushkegowuk is Swampy Cree.

importance of place and place-based experiences, knowledge systems and ecologies remains underrepresented, with the experiences of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the U.S. being notably scarce. This is particularly distressing given that Indigenous peoples have been fighting for, what many of them frame as their inherent responsibilities to their land and foodways, since the onset of colonial settlement, not to mention that small-scale farmers and local foodies may be further infringing on Indigenous lands through their own quests for food sovereignty, security and justice (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Grey and Patel 2014). I argue that Indigenous knowledge on foodways is crucial in expanding our thinking on what exactly food “sovereignty” means for Indigenous peoples rooted in their place-based worldviews, how this departs from a rights-based discourse, western models of liberal justice, market-based solutions and, how Indigenous foodways are part of the larger process of embodying self-determination by rebuilding Indigenous kinship relationships, including with their relative the land (Corntassel and Bryce 2012).<sup>3</sup> I do this by moving away from solely examining renowned global and national food movements to learn from Indigenous embodiments of local food practices in the Anishinaabe Treaty 3 territory.

Throughout this analysis, I sometimes employ the terms “food sovereignty” and “Indigenous food sovereignty”. I do so to cultivate a dialogue with food scholars and activists as this concept has been deployed worldwide since the mid 1990s. While various grassroots and governmental organizations have mobilized under this political concept, it has simultaneously garnered attention from many critical food studies scholars across a range of disciplines including geography (Jarosz 2014a, 2014b; Levkoe 2014), anthropology (Edelman 2014),

---

<sup>3</sup> I use the term “land” throughout this paper as an all-encompassing concept that includes, land, water and the animals and plants that live on them, all of which many Indigenous peoples, including Anishinaabe people, consider their relatives.

sociology (Desmarais 2003, 2007, 2008, 2012), environmental studies (Wittman 2009, Clapp 2014), public health (Dixon 2014) and public policy (Patel 2009) as well as activist-academics writing from their respective food sovereignty organizations (Rosset 2003; Holt-Gimenez 2006; LaDuke 2007; Morrison 2011). As I will further explain, the concept originally signaled a specific set of political principles that were a departure from food security. Increasingly, however, many scholars caution against reproducing food politics concepts such as “sovereignty” and “security” as mutually exclusive political principles and forms of mobilization with an identifiable timeline (Jarosz 2014a). This is perhaps best illustrated through the revitalization of Indigenous food practices as a variety of discourses influence mobilization at the community level. For example, the Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty (WGIFS), which is part of the B.C. Food Systems Network (BCFSN) in Canada, has politically mobilized using the term food sovereignty. However, many other concepts as simple as “revitalizing traditional foods” are used throughout Indigenous communities.

Others have cultivated concepts that directly link the revitalization of Indigenous foodways and land-based practices to the larger project of self-determination. Indeed, part of this move has emerged from both academic and community-based critiques of the political concept of sovereignty. Within academia, Kanien’keha political theorist Taiaiake Alfred has argued that sovereignty is a colonized concept in which governance rests upon the framing of land as property that can be owned and controlled, which do not accurately reflect Indigenous ontological perspectives on and relationships with their ancestral lands (Alfred 1999). Moreover, he argues that the idea and political practice of sovereignty remains embedded within the colonial structures of power and territorial boundaries of the state (Alfred 1999, 2005). Likewise, at the community level, Indigenous peoples are increasingly critiquing the use of sovereignty to

politically mobilize our peoples to resist against colonial violence and to resurge our nations' lifeways. For example, since 2013, the University of Washington's *The Living Breath of Wə́ləbʔaltxʷ: Indigenous Ways of Knowing Cultural Food Practices and Ecological Knowledge Planning Committee* has cultivate communal gatherings by bringing together people from diverse backgrounds working on Indigenous foodways. These gatherings have brought together scholars from both the social and physical sciences, health practitioners, Elders, hunters, fishers and those working within tribal government to create dialogue and strategize on the protection and regeneration of Indigenous land-based food practices. At the most recent gathering in the spring of 2015, which was organized as a community summit, a number of Indigenous scholars and community members expressed how the term food sovereignty did not fully encompass the work they are doing in the everyday through both their academic research and community life. As Kanaka 'Ōiwi Hawai'i political theorist and community activist Hokulani Aikau shared, food sovereignty is a concept that reproduces the compartmentalization of Indigenous lifeways. Still, as I have shared here, she does see the potential the concept may have in cultivating dialogue outside of our communities.

Others at the summit reflected on how sovereignty limitedly reflects Indigenous ontological perspectives on land. As Lawrence Curley reflected (an Ojibwe and Navajo graduate student), sovereignty is a loaded concept as he thinks of how the land, specifically the water, is alive and has a legacy and memory, including the memory of colonial trauma. Likewise, Tsalagi scholar and activist Jeff Corntassel shared how the reframing of food sovereignty starts with our Indigenous languages, which express different ways of thinking about and relating to land.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, community members of the Treaty 3 territory shared these perspectives. For example,

---

<sup>4</sup> All of these perspectives were shared as Hokulani, Lawrence, Jeff and others sat on a panel at the University of Washington's *The Living Breath of Wə́ləbʔaltxʷ: Indigenous Ways of Knowing Cultural Food Practices and Ecological Knowledge* summit which was hosted on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

Sherri Kabatay from Seine River First Nation, who generously shared her knowledge with me throughout this project, reminded me of the limitations of food “sovereignty” in one of our interviews:

The word sovereignty came from somewhere. So then that concept originated from that (Euro-western) source, from that period of time and place. That word itself has those frameworks and conceptions. When you think about that, what happens when you start to frame everything within that term? Is that really what you’re asking about, or is it something else that you’re asking?<sup>5</sup>

Because of these shared concerns over the use of sovereignty, many scholars have moved towards deploying the term of self-determination, which disrupts the colonial territorial boundaries of the settler state. For example, Jeff Corntassel and Songhees activist Cheryl Bryce have increasingly used the concept of “sustainable self-determination”, which has gained traction within Indigenous academic and community spaces (Corntassel and Bryce 2012). Corntassel and Bryce argue that sustainable self-determination rejects the notion that self-determination is solely and narrowly “[...] political and legal entitlements” but that it is founded upon community-based “everyday practices of resurgence” (Corntassel and Bryce 2012, 153). They go on to explain that the concept signals Indigenous thought on sustainability that is based on “[...] honoring longstanding, reciprocal relationships with the natural world, as well as [...] transmitting knowledge and everyday cultural practices for future generations” (Corntassel and Bryce 2012, 156). In this sense, sustainable self-determination situates the renewal of Indigenous land-based practices, including food harvesting, as responsibilities Indigenous peoples have with their kin, the land, as well as past, present and future generations.

---

<sup>5</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

This teaching that Corntassel and Bryce bring forth is commonly articulated in traditional laws across Indigenous nations. As it will become apparent throughout this paper, it is these laws that Elders and Knowledge Holders commonly refer to in conversations about food sovereignty.<sup>6</sup> And, as Jeff Corntassel stated at the food summit, the depth of knowledge within these laws starts with how they are expressed according to our Indigenous languages. For many Anishinaabe people who generously shared their knowledge to make this project possible, food sovereignty is part of the larger process of *mino bimaadiziwin*. Many Anishinaabe scholars and activists across different territories and communities speak of this law. Writer and activist Winona LaDuke from the White Earth nation in Minnesota speaks of *mino bimaadiziwin* as a “continuous rebirth” (LaDuke 1994, 4; cf Simpson 2013a). Additionally, Michi Saagiig writer and activist Leanne Simpson from Alderville First Nation has written about *mino bimaadiziwin* as an ongoing process of renewal, reciprocity and respect (Simpson 2013a). Elder Ogiimaagwanebiik from Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation in the Treaty 3, who has been an important mentor of mine throughout this process says, “For me, *mino bimaadiziwin* is about living the good life. It’s about helping one another and respecting the Creator’s creation, mutual respect. It’s about sharing [our traditional foods]. I think it’s also about being thankful” (YouTube 2013).<sup>7</sup> As will be unpacked throughout this paper, this continual rebirth, renewal and emotions and principles of respect, reciprocity and being thankful are cultivated through everyday engagements with the land and by actually living a way of life where one goes out and harvests, processes and cooks local foods.

---

<sup>6</sup> I use the term Knowledge Holders throughout this paper to denote Indigenous peoples who are knowledgeable in their community and nation’s land-based philosophies and practices. These individuals may not yet be of the age of an Elder, however they are important leaders and intellectuals within their communities and nations.

<sup>7</sup> Ogiimaagwanebiik requested to be identified by her Anishinaabe name or spirit name.

According to these perspectives, this continual rebirth and renewal and *living* the good life means that Indigenous ontological views and practices of food sovereignty become ultimately told through the embodiment of a way of life that is rooted in their traditional territories, including the Anishinaabe language they use, called Anishinaabemowin, which embodies Anishinaabe thought (Simpson 2013a). For this reason, I go back to the law of *mino bimaadiziwin* that shaped my dialogues, interactions and relationships with community members of the Treaty 3. At the same time, however, I bring in my own experiences as a Cree woman connected to the idea of food sovereignty through my own upbringing and ongoing process of figuring out what this means in my own life as I try to live up to my responsibilities of embodying self-determination, including how I can do this as a visitor on Duwamish territory.<sup>8</sup> Throughout this journey, I have learned a great deal from Knowledge Holders in Coast and Interior Salish territories therefore I also turn to their wisdom in the coming pages. For example, my reflections on the food summit are embedded in the fact that I have been able to build relationships and learn from both Coast Salish peoples and other Indigenous visitors residing on their territories while working and living on Duwamish territory in Seattle, Washington. The generosity and wisdom shared by Coast Salish peoples over the past several years has without a doubt been part of my embodied learning on Indigenous foodways.

And so, while I honor Anishinaabe concepts and those of other nations, including my own by centering Indigenous languages and laws, I call the process of honoring, revitalizing, renewing and transmitting Indigenous foodways and land-based practices as *embodied self-determination*. In this sense, I argue that Indigenous food sovereignty, while helpful to a certain extent to cultivate dialogue with a diverse set of scholars and activists, ultimately falls short in encompassing the multi-scalar places and relationships that are embodied through Indigenous

---

foodways. Embodied self-determination more fully captures the role of Indigenous foodways in the larger project of decolonization and resurgence, which includes resistance to colonial violence through direct confrontations, the reclaiming of dispossessed land through intimate geographies of relationship building and everyday practices, the rebuilding of family structures and mentoring relationships and the embodiment of foodways, including language, storytelling traditions and spiritual practices. In this sense, embodied self-determination is both a resistance to historical and ongoing colonial violence and a resurgence of Indigenous lifeways. Importantly, I argue that this resurgent politics guides and sustains what resistance will look like as it roots Indigenous peoples in their land-based practices and ontologies which then cultivate an understanding that some forms of resistance, constrained through institutional and settler colonial discourses and materializations of territory and citizenship, actually reproduce colonial forms of domination and governmentality in the present.

My thinking on embodied self-determination has been cultivated by varied sets of knowledge, experiences, dialogues and relationships across time, space and social difference. For this reason, I seek to cultivate an interdisciplinary dialogue on Indigenous foodways. First, Anishinaabe people's knowledge work in tandem with interdisciplinary scholarship on Indigenous dispossession and self-determination that is largely rooted in the embodied geographies of Indigenous scholars (Alfred 1999, 2005; Corntassel 2008, 2012; Coulthard 2007, 2014; Simpson 2013a, 2014). That is, the Indigenous scholars I draw on throughout are rooted in their respective communities and nations as well as those in which they have relations with, sometimes through being a long-term visitor on their traditional territories. I argue that one cannot develop a critical and thoughtful analysis of colonial dispossession without Indigenous studies as scholars from this sub-field have provided some of the most in-depth critiques of

western models of liberal justice and colonial imaginaries of territory. On the one hand, this body of scholarship has extensively examined how self-determination strategies framed within a liberal rights-based framework and pluralistic politics of recognition are not conducive to Indigenous forms of nationhood and are, in fact, ongoing sources of colonial violence (Alfred 1999, 2005; Coulthard 2007, 2014; Corntassel 2007; Goeman 2013; Simpson A. 2013). On the other hand, and what then makes the most unique and imperative contributions, this group of scholars has focused on how self-determination is framed from Indigenous ontologies and a resurgent politics rooted in place (Alfred 2005; Simpson 2008, 2013a, 2014; Corntassel 2012; Coulthard 2014; Hunt 2014).

I bring these Indigenous perspectives into critical and constructive dialogue with geography, more specifically the sub-fields of food sovereignty and feminist geographic scholarship on the global and the intimate, transnationalism, care ethics and feminist political economies (Staeheli and Nagar 2002; Gibson-Graham 2006; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012; Lawson 2007). I argue that theorizations on embodied Indigenous self-determination via Indigenous foodways necessitate a multi-scalar analysis of colonial violence through a critical geographic lens and how this is co-constitutive with the intimate geographies of Indigenous foodways. To this end, I examine how dispossession is framed within food sovereignty scholarship to then intervene on these debates through Indigenous foodway geographies, specifically Anishinaabe foodways in Treaty 3. I argue that food sovereignty scholarship has, with a few exceptions, generally employed a Marxist political economy, which becomes quite inadequate in understanding the embodied dispossession of Indigenous foodways (Morrison 2011; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014b; Patel and Grey 2014). While I do not reject this analytical framework, I contend that political economy approaches are best applied

to Indigenous geographies when they are brought into conversation with a colonial framework from Indigenous studies and embodied and intimate geographies framework from feminist geographic scholarship (Hart 2004; Hyndman 2004; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Valentine 2008; Pratt and Rosner 2012; Hunt 2014). Through this interweaving of academic scholarship and lived experiences in Treaty 3, I examine how Anishinaabe foodways, Anishinaabe people and land itself have been and continue to be impacted by violent colonial dispossession which I frame as both structures of domination that result in the material removal and exclusion to land and food harvesting areas and as modes of governmentality that re-territorialize Indigenous relationships with their ancestral lands (Coulthard 2014).

Following this, I examine the multiple ways Anishinaabe people embody food sovereignty through everyday practices of decolonization and resurgence. In this sense, I am committed to an anti-colonial and resurgent scholarship, which Alfred has called a “warrior scholarship” (Alfred 2004). What I mean by this is that I am committed to deconstructing colonial discourses and practices of dispossession while simultaneously honoring Indigenous knowledge in re-envisioning alternatives to self-determination. While food sovereignty scholarship has become defined as a sub-field that is as much, if not more, concerned with resistance to neoliberal capitalism as it is about understanding the violent workings of this system, the emancipatory politics envisioned by this movement remains largely bounded by state and intergovernmental institutional visions. Again, from this perspective, I argue that building a dialogue with Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship opens up the space for alternative and transformative politics (Alfred 2005; Gibson-Graham 2006; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012; Lawson 2007; Simpson 2013a, 2013b; Coulthard 2014). As stated, feminist geographic scholarship on dispossession delineates the ways global

patterns of structural violence are intimately experienced at the scale of the body, however they also problematize the normalization of everyday practices, in this case conventional pathways for Indigenous self-determination, by examining the disciplinary power entangled in various forms of social reproduction (Nagar et al. 2002; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2012). Moreover, this body of scholarship re-envisioning resistance and emancipation through a multi-scalar relational politics, whether that be through transnational alliance building or a care ethical framework (Katz 2001; Massey 2004, 2005; Lawson 2007; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012). Indigenous political thought based on pre-settler treaties, storytelling traditions, language and ceremonies, all of which are integral to Indigenous foodways, complicate and expand on these political frameworks. One way they do so is by reminding us that our relative, the land, must be centered in discussions on relational place making and in the envisioning of an alternative and transformative politics as rebuilding relationships with non-human actors, our sacred relatives, is just as important as honoring those with other human beings.

Overall, I intervene on the conceptualizations and political activism of food sovereignty in two ways. First, I reject the role of the colonial state in the fight for Indigenous food sovereignty on Turtle Island.<sup>9</sup> I argue that food activists and scholars worldwide continue to authorize the role of the settler colonial state by politically mobilizing through international governing institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) to put pressure on nation-states to implement food sovereignty policies. That is, grassroots activists are primarily concerned with fighting for the rights of nations and citizens of those nations' rights to food thus legitimizing the authority of the settler colonial state. I counter

---

<sup>9</sup> I use the term "Turtle Island" throughout this paper to refer to the North American continent. This is a term that is used by many, although not all, Indigenous nations including my nation, the Omushkegowuk Cree and the Anishinaabe people of the Treaty 3 territory. There is an Anishinaabe re-creation story about Turtle Island, which I go into more detail in chapters 2 and 4.

this by situating Indigenous struggles for foodways within the historical and ongoing colonial violence that is inflicted by the settler colonial Canadian state, where Indigenous peoples push back against notions of Canadian citizenship and colonial territorial boundaries.

Secondly, I approach food “sovereignty” by examining how this process is framed within the larger movement of Indigenous decolonization and self-determination. I do this by moving away from institutional definitions of food sovereignty that prioritize the fight for food rights through control and ownership of food and food producing resources to look towards the place-based knowledge and experiences of Anishinaabe people. I examine how geographies of everyday resistance and resurgence are committed to protecting and rebuilding severed Indigenous kinship relations, including those with their ancestral lands and foodways. I argue that Indigenous ontologies, specifically Anishinaabe thought that is cultivated through language, storytelling, ceremony and land-based practices, de-territorialize land as a bounded space a social group has rights to control and own and a component to Indigenous livelihoods in the narrowness characterization of fair wages and food security. Rather, the land becomes re-territorialized as the foundation of Indigenous political philosophies, governance and a resurgent politics where foodways make up social, political and economic networks that open up renewed visions for self-determination. As it will become apparent in the coming pages, this re-envisioning is ultimately based on Anishinaabe understandings of land and the animals and plants that make up their food systems as sacred beings and relatives of the highest order that must honored and loved. In this sense, embodying self-determination rests upon renewing responsibilities and a decolonial love for the land.

I now proceed in the remainder of this chapter by providing a foundation of food sovereignty activism and emerging scholarly debates on this political movement. After

unpacking what I argue are key limitations of food sovereignty scholarship, I reflect on how these can be addressed, in part, by cultivating a dialogue between Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship. From there, I sketch out how this project emerged and unfolded according to Anishinaabe knowledge systems and cultural traditions while also sharing how I have come to think of it as a larger personal and community effort to rebuild pre-settler relationships.

### **Tracing the Food Sovereignty Discourse and Movement: A Brief History**

Food sovereignty is now the largest transnational food movement in the world with 150 social movements across 79 countries (Burnett and Murphy 2014). Political mobilization based on food sovereignty principles took off in 1996 when the grassroots peasant group La Via Campesina (LVC) coined the term at the World Food Summit (Patel 2009). While many food scholars attribute this moment as being the birth of food sovereignty, others have pointed out how various iterations were articulated in parts of Central America as early as the 1960s and in Mexico in the 1980s (Boyer 2010; Edelman 2014a, 2014b). For example, in 1983, the Mexican government launched a National Food Program (Programa Nacional de Alimentacion, PRONAL) who's first objective was 'to achieve food sovereignty' (Heath 1985; Edelman 2014). Thus, while the origin of the concept cannot be fixed to any one place or time, it is generally agreed upon that it gained international recognition and popularity once it was mobilized by LVC in the late 1990s.

From its first iterations, LVC declared that food sovereignty was a replacement to, what they argued was, the less politically engaged concept of food security (Patel 2009). This initial juxtaposition to food security remains an enduring discourse within activist and academic circles. Increasingly, however, a number of food sovereignty scholars have broken down dichotomous

ways of thinking about food activism by attending to the geo-histories of the food sovereignty discourse and how it often overlaps with those of food security (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Edelman 2014a; Jarosz 2014a). Overall, they argue that food activism has taken shape in diverse ways over the last two decades and the oppositional and dichotomous nature of food security and food sovereignty no longer seems fitting.<sup>10</sup> Still, just as these scholars do, it is useful here to recall the early days of food sovereignty and how it evolved from and was intertwined with the discourse and activism of food security.

Food security was first defined in 1974. Political mobilization at this time was based first, on concerns related to food production and distribution and secondly, how the state would assume a leadership role in ensuring the redistribution of resources. This led to the crafting and implementation of food security policies that sought to ensure an adequate world food supply to keep up with growing consumption rates and to offset price fluctuations (Rosset 2003; McMichael 2008; Patel 2009). However, it quickly became apparent that the structural adjustment programs era in Latin American countries had resulted in a massive de-peasantization of rural areas partly supported through the rhetoric to increase food security by increasing labor efficiency (Patel 2009). Peasants and other food actors became increasingly preoccupied with *how* food security could be realized when national food systems were entangled in internal political power dynamics, which were simultaneously reproduced through a growing neoliberal economy. The discourse on food sovereignty increasingly gained traction in food actors' struggles as it became clear that there was a need to fight for social control of their livelihoods while simultaneously opposing the power politics of the food system (Patel 2009). In this sense, food activists argued that food sovereignty is a precondition to food security.

---

<sup>10</sup> For an extended and in-depth analysis of this debate see Lucy Jarosz' "Comparing Food Security and Food Sovereignty Discourses", *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 2013, 4(2): 168-181.

In 1996, LVC declared that food sovereignty must ensure that all people have social, physical and economic control of safe and nutritious foods by, in part, having the right to craft and shape food policy (Patel 2009). The overall distinction between food security and food sovereignty became the latter's use of a rights-based language for social control where people, most notably marginalized and oppressed peoples, have the right to shape and craft food policies that affect their livelihoods, a discourse that appealed to an international discourse on liberal democracy and human rights:

Long-term food security depends on those who produce food and care for the natural environment. As the stewards of food producing resources we hold the following principles as the necessary foundation for achieving food security[...] Food is a basic human right. This right can only be realized in a system where food sovereignty is guaranteed. Food sovereignty is the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods respecting cultural and productive diversity. We have the right to produce our own food in our own territory. Food sovereignty is a precondition to genuine food security (ibid).

At this moment, food sovereignty activists sought to set their movement apart from other food activism by asserting that food politics must account for the power structure of the global food economy and thus must demand autonomy and control of local food systems including all social relationships constituting those systems. However, as the LVC statement clearly states, the fight for food rights is situated within the colonial territorial boundaries and sovereignty of nation-states, which inevitably works towards reinforcing colonial violence on Indigenous peoples, a point I come back to later in this chapter (Alfred 1999).

Two decades later, the food sovereignty movement has grown exponentially and become a “global space of encounter” for peasants, small-scale farmers, pastoralists as well as a range of other food activists and marginalized groups around the globe (Martinez-Torres and Rosset

2014). In Canada, food activism has traditionally been mobilized under food security though food sovereignty has more recently gained traction in national discourse and activism. While a number of movements regularly mobilize under one of these political concepts, their mandates employ similar political ideals, objectives and strategies. Still, food sovereignty has increasingly captured activists' attention since 2007 when Food Secure Canada (FSC) along with the National Farmers' Union (NFU) and Quebec's Union Paysanne (UP) attended the Nyéléni International Forum for Food Sovereignty in Sélingué, Mali (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Levkoe 2014).<sup>11</sup> The Canadian organizations walked away from the gathering inspired by the global food activism being deployed under food sovereignty. Subsequently, the pan-Canadian People's FoodPolicy Project (PFPP) was established in 2009 to develop food sovereignty policy Canada (Desmarais and Wittman 2014).

Recently, food sovereignty scholars Aurélie Desmarais and Hannah Wittman have identified the wide range of actors in the Canadian food sovereignty movement as farmers, foodies and First Nations representing diverse discourses, objectives and strategies (Desmarais and Wittman 2014). The Canadian landscape, they argue, is agriculturally and ideologically diverse leading to internal divergences within and among farmers associations across the nation. Some associations embrace the growing neoliberal agenda that supports self-reliance and a market-liberal framework. Others, such as the NFU, are committed to alternatives to the neoliberal agricultural industry (Desmarais and Wittman 2014). Foodies make up the wide range of organizations that are committed to creating relationships between small-scale farmers and

---

<sup>11</sup> The NFU is a network of provincial farmers' unions from BC, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and a number of maritime farmers that was established in 1969. The UP was founded in 2001 as an alternative to the Union de Producteurs Agricoles du Quebec which is a more mainstream union mobilizing under food sovereignty yet supporting supply management to remain in its current structure. These food organizations are part of a longer lineage of food activist organizations in Canada, including The People's Food Commission that was established in the 1970s and the BCFSN that arose in the 1980s and 1990s.

consumers in a locavore-type movement. These organizations include those mobilizing at the provincial scale including Sustain Ontario, the BCFSN, Food Secure Manitoba, Nova Scotia Food Security Canada to national movements such as the well-known FSC and Slow Food Canada (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Levkoe 2014). Desmarais and Wittman identify First Nation food actors as established movements within larger Canadian food movements such as the WGIFS that arose from BCFSN and the Indigenous circle in FSC (Desmarais and Wittman 2014). Additionally, contributing to the food sovereignty movement in Canada is a growing community of academic-activists debating on food politics and supporting food movements in their regions and more generally across the nation. In 2006, the Canadian Association for Food Studies (CAFS) launched to create alliances between academic researchers and community food activism (Levkoe 2014).

As encouraging as the Canadian food movement might be, it has often not addressed the concerns and needs of Indigenous communities. Yet, Indigenous peoples are one of the most food insecure populations within the nation (UNGA 2012). As I will further examine in part 2 of this paper, threats to Indigenous food sovereignty must be contextualized within a deep history and ongoing present of colonial violence. Colonial policies such as the *Indian Act*, forced residential schooling, land dispossession, the creation of the reservation system, assimilation into a settler economy and commodity food programs, not to mention encroachment by settlers and farmers have often not been the focal points of national and regional food movements within Canada. While it may be true that the movement has increasingly made efforts to address Indigenous experiences, particularly through the establishment of the WGIFS and FSC's Indigenous circle, such partnerships should not be overly romanticized. As I will go into more detail in part 3 of the paper, these groups remain a miniscule part of the national movement in

Canada and certainly secondary in importance at the community level to other Indigenous decolonization and self-determination movements such as Idle No More, Defenders of the Land and the Indigenous Nationhood Movement. This begs the question of how well the food sovereignty movement speaks to Indigenous anti-colonial struggles for land and foodways and whether “food sovereignty” is too narrow of a framing. However, this critique is absolutely not intended to devalue the contentious and oftentimes unrecognized work of Indigenous peoples in the food sovereignty movement. Rather, as I will explain further, my observations stem from Anishinaabe people’s lived experiences that prioritize a resurgent politics outside of formal institutionalized movements by rebuilding multi-scalar relationships within and across Indigenous geographies. At the same time, however, I explore how movements such as the WGIFS have made significant strides in building relationships with both settler Canadians and Indigenous and marginalized communities beyond Turtle Island through interconnected geographies of both colonial dispossession and alternative ontological perspectives on land. In this sense, I also consider the value of institutionalized Indigenous platforms such as the WGIFS in building a range of relationships across social and spatial difference.

### **“Big Tent” Politics: Food Sovereignty Scholarship<sup>12</sup>**

Research on food sovereignty has typically focused on the global character of the movement. For the most part, food sovereignty is framed as a politics of resistance that is in opposition to the impacts of the global food economy including hunger, food insecurity, land grabbing and unethical and unhealthy food production (Desmarais and Wittman 2014). Indeed, a prominent debate within food sovereignty scholarship has centered on the meaning of food “sovereignty”

---

<sup>12</sup> The food sovereignty movement has commonly been called a “big tent” politics. For a detailed overview of this see Raj Patel’s “Food Sovereignty” in *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 2009, 36(6): 663-706.

by debating best scales of political mobilization and resistance (Desmarais 2003, 2007, 2008; Altieri and Nicholls 2008; Follett 2009; Boyer 2010; Martinez-Torrez and Rosset 2010; McMichael 2012), building alternative food networks through peasant-to-peasant models (Holt-Gimenez 2006; Rosset et al. 2011), creating sustainable agricultural practices through peasant-led agro-ecological approaches (Altieri and Nicholls 2008, 2011; Altieri 2009; Isakson 2009; Wittman 2009), the role of identity politics (Bernstein 2014; Fontana 2014) and questions on land dispossession including control and access to food producing resources (Desmarais 2008; Pimbert 2009; Naranjo 2011).

In terms of scale, debates unfold around whether food sovereignty activists should politically mobilize at the international scale given the history of how this has worked to exclude certain food actors based on race, gender, class and age while blunting community concerns and needs to fit into larger scale initiatives (Desmarais 2003, 2007, 2008; Holt-Gimenez 2006; Altieri and Nicholls 2008; Altieri 2009; Boyer 2010; Altieri and Toledo 2011). These historical patterns have led some food scholars and activists to consider alternative pathways of globalizing local struggles via ground-up grassroots strategies (Martinez-Torrez and Rosset 2010), including campesino-to-campesino models where peasants assume leadership roles in teaching other peasants about sustainable agricultural practices that can simultaneously cultivate local and regional economies (Holt-Gimenez 2006; Rosset et al. 2011). Advocates of local grassroots strategies stress the potential of ongoing and intimate communication, direct action and the trust and cooperation of local alliances, principles that have been embraced by LVC's commitment to decentralize political organization and decision-making (Patel 2009). While many food sovereignty scholars are sympathetic to the complexities of scaling up local peasant initiatives, some maintain that political mobilization at the international scale through formal governing

institutions is absolutely essential to the movement's objective of opposing the neoliberal industrial food system (McMichael 2012; Burnett and Murphy 2014). These political pathways, it is argued, provide the space to lobby for state and international governing institutions' obligations in crafting and implementing food sovereignty policies (Follett 2009; Patel 2009).

The role of state and international governing institutions is more generally situated within the movement's rights-based discourse that prioritizes access and control of land and food producing resources (Patel 2009; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Patel and Grey 2014). For example, some scholars argue that food sovereignty initiatives implemented within different parts of Latin America should be aimed at rectifying the social injustices of land grabbing reproduced by the influx of foreign capital and multinational corporations facilitated through structural adjustment programs. They argue that regained control and access to parcels of agricultural land enable peasants to practice their local agricultural customs on their own territory, which will generate fair wage work that is environmentally sustainable while ensuring an adequate and healthy food supply (Altieri and Toledo 2008; Wittman 2009; Desmarais 2010; Altieri and Nicholls 2011; Rosset et al. 2011; McMichael 2012). In this way, the rights of food actors such as peasants, small-scale farmers and Indigenous peoples are framed almost as reparations to violations to the human right to adequate and healthy food reproduced by a growing neoliberal regime and more specifically, the global food economy's role within this system.

To date, the right to food has generally unfolded within a politics of redistribution or distributive justice with respect to agrarian land reform and a politics of recognition regarding the mobilization of political identities, such as the peasant, in the fight for food sovereignty.<sup>13</sup> However, political strategies based on land reform and the peasant identity does not accurately

---

<sup>13</sup> I more thoroughly examine the role of a politics of recognition and identity politics in chapters 4 and 5.

reflect Indigenous peoples' struggles to access hunting, fishing, trapping and other food harvesting territories. The ag-centricity of the food sovereignty movement, that is, the overwhelming focus on the role of food producers within the agricultural industry and not on Indigenous communities seeking to revitalize their land-based practices, has recently garnered critiques from a number of food sovereignty scholars (Morrison 2011; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014b). This critique along with others, including the state-centric identities of the peasant, has galvanized a push back against the rigidity of the food sovereignty movement (Bernstein 2014). Overall, scholars argue that future research must move towards understanding how local foodways are variedly impacted by different forms of structural violence and how "sovereignty" is embodied in place in relation to local socio-ecological realities and dynamics (Agarwal 2014; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014a; Levkoe 2014). That is, scholars have increasingly critiqued the "big tent" politics of the movement (Patel 2009: 666). In making these claims, they are increasingly understanding how Indigenous experiences and knowledge in North America will contribute new theorizations on sovereignty and renewed visions of alternative food initiatives (Morrison 2011; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014b; Patel and Grey 2014).

Overall, and as I draw out in more detail in the following section, recent critiques of food sovereignty scholarship open up the space for a more thoughtful analysis of embodied geographies of Indigenous food sovereignty and self-determination. Specifically, four burning questions arise. First, what are the structural forms of violence shaping Indigenous foodways that go beyond those inflicted by the global food economy such as historical legacies of colonial assimilationist policies and the contemporary impacts of neocolonial capitalist development through the extraction of natural resources? And, how do colonial and multi-scalar critiques of

dispossession employed within Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship help us better understand these overlapping and mutually reinforcing structures of power? Secondly, what is the political landscape of Indigenous foodways? How do land-based food practices such as hunting, trapping, fishing and the harvesting of local plants bring to bear a much larger political landscape marked by colonial enclosures compared to the agricultural spaces that have been commonly examined in food sovereignty scholarship? Thirdly, what does it mean to think of political pathways and mobilization outside of formal governing institutions, which continue to reproduce colonial power dynamics between the state and Indigenous peoples and thus is not the obvious or desirable route in fighting for Indigenous food sovereignty? What are the ground-up grassroots strategies that are embodied by Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island? What drives and sustains them? Fourthly, what does it mean when food sovereignty is conceptualized not just as resistance, that is as alternative food initiatives and networks *against* the global food economy, but as the resurgence of a community-based way of life by embodying Indigenous land-based practices and self-determination as defined by Indigenous peoples themselves? What does it mean when food and land are understood not as commodities and sources of economic livelihood that one has a right to in mobilizing against neoliberal capitalism but something that is sacred that one has relations with and a responsibility to?

### **Re-rooting Food Sovereignty in Resurgent Indigenous Landscapes**

Currently, research on Indigenous foodways in North America remains largely outside of debates unfolding within the sub-field of food sovereignty. Important contributions in the social sciences have unpacked how health disparities within Indigenous communities result from historical and ongoing colonial dispossession. For example, Damman, Eide and Kuhnlein's (2008) work on the

Inuit in Nunavut Canada focuses on the impacts of global patterns of industrialization, urbanization, economic development and neoliberal market expansion on their diet and health. Their analysis is unique in that it examines how well intentioned international and national policies might infringe on Indigenous peoples' territories, livelihoods and local economies. Furthermore, the authors discuss how policies on food security might also contribute to these injustices leading them to call for an increased understanding of how Western epistemologies, lifestyles and foods encroach on Indigenous peoples' health and autonomy. While the research makes important contributions in understanding how the ongoing devastation of Indigenous foodways and, notably their economic structures, is embedded in a nexus of colonial and neoliberal power structures, it falls short in providing an embodied account of violence and resistance by Inuit people. In terms of embodied violence, the authors consign this to health statistics. In terms of embodied resistance, they critique institutional policies at all scales intended to safeguard Indigenous foodways, yet remain entangled in a liberal rights-based discourse that inhibits them from looking towards alternative political pathways rooted within Inuit ontologies. That is, their ultimate objective is to evaluate how the Western system can better address Inuit experiences without actually looking towards how Inuit political ontologies and their traditional political economies and governance structures can be implemented in the twenty-first century.

Other food-related research on Indigenous peoples in North America has been framed within food justice scholarship, a food discourse and movement that has gained traction in U.S. activist and academic circles over the last decade (Alkon 2008; Alkon & Norgaard 2009; Alkon & Agyeman 2011; Alkon & Mares 2012).<sup>14</sup> This sub-field is of interest here due to scholars'

---

<sup>14</sup> Food justice arose out of the U.S. environmental movement as a response to prior conceptualizations of food politics articulated through the framework of community food security, which sought to go beyond

attention to how locavore-type movements become sites of structural racial violence and devolutionist forms of governance and neoliberal responsabilization that perpetuate racial, class and gender power dynamics and promote territorial competition at the regional level (Guthman 2004; Dupuis and Goodman 2005; Allen and Guthman 2006; Slocum 2006, 2007, 2010; Alkon 2008; Alkon and Norgaard 2009; Alkon and Mares 2012; Fairbairn 2012; Ramirez 2015).

Despite the recent move in food justice to include marginalized groups' experiences and perspectives, however, limited attention has been directed towards Indigenous communities.

Still, there are some exceptions, which have provided important contributions in understanding the workings of colonial violence on Indigenous foodways, including Norgaard, Reed and Van Horn's (2011) case study of the Karuk tribe located in California. The authors examine the historical and ongoing effects of the gold rush, The Dawes Act, missionary schools, commodity food programs and development projects such as dams on Karuk foodways, including salmon fishing and related food protocols such as their annual salmon ceremony. However, while the authors make reference to genocide, assimilation and colonialism, they remain constrained by food justice's prioritization of racial domination rather than colonial domination. That is, the authors focus more on the power structures of institutional racism rather than the power structures of colonialism, where land removal and alienation is the ultimate objective.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, while the authors attempt to understand the cultural relationship Indigenous peoples have with their land and traditional foods, which undeniably sets this analysis apart from others, they do so only to the extent that food practices are framed as cultural practices that are void of political and economic significance for the Karuk nation. Again, like

---

the objectives of the 1970s and 1980s anti-hunger movement by prioritizing long-term community-based initiatives for food security. Food justice builds on the community food security model by integrating racial and economic objectives articulated by the environmental justice movement.

<sup>15</sup> I return to this idea and this case study in chapter 3, as I examine dispossession in more depth.

the case on the Inuit, this leads to limited insights on Karuk understandings of their foodways and how this becomes fundamental in both resisting and resurging against ongoing colonial dispossession. That is, in both instances, there is a lack of understanding on how the Inuit and Karuk conceptualize, debate and embody self-determination.

As I will argue in more detail in chapter 3, the overall lack of understanding of embodied geographies of Indigenous foodways, is primarily rooted in the omission or limited use of a colonial framework. While some scholars have moved in this direction, such as those mentioned here, it ultimately remains secondary in the unraveling of the overall analysis. At times, colonial violence is relegated as a moment in time in a linear trajectory towards neoliberalism and thus historical legacies. At other moments, there is a lack of understanding the true depth of colonial violence, beyond structural and material forms of dispossession to the embodiment of colonial violence by Indigenous bodies, minds and lands. And, still at other times, and which seems to remain the most common oversight, is the complete omission of Indigenous ontologies, political economies and governance structures in discussing resistance and an emancipatory politics. Overall, these narrow analyses risk reproducing colonial power structures as they silence everyday acts of Indigenous resistance and resurgence.

These grave oversights have garnered increased attention within food sovereignty scholarship, as exemplified in *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 40th anniversary special double issue on agrarian studies and, the July 2014 issue of *Dialogues in Human Geography* article forum 2 led by Lucy Jarosz. In both of these issues, a number of scholars notably argue that the local socio-ecological dynamics of Indigenous communities, specifically those within North America, must shape ongoing theorizations of the embodiment of “sovereignty” across space (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014b). Emerging in this push back is a heightened

awareness of the need to employ a colonial framework in examining the dispossession of Indigenous foodways and in questioning Western conceptualizations of sovereignty (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014b). For instance, Desmarais and Wittman (2014) argue that framings of sovereignty as an opposition to the global industrial food system fail to account for the principles that Indigenous movements for self-determination are founded on, including honoring, valuing, protecting, and might I add loving, their traditional territories and food practices. Likewise, Jarosz argues that future food sovereignty scholarship must move towards accounting for the specific ecologies, political identities as well as political and economic histories of place (Jarosz 2014b). Like Desmarais and Wittman, she argues that this especially becomes crucial when addressing Indigenous struggles for land and foodways, which entail both place-specific forms of colonial violence as well as ontologies on self-determination.

The most noteworthy of these efforts has been by Raj Patel and Sam Grey (2014). In many ways, Patel and Grey's arguments synergize with those I have outlined here. Mainly, the authors contend that the field should learn from Indigenous movements for decolonization and self-determination in rethinking exactly what food rights and sovereignty might mean for social groups positioned in politically different ways. As argued here, the authors contend that Indigenous movements teach us that activism should be balanced between an anti-colonial resistance and a resurgent politics as they themselves do in examining Anishinaabe wild ricing in Minnesota. In terms of their anti-colonial analysis, the authors analyze the workings of contemporary colonialism through land dispossession and alienation, which they contend is embedded in the global reach of capitalism. Specifically they examine how global agricultural expansion devastates wild ricing through land removal, toxic contamination and the genetic modification of crops. Beyond this however, the authors' key intervention lies in their assertion

that colonial power continues to be exerted through the legitimacy of liberal settler politics, resulting in one of the most sophisticated engagements with colonialism in food sovereignty scholarship to date. That is, the authors effectively engage with colonialism by attending to contemporary continuities (rather than just historical legacies) and by disrupting the unquestioned emancipatory potential of a liberal settler politics.

In terms of a resurgent politics, the authors argue that the “[...] resurrection of Indigenous traditional foods and food systems is inextricable from a more general Indigenous cultural, social and political resurgence” (Patel and Grey 2014, 433). Importantly, Patel and Grey draw on Indigenous studies in formulating this statement, by acknowledging the increased prioritization of a resurgent politics in this field. However, they ultimately fail to provide an embodied account of this themselves. That is, while they provide an elaborate critique of violent colonial dispossession, the reader remains hungry for further reflection on how Anishinaabe people embody self-determination through an everyday resurgent politics. In part 3 of this paper, I take this scholarship one step further by engaging with the myriad and sometimes, contested ways Anishinaabe people are thinking about and embodying an alternative resurgent politics. In this sense, I interject in food sovereignty scholarship by employing an embodied geographies approach. I do so by bringing Anishinaabe people’s embodied knowledge and experiences into dialogue with Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship on the global and the intimate. I argue that Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship provide multi-scalar frameworks that allow us to understand the everyday lived experiences of both structures of violence and alternative emancipatory politics. For this reason, I now turn to the productive tensions and overlap between Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship.

## **Building a Dialogue Between Indigenous Studies and Feminist Geographic Scholarship**

Indigenous studies is historically rooted in the civil rights movement, more specifically the American Indian Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which has led to a commitment to activism amongst scholars in this field (Deloria 1969; Manuel 1974). More importantly, however, this call for action is deeply embedded in Indigenous ontologies, specifically land-based pedagogies that cultivate the learning, renewal and transmission of Indigenous lifeways through everyday embodiments (Simpson 2014). Over the years, the field has become increasingly defined by a growing presence of Indigenous scholars writing on colonial and gendered violence, neoliberal capitalism, wellness, resistance, self-determination and resurgence by drawing on their own experiential knowledge as members of their kinship networks including their families, communities and nations (Alfred 1999, 2005; Lawrence 2003; Smith 2005; Corntassel 2007, 2012; Coulthard 2007, 2014; Simpson 2008, 2013a, 2014; Cote 2010; Byrd 2011; Palmater 2011; Goeman 2013; Million 2013; Simpson A. 2013; Hunt 2014).<sup>16</sup> In sum, the field is defined by a balance of deconstructive critiques of historical and contemporary colonial violence as well as attending to the embodiment of Indigenous resistance, resurgence and self-determination.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> My intention here is not to provide an essentialistic view of all Indigenous scholars or to devalue the dynamic work on Indigenous geographies of dispossession and resistance by non-Indigenous scholars. Rather, my objective is to highlight how the unique character and contributions of Indigenous studies is directly tied to the increasing number of Indigenous scholars who are connected to their communities and use place-based Indigenous knowledge as a starting and ending point in their discussions on sovereignty and self-determination.

<sup>17</sup> It is also important to point out that, as Indigenous studies has grown as a discipline, sub-fields have arisen based on Indigenous nationhood lines. The growing number of Anishinaabe scholars across disciplines including Leanne Simpson, Heidi Stark, John Burrows, Winona LaDuke, Vanessa Watts and Brock Pitawanakwat has led to the emerging field of Anishinaabe studies. In 2013, a multi-authored book titled *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories* brought together a number of these scholars to reflect on how Indigenous resurgence can be understood through Anishinaabe storytelling (Doerfler et al. 2013).

Feminist geographic scholarship on the global and intimate, on the other hand, is a relatively newer sub-field in the geography discipline. Towards the beginning of the twenty-first century, feminist geographers increasingly critiqued the dichotomous division between the global and the local where the former has traditionally been framed as a masculine space of theory and objectivity while the latter has been represented as a feminized space of embodiment and “unthinking” (Pratt and Rosner 2006, 16; Katz 2001; Massey 2005;). Within this changing framework, a set of scholars have argued that more research needs to focus on the co-constitution of global structural processes of power and violence and embodiments at the scale of the intimate (Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006). As Mountz and Hyndman have stated, the theoretical framing of the global and the intimate ruptures the binary between the global and the local, particularly with the use of the word “intimate” which can be traced to the Latin word of “intimare”, translated as “to make familiar” (Mountz and Hyndman 2006, 447). In this sense, this geographical theoretical framework seeks to disrupt grand narratives of power by attending to how global structures of neoliberalism, patriarchy and colonialism are embodied at the intimate scale of the body and mind in everyday life (Pratt and Rosner 2006). However, feminist geographers are careful to point out that embodied experiences of the intimate are not singular and disconnected case studies. Rather, intimate embodiments are the results of structures of power that are interconnected through multiples spaces of the everyday throughout time (Mountz and Hyndman 2006).

While Indigenous studies and the global and the intimate have rarely been in dialogue with one another, there are many affinities between the two in terms of their theorizations of dispossession, and an emancipatory politics. Indeed, the practice of theorizing within both fields starts from the scale of the intimate by attending to embodied knowledge and experiences in

place. In terms of dispossession, both fields have drawn attention to the normalization of violence through unquestioned and routine everyday practices. For example, Gill Valentine has argued that routine practices, norms and policies have intimate impacts on people's lives and bodies (Valentine 2008). Carrying this over to food politics, one might point out how unquestioned euro-centric legal and political discourses on sovereignty, land and food continue to inform policy-making and everyday practices by the Canadian government and capitalist industry that reproduce colonial violence on Indigenous peoples and their foodways. While I will certainly call attention to more egregious examples of how this takes shape within the Treaty 3 throughout this paper, I argue that it is also important to examine how well intentioned food actors such as small-scale farmers, locavore movements and food policy-makers might also employ strategies that are embedded in normative ideas on sovereignty and land which also risk reproducing violence on Indigenous foodways. Moreover, I also consider how Indigenous peoples themselves working through settler colonial pathways such as the band council system also risk becoming enclosed within political strategies that are ostensibly aimed at protecting their land-based practices yet ultimately remain embedded in state discourses and practices of sovereignty that continue to dispossess their lands and foodways.

Hence, a thoughtful engagement with Indigenous foodways requires that we critically engage with the multiple and sometimes veiled ways Indigenous peoples continue to be dispossessed from their ancestral lands and foods. From this perspective, Indigenous studies becomes absolutely imperative as this body of work has extensively examined how contemporary colonial violence is guised through colonial modes of governance administered through state-led reconciliatory policies for Indigenous peoples such as land claims, self-government packages and economic initiatives (Alfred 1999, 2005; Coulthard 2007, 2014;

Palmater 2011; Simpson A. 2013). Specifically, and as I examine further in chapters 3 and 5, scholars focusing on the colonial boundaries of Canada have paid increased attention to how contemporary colonialism is reproduced through a nexus of neoliberal capitalist accumulation and a politics of recognition (Alfred 1999; Coulthard 2007, 2014). In this paper, I draw on this body of work in analyzing colonial dispossession of Anishinaabe foodways by specifically engaging with Dene political theorist Glen Coulthard's work. I do so by bringing his thinking on colonial-capitalist dispossession into conversation with Indigenous feminism and feminist geographic scholarship on embodied violence (Hart 2004; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012; Goeman 2013; Hunt 2015).

I argue that both Indigenous feminism and feminist geographic scholarship on dispossession have provided vital and extensive contributions on the embodiment of structural violence which is absolutely imperative in complicating the notion of colonial dispossession (Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012; Goeman 2013; Hunt 2014). That is, they have attended to the ways structures of power take shape in more intimate geographies of the home and even the body and mind. As Pratt and Rosner state: "Global forces penetrate and haunt the intimate spaces of our psyches and bodies in ways that we can only intimate [...]" (Pratt and Rosner 2006, 18). Likewise, Indigenous scholars have argued that dispossession must, at its core, be understood as a direct attack on Indigenous ways of thinking and their kinship structures, including governance structures, political economies, families and overall, all intimate relationships with other humans and the natural and spiritual worlds (Alfred 2005; Goeman 2013; Simpson 2013a, 2014; Coulthard 2014; Hunt 2015). Alfred, for example, has extensively written on the psychological impacts of colonialism and thus the need for mental awakenings across Indigenous geographies (Alfred 1999, 2005). In this sense, in part 2 of the paper that

focuses on colonial dispossession, I draw from both fields in grappling with how, Indigenous peoples' relationships to land and foodways become re-territorialized through colonial structures of domination and governmentality. I argue that the colonial dispossession of Indigenous foodways is a direct attack on their ways of thinking and their social, economic and political structures. In doing so, I explore how Anishinaabe communities, families, bodies and minds have been marked by colonial intervention and violence by asserting that all of these interconnected scales are indeed geographic places where colonial violence is embodied (McDowell 1999). In this sense, Indigenous foodways are made up of interconnected places including food trading networks, food sharing gatherings, family food harvesting, the consumption of food by one's body and a way of thinking that is cultivated by land-based pedagogies, that all help us better understand the multi-scalar embodiment of violence, but also self-determination.

In this sense, Indigenous studies and feminist geographies provide productive interconnections on emancipatory politics. As stated, the ultimate strength of Indigenous studies lies in its commitment to move beyond deconstructive critiques as scholars critically engage with how self-determination is conceptualized and embodied according to their nations' languages, ceremonies, stories, artistic traditions and land-based practices to envision and embody decolonial futures (Martineau and Ritskes 2014). As Blackfoot Elder and scholar Leroy Little Bear once told a group of graduate students, if you are going to pull the rug from under our people by performing deconstructive analyses, you better have something you can give them in return.<sup>18</sup> Increasingly, Indigenous studies has grown with Leroy's cautionary words in mind with Indigenous scholars honoring their multi-faceted roles as community members by learning and, simultaneously, incorporating the knowledge of their Elders and Knowledge Holders. This

---

<sup>18</sup> Leroy taught us this in a graduate seminar titled "Indigenous Political Philosophies", in the Indigenous Governance Program at the University of Victoria, in March 2006.

commitment has been a unique component of the discipline from its inception with Vine Deloria Jr.'s incorporation of Lakota thought in his deconstructions of U.S. Indian law to George Manuel's articulations of Indigenous sovereignty through the two-row wampum belt (Manuel 1974; Deloria 1985). The tradition continues today with scholars such as Leanne Simpson (Michii Saagiig from Alderville First Nation) and Heidi (Turtle Mountain Ojibwe) drawing on Anishinaabe storytelling to creatively write on Indigenous governance and leadership, Audra Simpson (Mohawk, Kahnawake Reserve) examining Mohawk governance based on their understandings of kinship relations to refuse the workings of settler colonial governmentality on Indigenous nationhood and Glen Coulthard's (Yellowknives Dene First Nation) use of Dene views on self-determination in rejecting a politics of recognition and re-honoring the importance of land-based practices (Simpson 2008, 2013a, 2014; Stark 2010; Simpson A. 2013; Coulthard 2014).

Likewise, feminist geographers have argued that although everyday geographies are sites of dispossession and violence, they are simultaneously where alternative forms of emancipatory politics are thought about, debated on and embodied. As feminist geographer Vicky Lawson has argued, while everyday geographies help us understand structures of power and violence, they simultaneously push us to move beyond deconstructive critiques to think about and embody alternative political practices and relationships (Lawson 2007). In this sense, while routine everyday practices might, in some instances, reproduce and normalize violence, in other instances, they can in fact resist and resurge against structures of power. For example, as I will explore further in parts 1 and 3 of this paper, the routine everyday practices of Anishinaabe foodways cultivates alternative land-based ontological views as well as the rebuilding of Indigenous kinship structures across multiple scales. As recounted by the opening story of the

fall harvest, oftentimes, these everyday practices unfold in the places and through the relationships have been the sites of colonial violence yet become renewed as forces of resistance and resurgence. Through these everyday acts of resurgence that are grounded in Anishinaabe knowledge systems and cultural traditions, an alternative politics emerges from the multi-scalar embodiments of self-determination. As I explore further in chapter 5, these renewed political visions and embodiments of self-determination help us understand they are multi-scalar processes that are founded on intimate and spiritual relationships with land and food that are then scaled up to rethink what regional and international forms of political mobilizing and relationship building might look like.

### **Honoring Indigenous Ways of Knowing: Research Design and Methods**

Indigenous methodologies are increasingly discussed amongst Indigenous community members and scholars. The peoplehood paradigm is one that has garnered much attention in the last decade. Interestingly enough, the concept of peoplehood was first coined by anthropologist Edward H. Spicer's work on "enduring peoples", a study on the Yaquis nation (Corntassel 2003; Alfred and Corntassel 2005). Spicer identified three components of what he called an "Indian sense of identity" which included relationships with the land, religion and language use (ibid). Since then, the concept has been reclaimed and refined by Indigenous scholars beginning with Tsalagi anthropologist Robert Thomas who elaborated on Spicer's model by adding a fourth component he called sacred history while stressing the interdependence of all four components (Corntassel 2003). More recently, the concept has been renewed by Tom Holm, Diane Pearson and Ben Chavis' seminal piece *Peoplehood: A model for American Indian sovereignty in education* (2003). Here, Holm et al. replace the component of religion with ceremonial cycles to

better reflect Indigenous ontologies. The authors use peoplehood to make two strategic moves. First, they frame Indigenous self-determination within the peoplehood matrix so that communities can ask themselves where they are presently and, where they would like to be headed in the future, with coming generations in mind. Secondly, in doing this, they make people rather than colonial constructs of the state as the focal point of self-determination.

In approaching this research, I made use of the peoplehood principles, first by being connected to it through the people I know. That is, my kinship relations led me to the Treaty 3 territory in a myriad of ways. For example, I have Anishinaabe relatives who are members of the Treaty 3 territory as well as other relatives who either lived there or have hunted there for many years. Indeed, many of the people I worked with on this project situated me and thus knew me through these relations. However, there are two relationships in particular which specifically brought me to this project. First, my mother has worked on Indigenous education in the Treaty 3 territory for over two decades. As I started to become interested in Indigenous foodways and, specifically how storytelling, language and ceremonies are integral to these practices, my mother advised me that I should revisit the place I had relations with as a child. She told me that the people there could mentor me in ways that were perhaps not possible within our own community, which brings me to the second relationship, the one I have with my community, Anjicome.

In a past research project, I recounted the process of ceremonial revitalization that has been taking place in my community since the 1990s (Daigle 2010, 2015). Specifically, community members in my community had lost the memory of our Cree and Anishinaabe ceremonies.<sup>19</sup> Hence, I sought to understand how Indigenous peoples, in this case people from

---

<sup>19</sup> My community, Constance Lake First Nation, is an Oji-Cree community, meaning that community members are from Cree and Anishinaabe nations.

my community, revitalize their lifeways by rebuilding kinship relations and pre-settler treaties with other Indigenous communities and nations through what I called “reciprocal ceremonial regeneration” (Daigle 2010). As I uncovered how this process took place, I realized that Anishinaabe people west of our community, including people from the Treaty 3 territory, had mentored people from my community. And so, it increasingly became apparent to me that I should ask community members from Treaty 3 for their guidance.

In the summer of 2012, I visited the Treaty 3 territory in an effort to reconnect with old family friends to ask them whether they would welcome research on their local foodways and if this was indeed something they needed for future generations. I returned again in the fall of 2013 as recounted by the opening story to further discuss our project. At the fall harvest, Laura introduced me during the morning protocols and spoke about the research I was doing. She then invited me into the drumming circle to hold the Treaty 3 flag as she did the following morning. While holding that flag and making up part of the drumming circle, I understood that Laura was telling me that community members were inviting me to stay and that my responsibilities and accountabilities lied with the Anishinaabe people of the Treaty 3.

Part of me honoring the people and land of Treaty 3 was to act according to *mino bimaadiziwin* by cultivating “the good life” for future generations of Anishinaabe peoples. In part, this meant conducting myself and building relationships with people and land according to a continual process of renewal, reciprocity and respect (Simpson 2013a). That is, my research was based not on building temporary researcher-respondent interactions but long-term relationships based on my kinship ties to the Moore family, Anjicome and the Omushkegowuk Cree nation. At all times, my actions represented my kin and thus it became of the utmost importance to build respectful relationships based on humility as I was carrying on relationships

from past generations and cultivating those for future generations. Moreover, I cultivated an ever-growing dialogue on how I could give back to the people of the Treaty 3.

Ogiimaagwanebiik told me that I could do this by feasting my paper. What she meant was that I could thank community members by gifting them with a feast of traditional foods while simultaneously sharing what I had learned from the research. More than this however, it became increasingly apparent to me that I could uphold the principle of reciprocity in the long-term by continually cultivating my relationships, learning and embodying the knowledge that is generously shared with me.

I approached everyone I worked with by offering them aseema (tobacco), to honor both Anishinaabe and Cree protocols. The offering of aseema signifies that I was asking them to help me by sharing their knowledge. It also holds me accountable to the responsibility I am taking on in learning that knowledge by sharing it in a respectful way and using it to contribute to the wellbeing and self-determination of Indigenous peoples. The Knowledge Holders I worked with used the aseema I offered them in different ways depending on their own teachings to solidify the agreement, the interpersonal treaty, we had made between each other. At times, ceremonies were held at the beginning of the interview to honor the process of knowledge sharing and the relationship that was being built between the Knowledge Holder and myself. However, this protocol sometimes felt compromised as I felt obliged to abide by the research protocols set up by the University's Institutional Review Board (IRB). In one way, I had found the process of undergoing research review and approval helpful in terms of pushing me to think further about the ethical and political dimensions of my research. When I started conducting interviews, however, I noticed how the consent process oftentimes brings up traumatic colonial pasts. At times, the mere appearance of the consent form, resembling a contract, would create instant

discomfort even though minutes before, I had been engaging in a warm and humorous conversation with the person I was interviewing. This discomfort emerged as a pattern during the interviewing stage of the research and increasingly, I could not rid the feeling that I was cheapening and dishonoring Anishinaabe protocols.

While I approached the consent forms with precautionary measures, by using humility and sometimes humor to acknowledge the contradictions, I have increasingly reflected on alternative consent approvals for future research. Encouragingly, a growing number of academic institutions have moved towards developing research protocols and institutional review processes for research conducted with Indigenous communities, most notably within Canada and New Zealand.<sup>20</sup> U.S. academic institutions, however, are lagging in this area, although Indigenous communities have increasingly developed their own research review boards.<sup>21</sup> In terms of consent, I have increasingly thought about the importance of valuing Indigenous protocols that give scholars the permission and authority to conduct research and communicate research results. While the consent process and formalized contract agreements are undeniably precautionary and protective measures against a long history of violent academic dispossession, as a Cree woman grounded in my community's protocols, I also find it crucial to point out that these efforts resurface colonial trauma for Indigenous peoples. In this sense, grounded in my nation's laws and protocols, I would argue that oral forms of consent might be better suited when Indigenous scholars are working with their own nation or nations they have strong and long-standing relationships with. I say their own nations or those they have relations with as I acknowledge that the several hundreds of Indigenous nations across Turtle Island, while similar in their connection

---

<sup>20</sup> See the University of Victoria's "Protocols and Principles For Conducting Research in an Indigenous Context" as an example of academic institutions supporting Indigenous-specific research protocols.

<sup>21</sup> For example, the Navajo and Choctaw nations have an extensive IRB process internal to their communities.

to land-based practices and ontologies, vary a great deal in terms of community protocols. Indeed, protocols sometimes vary across families and this is precisely why it becomes important to have strong relationships when reflecting on these issues. Certainly, this is a delicate and contentious issue that should also consider relationships between non-Indigenous scholars and Indigenous communities. While I do not feel as though it is appropriate to assert one opinion over another, particularly due to the variance this will have across place and relationships, I nonetheless feel as though it is important to share these research challenges, especially with those we work with. And so, in upholding *mino bimaadiziwin*'s principles of renewal and respect, I continually approached the Anishinaabe Knowledge Holders I was working with when I was feeling uneasy about the academic research process.

Beyond the issue of consent, there is an emerging dialogue on Indigenous research ethics that is centered first, on knowledge sharing and second, on the need to honor Indigenous ways of knowing (Smith 1999; Simpson 2004; Simpson A. 2007, 2014; Wilson 2008; Castleden et al. 2012). Likewise, many feminist geographers have long provided critical and thoughtful engagements on research ethics and situated knowledges (England 1994; Katz 1994; Nagar et al. 2006). In terms of knowledge sharing, Audra Simpson has written extensively on what she calls an "ethnographic refusal" where she, as a member of the Mohawk nation of Kahnawake, refuses to share knowledge that she believes will inflict ongoing harm on the family and community members she works with (Simpson A. 2007, 2014). While this refusal might include the omission of material that could harbor ongoing colonial violence and dispossession, it is simultaneously based in community protocols and traditional laws that dictate ethical knowledge sharing. That is, some Indigenous knowledge, such as stories and songs can never be written down or sung in certain public spaces. Some of this knowledge is held by certain families, clans

and Knowledge Holders or sits in places, meaning that it can only be shared in certain places on Indigenous territories. Moreover, some knowledge can only be shared during certain times of the year. For example, some Anishinaabe (re)creation stories can only be told during the winter months. These protocols guide imperative decisions when sharing knowledge in the academic space, particularly as they vary across nations, communities and families. This is precisely why I argue that researchers must have strong relationships with the communities they work with in order to not violate protocols. Indeed, the relationship one has should guide the research question one develops. That is, my role as a researcher shifts according to the overall role I have within communities, which ranges from being a community member, to having long-standing relations through my kinship network to working with a community for the first time that has different cultural traditions from my own nation.

In terms of honoring Indigenous ways of knowing, I honor Anishinaabe ontologies by embodying them throughout this paper. I honor Anishinaabe perspectives, oral histories and wisdom through in-depth interviews with Knowledge Holders from the Treaty 3 territory who are knowledgeable in local food practices, lifeways and history. Participants ranged in age from Elders to young adults and included an equal representation of males and females.<sup>22</sup>

Additionally, I interviewed a small number of Anishinaabe people working for the regional governmental body of the Treaty 3 territory called the Grand Council Treaty #3. These individuals were originally asked to participate due to their knowledge of colonial policies at the federal, provincial and treaty level that threaten Anishinaabe food practices such as hunting and

---

<sup>22</sup> I interviewed a total of 37 people. 30 of those people are members of the Anishinaabe nation of the Treaty 3 territory. Out of the 7 non-members of Treaty 3, 6 of them had relations with the Treaty 3 territory. For example, one of them had married a community member from Treaty 3, while the remainder had ties through land-based practices and language learning. The interviewee who did not have ties with the Treaty 3 was interviewed for her knowledge on food sovereignty initiatives in the Coastal and Interior Salish territories in what is now known as the Pacific Northwest in Canada and the U.S.

trapping. However, I soon realized that these individuals also wanted to share their personal experiences of “growing up on the land” and on family traplines as they learned more about the objectives of this research. As I experienced, they could not compartmentalize their knowledge into their work-life and experiences as members of the Anishinaabe nation. One informed the other and I was taught profound lessons regarding language and Anishinaabe laws from these individuals as well. Additionally, as I state, my thinking on Indigenous foodways has been cultivated by a lifetime of experiences therefore I fostered this ongoing learning process by simultaneously asking for the help of Knowledge Holders from other Indigenous nations. Namely, I interviewed Indigenous academics and activists in Canada and the U.S. who have dedicated their research and activism to Indigenous foodways. Their perspectives are included in part 3 of the paper as I discuss embodied self-determination across Turtle Island.

In terms of a politics of confidentiality, I gave all Knowledge Holders the option of anonymity. However, most of them requested that I use their real names while one Elder, Ogimaagwanebiik, asked that I use her spirit name. Within Anishinaabe communities, the sharing of knowledge often begins by acknowledging the individual who has taught you and thus has passed on the knowledge both temporally and spatially across Indigenous geographies. For example, Ogimaagwanebiik who has written and contributed to several collections of Anishinaabe (re)creation stories, commonly begins her stories by acknowledging who first told her the story. Likewise, Brian Major from Big Grassy First Nation, shared how his grandparents would always tell him who had taught them certain cultural and land-based practices and that this was like “going back in time” to know where and who that knowledge was passed down from.<sup>23</sup> And so, many Knowledge Holders who made this project possible honored these protocols as they generously shared their knowledge with me. For this reason, I use their full

---

<sup>23</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2014.

names throughout while I call attention to their community affiliation when they are first introduced.

In terms of honoring Anishinaabe ways of knowing, I use Anishinaabemowin, storytelling traditions and land-based pedagogies to tell the story of Anishinaabe foodways, as this is how Knowledge Holders primarily taught me how they think about and practice food sovereignty, or *mino bimaadiziwin*. While I go into more detail about the centrality of language, storytelling and land-based pedagogies in chapter 2, I provide brief explanations here on how these aspects of Anishinaabe lifeways shape this dissertation. In terms of language, throughout my stay in Treaty 3, I was invited and encouraged to attend language classes and weekend retreats as part of the larger process of learning about Anishinaabe foodways. In this sense, the practice of learning about one aspect of Anishinaabe lifeways could not be compartmentalized from others. At times, many Knowledge Holders expressed themselves in Anishinaabemowin in interviews when they felt as though their perspectives could not be fully expressed in the English language. And so, to honor this I use Anishinaabemowin throughout this paper to express place-based ontologies and laws such as *mino bimaadiziwin*.

Storytelling shapes this paper through the stories of the Knowledge Holders in addition to my humble attempt to retell Anishinaabe (re)creation stories (those I have the permission to tell) while creating my own stories as well. I have increasingly come to understand that it is important for me to embody Indigenous storytelling. While this means being a good aural listener and learning from the stories that are told to me, it also entails the responsibility I have as a Cree woman to create my own stories, by living them but also by telling them so that they are passed on. In this paper, I attempt to create a storytelling narrative by recounting my experiences in Treaty 3 as well as my upbringing, the interactions I had with Knowledge Holders, Treaty 3 oral

histories and Anishinaabe (re)creation stories. I interweave these stories throughout while signaling to the reader with an italicized font. While this honors Anishinaabe ways of knowing, it also provides an embodied account to everyone's relationship to this project, including Knowledge Holders, Anishinaabe ancestors and myself. Indeed, these stories played an important role in teaching me about ethical and respectful sharing of Anishinaabe knowledge, as the one told to me Dan and Brenda Geysick from Lac La Croix First Nation:

Someone from our community, from our family, worked with an academic from Toronto back in the eighties. They ended up writing a book together. Our relative put everything in there that his father taught him. Everything! He even told what goes on in some of our ceremonies. After the book came out, he became very sick. It was a lesson for us. I (Dan) carry my dad's knowledge that was passed down from his dad and so on. My dad said, "don't make money out of our knowledge."<sup>24</sup>

Finally, this project is shaped by land-based pedagogies, which are explored in great detail in parts 1 and 3 of this paper. As Leanne Simpson has stated, land-based pedagogies honor the experiential knowledge that is revered within Anishinaabe communities (Simpson 2014). While this epistemological stance harmonizes well with the qualitative methodological approach of participant observation, it goes much further to value the learning one can and should gain through an intimate relationship with the land. Knowledge Holders taught me that the best way I could learn about Anishinaabe foodways was to actually go out on the land and partake in them. As Andrew Jourdain from Lac La Croix First Nation told me "Food sovereignty means knowing how to survive out there on the land", meaning knowing where to go to harvest food throughout the year, knowing how to process and prepare food and how to engage in food practices in a respectful and sustainable way by knowing your protocols and having an intimate knowledge of

---

<sup>24</sup> Dan and Brenda Geysick, personal interview, February 2014.

your local ecosystems.<sup>25</sup> Andrew reminded me of this as he asked me what I learned throughout my upbringing that would help us survive in the bush if we had to, which flooded me with memories of being out on my traditional territory with my family.

### **Renewing Cree and Anishinaabe Relationships**

*Growing up, August was my favorite time of the year. Our muskeg lands were bountiful with blueberries. My sister, parents and grandparents would pile up in our pick up trucks and head out to the bush to fill up our buckets and empty plastic ice cream containers. It was an all-day event that sometimes included a swim in Rabbit Lake afterwards. A successful pick would leave us with plenty to share with family and friends and just enough to freeze for our Saturday morning pancakes for the year.*

*As the summers cooled off and the northern Ontario autumn set in, my sister and I would put our mud suits on to go partridge hunting. My dad still loves to tell stories about those hunts. One time, we had gone out hunting, just the two of us, down a wet and muddy dirt road on our bikes. After a successful hunt, we piled the partridges in baskets that were prompted up on our rear tires. By dusk, in the comfort of our home, I anxiously waited to feast on my reward for the day, partridge fingers. My dad loved making our traditional foods into popular children's meals like pizza with deer pepperoni. Back in Anjicome, we could always find our grandmother in the garage during this time of the year plucking geese. Soon after, the rich aroma of goose stew filled up my grandparents' home, one of my mom's favorites!*

*As the days started to get shorter and the temperatures would gradually lower, my dad would prepare to go out for his annual deer and moose hunts. I would hear my dad practicing his moose call as I sat at the dining room table doing my homework. I would try to give my own*

---

<sup>25</sup>Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

*go at it, which my parents always found quite amusing. For the deer hunt, he would leave my mom's traditional territory, Treaty 9, and travel to the Treaty 3 area. Upon his return, I would accompany him as he and his friends quartered and processed the deer or moose to be shared amongst families.*

*As the snowfalls set in, people in my community headed out to their family traplines. While the fur trade was now something of the past, many of them still earned a seasonal income through fur trapping as did my grandfather. While it was work, he loved that he could immerse himself in something that was such a big part of him, something his father and grandfather had done and which connected him to our muskeg lands. The smell of beaver pelts and hides would fill up my grandparents garage and remains a scent that gives me great comfort to this day. This was also a time of the year when you could find my grandfather at the stovetop making his famous rabbit stew with dumplings, a combination of a flavorful both, moist and tender meat and perfectly fluffy pillows of dough.*

*As February and March rolled in, we would find ourselves on Lake St.-Thérèse ice fishing for winter pike. And, it was fishing that I looked forward to the most as spring crept up on us. It was time I could spend with my dad. Although I outgrew my patience for some time during my teenage years, my younger sister took over my role as fishing companion. To this day, some of our most treasured moments with him remain on any lake or river we find ourselves on.*

*Several years after leaving our muskeg lands, I found myself at my mother's home, which is now in downtown Toronto on the traditional territories of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, the Huron-Wendat First Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and the Metis Nation of Ontario. I had travelled there from Duwamish territory, the area better known as Seattle, to present at an academic conference. I was saddened that I would not have time to*

*travel up north to our community during my brief visit. My mother decided she would bring my grandmother to me and travelled the 600 miles to Anjicome to pick her up and another 600 miles back to Toronto. Upon my arrival, I was greeted by them and rabbits from my home territory that my cousin had gifted us. My grandmother declared that we would have a rabbit stew feast on Sunday! I spent that day with her, skinning the rabbits, learning how to quarter them just as she and our relatives had done for generations. She taught me how to make the broth from the rabbit's blood, "the traditional way", she said. Then, we made bannock. She taught me how to make it on the stovetop just as she had done many times on an open fire on our family trapline. She reminded me that, while I carried stories of my family and childhood, I had to continue to make stories, even as I was away from my home, by living the way of life my ancestors had fought for and by honoring those who will come after me.*

As I have stated, this research takes place in Anishinaabe Treaty 3 territory, which was signed in 1873.<sup>26</sup> Today, Treaty 3 comprises twenty-eight First Nation communities all of which are Anishinaabe totaling a population of 25,000 members with half living on-reserve and half living off-reserve. People of this area have maintained local foodways including hunting, trapping and the wild rice harvest despite of a long history of colonial policies and changing political economy. Equally important, however, they have maintained their storytelling traditions and spiritual ceremonies and protocols related to food practices, which I argue, is a founding component to Indigenous foodways.

---

<sup>26</sup> I go into more detail about the signing of Treaty 3 in chapter 4.



**Figure 2: Map of the Treaty 3 Territory; Map Source: Grassy Narrows First Nation**

While I come from a family and community who are grounded in our land-based practices, as I stated, we suffered a great loss of memory of our spiritual ceremonies. For this reason, this particularly project led me to the Treaty 3. However, I have struggled with the decision of not returning home to do this research. Namely, I have felt uneasy about not honoring my nation, the Ojibwe Cree who have taught me a great deal about self-determination and resurgence. This discomfort forced me to carefully think through my relationship to Anishinaabe people and the Treaty 3 territory. As the story of ceremonial regeneration taking place in my community has taught me, our nations and communities must move towards rebuilding pre-settler treaties and relationships in working towards self-determination as we cannot do this on our own. Certainly, I have learned a great deal from Anishinaabe Knowledge

Holders in my family and community throughout my lifetime and continue to learn from their stories, language and protocols.

As Anishinaabemowin teacher Jason Jones from Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation reminded me, Cree and Anishinaabe life-ways are very similar:

[...] Cree and Anishinaabe used to be the same language. That word you said for legend in Cree is the same as Anishinaabe. With Cree they use hard sounds more than soft sounds. I can switch my Anishinaabe words to the hard sounds and then it sounds Cree. Dibaajimowinan is stories in Anishinaabe. The D soft sound can change to T hard sound. B soft sound can change to P hard sound and J soft sound can change to CH hard sound. Then it's spelled and said the same way you said it, tipaachimowinan. Interesting how they sound different but are the same word. [...] I learn about our ancestors when I learn Anishinaabe.<sup>27</sup>

Our languages, ceremonies, stories and traditional laws though varied within each nation and even across communities and families are related. Indeed, many Indigenous scholars and Knowledge Holders explain how the shared linguistics, commonly referred to as Algonquin, between Cree and Anishinaabe people confirms a historical relationship between these two nations (Johnston 1976; Dickason 2002). It is through this historical relationship that I have sought to understand my role and place in this project.

As I explore further in chapters 2 and 5, Leanne Simpson has written extensively on the need for Indigenous peoples to re-tell the stories of pre-settler treaties and actively re-honor them by re-establishing social, economic and political relationships across Indigenous nations, communities, clans and families in the twenty-first century (Simpson 2008, 2013a).

Approaching the rebuilding of relationships and learning from others is quite different from more

---

<sup>27</sup> Email correspondence with Jason Jones, February 2014. Omushkego is the Omushkegowuk (Swampy) Cree word for the Swampy Cree language and Anishinaabemowin is the Anishinaabe (Oijbwe) word for the Anishinaabe language.

shallow formations of pan-Indianism that have sometimes taken shape and been challenged within Indigenous communities. Rather, it opens up space for critical reflection and dialogue on *how* Indigenous peoples will re-honor and re-build their relationships in a substantive, responsible and respectful way that will both honor long-standing ontological and political traditions while accounting for the contemporary and varied colonial presents across Indigenous communities (Simpson 2008). While I have often thought about what this means in how I carry myself as a member of the Cree nation, it has inevitably and increasingly informed my scholarship. While I see the obvious intervention to be made within food sovereignty scholarship, this is ultimately secondary to the responsibilities I feel as a Cree woman. That is, my commitment to Indigenous foodways can be traced to my childhood, my family and my ancestors who were skilled hunters and trappers. It can also be traced back to the ways in which our ceremonies were impacted through a long history of colonial violence and thus why I felt the responsibility to ask for help and guidance from Anishinaabe people in the Treaty 3. As my grandmother taught me, it's about figuring out how I can bring these two worlds together to honor those that have come before me and to uphold my responsibilities for coming generations.

## **Outline**

The remainder of this paper unfolds according to three main themes: 1.) the centrality of Indigenous foodways; 2.) embodied geographies of colonial violence and; 3) embodied geographies of Indigenous self-determination. In the first part of the text, I begin from a position of strength by affirming that Anishinaabe knowledge and lifeways are thriving despite of a long and violent colonial history and present. In chapter 2 titled “The Embodied Scales of Anishinaabe Foodways”, I argue that a project on Indigenous food sovereignty and more generally embodied self-determination must start by complicating Indigenous foodways as mere

cultural practices void of political and economic significance on the one hand and, narrow forms of livelihood absent of a larger spiritual significance on the other hand. I do so by drawing on the embodied knowledge and experiences of Anishinaabe people from Treaty 3 to unpack the multiple and interconnected scales of relationships that make up Anishinaabe foodways. Specifically, I examine how Anishinaabe foodways are made up of relatives (including animal and plant relatives); land-based ontologies that are cultivated through Anishinaabemowin, storytelling and ceremony; political and economic structures including food trading economies and Anishinaabe governance structures and; embodiment. On this last point, I focus on how Anishinaabe understandings of “living the good life” entail everyday embodiments that cultivate intimate relationships with their ancestral lands and foodways. Throughout, I draw attention to the sacred and spiritual significance of Indigenous foodways, which have been absent in the food sovereignty literature. I argue that the sacredness of Indigenous foods and food practices cultivate alternative ontological perspectives on land and food systems which ultimately lead to renewed visions of what food sovereignty or, embodied self-determination means for Anishinaabe people.

In the second part of the text, I examine the colonial-capitalist dispossession of Anishinaabe foodways. I start by providing a theoretical discussion of dispossession in chapter 3 titled “Tracing the Coloniality of Dispossession”. Specifically, I unpack the limitations of a narrow Marxist political economy approach that has been commonly deployed in food sovereignty literature. Following this, I argue that the dispossession of Indigenous foodways must be framed as a multi-scalar process of violence that is reproduced through colonial structures of domination and modes of governmentality. I draw on Coulthard’s theory of colonial-capitalist dispossession, which I then bring into dialogue with Indigenous feminism and

feminist geographic scholarship on embodied violence (Goeman 2013; Coulthard 2014; Hunt 2014). I argue that dispossession is both a material practice of land removal and exclusion in addition to an embodied experience that re-territorializes Indigenous relationships with their traditional territories and foodways. Once this theoretical framing is established, I turn to the embodied geographies of colonial-capitalist dispossession experienced by Anishinaabe people in the Treaty 3 in chapter 4 titled “The Embodiment of Colonial Dispossession”. Specifically, I examine the myriad ways in which Anishinaabe people have historically and continue to be dispossessed of their foodways through increased encroachment by capitalist industry, assimilation into a settler capitalist economy and through genocidal practices of assimilation implemented under the *Indian Act* including forced residential schooling and the ban of Indigenous ceremonies through the Potlatch Ban.

The third part of the text provides a discussion on embodied self-determination. Chapter 5 titled “Everyday Geographies of Indigenous Resurgence” begins with a brief synopsis of how international and national movements and initiatives have sought to address food insecurity issues for Indigenous peoples in Canada. Following this, I draw on Indigenous studies’ theorizations of resistance and resurgence by simultaneously discussing how this has been conceptualized and embodied in the Treaty 3 territory. Overall, I argue that embodied self-determination is founded on a balance of anti-colonial resistance and a resurgent politics that is cultivated and sustained through everyday acts that continually honor and renew Anishinaabe knowledge systems and cultural traditions. In doing this, I draw on the works of Taiaiake Alfred, who has written extensively on Indigenous resurgence, and Leanne Simpson who has also written extensively on the subject in addition to the idea of decolonial love which I argue is absolutely imperative in building a resurgent Indigenous politics. Specifically, I assert that a

resurgent politics is ultimately founded on renewing responsibilities and a decolonial love for the land.

In many ways, my discussion of everyday acts of resurgence embodied in the Treaty 3 brings the discussion full circle as I return to major themes from chapter 2, including the honoring of relationships with family and land, where the latter requires the reclaiming of traditional food harvesting grounds, and the rebuilding of Anishinaabe political economies. More than this, however, I end the chapter by returning to the sacred and spiritual significance of Anishinaabe foodways as expressed in chapter 2 and how that makes up the foundation of a resurgent decolonial love that sustains the philosophy and practices of embodied self-determination, or *mino bimaadiziwin*.

Finally, in the conclusion, I return to the major arguments made throughout this dissertation. Namely, I again draw attention to the limitations of state-centric and ag-centric approaches cultivated by food sovereignty scholarship that has been primarily rooted in a Marxist political economy approach. In doing this, I remind the reader of the ways in which Indigenous foodways are best understood by centering political economy analyses within an embodied colonial framework that is cultivated by both Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship on relational place-making. I end by providing suggestions on future academic and activist work on Indigenous land-based food practices and embodied self-determination.



## **PART 1: THE CENTRALITY OF INDIGENOUS FOODWAYS**

### **Chapter 2: The Embodied Scales of Anishinaabe Foodways**

*They used to talk about this one they call Nenabush. That is who made the world; this is what they told me. He made the world before the arrival of the Anishinaabe. He made everything first is the way I was told. He made things such as trees and animals, and he made all the species of all the animals. All of these animals have names, all the fish too along with all the flyers. That is what she (my grandmother) talked about, these animals.*

*So Nenabush was the one that created the animals. So he invited all that he made to come here. So this is how people gathered to smoke their pipes. As they sat in a circle, he spoke to each one individually: “ The reason why I ask you to come here is, I am going to ask you all this. People will soon arrive; the Anishinaabe will soon arrive here. I am going to ask you ahead of time, how are you going to help the Anishinaabe when they get here. You are called animals, and you all each have a different name. This is how the Anishinaabe will survive, by you the animals. This is how they will get their food to survive.” So the moose was the first to start talking: “ This is what I would like to give the Anishinaabe, they will eat my meat. If you look at (study) the things that I eat. This is medicine that I go about eating all over. I eat grass, twigs and roots from the water. I eat all these things wherever I go; that is how I eat. So Anishinaabe eats my meat. This is how they will cure themselves. This is how he will lead a good healthy life. If they show respect to my meat. If they show respect of my gift. When they offer tobacco, that is what I like when they show me respect with tobacco. The trimmings (from the meat) and also the bones. My wish is that they put these in the woods. Not to throw them over there in the garbage is my wish. When the bones are returned in the woods, another one of me will arise from there. These four-legged little runners and also the large birds and little birds. They too will eat from this.*

*When you put things back in the woods. And when one picks the meat from the bones that is what I appreciate. They too will eat these animals that are all called and the birds. This is how I will help the Anishinaabe. And also my jacket, my skin, this is what they will use to lace up their snowshoe, their hide. I will not be far away when I know that the one that is looking for me has done the proper protocols. I will be here waiting, because I care, and I will care, for the Anishinaabe that is going to arrive. That is what I will do.*<sup>28</sup>

\*\*\*

This chapter examines how Anishinaabe foodways are central in renewing the multiple and interconnected scales of social, political and economic structures within and across Indigenous communities. While some food sovereignty scholars are beginning to recognize the importance of Indigenous ontologies on food sovereignty, a more holistic understanding of the centrality of Indigenous foodways is needed within the field. Specifically, there is a need to create an all-encompassing understanding that negates the compartmentalization of Indigenous foodways as either mere forms of economic livelihood at one end of the spectrum and cultural practices void of political and economic significance at the other end of the spectrum. Moreover, food practices are varied depending upon place and scale and economic and political status. In this chapter, I unpack how Indigenous nationhood is founded on the multiple scales of everyday geographies of embodied self-determination that are cultivated by their foodways. Specifically, I examine how the active participation in local food practices cultivates *mino bimaadiziwin* for Anishinaabe people.

---

<sup>28</sup> This story, recounted by Ogimaagwanebiik, is called “Aweesiwag” which translates to “The Animals”. Many Anishinaabe people will begin storytelling by acknowledging who taught them the story and that the story may have been passed and told differently in other families, communities and nations. This is an excerpt from the story. A full version can be found in *Dibaajimowinan: Anishinaabe Stories of Culture and Respect* (2013).

I do so by drawing on Indigenous studies and feminist geographic scholarship. Both of these fields have disrupted erroneous patriarchal and colonial imaginaries of people and places that have historically been framed as desolate and devastated spaces in need of external intervention and development. They do so by actually listening to, learning from and upholding the embodied knowledge and experiences of intimate geographies. Moreover, Indigenous and feminist scholars have argued that more research is needed in terms of understanding the co-constitution between intimate affective, emotional and embodied geographies and larger structural processes, including structures of violence and what an alternative spatial politics might look like (Katz 2001; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012). For example, Indigenous scholars have carefully unpacked how Indigenous resistance and resilience have always and continue to be defining features of our communities and nations through oral histories and storytelling traditions. Moreover, they draw on the present strength of Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural traditions, including language, ceremony, storytelling and artistic traditions, in rethinking what decolonial presents and futures might look like (Alfred 2005; Simpson 2013a; Coulthard 2014). In this sense, many of them have argued that cultural practices seemingly void of political and economic significance are in fact what make up the ontological and structural foundations of Indigenous self-determination (Alfred 2005; Simpson 2008, 2013; Coulthard 2014).

Likewise, feminist geographers have disrupted the dichotomous divide between the global and the local through intimate fieldwork that upholds everyday geographies (Hart 2004; Gibson-Graham 2006; Nagar et al. 2006; Pratt 2004, 2012). Gibson-Graham, for example, have explored the diverse theory and practice of alternative economies through grounded participatory action research (Gibson-Graham 2006). In sum, the authors disrupt grand narratives of the

neoliberal capitalist economy by unpacking the multiple and overlapping forms of everyday practices of resistant and resurgent economies that are embodied throughout place. In doing so, they argue that emotional and affective geographies that might ostensibly appear as apolitical are in fact what undergird and sustain the diverse embodiment of a post-capitalist politics. In doing this, they draw on queer theorist Eve Sedgwick's framing of strong and weak theory (Gibson-Graham 2006). According to Sedgwick, a culture of paranoia has cultivated strong ties with and thus the fierce reluctance to step away from grand theorizations of structures of power (Sedgwick 1997). As Gibson-Graham contend, while strong theory helps us understand "what *is*", it limitedly engages in a politics of the possible (Gibson-Graham 2006, 4). That is, how people across time and space, envision and embody resistance and alternatives to structural relations of power and violence. For this reason, they draw Sedgwick's concept of weak theory, which localizes the way resistance and an emancipatory politics is embodied in the everyday. In sum, weak theory entails being open to alternative knowledge and how intimate geographies can renew the alternative and renewed visions of the political.

By situating my work within these scholarly frameworks, there was a conscious effort on my behalf to not write this chapter as a classic historical geography narrative that is then followed by a section on colonial dispossession. Certainly, Indigenous societies have changed dramatically due to colonial intervention and violence. However, my commitment to a decolonial embodied approach entails a refusal to reproduce scholarship that generates an erroneous before and after colonial teleology in which contemporary Indigenous communities are always already pre-scripted as damaged, diminished and/or somehow vanquished. To be sure, colonialism was deeply damaging, as is contemporary neocolonialism. But our scholarship also becomes damaged if we fail to take account of the ways in which Indigenous lifeways and all their

associated foodways have also endured and thrived and, their ecological interdependencies in and for place continuing despite all the violence of dispossession and diminishment. I refuse to reproduce the discourse that Indigenous knowledge and land-based practices are lost as this overly victimizes Indigenous peoples, invisibilizes generations of resistance and resilience and the wealth of current knowledge, not to mention that it risks supporting developmental and interventionist discourses. Rather, many facets of Indigenous foodways are still alive and thriving across Indigenous communities on Turtle Island. As Ogimaagwanebiik says, “Nothing has changed really. The only thing I would say that has changed is the number of people and families that still do our food harvests, do protocols and speak the language. But, the wisdom is still there”.<sup>29</sup> For this reason, this chapter is just as much a reflection on how Anishinaabe food systems are central to their forms of nationhood and self-determination in the twenty-first century as it is about how they were historically.

The chapter is organized according to what I have come to understand as the cyclical and interconnected dimensions of Indigenous foodways. This framework is developed primarily through Anishinaabe ontologies and experiences, although I also draw on my own experiences within my community and from what I have learned through collaborative work with other Indigenous communities. However, it should not be understood as a pan-Indian model or a dogmatic approach to Indigenous food sovereignty. Rather, I offer these principles, first, based on the premise that Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island are related through their land-based ontologies and, secondly, to cultivate a dialogue with community members, scholars and activists.

As figure 3 depicts, Indigenous foodways can be understood as multi-scalar relationships and places that are cultivated through relatives, land-based ontologies, political and economic

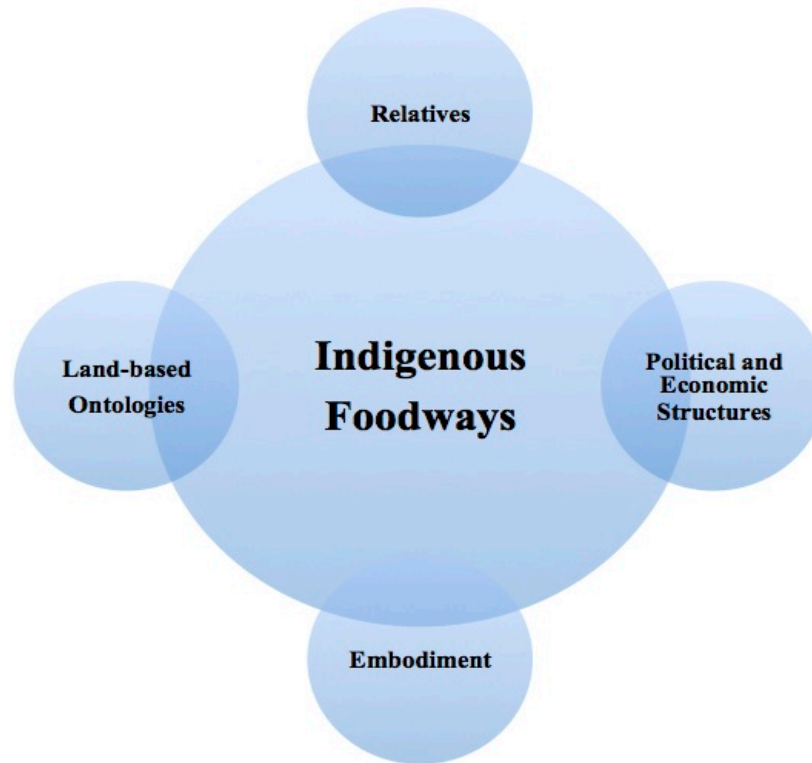
---

<sup>29</sup> Ogiimaawanebiik, personal interview, February 2014.

structures and embodiment. By relatives, I am referring to the familial kinship relations making up Indigenous communities, including those with the land, animals and plants. Specifically, I examine how Anishinaabe people first observe, think about and embody self-determination within the space of the family and being out on the land, primarily through engaging in local food practices. I then examine how Anishinaabe relationships with their land is further cultivated through what I call land-based ontologies. I specifically look at the role of language, storytelling and spiritual ceremonies and protocols in Anishinaabe foodways and how they cultivate respectful and reciprocal relationships with land and food. From there, I explore how Anishinaabe relationships with their traditional foods, namely their animal relatives, play a central role in the philosophical and actual makeup of their political economies. Namely, I explore the role of local animals in the governance structure of the clanship system and the ways political and economic relationships are renewed through the trading and gifting of food. I end by reflecting on how *mino bimaadiziwin* ultimately rests upon the embodiment of Anishinaabe foodways. That is, at the core, Indigenous food sovereignty or embodied self-determination rests upon an intimate knowledge and embodiment through everyday acts and an ongoing commitment to renew one's relationship with their homelands.

Not surprisingly, in formulating this organizational framework, I encountered great difficulties in delineating categories. For example, while I include animals in the section on relatives, a holistic understanding of animals requires a discussion on their role in storytelling and clanship systems, hence why I include an extended reflection on relationships with animals throughout this chapter. The difficulty of outlining mutually exclusive categories is precisely why it's important to create a more holistic understanding of the centrality of Indigenous foodways to their societies. In the end, the circular image of Indigenous foodways should be

interpreted as facets that are always in motion and mutually reinforcing and not compartmentalized dimensions.



**Figure 3: Indigenous Foodways**

## **Relations**

### ***Family***

For Indigenous Peoples, our children learn about governance, power, decision-making and our political cultures first and foremost in our families. The family is the microcosm for the nation. Parents model leadership. [...] Aabawaadiziwin is a word that means togetherness, or the art of being together; and it means that we must practice good relationships with all living beings around us. This begins in our families and with our children (Simpson, 2013: 122).

The family was and still is the first mentoring space for many Indigenous nations. Here, the traditional western notion of a nuclear family extends beyond one's biological parents and siblings to include grandparents, aunts, uncles, and even non-blood relatives one might be related to through the clanship system or a close family friend. Recently, a mentor of mine stated that we must stop referring to our cousins as such as this is a colonial term that reimagines our relational ties as what is commonly defined as cousin, which is in fact sibling for many Indigenous nations.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, a parent is thought to extend beyond the biological mother and father to include grandparents, aunts and uncles who contribute to the upbringing of a child.

As Simpson states, the family within Anishinaabe communities is a “microcosm for the nation”, an intimate space of political mentorship if you will, where community members first learn about and practice self-determination on an everyday basis. This way of articulating familial mentoring relationships reshapes it from a space where the younger generation learns cultural practices that are divorced from a larger politics of Indigenous self-determination. Rather, the cultural customs that are first learned within the family, including language, ceremonies, protocols, food harvesting and preparation convey fundamental principles of Anishinaabe nationhood that then inform larger structures of political and economic relationships within and across Indigenous communities and nations. More than this, however, Anishinaabe people from Treaty 3 expressed how the spaces of family mentorship are deeply embedded within their foodways. That is, the intimate relationships that are built within Anishinaabe families are supported and reproduced through the active engagement in annual food practices.

---

<sup>30</sup> Jeff Corntassel, personal communication, at the University of Washington's *The Living Breath of Wəłəb?altxw: Indigenous Ways of Knowing Cultural Food Practices and Ecological Knowledge* summit which was hosted on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

As Sherri Kabatay recalled, she would spend a large portion of her summers as a child out on the land with her grandparents: “We would paddle and camp, paddle and camp, all the way to Rainy Lake, the big lake. We would be out there for at least 3 weeks. It would seem like the whole summer to me, as a kid. And, my grandparents would teach us about the land”.<sup>31</sup>

Many people shared how their first teachers were their grandparents and/or parents through the practice of trapping, hunting, fishing and harvesting wild rice on their traditional territories. In many ways, mentorship was articulated in the more traditional sense of thinking about this relationship, for instance, the older generation mentoring the younger generation. However, in many other instances, mentorship also embodied alternative pedagogies. For instance, Anishinaabe ontologies uphold the role of children as teachers, something that has been expressed by many Anishinaabe writers and that was reiterated by the people I interviewed (Johnston 1976; Simpson 2013a). During pre-colonial times, children were regarded “[...] highly respected people, valued for their insights, their humor, and their contributions to families [...]” (Simpson, 2013a: 122-123). Indeed, many Anishinaabe people embodied this teaching by recalling how they learned not only from their grandparents, parents, uncles and aunties while out on their traplines or harvesting wild rice, but also from their siblings and relatives, who were just as often younger as older than themselves. For example, Andrew Jourdain grew up in a family where he and his brothers were commonly paired during trapping season. Each pair of brothers was made up of an older sibling and a younger sibling and they would be responsible for an area on the trapline for the entire season. When I asked Andrew if they paired younger siblings with older siblings so that they could learn from the older more experienced sibling, he responded by saying:

Yes, but it was also so that the youngest could teach the oldest.

---

<sup>31</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

Everyone has something to contribute and everyone has their observations, own experiences that will teach others. Each person has their own strengths and they play up their own strengths. Take me for example. I grew up being an observer. I like to just sit there and observe people and read their body language so that I can tell what their next move will be.<sup>32</sup>

As I will further reflect in chapter 5 and the conclusion, Anishinaabe ontologies on the sacredness and fortitude of youth is central in how they have approached the revitalization of their local foodways.

Ultimately, family mentorship is expressed as a form of intimate observation coupled with personal reflection and reflexivity. Learning about Anishinaabe nationhood is something that is not explicitly taught but rather knowledge that is gained through experience and building intimate relationships over time with both people and the land. Ogimaagwanebiik's reflections on how she learned about Anishinaabe knowledge and local food practices perhaps best expresses this:

I think it's just a way of life. I didn't have to be taught anything. I did things with my grandparents. I worked with them and listened to them. That's how I learned. Hands-on teaching- what ever you want to call it. We just lived that way. We didn't have any teachers. We just go ahead because we have to survive and we have to get the food from the land.<sup>33</sup>

In other words, Ogimaagwanebiik was oftentimes not explicitly taught different protocols to local food practices, nor was she told the meaning of Anishinaabe perspectives on nationhood and self-determination in a straightforward manner. Instead, much of her knowledge was gained through ongoing observation of her mentors, which included her animal and plant relatives. She

---

<sup>32</sup>Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

<sup>33</sup>Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

observed how tobacco was offered before the hunt of the moose, what parts of the animal were put back on the land as part of local trapping and hunting protocols, where her family would make offerings to sacred place-names they encountered in the bush and how they would know where to locate a deer or set a rabbit snare.<sup>34</sup> Brian Major, who grew up with his grandparents from the age of 8 years old, reiterated this by saying: “They never taught me out loud. I just observed them”.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Dan Geyschick explained how intimate family mentorship that is embedded in local foodways is an experiential knowledge: “I learned everything from my dad. It was like school but the teacher was my dad. Instead of reading, he taught me through what was there by watching and observing. Also by practice, I learned by doing, by trial and error. I learned the traditional way”.<sup>36</sup>

While geographic scholarship on embodied geographies has focused on the home as a space of structural violence, and rightfully so, Anishinaabe understandings of the family also unpack how the home and the family are important sites of resurgence and self-determination (Hunt 2015). The family is a space of love, upbringing and nurturing yet it also serves as the first pedagogical space of learning and embodying everyday acts of self-determination. As Al Hunter states: “I first learned about our inherent rights, our birth rights that were given to us by the Creator, from being out in the bush with my parents”.<sup>37</sup> This form of learning can be thought of as a relational pedagogy where the transmission and learning of knowledge depends on the relational ties that are renewed over time. But, as Knowledge Holders have shared here, it is also

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2013.

<sup>36</sup> Dan and Brenda Geyschick, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Al Hunter, personal interview, February 2014.

about how the knowledge they learned from family members was always embedded in “being out in the bush” and that building relationships with relatives does not just consist of those with other humans. Rather, it is just as much about building and renewing relationships with their land and animal and plant relatives. As Ogimaagwanebiik’s friend Hope states: “I think another part of it is taking the time to be out in the woods, to actually go out and see what’s going on out there”.<sup>38</sup>

### *Land*

As the aweesiwag story at the beginning of this chapter teaches us, Anishinaabe people and human lives in general, are dependent on animals for their survival. Stories such as these complicate the notion of “food” as they teach us how they take pity on humans, how they must be honored through protocols and ceremonies and how they make up clans for Anishinaabe people. At the most fundamental and intimate scale, Knowledge Holders spoke about how they learned about natural laws from their intimate relationships with animals and their ancestral territories. Some expressed this as watching animal behaviors to know what plants they ate. That is, by knowing which plants, or medicines animals eat, you become aware of the medicines you are absorbing when you eat the animal. As Ogimaagwanebiik shared:

My grandmother was my very first teacher. And, she would tell me lots of things about the animals; what they eat, where they live. I was very young, I think I was about seven years old when she died. But she raised me right from when I was a baby. She took me to where the beavers live, the pond, the lake, which they made themselves. She said “come here and just watch how the beavers build their lodge”. And, I watched them. They got sticks from the bush, they knocked a tree down and they chewed on the bark. And, they just eat everything from the fresh, fresh green trees. And then they went down, they dove in the water, and they brought up a plant and they ate that plant. Grandma said this is what the beaver eats, what he uses to make medicine when you get sick. So when

---

<sup>38</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik and Hope, personal interview, November 2013.

you eat the beaver, you are curing yourself, when you eat the beaver meat.<sup>39</sup>

Ogimaagwanebiik's son and grandson reiterated this teaching to me. Her son, Don, told me: "The Anishinaabe make a lot of soups with rabbit, duck, partridge, deer, moose and beaver. And, we always smoke and preserve our meats. This is considered preventative health methods. For example, if you put bone marrow in soup, it prevents chronic diseases. I wonder if the youth today have that preventative and protective knowledge?"<sup>40</sup> Her grandson, Jason, reiterated this teaching in a separate conversation, as he spoke about the medicinal aspects of rabbits, showing how these ways of thinking are passed down from one generation to the next within families: "Because he eats bark and he eats all the medicines in the woods. When you eat him, you're eating medicine. It makes you better".<sup>41</sup>

While this lifetime of observation cultivates knowledge on the various uses of animals and plants found on their traditional territories, others also expressed how it would allow them to identify toxic contamination of their traditional foods over time. For example, some spoke about the contamination of certain plants, such as wild asparagus and raspberries that grow close to highways that were no longer considered foods they could eat as they once had in the past.<sup>42</sup> Others would refer to the changing biology of the moose, which they understood as changes in

---

<sup>39</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Don Jones, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>41</sup> Jason and Gail Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>42</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2014.

the moose's diet, that is, the contamination of plants and water the animal population consumes.<sup>43</sup>

As a whole, many people spoke about the knowledge they gained through an intimate relationship with their traditional territories, which cultivated an understanding of their local ecosystems, including wetland ecosystems. For many, this cultivated what might otherwise be termed as environmentally sustainable food practices, but which Anishinaabe people commonly refer to as natural laws. As Andrew Jourdain told me:

There are pockets of protected resources all over our land. Geographically, there are 4 basins, they duplicate as 4 little lakes. The basins have a certain structure and geographic location. We know the equilibrium of the water- they [settlers] know it now through technology but we have always known it by being on the land and through observation. Each basin contains different species of fish at different depths. For example, the trout spawn at the westernmost basin at a certain time of the year so we don't fish there at those times. If you don't follow the patterns, the laws of nature then there would be consequences by family members.<sup>44</sup>

In this instance, Andrew goes on to explain how he learned about the interdependent ecologies in his traditional territories by “being out the land” throughout his life. For Andrew, this was cultivated through his father who would give him and his brothers what he calls “homework”. Essentially, Andrew and his brothers would have to report back to each other and their father about changes on their trapline over a season, year or longer periods. With 8 brothers in his family, they would compare notes from each other's observations on the same areas of the trapline, which then pushed them to be more attentive observers. More than this however, the

---

<sup>43</sup> Mary Allen, personal interview, March 2014. I come back to the idea of environmental contamination in chapter 4.

<sup>44</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

main purpose of ongoing communication about one's travels and experiences throughout the different regions of their traditional territories was to ensure respectful interactions and relationships with their land including where they fished, hunted, trapped during different times of the year and what types of animals and fish they would target to ensure a balanced ecosystem:

As a kid, I would learn about our trapline through the round tables we would have as a family. We would always have a map with place-names. Every year, we would update the map to follow the changes in the environment, like if a basin's water level had changed. This would inform us about where the beavers might make their dams. We would be told where other family traplines were and we were shown important placemarks on a map that we would recognize when we would be out in the bush.<sup>45</sup>

The knowledge that is gained through an intimate relationship with the land has often been coined as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). This term gained prominence in the 1990s and has since been taken up by scholars across a range of fields, most notably by environmental scientists working on issues related to environmental degradation and climate change. However, there has been much contestation about the use of TEK. Leanne Simpson (2004) has cautioned against the newfound popularity of this concept. Mainly, she argues that western scientists seeking to integrate TEK in research and environmental sustainability initiatives do not seriously address the threats to Indigenous knowledge. Instead, threats to Indigenous knowledge or TEK are simplistically and apolitically attributed to the dying out of Elders rather than addressing the larger structures of colonial power (Simpson 2004). Moreover, TEK is more or less talked about and written about as an "untapped resource" for scientists, ecologists and academics (Simpson 2004: 375). Agreeing with Simpson, I extend her critique to also question the hierarchical and thus epistemological violence that can be set up between TEK and western science where the former simply becomes an add-on to the latter, which is a well-

---

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

established and privileged framework. This becomes particularly frustrating when speaking to individuals such as Andrew who eloquently explain the ‘scientific’ knowledge they have gained through a lifetime of building an intimate relationship with their traditional territories.

For this reason, I shelve the loaded concept of TEK for that of a land-based pedagogy. This is a concept that is steadily gaining traction within Indigenous communities and scholarly circles (Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2014; Wildcat et al. 2014). Moreover, Indigenous community-based programs are increasingly integrating a land-based pedagogical approach in their curriculums.<sup>46</sup> Whether directly implemented at the community level or reified in scholarly writing, a land-based pedagogical approach is politically engaged with the fact that Indigenous knowledge was and continues to be impacted by colonial structures of power. At the same time, they more fully embody what Anishinaabe people learn from their intimate relationships with the land. Going back to Andrew’s statement, relationships with the land also become crucial in terms of providing a form of governance at the most intimate and embodied scale. As Andrew states, “there would be consequences from my family members” if he did not follow the “laws of nature”, a statement that was reiterated by others.<sup>47</sup>

Indeed, it became apparent how a lifetime of learning through land-based pedagogies shaped the professional lives of some community members. Andrew, for instance, has worked most of his adult life for the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), where he specializes in local wetland ecosystems. Even though the MNR is entangled in settler colonial politics, Andrew has been able to use his intimate knowledge of his traditional territory to act as a protector and

---

<sup>46</sup> For example, the Dechinta Bush University in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, has implemented a moose hide tanning camp as a form of land-based pedagogy for the Denendeh nation.

<sup>47</sup> Albert Comegan, personal interview, December 2013; Dan and Brenda Geysick, personal interview, February 2014; Steve and Iris Jourdain, personal interview, December 2013.

gatekeeper to his ancestral lands and foodways.<sup>48</sup> Stories told by individuals such as Ogimaagwanebiik and Andrew become central in envisioning how foodways, as land-based pedagogies, play multiple roles in creating self-determining and autonomous Indigenous communities. In one way, they unpack the interconnected and varied forms of knowledge gained including the health benefits of traditional foods, the impacts of environmental contamination and navigating their roles within settler colonial systems. More than this however, as I go into further detail in part 3 of the paper, land-based pedagogies undergird Anishinaabe people's thinking on how food sovereignty and, more generally, self-determination can be embodied by members of their nation in the everyday. Specifically, I examine how land-based pedagogies reshape and resist colonial territorial imaginaries, including boundaries that have ruptured Indigenous foodways and responsibilities to their land. Additionally, I explore how land-based pedagogies help re-envision what the rebuilding of political and economic self-determining strategies might look like in the decolonial presents and futures.

### **Land-based Ontologies**

Land-based ontologies are certainly made up of land-based pedagogies that cultivate ontological perspectives by actively being out on the land, engaged in local food practices. More than this, however, I frame land-based *ontologies* as the myriad ways in which Indigenous worldviews are cultivated through the nexus of practices that make up their foodways. Specifically, I focus on the role of storytelling, spiritual ceremonies and protocols and Anishinaabemowin in cultivating respectful and reciprocal (what might otherwise be termed sustainable) relationships with their

---

<sup>48</sup> I explore the ways Andrew and his family have been able to use their land-based knowledge to protect their traditional territories in chapter 4. In chapter 5, I explore the complexities of politically mobilizing through the MNR.

foodways. I argue that these practices cultivate in the most intimate and embodied ways an understanding that land and food are sacred beings, relatives and teachers of the highest order.

### *Storytelling*

“Ontology is, ironically, not a word that comes to mind when I think of Indigenous ontologies. What comes to mind, instead, are stories” (Hunt 2014).

As Kwagiulth (Kwakwaka’wakw) geographer Sarah Hunt states, Indigenous ontologies are often equated with stories within Indigenous communities. Indeed, many Indigenous scholars have discussed at length how storytelling is foundational to Indigenous ways of knowing (Johnston 1976; Smith 1999; Stark 2010; Doefler et al. 2013; Simpson 2013). Moreover, many of them have dedicated their scholarship to sharing traditional stories from their respective nations (Teuton and Hastings 2012; Simpson 2013a). I first learned about the meaning of stories within my own community through Omushkego, the Swampy Cree language. As my grandmother taught me, our stories are expressed in Omushkego as tipachimowinin, which is very similar to the Anishinaabe word of dibaajimowinin. Further, there are different kinds of stories from those, which recount historical events to those, which are expressed in the English language as creation or re-creation stories. As Andy Sky from Migisi Sahgaigan taught me, one Anishinaabe word for sacred legends and stories is aadsokan.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, while I sought to learn more about Anishinaabe ontologies on food sovereignty, many Knowledge Holders, particularly Elders, would share stories with me. At times, these stories were life stories while at other moments, I was told (re) creation stories.

---

<sup>49</sup> Andy Skye, personal interview, February 2014.

Stories are spatio-temporal ontological practices. They are often told while families are out on the land, hunting, trapping, fishing and harvesting Indigenous plants. As Steve Jourdain from Lac Lacroix First Nation recalled, he learned many Anishinaabe stories while he and his family were out deer hunting during the winter.<sup>50</sup> Like many families in the area, they had a winter camp where they would stay for extended periods of time while hunting and trapping. Protocols and a feast, which was followed by a long night of storytelling, would accompany a successful deer hunt. As Dan Geysick expressed, storytelling would oftentimes last for hours: "My dad would tell me stories before we went to bed. He would smoke his pipe and he would tell us what happened here a long time ago. He would say to not fall asleep while he told us the legends. When the sun went down he would talk for 4 hours. He would also tell us stories when we went out trapping".<sup>51</sup>

In many ways, storytelling cultivates the teaching of patience as it simultaneously transmits knowledge on Anishinaabe history and philosophies on relationships, self-determination, love and so on. Part of this knowledge transmission is ensured through the cyclical nature of when stories are told. For example, while some stories are told throughout the year, winter is designated as storytelling time within Anishinaabe communities. Certain stories are only told during this time of the year and are told year after year to ensure the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. Other stories are only told at certain sacred places within Anishinaabe territory, places that are routinely visited while out on the land engaging in food harvests, a practice that is common across many Indigenous nations. For example, when I think about sacred places and place-names I remember one day in particular when my mother, father, sister and I were fishing on a lake nearby my community. In what I thought was the

---

<sup>50</sup> Steve and Iris Jourdain, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>51</sup> Dan and Brenda Geysick, personal interview, March 2014.

middle of nowhere, my mother asked my father to dock our small hand-motored boat on an island. She proceeded to guide us toward an area on the island where there were burial grounds and told us how this island was an important place for our family and ancestors before the establishment of Indian reserves. In this way, I have come to understand that some stories about our nations can only be learned while we are out on the land, embodying our foodways.

While working with Knowledge Holders on the idea of food sovereignty through interviews, I became increasingly consumed with the relationship between storytelling and cyclical food practices. In what I now realize was a somewhat foolish way to approach this question, I started asking Knowledge Holders: “What is the relationship between storytelling, food practices and food sovereignty?” I asked Ogimaagwanebiik this very question on more than one occasion yet I never received an answer from her, as she would redirect our conversation to another topic. Then, one day in February, Ogimaagwanebiik, informed me that it was storytelling time in the community and that I should go to the roundhouse to listen to the stories. It was at that moment that I understood Ogimaagwanebiik’s silence. I had become so disciplined within the academy that I expected to learn everything through a process of question and answer via an interview. I had forgotten the patience and the process of learning through actually embodying the experiences that would help me think about the questions I had.

As Cree scholar Neil McLeod has expressed, stories do political work on people’s minds in a way that makes them think more critically about their life and their role within their families and communities (McLeod 2004). Others have referred to stories as arrows that pierce your mind, body and hearts (Basso 1996). As Simpson states, stories are living beings (Simpson 2013a). While a well-known story might exist within and across different Indigenous nations, the way that it’s told might differ from one community to another and even from one family to

another. Likewise, the way one tells the story will always be slightly different from one time to another. Equally important, stories are received in different ways by different people. While the same story might be told to a group of people, each individual will reflect and interpret the story in their own individual way based on a number of circumstances including their life experiences, their personal strengths and gifts, their role in the community and so on. Moreover, an individual will continue to relate with and learn from a story throughout their lifetime so that one single story takes on additional and varied meanings throughout one's life (Simpson 2013a). While stories vary dramatically in terms of the knowledge they are transmitting, overall they are centered on history, political relationships with other nations including those with animal nations and core political philosophies, values and principles making up Indigenous self-determination.

As expressed by many Knowledge Holders, one of the core values transmitted through storytelling is humility. Ogimaagwanebiik articulated this well when she stated "The moose knows he gave up his life for you" (Arnold 2013). In many stories, central characters are animals that make up a local Indigenous diet. For the Anishinaabe, the beaver, rabbit, deer and sucker fish among many others often appear in stories. Many of these stories center on the vulnerability and dependency Indigenous peoples have on their relatives, the animals. For example, a well-known re-creation story called "The Great Flood" recalls a time when Anishinaabe people were experiencing grave difficulties because their relationships were imbalanced.<sup>52</sup>In order to restore balance amongst the Anishinaabe, the Creator brought on a flood. The story unfolds as the animal survivors of the flood each try to save the Earth for the

---

<sup>52</sup> I provide a version of this story in chapter 4. The re-creation story of "The Great Flood" is commonly told within Anishinaabe communities. Like many stories, there are several different versions some of which have been published including by Edward Benton-Banai in, *The Mishomis Book*, 2010: 30-36; Basil Johnston in, *Ojibway Heritage: The Ceremonies, Rituals, Songs, Dances, Prayers and Legends of the Ojibway*, 1967, 13-16 and; Leanne Simpson in, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence*, 2013: 68-70.

Anishinaabe people by diving deep into the water to grasp a pile of soil. Finally, the muskrat dove down and got a hold of a pile of dirt. The turtle offered her back to bear the weight of the soil in order to renew the Earth that the Anishinaabe had taken for granted. With the help of the dancing of the other animals, the turtle's back along with the soil turned into an island that is now known as North America, otherwise known as Turtle Island by many Indigenous nations. Other stories recount how certain foods were gifted to the Anishinaabe, as humans are taken pity over from animal and plant nations as well as spiritual beings. For example, Jason told the story of how sugar bushing, otherwise called maple sugaring, came to the Anishinaabe people:

A lot of it (food practices) ties back into the culture. Maple sugaring is called inini aatig. That translates to "stick man" that you harvest in March. I always wondered why that was called "stick man". The story behind it is that there was a spirit that took pity on the Anishinaabe because they were kind of weak after each winter. Even today, it was -40 Celsius. You go through these Canada winters and you're kind of weak (hence, stick man). So, he decided to turn himself into a maple tree so that the Anishinaabe can drink and harvest him. So, that's what he did to help the Anishinaabe, that's what he created. It's all harvested at the beginning of April. Sometimes March, right after the winter. <sup>53</sup>

Stories such as the one Jason shared teach the Anishinaabe both how they are vulnerable and dependent beings and how they have been gifted with their foodways in a very spiritual way. Yet, the relationship between storytelling and food practices consists of the creation of new stories. While people recounted creation stories, they also recounted stories their parents and grandparents had told them during their childhood in addition to telling their own life stories. Likewise, they emphasized the importance of continuing on Anishinaabe storytelling traditions. Stories, like all aspects of Anishinaabe culture, are ever-changing and always undergoing a process of renewal, hence the importance that each generation create their own stories that can be

---

<sup>53</sup> Jason and Gail Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

passed on for generations to come. Story *making* requires Indigenous peoples to be active in community life. Otherwise, the stories that emerge are those such as “The Great Flood”.

While I have detailed the importance of storytelling in this section, I have done so by focusing on the oral narrative of telling a story. However, the art of storytelling can take many different forms within Indigenous communities. For example, recently, I explained this research project to my grandmother. Her response was to teach me a song she wrote back in the 1980s about the twenty thousand caribous that drowned in Cree territory in what is now known as Quebec due to a dam that was built as part of a major hydroelectric project headed by Hydro-Quebec. This song, like many stories I have been taught, transmits knowledge on this important historical moment within my family and community (and perhaps beyond) for generations to come. For this reason, I must also acknowledge that storytelling traditions sometimes take the form of a song. Songs also make up important protocols for various food practices, (which I’ll address in more detail in the next section). Indeed, at the fall harvest that I recounted in the introduction, children we’re taught Anishinaabe songs as they are an integral part of local food practices.



**Figure 4: Storytelling and Songs at the Fall Harvest, Seven Generations Education Institute, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**

Likewise, for some Indigenous nations including Anishinaabe people, stories can take the form of petroglyphs. Petroglyphs are rock engravings. They are visual images, a form of art, that tell stories, teachings and even laws of the Indigenous peoples of the area. Petroglyphs are found around the world including parts of Africa, Asia and Europe and are a common practice of the Anishinaabe nation. Some petroglyphs are well known to the general public and have even been turned into tourist attractions and conservation areas such as the Petroglyph Provincial Park located outside of Peterborough Ontario, on the traditional territory of the Michi Saagig Nishnaabeg. Many other petroglyphs are located in various areas across Anishinaabe territories that are only known to community members. Again, like the oral stories that sit in places, one

can only learn about the location of the petroglyphs and the stories that go with them by going out on the land with a Knowledge Holder, most often while one is harvesting food.

### *Anishinaabe Protocols and Ceremonies*

For many Anishinaabe people, the cyclical practice of ceremonies is a fundamental aspect of their lifeways, including those that accompany food practices such as the blueberry harvest, the wild rice harvest, the hunting of a deer and moose and the trapping of a beaver. While some of these protocols entail songs and prayers, others consist of ritual practices that honor the animals that have given up their lives for the wellbeing of their human relatives, such as making an aseema (tobacco) offering and putting parts of the animal back on the land as recounted in the opening story of this chapter. More generally, ceremonies and ritual protocols are cyclical practices that remind us of our mutual dependence on our ecosystems, including the land, water, animals and plants. Just as we need them to survive, they also require respectful practices on our behalf for their overall health and wellbeing.

As Brian Major expressed, protocols are constant reminders about the importance of “gizhi Manitou kitigan”, the Creator’s garden: “It’s what we do in the everyday and it spreads from there. It becomes a way of life. It’s not about putting on a show for the community or anyone else- just give thanks”.<sup>54</sup> As Major states, the act of giving thanks is done on a cyclical basis where it simply becomes a way of life, a way of seeing and understanding the world which, in turn, cultivates everyday practices that foster respectful engagements with their land. As Gail Jones from Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation shared:

When you look at some of the traditions that we have, one of the first things that we always do is have the ceremonies to acknowledge that plant or even the animal. That’s one of the things that we’re always conscious of doing. That’s passed down from

---

<sup>54</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2014.

generation to generation. We have those ceremonies because we have relationships with them, with the animals and with the plants, including the blueberries and the trees. We have that relationship with them. We take care of them that way and, they also take care. It's like this full circle.<sup>55</sup>

Her son, Jason, added on to this by saying:

When I think about blueberry or wild rice season, we have a ceremony that goes with that. And, we talk to them and we thank them. We talk to their spirit. We have been doing that for a long time. It's not just something you do once in a while. It's about how our people thought. When I think of food sovereignty, right away, I think of food having it's own protocols before you get it. I don't just see it as you go and have at her. There are certain steps that you have to follow not just so that you have it (in the present) but that you have it in the future. And, that's why we have ceremonies. I think that's what's separate from Western ways.<sup>56</sup>

As Gail and Jason convey, in many ways, ceremonies and protocols make up the foundation of their foodways. They are the first part of any respectful food harvest, which as Jason states, ensures that their traditional foods will be there in the future. In this sense, the protocols and ceremonies renew relationships between Anishinaabe people and their animal and plant relatives. These ceremonies and protocols become an essential part of revitalizing local food traditions in a way that will honor Anishinaabe worldviews. Explanations regarding the declining health of local foodways perhaps best reflect this Anishinaabe law.

As stated in the opening story of the introduction, protocols were performed every morning during the fall harvest of 2013, including an Anishinaabe pipe ceremony, songs, prayers and opening words from local Elders. Every morning, Laura would ask community members to think about why the wild rice was becoming less plentiful. Was it due to rising water levels? If so, what was causing the water levels to rise at unprecedented rates? In other words, the opening

---

<sup>55</sup> Jason and Gail Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

protocols were honoring local foodways while also reminding community members to be observant of changes in local ecosystems and to contemplate over possible causes. Later during my stay, I asked community members why there were decreased yields of wild rice in the area. I received a variety of explanations including rising water levels due to the construction of dams for hydroelectric projects and logging, the construction of the bridge for the U.S.-Canada border-crossing, temperature changes due to climate change and commercial airplanes harvesting the wild rice in ways that inhibits a healthy regrowth of the rice.<sup>57</sup> While many people alluded to one or a number of these factors, they also attributed the low yields of rice to the diminished role of ceremonies and protocols that accompany the wild rice harvest.

As Sherri Kabatay shared with me, she believed that the rice had been less plentiful over the years because of community members' disconnection from wild rice ceremonies and protocols.<sup>58</sup> What Sherri means is that it is not simply enough to go wild ricing, deer hunting, beaver trapping and so on. Rather, it is the *way* that Anishinaabe people engage in these land-based practices in a respectful and reciprocal way that honors the spiritual dimension of the wild rice. While respectful and reciprocal relationships are fostered through actual practice, being out on the land, they are mutually reinforced by protocols such as songs and ceremonies which transmit knowledge on the sacredness of the animals and plants that make up an Anishinaabe diet. The cyclical nature of the protocols, that they are practiced every time one goes out for a food harvest which in turn have a cyclical nature in themselves as they follow the seasons, work as a constant reminder for Anishinaabe people. The protocols frame food not as a commodity or an item to be consumed for sustenance or health reasons, but as something that is sacred, a relative even that must be honored, respected and loved. Hence, for Sherri and many other

---

<sup>57</sup> I go into further detail about impacts to wild ricing in part 2 of the paper.

<sup>58</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal communication, December 2013.

members of the Anishinaabe nation, the weakened role of protocols and ceremonies is an important part of understanding how some community members become disconnected from ontological perspectives that frame their traditional territories and foods as more than just objects they eat and live off of. As I explore further in part 2, over time, this fading worldview can reproduce practices and decisions that do not uphold and respect the sacredness of their traditional territories such as supporting unsustainable development initiatives and/or not speaking out or resisting against such impacts.

### ***Language***

*Ten years ago, a mentor of mine gave my colleagues and I an assignment. He asked us all to find out how self-determination is expressed in our respective languages. The non-Indigenous students were instructed to find out how this might be expressed according to the Coast Salish nations as we were located on their traditional territories. I sought out my grandmother, Angela Moore's help. After explaining to her how I had learned about the political concept of self-determination, she contacted me a few days later and taught me about the Omushkegowuk Cree law of awuwanainithukik. Awuwanainithukik speaks to the importance of living an Omushkegowuk Cree way of life by actively upholding our responsibilities to the land through spiritual ceremonies, local food practices and speaking Omushkego, the Cree language. When pronounced as "awuwanainithukik", the teaching addresses the larger scale of the community and nation, including animal and plant relatives, and the embodied scale of the interconnected individual. When pronounced as "awuwanainithuk", one is referring to the embodied scale of an individual's personal journey and actions. This entails the process of learning one's role in the community through the teachings, ceremonies, laws and land-based*

*practices of one's family, clan and nation in addition to one's own personal strengths and personality.*<sup>59</sup>

The preceding story is an important one to me as this was the moment when I truly began to understand the fundamental importance of language in rethinking the concept and practice of self-determination for Indigenous peoples. The language cultivates an alternative ontological perspective by re-centering the importance of the community as the place where knowledge on self-determination is rooted and where change needs to actually occur. Also, as I explore further in part 3, the language helps us understand that Indigenous self-determination is just as much about resistance, that is sometimes fueled by anger, as it is about resurgence that is motivated by a decolonial love for our land and lifeways.

Mino bimaadiziwin is one way of expressing the idea of self-determination in Anishinaabemowin. Over time, I built a dialogue with community members on food sovereignty by carefully drawing out how it is defined within the well-known transnational movement and how this relates to Anishinaabe conceptualizations on this issue. When I asked community members how they might express food sovereignty in Anishinaabemowin, many of them responded by saying that they saw the maintenance and regeneration of their local food practices as part of fulfilling their responsibilities of mino bimaadiziwin. As stated in the previous chapter, Ogiimaagwanebiik defines mino bimaadiziwin as “[...] living the good life. It’s about helping one another and respecting the Creator’s creation, mutual respect. It’s about sharing [our traditional foods]. I think it’s also about being thankful” (You Tube 2013). In this sense, the

---

<sup>59</sup> Jeff Corntassel assigned us this in a graduate seminar titled “Indigenous Self-determination” in the Indigenous Governance Program at the University of Victoria, February 2006. I have written about awuwanainithukik in more detail in my MA thesis titled *Awuwanainithukik: Living an Authentic Omushkegowuk Cree Way of Life: A Discussion on the Regeneration and Transmission of Nistam Eniniwak Existences*, 2010, and in an article titled *Self-determination through Place: Uprooting the Colonial Politics of Recognition through Indigenous Pathways of Resurgence*, 2015.

language encompasses much of what I have outlined thus far including the importance of giving thanks to traditional foods through ceremonies and protocols and how one learns and embodies “the good life” of Anishinaabe ontologies and lifeways through food practices.

Overall, the rethinking or re-theorizing of food sovereignty cannot be done without Anishinaabemowin because the language does important political work in reorienting human relationships with the land- with place. It reorients an ontological perspective of the land from one based on rights, control and ownership to one based on reciprocity, responsibility and love for their kin, their land and traditional foods. This becomes even more apparent through Anishinaabe ways of expressing food. As Ogimaagwanebiik states, Indigenous foods are expressed as gigi-minigozimin which translates into “our gifts from the Creator” reframing food from a commodity or an object that is consumed to living beings and relatives that are sacred to Anishinaabe lifeways.<sup>60</sup> Her grandson, Jason, reiterated this by saying “We don’t see food as an object that you consume.<sup>61</sup> You have to pay your respect to it”, meaning through the way we interact with the land, animals and plants and how we give thanks through various protocols. Likewise, Andy Sky expressed that what might be called “natural resources” in the English language, is expressed as minogizigan or “our sacred resources”, which he said are talked about in many of their traditional stories.<sup>62</sup>

The importance of language to this project unfolded in a number of ways. While community members knew that I was in Treaty 3 conducting research on Indigenous foodways, they regularly invited me to events and gatherings centered on the importance of language, such

---

<sup>60</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>61</sup> Jason and Gail Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>62</sup> Andy Sky, personal interview, March 2014.

as language tables and weekend workshops. For them, it was important that I incorporate the language into my thinking on food sovereignty. In fact, one language workshop I attended throughout my stay in Treaty 3, which was held one weekend per month, organized a language immersion weekend in conjunction with a trapping workshop. At other moments, community members would tell me that they could only respond to my question in an interview in Anishinaabemowin because the essence of what they wanted to express could only be fully embodied within their own language.<sup>63</sup> At other moments, community members would reorient our interviews to the importance of language, as they drew the interconnections between what had essentially become a larger discussion on Anishinaabe lifeways and self-determination.<sup>64</sup> That is, the conversation on food sovereignty could not be divorced from other important aspects of Anishinaabe culture, including their language.

---

<sup>63</sup> Sherri, Mike and Donna Kabatay and Sara Geyschick, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>64</sup> Albert Comegan, personal interview, February 2014; Andy Sky, personal interview, March 2014.



**Figure 5: Language Immersion Workshop led by the Jones Family, Nigigoonsiminikaanin First Nation, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle, 2014**

Moreover, as I learned the language, I realized that the months of the year are largely centered on the food practices that take place throughout the seasons. For example, August is *manoominike-giizis* which translates into “the moon of the ricing” when the wild rice harvest begins in Anishinaabe communities. As Gail Jones states: “June is *ode’ imini’ giizis*, the strawberry moon. So we have all these different moons and all of these different months have different food. To survive through the winter it was *namebiini-giizis*, the word for February. The fish had pity on our people. They asked, “what can we do to help our people?” The *namebiini*,

the sucker fish, made himself available to the Anishinaabe to eat”.<sup>65</sup> Jason, added to this by saying:

What happens in February is they go from bottom and they flip to the top so you can net them. So, they’re sacrificing themselves. I think it ties back to those ceremonies. If you respect them then they’ll respect you. When winters are tough for the Anishinaabe, you have the food from the fall harvest but they only last for so long. We become glad that our ancestors did those ceremonies. Now the pressure is on for us to learn those.<sup>66</sup>

The importance of language was perhaps best expressed to me through Ogimaagwanebiik’s teaching. Ogimaagwanebiik has published a number of books on Anishinaabe stories through a grassroots publishing company. While I was in Treaty 3, she gifted me with a couple of her books. We even traded books at times. The stories in the first two books she gave me were written in Anishinaabemowin but were accompanied with an English translation. I carefully made my way through both books by first reading the Anishinaabe version to see what words I could make out followed by a reading of the English translation. I was quite excited when Ogimaagwanebiik gifted me a third book. When I arrived home, however, I realized that the book was entirely written in Anishinaabemowin without an English translation. This was Ogimaagwanebiik’s way of telling me that I needed to stop using the English language as a crutch and that I needed to truly immerse myself in Anishinaabemowin, to embody it in my everyday practice.

## **Political and Economic Structures**

---

<sup>65</sup> Jason and Gail Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, Indigenous foodways are not simply cultural practices void of economic and political significance. Thus far, I have detailed how Anishinaabe people learn, in the most intimate and embodied ways, about self-determination through the relationships they build with their foodways. Additionally, I have outlined how these relationships cultivate land-based ontological perspectives that are simultaneously reproduced and renewed through storytelling, language and spiritual ceremonies and protocols. Hence, in one way, the conceptualization of self-determination for Indigenous peoples begins with knowledge that is rooted in place that is gained through the active embodiment of local foodways. Indeed, the revitalization of Indigenous foodways and other land-based practices such as ceremonies, language, storytelling and artistic traditions have been a primary concern for Indigenous scholars and community members alike over the last few decades. However, increasingly, a discussion is emerging on the importance of scaling up land-based ontologies and practices by renewing Indigenous political and economic structures (Coulthard 2014).<sup>67</sup> Hence, a discussion of Indigenous foodways requires careful attention to how they can and should play a central role in regenerating Indigenous political economies. While this includes the consideration of how Indigenous foodways historically made up these structures (and still do to a certain extent), it is also important to attend to the ways in which Indigenous ontologies on self-determination are cultivated through these land-based practices. In part 3, I go into more detail about how Indigenous foodways help us re-envision what Indigenous self-determination might look like in the twenty-first century. For the moment, I focus on how the animals making up Anishinaabe foodways, play central roles in the political structure of the clanship system and

---

<sup>67</sup> At the moment, Cliff Atleo Jr. who is Nuu-chah-nulth & Tsimshian and a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Alberta is conducting research on Nuu-chah-nulth trading networks and political economies. Additionally, Dawn Morrison is currently conducting research on “Grease Trails”, which are pre-settler food trading networks that existed in Coast and Interior Salish territories.

how they impart important knowledge on treaty making through storytelling. Following this, I examine how Anishinaabe foodways play a central role in renewing political and economic ties amongst their nation and with other Indigenous nations.

### ***Clanship Systems and Treaty Making***

*There is a story amongst the Anishinaabe people about an Anishinaabe woman who married an amik (beaver). The story recounts how the woman went to live with amik and his people. They eventually had children and a family of their own. Over the years, the woman, amik and their children would visit their Anishinaabe relatives. Upon each visit, they would arrive bearing gifts for their relatives and, after a long and enjoyable stay, they would return to the amik nation.*

*Years went by and the amik eventually passed away. The woman, returned to the Anishinaabe nation as she longed to be with her people. Upon her return, she told them, “Never speak you ill of an amik! Should you speak ill of (an amik), you will not (be able to) kill one.” From that time on, the Anishinaabe people never spoke ill of the amik. It was believed, and still is, that the amik will respect and love you if you do the same. And, if you love and respect the amik, you will become a lucky trapper. This is the treaty between the Anishinaabe people and the amik nation.<sup>68</sup>*

The foods that make up a traditional Anishinaabe diet, that is, animals such as the moose, beaver, deer, muskrat and so on, assume a central role in Anishinaabe political structures. In the most fundamental and embodied ways, animals make up the Anishinaabe clanship system, which play a central role in shaping one’s identity. Specifically, each Anishinaabe person is born into

---

<sup>68</sup> This story was told by Kagige pinasi from Fort Williams to Mesquaki anthropologist William Jones in 1904. A longer and more detailed version followed by a discussion of treaties is provided by Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark in *Respect, Responsibility and Renewal: The Foundations of Anishinaabe Treaty Making with the United States and Canada*, 2010.

an animal clan. One's clan partly determines an individual's role within the community, in addition to their spirit name and personal strengths and personality (Simpson 2013a). For example, people from the bear clan are generally associated with having a protective role for the nation.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, as Brian Major states, the clanship system once played a very important role in determining family structure within Anishinaabe communities (and still does for many people still connected to their clans). For example, while individuals within a clan were not necessarily related by blood, they were nonetheless considered relatives. Also, the clanship system assumed a guiding structure for marriages. That is, Anishinaabe people are not supposed to marry someone within their own clan, which played a central role in maintaining political relationships between clans.

More than this, however, the clanship system played a central role in political decision-making and the overall Anishinaabe political structure. As Al Hunter recounted, women assumed leadership roles in the clanship system through their roles as Clan Mothers.<sup>70</sup> As Al shared, Clan Mothers are called "Ogiichitakwe" in Anishiinaabemowin, which translates to "the ones who are burdened with peace", that is, "the leaders, protectors and carriers of knowledge".<sup>71</sup> The Ogiichitakwe would be the primary decision-makers for clans. At times, they would deliberate over important decisions for extended periods of time. As Sherri Kabatay states, the clan system was connected to ceremony, specifically, through the midewin lodge, a ceremonial space for Anishinaabe people. And so, political decisions were always connected to this spiritual space

---

<sup>69</sup> See *The Mishomis Book*, 2010, for a more detailed discussion on the meaning of different clans for the Anishinaabe nation.

<sup>70</sup> Albert Hunter, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

where women assumed leadership roles. Once the Ogiichitakwe made decisions they were often communicated to other communities and nations through the role of men.

As Sherri recounted, many Anishinaabe people in the Treaty 3 lost memory of their clans through the generations of colonial violence.<sup>72</sup> In the 1970s and, once again in the 1980s, community members sought to revitalize the clanship system. As Sherri states, it was a difficult process, as many community members no longer remembered their clanship affiliations. At the same time, however, the challenge rested with the incompatibilities of implementing a clanship governance structure within the colonial band council system that had been imposed on their communities. While I come back to this political mobilizing and the role of the clanship system in part 3, I briefly recall this community effort here to assert that while the clanship system does not undergird contemporary Anishinaabe political structures, it has remained an underlying objective for many community members. Specifically, there remains a connection to and an understanding of how the animal nations play a central role in their political structures, which yet again complicates the way that Anishinaabe people think about and approach their relationships with the animals that make up their traditional foods. As Sherri states: “In order to accept your clan, you need to accept your clan (animal) as a spiritual being. You need to accept your spirit. You need to see the world through that spirituality”.<sup>73</sup> She goes to talk about the roles that are connected to each clan and how that informs Anishinaabe identity in the most intimate way.

Andrew Jourdain reiterated this by saying:

I am from the Duck Clan. The clanship system was very important when I was young. You can't marry anyone from the Duck Clan because they are your relatives. In the past, our identities would be based on our Native names and clan. Now, we are identified by an

---

<sup>72</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>73</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

English name, last family name that was imposed on us. We are registered in white man's man- the way the white man identifies us.<sup>74</sup>

Beyond the scale of personal identity however, as the story about the woman who married the beaver teaches us, animal relatives impart important knowledge on treaty making. Leanne Simpson has perhaps written most extensively on this topic through a blending of storytelling and critical reflection on colonial politics and Indigenous self-determination (Simpson 2008, 2013a). Much of her scholarship has been dedicated to re-envisioning Indigenous pathways for self-determination through the rebuilding of pre-settler treaties. Specifically, her thinking cultivates a more thoughtful and practical engagement with the intimate relationships that must be rebuilt through pre-settler treaties with both human and non-human relatives. As Simpson states:

According to Nishnaabeg traditions, our relationships with the moose nation, the deer nation and the caribou nation is a treaty relationship like any other, and all the parties involved have both rights and responsibilities in terms of maintaining the agreement. The treaty outlines a relationship that, when practiced continually and in perpetuity, maintains peaceful coexistence, respect and mutual benefit. These are but two examples of treaties between Nishnaabeg nation and the non-human world, but it serves to illustrate several important Nishnaabeg values regarding this process. First and foremost, treaties are about maintaining peace through healthy relationships. They require commitment and work, but when done correctly can bring about a lasting peace for all involved (Simpson, 2013: 111).

In this sense, Simpson reminds us that treaty making with the animal nations remains one of the most important responsibilities in working towards Indigenous self-determination, which elaborates on what a relational emancipatory politics might look like for Indigenous peoples. That is, relational geographies of Indigenous resistance, resurgence and self-determination must

---

<sup>74</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

extend beyond rebuilding treaties with other Indigenous nations on a regional and global scale, to those with their ancestral territories, including animal and plant nations. It is through these intimate relationships that Indigenous peoples learn about nationhood and self-determination and, how to relate with their human relatives.

### *Political Economies*



**Figure 6: Fall Harvest, Seven Generations Education Institute, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**

Anishinaabe political economies were oftentimes renewed through the exchange of food. Every fall, Anishinaabe communities as well as other Indigenous nations would gather near what's now known as Couchiching First Nation. Brian Major recalled hearing stories about this gathering from his grandparents who referred to it as a “wiikwondiim” an Anishinaabe term for

gathering.<sup>75</sup> As recounted in the introduction, this gathering is commonly referred to in English as the fall harvest. This was a time when surrounding communities and clans would gather to exchange local foods, including the bounty of wild rice that had just been harvested and processed during August and September, summer berries, smoked meats and fish that could last the winter without spoiling as well as plants that were used for traditional teas, such as Labrador tea, and other medicinal purposes. However, as Jason Jones stated earlier, the foods that were traded at the fall harvest could not subsist Anishinaabe families throughout the winter. As the snow and cold winter months unfolded, the Anishinaabe would increasingly depend on hunting and trapping. During the fall, they would go partridge and duck hunting and as the winter season would progress they would eventually go deer and moose hunting, rabbit snaring and trapping for beavers, wolves, muskrats and otters. And so, the fall harvest, while serving a purpose of trading foods before the long arduous winters was not by any means the sole food resource for Anishinaabe people during this time.

More than this, the fall harvest renewed political and economic relationships between Anishinaabe clans, communities and with other Indigenous nations. That is, during the gathering, ritual protocols and ceremonies took place to honor relationships with their traditional foods and with each other. Just as Knowledge Holders expressed throughout this chapter that Anishinaabe people are dependent on their animal and plant relatives, the harvest is also based on ceremonies and protocols that honor the relationships and mutual dependency between Anishinaabe clans and communities. Indeed, this continues to take place during the current efforts towards revitalizing the fall harvest, as various opening protocols honored the Treaty 3 flag, which represents the political relationships between the Anishinaabe people of this region. More than

---

<sup>75</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2013.

this, and as I more thoroughly explore in part 3, the gathering itself acts as bringing Anishinaabe people together from all corners of their traditional territories on a cyclical basis.

The idea of political economies was perhaps the most jarring question for Knowledge Holders. Admittedly, this was likely due to the way I approached the question as I inquired whether elaborate food trading networks existed amongst the Anishinaabe during pre-settler times. While some of them referred to the fall harvest, the trading of food was mostly spoken about in more micro-scale and intimate forms of sharing food. That is, many Knowledge Holders spoke about the sharing of food within families and within the community. For example, Steve and Iris Jourdain spoke about the moose feasts that occurred in their community, Lac La Croix First Nation:

We used to have a big old banquet and we would cook up the moose. Everyone would be a part of it. There was always a thanksgiving when someone got an animal. They always told us that that animal gave up it's life so that you could eat, so that you could live. That's how we teach our grandkids too. It gave up its life for you. It's not that you're such a great hunter but it's that you're being fed.<sup>76</sup>

In this sense, the idea of trading of food is really more about the reciprocity that is cultivated through foodways. Just as the moose has given up his/her life for the hunter, it is up to the hunter to share that food with community members. In many ways, the idea of “trading” food takes away from the spiritual aspect that many Anishinaabe and Indigenous peoples uphold in their food practices. For this reason, the idea of a “gifting economy” more fully embodies Indigenous ways of thinking about the sharing of food (Morrison 2011). That is, the sacred gifts of traditional foods should be shared with family and community members. Indeed, many Knowledge Holders recounted how they shared their harvested foods with community members, particularly those in need such as Elders and single mothers. And, while these are certainly more

---

<sup>76</sup> Steve and Iris Jourdain, personal interview, December 2013.

intimate interpersonal exchanges, as I explore more in part 3, the scale of food exchanges can often span great distances as community members travel to other communities and Indigenous nations, bearing the gifts of food, just as the amik did when he visited his Anishinaabe relatives.

## **Embodiment**



**Figure 7: Delbert Horton's Wild Rice Harvesting Area, Lake of the Woods, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**

*As I arrived in the Treaty 3, I asked my old family friend, Delbert Horton, if I could interview him. After a couple of attempts without a reciprocation, I started to worry about whether my project mattered to the Anishinaabe people or whether I had offended Delbert in some way. But then, Delbert called me and said that we would be going out on Lake of the Woods the following day. The next day, my mother, Delbert, his brother and granddaughter*

*embarked on an all-day trip around Lake of the Woods. We started our trip by going to a sacred place on the lake, with petroglyphs, and made our tobacco and food offerings for the day. We proceeded to visit an island garden, traditional fishing places, Delbert's family's wild rice harvesting area and a region on the lake where Anishinaabe people, including Delbert's mother, had once lived before they were forcefully relocated onto reserves. Towards the middle of our travels, I realized that this was my interview with Delbert and that it would be disrespectful to take out my recorder at any point to ask questions. Rather, I was supposed to take in the generosity of Delbert and his family and fully immerse myself in connecting with this sacred place he had brought my mother and I to.*

While I have emphasized the theoretical and methodological importance of embodiment throughout the introduction and this chapter, and will continue to do so throughout this dissertation, I find it necessary to complete section by further reflecting on how Indigenous foodways ultimately rest upon the everyday acts of practicing and embodying local food practices. Indeed, in emphasizing this I am drawing on the intellectual and emotional knowledge that I have gained by embodying Indigenous food practices throughout my life. As I spent more time in the Treaty 3, I was flooded with memories of my childhood. Everything from the scent of beaver pelts to the sound of walking on a fresh bed of snow brought me back to my childhood and reminded me of my relations, my parents, grandparents and the muskeg lands where I grew up.

As time went by, I became less concerned with interviewing people, particularly as they invited me to sacred harvesting sites, asked me to cook at the fall harvest and brought me beaver trapping. Yet, the importance of embodiment was still transmitted through the interviews as Knowledge Holders spent a great deal of time sharing their knowledge on the varieties of local

foods, their medicinal purposes and how to process and prepare them. That is, if we were talking about food, they wanted to share with me how I could actually *do* local food practices rather than talking about them in abstract terms. In doing this, I increasingly understood that they saw me as a younger Cree person they could pass on their knowledge to so that it could be carried on both spatially and temporally from one community, nation and generation to the next. In the end, the people who guided this project were Knowledge Holders because they live a certain way of life that is committed to their Anishinaabe responsibilities and love of their land and foodways. Their knowledge was cultivated through experience and an intimate relationship with their traditional territories and not through reading a book or any other form of second-hand knowledge. As Gail Jones said: “You just got to do it!”



**Figure 8: Cooking bannock at the Fall Harvest, Seven Generations Education Institute, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**

The importance of embodiment was expressed by how, at the end of the day, it was of the utmost importance to know how to hunt, fish, trap and harvest local plants in a respectful and reciprocal way and that this was intimately embedded in relationships with family and the land.

As Andrew Jourdain states:

In order for us to understand food sovereignty we have to think about- for example- what would happen if we get transformed into another realm? We, you and I, would combine our knowledge of what I know from my grandma and what you know from your grandma. We would combine that knowledge and we would survive. We would have to understand basic food chains. We always think that we're at the top of the food chain but no we're not. You have to understand how the food (chains) develop.

Everything has a spirit. When I eat blueberries or walleye they have their own spirit and I take on that spirit. You have to understand what you're going to eat. For example, there are numerous ways of filleting fish and depending on what you need you will fillet it in a different way. There's a certain way to fillet it to get the protein in the skin.<sup>77</sup>

More than this, however, as expressed throughout this chapter, in knowing these land-based practices, it cultivates a certain way of thinking that subsequently spills over into other aspects of Anishinaabe social, political and economic life. And, it was from this position that many community members had an extremely difficult time applying the concept of food sovereignty to the centrality of their foodways. Rather, it was more about "living the good life" that is built on the cyclical renewal of all relationships making up their foodway. As Sherri Kabatay shared:

You start to frame everything within that term (food sovereignty), but is that really what you're asking about? Or is it something else you're asking about when you say food sovereignty? It's really easy to get narrow in that thinking. When you get narrow, you don't get how it's all connected. That word sovereignty has those political and legal implications or connections. It's connected to that (western) framework. When I think of food and sovereignty, they are not connected (terms). Because, you can't really say that you're sovereign over your own food. It's the plants and the animals that pity us. Our life depends on them. I can't say my sovereignty trumps that of the animal. That animal has the right to live too, like I have a right to live. And, in order for me to live I have to ask for him (the animals and the plants) to help me live.<sup>78</sup>

In this way, Indigenous food sovereignty should be reframed as an embodied self-determination that is just as much based on a resistance to colonial violence as it is about embodying a decolonial love for our land and animal and plant relatives. At the same time, however, it is important to understand how colonial violence circulates and becomes embodied through the

---

<sup>77</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

<sup>78</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

multi-scalar places and relationships that makeup Indigenous foodways. For this reason, I now turn to part 2 to examine the ways colonial dispossession of Indigenous foodways is embodied within the intimate geographies of the Treaty 3 territory.

## PART 2: EMBODIED GEOGRAPHIES OF COLONIAL VIOLENCE

### Chapter 3: Tracing the Coloniality of Dispossession



**Figure 9: Colonization Road in Fort Frances, Ontario, Treaty 3 Territory**

*There are a lot of stories in our communities about what people did, that they went on the land, went hunting and feasted moose. Some of these stories are only from 50 years ago. That's not long ago! There was a rupture. Why?*<sup>79</sup>

\*\*\*

In this chapter, I argue that the dispossession of Indigenous foodways must be contextualized within colonial-capitalist structures of power. On the one hand, I am interested in how Indigenous peoples' relationships with their traditional territories have been reshaped since the onset of the *Indian Act*. In other words, how *colonial structures of domination* have altered Indigenous peoples' relationships with their ancestral lands and foodways (Coulthard 2014). On

---

<sup>79</sup> Gary Smith, personal interview, March 2014.

the other hand, I am interested in *modes of colonial governance* operating through a nexus of heightened neoliberal capitalist development and a politics of recognition shaping Indigenous-state relations in Canada since the late 1960s (ibid). However, in examining the apparatuses of colonial violence impacting Indigenous foodways throughout time from an era marked by heightened genocidal assimilation to one marked by colonial governmentality, I contend that these categories should not be interpreted as a teleological transition but rather varied tactics of dispossession that work in concert in the colonial present (Sparke 2004; Hunt 2015).

I frame colonial dispossession as both a material practice of land removal and exclusion in addition to an embodied practice of re-territorializing Indigenous relationships with their traditional territories through acts of brute violence and assimilative tactics. Specifically, dispossession is the attack on embodied Indigenous ways of knowing that, as I unpacked in chapter 2, are rooted in and cultivated by an intimate relationship with foodways. Hence, when Indigenous peoples are disconnected from their land and foodways in a myriad of ways, they become disconnected from their land-based ontological perspectives, which subsequently are the foundation to their legal, political and economic traditions. The land itself embodies violent dispossession through extractive enterprises implemented by the state and capitalist industries, which become exacerbated, as Indigenous peoples do not live up to their ancestral laws, responsibilities and love for the homelands.

I begin by providing a brief background on how food sovereignty scholars have recently pushed for more serious engagements with colonial structures of power. I do so here by putting narrow Marxist political economy approaches into conversation with Indigenous studies, specifically Glen Coulthard's concept of colonial-capitalist accumulation, to redirect our attention to colonial relations in an ostensibly postcolonial context such as Canada. In striving to

provide a more intimate understanding of how colonial dispossession is embodied at the intimate scale, I bring Coulthard's work into conversation with critical and feminist geographic scholarship on dispossession as well as Indigenous feminism. These sub-fields have provided some of the most intricate analyses of embodied violence, including how some Indigenous peoples have become consensual and active agents, and how this consent is constructed in the most embodied ways, in reproducing colonial dispossession on their own land and foodways. Once this framing of dispossession is established, I proceed to chapter 4 where I examine the embodied geographies of colonial dispossession of Anishinaabe foodways in the Treaty 3 territory.

### **Food Sovereignty: Cultivating an Anti-colonial Politics**

As stated in the introduction, to date, the food sovereignty movement has silenced Indigenous voices and the workings of colonial structures of power (Desmarais and Wittman 2014). Overall, the movement has narrowly defined the dispossession of local foodways from a political economy critique of neoliberal capitalist structures of power. According to the movement, food actors' rights to access land and food-producing resources has, and continues to be threatened by their forced integration into a global food economy. As such, dispossession is framed as a form of capitalist dispossession where food actors are subjected to land grabbing and loss of autonomy over their forms of livelihood, namely their land and labor. Resistance and sovereignty subsequently become narrowly framed as a struggle *for* access and control of land and food producing resources to ensure local and regional livelihood through alternative food initiatives and networks that are simultaneously in opposition to neoliberalism. In more critical analyses, scholars argue that control and access of land will also ensure environmental sustainability and

overall wellbeing, however, land and food remain material objects providing a fair wage and equitable living standards rather than living beings imbued with meaning and spirit, as expressed by Anishinaabe people in chapter 2 (Holt-Gimenez 2006; Altieri and Nicholls 2008; Altieri 2009; Altieri and Toledo 2011; Rosset et al. 2011).

More recently, however, scholars debating on food sovereignty are starting to take up colonialism as a founding framework from a variety of different angles. For example, Henry Bernstein (2014) has recently contested “the peasant way”, that is, the dominance of the peasant political identity in the food sovereignty movement. In doing so, he invites food sovereignty scholars to debunk dominant political identities and the historical and contextual messiness of spatio-legal categories that are legitimized and reproduced in national and international forums where food sovereignty activists have traditionally mobilized. This contentious point is something that has been debated on a great deal in other academic circles and that warrants more attention within food sovereignty scholarship (Speed 2007; Lucero 2008; Altamirano-Jimenez 2010; Hodgson 2011).<sup>80</sup> Yet, I would push Bernstein’s argument even further to argue that it is absolutely imperative that food sovereignty scholars move towards contextualizing the fight for the right to food within historical struggles of colonialism, as Indigenous studies and settler colonial studies have unpacked how structures of colonial violence have shaped Indigenous-state relations around the globe, regardless of the varied positioning and visibility of Indigenous identities across space today (Corntassel 2007; Byrd 2011; Kauanui and Wolfe 2012). For food sovereignty scholars focusing on the Global South, I would urge them to consider how the precedence and even uncontested identity of the peasant inflicts ongoing colonial violence on Indigenous peoples, including the sheer pressure of survival pushing them to adopt politico-legal

---

<sup>80</sup> While my objective is to focus on the experiences of Indigenous peoples specifically within the colonial boundaries of Canada and the U.S., I find it necessary to point out what I hope is an emerging debate within food sovereignty scholarship of the Global South.

categories in lieu of their own. The adoption of state-sanctioned legal categories, while could be framed as a form of performative hybridity to gain political autonomy should also be considered within a historical colonial project to eliminate the Indian. As I argue in chapter 4, these spatio-legal categories, which for the Anishinaabe are tied to the pan-Indian identities of “Aboriginal” and “First Nations” and colonial boundaries of their reservations and treaty territories, reshape Anishinaabe ontological perspectives on and relationships with their ancestral lands and foodways. And so, while the identity of the peasant remains outside of my attention to the colonial boundaries of Canada and the U.S., I nonetheless find it important to mention here as I urge food sovereignty scholars and activists to take up colonial spatio-legal categories within their respective regions.

Indeed, food sovereignty scholars focusing on Canada and the U.S. have already started to direct their attention to this issue by arguing that future research should move towards learning from the place-based knowledge systems of Indigenous peoples in addition to the ways their foodways have been impacted by colonial structures of power (Morrison 2011; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014; Patel and Grey 2014). This recent turn has been in response to rising critiques of the ag-centricity and state-centricity of the movement. As many have started to argue, Indigenous land-based practices such as hunting, trapping and fishing, as practiced by the Anishinaabe nation, bring to bear a much larger landscape divided and privatized through colonial boundaries and enclosures (Morrison 2011; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Patel and Grey 2014). Simultaneously, Indigenous struggles for land push back against state-centric notions of what it means to be sovereign and self-determining Indigenous nations. As I have started to show in chapter 2 and which I delve into further in part 3, Anishinaabe understandings of self-determination are rooted in their relationships and responsibilities to their ancestral lands

and the animal and plant nations making up their foodways rather than spatio-legal identities and territories that have been imposed on them by the settler colonial state. As yet, however, the food sovereignty movement has largely framed sovereignty within the territorial boundaries and political frameworks of the colonial states that continue to inflict violence on Indigenous peoples.

For example, Charles Levkoe (2014) recently argued that “transformative action” in the Canadian food sovereignty movement should be implemented through the building of provincial networks (Levkoe 2014, 386). Yet, I ask Levkoe transformative action for whom? Interestingly enough, Levkoe begins his analysis by highlighting a report released by Olivier De Schutter, the UN’s Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, which states that Canada had failed to respect, protect and fulfill the human right to adequate food, with Indigenous peoples experiencing extra-strenuous circumstances (UNGA 2012). However, Levkoe neglects to address one of the main arguments made by De Schutter, that violations to the human right to food within Indigenous communities is directly tied to the federal government’s attempts to extinguish Aboriginal title despite of it being “*recognized*” under Canadian law, which brings to bear a long list of questions regarding colonial boundaries, including those of provinces and treaty territories which Levkoe ultimately fails to even slightly acknowledge. The result is the silencing of Indigenous struggles and the very existence of the several hundred Indigenous communities in Canada and, the continued legitimization of colonial boundaries that dispossess Indigenous peoples from their lands and food practices. For example, Anishinaabe communities falling outside the provincial territorial boundaries of Ontario continue to struggle for their treaty rights including the right to hunt and trap, which cannot, according to Canadian jurisdictional guidelines, be covered under

the Treaty 3 governmental body.<sup>81</sup> It is precisely questions such as these that get silenced through a non-colonial approach to food sovereignty. Unfortunately, the story has not been much better for food sovereignty activists attempting to mobilize at the international scale, a space that has traditionally been framed as one that fosters political mobilization against the violence of the state (Patel 2009). While activists channel their energy towards putting pressure on nation-states to implement food sovereignty for a range of food actors, the authority of the settler colonial state over Indigenous peoples remains uncontested.

Indeed, the food sovereignty movement has a long way to go. The call for a more critical engagement with Indigenous peoples' experiences and knowledge systems remain a small fracture of the overall debate which is alarming considering how the movement itself might further impinge on Indigenous lands. Dawn Morrison's work (2011) has certainly been an exception to this as she has assumed an important role in raising awareness within the food sovereignty movement in Canada.<sup>82</sup> Morrison bases her analysis in the notion that colonialism has resulted in ongoing dispossession of Indigenous foodways through land removal and environmental degradation. She then draws from her own Secwepemc knowledge and laws, to assert that food "sovereignty" must be embodied from the ground up. To Morrison, this starts with the Secwepemc teaching that food is sacred:

Food is a gift from the Creator. In this respect, the right to food is sacred and cannot be constrained or recalled by colonial laws, policies or institutions. Indigenous food sovereignty is ultimately achieved by upholding our long-standing sacred responsibilities to nurture healthy, interdependent relationships with the land, plants and animals that provide us with our food (Morrison 2011: 100).

---

<sup>81</sup> The Anishinaabe First Nation communities that fall outside of the province of Ontario and thus the Treaty 3 governmental body's jurisdiction are Sagkeeng and Buffalo Point. I return to struggles against colonial jurisdictions and territorial boundaries in chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>82</sup> In part 3, I go into more detail about Morrison's role in the food sovereignty movement in Canada.

A reflection that strikes much resemblance to the perspectives that were shared by Anishinaabe people in the previous chapter (Morrison 2011, 100).

I find Morrison's thinking on food sovereignty to be particularly captivating as I bring it into conversation with Patel and Grey (2014) who, as I have stated, have perhaps provided the most extensive analysis of colonial-capitalist structures of violence impacting Indigenous foodways in North America in food sovereignty scholarship. On the one hand, the authors' contribution stems from the balance they strike between the importance of cultivating an anti-colonial resistance and a resurgent decolonial politics, where Morrison's work beautifully illustrates what a resurgent politics should be grounded in. In terms of resistance to ongoing dispossession, the authors assert the importance of situating contemporary colonial violence within the global reach of capitalism while simultaneously examining varied localized impacts through land dispossession and alienation, genetically modified crops, toxic contamination and violence inflicted by well-intentioned food activism. Yet, their key intervention lies in their extensive and careful analysis of how colonial power continues to be exerted through the legitimacy of liberal settler politics. In this way, Patel and Grey open up the space for a more rigorous and critical dialogue on what colonial violence against Indigenous foodways encompasses in the twenty-first century. While they certainly continue to value historical legacies of colonial structures of domination, as they do in their own analysis of the Anishinaabe in Minnesota, they simultaneously argue that contemporary colonialism must also be understood as forms of governmentality, some which are more readily apparent while others are under the guise of a seemingly emancipatory politics.

To be sure, Patel and Grey are drawing from the building blocks of Indigenous studies in formulating their arguments on Indigenous food sovereignty by drawing on leading Indigenous

scholars such as Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, as others have started to do as well (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014b). Additionally, they are reiterating some of the arguments that have already been made by Indigenous scholars writing outside of the sub-field of food sovereignty who have situated struggles for land-based food practices within colonial power structures for some time now (LaDuke 1999, 2005; Cote 2010; Corntassel and Bryce 2012; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua 2013). Hence, a common thread to be found in scholarship beginning to grapple with Indigenous food sovereignty is a move towards creating a constructive dialogue with other academic debates. To this end, in the next section, I provide my own dialogue to further engage with the conundrum of dispossession. Specifically, I argue that the dispossession of Indigenous foodways must be framed within a multi-scalar critique of colonial-capitalist structures of violence to reconsider the relationality between land, labor, people and food. Specifically, I argue that scholarship on Indigenous food sovereignty must move towards understanding the embodied geographies of colonial violence rather than simply pointing to the macro-structural workings of power. I do so by first, turning to Glen Coulthard's momentous contribution to colonial dispossession in *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition (RSWM)*, which I then bring into conversation with Indigenous feminism and critical and feminist geographic scholarship on dispossession.

### **Indigenous Geographies of Colonial-capitalist Dispossession**

Geographers have long critiqued the rigid temporal, spatial and economic framings of Marx's theory of dispossession through primitive accumulation, with David Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession being one of the more notable ones (Harvey 2003). Coulthard

intervenes in long-standing debates on dispossession by pushing for a shift from capital relations to colonial relations.<sup>83</sup> He argues:

By ignoring or downplaying the injustice of colonial dispossession, critical theory and left political strategy not only risks becoming complicit in the very structures and processes of domination that it ought to oppose, but it also risks overlooking what could prove to be invaluable glimpses into the ethical practices and preconditions required for the construction of a more just and sustainable world order (Coulthard 2014, 12).

His approach is one that examines colonial structures of domination through genocidal practices of assimilation, such as policies implemented through the *Indian Act* and modes of colonial governmentality operating through a politics of recognition, albeit Coulthard focuses more on the latter and has become one of the more notable scholars on this subject.

Overall, one of Coulthard's main interventions lies in his re-centering of Indigenous claims for land. While the food sovereignty literature has done so by contextualizing land as something that food actors should have the right to access and control in resistance neoliberal development, Coulthard contends that the dispossession of Indigenous lands must be framed within a colonial context in addition to capitalist accumulation, all the while accounting for the sacred meaning of land to Indigenous communities. On the one hand, he re-centers the meaning of land by taking up narrow Marxist political economy approaches that have traditionally focused on the role of labor. By drawing on Cole Harris' work on colonial dispossession (2004), Coulthard argues that the role of Indigenous labor in Canada must be historically contextualized within the post-fur trade era, a time marked by increased European settlement, the availability of non-European exploitable labor and Canada establishing itself as a federal dominion. According to Harris and Coulthard, from the perspective of the settler-colonial Canadian state there was

---

<sup>83</sup> See Coulthard's *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, 2014, for a more extensive analysis of Marx's theory of primitive accumulation in chapters 26 and 32 of *Capital*.

more of a need for Indigenous peoples' land than for their cheap labor, marking a shift from a colonial relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples based on trade to an Indigenous-settler relationship based on land.

For the most part, I agree with Coulthard as I believe that his main argument rests upon the notion that land was absolutely necessary in Canada's nation-building and economic standing on a global market while Indigenous labor was not in light of the availability of exploitable labor from recent immigrants. Moreover, extractive industry on Indigenous territories continues to bring outsiders in (Gilberthorpe and Hilson 2014). However, as I draw out in more detail in chapter 4, over time Indigenous peoples have been drawn into the settler economy, which particularly for northern communities, has predominantly been within resource extraction industries. Moreover, the labor of knowledgeable Indigenous trappers (a sector that generally did not employ immigrants) remained an aspect of the domestic economy into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While I show how Anishinaabe people have sought to uphold their lifeways and responsibilities to their traditional territories while engaging in the settler economy this has become increasingly difficult with heightened forms of neoliberal development. Hence, it's imperative to highlight how the integration of Indigenous peoples in cheap exploitative extractive labor works in concert with a number of assimilative policies to restructure their relationships with their traditional territories and foodways. Furthermore, while Indigenous labor was not imperative to nation building, it certainly played a role in the creation of reserves. For example, at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Canadian government oftentimes worked with extractive industry to establish reserves in locations where pulp paper mills and lumber mills were established. While Indigenous peoples would be contained within the colonial enclosures of reserves constraining

their mobility on their traditional territories they simultaneously made up a pool of cheap and exploitable labor (Daigle 2015).

Moreover, while land makes up the crux of anti-colonial and anti-capitalist Indigenous activism, it is also important to point out how the role of labor becomes a contentious issue that creates long-standing divides within Indigenous communities in debates on extractive development. That is, with Indigenous peoples experiencing the highest poverty rates in Canada with some struggling to get by on a day-to-day basis on the one hand and a growing body of Aboriginal elite capitalists working with industry and the state on the other hand, there is much potential for building consensus around the so-called economic sustainability and autonomy offered through extractive enterprises (Wilson and McDonald 2010). Indeed, this is a point of contention that has oftentimes come up in my discussions with Indigenous colleagues and activists and which surfaced while I was in Treaty 3.<sup>84</sup> For this reason, I focus on these tensions throughout chapters 4 and 5, which examine both the embodied geographies of dispossession and self-determination. Specifically, I focus on the tensions that are reproduced as Indigenous peoples assume leadership roles within the band council system and/or develop entrepreneurial enterprises that are ultimately based on capitalist market ideals rather than their traditional knowledge systems and laws. In doing this, I draw attention to how even well intentioned efforts seeking to protect traditional harvesting grounds and cultivate self-determination might reproduce colonial territorial boundaries and relationships between Indigenous peoples and the state and industry.

Overall, however, the centrality of land to Coulthard's work is absolutely imperative and beautifully articulated throughout *RSWM*. As he argues, complicating Marxist political economy accounts of dispossession redirects attention to the importance of examining how not only people

---

<sup>84</sup> I go into more detail about the divisiveness of extractive development in part 3.

but also land is exploitable, which opens up the space for more thoughtful engagements on environmental degradation and sustainability. In one way, Coulthard's call to un-silence land exploitation can be interpreted as the actual violence that is inflicted on Indigenous lands through the clear-cutting of trees, the unsustainable drilling of minerals and oil through mining and pipeline gateways and resultant contamination to waterways, animals and plants. In other words, violence embodied by the land should stand on its own as violent colonial dispossession. Yet, in another way, Coulthard traces the land's embodiment of violent dispossession to ruptures in human-land relationships in Indigenous communities, which sustain Indigenous land-based ontologies.

As Coulthard states, relationships with land and land-based practices "[...] can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms – and less around our emergent status as “rightless proletarians” (Coulthard 2014, 13). Coulthard calls this process of learning Indigenous ontologies through an intimate relationship with the land as “grounded normativity” which entails “[...] the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time” (ibid). As Al Hunter from Rainy River First Nation states: “When I was younger, I spent a lot of time on the land with my mom. That’s how I learned the knowledge of the bush. I was her ricing partner. That’s how I learned to do things and conduct myself. It was never “this is what you need to know to be Anishinaabe”. It was about knowing by just doing. The way you interact with the land shapes the way you interact with people”.<sup>85</sup> It is this ethic of grounded normativity, which must be scaled up, that makes up Coulthard's thinking on

---

<sup>85</sup> Albert Hunter, personal interview, February 2014.

an emancipatory politics for Indigenous peoples. Grounded normativity both unveils the coloniality of a progressive Canadian liberal agenda, as critiqued by Patel and Grey, and opens up the possibility for decolonial and resurgent politics. And so, while one might point out that land is indeed an underlying piece of the food sovereignty movement, rigid framings of controlling and owning land do not accurately reflect Indigenous ontologies and how, in fact, these worldviews are grounded in what the land can teach us. As Lisa Makonini from Rainy River First Nation states:

If you think back, you don't have control over those things, because it's just part of where you are, where you live. You don't own the deer or even own the land. The reserve boundaries, your trapline boundaries, it's someone drawing lines on a map. So to say, you should be able to control what's out there, does anybody have that right, whether you're a First Nation person or not? It's part of the earth. It's not like I can say, watch out, those are our deer and it's our traditional right to hunt our deer wherever they go. I don't even know if there would be a word (in Anishinaabemowin) for that because that's not the thought that's behind there.<sup>86</sup>

It's perspectives such as these that convey why narrow political economy approaches can never fully capture the depth of colonial dispossession unraveling across Indigenous lands.

### **Embodied Geographies of Dispossession**

In many ways, Coulthard's framing of colonial dispossession as domination, governmentality and what can ostensibly be called his take on resistance (through his concept of grounded normativity, although this arguably goes beyond resistance to resurgence), draws parallels with Matthew Sparke's adept analysis of political geographies of globalization, which he characterizes as forms of dispossession administered through domination and governmentality

---

<sup>86</sup> Lisa Mikonini, personal interview, December 2013.

(Sparke 2004, 2006, 2008).<sup>87</sup> On the one hand, as I argue, Sparke asserts that the conceptualization of dispossession as domination and governmentality should not be interpreted as a teleological transition from one era marked by brute violence to another one based on modes of disciplinary power, a point that Coulthard also states in *RSWM* (Sparke 2004, 2006). More importantly, in approaching the subject of dispossession from a geographic perspective, Sparke is extra precautionary to not reproduce an erroneous divide between macro forms of symbolic and structural violence and micro forms of brute material violence (Sparke 2004). To avoid what he terms an essentialist approach that might miss “important political geographical contexts and imperatives”, he proceeds to unpack the multi-scalar sites of domination through the home and empire (Sparke 2004, 782). In doing so, he turns to feminist geographic scholarship, which he argues have produced some of the most adept analyses of localized and varied forms of embodiment (and disembodiment) of coercive domination, which he later re-emphasizes in relation to governmentality (Sparke 2006).

Certainly, the prioritization of intimate manifestations and embodiments of structural processes has been a defining feature of feminist geographic scholarship on globalization. This multi-scalar theoretical framework becomes central in understanding the intimate geographies of colonial violence embodied by Indigenous peoples (Hart 2001, 2004; Hyndman 2004; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Valentine 2008). Specifically, dialogical potential is particularly promising with the sub-field of the global and the intimate as academics writing on this topic have pushed for and developed multi-scalar analyses that attend to the co-constitution of subjects and structural processes, in this case the colonial or Indigenous subject and colonial-capitalist structures of power (Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006). That is, intimate geographies unsilence and make visible the myriad ways in which Indigenous bodies, minds,

---

<sup>87</sup> In the third and final piece of this three-part series, Sparke proceeds to address resistance.

kinship relations and lands have been marked by historical and ongoing forms of colonial dispossession. Part of this feminist praxis is to uphold and honor the experiences and knowledge of those impacted by structural violence. That is, the people, bodies and minds that are violently devastated by structural violence become real and ultimately direct theorizations on both dispossession and emancipation rather than being relegated to mere abstractions.

In this sense, the global and the intimate, paralleling Coulthard's grounded normativity, is ultimately founded on a form of grounded theory that is rooted in the intimate geographies of everyday life. As I have started to sketch out in chapter 2, the intimate geographies of Anishinaabe foodways help us understand just how central their food and food practices are to their lifeways and ontological perspectives. Subsequently, this intimate knowledge allows us to truly comprehend just what the dispossession of Indigenous foodways entails from impacts to their political and economic structures to the ways their bodies, minds and spirits have been marked by colonial violence. In this way, intimate Indigenous geographies push theorizations of the global and the intimate by re-centering the importance of land. Specifically, they unpack how land itself, and thus its dispossession or protection, is the ultimate foundation of Indigenous wellbeing and self-determination.

Going back to Coulthard's work, he indeed argues that a colonial framing of dispossession enables a more "[...] radical intersectional analysis" that attends to the "power effect" that is exercised through market capitalism, racism, patriarchy and colonialism (Coulthard 2014, 14). To this end, bringing Coulthard's colonial-capitalist framework into

dialogue with feminist geographic perspectives as well as Indigenous feminism opens up the space for a constructive analysis on the multi and interconnected scales of dispossession.<sup>88</sup>

Recently, feminist geographer Sarah Hunt has argued that while Coulthard reiterates the importance of colonial forms of domination and violence in *RSWM*, he tends to over-emphasize what he sees as less violent forms of dispossession through modes of colonial governmentality (Hunt 2015). She goes on to say that, overall, analyses that over-stress dispossession through macro forms of “structural and symbolic violence” risk overlooking everyday forms of material and embodied violence (Hunt 2015, 3). Specializing in intimate geographies of violence, Hunt approaches this tension through her thinking on brute physical violence that continues to be inflicted on Indigenous women and two-spirited peoples.<sup>89</sup> According to Hunt, grounded normativity must challenge us to trace the multi-scalar workings of state violence from macro-scale land negotiations to the micro-scale of domestic violence inflicted on Indigenous women in the home.

Although Hunt does not explicitly situate her argument within the theoretical framework of the global and the intimate in this particular reflection, she nonetheless draws on the idea of the co-construction of structural processes and intimate geographies. In an honest and respectable move, Hunt deploys this co-constitutive framework to urge Indigenous scholars and allies alike to acknowledge that brute physical violence remains a daily reality for many Indigenous peoples, oftentimes (though certainly not exclusively) at the hands of other Indigenous peoples, despite of the veiled forms of colonial governmentality that also continue to

---

<sup>88</sup> Coulthard draws on Indigenous feminism to a large extent in *RSWM*. In chapter 4, I engage more with these works to examine the embodied dispossession of colonial structures of dominance implemented through the *Indian Act*.

<sup>89</sup> Two-spirited is a term that is commonly used within Indigenous communities to refer to those who identify with the LGBTQ community. The term denotes long-standing pre-colonial Indigenous thought on the identities, roles and gifts of two-spirited peoples.

dispossess. From this perspective, Hunt calls out not only Aboriginal elite capitalists and politicians working with the state and extractive industry but also those who dispossess their fellow community and family members from personal safety. As Hunt states, colonial violence and dispossession cannot merely focus on the more *scaled up* versions of structural Indigenous-state relations but rather must address everyday forms of violence that occur at the scale of the community, family, individual, body and mind. She argues:

There should be no macro/micro political division here, our consciousness as legal and political actors must be formed both by looking inward toward the intimate spaces of our homes and communities as well as outward toward our engagement with systems of settler colonial power. These sites of resurgence and recognition are not separate, but unfold in the same spaces, within our territories, in relation to the same people, upon the same bodies. (Hunt 2015: 8).

While Hunt's standpoint in taking up Coulthard's work might at first seem disconnected from the discussion at hand, I find her analysis to be compelling for one crucial reason. Hunt's demand for a multi-scalar consciousness resonates with what I have argued thus far, that it is crucial to understand the embodied experiences of, on the one hand, the love and responsibility that Indigenous peoples' have for their land and animal and plants relatives and, on the other hand, the disconnection from this love and responsibility that is reproduced through colonial modes of domination and governmentality. In other words, how do Indigenous peoples across space, in this case Anishinaabe people in Treaty 3, understand and practice their love and responsibilities for the land? How do they understand their relationships with their ancestral land and food practices? How do they cultivate their relationships? How do their relationships with land and land-based practices such as food harvesting cultivate Anishinaabe political and legal ontologies? While one can never begin to provide holistic, universal and definitive answers to

these questions, I have sought to offer reflections on these based on the embodied geographies of Anishinaabe foodways in part 1.

But, just as embodied geographies are absolutely necessary in understanding Indigenous land-based relationships and ontological perspectives, they should remain centered when grappling with the impacts of colonial dispossession. Thus, while I focus on the structural scale of colonial domination through the *Indian Act* and colonial governmentality through a politics of recognition, I also examine the embodiment of dispossession by Anishinaabe people and their land. I follow Hunt by asking how Indigenous peoples become consensual and active agents in reproducing everyday forms of violence on their ancestral lands and foodways. In other words, how do colonial domination and governmentality disembody Indigenous peoples from their love and responsibilities to their relative, the land? And, how might some Indigenous peoples become active and consensual agents in reproducing the colonial dispossession of their lands? While I approach this through the embodied geographies of Anishinaabe foodways in chapter 4, I finish here with some final thoughts on how the idea of consent, that is the construction of consensual subjects, has been approached in geographic and Indigenous studies scholarship.

### **Embodying Consent**

Going back to Sparke, he argues that dominance, in this case colonial dominance depends on both coercion and consent. While he asserts that coercive violence characterizes structures of dominance more than consent-building, he simultaneously states that:

This does not mean that dominance eclipses the ideological interpellation of consent altogether. Understood instead as just part of the wider over-determination of social and political life, it can be analyzed as working in conjunction with (and in varying, situationally specific degrees of) consent to skew the larger

performance of hegemony more towards the pole of brute force, naked violence and coercion (Sparke 2004, 779).

Sparke's thinking on consent is particularly thought provoking when applied to colonial dispossession in Canada. Specifically, colonial dominance, through the onset of the *Indian Act*, is both a form of coercive violence reproduced through genocidal practices of assimilation and a long-term project of institutionalizing a regulatory regime of colonial governmentality that is partly founded on the consent of Indigenous peoples who become active agents in their own dispossession.

In one way, part of my interest in consent lies in deconstructing taken for granted forms of consent, particularly during an era marked by heightened colonial domination where Indigenous peoples approached relationships with the new settler colonial state from their own ontological perspectives. For example, the signing of treaties during this era, specifically the signing of Treaty 3 in 1873, should not be framed as a consensual act on behalf of Anishinaabe people to restructure their relationships with their ancestral lands and foodways. Rather, it must be contextualized within the ontological frameworks that they were approaching these agreements with. Certainly, this is now well documented by Indigenous studies scholars and geographers alike, including how Western and Indigenous worldviews continue to clash within political and legal spaces negotiating Aboriginal title (Sparke 1998; Alfred 1999; Clayton 2000). Furthermore, ostensibly consensual agreements between Indigenous peoples and the settler colonial state must be deconstructed for the brute acts of violence that incited, what should more accurately be framed as attempts of survival, such as how the Canadian federal government used sign-or-starve tactics to force Indigenous peoples to sign treaties during the latter part of the nineteenth century (Mosby 2013).

In another way, I am interested in how, over time, colonial structures of domination foster consensual subjects and how this becomes a primary colonial tactic within an era of governmentality. Specifically, I am interested in how colonial violence is aimed at restructuring Indigenous identities that are founded on land-based ontologies and relationships with their sacred relatives to law-abiding and market-oriented Aboriginal citizens that relate to the land according to colonial imaginaries of territory (Alfred 1999, 2005; Coulthard 2007, 2014). From this perspective, I am interested in the range of agency in what can be termed consent. At one end of the spectrum, there is a growing body of Aboriginal elite capitalists and politicians who are actively engaging in the legitimation of the settler colonial state while supporting economic development initiatives, self-government packages and land claims that continue to violently dispossess Indigenous peoples' lands and foodways. While some working for the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and band council may have good intentions that become blunted to be aligned with Canada's sovereignty, others have become consumed with neoliberal and colonial values of privatization and profit instead of their responsibilities to their ancestral lands (Coulthard 2007). Then there are those who are also disconnected from their respective knowledge, legal and political traditions, although they are not necessarily taking on active roles in the reproduction of contemporary colonial violence (at least not the extent of the former group). Rather, these individuals are what I will call those who remain to be awakened and stand up for their land and lifeways (Alfred 2005). Yet again, there are those who fall somewhere between these two spectrums as they might not be involved in large-scale capitalist projects, yet their everyday actions become more aligned with market capitalist ideals than those of their Indigenous knowledge systems and laws.

Overall, however, my interest in consent lies in the intimate ways this is reproduced within Indigenous communities, which has been most seriously taken up by Indigenous feminist scholars. As Bonita Lawrence argues, over time colonial forms of dominance implemented through laws such as the *Indian Act* become taken-for-granted ways of thinking and being in the world: “ The Indian Act [...] is much more than a body of laws that for over a century have controlled every aspect of Indian life. As a regulatory regime, the Indian Act provides ways of understanding Native identity, organizing a conceptual framework that has shaped contemporary Native life in ways that are now so familiar as to almost seem “natural” ” (Lawrence 2003, 3). Others, have taken this analysis one step further to examine how these “natural” ways of life are the result of the attack on the most intimate Indigenous spaces and relationships (Goeman 2013; A. Simpson 2013) For example, Tonawanda feminist scholar Mishuana Goeman (2013) has unpacked how colonial dominance as implemented under the *Indian Act* was intended to mold a particular kind of citizenship by restructuring Indigenous identities and relationships through what she calls the “liberal logics of love”. That is, she draws attention to how the goal of enfranchisement in the *Indian Act* and *the Gradual Enfranchisement Act* sought to restructure Indigenous identities and kinship systems by attacking the most intimate space of love and marriage. Again, while Goeman’s work might seemingly appear as disconnected from the project of Indigenous foodways, her commitment to understanding the embodied and psychological impacts of colonialism are absolutely imperative in understanding the intimate ways that Indigenous peoples’ relationships with their land and foodways have been altered and how consent to colonial violence can be cultivated in the most intimate and veiled ways. With this in mind, I proceed into chapter 4 to explore how Anishinaabe peoples understand and embody historical and ongoing colonial violence inflicted on their sacred foodways and land.

## Chapter 4: The Embodiment of Colonial Dispossession

### *The Great Flood*

*The Nishnaabeg (Anishinaabe people) land lost their way; their relationships were imbalanced; and their lives were permeated with violence and conflict. As a restorative measure, Gzhwe Mnidoo (Creator) brought a large flood to the lands, not as a punitive act, but as purification designed to re-align the Nishnaabeg with mino bimaadiziwin. Waynabozhoo managed to save himself by finding a large log floating in the vast expanse of water. In time, more and more animals joined him on the log. Floating aimlessly in the ocean of floodwater, Waynabozhoo decided that something must be done. He decided to dive down in the water and grab a handful of earth. Waynabozhoo dived down into the depths and was gone for a very long time, returning without the earth. In turn, a number of animals- loon, helldiver, turtle, otter and mink- all tried and failed. Finally Zhaashkoonh (muskrat) tried. Zhaashkoonh was gone forever, and eventually floated to the surface, dead. Waynabozhoo picked the muskrat out of the water and found a handful of mud in Zhaashkoonh's paw.*

*Mikinaag (turtle) volunteered to bear the weight of the earth on her back and Waynabozhoo placed the earth there. Waynabozhoo began to sing. The animals danced in a clockwise circular fashion and the winds blew, creating a huge and widening circle. Eventually, they created the huge island on which we live, North America.<sup>90</sup>*

\*\*\*

---

<sup>90</sup> This is the story of “The Great Flood” as recounted by Leanne Simpson in *Dancing on Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence*, 2013. Another version of this story can be found by Edward Benton-Banai in *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*, 2010. There are different versions of the story and it is part of many different Indigenous nations, including the Cree nation.

As the re-creation story of the great flood recounts, there have been times throughout history when Anishinaabe people were disconnected from their responsibilities to and love for their land. This story in particular, recounts a time of renewal when Turtle Island was created and the Anishinaabe people were taken pity over and given another chance to re-honor their relationships with the land and their animal relatives. In the twenty-first century, the story continues to ask whether the Anishinaabe, as families, clans, communities and a nation, are upholding their responsibilities to their sacred relatives. At the same time, the story opens up the space to ask why some Anishinaabe and other Indigenous peoples have become disconnected from their land-based practices, responsibilities and ontological perspectives.

In this chapter I explore possible answers to this question by delving more deeply into the intimate and embodied geographies of the colonial-capitalist dispossession of Anishinaabe foodways. As argued in chapter 3, dispossession entails colonial structures of domination exercised through genocidal practices of assimilation, specifically through the *Indian Act*, and modes of colonial governmentality administered through the nexus of neoliberal capitalism, specifically resource extraction, and a politics of recognition. I approach these varied colonial tactics as forms of violence that work in concert in the colonial present. That is, while I delineate forms of colonial domination through the *Indian Act*, I also contend that historical colonial legacies continue to discipline Indigenous peoples in the present and that these are in fact experienced as embodied forms of violence by Indigenous bodies, minds and lands. More than this, however, I argue that brute forms of physical and material colonial violence continue to be exerted in the present despite of a move towards the implementation of modes of governmentality reproduced through a politics of recognition. The result is a colonial project

aimed at re-territorializing Indigenous peoples' relationships with their ancestral lands and foodways.

Re-territorialization has been taken up by a number of scholars (Deleuze and Guattari 1977; Sparke 2000; Harvey 2003). In this chapter, I frame re-territorialization as a multi-scalar process in which Indigenous peoples become disconnected from their land-based practices and ontological perspectives through a nexus of colonial-capitalist rules, impositions, removals and exclusions. By drawing on the feminist scholarship that I examined in chapter 3, I argue that the re-territorialization of Indigenous relationships with their homelands and foodways is felt physically, intellectually and emotionally in the most intimate of ways (Lawrence 2003; Mountz and Hyndman 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012; Goeman 2013; Hunt 2015). That is, as sketched out in chapter 2, Anishinaabe foodways make up the multi-scalar places and relationships that underlie and sustain Anishinaabe nationhood and self-determination. This includes the scale of the mind, specifically a way of thinking that is cultivated through land-based practices and ontologies; the body that is nourished through traditional foods; intimate familial relationships as well as those with the natural and spiritual worlds and; clanship governance structures and political economies. For this reason, I approach the colonial-capitalist dispossession of Anishinaabe foodways and thus re-territorialization of relationships with the land as violence inflicted on the co-constitutive scales of Anishinaabe social, political and economic structures and the intimate geographies of their bodies, minds and spirits. In doing this, I focus specifically on how some Anishinaabe people become disembodied from their love and responsibilities to their traditional territories and foodways and, instead, become more aligned with market capitalist ideals and settler colonial imaginaries of citizenship and territory.

The chapter explores the disconnection to land and foodways through three manifestations of colonial-capitalist dispossession in the Treaty 3. I begin by examining how Anishinaabe people's relationships with land and foodways become re-territorialized through what I call states of extraction. Namely, I examine how Anishinaabe people's relationships with their foodways have become reshaped through forced assimilation into a settler and increasingly neoliberal capitalist economy based on resource extraction. Specifically, I explore how the generational disconnection from land-based practices risks reproducing future generations of Indigenous peoples who are more attuned to market-based values than those of their own nation. Moreover, I examine how an ever-growing neoliberal capitalist economy results in the egregious embodiment of dispossession from ongoing forms of massive land removal to how Anishinaabe people express concern about the embodiment of environmental contamination by their local foodways, waterways and their own bodies. Following this, I explore how this neoliberal economy has and continues to be embedded in the reproduction of the colonial Canadian state, which requires the control and ownership of Indigenous homelands. Specifically, I examine how re-territorialization is reproduced through colonial borders and boundaries that are materialized through the creation of reserves, treaty territories, geopolitical borders and the privatization of land. Finally, I end by considering how re-territorialization occurs through the historical legacies and thus ongoing disciplining of Indigenous bodies and minds resultant of genocidal practices of assimilation implemented under the *Indian Act*, namely the residential school system and the banning of Indigenous ceremonies.

### **Dispossession Through a State of Extraction**

*How do we become disconnected from our foods? Take the weasel for an example. The weasel doesn't have a high market value for trappers. But, the weasel is high in value in the Anishinaabe community. The weasel represents a high level in the midewin.*<sup>91</sup>

On March 24<sup>th</sup> 1975, Canada declared the beaver as it's national emblem and symbol of Canada's sovereignty.<sup>92</sup> The act recognized the role of the fur trade from the early 17<sup>th</sup> to late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in what became the backbone of the Canadian economy. Indeed, one of the first currencies to be issued in Canada was a coin equal to the value of one male beaver pelt, dubbed a "buck", administered by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). Throughout more than 250 years, the quest for fur was deeply embedded in European, specifically French and English, exploration and empire expansion on the North American continent. Fur trading companies such as the HBC, financed a number of colonial projects including missionary work and the establishment of a number of trading posts that served as sites of civilization (RCAP 1996). While this economy underwent a number of stagnant periods and transformations due to colonial politics, it remained a driving force of mercantile colonialism on Turtle Island up until the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century when the timber industry gained a prominent role in driving settlement and economic infrastructural development for the newfound Canadian domestic economy (ibid). Still, the fur trade remained an important source of income for many Indigenous peoples in the north into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including for Anishinaabe people in the Treaty 3 territory.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, many Anishinaabe people from all generations expressed that their families had long been involved in

---

<sup>91</sup> Gary Smith, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>92</sup> National Symbol of Canada Act, 1975.

<sup>93</sup> It is important to point out that even though fur trapping remained and still remains for some Indigenous peoples an importance source of income during the winter months, the actual era of the "fur trade" took place between the early 17<sup>th</sup> to mid 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, while ongoing trapping is more generally called "fur trapping".

fur trapping. Elders, such as Ogimaagwanebiik, recalled how trapping has been a way of life for her and her family, which has enabled them to remain connected to their foodways:

I am 72 years old. And I mostly grew up on the trapline, the bush life. First I lived with my grandmother and grandfather and then when they passed on I went to live with my mom and dad. There were people on the trapline and we lived off the land. A few years down the road I ended up marrying a trapper. We were together for 37yrs before he passed on. Today, I'm still very much a trapper and live off the land. For me, it's the way I want to live and I raised my family, my children, that way because I was raised that way. And my family and I, my children, my grandchildren and my great grandchildren are still very much into, what should I call it? We eat from the bush. Traditional foods.<sup>94</sup>

As Ogimaagwanebiik states, trapping was the primary source of income for many families while she was growing up. At this time, many of the First Nation communities remained fairly isolated since the Trans-Canada Highway was not built through the Treaty 3 Territory (from Thunder Bay to Rainy River Ontario) until the 1960s (Robins 1960). Moreover, many communities such as Lac La Croix First Nation remained fly-in communities up until the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, as Ogimaagwanebiik became older, she became a language teacher in a local school as a form of mixed economy was becoming necessary to survive financially.

Andrew Jourdain, who is a generation younger than Ogimaagwanebiik, recounts this mixed economy lifestyle. While he recalls how trapping has always been a big part of his community and family life, he situates this within a seasonal employment cycle, as there were mounting pressures to integrate into settler social and economic life during his youth and young adulthood:

People went to their traplines and that's how they would survive. Traplines are passed down to the oldest son or daughter. I come from a family of 13 and I'm the youngest. Our family has had our trapline for generations and it has always been passed down to the

---

<sup>94</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

eldest son. My grandpa and dad trapped all of their lives. They would trap all winter and they would be tour guides for Campbell's Cabins in the summer.<sup>95</sup>

Likewise, Dan Geyshick remembered how he and his dad would make a living off of trapping from October to May. According to Dan, they would earn approximately ten dollars for a big beaver pelt and five dollars for a small one. During the summer, they would also work for Campbell's Cabins, which is a commercial fishing resort located in the Treaty 3 Territory which started as a trading post in the 1920s. As Andrew and Dan state, they trapped the animals for furs and pelts and kept the rest to feed their families, a memory that was also shared by Sherri Kabatay. While Sherri, who was born in the 1970s, a generation that has increasingly moved away from trapping as a form of economic livelihood, trapping has nonetheless been a big part of her life:

My dad is a trapper and has been a trapper his whole life. I remember we would always have a lot of food. He would get the furs and then we would have food. That's how food was provided to us. So, we grew up eating all of that stuff. We always had food, wild foods in our fridge. All of the animals throughout the year, all the ducks and fish.<sup>96</sup>

As Paul Nadasdy has argued, up until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Indigenous peoples' engagement in the fur trade caused little disruption to their lifeways (Nadasdy 2003). Many Indigenous trappers had engaged in trade with other Indigenous peoples long before the arrival of mercantilists. While trading with Europeans was of a different nature as it was based on the commodification of what they considered sacred foods and gifts, they were ultimately able to remain at the periphery of the mercantile economy. For the most part, they were able to live and move on their traditional territories according to their respective laws and seasonal patterns that

---

<sup>95</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

<sup>96</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

were guided by their foodways and ceremonies. Additionally, their languages, ceremonies, storytelling traditions and political structures remained out of the immediate scope of concern for mercantilists.<sup>97</sup> However, this began to change going into the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the increased intrusiveness of assimilative policies implemented under the *Indian Act* and increased financial pressures to integrate into the settler economy.

At the same time, however, stories shared by Ogimaagwanebiik, Dan, Andrew and Sherri show how there was still a strong sense of connection to the land throughout their lifetime and a commitment to maintain their Anishinaabe lifeways despite of surmounted colonial pressures and intervention. Both Dan and Andrew have maintained this lifestyle to a certain extent although it has become increasingly difficult. Currently, Dan continues to trap during the winter and does maintenance of his community's grounds for the MNR during the summer. Andrew, on the other hand, continues to trap and maintain his trapline, although it remains peripheral as a source of income as he works full-time for the MNR.<sup>98</sup> However, as fur trapping has increasingly become more difficult to maintain as a form of economic livelihood and way of life, Anishinaabe people like many other Indigenous peoples, have been pushed into other forms of seasonal employment that oftentimes collide with their responsibilities to their ancestral territories. Within the Treaty 3, seasonal employment has generally included commercial fishing, logging, pulpwood production and, to lesser extent, mining. While some of the trappers I spoke with

---

<sup>97</sup> In making these statements, I absolutely do not intend on representing the fur trade era as a peaceful co-existence between Indigenous peoples and European mercantilists. Certainly, much has been documented on the brute violence exercised against Indigenous peoples, particularly women, not to mention the rivalries between Indigenous nations that were oftentimes propelled by European mercantilists (RCAP 1996; Dickason 2002). My intention here is simply to state that colonial domination over Indigenous lands and lifeways was exacerbated towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the interpellation of a number of factors, including increased European settlement into the now Canadian nation and, of course, the infamous *Indian Act*.

<sup>98</sup> During the writing of this dissertation, Andrew retired from the Ministry of Natural Resources.

engaged in logging and pulpwood, many more had engaged in commercial fishing as the seasonal employment of trapping and fishing coincided well and both forms of work allowed them to remain out on the land. More than this, however, community members expressed their ability to uphold their responsibilities to the land through this form of employment, which they were also able to do with trapping.

Campbell's Cabins emerged as a site where many trappers had worked. The location of the resort itself is entangled in multiple and overlapping territorial boundaries as it is situated on a lake, also called Lac La Croix, which borders Canada and the U.S. and simultaneously falls within Quetico Provincial Park. More importantly, however, the lake is a sacred food harvesting area for the Anishinaabe people. While I return to colonial dispossession through territorial boundaries in the next section, I turn my attention here to the ways in which community members have navigated their role in the commercial fishing industry. As Dan states, many community members from all age groups have worked for Campbell's Cabins as either guides, docking people, cooks or janitorial staff for many decades now and have done so while upholding their responsibilities to their traditional territories. As Steve and Iris Jourdain shared, their ability to uphold their land-based responsibilities was, in part, a result of several agreements made throughout the 1950s and 1970s between Lac La Croix First Nation, Campbell's Cabins and the MNR, which represents Quetico Provincial Park. Agreements with the MNR entailed the right to fish within the territorial boundaries of the provincial park and unfettered mobility on the lake. In addition to this, they ensured that an Indigenous guide would accompany all fishermen hosted by Campbell's Cabins. As Steve shared, the guides who were Lac La Croix community members, used their knowledge of their traditional territories to regulate where fishermen would be able to harvest and what types of species of fish they were able to keep:

We won our right to go anywhere we want in the park. A number of years ago we sat down with the Ministry of Natural Resources. We said we have a right to go anywhere. So, we arrived at an agreement where we would rotate lakes where we could go in the summer time to fish and where we could bring tourists. Every time a tourist plane would go in there in the park, there would have to be an Indian guide. The plane can't go in there all by itself, into the lakes. And, we rotate the lakes. We don't overfish the lakes. A lot of the guides are into conversation now.<sup>99</sup>



**Figure 10: Campbell's Cabins 1937; Photo Source: Ren Holland<sup>100</sup>**

---

<sup>99</sup> Steve and Iris Jourdain, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>100</sup> Ren Holland is a resident of Minnesota. He is a retired educator and author of *The Early Resorts of Minnesota: Tourism in the Land of 10,000 Lakes*, 2012. He generously donated and gave me the permission to use this photo in this publication. You can visit his website at <http://blog.renholland.com>.



**Figure 11: Campbell’s Cabins 2015; Photo Source, Campbell Cabins Website, 2015<sup>101</sup>**

In a separate conversation, Steve’s brother, Andrew, reiterated this by saying: “There has always been an agreement between the guides themselves and Campbell resort. There are certain areas where we will not bring guests. For example, there is a river, a sacred and ceremonial place, where we would never bring outsiders to”.<sup>102</sup> Hence, the co-management terms agreed upon by Anishinaabe people, the MNR and Campbell’s Cabins were undergirded by a lifetime of knowledge and respect for the land. Individuals such as Steve and Andrew have used that knowledge to protect sacred sites and interdependent ecosystems on their traditional territories while simultaneously renewing their land-based practices and providing for their families. Yet,

---

<sup>101</sup> Campbell’s Cabins Website: <http://www.campbellscabins.com> [Accessed August 2015].

<sup>102</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

the oral histories recounted also unpack how it has become increasingly difficult for Anishinaabe people to navigate the communal sharing of their traditional territories as they have been increasingly assimilated into a settler economy which has increasingly become enveloped in neoliberal capitalist accumulation, specifically through extractive industry for various regions in Canada. Indeed, when I asked community members of the causes leading to the disconnection to land-based food practices, some of them recalled the changes that occurred after roads were built into fly-in communities. Interestingly enough, these roads, such as Flanders Road leading into Lac La Croix First Nation, was constructed as a main transport route for logging, an industry that has had devastating impacts on many traplines and traditional hunting grounds.



**Figure 12: Clear-cutting in Grassy Narrows First Nation, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Free Grassy Website, 2015**

In one way, the increased integration into a market economy was conceived as changes in a way of thinking and relating to the land. That is, as a form of violence exercised on Indigenous minds, that alter a way of thinking about their homelands and animal relatives, which subsequently reproduce behaviors and a way of life that can potentially have devastating impacts on their foodways. In some instances, this manifested itself throughout my stay as some community members expressed disapproval of decisions made by the political leaders in the Treaty 3 with regards to giving logging and mining companies permission to come into their traditional territories. Indeed, when community members found out I was from the Treaty 9 territory, where there is a proposed large-scale mining development project currently being negotiated, named the “The Ring of Fire”, many of them would probe me about my community’s political leadership’s stance on the issue. In many other instances, however, people worried just as much if not more about how market capitalist ideals were being internalized and embodied in more intimate geographies of everyday life. As Gary Smith states: “People aren’t harvesting beaver anymore because of the market value”.<sup>103</sup> David Lindsey, the fish and wildlife officer for the Grand Council Treaty #3, the regional governmental body, reiterated this by reflecting on how he had observed a recent spike in interest amongst the younger generation to trap, although he understood it to be more connected to market value than a responsibility: “The price of fur last year was through the roof. It was the best year it’s been in years and years. So, with how that was and how it hit the news, there has been most interest amongst the younger generation to trap”.<sup>104</sup>

That is, for some Anishinaabe people, their relationships to land-based practices and animal relatives is gradually changing from a more sacred and spiritual one to one that is based

---

<sup>103</sup> Gary Smith, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>104</sup> David Lindsey, personal interview, March 2014.

on the marketization and monetization of traditional foodways and lands. This concern was expressed in regards to the growing number of community members involved in the marketization of local wild rice. While the wild rice has been impacted by rising water levels from dams erected by logging and hydroelectric companies, which prevent the rice from growing, it has simultaneously been threatened through its increased commodification. As some scholars have already argued, the privatization, patenting and genetic modification of wild rice has been a concern amongst the Anishinaabe in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ontario and Manitoba for some time now, with violent dispossession inflicted by multi-national corporations such as Nor-Cal (LaDuke 2007; Patel and Grey 2014). Increasingly, however, Anishinaabe people are becoming concerned with community members' participation in such endeavors. As Brian Major shared, some community efforts to gain economic sustainability through the mass commodification of wild rice is compromising the sustainability of this sacred food for Anishinaabe people across Treaty 3 and beyond. Newly established companies are utilizing mechanical harvesting methods via airboats. These harvesting practices, as opposed to traditional Anishinaabe methods that employ canoes and cedar poles within designated family harvesting areas, harshly uproot the wild rice grass from the water, which inhibits regrowth the following year. However, for some community members, the immediate yield of profit has come to outweigh the long-term wellbeing of the wild rice. As Ogiimaagwanebiik shared: "No one used to sell rice before. It's a money making thing now. They even bring a machine out there to get lots of rice so they can sell it. We used to trade and give each other rice".<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Ogiimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.



**Figure 13: Wild rice with cedar basket that is used to winnow the rice and cedar poles that are used to knock the rice into a canoe; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**

In another way, community members framed concerns of a growing market economy and, specifically, extractive industry as violence exercised over their homelands through environmental contamination. That is, they are concerned with the land's embodiment of colonial-capitalist violence just as much as they are about people embodying a market-oriented mentality, and how it is in fact reproduced by this change in worldviews. Specifically, Knowledge Holders expressed the interdependent ecologies impacted by environmental contamination reproduced through logging and mining. As David Lindsey expressed, water contamination has been an alarming issue for the Treaty 3 territory since the 1970s.<sup>106</sup> Yet,

---

<sup>106</sup> David Lindsey, personal interview, March 2014.

impacts have been severely aggravated through the long-term and culminating impacts of extractive industry. As David shared, this has had severe impacts on local fish populations:

I did some sampling on the Winnipeg river system and walleye are not longer safe to eat even though the mercury levels are relatively low. The recommended consumption of walleye is limited to no more than an 8 ounce serving per month. It comes under the Ontario guidelines.<sup>107</sup>

Likewise, Brian Major recalled how people were able to drink water directly from the lake when he was younger but they are no longer able to do so because of the alarming rates of mercury.<sup>108</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik reiterated this by worrying about health impacts that might be linked to the contamination of local waterways: “ Maybe it’s even what we’re drinking. We used to drink spring water from the bush”.<sup>109</sup> Currently, most First Nation communities in the Treaty 3 territory have water treatment plants, yet tap water is oftentimes not safe to consume, which is quite common in Indigenous communities across the nation. Thus, community members will buy their water from the local Safeway in Fort Frances or will boil it down. A leading Canadian newspaper, The Globe and Mail, has now reported multiple times on the egregious water conditions within First Nation communities. In one report (2008), Christie Blatchford states that, in the twenty-first century, water contamination in First Nation communities in Canada is comparable to those experienced within the Global South. While the newspaper article focuses on the violence inflicted on people, many Anishinaabe people would first comment on the violence inflicted on their local ecosystems, including animal and plant life. For example, Elder Marie Allen from Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation says: “All the clear-cutting in the bush.

---

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>109</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

What are the animals going to drink and eat? You can now see dead minnows and frogs in the water. All of the land and creation is being destroyed”.<sup>110</sup> She goes on to say that this is not a new concern. She remembers her grandparents commenting on the impacts of a newly open mine in Atikoken Ontario as they travelled down the muddy waters of a local river when she was a child.

Moreover, community members unpacked the interconnected scales of environmental contamination. Many of them linked the pollution of waterways to acid rain that, from their perspective, brought to bear much larger and complex questions regarding environmental sustainability. As Sherri states: “We forget the power of the earth. We are dependent on the earth. What’s happening because of what we’re doing? There are certain things that the earth is doing globally because of our actions locally. Those global effects impact our food sources”.<sup>111</sup> Likewise, Al Comegan worried about the scalar impacts of proposed mining development further north, which would run downstream and impact local waterways in the Treaty 3 area, “How will it affect us? Will it kill all the fish?” and even the potential ramifications of the pipeline gateway in western Canada “will it affect our lands?”<sup>112</sup> In this sense, the regional impacts of extractive industry and global impacts of climate change were always situated within the embodied impacts experienced by their local waterways, land and animal and plant relatives. As Marie Allen expressed: “The animals are sick”, while her grandson Jason, wondered, “what foods are okay to eat now?”<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>111</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>112</sup> Albert Comegan, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>113</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014; Jason Jones, personal interview, December 2014.

Knowledge Holders understood the impacts on people to be embedded in these interconnected relationships. Marie Allen states, if the land and animals are sick, “people will get sick too”. For some time now, epidemiologists have linked health disparities with environmental contamination that is simultaneously reproduced by political economic forces and structural forms of violence. For example, one of the most well known social epidemiologists Nancy Krieger, has argued that health disparities must be understood through the interconnected scales of structures of social inequality, that reproduce socio-environmental determinants of health, to the embodied micro scale of the cell (Krieger 2001). These interconnected scales were expressed by many Elders who worried about the rising levels of diabetes, obesity and cancer rates amongst their people as many of these diseases were relatively unknown and absent during their childhood and youth. As Brian Major shared, recent studies have reported on the disproportionate high rates of cancer in northern and northwestern Ontario.<sup>114</sup> Indeed, a new study by Health Canada and researchers from the University of Toronto is investigating the patterns and causes of rising cancer rates in First Nation communities in the Treaty 3 territory (McKenna 2015). Many community members believe the rising cancer rates could be tied to carcinogens that were seeped from stocks of black spruce logs that were piled in local waterways before being hauled off to pulp and paper mills in Kenora, Ontario.

More than this, community members connected the alarming health epidemics to changes in diets that they partly attributed to being drawn into a market economy. They expressed the difficulties of partaking in seasonal food practices when working full-time. Moreover, many of them expressed the difficulties the younger generation had in maintaining their land-based practices as they leave the community to obtain a post-secondary degree, which many of them

---

<sup>114</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2014.

subsequently cannot put to good use in their community due to the lack of employment, thus they remain in urban areas and removed from communal land-based practices. As Andrew states: “People have to leave the community more and more because there is no money to be made within the community. The foundation is money for this (western) society and there is no money to be had on First Nation territories”.

Beyond this, however, Elders traced these health disparities to the changes in diets towards the mid twentieth century. As Ogimmagwanebiik states: “ I think that’s the big change right there, a lot of diabetes and cancer. To me, it’s a drastic change in diet”. Marie Allen specifically remembered the decades when diet changes were occurring within her community: “In the 1930s and 1940s, we started to see more of a mix of foods. People were eating more macaroni, butter, canned goods, klick”.<sup>115</sup> At this time, more trading posts that were run by fur trade companies such as HBC were erected in or close to First Nation communities. More than this, however, as Ogimaagwanebiik recalls, the Department of Indian Affairs distributed food to community members: “We didn’t have food banks but the Indian Agent would give us a box that we would bring up on the trapline. It would be filled with klick and different fatty foods”.<sup>116</sup> As Marie Allen and Ogimaagwanebiik shared, these early changes in diets have had a generational impact. That is, many Anishinaabe youth no longer want to eat their traditional foods. While some do, they remain limited compared to what the Elders once ate when they were younger. For example, Ogimaagwanebiik shared how people still eat moose, deer and rabbit although many of the younger generation are hesitant to eat beaver, which interestingly enough is one of the local animals that has been most impacted by a market economy. Moreover, going back to

---

<sup>115</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>116</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

Ogimaagwanebiik's reflections on cancer, she understood this as connected to the differences in fats in highly processed foods and those of traditional foods. For example, she shared how her mother would always want the pork chop or steak at the grocery store that had the most fat on it because fat from local animals such as moose and deer are considered to be healthy forms of fat:

She was so used to eating the fat of the animal which is different from what you see at the store. When they (Elders) see the meat in town at the grocery store, they think it's the same as animal fat. In no time at all, my mother developed diabetes.<sup>117</sup>

These Elders' memories are telling of an era starting in the 1940s when the Canadian government had grown more concerned about alarming rates of hunger and malnutrition within Indigenous communities, particularly ones located in northern parts of Canada. They became increasingly concerned due to the dying out of the fur trade, which played a central role in generating household incomes within Indigenous communities (Bone 1993). Yet, a study conducted by Indian Affairs published in 1946, failed to account for the structural colonial violence reproducing devastating rates of hunger and malnutrition and, instead, attributed this epidemic to the "Indian problems", that is, their innate susceptibility to diseases and economic dependency (Moore 1946). As a result, the settler colonial government implemented measures that would increase Indigenous peoples' dependency on western market-based foods instead of addressing deeper structural issues around colonial territorial boundaries, residential schooling, the encroachment of the settler market economy and, more generally, the *Indian Act* (Mosby 2013). According to the Canadian government, market-based solutions of supplying increased quantities of western foods would address health disparities while fulfilling assimilative objectives of further integrating Indigenous peoples into a settler society and a growing capitalist economy.

---

<sup>117</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

The influx of unhealthy commodity foods was exacerbated by *The Family Allowance Act* that was passed in 1944, which was the first universal social welfare program administered in Canada. The head of Indian Affairs at the time, Percy Moore, placed extra-disciplinary measures on Indigenous peoples who qualified for the program by restricting what types of food could be purchased with the government allowance. These restrictive measures, which differed from those placed on non-Indigenous peoples, delineated places where the government checks could be cashed, which was commonly HBC trading posts, and restrained the purchase of foods to largely canned foods. Moreover, and as I go into more detail later in the chapter, the Department of Indian Affairs started conducting experiments on malnutrition within Indigenous communities during this time. In some instances, they implemented extra-restrictive measures to the family allowance program for research purposes (Mosby 2013). This government assistance was supported by HBC as fur prices were plummeting during the 1940s and the government subsidy secured a seasonal and flexible pool of trapper laborers.

Towards the end of the 1940s, increased disciplinary measures were put on Indigenous women and newborns by dictating when breast-feeding should end and when different western processed foods such as pablum (a processed cereal for infants) should start being fed to children. These regulations disciplined Indigenous mothers and their children so much so that guidelines were developed for a strict daily feeding routine, which were circulated to HBC posts as well as Indian Affairs medical officials throughout Indigenous communities and residential schools. Tellingly, the forced integration of Indigenous peoples into a market-based western diet has remained the undergirding logic of food security programs for Indigenous peoples in Canada. For example, the federal government established the Food Mail Programme (FMP) in the 1960s, which was aimed at subsidizing the cost of transporting commercial foods from southern parts of

the country to northern and more isolated Indigenous communities. The FMP was modeled after the spending patterns of low-income settler Canadians and the Thrifty Food Basket developed by Agriculture Canada and Health and Welfare Canada (Grier and Majid 2010). While the government conducted a number of studies during the 1990s and 2000s to examine the effectiveness of FPM, the issue of cost, that is, Indigenous peoples' ability to buy commercial foods, has remained an underlying determining factor of their assessments. Attention to traditional Indigenous foods has mostly been limited to the government's newfound recognition of the nutritional value of Indigenous foods and how they would decrease alarming rates of food insecurity within Indigenous communities. The proposed strategies, however, have assessed the possible costs of the marketization of these foods rather than addressing underlying issues of colonial dispossession that have and continue to restrict Indigenous peoples from taking part in their foodways.

This culminated in 2009, as external consultants hired by the Canadian government recommended that the FMP should be abandoned for a regional free market system that could "naturally" lower the cost of food through competition (Dargo 2008). The following year, the government announced that it would phase out the FMP for Nutrition North Canada (NNC) which would focus on subsidizing retail costs (instead of transportation costs as the FMP had) by paying subsidies to retailers which are supposed to be passed on to consumers. However, the NNC, which has been in operation since 2011, has employed extremely restrictive measures by again putting a number of restrictions on foodstuffs which can be purchased through this program, including bottled water even in face of ongoing water contamination, diapers and supplies required for land-based practices including fishing nets, ammunition and gas (2011). Instead, the NNC largely subsidizes highly processed deli meats, canned fish, a number of grain

products, including cereals and dried macaroni, sugar-added fruit juices, canned and frozen vegetables and oils, fats and sugars such as lard and margarine (NNC 2015). More than this however, the NNC is founded on a monopoly-based economy as there is oftentimes only one grocery outlet available near Indigenous communities located in more isolated and northern parts of Canada. Also, the program has not developed any measures to ensure that subsidies are passed on to Indigenous peoples. More importantly, however, this program again acts as a means of disciplining and assimilating Indigenous peoples into a market-based economy while silencing and indeed reproducing colonial violence on Indigenous food practices and lifeways.

Indeed, this move towards the marketization of the social welfare system in Canada is just one of the many manifestations that was sketched out in this section. Specifically, Anishinaabe peoples' shared how it has become increasingly difficult to navigate their participation in the settler, now neoliberal, capitalist economy. While Andrew and Steve's experiences show how they have used their land-based ontological perspectives to protect their traditional food harvesting grounds, this has become increasingly difficult in a neoliberal colonial era. In one way, current realities unfolding in the Treaty 3 are tied to the culmination of a long history of colonial policies, including land removal and exclusion, that have, over generations, worked to disconnect some Indigenous peoples from their land-based practices, ontologies and responsibilities. Yet, in another way, this neoliberal era is marked by fundamental shifts in the quest for the accumulation of capital by both capitalist industry and settler governments. In one way, the rollback of the state has put Indigenous communities in an increasingly precarious position (Peck and Tickell 2002). For example, community members shared how they have experienced the rollback of environmental protections (which I go into

more detail in the next section) through the ways that their waterways and animal relatives are embodying toxic contamination as well as their own bodies through increased cancer rates.

The possibility of addressing poverty, food insecurity, low rates of education and health disparities have remained enclosed within settler colonial discourses and institutional frameworks that violently neglect to situate such epidemics within a history and ongoing colonial present, not to mention that strategies oftentimes do not reflect Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices. For example, social welfare programs such as the FMP and NNC are embedded in a long lineage of colonial intervention. Moreover, they are increasingly integrating Indigenous peoples into a market-based western diet while simultaneously moving towards the marketization and monetization of their traditional foods. This will only work to exacerbate a changed way of thinking and relating to foods, which many such as Ogimaagwanebiik expressed concern about throughout this section.

Meanwhile, this colonial is increasingly marked by land removal and exclusion, which, no doubt, is not a new reality for Indigenous peoples by any means. However, within a neoliberal era, the pursuit of land has become increasingly aggressive yet oftentimes veiled through ostensibly emancipatory land claims, economic development initiatives and self-government packages that ultimately privatize Indigenous lands. In some moments, this opens up the possibility for Indigenous lands to be bought, leased and sold to private industry where communal divides often arise, as I expressed with community members denouncing some of their political leaders. In others, the dichotomous colonial logic frames all non-Indigenous lands as ripe for the taking and privatizing for capitalist extractive industry while appallingly neglecting Indigenous imaginaries and relationships with land and the interdependent ecologies within local ecosystems. Hence, the voracious quest for land is oftentimes veiled as a form of

emancipation for Indigenous peoples. A more intimate look at what this looks in place helps us better understand how the question of land has and continues to be entangled in colonial-capitalist pursuits.

### **Dispossession Through Land Removal and Exclusion**

The mounting pressures on Indigenous and specifically Anishinaabe foodways from the settler economy were and continue to be reinforced as it is embedded in the reproduction of the settler colonial state, which is simultaneously entangled in the question of land. In this section, I turn my attention to how land dispossession through removal and exclusion has and continues to be reproduced through the nexus of settler colonialism and increasingly, neoliberal capitalism. Specifically, I examine historical forms of land dispossession implemented through the *Indian Act* and contemporary continuities through colonial neoliberal policies of land privatization.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the fur trade had generated limited permanent settlement, as mercantilists were primarily concerned with opening up the North American continent for the extraction of resources. That is, French and British fur traders were primarily interested in exploring routes and regions for fur while their relationship with Indigenous peoples was based on the trading of furs that could be manufactured on the European continent. During this era, Indigenous peoples were framed as important partners due to their in-depth knowledge of their traditional territories and adeptness at trapping. However, as settlement began and the economy became increasingly diverse, namely with a renewed focus on the timber industry, Indigenous peoples were increasingly marked as barriers to access land for settlement and economic development. As stated in the previous chapter, this moment in history marked a gradual transition from European-Indigenous relationships based on trade to an Indigenous-

settler relationship based on land (Harris 2004). Indeed, the *Indian Lands Act* of 1860 solidified this relationship by altering the tripartite Crown/colony/Indigenous relationship to an Indigenous/colonial one as Indigenous peoples and their lands were placed under colonial authority, which was just the first step in the colonial domination that would ensue with the *Constitution Act* passing in 1868 and the *Indian Act* in 1876 (RCAP 1996). The *settler* colonial project was now focused on eliminating Indigenous notions of nationhood based on their land-based ontologies and relationships with land to Canadian citizens based on colonial territorial imaginaries. At this time in history, this was pursued primarily through treaty making, the creation and forced relocation to Indian reserves and enfranchisement, all of which cultivated thinking and relationships with land based on individual ownership and privatization.

As the influx of new settlers came in, they increasingly began to encroach on Indigenous peoples' traditional territories. Colonial authorities reasoned that the creation of the Indian reserve system would resolve arising land disputes while ensuring an abundance of land for settlement and economic development. The creation of reserves varied across the nation from allotting Crown land to acquiring private property (Bartlett 1990). Within Ontario, treaties were signed with Indigenous peoples, which included the provision of reserves. After four years of negotiation between Anishinaabe people and the Dominion of Canada, the Treaty 3 was signed on October 3, 1873. Under the Treaty 3 agreement, the Anishinaabe nation of this area and the British agreed to share 55,000 square miles with the Anishinaabe people having the right to continue their political and economic relationships and make use of the land and 'resources' as they had for generations, including their hunting, fishing and trapping practices. The agreement was incremental to the Confederation of Canada as the British planned a trading route across

Anishinaabe land spanning from Fort Garry to Fort William, which are now known as Thunder Bay, Ontario and Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The Anishinaabe nation's understanding of continuing their political and economic traditions were deeply rooted in their land-based ontological perspectives which did not include ideas on colonial territorial boundaries. That is, from their perspective they agreed to share their traditional territories and not to be enclosed within colonial allotments. Yet, after the signing of Treaty 3, Anishinaabe people were forced to relocate to the small parcels of reserve land that the Canadian government had designated for them (RCAP 1996). The memory of this violent relocation is still very much present within Treaty 3 as many current Elders' parents lived through this relocation period during the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, Delbert Horton who guided me through Lake of the Woods (which I recounted in chapter 2) brought me to a place on the lake where his mother had lived up until an Indian Agent forced her to relocate to Rainy River First Nation, where Delbert was born and grew up.

These land enclosures were reinforced through efforts to enfranchise Indigenous peoples through the *Gradual Civilization Act* of 1857, the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act* of 1869, which later became consolidated in the *Indian Act*. The civilization act of 1857 sought to assimilate Indigenous peoples by eliminating their protective status associated with being an Indian (RCAP 1996). Under this act, only men could be enfranchised which was incentivized by offering them individual possession of up to 50 acres of land within his reserve and per capita shares in the principal of the treaty annuities (RCAP 1996).<sup>118</sup> However, the enfranchised man would not own the allotted lands. Rather, it would be passed on to his children for a fee simple ownership upon

---

<sup>118</sup> The men had to be over the age of 21. They had to speak either English or French, have a reasonable level of education, be debt-free and have a "good moral character" as determined by a set of non-Indigenous examiners. His wife and children would also be enfranchised regardless of their own wishes, although enfranchisement for men remained voluntary at this time.

his death. The act was largely unsuccessful with only one man becoming enfranchised between 1857 and the formal passing of the *Indian Act* in 1876. Rather, there was much resistance against what Indigenous peoples understood was a direct attack on their nationhood and relationships with their homelands.

As a response, the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act* was passed in 1868 with a renewed aggression and blatant intention to reshape Indigenous land holding patterns by enforcing the privatization and individual ownership of land in addition to eliminating Indigenous political structures. At this point, it was clear to government officials that past laws were not effective due to the leadership of Indigenous political systems, namely the clanship system for many Indigenous nations including the Anishinaabe. Hence, the enfranchisement act forced Indigenous communities, through the authority of the superintendent general of Indian affairs, to adopt responsible municipal-style responsible governments in lieu of their so-called irresponsible governance structures (RCAP 1996). The act required that all Chiefs and councilors be elected through a voting process, which excluded women up until 1951, for a 3-year term basis while the superintendent general would have ultimate authority and discretion in dismissing the community's Chief based on a vague criteria of dishonesty, intemperance and immorality (RCAP 1996). The elected governments that would later be called bands would be restricted to the boundaries of the reserve. The authority bestowed on these newly elective band councils was limited to relatively inconsequential responsibilities such as maintaining roads, ditches and bridges, preventing trespass by cattle and repairing public buildings (RCAP 1996). Furthermore, their laws would be under the subject of approval by the governor in council.

At this point, the colonial territories of reserves were already sub-divided into plots. Thus, the act moved towards instituting these plots of land as individual property holdings.

Specifically, Indigenous peoples were given a location ticket, which bestowed the lawful holding of plots of land (RCAP 1996). At the same time, this renewed effort of enfranchisement now incorporated Indigenous women. That is, Indigenous women who married non-Indigenous men would lose their Indian status and band membership, as would her children. This clause carried over into the *Indian Act* and restricted enfranchised Indigenous women from acquiring property and sometimes even living on their home reserve, which lasted until an amendment was made in 1985.

These colonial policies, which were later consolidated in the *Indian Act* marked a pivotal moment in colonial domination over Indigenous relationships with their land and foodways as there was a blatant effort on behalf of the settler colonial state to breakdown Indigenous communal property systems to institute individual allotments of land. Moreover, families were oftentimes removed from their communal hunting, trapping and fishing grounds. As Sherri Kabatay shared, her family trapline and wild rice harvesting grounds, which have been passed down for many generations now, are actually quite far removed from her reserve community:

In my community, they have to travel quite a bit to harvest rice, where their families used to harvest. One of our locations is actually near Thunder Bay area. It's passed on within families, so that's where they still go. But it's getting more difficult now, because of the privatization of land. So, those traditional harvesting areas, they're not a part of our community but they are a part of the land, how we see it. So then they still go there and harvest in those areas.<sup>119</sup>

Yet, as Sherri's thinking reveals, some community members have maintained their responsibilities to their traditional harvesting grounds despite of being removed from them. Within the treaty 3 territory itself, the ability to maintain relationships with traditional harvesting areas, though increasingly difficult due to increased privatization of land, has generally been

---

<sup>119</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

more viable than maintaining those outside of the colonial boundaries. For example, as Delbert Horton shared when we visited his wild rice harvesting grounds, his family has been able to sustain their relationship to this land even though it is outside of the territorial boundaries of their reserve, Rainy River First Nation. While their wild rice harvesting grounds fall within the territorial boundaries of another reserve, Big Grassy First Nation, many Anishinaabe families within the Treaty 3 continue to govern their relationships with food harvesting areas based on their genealogical ties. Brian Major, who is from Big Grassy reiterated this by saying: “We have maps now but you could go wherever before reserves. We have food harvesting grounds that are shared from community members from several different reserves. We have places, where we have harvested for generations”. However, as I will explore later in this section, the shared governance of food harvesting areas along genealogical lines remains compromised due to the privatization of lands by industry and cottagers or altered relationships between Indigenous families, communities and nations, which have been reshaped according to settler colonial logics.

Beyond this, the relocation of Indigenous families drastically ruptured their kinship networks, including their political structures. For example, the moving of Indigenous bodies to reserves oftentimes did not follow Indigenous kinship structures. Subsequently, when they arrived to their allotted reserves, they were subjected to municipal style governments contained within these colonial boundaries which violently clashed with their political structures that spanned much farther distance than the reserve. For the Anishinaabe, this entailed the clanship system, which was built on relationships with other nations beyond the territorial boundaries of the reserve, treaty territory and even the Canadian boundary (Banai-Benton 2010). This was exacerbated by the direct attack on Indigenous women, as generations lost their Indian status and

some were removed from their communities through enfranchisement (Goeman 2013). Overall, this drastically reshaped matriarchal Anishinaabe political structures where women assumed central leadership roles as Clan Mothers, not to mention it physically removed and excluded these women from their foodways. However, the loss of Indian status by both Indigenous women and men should not be interpreted as the loss of their Indigenous nationhood. Rather, my point here is that the myriad of colonial policies implemented under the *Indian Act*, including the ones I have outlined here, re-territorialize Indigenous nationhood that is intimately connected to their ancestral lands to individual identities of first, the Indian, and later the Aboriginal, tied to colonial imaginaries of territory, which were/are recognized by the settler colonial state. As I will explore further, over time, these colonial policies that cultivate certain ways of thinking and being with land have been deeply internalized and embodied by some Indigenous peoples in lieu of their place-based relationships with their homelands.

In terms of violence inflicted through colonial territorial boundaries, the Treaty 3 territory presents an interesting case as it is situated along the Canada-U.S. border and is simultaneously divided by the Manitoba-Ontario provincial boundary. In many instances, community members shared the violent dispossession of these colonial borders, which divided their traditional wild rice harvesting and fishing grounds. Going back to the Lac La Croix example from the previous section, as I recounted, community members have worked out agreements with both Quetico Provincial Park and Campbell's Cabins to ensure their responsibilities with their traditional territories. Yet, the Jourdain family shared how struggles against the U.S. settler colonial state have been much more confrontational. As Steve shares: "We're exempt from the law in Canada but not in the United States". His wife, Iris, added to this by saying: "The lake is divided down the middle, one side is the U.S. and the other side is Canadian. So it's an imaginary line."

Sometimes people veer off, sometimes without even intending to because it's their traditional fishing grounds where people have gone for generations".<sup>120</sup> As Steve and Iris recounted, the crossing of the colonial border by community members resulted in violent confrontations with U.S. authorities, which they continue to struggle against in the present:

They (U.S. authorities) were going to put patrol boats there. There were gun battles back in the 1970s and 1980s, between the First Nations and U.S. authorities. They went all the way to the White House to end that fight. They (U.S. border patrol) chased the guides all the way into the reservation waters. Then, the guides would take off against U.S. authorities so that's why they were going to put patrol boats. The argument we used in Washington was that our traditional food harvesting grounds crossed the border. But they wouldn't let us cross. They wouldn't budge on that. But they allowed us to go across after the fishing season. They fly drones over here now. There are 250 of us here. And, they are going to send patrol boats over here just for us? They're just some guys playing cowboy and Indians. But the guys here fought back and we refused to go to court when we were charged. They never said anything. This is our home territory. We didn't recognize the boundary. At different seasons we would go out on the lake. In the fall the walleyes would go on that side of the lake. And that's something we couldn't understand. To be a good provider you have to go where the fish are. America is powerful and has a powerful military presence. We're lucky that there are no rice beds on that side because it's all rocky. All of our rice beds remain on the Canadian side, that's where we do our duck hunting.<sup>121</sup>

The experiences of Lac La Croix community members unravel the multiple workings of colonial violence on their foodways. In one way, disputes between Anishinaabe people and the U.S. border patrol unpack how physical and material colonial violence continue to be exerted over Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island even though there has been a move towards implementing modes of colonial governance. Certainly, similar examples unfolding across

---

<sup>120</sup> Steve and Iris Jourdain, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>121</sup> Steve and Iris Jourdain, personal interview, December 2013.

Indian country during this time such as the Oka Crisis and Burnt Church blatantly display the ongoing violence of the settler colonial state.<sup>122</sup> At the same time, it unpacks how such violence and ontological perspectives on territory which materialize in settler legal-political and geopolitical boundaries might, over time, discipline Indigenous peoples to relate with their ancestral lands and foodways according to settler liberal logics.

Certainly, moments of resistance as recounted by Steve and Iris, and the continuation of land governance according to Anishinaabe genealogical ties as expressed by Sherri, Delbert and Brian, unbury the strong ties Anishinaabe people still have to their traditional territories and foodways despite of historical and ongoing colonial violence. Yet, community members still expressed concern about whether this embodied sense of responsibility to their traditional territories is fading with younger generations. As I sat in on a conversation between the Kabatay family they worried about community members becoming too disciplined by colonial territorial imaginaries. As Donna Kabatay expressed: “People get tied up in imaginary boundaries. And, if the young people are not familiar with the area, because they haven’t spent time out on the land, all they see is signs that say no trespassing, private property”.<sup>123</sup> Sara Geyschick, followed this by wondering whether this prevented community members from going out on the land: “Is that why people are not going out (on the land)? Did they have bad experiences?” The family continued by discussing the different ways in which they are disciplined through various restrictive policies that are placed on them through both provincial and treaty jurisdictional legislation. As Steve

---

<sup>122</sup> The Oka Crisis of 1990 was a land dispute between the Mohawks of Kahnawake, Kanasatake and Akwesasne and settlers from the town of Oka, Quebec. The town of Oka had plans to develop a golf course and residential area on the Mohawk nation’s traditional territory that comprised burial grounds. The crisis culminated in a violent and highly publicized 78-day standoff from July 11 to September 26, 1990. Burnt Church is a fisheries dispute that emerged between the Canadian government and the Mi’kmaq people of Burnt Church First Nation between 1999 and 2002.

<sup>123</sup> Sherri, Steve and Donna Kabatay and Sara Geyschick, personal interview, March 2014.

Kabatay shared: “These multiple regulations like getting a boat and gun license, they infringe on people’s ability to hunt and fish. You can’t go in your canoe without a piece of paper. You can’t go to certain areas to hunt and fish. These are people that have been hunting and fishing their whole lives. If they don’t follow the regulations they get fined or put into jail. It affects a person’s ability to provide for themselves and their family. There are more and more barriers”.<sup>124</sup> Sherri Kabatay added to this in a separate conversation by saying: “They (community members) don’t know how to go out and they don’t have the means to go out. More and more everything is getting regulated. There are so many regulations for everything. Even for you to go out and get fire wood!”<sup>125</sup>

Indeed, this colonial governance, while exacerbated in recent years, started to target family traplines toward the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, in 1941 an amendment was made to the *Indian Act*, which extended a policy made in 1881 that prohibited the sale of Indigenous agricultural products (RCAP 1996).<sup>126</sup> The amendment restricted the selling of furs and wild animals, which impeded on Anishinaabe trappers’ ability to sell furs outside of formal fur trading companies, not to mention that this legally prohibited them from trading and gifting food at the community and family scale. In this sense, this form of colonial governmentality was a direct attack on Anishinaabe food economies. Subsequently, in 1948, the MNR assumed primary authority over Indigenous traplines to ensure responsible wildlife management through a quota system. Specifically, the MNR administered quota systems for Indigenous peoples, including the

---

<sup>124</sup> Sherri, Steve and Donna Kabatay and Sara Geyschick, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>125</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>126</sup> As *The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP) reports, this amendment was a result of non-Indigenous farmers complaining to local Indian Agents about the competition they faced from Indigenous farmers. Additionally, the federal government sought to convert Indigenous peoples to peasant farmers according to the European model.

Anishinaabe, who had family traplines. That is, they were given target numbers for various animal species, which they were obliged to follow. As Al Comegan shared: “Our traplines are now on Crown land and they were monitored by the MNR. We were given quotas to manage the land. If we didn’t follow the quotas, our (trapping) license would be taken away. In the past you had to stamp the beaver pelt per the MNR’s regulations”. Andrew Jourdain reiterated this experience:

Ever since I can remember, the MNR would have targets for us. The MNR would give us targets for our traplines at the beginning of each season. They would assess the square footage of our land and they would give us the season’s targets based on that. For example, they would give us a specific number for beavers, otters, wolves etc. The targets that were met would be sold (to fur traders). Anything for your family would be additional. Once we had our targets, we would go out on our trapline and observe different things to plan how we would manage the targets we were given over the season. For example, you can observe the size of beaver houses to tell how many kittens are in the house.<sup>127</sup>

At the same time extra-disciplinary measures were being placed on traplines, provincial legislation placed restrictive measures on hunting practices, including the designation of seasons and game limits (Tough 1995). However, as I examine in part 3, increasingly, Anishinaabe people have mobilized against these colonial measures, in part, through co-management initiatives. While these strategies have resulted in important gains, community members continue to face heightened forms of colonial governance through provincial and treaty jurisdictions, which are further exacerbated by the violent intrusion of land privatization.

Donna Kabatay expressed how the privatization of land was, in part, a result of large land acquisitions from extractive industry. Historically, logging and mining companies have primarily led resource extraction in the Treaty 3. David Lindsey, reiterated this by stating that Anishinaabe

---

<sup>127</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

families from the Treaty 3 continue to call his office as they struggle to hunt, fish and trap due to increased pressures of land privatization by extractive industry, which simultaneously impact foodways through environmental degradation. As David states, provincial legislation and colonial authority works in concert with private extractive industry to place amplified pressures and violence on Anishinaabe foodways. As he explained, according to provincial jurisdictional guidelines, proponents, whether they are logging, hydroelectric or mining companies, must first approach the province of Ontario. Once they do so, appropriate branches of provincial government, such as the MNR or the Ministry of Mines, will assess and determine potential regional impacts from the proposed development project including possible risks to animal and plant species and ecological risks. In doing this, they will subsequently determine which First Nation communities might be impacted. Following this, the proponent is only obliged to contact the First Nation communities that have been delineated by the province. As David shared, this form of contact oftentimes simply consists of a notice sent to band offices, which rarely get circulated within the community. Moreover, the notices do not delineate extensive details on possible impacts nor do they provide holistic environmental, cultural and political assessments. That is, possible risks are narrowly framed as possible environmental impacts contained within a geographic area, while impacts to Anishinaabe people do not account for devastations to the interconnected scales of Indigenous land-based ontologies and overall self-determination. Moreover, the province segregates this process by only notifying the First Nations communities they have deemed at risk, which further negates Anishinaabe political structures.

Indeed, many community members expressed how they have increasingly felt the impacts of these state-capitalist endeavors. As Ogimaagwanebiik expressed, over the last few years the unannounced clear-cutting of her trapline has impacted her:

That's the only reason I am suffering. My trapline is being stripped. There's no more trees. Now I can see far away and there's no more trees for the moose to feed off of or to hide behind the tree. I know that it's like this everywhere (in the treaty 3). The loggers are taking all of the trees down. It scares all of the animals away. It scares all of the rabbits away, the marten away because there are more roads, no more trees and lots of tractors and all of that. They (logging companies) go directly onto to my trapline and they don't ask me. Even though I own that trapline and I am registered trapper. They go right in there. They send me a letter and say, "this is where we're going to go this coming week and in two weeks we'll be in this area and we'll cut it all". I don't know who gave them permission. We have a trapper's committee and we try to work with the MNR in Ottawa. It's sad to see. It's so stripped down.<sup>128</sup>

Certainly, these everyday embodied experiences, are symptomatic of the larger structural violence that is reproduced through the upsurge of neoliberal policies implemented by the Canadian government that both roll back environmental protections and roll in the privatization of Indigenous lands at an unprecedented rate (Peck and Tickell 2002). In December 2012, Bill C-45 was passed which is *The Jobs and Growth Act*. The Bill made sweeping changes to a range of legislative policies, two in particular that threaten Indigenous foodways. First, the bill makes amendments to the *Indian Act*, which modify voting and approval procedures in relation to proposed land designations making it easier to privatize and surrender reserve land to extractive industry. Specifically, decisions regarding the privatization of reserve lands required a double majority but with the passing of the bill, First Nation communities can now make permanent land designation decisions with as little as twenty to thirty people voting out of a community with a population of 1,000. The Canadian government has framed this as an advantageous change for First Nation communities as this will speed up approvals for infrastructural development that will bolster economic sustainability. Secondly, the bill made amendments to the *Navigable Waters Protection Act* to remove thousands of lakes and streams from federal protection.

---

<sup>128</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, March 2014.

Currently, a mere 62 rivers and 93 lakes nationwide remain protected under the bill, again incentivizing capitalist development, and particularly extractive industry on Indigenous territories. The fierce protest that ensued against Bill C-45 by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples subsequently prompted the passing of Bill C-51, the *Anti-terrorism Act*, in the spring of 2015. Under this act, roadblocks protesting against the domestic economy's ability to carry on business as usual, risk being prosecuted for terrorist acts.



Figure 14: Cartoon on Bill C-51; Source: Quirks and Quiddities Website<sup>129</sup>

Yet, while colonial-capitalist dispossession continues to materialize itself at an accelerated pace on a structural scale through the increased implementation of neoliberal policies

<sup>129</sup> Quirks and Quiddities website: <http://www.quirksandquiddities.ca/a-collection-of-resources-concerning-bill-c-51-the-anti-terrorism-act/> [Accessed August 2015].

which incentivize ongoing capitalist extraction of resources, Sherri Kabatay also importantly points out how this type of dispossession is reproduced through more micro-scale forms of land acquisition and interpersonal encounters with settlers. In one way, Sherri shared how her family has experienced this through the increased threat of poachers on their trapline. In another way, however, she reflected on how these divides could appear as seemingly less violent. That is, she spoke about the influx of cottagers who, although do not see themselves as threats to nature, are indeed encroaching on their food harvesting areas and the homes of their animal relatives:

From a non-Native perspective, a White perspective, we shouldn't be allowed to do that (harvest rice), because of the whole privatization. Especially around water, because it becomes lakefront property or cottage country or property. It's generally private lot owners or it could be a company that is selling those lots. Especially towards the Thunder Bay area. They have these city people that want to escape.<sup>130</sup>

As Sherri states, surmounting struggles with cottagers are largely rooted in a clash of worldviews that cultivate different ways of understanding relationships with the land. While land for many Anishinaabe people is a sacred relative and source of ceremony and food, according to Sherri, many cottagers approach this same land with a sense of entitlement, that is, something that they deserve as a reward for their hard work in the market economy in the city. She goes on to say:

They don't have those relationships and they don't think that way. Coming from the city, they don't realize the connection to land. They think it's divided by the plot. It's actually all connected and there is no plot. They have that way of thinking. When we have so people who are invested for a short period of time, it's difficult to develop those relationships. They get territorial because in the city, you go over my property line. So when they come out and have lots in the country they still have that kind of attitude.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

More than this, however, Sherri relates colonial violence not only to her family's ability to hunt, trap, fish and harvest wild rice, but how this will impact their land and animal and plant relatives:

My dad was telling me a story about his trapline. His trapline is near Thunder Bay. He was talking to a couple of people that have cottages there. They're always talking about the beavers. They call them nuisance beavers because they come and eat and take the logs that the cottagers are cutting down. He was trying to explain to them that that's their food supply. Those trees they're coming to eat, that's they're food supply. They're just like us eh? If someone else is cutting down the trees then they'll take that because it's there. So, for them they come out and see this nice clear area with trees chopped down and there you go! My dad was saying that they (the cottagers) don't realize that they're connected to the animals. They're the nuisance! Haha! From the beavers' perspective.<sup>132</sup>

At the same time however, as many of the reflections shared thus far, including the Kabatay family's discussion and concerns over the marketization of local wild rice, there is a rising concern that more and more Anishinaabe people are internalizing and embodying colonial settler and market-oriented ways of thinking about and relating to their traditional territories. Specifically, community members expressed concern about the generational impacts of disconnection from land-based practices in conjunction with amplified violence from neoliberal capitalist privatization. This becomes particularly concerning given the ways in which Indigenous peoples are increasingly drawn into negotiations for the protection of their lands through the rubrics of recognition.

Coulthard has written extensively on this issue. Namely, he argues that, since the late 1960s, the fight for the right to Indigenous lands has moved towards reconciling Indigenous claims with the Crown's sovereignty in a renewed relationship based on mutual recognition (Coulthard 2007, 2014). Specifically, the Canadian government has responded to Indigenous

---

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

claims for land by granting recognition and protection of Aboriginal and treaty rights through self-government packages, land claims and economic development initiatives which have been linked to the spatio-legal categories of “Indian”, “First Nations” or “Aboriginal” (Coulthard 2007). This political recognition varies across Indigenous geographies depending on the historical relationship Indigenous communities have with the Canadian government. For example, recognition within the unceded territories of British Columbia is often materialized as self-government packages and land claims through the BC treaty negotiations process with the first land claim in BC’s history in 1998, *The Nisga’a Final Agreement*. Recognition for treaty territories such as the Treaty 3, on the other hand, has often resulted in economic development initiatives supporting the extraction of natural resources. Certainly, there is variance within distinct legal geographies of reserves, treaty lands and unceded Indigenous territories. Yet, there is also overlap as self-government packages and land claims are often tied to economic initiatives as reserves are converted to private properties that can be bought, sold and leased for economic ventures headed by the Canadian federal and provincial governments in partnership with multinational corporations. Moreover, the spatial politics of state recognition threads through these varied initiatives as they designate certain spaces such as reserves or treaty territories as naturalized spaces of Indigenous self-determination, which do not fully encompass the political landscape of pre-colonial and ongoing Indigenous kinship networks, including food harvesting grounds and trading routes.

I argue that recognition predicated on state legal recognition of Indigenous peoples through spatio-legal categories erases their cultural and political diversity while constraining Indigenous claims to land and associated rights to colonial-bound jurisdictions. Moreover, the so-called self-determining strategies that arise from a politics of recognition, including forestry,

mining and hydroelectric power contribute to the reproduction of the settler colonial state and capitalist industry while continuing to inflict colonial violence on Indigenous lands, foodways and their political and economic autonomy (Coulthard 2007). Ultimately, recognition is aimed at molding a class of governable and law-abiding Aboriginal citizens with identities that are formed vis-à-vis the colonial state and capitalist industry and not according to their place-based Indigenous laws (Alfred 1999). This is achieved by relegating the diverse Indigenous nations and their accompanying political and legal structures to colonial-legal categories such as “Indian” which then become subjected to the colonial political and legal orders of Canada. Under these recognized legal categories, Indigenous claims to self-determination, including claims for territory and associated rights attached to these territories are contained to colonial imaginaries of land that are represented and actualized through the jurisdiction of the Canadian government and not the political and legal authorities of Indigenous nations.

This becomes particularly alarming as colonial imaginaries of territory become normalized and internalized by Indigenous peoples and they become consensual subjects in the ongoing dispossession of their lands and foodways. As stated in chapter 3, much attention has been directed towards how this occurs at more structural scales with a growing body of elite Aboriginal capitalists and politicians working for and with the AFN and band council system and assuming active roles in exerting colonial violence over their communities (Alfred 1999; Coulthard 2007, 2014). While some working for the AFN and band council may have good intentions that become routinely blunted to be aligned with Canada’s sovereignty, others have become consumed with neoliberal values of privatization and profit instead of their responsibilities to their ancestral lands and Indigenous forms of governance (Coulthard 2007). However, as Indigenous feminist geographer Sarah Hunt argues, this re-territorialization of

Indigenous ontologies and relationships with the land must also be understood at the micro-scale, in this instance, how Anishinaabe ways of thinking about and relating to their land-based practices take shape in the everyday. While I return to this issue again in part 3 as I begin to unpack the complexities of Indigenous resistance and resurgence, I end the chapter by considering how Anishinaabe relationships with land and foodways have been re-territorialized through genocidal practices of assimilation implemented under the *Indian Act*.

### **Dispossession Through the Genocidal Practices of Assimilation**

In this section I examine how Anishinaabe land-based relationships and ontologies have been re-territorialized through genocidal practices of assimilation implemented through the *Indian Act*. As stated in chapter 2, Indigenous land-based ontologies are cultivated through both an intimate relationship with their relatives, including their families and land and through a nexus of practices that accompany foodways, including storytelling, language and ceremonies. Hence, an all-encompassing understanding of colonial violence entails an examination of the myriad ways in which Indigenous peoples are disembodied from their land-based ontologies and practices, beyond land removal and exclusion. Specifically, I examine how the settler colonial state has sought to mold law-abiding Aboriginal citizens through genocidal practices of assimilation. As Anishinaabe people from the Treaty 3 territory expressed, this occurred primarily through the violent impacts of the residential school system and the ban of Indigenous ceremonies.

#### ***Residential School***

*My mother attended St. Anne's residential school along with five out of seven of her siblings. St. Anne's was in Fort Albany, which is several hundred miles from our community.*

*As I became older, my mother started sharing stories with me about her time at St. Anne's. She shared many painful stories about how children were removed from their homes and deprived of loving and affectionate relationships with their parents. She also shared stories about how many of the children at St. Anne's were physically and sexually abused, which became so unbearable at times that some of them ran away. Other times, she laughed as she told me stories about how she and her siblings would secretly speak Cree on the playground or in the playroom even though they were forbidden from doing so. While she and her sisters were separated from their brothers who lived and went to school in a separate part of St. Anne's, their playrooms were adjacent to one another. Every now and then, when the nuns we're not looking, they would creep up to the wall of the playroom and talk to each in Cree.*

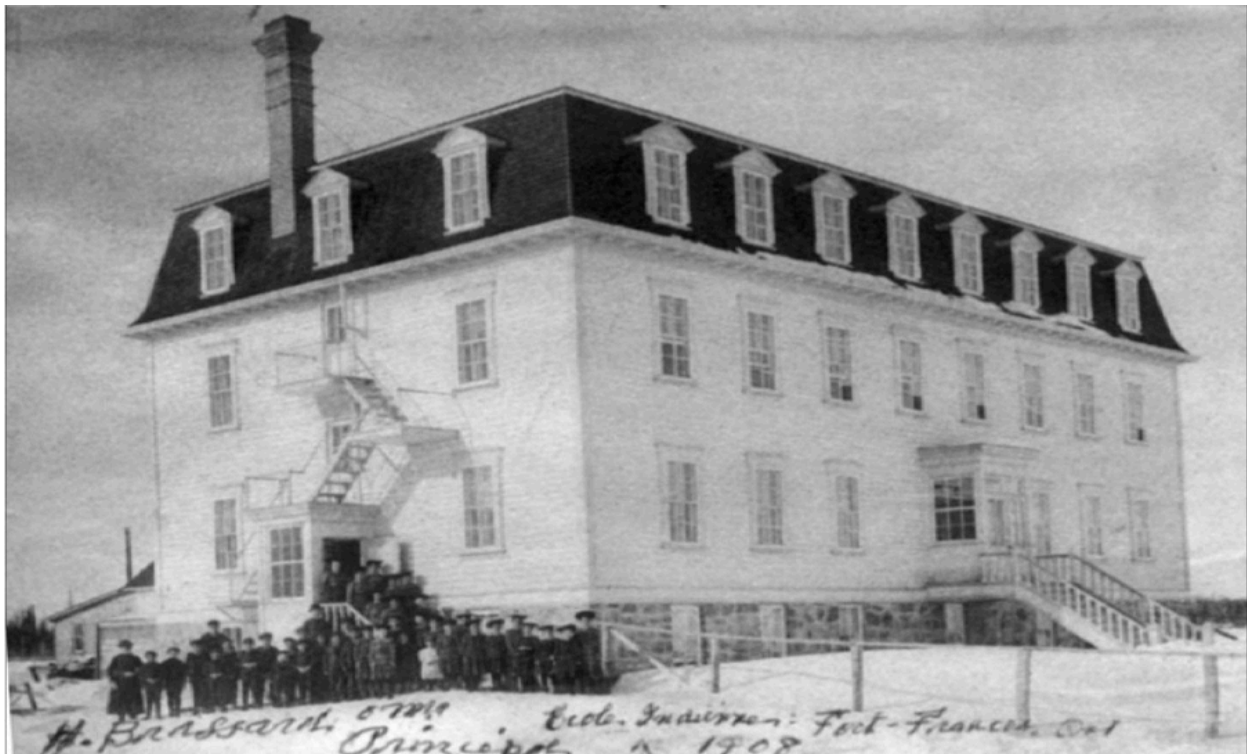
*As I started talking about this project, my mom shared another story with me about her time at St. Anne's. She started by saying "You know, the first time I knew I was different is when I was away at St. Anne's residential school". She goes on to say "Twice a year, a dentist would visit St. Anne's to give children a routine check-up. The dentist was a white man from southern Ontario. One trip, the dentist brought his two children. That evening, all of the children gathered in the dining hall for their dinner. I remember the dentists' children sat at a separate table from us. All of us (Indigenous children) received our regular goulash, that's what we used to call it. It was a mash-up of different kinds of food, sometimes maybe past the expiration date, who knows! We used to hate that stuff! As I started eating, I looked over at the dentist's kids and they had a nice large plate of meat, potatoes and vegetables. And, it was at that moment that realized I was different. It wasn't that I hadn't gotten that food because I was kid it was because I was Indian. It really hit me and I carried that with me for a long time."*

The residential school system in Canada, implemented under the *Indian Act*, operated from the 1880s until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the last one closing in 1996. The system was established by the Canadian federal government and administered by churches, although they became under the exclusive control of the state in 1969 (RCAP 1996). In 1920, the *Indian Act* made it mandatory for all Indigenous children between the ages of seven and sixteen to attend residential school and illegal for them to attend any other educational institution, which lasted into the 1950s and 1960s. Overall, the purpose of the residential school system was to “kill the Indian in the child” by physically removing them from their families and communities and assimilating them in the social mores of the settler colonial state. As expressed by many government documents during this time, it was considered the state’s duty, a federal responsibility, to civilize Indigenous peoples by catching them at a very young age (Davin 1879). For example, in 1876, the annual report of the Department of the Interior stated:

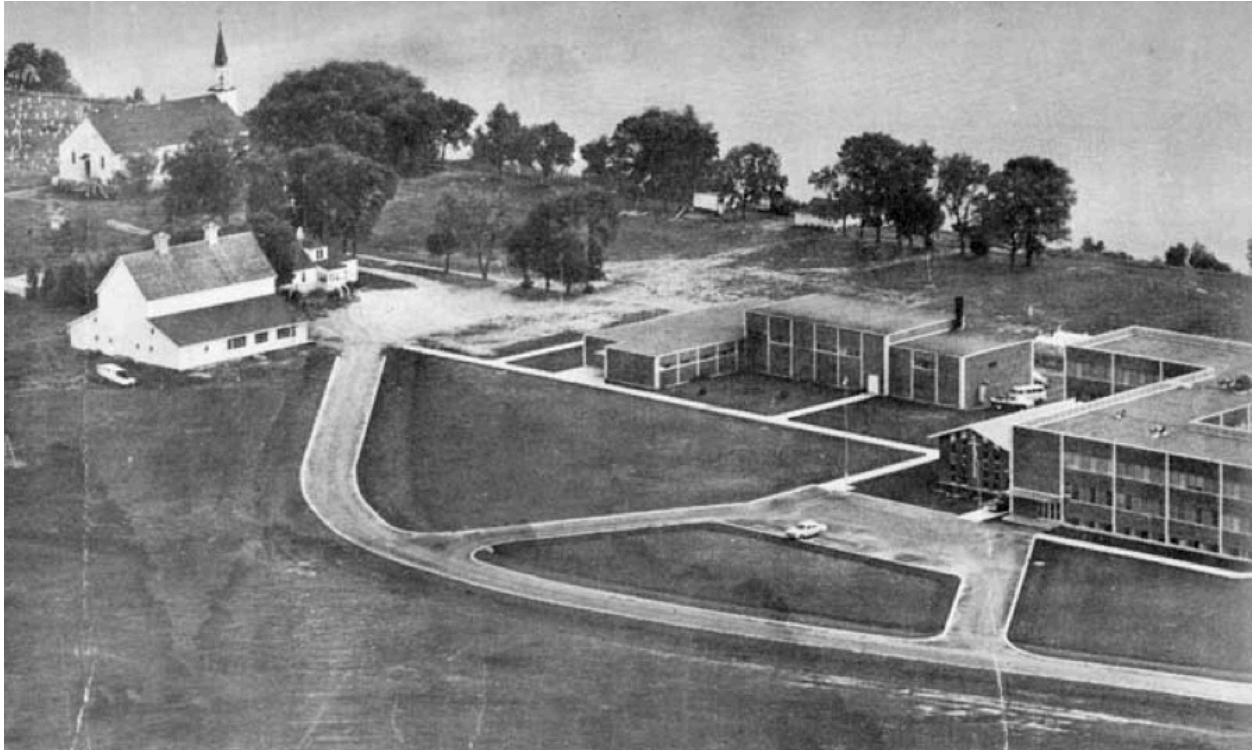
Our Indian legislation generally rests on the principle, that the aborigines are to be kept in a condition of tutelage and treated as wards or children of the State. ...the true interests of the aborigines and of the State alike require that every effort should be made to aid the Red man in lifting himself out of his condition of tutelage and dependence, and that is clearly our wisdom and our duty, through education and every other means, to prepare him for a higher civilization by encouraging him to assume the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship.

The violent impacts of residential school including historical and intergenerational trauma have now been well documented. Over the last 50 years, several government appointed reports and commissions including the *Hawthorn Report* (1966), *Penner Report* (1983), *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996) and the most recent *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (2015) have reported on the violent impacts of the residential school system including brute physical and sexual abuse, malnutrition, high death rates due to

tuberculosis, disconnection from family and land-based practices and ongoing physical and mental health issues related to historical and intergenerational trauma. At the community level, many residential school survivors and their children and grandchildren continue to struggle against the epidemics that have ensued from this era in colonial history. Hence, it is no surprise that Anishinaabe people attributed the disconnection from land and foodways, in part, due to the deep seeded violence of residential schools. Indeed, many people I spoke with attended residential school including St. Marguerites, the site where the past and now current fall harvest takes place (as recounted in the introduction). However, others were forced to attend residential schools much farther away from their community, as this was common practice implemented by Indian Agents throughout the country. Still others, while had not attended residential schools themselves, experienced the impacts through intergenerational trauma.



**Figure 15: St. Marguerite Indian Residential School, 1908; Photo Source: National Residential School Survivor’s Society**



**Figure 16: St. Marguerite Indian Residential School, 1965 (the brick building on the right was converted into the Nanicost building that houses various administrative offices for the Treaty 3); Photo Source: Archives, Algoma University**

Overall, the impacts were expressed as an embodied disconnection from family, land, food and Anishinaabe worldviews. As Al Comegan shared, many children who attended residential school felt a deep disconnection to their family when they visited throughout the years and when they finally returned to the community: “Indian Affairs sent me to Sault St. Marie- why not closer like Rainy River? With residential school, there was a lot of loneliness. I came home to strangers. It was hard for me to express love to my children, hard to express verbally”.<sup>133</sup> As a result, kinship structures within Indigenous communities were severely impacted through intergenerational trauma, including intimate familial and mentoring relationships that sustain and renew the transmission of Indigenous knowledge from one

---

<sup>133</sup> Al Comegan, personal interview, March 2014.

generation to the next. That is, when children returned home, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s as residential school was no longer mandatory, they were met by adults who suddenly became full-time parents to grown children who they had not spent much time with. As it has now been well documented, it is during this time, when Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their homes, that substance abuse became an issue within Indigenous communities (Fournier and Crey 1997). Hence, some children also returned home to parents, who might have also attended residential school, coping with a lifetime of trauma through alcohol abuse. This subsequently resulted in what is now called the “Sixties Scoop”, a period when a disproportionate number of children returning home from residential school were once again removed from their homes and put into the colonial state’s child welfare system (Trom et al. 2004; Fluke et al. 2010; ) Children were commonly resituated to non-Indigenous communities and homes in urban areas and sometimes outside of Canada, which exacerbated the amount of Indigenous peoples that would grow up disconnected from their families and land-based practices, which continues to be an epidemic within Indigenous communities in the twenty-first century. At the same time, children who returned from residential school over the years had grown up in a violent environment and sometimes carried over these formative relationships into their adulthood, which subsequently impacted their relationships with their own children. Hence, severe ruptures occurred in family and kinship structures as one family household might have been made up of up to three generations of family members that had attended residential school. As Don Jones said: “There was a disconnection with residential school. Parental skills were lost”.<sup>134</sup>

More than this, however, some community members expressed a deep longing for their land-based practices, which sometimes also resulted in a rupture with their relationship to the

---

<sup>134</sup> Don Jones, personal interview, March 2014.

land if they had been away from their community for several years. As Don expressed, when he returned home after 9 years, he felt disconnected from his parents and even feared being out on the land:

I left for residential school when I was 6 years old. I was away for nine years and I visited (my community) at Easter and during the summer. When I came back, I was speaking English but my parents could hardly speak. My mother learned but it was difficult for my dad. But I still had all of my teachings, they couldn't be beaten out of me. I kept my language, I found ways to do that. But, I went out on our trapline with my dad I felt I had lost my connection with the land. As a teenager, I had become afraid of the land. I felt what the priests and nuns told me. I was afraid of being in our cabin alone.<sup>135</sup>

The spatial distance from their communities and families over extended periods of time took them away from the food practices, ceremonies and storytelling that took place throughout the year, which cyclically renewed their land-based relationships and ontologies. As Don expressed, this long-term disconnection from actually being out on the land and religious doctrine intimately shaped the way he thought about and thus could subsequently connect with his traditional territory upon his return to his community. As Marie Allen states: "Residential school mixed people up. They didn't want to believe who they were. It affected the way people thought and lived".<sup>136</sup>

More than this, as recounted by my mother, Indigenous children embodied the violence in the most intimate ways through a drastic change in diets. As Al Comegan said: "There was no traditional foods in residential school".<sup>137</sup> While many of them were disconnected from their familiar Indigenous foods, they suffered not just from a change in diet but in many instances,

---

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>137</sup> Al Comegan, personal interview, March 2014.

atrocious levels of malnutrition. Even more appalling, research has recently surfaced about nutritional experiments that were conducted in residential schools in the 1940s and 1950s. As food historian Ian Mosby has uncovered, the Canadian federal government approved a request by researchers to conduct nutritional experiments on Indigenous children in 1944 (Mosby 2013, 2014). Specifically, an Indian Affairs doctor and researchers from New York and the University of Toronto were interested in the links between malnutrition and tuberculosis and blindness and obtained approval from the Canadian government to conduct research on children in residential schools, the ideal laboratory they argued. According to Mosby, as many as 1,300 Indigenous children were subjected to nutritional experiments. Some of them underwent starvation-level diets and were denied certain vitamins and foods for research purposes. The experiments were conducted in residential schools across Canada, including those located in Kenora Ontario in the Treaty 3 territory. Meanwhile, later on, when an influx of Indigenous children were returning to their communities, they returned to households, which had increasingly become dependent on food assistance programs, which, as stated, disciplined Indigenous peoples to purchase certain kinds of foods. In fact, the family allowance program had been used to force Indigenous children to attend residential school. Parents who were becoming increasingly dependent on western market-based foods could not collect this government assistance unless their children were registered and thus made visible to government authorities who, subsequently forced these children to attend residential school (Mosby 2013).



**Figure 17: A nurse taking a sample of blood from an Indigenous child at a residential school in Port Alberni, B.C.; Photo Source: Library and Archives Canada**

The colonial violence inflicted on generations of Indigenous children has been embodied in the most destructive ways. Many community members spoke about the impacts of substance abuse within their communities and families and how this exacerbated the ruptures of familial and mentoring relationships. As Sherri Kabatay says:

Growing up in my community, there was a lot of dysfunction, a lot of alcohol, lots of violence, lots of family violence, sexual violence and a lot of chaos. The home environment I grew up in was different from the one my siblings grew up in. My parents eventually stopped drinking. But, that's how the community was when I was young. There were a lot of families that were in the same boat where there was a lot of alcohol and violence. That was just the norm. Because of residential school and effects of colonization, some of those practices were not passed on. And, because of those impacts, people turn to negative coping mechanisms, they get caught up in addictions, whether that's alcohol or drugs or gambling. Their life becomes about that. So,

there's all these things that have effected traditional practices, so they're not passed on.<sup>138</sup>

Oral histories such as these give us a more intimate understanding of the embodied impacts of colonial violence and how they are reproduced throughout generations. Indeed, much research has now traced physical and mental health epidemics such as substance abuse and suicide within Indigenous communities to historical and intergenerational trauma tied to colonial violence, including residential schools. For example, scholar and mental health expert, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, (Hungkpapa, Oglala Lakota) has linked historical trauma to mental health issues arising from residential school experiences (1998, 2003). Moreover, more recent research has moved towards linking health disparities such as cardiovascular disease, diabetes, substance abuse and suicide to colonial violence inflicted through the residential school system (Walters et al. 2011; Evans-Campbell et al. 2012).

In another way, the intimate embodiment of colonial violence was expressed as a grave disconnection from local foodways, including the multi-scalar relationships that are cultivated by food practices. Community members expressed a shift in a way of thinking about food. For example, Brian Major commented on how Euro-western ideas of breakfast have been normalized within Anishinaabe communities: “In those days (when we was younger), breakfast was always leftover dinner! Naboob (soup or stew)!”<sup>139</sup> Likewise, Marie Allen expressed how younger community members were disconnected from the foods that she regularly ate as a child. While many still consume moose and deer, the sacredness and nutritional value of other Anishinaabe foods are starting to be forgotten and undervalued:

---

<sup>138</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>139</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2013.

I still eat that way when I can. In the old days, people would eat all of the moose. Today, people only eat some of the moose. Also, we used to eat foods like snapping turtle. We would make snapping turtle soup. Today, some people won't touch traditional foods anymore. They say "yuck!" They forgot how it tasted.<sup>140</sup>

Marie Allen continues on to say that this unwillingness to learn is partly due to the rupture in relationships between the older and younger generation: "People don't come and visit like they used to. People never ask why traditional foods are good for you. People don't ask questions. I tried talking about it many times but people won't listen".<sup>141</sup> Gary Smith reiterated this by saying: "We don't visit people anymore. Why aren't younger people visiting Elders?"<sup>142</sup> In this sense, Marie Allen and Gary expressed the interconnected scales of impacts on Anishinaabe relationships to food, which include the actual eating of food and the mentoring relationships where one learns about the sacredness of their foods. She goes on to say: "People don't want to eat (traditional foods), much less go hunt it and prepare it".<sup>143</sup> Dan and Brenda Geyschick add to this insight by saying: "Not everyone wants to process the food. It takes a long time to prepare traditional foods from hunting to smoking the meat".<sup>144</sup> Yet, it is this time spent in the bush and processing foods with family and community members, that Knowledge Holders spoke about in chapter 2 as cultivating Anishinaabe ontologies and *mino bimaadiziwin*.

On a larger communal scale, community members spoke about the rupture in local foodways in relation to practices that foster intimate political economies. As Don Jones

---

<sup>140</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Gary Smith, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>143</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>144</sup> Dan and Brenda Geyschick, personal interview, March 2014.

commented: “People still have a residential school mentality. There is not enough communal sharing. There has been a loss of core values, principles and teachings. The mindset needs to change”.<sup>145</sup> Elders felt this in the most intimate way. While they had grown up during a time when community members still gifted food, especially to those in need such as Elders, they noticed a difference in this core communal value in their old age. As Marie Allen expressed: “Don (Jones) will bring me fish, beaver and ducks. But, no one else really gifts me with food”. Ogimaagwanebiik added to this by saying:

People come to my house and ask “hey you want to buy some blueberries? It’s just not right. They try to sell me fish too. The fish doesn’t like that. The Creator put fish here for us to eat, not to make money out of it. There’s too many things that have been taken for granted because it’s for money.”<sup>146</sup>

As Marie Allen expressed, she and Ogimaagwanebiik have shared their concerns about these changes over the years: “We don’t want to go back living in wiigwaams! That’s what people will say to me and that’s what they tell Ogimaagwanebiik too. It’s just about respect, for all creation”.<sup>147</sup>

### ***Banning of ceremonies***

In 1884, the “Potlatch Ban” was implemented under the *Indian Act*. The policy banned the potlatch ceremony carried out by many Indigenous peoples in what’s now known as British Columbia (RCAP 1996). The potlatch is centered on the sharing of wealth, including food, and is integral to renewing the wellbeing and political ties amongst Indigenous peoples in Coastal and Interior Salish territories (Cote 2010). Moreover, it played a central role in Indigenous economic

---

<sup>145</sup> Don Jones, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>146</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

trading networks. Recognizing the importance of the potlatch to Indigenous social structures and political economies, the federal government implemented the potlatch ban to reinforce Indigenous peoples' assimilation into a settler economy based on private property ownership, rather than on a gifting economy based on sharing through ceremony. Closely thereafter, the policy was amended several times to incorporate the exclusion of other spiritual ceremonies across Turtle Island. 66 years later, in 1951, the ban to Indigenous ceremonies was alleviated through a set of amendments made to the *Indian Act*. However, at this point, many Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island were starting to lose memory of some of their ceremonies. Moreover, the lifting of the ban nonetheless coincided with an era where many Indigenous children were still attending residential school, thus parents and grandparents were unable to pass on their ceremonies to the youngest generation of their communities as they were away from their homes, sometimes several hundred miles away. However, many Ceremonial Holders were able to keep the ceremonies, oftentimes by relocating to more isolated areas that were difficult to access by Indian Agents or by remaining in their communities and going into "hiding" when carrying out ceremonies (Deloria 2006; Botting 2005; Daigle 2010).

Interestingly, one of the more profound reflections on ceremony that was articulated to me while in Treaty 3 occurred as I expressed my anxieties of sharing knowledge on the spiritual aspect of Indigenous lifeways within an academic space. In sharing this, Ruth Macki taught me about the meaning of "ojiteme", which she herself was taught by Gail Jones.<sup>148</sup> She told me that while it was important to keep this question with me throughout my life as an academic and simply as a Cree woman that I should also think about how the silencing of ceremonies for many Indigenous communities was and still is reproduced by colonial violence. As stated, in order to

---

<sup>148</sup> Personal communication with Ruth Macki, December 2013. Ruth is not a member of the Anishinaabe nation of the Treaty 3 territory although she has lived there for almost 20 years and has learned a great deal from Anishinaabe lifeways through her close relationships with Knowledge Holders.

keep the ceremonies alive, many people would practice in hiding and would not openly talk about ceremonial life. It was to this history that Ruth was referring to when she urged me to think about how the silencing of ceremonies expressed as “ojiteme” can, in some instances, be traced back to this colonial violence. I have interpreted this teaching, in one way, as the importance of keeping some aspects of ceremonial life within certain places, that is the community and sacred places where they are carried out (which vary according to nation, community, family and even individual). In another way, this teaching has forced me to think about how the banning of ceremonies and the subsequent loss of memory of them has been reproduced by deep and well-founded fears that continue to impact many Indigenous peoples. This can include a fear to practice one’s ceremonies due to the pain of dispossession and violence that is tied to historical and intergenerational trauma or, a fear of one’s spiritual ceremonies due to the unfamiliarity and colonial discourses of pagan and demonic Indian spirituality or even, a fear to confront this trauma through the healing offered through ceremonies.

The fading memory of spiritual ceremonies certainly varies across Turtle Island. As I stated, my community has been severely impacted as the majority of community members migrated from the James Bay area, which was a major hub of colonial intervention through the Hudson’s Bay Trading Company and missionary efforts. Many families from this region, including mine, went through several generations of residential school, which has had lasting impacts through historical and intergenerational trauma. For example, my mother had not seen or experienced an Indigenous spiritual ceremony until her late teen years when she visited an Anishinaabe community in southern Ontario, an experience that was all too common for people of that generation within my community.

While part of the reason I went to the Treaty 3 was due to the strong presence of ceremonial life, I also began to realize that this was a concern for community members. Many of them, such as Andrew Jourdain, expressed that while the ceremonies still existed, they are not practiced on a communal level like they once were: “There is a ceremony for giving thanks, for picking the rice. Today the ceremony is still practiced. The difference is that in the past when I was younger, the whole community participated but now it’s just a few families”.<sup>149</sup> Likewise, as stated in chapter 2, many of them attribute impacts to their local foodways to the diminished role of ceremonies. For example, when I asked Brian Major why the yields of wild rice had decreased in the past years, he responded by saying: “ I don’t see the wild rice ceremony anymore. Old people have passed. We always had rice but the water rises too fast now. People don’t give thanks anymore”.<sup>150</sup>

Dan and Brenda Geyschick shared their concern about ceremony in an interesting way. If you recall, chapter 2 begins with an excerpt of the aweesiwag story as told by Ogimaagwanebiik. In this portion of the story, the moose shares some of the protocols that go with his/her hunt, which includes putting parts of the moose back on the land. Dan and Brenda worried that those protocols were being forgotten in their community. As Brenda states: “You have to give back to the earth. For example, the moose is giving up his/her life. The moose knows he gave up his life for you. Today, you see carcasses at the dump. The younger people don’t understand these protocols. You have to put the carcasses back on the land, for other animals to eat”. Dan followed up by saying: “ Only certain people are carrying the traditional ways”.<sup>151</sup> In this sense,

---

<sup>149</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

<sup>150</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>151</sup> Dan and Brenda Geyschick, personal interview, March 2014.

Dan and Brenda observed the ramifications of what they understood as the lessened role of ceremony. Thus, while some community members might still be engaged in land-based practices, as Dan and Brenda state, they might not be rooted in Anishinaabe protocols which play a central role in cultivating land-based ontologies. Ogimagwanebiik shared this concern. For her, centering Anishinaabe foodways within *mino bimaadiziwin* means giving thanks as a community: “We need more people that are taking part in these protocols and ceremonies. We used to do it as an entire community. It needs to come back”.<sup>152</sup>

### **Final Reflections on Dispossession**

In this chapter I have unpacked the multi-scalar places and relationships in which colonial violence circulates and is embodied. As stated, my intention was to examine the multiple and overlapping ways brute physical violence and forms of governmentality, some more guised than others, have and continue to re-territorialize Indigenous peoples’ relationships with their land and foodways. Specifically, I have examined colonial-capitalist dispossession through increased assimilation into a capitalist and, increasingly, neoliberal economy, through historical and ongoing land removal and exclusion reproduced through settler colonial politics and through the historical legacies of genocidal practices of assimilation. In doing so, embodied Anishinaabe experiences and knowledge trace the co-constitution of structural processes of power and violence and intimate geographies of the body, mind and land. In one way, this was expressed in the ways that Anishinaabe land, bodies and minds are marked by colonial-capitalist violence. In another way, stories shared also show how this re-territorialization risks becoming reproductive of the very violence that has caused this transformation in the first place as Anishinaabe people internalize and embody colonial and capitalist ideals in their everyday lives. At the same time,

---

<sup>152</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

however, these intimate geographies show how many Anishinaabe people remain deeply connected to their land-based practices, ontologies and responsibilities. Hence, the very sites of colonial violence simultaneously emerge as sites of resistance and resilience. For this reason, I now turn to part 3 of the paper which examines how Anishinaabe peoples are increasingly turning to these places, relationships, knowledge systems and cultural traditions as they re-envision and embody their own forms of self-determination and “living the good life”.

## PART 3: EMBODYING SELF-DETERMINATION

### Chapter 5: Everyday Geographies of Indigenous Resurgence

“A long history of political and economic marginalization has left many indigenous peoples with considerably lower levels of access to adequate food relative to the general population. In addition, indigenous peoples are also uniquely positioned with respect to food by virtue of their relationship with traditional lands and the natural resources therein, which is a central component of their identity” (UNGA 2012).

In May 2013, Olivier De Schutter, the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, released a report titled *Mission to Canada* which outlined the nation’s failure to respect, protect and fulfill the human right to adequate food despite of its great prosperity (UNGA 2012). Among his critiques, he called attention to the particular challenges facing Indigenous communities. De Schutter claimed that food insecurity for Indigenous peoples was rooted in flawed implementation of the Food Mail Programme (FMP) and Nutrition North Canada (NNC); insufficient access to traditional foods due to environmental contamination and the flooding and development of traditional hunting and trapping territories and; lack of access to land due to the federal government’s attempts to extinguish Aboriginal title - despite it being *recognized* under Canadian law. On this last point, De Schutter argued that lack of access to land and food producing resources is directly linked to the federal government’s narrow and colonial reading of historical treaties and collective land agreements which have carried over to present-day so-called self-government packages. De Schutter concluded the report by stating that the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) would be key in rectifying food insecurity for Indigenous peoples in Canada.

De Schutter's assessment parallels many of the concerns that were expressed by Anishinaabe people and which were relayed here in chapter 4. Namely, that their foodways have been violently truncated, re-routed, and re-territorialized by increased assimilation in the settler market-based economy. This has included a heightened dependency on government subsidies, and land dispossession through state colonial boundaries as well as land privatization and environmental contamination by capitalist industry. In some ways, De Schutter's analysis complicates the narrow Marxist political economy approaches that have been employed by the food sovereignty movement, in that, he links food insecurity issues in Indigenous communities to structural violence beyond those inflicted by the global food economy. Specifically, he breaks through the ag-centricity of most of the global food sovereignty movement by directing attention to the impacts of capitalist resource extraction specifically on Indigenous land-based practices such as hunting, fishing and trapping. However, not surprisingly due to the central role played by a regime of national government representation within the UN system, De Schutter's assessment falls short in escaping the state-centric dimension of global food sovereignty discourse - even though there are clearly critiques of the Canadian government within his report. For example, in calling attention to the federal government's narrow and colonial reading of historical treaties and collective land agreements, De Schutter opens up the space for a critical inquiry into the colonial dispossession of Indigenous lands and foodways. Yet, he himself fails to situate this violent dispossession within the historical and ongoing colonial project of molding law-abiding Aboriginal citizens tied to colonial imaginaries of territory. Likewise, while he calls attention to the failures of the FMP and NNC, he again fails to situate this within the settler colonial state's ongoing efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples into a market-based economy. Rather, the problem is relegated to a lack of funding. The result is, once again, a well-intentioned initiative

that both obscures colonial Indigenous-state-settler relations and fails to envision an emancipatory politics based on Indigenous knowledge systems and social, political and economic traditions.

As argued in chapters 3 and 4, the silencing of this colonial violence masks the power structures that oppress Indigenous bodies, minds, spirits and lands. More than this however, it risks reproducing forms of resistance that will not address the root causes of Indigenous dispossession or, worse yet, contribute to ongoing colonial violence on Indigenous lands. For this reason, food sovereignty scholars have increasingly argued that the dispossession and struggle for Indigenous foodways must be situated within an understanding and critique of the workings of colonial violence. As stated in the introduction and chapter 3, Raj Patel and Sam Grey have provided the most extensive analysis within the sub-field thus far. In sum, they state:

The politics of the wider food sovereignty movement is obliged to expand beyond the familiar bundle of rights that attach to production and consumption, since the resurrection of Indigenous traditional foods and food systems is inextricable from a more general Indigenous cultural, social, and political resurgence [...] [Indigenous] food sovereignty is the continuation of anti-colonial struggles in ostensibly postcolonial contexts (Patel and Grey 2014).

Specifically, Patel and Grey are unpacking here the dual nature of Indigenous food “sovereignty” by first, situating it within the struggle against historical and ongoing colonial violence that was unpacked in chapters 3 and 4. Secondly, Patel and Grey argue that the regeneration of Indigenous food systems is part of the larger movement of social, cultural and political resurgence of land-based practices as detailed in chapter 2. I draw on Patel and Grey’s theory by framing Indigenous food sovereignty as, more generally, an embodied self-determination and more specifically for Anishinaabe people, as *mino bimaadiziwin*, by directing close attention to

the co-constitutive relationship between resistance and resurgence. I argue that these two forms of political embodiment are not mutually exclusive processes but that they are overlapping and work in concert. For example, when Anishinaabe people go out deer hunting, they are engaging in the resurgence of local foodways just as they are simultaneously always navigating and resisting colonized space in consequentially embodied ways. More than this, I frame resurgence as a form of decolonial love in which Indigenous peoples renew and re-honor their responsibilities and love for their ancestral lands. Before I delve into the embodiment of resurgence, however, I turn my attention to the politics of Indigenous resistance as it is highly contested within Indigenous studies and at the community level. Specifically, Indigenous peoples have and continue to employ varied strategies of resistance to protect their traditional territories and foodways. To this end, I now turn to how this resistance has been theorized in Indigenous studies and embodied within the Treaty 3.

### **Refusing Re-territorialization: From Resistance to Resurgence**

#### ***Resistance***

Coulthard has recently argued that Indigenous resistance is often framed as either legitimate or illegitimate within the media and public discourse (Coulthard 2014). Indigenous forms of resistance that are deemed legitimate are generally formal negotiations between state actors and Indigenous leadership that are, at times, accompanied by symbolic acts of peaceful protest that abide by Canada's rule of law. Moreover, this form of reconciliatory politics, which results in land claims, self-government packages and economic development initiatives, regularly unfold under the rubrics of recognition, and its most contained (and arguably co-opted) such recognition takes the form of indigenous art and artifacts featured in sites like airports and national museums. On the other hand, Indigenous forms of resistance that are framed as

illegitimate are oftentimes embodiments of direct action that seek to influence power in a more confrontational way. And, it is the latter, Coulthard argues, that is a form of grounded normativity that opens up the possibility for a transformative emancipatory politics. However, Coulthard's perspective is just one of many that have contributed to an ongoing debate on the emancipatory potential of different forms of resistance within Indigenous studies.

For example, scholars such as Dale Turner and John Burrows have more generally supported the performativity of identity politics that fall in line with recognition strategies, which parallel debates within postcolonial and political theory (Bhabha 1994; Fraser and Honneth 2004; Turner 2006; Burrows 2010). For example, postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha has argued that national pedagogies are built on essentialist identities which silence cultural difference and varied histories (Bhabha 1994). Accordingly, he claims that the "in-between" space or third space between social identities, in this case Aboriginal people and settler Canadians, opens up the possibility for a hybrid politics (Bhabha 1994, 145). For Bhabha, these liminal spaces provide the possibility for transcultural negotiations that complicate strict parameters attached to social identities and allow for cultural difference without a hierarchy. This performative hybridity, Bhabha argues, ultimately allows for a resistance and political emancipation through *inclusion* in a postcolonial "culture of social contestation", which simultaneously disrupts colonial authority (Bhabha 1994, 144). Similarly, in *This is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy* (2006), Dale Turner argues that Indigenous peoples must "engage in the state's legal and political discourses in more effective ways", if they want to renew their relationship with the Canadian state (Turner 2006, 5; cf Coulthard 2014, 45). From Turner's perspective, settler colonial politics have historically excluded Indigenous voices and political representation in the negotiation of their rights and thus, undermining this colonial

violence requires the active inclusion and participation of Indigenous peoples by performing the spatio-legal category of the Aboriginal citizen through the rubrics of recognition. Specifically, he draws on a Foucauldian discursive approach to argue that Indigenous peoples must develop an intellectual community of “word warriors” who are capable of navigating and deploying the legal and political discourses of the settler colonial state (Turner 2006; Coulthard 2014).

Indeed, Anishinaabe people from the Treaty 3 have employed these more legitimate forms of resistance by negotiating with the Canadian state, namely the province of Ontario, through their regional governmental body, the Grand Council Treaty #3. This form of resistance has ranged in scale from individuals fighting for their right to hunt and fish to more communal efforts to gain autonomy over their traditional territories. For example, David Lindsey (the fish and wildlife officer for the Grand Council Treaty 3) shared how these more small-scale forms of negotiation consist of Anishinaabe people from the Treaty 3 applying for special permission to hunt and fish in another treaty territory, as is the case with non-Treaty 3 Anishinaabe people seeking to do the same in their territory. As David shared:

We started providing authorization letters to Anishinaabe people to fish and hunt in the Treaty 3. The letters were sought out by Anishinaabe people from other treaty areas in Canada. The original letters stated that Anishinaabe people could hunt and fish. They had no expiry date, no limits and no species of what was going to get harvested. But, the leaders (in band council and treaty government) wanted more accountability. So now we have fishing and hunting letters with an expiry date and they contain the species that they are allowed to hunt and fish. They expire after one year. The limits are the standard limits based on Ontario guidelines, which are 4 walleyes and 1 moose for one family. If people need more fish they can put a special request with the Grand Chief. We will entertain requests like that. Our hunting letters were reviewed by Elders. They determined that there should not be a limit on species of animals that could be harvested. I mean to determine for a moose whether it's a cow, calf or bull. They said if it's a gift

from the Creator, there shouldn't be a limit on that. So we limited it to just 1 moose and 2 deer per family.<sup>153</sup>

David's statement unpacks the complexity of mobilizing resistance even through these small-scale interactions. In one way, Anishinaabe people are assuming leadership in the implementation of authorizations to hunt and fish through regional treaty governmental bodies. In doing this, they have sought the inclusion of their Anishinaabe forms of political decision-making through, for example, the Elder's council. Yet, this becomes overshadowed as the treaty government remains entangled in guidelines and regulations that are imposed on Anishinaabe people through the jurisdiction of the province, namely the requirement of authorizations which are essentially licenses, as well as expiry dates and species designations. While David's statement illustrates how these restrictions are ultimately aimed at cultivating responsible land-based practices, the disciplinary measures are a far cry from how community members expressed they learned reciprocal and respectful land-based practices in chapter 2, through intimate relationships with land, family, community, ceremony, language, storytelling and food sharing and gifting. Namely, these external impositions discipline Anishinaabe people to act a certain way rather than cultivating land-based ontologies and a love and sense of responsibility for the land through a relational and embodied process. Instead, the authorizations are short-term and limited solutions to a larger struggle of rebuilding intimate relationships with the land. That is, the authorizations are state-sanctioned permits that give Anishinaabe people temporally- and spatially-limited permission to engage in land-based food practices, as they are given on a yearly basis and are constrained to the colonial boundaries of the treaty territory and not to ancestral food harvesting grounds. Moreover, the authorizations only give Anishinaabe people the permission to hunt, trap and fish, but they do not cultivate *how* these practices are enabled

---

<sup>153</sup> David Lindsey, personal interview, March 2014.

through Anishinaabe cultural traditions and protocols that are, in turn, fostered by intimate geographies of familial and land-based relationships.

On a larger scale, David spoke about the trapping agreement and Trapper Steering Committee that was established after several years of negotiations with the province of Ontario, specifically the MNR, and the federal government's Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (INAC), which was renamed in 2011 as Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC). Essentially, Anishinaabe people from the Treaty 3 argued that trapping issues should be considered a self-government matter and sought to gain administrative control of trapping both on and off reserves, as opposed to the MNR having authority (Treaty 3 2015). As the Grand Council Treaty #3 states on their website, the negotiations were based on "a positive, non-adversarial relationship building process among parties" (Treaty 3 2015). After several rounds of negotiations and drafts of the agreement, in 2005, the MNR and the Treaty 3 agreed that the former would continue to administer non-Indigenous trapping while the Treaty 3 governmental body would assume control over Indigenous trapping in the territory. The agreement details that Indigenous trappers now have autonomy over the management of their trapline rather than being subjected to the MNR's quota system as detailed by some community members in chapter 4. The agreement is on a renewable basis and the Trappers Steering Committee assumes leadership in ongoing discussions and negotiations with the provincial government. The steering committee was originally made up of 18 Elders, trappers and Treaty 3 Chiefs. I provide an extended reflection from David as he unpacks the complexities of resistance through an inclusionary politics:

It wasn't until 2005 that MNR, INAC and Grand Council of Treaty 3 signed an agreement. They had 14 drafts of the agreement before they came up with an end draft. During this whole process there was a committee (the Trappers Steering Committee) that

participated in the final agreement. Right now, we have six members on the committee. All of them are trappers and most of them are Elders. We have been renegotiating the agreements since 2005. The first one was a 5- year agreement. Then, in 2010 we got two 1-year agreements in a row and then we finally got a 3-year agreement, which expires this year. The committee has always assumed a role in renegotiating these agreements. The agreement has been a good thing for the Treaty 3 trappers because it gives us control over how we want to issue authorizations rather than licenses. Trappers like the word authorization better than license so we're trying to move away from the term license. That is something that government has imposed on us. They have to have the authorization to sell the fur. If they are selling for commercial use they need a license and we'll charge a fee. There's no fee for Elders. Trappers all manage their own traplines. There are no quotas. They are not going to take too many animals. They know how to take care of their trapline.<sup>154</sup>

When I asked David about the change in authorization terms, he replied by saying:

It's just about who is in power in government and the uncertainty of that. The 1-year agreement was costing the MNR more. So that's why they have agreed to a 5-year agreement for this upcoming renewal. The only thing is that the funding is not going to go for the 5-year period. It will be on one level, where we're at right now (funding for the 3-year period). That will be a hardship during year 4 or 5 depending on the expenses. We do have a clause that we can look at the budget on a year –to-year basis and if there's any excess funding we can request that. We made sure that clause is in there.<sup>155</sup>

Finally, when asked about the reduction of the trapping committee to a mere six members, David responded by saying: “It's a lack of funding. Even with the six members, we tried to have 2 meetings per year but there's no funding. Once agreements are passed, we're basically just administering programs”.<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

As David states, the primary gain achieved through the trapping agreement has been Anishinaabe trappers' ability to have day-to-day autonomy over their traplines. Indeed, after unpacking the disciplinary measures of the MNR's quota system in chapter 4, many local trappers expressed that this agreement has made a real difference in their everyday lives. As Ogimaagwanebiik states: "We (local trappers and trappers' council) work together and we work hard".<sup>157</sup> Yet, this autonomy remains compromised. As stated in chapter 4, community members still expressed how they experience continued encroachment by settler cottagers, poachers and clear-cutting from logging companies. David reiterated this by saying: "We continue to have issues with traplines being harvested (tree harvested) by logging companies without permission".<sup>158</sup> Beyond this, however, David's statement also unpacks the bureaucratic and funding debacles that unravel through the embodiment of resistance through institutional pathways. For example, he spoke about how the lack of funding has limited the size of the trapping committee to six members who rarely meet in person to engage in more intimate face-to-face dialogues. Moreover, he alluded to the disciplinary power exerted over community members as the agreement is on an ongoing renewal basis, which has decreased to as short as 1 year over the last decade due to increased conservative neoliberal leadership within the Canadian government. Likewise, he commented on the fact that the agreement simply delineates the day-to-day administration of trapping and does not address more fundamental issues regarding colonial readings of the Treaty 3 agreement and associated food harvesting rights. Ogimaagwanebiik reiterated this as she shared how, while the trapper's council itself has been an important political space for local community members, they continue to struggle in building a respectful and

---

<sup>157</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>158</sup> David Lindsey, personal interview, March 2014.

reciprocal relationships with both MNR representatives in Ottawa (Canada's capital) and extractive industry:

We have a trapper's committee and we try to work with the MNR. We (the trapper's committee) work together well and we work hard. But, we're not being listened to. We're talking to bureaucrats in Ottawa and they don't see why it's important for someone like me to keep my trapline. Right now, we're trying to get a 5-year agreement. But, what's the use of running it if it's getting stripped down?<sup>159</sup>

More importantly, as David commented, at the end of the day the agreement does not amount to much if Anishinaabe people do not continue to trap: "What happens when people aren't going out trapping?"<sup>160</sup> The Grand Council Treaty #3 has sought to address the lack of trappers, particularly young trappers, with yet again another institutionalized measure of inclusion. As David shared:

Now, under Ontario guidelines, anyone who is 12-15 years of age can have their trapping license. We followed that with our own youth as well so they can have a trapping authorization between the ages of 12-15. It's something that gives the Elders and maybe the parents a reason to be able to take their kids out. And, there's a reward for them to go out to trap. They come back and they sell their fur. It generates their interest further because they can see the financial benefit of that. But, what they won't see until later, is that there will be a cultural benefit too. Their parents and Elders will be able to pass on that knowledge to the youth.<sup>161</sup>

Again, it is interesting how the Treaty 3 governmental body is seeking to reconnect Anishinaabe people through the issuance of authorizations. Importantly, David points out, the hope is that over time, these institutionalized measures will cultivate a deeper connection between younger

---

<sup>159</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

community members and their land-based practices and ontologies. However, it is unclear how these external incentives actually cultivate long-term transformational changes and whether it is indeed these political efforts that community members attribute to *mino bimaadiziwin* or, “living the good life”. Moreover, some community members worry about how these increased bureaucratic measures further impede on their own understandings of self-determination. As the Kabatay family expressed in chapter 4, these authorizations are often understood as heightened disciplinary measures that continue to be imposed on local food providers.

My intention in advancing critiques of the Treaty 3 governmental initiatives, however, is not to devalue the work and efforts that employees have put forth. Furthermore, while I call attention to the roll back of government funding, my objective here is not to proceed by critiquing neoliberal austerity measures even though they have certainly presented grave difficulties for Indigenous communities’ political, economic and social structures. Rather, I am interested in how this type of resistance cultivates a funding mentality and the illusion of inclusion while failing to honor the relational and spiritual foundations of Indigenous political ontologies and structures. In terms of funding, David’s comments are telling as they unpack how community organizing, namely through the trappers council, becomes bound to the availability of government funding instead of community members organizing on a more communal scale to figure out ways to host ongoing community dialogues and meetings. As Leanne Simpson states, decolonial efforts cannot depend on government and private funding. Rather, they must be built on everyday embodiments of rebuilding relationships between community members and with the natural and spiritual worlds (Simpson 2008).

In terms of inclusion, while the trappers committee has certainly ensured the leadership of local Knowledge Holders and Elders, the overall self-determination of the Anishinaabe nation

remains entangled in settler colonial legal and political discourses and territorial boundaries. For example, while Anishinaabe people are able to apply for special permission to hunt and fish in another treaty territory, their ability to do so on Crown lands and unceded territories remain much more entrenched in jurisdictional restrictions. More than this, however, under this institutionalized process, Indigenous peoples must seek permission from imposed band council systems rather than upholding their own forms of land governance which requires the rebuilding of political relationships across families, clans, communities and nations, including the renewal of pre-settler treaties. For instance, the family genealogies governing wild rice harvesting grounds, as expressed in chapter 4, are not upheld throughout this process. Indeed, community members worried about the limited potential of an inclusionary politics. In recalling his experiences working for INAC, Don Jones commented on the limited emancipatory potential of “browning of the democracy”.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, Sherri Kabatay cautioned against a politics of inclusion by saying: “When you try to bring it (our cultural ways) into that system, it looks like you’re trying to bring it back. It has that surface level, but the depth isn’t there”.<sup>163</sup>

It is precisely the ongoing violence of colonial authority and disconnection from Indigenous political ontologies that have led a number of Indigenous scholars to increasingly oppose inclusive reconciliatory politics (Alfred 1999, 2005; Coulthard 2007, 2014; Simpson 2008, 2013a; A. Simpson 2013). While relationship building between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state should not be outright rejected, they should be deconstructed for the “politics of distraction” and veiled forms of ongoing colonial control and violence that they are (Alfred 2005). Specifically, Indigenous claims for land and food-harvesting territories framed under a

---

<sup>162</sup> Don Jones, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>163</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

politics of recognition privilege formal systems of recognition as the only virtuous pathway towards emancipation and self-determination. This limits visions of the political within the ontological and political authority of the settler colonial state, including how Indigenous lands become naturalized through colonial imaginaries of territory and materialized through the reproduction of reserves, treaty territories and provincial and national borders. The result is a liberal pluralistic politics of recognition that reproduces assimilationist objectives rather than a transformative politics that both eradicates colonial power structures and renews Indigenous ontologies and political and economic structures (Alfred 1999, 2005; Tully 2000; Day 2001; Day and Sadik 2002; Coulthard 2007, 2014).

Going back to De Schutter's report, indeed, he does not explicitly recommend the supposed emancipatory potential of a politics of recognition although his use of a recognition language is suspect. Instead, he follows conventional food sovereignty initiatives that have sought to politically mobilize at the international scale through the U.N. or the WTO to put pressure on nation-states to implement food sovereignty policies that will protect food actors from the ongoing violence of neoliberal capitalism. Specifically, De Schutter points to the UNDRIP. However, as I have argued, while this form of activism fights for the rights of food actors, it leaves the authority of the settler colonial state over Indigenous peoples uncontested. As political theorist Dale Turner has argued, the UNDRIP, although a viable and possibly important source of political mobilization, remains a declaration that is adopted by Canada only insofar as it stands by the nation's rule of law rather than those of the Indigenous nations within these colonial boundaries (Turner 2006). Moreover, Jeff Corntassel has drawn on Michael Lacy's concepts of channeling and blunting to reveal how Indigenous understandings of self-determination are often relegated in the design and implementation of declarations at the

international scale (Corntassel 2007). Channeling occurs as Indigenous groups cease to create self-determining strategies within their communities, as all efforts are directed towards the international political arena. Blunting occurs as Indigenous political agendas are transformed to meet the dominant discourses and pre-existing norms of governing institutions. Most importantly, however, Anishinaabe people in the Treaty 3 did not once bring up the UNDRIP in our conversations about protection their traditional territories and foodways.

So what are the alternatives if we, Indigenous activists, scholars, community members and allies, are to rethink and re-place neoliberal government subsidies such as the FMP and NNC, a colonial politics of recognition and the disconnected and placeless politics of the UNDRIP in the fight for Indigenous land-based practices? Specifically, how are Indigenous peoples thinking about and embodying food sovereignty and a land-based form of self-determination at the community level? In Canada, a number of alternative Indigenous self-determination movements have emerged over the last several years. For example, *Defenders of the Land* emerged in 2008 as a network for Indigenous communities struggling against ongoing land dispossession by the Canadian state and capitalist industry.<sup>164</sup> In December 2012, activism resisting against the passing of Bill C-45 including a number of rallies and teach-ins, culminated in *Idle No More*, one of the largest Indigenous movements in Canada's history.<sup>165</sup> *The Indigenous Nationhood Movement*, which also cultivates the building of networks across Indigenous communities and nations, emerged soon thereafter in 2013 under the principles of

---

<sup>164</sup> For more information on *Defenders of the Land*, visit their website at: <http://www.defendersoftheland.org>

<sup>165</sup> For more information on *Idle No More*, visit their website at: <http://www.idlenomore.ca>

reclaim, rename, reoccupy.<sup>166</sup> As the movement's website states:

The Indigenous Nationhood Movement (INM) is a peoples' movement for Indigenous nationhood, resurgence, and decolonization. We are a vast circle of people connected through commitments to principled action supporting Indigenous nations in advancing, articulating, reclaiming, expressing, and asserting our nationhood, raising up traditional governments, and reclaiming and reoccupying our homelands. The circle is open to everyone: we are not a political organization, group, or political party—and we are not affiliated with any such groups [...] We honour and respect the diversity of our nations, laws, governance structures and autonomy, and we invite all people to join in building collective power in our communities (Indigenous Nationhood Movement 2015).

These movements, while unique in their own respects, are founded on what Audra Simpson has called a politics of refusal and Leanne Simpson has called a politics of rejection (Simpson 2013a; A. Simpson 2013). That is, they refuse and reject settler colonial legal and political discourses and material relations based on oppressive domination, including funding from government and private industry. Overall, they are what Coulthard argues often get framed as illegitimate forms of Indigenous resistance as they are committed to embodying direct confrontation against colonial-capitalist violence, including unresolved treaty processes and the privatization of Indigenous territories for capitalist resource exploitation and industry-sponsored forms of state-making and development. These confrontations range from organized protests, including road blocks rupturing the flow of capital and blocking extractive industry from Indigenous territories, to solidarity protests such as round dance flash mobs where Indigenous peoples have taken over shopping centers through their traditional round dance to protest against

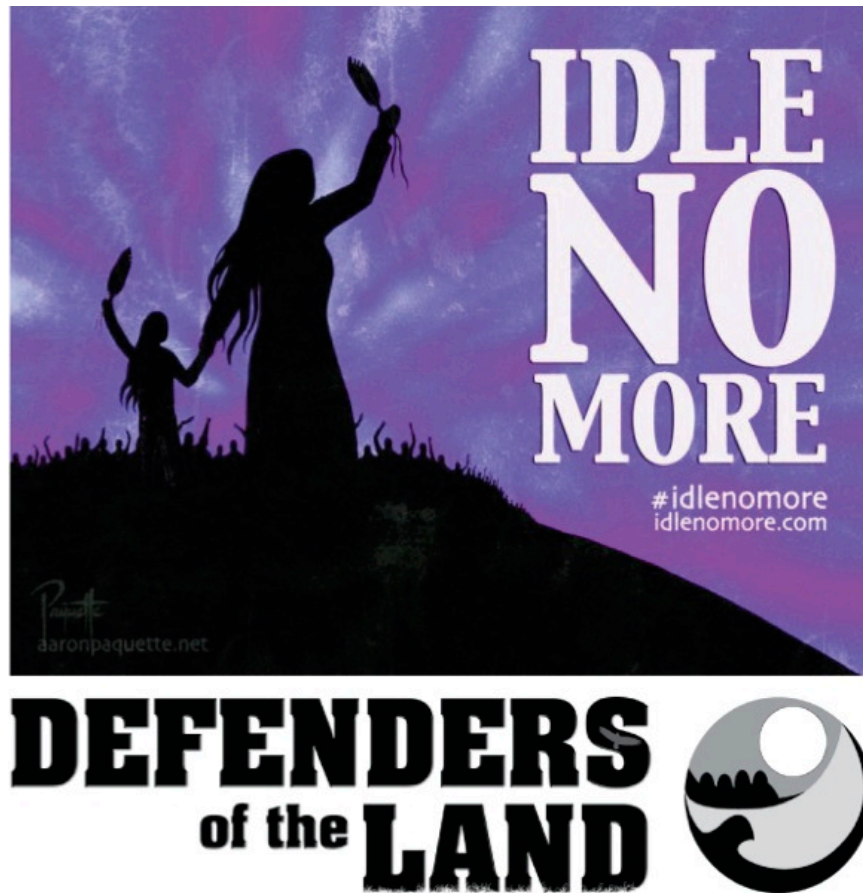
---

<sup>166</sup> For more information on the *Indigenous Nationhood Movement*, visit their website at: <http://nationsrising.org>

the violence of capitalist industry while disrupting it's everyday practice at the mall.<sup>167</sup> Certainly, these movements have garnered much attention and support precisely because they are all encompassing, exist within a nexus of multi-scalar networks and employ decolonial approaches that are rarely seen in institutionalized forms of political mobilizing for Indigenous self-determination. For example, *Decolonizing Media*, which is part of this nexus of Indigenous activism has employed forms of decolonial futurisms, through mix-tapes and artwork that build solidarities while raising awareness about colonial-capitalist dispossession of Indigenous lands.

---

<sup>167</sup> The round dance is a customary dance that is practiced by a number of Indigenous nations on Turtle Island during certain gatherings.



**Figure 18: Idle No More and Defenders of the Land; Photo Source: IC Magazine Website<sup>168</sup>**

However, these movements rest foundationally upon everyday acts of resistance that are embodied at the local scale. For example, Grassy Narrows First Nation in the Treaty 3, which is a member of *Defenders of the Land*, has been dedicated to direct action through the embodiment of roadblocks that impede the logging industry's access to their traditional territory, specifically AbitibiBowater which is a British pulp and paper company. In 2000, community members erected what became one of the longest standing roadblocks in the history of Canada as it lasted for 10 years. Similarly, Iris, Steve and Andrew Jourdain recounted how community members

---

<sup>168</sup> IC Magazine website: <https://intercontinentalcry.org/grassroots-anti-pipeline-groups-and-idle-no-more-say-enbridge-no-more-shut-down-the-tar-sands/> [Accessed August 2015].

from Lac La Croix embodied a politics of refusal in asserting their traditional fishing grounds. While they employed more formal negotiation measures with Campbell's Cabins and Quetico Provincial Park in which they were able to uphold their Anishinaabe land-based ontologies and practices, the inability to do so with U.S. border patrol authorities led to physical standoffs between community members and U.S. authorities. And, as you might recall, when they were charged, Steve said “ [...] we *refused* to go to court when we were charged”.<sup>169</sup>

This moment of resistance is an important one to recall here as it unpacks how it is founded on a long history of Indigenous peoples' seeking to negotiate with settlers and colonial authorities, and that they will if it is built on a respectful and reciprocal foundation. Yet, this becomes increasingly difficult as potential threats to land vary from small-scale businesses such as Campbell's Cabins and conservation efforts implemented by the local MNR branch to larger structural issues with colonial authorities and capitalist industry as the relationships between these different stakeholders will widely vary as well as the relationships that each stakeholder has with the land.<sup>170</sup> Regardless of these variations, however, the Lac La Croix example shows how community members' commitment to protect their traditional territories and land-based practices will lead them to adopt any means necessary to uphold this responsibility. Most importantly, however, as reflected in chapter 2, community members from Lac La Croix such as Iris, Steve and Andrew show how this responsibility and love for the land is rooted in Indigenous land-based ontologies that are cultivated by everyday acts of resurgence. For this reason, I proceed in the remainder of the chapter by delving more deeply into the everyday embodiments

---

<sup>169</sup> Steve and Iris Jourdain, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>170</sup> It is important to point out here that Anishinaabe people's ability to negotiate with the MNR, specifically Quetico Provincial Park, is not typical of Indigenous relations with conservation authorities. In many instances, Indigenous peoples in Canada have been dispossessed of their food harvesting grounds through conservation efforts implemented through provincial parks.

of resurgence, specifically a resurgent decolonial love, that makes up the transformative relational and spiritual foundation of an embodied self-determination, or *mino bimaadiziwin*.



**Figure 19: Roadblock, Grassy Narrows First Nation, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: IC Magazine Website<sup>171</sup>**

### *Resurgence*

The idea of resurgence is a defining characteristic of Taiaiake Alfred's work. He specifically engages with this idea in his book *Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (2005) and, since then, many scholars including Leanne Simpson and Glen Coulthard have taken it up in rethinking Indigenous self-determination. As Alfred states, resurgence goes beyond just survival and resistance by both refusing colonial boundaries and renewing Indigenous ontologies and lifeways:

---

<sup>171</sup> IC Magazine website: <https://intercontinentalcry.org/victory-for-grassy-narrows-abitibowater-retreats/> [Accessed August 2015].

Resurgence is acting beyond resistance. It is what resistance always hopes to become: from a rooted position of strength, resistance defeats the temptation to stand down, to take what is offered by the state in exchange for being pacified [...] Land is not a territory, except in a colonial way of looking at the landscape. Onkwehonwe (original people) resurgences will act against the boundaries white society has placed on being indigenous and will move freely in our homelands; for Onkwehonwe in Anowara, home is everywhere and we are all related. Territorial boundaries are an assault on this indigenous sense of place and being [...] These resurgences, multiplicities of thought and action, must be founded on Onkwehonwe philosophies and lead us to reconnect with respectful and natural ways of being in the world (Alfred 2005: 151, 206-207, 36).

Resurgence then goes beyond conventional notions of resistance as solely oppositional to structures of power and violence, as it is ultimately rooted within Indigenous knowledge systems and relational frameworks that emerge from an intimate connection with the land. For this reason, Alfred argues that the breakdown of colonial boundaries goes beyond physical and material borders to break down psychological, intellectual, emotional and spiritual boundaries through a mental awakening (Alfred 2005).

As Leanne Simpson shares, while she has thought about resistance for her entire life, it was not until she read Alfred's work that she started to think more carefully about resurgence (Simpson 2013a). Over the years, Simpson has explored the meaning of resurgence as both a philosophy and political practice that is rooted in Indigenous knowledge systems, specifically land-based pedagogies that are founded on the renewal of relationships (Simpson 2008, 2013a, 2014). She has embodied this herself by embedding her work in her Nishnaabeg language, stories and her experiential knowledge through her multiple roles within the community. For example, she reflects on the meaning of resurgence by recounting the Nishnaabeg story of "The Seven Fires Prophecy" (Simpson 2013a). As Simpson recounts, the story begins with seven

prophets who visit the Anishinaabe nation and make seven prophecies for the future. The First Fire is what became known as “The Great Migration” in which Anishinaabe people migrated from the eastern shores of Turtle Island to the west. As Gail Jones told me, “The Anishinaabe were told to go out west as far as food grows on the water. Those stories go back hundreds of years ago. That’s part of our creation story. It’s what allows us to rice”.<sup>172</sup> The Fifth and Sixth Fires were times of massive violence marked by settler colonial conquest and land dispossession. At the same time, however, Anishinaabe people were preparing for the Seventh Fire, which the prophets had predicted would be the time when colonial violence would loosen its hold over their people. As Simpson recounts:

Ceremonies were practiced underground with children present. Stories were passed along through the families. Families retreated to the bush whenever possible, as a strategy to avoid Indian Agents, residential schools and child welfare agencies. Some people hung onto the language. Our Grandmothers and Grandfathers planted the seeds of resurgence in the Fifth and Sixth fires” (Simpson 2013a, 66).

Community members from the Treaty 3 spoke about the Fifth and Sixth fires. As some of them shared in chapter 4, there were multiple efforts during this time to revitalize the clanship system. As Sherri Kabatay recounts:

Colonialism impacted the clan system. I’ve seen it try to be brought back in my community, because I used to be involved in politics. There was an attempt to bringing it back through our regional system, the Treaty 3 Grand Council in the 1970s and 1980s. They tried to re-shift things to the clan system. I think that part of it is that, it really is the ceremonial connection. We got into this western way of relating, how we understand we’re related. So how is the clan passed on? And then, people don’t know where they come from. People might know their father and grandfather but they might not know their great grandfather. Where did that clan originate from? Tracing back the clan. Because of those disruptions from colonialism, some people don’t know their clans, it wasn’t passed on or it was rejected from their family because of

---

<sup>172</sup> Gail and Jason Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

shame, maybe they internalized those things, or maybe because of residential school, maybe they converted to Catholicism. So they didn't pick those traditional things. So, there are people now who don't have knowledge of their clans or how their clan came to be. So, that's the context. So it sounds like an easy thing to say, oh yeah, we should go back to the clan system but then you start looking at that, what do people even know about clan and clan responsibilities? If they don't even know about their clan how will they know about their responsibilities? How will they know how they're supposed to be and how their role will play out in contemporary times? My understanding of the clan system is that it was connected to ceremony and connected to the medewin lodge, which is ceremony. There are certain roles and responsibilities each clan had in the medewin lodge and the medewin lodge is the connection to the Creator. It was given to the people. That itself, was impacted because of disruptions from colonialism. But there were things that were going on before that and it all goes back to the person and how they conduct themselves.<sup>173</sup>

As Sherri states, there was a cultural and spiritual foundation that was missing as community members were trying to revitalize their political clanship system. Many of them did not and still do not have a connection to their clanship identities. For this reason, as the prophecy tells, community members decided that more time and commitment had to be redirected towards revitalizing the more intimate connections and relationships that make up the life of their political structures through familial relationships, ceremony, land-based practices, language and storytelling. That is, Knowledge Holders within the community decided that community members had to re-root themselves within their Anishinaabe identities and nationhood by reconnecting with their clans, in order for them to have a deeper sense of their communal responsibilities and how this might contribute to self-determination or *mino bimaadiziwin*. While many community members expressed concern about people not knowing their clans, they simultaneously shared how they were hopeful that these cultural traditions were increasingly being revitalized. Moreover, through the multiple interactions and relationships I built with

---

<sup>173</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

community members, it became increasingly apparent that many of them still had strong relationships with their clan. For example, most community members began our interviews by introducing themselves in Anishinaabemowin and telling me their spirit names and their clans, which imparted knowledge to me (in part) about who they are.

Many Anishinaabe Knowledge Holders believe that we are now in the Seventh Fire and that the current generation must build on and “collectivize” knowledge systems and land-based practices that have been maintained to build an embodied cultural and political resurgence (Ibid). According to Simpson, this Seventh Fire depends on a multi-scalar relational politics that continues to renew intimate relationships at the scale of the family, land and spiritual world as well as larger scale relationships that make up pre-settler treaties between Indigenous nations, including those with animal and plant nations (Simpson 2008, 2013a). Simpson is careful to point out, however, that the way these relationships are renewed and transmitted for contemporary times sets a resurgent politics apart from more surface-level efforts. That is, both Simpson and Alfred stress the importance of reconnecting to Indigenous philosophical traditions through language, stories and through an intimate connection with the land rather than trying to embed a resurgent politics within surface-level strategies that are restrained by the oppressive and violent parameters of settler colonial ideals and government funding. At the same time, they do not advocate for a rigid reading and embodiment of Indigenous traditions. Rather, they call for a renewal of Indigenous ontologies and political relationships that will cultivate the wellbeing of contemporary community members and their lands (Alfred 1999; Simpson 2013a).

In some ways, this resurgent politics is undergirded by an anger, resentment and rage even that arises as Indigenous peoples learn about the historical legacies and contemporary continuities of colonial violence on their lands and peoples. By drawing on anti-colonial theorist

and psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, Coulthard argues that the individual and collective embodiment of anger can foster decolonial forms of resurgence that are rooted in Indigenous place-based ontologies and cultural practices (Coulthard 2010, 2014). He departs from Fanon's theory however, in that he argues that this anger can undergird the long-term resurgence of Indigenous lifeways, whereas Fanon argued that this anger-driven revitalization of pre-colonial knowledge systems and cultural practices would only be a temporary form of resistance (Fanon 2005, 89; Coulthard 2014, 128-129). According to Coulthard, the affirmation of Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices through the emotive drive of anger provides "the substantive foundation required to reconstruct relationships of reciprocity and peaceful coexistence within and against the psycho-affective and structural apparatuses of settler-colonial power" (Coulthard 2014, 129). In this sense, Coulthard, although focused on the political potential of anger, ultimately sees this as part of a long-term process that is founded on reciprocity and peace. It is my understanding that this long-term process, which is really the renewal of Indigenous ways of living, is ultimately founded on a decolonial love. From this position, I argue that anger perhaps never completely disappears as a motivating factor for Indigenous resistance and resurgence, although it is certainly experienced in different ways depending on an individual's personal experiences, life stage and so on. Rather, anger is balanced by a decolonial love of Indigenous lands, peoples and lifeways which sustains long-term resistance and resurgence.

Indeed, feminist geographers have long written about the political agency, creativity and possibilities that emerge from intimate geographies of affect and emotion. As Pratt and Rosner have argued, a global and intimate approach is aimed at deconstructing taken-for-granted discourses and practices that are circulated throughout society (Pratt and Rosner 2006). At the scale of everyday life, the disruption of grand narratives evokes powerful emotions of grief and

anger that can then incite an embodied refusal of injustice. For example, an emotive force is cultivated as Indigenous peoples learn about the heinous brutality that their families and community members endured in residential school or when another nation's land is violently dispossessed by a mining development project. This unburying of violent colonial histories and presents is a visceral and embodied process where affect and emotions become the driving force and sustenance for inciting a resistant anti-colonial politics. At the same time however, as Gibson-Graham have argued, the disruption of grand narratives through geographies of affect and emotion become crucial in re-envisioning alternative futures built on creative and experimental emancipatory politics (Gibson-Graham 2006). As the authors argue, within the academic space, the theorization of an emancipatory politics must arise from everyday geographies of political acts that are based not only on intellectual arguments but "visceral intensities and emotive narratives" that connect feeling to thought (Gibson-Graham 2006, 2).

As Lawson has argued, these emotions cultivate an alternative understanding of the world that both unsilence the working and interconnected scales of structures of power and the ways in which people are embodying resistance and emancipatory politics in their everyday lives (Lawson 2007). Throughout this paper, Anishinaabe people have shared how their understandings and embodiment of colonial violence are felt in the most visceral of ways, which then cultivates a certain way of thinking about colonial impacts as a structure of power that circulates through all scales of their community from a way of thinking, to bodily health impacts, the embodiment of violence by the nonhuman world through environmental contamination, to the devastation of their social, political and economic systems. Simultaneously, as I will show in the proceeding sections, Anishinaabe people also understand that geographies of emotion are the pathway towards an emancipatory resurgent politics. That is, they understand that the issuances

of authorizations and permissions by state entities will ultimately not reconnect their family and community members to their knowledge systems and cultural traditions. Rather, it is about revitalizing a responsibility and a decolonial love for their ancestral lands and foodways.

Simpson has explored the meaning of decolonial love in *Islands of Decolonial Love* (2013), a work and title that is inspired by Junot Diaz's writing. Through her creative art of storytelling, she explores how colonial violence is "encoded" in Indigenous peoples' bodies and emotional, intellectual and spiritual lives (Winder 2014). She argues that colonial violence is most devastatingly embodied through the rupture of intimate relationships making up Indigenous families and communities:

"[...] the most horrific parts of colonialism and ongoing settler colonialism is that the trauma and damage it causes, the results of its violence is encoded in our emotional lives, our spiritual and intellectual lives and in our bodies and it plays out in how we relate to those we are closest to, the ones we love the most. I've always thought a lot of about land and politics and nationhood in an Indigenous context and this time I wanted to explore the nation within our bodies (Winder 2014).

As Simpson states, in this work, she wanted to move away from land to understand how Anishinaabe nationhood lives within the body and how it becomes impacted through colonial violence on Indigenous familial relationships. For this reason, she mostly pays attention to human-to-human relationships in the book. By understanding Indigenous bodies *through* the land and foodways, however, it also unpacks how, on the one hand, Indigenous nationhood becomes embodied through an intimate connection with the land while it also risks becoming deeply impacted and disembodied when that connection is no longer there. Indeed, Simpson has extensively explored the interconnections between land and the embodiment of Indigenous nationhood and self-determination (Simpson 2013a, 2014). Yet, it is her attention to the deep

embodied violence inflicted on Indigenous relationships and thus the emancipatory and transformative potential of a decolonial love that I am drawn to in this particular work as it is carried over to Indigenous relationships with land and foodways.

As explored in chapter 4, the violent disconnection from land and land-based practices has impacted the way some Anishinaabe people intellectually, emotionally and spiritually relate with the land. Specifically, for some Anishinaabe and Indigenous peoples in general, their intellectual, emotional and spiritual connections with the land have become re-territorialized by state colonial and capitalist imaginaries of land. These altered ways of thinking result in behaviors, practices, decisions and ultimately a way of life that further inflicts violence on their land and foodways. From this position, the rebuilding of these relationships, just as those that need to be rebuilt between Indigenous peoples at the scale of the family, community and beyond, must be understood as a process founded on decolonial love, that is, renewing and re-embodiment a deep sense of responsibility and love for the land and animal and plant relatives. The intimate embodiment of these emotions about land and lifeways, including emotions of anger and love, help to incite, sustain and valorize Indigenous political agency and everyday practices. I proceed in the remainder of the chapter to examine how Anishinaabe people are doing this through everyday embodiments of resurgence.

### **Embodying Self-determination through a Resurgent Decolonial Love**

In many respects, the resurgence of Anishinaabe land-based practices parallel the interconnected dimensions of Indigenous foodways that I sketched out in chapter 2: relatives, land-based pedagogies, political and economic structures and embodiment. That is, community members shared how the resurgence of their local foodways consisted, first and foremost, of doing them,

of embodying them, while rebuilding multi-scalar relationships with their relatives, including their family and land, their land-based ontologies including language, storytelling and ceremony and larger scale political and economic relations. In this sense, I proceed to explore how Anishinaabe people are working towards revitalizing this embodied responsibility and love for the land through re-honoring Anishinaabe familial relationships, reclaiming land and renewing Anishinaabe political economies. I end by reflecting on how an embodied self-determination built on a resurgent decolonial love, or “living the good life”, ultimately rests upon renewing the sacred and spiritual relationships Anishinaabe people have with their land and foodways.

### ***Embodying Self-determination through Family***

As was underlined in chapter 2, the family is the first place where Anishinaabe people teach, learn and embody self-determination. While Anishinaabe notions of family are rooted in the clanship system, community members have realized that the rebuilding of this larger structure is dependent on cultivating smaller-scale relationships within the family and community. For this reason, many community efforts aimed at revitalizing local foodways are embedded within a larger process of re-establishing Anishinaabe familial relationships and structures that were and continue to be ruptured by colonial violence. Specifically, a focus is placed on the mentoring roles between Knowledge Holders and youth. As Marie Allen shared: “It’s important for the young ones who are interested (in foodways) to visit and learn from Elders and ask them how to do things”.<sup>174</sup> That is, according to Marie Allen, part of the learning process is listening to Elders’ oral histories as some of them might not be actively hunting, trapping and fishing like they once did. Additionally, Elders can teach the younger generation how to process

---

<sup>174</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

and prepare foods in the home. For Gary Smith, who is in his thirties, his responsibility is this process is to take youth out on the land as he is still actively engaged in land-based practices:

It's important that our youth know how to do these things. I brought 12 of them out hunting and maybe only 5 of them will continue to hunt or maybe only one of them will have that seed planted. All we can do is mentor them and then it's up to them. But, we have to think of these kids as future parents and grandparents.<sup>175</sup>

As Gary says, community members do not naively think that everyone in the community will uphold Anishinaabe land-based practices and knowledge systems. At the same time, however, they believe that part of their responsibility is to teach the younger generation as much as they can so that they can have those experiences and make their own decisions. In some instances, youth might not become immediately interested in land-based practices but these experiences might later remind them, as adults, of their responsibilities to their traditional territories. As Ogimaagwanebiik shared, she now sees community members, who were once uninterested in local land-based practices, reconnecting to them as adults: "I think it's coming back. If we (Knowledge Holders) actually acknowledge them (Anishinaabe land-based practices and knowledge systems) then I think they will remember. It's in here (she points to her heart). You'll remember".<sup>176</sup>

Indeed, the most challenging part of this project was locating potential youth interviewees. Specifically, I was interested in learning from the perspectives of teenagers between the ages of 14 and 18 years of age. As I asked community members who I could interview, they provided me with a long list of names of Elders and Knowledge Holders in their later adult years. However, it was more difficult for them to provide me with names of young

---

<sup>175</sup> Gary Smith, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>176</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

adults between the ages of twenty and late thirties and even more so for teenagers. That is, they did not consider many community members of these age groups to be Knowledge Holders who actively participate in local land-based food practices, which caused grave concern. Elders expressed their worries about the lack of visitors they received from the younger generation who wanted to listen to their stories, ask questions and learn how to process their local foods. On many occasions, they would comment how they rarely received a young visitor such as myself and that they appreciated my questions as it pushed them to remember things that they had perhaps not spoken about in some time. As Ogimaagwanebiik shared with me: “You're asking people to wake up”.<sup>177</sup> Indeed, the younger adults who were more knowledgeable in local food practices expressed how they learned primarily through an intimate relationship with community Elders. As Jason Jones shared, it is not just the knowledge and oral histories that Elders have to share but how they are still able to articulate this knowledge through Anishinaabemowin, which adds depth and complexity to what he is learning:

I've spent a lot of time with Elders. In the next ten years, all of the Elders will be gone. I interview them too. We do all of them in Anishinaabe and when I translate them, that's when they seem to come to life. Then, that sparks more questions for me. They are willing to give you knowledge but you have to ask. They are willing to share but they don't know what you don't know. I'm learning to ask questions and to keep that process going. It's almost like they give you a piece of the puzzle and they only give you one part. I think they do that so you'll think about and you'll come back and ask more questions. That way, you're in charge of your own learning.<sup>178</sup>

When probed about the disconnection of youth to land-based practices, many community members reiterated the impacts of historical and intergenerational trauma outlined in chapter 4.

---

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Jason Jones, personal interview, February 2014.

Indeed, this is why the issue of re-territorialization is key in understanding the challenges facing embodied resurgence. The ruptures of Indigenous kinship structures and mentoring relationships through colonial policy and residential school have violently interrupted the learning and the inter-generational transmission of land-based ontologies. As the older generation understands, this rupture tends to be exacerbated further by the influence of technology. As Brian Major said: “Young people are too hooked onto technology. They’re not spending enough time with people”.<sup>179</sup> In another way, however, Jason Jones importantly pointed out how the ongoing breach of these relationships is a two-way street and that Knowledge Holders and Elders must also come to terms with how colonialism and specifically residential school has impacted their ability to form healthy relationships, including mentoring ones.<sup>180</sup> Ultimately, it became apparent that the renewal of familial and mentoring relationships depended on a commitment on behalf of all generations to re-honor these relationships and that this was to be done, in part, while being out on the land, hunting, fishing, trapping and harvesting rice.

While this certainly consists of small-scale everyday practices that are being renewed within families across Treaty 3, others have embedded this renewal of relationships within an explicit decolonial or activist framework. For example, Sherri Kabatay shared how her family engaged in an intimate version of “Water Walkers” on their traditional territory. The Water Walkers movement began in 2002 in the Anishinaabe territory of Wikiwemikong Unceded First Nation in Ontario, Canada. The movement was in response to increased environmental contamination of their waterways (Corntassel and Bryce 2012). Women leaders within the community started dialoguing about how they could remind other women that, according to their

---

<sup>179</sup> Brian Major, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>180</sup> Jason Jones, personal communication, December 2013.

traditional teachings, they are the keepers and caretakers of the water (Bedard 2008; Corntassel and Bryce 2012). They decided that this would be best taught by walking the land. Specifically, they embarked on a community spiritual walk around Lake Superior. They carried buckets of water to raise awareness of the sacredness and their responsibility to water. As Sherri shared, her family decided to do their own water walk on their traditional territories to visit sacred sites and to examine the impacts of environmental contamination from logging and mining.<sup>181</sup>

Memories and knowledge shared by community members such as Sherri, Gary, and Marie Allen draw out the importance of youth and women in the struggle for self-determination. As the water walkers movement shows, women are the keepers of water within Anishinaabe communities, which becomes extremely crucial given the alarming environmental impacts on Indigenous waterways across Turtle Island. As Leanne Simpson shared in an interview on decolonial love:

I think Indigenous women are really in many of our political systems the first politicians. We teach that system to our children. We embody nationhood. We have influence over all of the decisions of life and our power comes from the love we have for our families and homeland and bodies. We are also in our fourth century of gendered colonial violence and so I think we can't afford to be anything but political. Teaching our kids our languages is political. Breastfeeding is political. Learning from our youth is political. Every time we connect to any piece of our homelands, that's political (Winder 2014).

Gary Smith reiterated this by telling me: “We need to surround our children with women in the community so they can learn the teachings”.<sup>182</sup> Additionally, Al Hunter shared how the

---

<sup>181</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal communication, December 2013.

<sup>182</sup> Gary Smith, personal interview, March 2014.

knowledge he learned from his mother has made him think more carefully about Anishinaabe women's roles within the nation's political life:

My influences have been women. These are things I realized in the recent past. I feel like I'm fortunate that I had that. By and large those memories of my mom have influenced how I relate to people. There should be a lot of room and space made for the Anishinaabekwe (Anishinaabe women) in our communities.<sup>183</sup>

Indeed, the leadership role of women and the focus on youth was evident in communal efforts of revitalizing pre-colonial food gatherings. For example, the fall harvest, which I spoke about in the introduction and chapter 2 is largely organized and led by women from the Treaty 3 and has a specific focus on mentoring youth in local food processing and preparation methods. While the harvest changes slightly every year due to the availability of local foods, in 2013, the harvest included all of the stages of processing wild rice, the fileting and smoking of fish, the plucking of geese, multiple preparations and cooking of bannock and the preparation of traditional teas. Moreover, during the course of the harvest, the children learned about the medicinal uses of various animal oils and fats, how to make moccasins from animal hides, learned the importance of drumming, sang Anishinaabe songs and listened to Elders' oral histories of their experiences in St. Marguerites residential school (where the fall harvest takes places) as well as Anishinaabe (re)creation stories.

---

<sup>183</sup> Al Hunter, personal interview, February 2014.



**Figure 20: Fall Harvest, Seven Generations Education Institute (previously St. Marguerite's Residential School as depicted in chapter 4), Treaty 3 Territory. Laura Horton teaching youth about the medicinal uses of bear fat; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**



**Figure 21: Fall Harvest, Seven Generations Education Institute, Treaty 3 Territory. A woman Elder teaching the youth how to pluck geese feathers; Photo Source: Daigle 2013**

While the harvest reclaims space and an annual Anishinaabe gathering and has grown from a 1 day event to a 3 day event which draws in several hundred Anishinaabe youth from Treaty 3, many people who actively participate in and organize it, critically engage with the role the fall harvest plays in the overall movement of revitalizing responsibilities and a love for the land. Rather, they spoke of the fall harvest as a small step in what they envisioned as the larger process of embodying self-determination and *mino bimaadiziwin*. As Sherri Kabatay shared:

I feel sad that our kids are not getting that (connection to the land). They're just getting little pieces. The fall harvest, for some of the kids, those 3 days or 1 day, or that 4 or 5 hours, that's the only connection that they get. It's not even a strong connection either. What we really need is real connection to the land.<sup>184</sup>

---

<sup>184</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

As Sherri states, part of ensuring transformational and lasting changes is to carry over the fall harvest into everyday community life. While this entails that these practices are embodied through the everyday lives of Anishinaabe families, Sherri is also careful to assert that these must be embedded in intimate relationships with the land. That is, it is not enough to know how to process and cook wild rice but that community members must go out on the land, to their families' traditional food harvesting grounds, so they know where to go harvest wild rice and how to do it in a respectful and reciprocal manner, which includes knowing the ricing ceremonies. As stated, many community members have taken it upon themselves to bring their children and grandchildren out on the land. But, this breaks down when children do not have mentors within their family that can take them out on the land either due to the loss of memory of land-based practices, a rupture within familial relationships or even the loss of family food harvesting areas.

Indeed, this is a reality that plays out within Indigenous families and communities across Turtle Island. For this reason, many Knowledge Holders within the Treaty 3 have felt an increased responsibility to reach out to these youth. Dennis Jones from Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation, for example, now leads an annual summer camp for youth, which is centered on language and local food practices. Over the course of a couple of weeks, youth must survive off of the land by hunting, fishing and picking berries. As Dennis shared:

I run an outdoor language camp. In the camp, I exercise the treaty rights of hunting and fishing and food harvesting. In doing that, I don't ask permission from anybody to exercise these rights. Every community has sacred grounds so we all have the resources to do this. It's starts first with the family and then the community. People from all over Treaty 3 come to our camp. I would like to run that camp year round once I retire. It's the solution for a lot of things.<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>185</sup> Dennis Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

These camps, then, honor Anishinaabe ontologies on family in that Dennis believes that Knowledge Holders have a responsibility to mentor, nurture and care for youth even as they might not be their relatives from a Euro-western perspective. More than this, he does not run the camp based on the limitations of government funding. While he shared how he has applied for grants to help him run the camp, he simultaneously says that the camp is ultimately based on the “sacred resource” that their land and Knowledge Holders have to offer.<sup>186</sup>

In other instances, community members showed how teaching youth about the sacredness of their traditional territories and land-based practices requires them to reach out in innovative and creative ways. Indeed, many scholars have argued that recent movements for Indigenous self-determination have creatively deployed different forms of social media in raising awareness and building solidarity on ongoing forms of colonial violence taking shape across Indigenous communities (Martineau 2014). The Jones family has perhaps embodied this best at the local level by specifically focusing on a resurgent politics. That is, rather than using social media to build an anti-colonial resistance, they have focused on rebuilding a decolonial love of Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices. Specifically, they have relied on intergenerational collaborations as Ogimaagwanebiik’s grandson, Jason, has worked with her on creating YouTube videos on various facets of Anishinaabe culture. Some of the videos show Ogimaagwanebiik cooking a traditional Anishinaabe dish all while narrating her steps in Anishinaabemowin. In other instances, the videos unfold more as a question and answer interview between Jason and Ogimaagwanebiik. These questions are oftentimes the result of what they have been asked through their community experiences. For example, after I interviewed Jason and Ogimaagwanebiik on separate occasions, they created a video on the fall

---

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

harvest where Jason asked his grandmother about the harvest and how it was historically practiced and perhaps changed over the years. In other instances, Jason poses questions through those he is asked on his Twitter account as he has utilized this social media platform as a space of resurgent Indigenous politics. Specifically, his posts are focused on teaching people about the meaning of different Anishinaabe words and cultural practices while he simultaneously challenges his followers with provocative questions on Indigenous knowledge systems while cultivating a space for them to ask him questions.

Currently, Jason is experimenting with other forms of digital media teaching platforms. For example, he has created a cartoon, in which he appears, that teaches children the Anishinaabe alphabet with a focus on food. For the Jones family, it is important that they reconnect youth through these various platforms as they acknowledge the increased influence of social media and digital technologies for the current generation of Indigenous youth. At the same time, however, they do not see these strategies as replacements or as the sole catalysts of cultivating an interest on Anishinaabe knowledge systems and land-based practices. Rather, it is more about centering Anishinaabe lifeways in all facets of community life while still upholding the centrality of experiential and embodied knowledge that is cultivated by being out on the land.

While the focus on youth is certainly a predominant feature within community efforts to revitalize land-based food practices, many spoke about the importance of reconnecting adults who have been impacted by historical and intergenerational trauma. In some instances, this even entailed Knowledge Holders challenging themselves to renew practices that they had once engaged in with their parents and grandparent. For example, Dan and Brenda Geyschick who are well-respected Knowledge Holders, spoke about how they have recently started to renew a practice that was once carried by the entire community when they were younger:

Every spring, the community used to go camping at the 3 mile point (outside of Lac La Croix First Nation). People would feast. People would follow my dad who liked to do this. People made wigwams and there were stoves there too. The last few years we started doing this again. Brenda and I, my brothers and their wives, we all go out every spring and we only bring basic staples like flour, and we challenge ourselves to catch everything we eat while we're camping. We've cooked ducks, beaver and deer. We're trying to keep the tradition going because it disappeared when our parents died. We're trying to bring it back.<sup>187</sup>

As Dan and Brenda share, sometimes the revitalization of community traditions must start with just a few individuals. The hope is that community members will be curious about what they are doing and, slowly, more of them will join over the years. Specifically, they are trying to create change by doing it and embodying it themselves.

In other instances, Knowledge Holders created spaces in which they could mentor adults, which was beautifully embodied through a weekend trapping workshop that the Jones family hosted during February of 2014.

*I arrived at Nickicousemenecaning First Nation, bright and early one February morning. It was sunny yet biting cold as the temperatures had dropped to -40 Celsius degrees. Still, three generations of the Jones family, Ogimaagwanebiik, Don and Jason, were determined to teach us how to trap that weekend. There were a number of us who gathered that morning ranging from the ages of early twenties to sixties. Most people were Anishinaabe community members of the Treaty 3 and had grown up there their entire lives. Others, who were a bit older, had attended residential school. One person in particular had left the community at a very young age and had recently moved back to reconnect with her family and traditional territory. Others, such as myself, were members of other Indigenous nations and communities and had relations with the*

---

<sup>187</sup> Dan and Brenda Geyshick, personal interview, March 2014.

*Treaty 3 while some were non-Indigenous who were long-term visitors on Anishinaabe territory and had built respectful relationships with community members over a number of years.*

*We started the weekend with opening protocols, by making our aseema (tobacco) offerings. Afterwards, we proceeded to learn how to safely set up a beaver trap. Throughout, Ogimaagwanebiik would speak to us in Anishinaabemowin. She told us not to worry if we were not fluent but to listen carefully, to attend to the words or part of words we did know and, most importantly, to carefully observe her throughout the weekend. Once we learned how to safely set up the traps, we each took turns in small groups going out to set up a beaver trap with Don. “Put this in your boots”, Sherri said as she handed me pieces of rabbit fur, “that’ll keep your feet warm”.*

*On my first trip out to the beaver lodge, I rode in a sleigh that was pulled by a snowmobile. As we approached the beaver lodge, we hit some slushy patches on the lake. I was a bit alarmed as I was reminded of the time something similar had happened when I was child. I had been riding in a sleigh much the same as the one I was riding in that day, being pulled by my grandfather. I remember this well because I was lying down in the sleigh, in a cushion of blankets, as my sister rode on the snowmobile with my grandpa. I was enjoying this time alone on the sleigh as my mind wandered off looking into the grey winter sky. All of sudden, the snowmobile stopped in the middle of the lake and my grandpa’s face crept up and blocked my view of the sky. I looked over the edge of the sleigh and there was a build up of slush. My grandpa picked me up from the sleigh and the three of us started walking back to my grandparents’ house.*

*The next morning, at the trapping workshop, we began with a talking circle to share what we had learned the previous day. As each of us spoke, we shared how the weekend reminded us*

*of our childhood, of being out on the land with our parents and grandparents. These memories were being triggered by the Jones family's teachings but also by being out on the land and embodying the sounds, smells and tastes, like the smell of the beaver hide, that reminded us of your youth. One community member shared how she returned home that evening and ended up staying up into the late hours of the night asking her father questions and listening to his stories of being out on their family trapline. Many of us were emotional, scared about what would happen to these practices if we did not uphold our responsibilities and carry them on for future generations, but also, overwhelmed by the love that we felt for the people, our grandparents and parents that had carried on this knowledge, and for our land that we still felt connected to in the most visceral and embodied way.*



**Figure 22: Trapping Workshop, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle 2013**



**Figure 23: Trapping Workshop, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle 2013**

The trapping workshop that was hosted by the Jones family was offered as part of an Anishinaabemowin immersion program. Over the course of the weekend, we learned all of the components of trapping, including how to set up a trap outside of a beaver lodge, how to skin and process a beaver, marten and rabbit (which is actually snared and not trapped), how to cook beaver meat and how to do this in a respectful manner by honoring Anishinaabe protocols both before and after the beaver is trapped. As the story tells, the workshop was centered on embodiment, language, ceremony, storytelling and building the communal aspect that once made up a central part of Anishinaabe foodways. And, is it through this embodied re-honoring of relationships and spiritual ceremonial connection with trapping that we were all reminded of our

responsibilities and our love for these food practices, in terms of how they make up our familial structures and our knowledge systems. It is these intimate connections that are indeed part of a resurgent politics that cannot be recalled through settler colonial laws and political discourses and structures. The issuing of licenses, for example, does not uphold the process-oriented embodiment of land-based pedagogies that are cultivated through foodways. Specifically, going back to Simpson's thinking on resurgence, it is not enough that Indigenous peoples hunt, fish, trap and harvest local plants, but rather it's *how* they do so by upholding their ontological perspectives and traditional laws. While some might argue that the license can be used hand-in-hand with this type of land-based pedagogical process, it is important to recall how these types of authorizations and permissions continue to re-territorialize Indigenous relationships with their homelands through colonial imaginaries and material boundaries.

By contrast, the embodiment of self-determination or *mino bimaadiziwin* disrupts state and capitalist power. While resistance strategies such as roadblocks do this through a politics of refusal, the embodiment of cultural traditions and land-based practices re-roots Indigenous peoples in ontological perspectives and communal values such as respect, reciprocity and love for their land that then opens up spaces to re-envision an alternative politics. That is, the intimate relational and emotional geographies that are cultivated through everyday acts of resurgence remind Indigenous peoples of their responsibilities to their ancestral lands. As Pratt and Rosner have argued, the rupture of structures of power can happen in the most intimate of ways, including through sensory memory (Pratt and Rosner 2006). Indeed, this was illustrated the weekend of the trapping workshop, as community members shared how their responsibilities to their homelands were evoked by smells, sounds, tastes and touch. All of these intimate experiences reminded many of us that weekend of our childhoods, of our grandparents and

parents from whom we had learned a great deal. It reminded us of the sacred knowledge that had been passed down to us and the relationships and responsibilities we have to our homelands and past, present and future familial relations. And, it is this flood of emotions, of anger and sadness, in thinking about colonial dispossession and violence on the one hand, and the deep love that we have for the place and people that we come from that animates our bodies and minds to uphold our responsibilities. As Andrew, Steve and Iris shared in chapter 4, this emotive force has often mobilized our people to uphold this responsibility by any means necessary, including direct defiance against colonial boundaries and enclosures erected by state and capitalist powers. For this reason, I now turn to how embodying self-determination rests upon the reclamation of land.

### ***Embodying Self-determination by Reclaiming Land***

In many ways, embodying self-determination by reclaiming Anishinaabe land has been illustrated throughout this dissertation. For example, the fall harvest reclaims the place where Anishinaabe people's ancestors once gathered for this annual tradition but became violently dispossessed through the establishment of St. Marguerite's residential school. Likewise, Lac Lac Croix community members reclaimed their traditional fishing grounds and continue to do so despite of ongoing violence by U.S. authorities. While these reclamations of land physically take back or assert Anishinaabe nationhood in a particular place, they also reclaim the stories that sit there, including stories that sit with place-names, those that are told while people are out food harvesting and the stories that are created through the reclamation of land.

The importance of reclaiming land, including waterways, became apparent in multiple ways while Delbert Horton guided me through Lake of the Woods, which is the largest body of water in the Treaty 3 area that spans 70 miles long and wide and contains just over 14,000 islands. As recounted, Delbert and his family have maintained a relationship with sacred sites

and important place-names on the lake where we made offerings that day. Likewise, he brought me to his family's wild rice harvesting area that they have maintained through their genealogical ties, which have been honored by other families within the area, despite of the fact that it falls outside of their reserve boundaries. In visiting this place, Delbert proceeded to bring me to the island where he and his family transport the harvested rice to dry and process over the course of several days every August and September. From there, they load the rice on their boat and travel throughout Lake of the Woods to other communities to trade for other traditional foods and/or a monetary amount. As Delbert shared, these waterways have been the foundation for Anishinaabe food trading networks for generations now. Hence, the reclamation of land must also be situated within the relational networks that existed amongst Indigenous communities. While Delbert's knowledge unpacks how this occurs on a more regional scale within the Treaty 3, the reclamation of relational Indigenous geographies must also be understood as a larger process of reclaiming political and economic relationships at a larger scale, a point I return to in more detail in the section on Indigenous political economies.

Our day on Lake of the Woods ended on an island where Delbert's mother lived before Anishinaabe people in the Treaty 3 were placed on reserves towards the end and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (as recounted in chapter 4). Community members from Rainy River First Nation have reclaimed this island, as many of their ancestors have ties to this place. The island now holds three communal cabins that can be used throughout the year while people are hunting and fishing. Figure 18 is a photo that was taken from the island, which shows one of many garden islands on Lake of the Woods that are still cultivated by community members. On the island itself, one can find a bounty of sage that is used for ceremonial purposes. It is this place, Delbert shared, that is his real home.



**Figure 24: Anishinaabe Traditional Hunting and Fishing Grounds, Lake of the Woods, Treaty 3 Territory; Photo Source: Daigle, 2013**

While some of the stories of land reclamation unpacked the organizational and intentional nature of resurgence, others showed how they are also embodied reactions that are embedded in long-standing responsibilities and ecologies of life, which are being re-lived and re-embodied as a form of active resurgence to refuse colonial control. For example, Ruth Macki shared how community members reclaimed a traditional wild rice processing area that had been privatized by a logging company. Families that had long-standing relationships with this area went there as they did every year despite of it being newly privatized. As Ruth recalls:

Everyone just showed up, it wasn't like a discussion or anything. It was more like, this is our families' land and we're going to go

there like we have every year. So they set up the different wild rice harvesting areas. And, people needed firewood to roast the rice. So, one of the women just said, cut down that tree. So the people just started cutting down that tree!<sup>188</sup>

In this instance, community members collectively acted according to what they and their ancestors had done for generations. That is, their political mobilization, if you could call it that, as it is arguably more a form of embodying a communal way of life, is founded on a sense of responsibility rather than asserting one's right over a territory.

Although, the idea of rights is interesting as community members did indeed speak about the inherent rights to their traditional territories. Yet, their explanations of this inherent right depart from Euro-western understandings of controlling and owning the land. Al Hunter's thinking perhaps best reflects this:

We have our birthright that was given to us directly from the Creator and the spirits that live on the land and inhabit the waters and inhabit the sky, that inhabit the earth. That's our birth right as Anishinaabe, as Cree, as any Indian nation on the land. To me, that encompasses everything. Over the years, since treaty making, for one reason or another, necessary or unnecessary, some of those rights have been codified into legal terms. The argument always is that we stand on your birthrights. *Our* estimation, interpretation and way of thinking of legal documents that exist today through treaties or laws are based on our birthright, and that's the way it should be. When I say you've given up your birthrights because you're not exercising them, I mean you're not practicing your birthright. If you're not practicing then you've given those up those rights in the eyes of the legal interpretation too. We have three parts to us: the body, the mind and the spirit. To me, that includes a way of thinking through the mind, a way of doing through the body and a way of living and conducting oneself through the spirit.<sup>189</sup>

---

<sup>188</sup> Ruth Macki, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>189</sup> Al Hunter, personal interview, February 2014.

As AI states, Anishinaabe understandings of their inherent or birthright is embedded in a spiritual connection to the land through (re)creation stories that have been passed down to them. To AI, the embodiment of this birthright, which is described more like a responsibility, entails a way of thinking and everyday practices that ultimately make up an Anishinaabe way of life.

Interestingly, he comments on how the rupture of everyday practices means that one has given up his/her birthright, by both Anishinaabe standards and those of the settler colonial legal framework. However, in the latter, the absence of practice has traditionally been tied to the productive use of land, namely settlement and capitalist development, while the former refers to the embodiment of a way of thinking, acting and living.

Furthermore, AI continued by reflecting on how this birthright is not contained to colonial boundaries and the naturalization of Indigenous lands as reserves:

It doesn't mean that you have to live on the rez. It does mean to me, though, that you think and support the Anishinaabe way. You could be growing a garden on a rooftop of an apartment building in Toronto and still be Anishinaabe because you're doing it because you believe in your birthright as an Anishinaabe.<sup>190</sup>

Indeed, Toronto is located on traditional Indigenous territories, specifically the land of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, the Huron-Wendat First Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and the Metis Nation of Ontario. Indigenous peoples living there and other urban areas should approach their relationships with those places according to their traditional governance structures and laws. That is, the mobility of Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island must uphold their traditional protocols and laws and those of the land that they are visitors on, rather than colonial imaginaries of territory and rights. Indeed, the denaturalization of Indigenous geographies as reserves and treaty territories is crucial in moving forward with

---

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

efforts to revitalize Indigenous foodways as more than half of Indigenous peoples in Canada now live in urban areas.<sup>191</sup> As AI shared, this includes ways of embodying Indigenous foodways within the city, through gardens, while others have also spoken about the importance of urban foraging (Bang et al. 2014). Moreover, Dennis Jones (from Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation), has lived in Minneapolis for the last couple of decades and shared how this commitment must be embodied through a constant reconnection with one's ancestral territory: "I come home specifically to pick wild rice, to trap beaver, to snare rabbits. I come home to practice these traditional subsistence practices. I come home for that purpose".<sup>192</sup> It is this understanding of Indigenous relationships with land that will not only cultivate individual relationships with foodways but larger interconnected networks between Indigenous geographies across Turtle Island and beyond.

### ***Embodying Self-determination by Renewing Indigenous Political Economies***

*"When people look back at our communities they see utopia instead of the actual reality of what was going on. They see harmony and peaceful existence. I don't believe that myself".<sup>193</sup>*

*"We have these places on our territory called Sioux Lookout and Sioux Narrows. I started wondering why that is. Why do we have places called after the Sioux on Anishinaabe territory? I started asking Elders and found out that there are stories that go with those places. One of the story goes that the Dakota (Sioux) were going up the water corridor by Rainy Lake. They say they had a thousand canoes and that it was going to be the battles of all battles. They arrived to the Anishinaabe village and there were only women and children there. But, they*

---

<sup>191</sup> 2006 Canadian Census: <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/p16-eng.cfm>

<sup>192</sup> Dennis Jones, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>193</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

*fought them. They killed a lot of them and they took a couple as prisoners. They were heading back to their community through that corridor and what happened is that the Anishinaabe men came back from a hunting trip and they found everything burnt down. Right away, they knew who did it. Instead of going down the corridor, they took another route, a shortcut. They waited for the Dakota at the opening of the corridor and they started firing their arrow spears and rocks when they arrived. That place, where it happened is actually a sacred spot because a lot of people died there. The Anishinaabe caught two Sioux men as prisoners and they cut their ears off. They gave them a canoe and told to go back to their community and deliver a message that this is what happens when you attack the Anishinaabe, don't come back here anymore. But, what happened is that one of them went up to where Sioux Narrows is now and he lived there.*

*After I heard this story I thought, okay, we were at war with the Dakota, our ancestors must not have had good relations with them. But then the Elders told me that we spent time with them every year when we were getting ready for the winter. The Anishinaabe and the Dakota would actually live together in the same wigwams. They would hunt and trap and get ready for the winter. It would be like a truce because they were trying to get ready for the long winters. So, I started thinking, what kind of foods did the Dakota bring with them because they are mostly from the plains. Do they have the same foods and stories as us? That is the importance of storytelling".<sup>194</sup>*

Since leaving the Treaty 3, I have thought a lot about Sherri's statement on utopian views of Indigenous society, particularly within the context of the Sioux Narrows' story as retold by Jason Jones. Namely, I have been concerned with both providing a romanticized view of the internal cohesiveness within Indigenous communities while also struggling with envisioning

---

<sup>194</sup> Jason Jones, personal interview, February 2014.

what resurgent yet renewed forms of Indigenous political economies might look like in the twenty-first century given the realities of divides within and across Indigenous communities. This was further complicated when I asked community members the reason why Indigenous peoples have become disconnected from their foodways. Many of them replied, in part, by saying that past generations simply had no other way of surviving. That is, as expressed by Ogimaagwanebiik, they did not have the convenience of grocery stores: “It’s too handy to go to Safeway now and days”.<sup>195</sup> As recalled in chapter 4, some communities did not even have road access until the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, community members survived in large part by hunting, fishing, trapping and so on to feed themselves and their families. Yet, in thinking this through it seemed overly simplistic to attribute devastating changes to Indigenous foodways to survival given the myriad ways colonial violence has been exercised over Indigenous peoples and their lands. And, certainly, this is not what community members were implying with these statements.

Over time, I have started thinking about survival by situating it within the Sioux Narrows story. That is, if we are to think of survival for Indigenous peoples in contemporary times, it might serve us well to think about how it is embedded in the relational frameworks that make up our forms of nationhood. That is, survival is not merely a form of physical subsistence (and thus something that we think about in a different way because we are drawn into a market economy), but is the renewal of the relationships that make up our Indigenous nationhood. However, as stated in chapter 2, my use of survival here does not entail a narrative that victimizes Indigenous peoples nor silences generations of resistance and resilience. Rather, it is to say that the survival, but more the resurgence of our knowledge systems, political structures and lifeways depends on the constant renewal of relational frameworks regardless of the ruptures, divides and animosities

---

<sup>195</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, November 2013.

that might exist within and across Indigenous communities and nations. As Corntassel has argued:

I see a lot of our nations in some ways forgetting what community entails. It doesn't mean that you can ignore particular people within your own community. Even though there may be dislikes, there may be animosity, you have to bring everyone together in that spirit of Gadugee (togetherness) [...] We can't afford to discount the views of folks even though we may disagree with them. We have to find a way to work with them and to really promote the ideals of our ancestors (Corntassel 2014).

Indeed, all of the everyday acts of resurgence that have been shared thus far, such as the fall harvest, are built on the notion of building this togetherness at the scale of the family and community. Moving forward, it is about scaling up this relational politics so that Indigenous peoples can re-establish their political and economic structures rather than being constrained by those, which have been imposed on them through the colonial state and capitalist industry. These depend on the renewal of pre-colonial relationships and treaties between Indigenous communities and nations that once rested upon the trading of food. For example, going back to the fall harvest example that I have discussed throughout this paper, gatherings such as these cyclically renew political and economic relationships between Indigenous communities and nations even though there may have been conflicts and divides. As the Sioux Narrows story tells us, the renewal and honoring of these relationships become particularly crucial during times of hardships, including the shortage of traditional foods.

At the core, however, this renewal of relationships requires Indigenous peoples to think outside of an institutionalized scalar politics. As Corntassel has argued, this requires the re-conceptualization and embodiment of the international through Indigenous ontological perspectives:

It starts through these everyday actions of building the groundwork for a new form of treaty making or maybe even the basis of a confederacy between families. We have to get away from the band council and go family by family [...] Building up this confederacy of families that would be a form of Indigenous diplomacy but also a form of newly emergent but kind of resurgent too, trading network. So finding innovative ways to trade. Finding ways to build those deeper commitments to each other across nations, family by family. [...] We're so state centered in the whole notion of the international. It's only international if I cross into the U.S. or start crossing into Mexico, if I'm crossing an international border. But I view it as international if I'm crossing into another Indigenous territory, so those protocols need to be followed, all of that diplomacy. Tied to that, this is where the everyday acts come in, there has to be a constant renewing of those commitments. We never sat with a treaty and said, this is for time immemorial. Sure, maybe the core commitments are but the parts of it, in terms of implementation, we always had a regularly re-commitment to it, or changing it in some cases to fit the needs to the community and that time. So, that's a broader vision of international (Corntassel 2014).

In many ways, Corntassel's reframing of the international synergizes with feminist geographic works that have also pushed for new theorizations and embodiments of the international. While Corntassel is pushing for an Indigenous inter-nation(al) or trans-Indigenist politics by (re)building political and economic Indigenous geographies across Turtle Island and beyond, feminist geographers remind us that alternative embodiments of the international must attend to building relationships across social and spatial difference. That is, they remind us that a resurgent Indigenous politics must also consider how relationships must be built with other colonized and marginalized peoples across the globe, including those who might not identify themselves as Indigenous.

As Staeheli and Nagar have pointed out (2002), much of this feminist geography can be traced back to the groundbreaking critiques made by "Third World" or postcolonial feminists towards the latter half of the twentieth century (Anzaldúa 1987; Mohanty 1988, 2003). These

works opened up the space for the theorization and political praxis of a cross-border transnational feminism built on a politics of difference, connectivity and solidarity against capitalist structures of power (Mohanty 1988, 2003). Since then, feminist geographers have grown increasingly concerned with how academics can cultivate an ethical, respectful and reciprocal transnational politics within their scholarly research (England 1994; Katz 1994; Nast 1994; Kobayashi 2001; Pratt 2002; Staeheli and Nagar 2002; Hart 2006; Nagar et al. 2006; Lawson 2007). In doing this (and more than this), they have grappled with the meaning of space, place and geographic connectivity in rethinking an alternative transnational politics that reframes the international from simply crossing borders to building connectivity across affinities. In this sense, just as Cornthassel argued, the international is freed from colonial boundaries and enclosures and is reimagined and embodied through geographical connections based on circuits of power, collective struggles and shared knowledge systems and cultural traditions.

For example, Doreen Massey has long theorized geographies of responsibility by arguing that space needs to be freed from the “old chains of meaning” (Massey 1999, 2004, 2005, 55). In one way, Massey advances this argument to disrupt Eurocentric conceptions of geographic boundaries that reproduce essentialist identities and authenticities (Massey 1993, 1999, 2005). A perfect example is the backwards Indian and the empty and pristine space of nature on their traditional territories, temporally behind the natural progression of Euro-western enlightenment and development and thus ripe of the taking (Braun 1996). In another way, Massey argues that a postmodern nostalgia can lead to a return to oppressive modern thinking through a rigid defense of the particularity of place that becomes divisive (Massey 2005). For this reason, she draws on Mouffe and Laclau’s theory of radical democracy. Particularly, she draws on their theorizations

of consensus building through “common political principles” and a relational notion of citizenship built on geographies of connectivity and responsibility (Massey 2005).

In care ethics, feminist geographers have drawn on Massey’s work as well as political theorist Joan Tronto’s work in rethinking the notion of citizenship, from a citizen rooted in market-based principles of individualism and productivity to a caring citizen cultivated through geographies of mutual respect and accountability (Tronto 1993; Robinson 2005; Lawson 2007). As Lawson has argued, this care ethical politics begins with a “relational social ontology” that cultivates an understanding of the world based on “connections that bind us together”, yet it also calls on us to embody an alternative way of being in the world that is built on an emotive force rooted in everyday geographies of lived experiences (Lawson 2007, 4). As Lawson reminds us, it is these emotions, the ability to feel empathy and responsibility that cultivate a care ethical politics across space and time. In this sense, care ethical citizens are not bound to colonial spatio-legal categories but are cultivated through emotions and principles that emerge as one traces the ongoing realities of violence and unequal power relations that are reproduced through global structures of power. As Lawson states: “Care ethics then, challenges us to be attentive and responsive to our own location within circuits of power and privilege that connect our daily lives to those who are constructed as distant from us” (Lawson 2007, 7).

In this sense, both Massey and Lawson urge us to rethink social and spatial difference as something that is constructed through structures of power and violence, which becomes absolutely essential given the divides that have arisen between Indigenous families, communities, nations as well as divides across the social and the spatial. Feminist geographers of the global and in the intimate have also advanced such arguments. For example, Mountz and Hyndman have argued that a transnational feminism is built through the interconnectedness of

everyday geographies in other places and times (Mountz and Hyndman 2006). In one way, they contend that this begins in place through a politics of location in which difference can be traced to the geographic relations that are reproduced through structures of power (Mountz and Hyndman 2006). From this approach, understanding the reproduction of difference opens up the space for building feminist affinities across social categories and space.

This pushes us to think of affinities between, for example, Indigenous peoples and other food actors across space. As Jarosz has argued, women farmers participating in community supported agriculture are motivated not by livelihood considerations but by supporting an alternative way of life that is based on an ethics of care, rather than market-based capitalist ideals of individualization, privatization and competition. Specifically, Jarosz unpacks how this alternative way of life rests upon personal lifestyle choices, growing food and feeding people, economic self-sufficiency, a political and social commitment to sustainable food systems and educating people about food and farming, all of which parallel many of the perspectives shared by Anishinaabe people throughout this paper (Jarosz 2011, 313). Moreover, both of these foodway geographies unpack how a care ethical politics rests in everyday geographies of engagement and action. As Jarosz points out, these care ethical engagements are oftentimes, unpaid work (Jarosz 2011). Yet, as expressed by Anishinaabe people, these everyday acts of responsibility and love are of the utmost importance in creating and embodying alternative and decolonial presents and futures.

Taking this all into consideration, the question becomes how Indigenous peoples will build a multi-scalar politics that will be founded on a balance between larger scale relationships across space and social difference and more intimate and spiritual relationships in place with land and family. That is, and I cannot stress this enough, my push for reimagining and

embodying of an alternative of the international must be situated within the ongoing need to rebuild and renew relationships in place on a cyclical basis. As Anishinaabe people have shared throughout this paper, everyday geographies of lived experiences on their land and with their family remain a crucial and formative piece in building a resurgent politics. Without this embodied and spiritual foundation, an international framework risks being misguided and co-opted by institutional frameworks. Indeed, feminist geographers continue to assert that intimate geographies of affect and emotion undergird and sustain alternative politics in everyday geographies that are lived in place, despite of their extensive theorizations of a transnational relational politics (Gibson-Graham 2006; Lawson 2007). Furthermore, the building of a relational politics must also account for the messiness and the fierce contestations that continue to unfold in everyday geographies, including ongoing colonial discourses about Indigenous peoples and land and thus the real emotions of anger, antagonism and frustration that arise through zones of encounter.

As reflected in Jason's story on the Anishinaabe and Dakota nations, a resurgent transnationalism rests in the challenge of re-building Indigenous nationhood, confederacies and pre-settler treaties. However, rather than creating formalized and institutionalized networks through governmental bodies or even non-governmental organizational movements such as the various food sovereignty networks that exist within Canada, they have approached these through more interpersonal methods of building and scaling up relational networks. For example, as Jason Jones expressed, many times these networks are built and maintained via other forms of communal gatherings: "When I go down to ceremonies in Wisconsin I trade whatever foods we have up here that they might not have down there. And, a lot of people still do that. There are

different pockets of this (food trading) so it's starting to come back".<sup>196</sup> Likewise, Laura Horton spoke about a regional seed sovereignty gathering that she attended where Indigenous peoples across different communities, treaty territories and provincial and national boundaries gathered to exchange seeds that have been passed down in their families and communities for generations.<sup>197</sup> These exchanges have allowed the Anishinaabe to once again grow traditional aseema (tobacco) used for ceremonial purposes, as they were gifted seeds by community members from Awkwasasne, a Mohawk community in southern Ontario.

These interpersonal food sharing, gifting and trading networks are built along relational Indigenous geographies that extend much further back than colonial settlement, as reflected in the Sioux Narrows story. And, it is precisely the informal nature of these networks that allows Anishinaabe people and, Indigenous peoples in general, to cross these colonial boundaries and borders in ways that might not otherwise be possible through formalized networks. That is, Indigenous peoples continue to move on their traditional territories by trading and gifting their traditional foods. As the woman who married the beaver story told us in chapter 2, for many Indigenous nations, the gifting of food when entering another nation's territory is part of the protocols of their political and legal traditions. In this sense, these more intimate embodiments of resurgence are focused on what really matters, renewing relationships at the interpersonal scale while feeding people, some of whom might be in need such as Elders or single mothers. In other instances, this might also include providing community members with traditional foods, which might not have yielded crops within their territory within a given season. For example, Jason shared how Anishinaabe people from outside of his community invited him to pick rice from their traditional harvesting grounds as there was a rice shortage in his community:

---

<sup>196</sup> Jason Jones, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>197</sup> Laura Horton, personal communication at the Fall Harvest, October 2013.

Despite being divided from one community to another, we still share. I noticed it this summer with the wild rice. It has not been around like it used to be, during the last three years. But up north, they have lots of wild rice. They said “come on up and get some wild rice”. They really still have that idea of sharing. Despite of residential schools and people losing the culture, they still have that. I thought that was really powerful even though they don’t know me and I don’t know them. It made me feel proud that that part of being respectful and sharing is still there.<sup>198</sup>

It is this ethic of sharing that community members are trying to uphold as they experiment with regional alternative economies. That is, increasingly, Anishinaabe people as many Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island, are experimenting with mixed forms of economy that incorporate their land-based practices and other forms of sustainable initiatives. These economic alternatives are a combination of Anishinaabe land-based practices, including the sharing and gifting of food while addressing food shortages and envisioning what economic sustainability might look like on their own terms. They are based on an anti-colonial resistance against neoliberal capitalism while ultimately being rooted in the resurgence of Indigenous governance systems and political economies. Specifically, it is the resurgence of Indigenous land-based practices, ontologies and sharing economies that will make up the foundation of what these alternative economies might look like at the intimate scale of the family, community, nation and across Indigenous geographies rather than a mere resistant politics that is not rooted in the embodied experiences of place.

On a very small scale, Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation started a community garden, which emerged out of concerns about food prices rising. More than this, however, the garden is centered on reconnecting community members to sacred plants and the communal sharing of food. As Don Jones shared, even these small-scale initiatives have struggled to garner interest

---

<sup>198</sup> Jason Jones, personal interview, February 2014.

from community members: “It took time for some people to commit but now the garden is maintained by a small core group people. We still have a ways to go. People still have that residential school mentality and there’s still not enough communal sharing. The mindset needs to change”.<sup>199</sup> On a larger scale, Sherri spoke about a regional food co-op that First Nation communities in Treaty 3 have experimented with:

One of the things we (community members of Treaty 3) talked about was a food co-op with the First Nation communities. We had done studies about how much revenue is generated in local towns from First Nation communities. In this area, First Nation communities don’t have many services so they have to go outside to get gas, to get food. It’s actually all of the First Nation communities that are supporting these towns. Without them, they wouldn’t be able to generate that amount of revenue. There’s actually a lot of buying power within First Nation communities. A very small percentage of our incomes stay in the community. So they had this idea of having a food co-op. They ended up not being able to get it off the ground because the communities themselves could not work together, to trust one another and work together to create a business. Time and time again, this happens because of the separation of land to reserves and people internalizing that. We have to be able to work together to have a common goal. It’s such a good idea because their customers will be First Nation community members. The revenue goes back into the communities. Another alternative.<sup>200</sup>

Here, Sherri expresses a different perspective from the one shared by Jason as he reflected on the ethic of sharing that community members still have as they generously shared their wild rice with him. Indeed, both reflections unpack how the internalization and embodiment of colonial violence varies from one person to another. Moreover, it shows how a resurgent politics becomes increasingly difficult as it is scaled up from the family, to the community to across communities and nations.

---

<sup>199</sup> Don Jones, personal interview, March 2014.

<sup>200</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

It is important to situate these attempts of generating alternative economies within the larger movement of social, economic and political resurgence. Anishinaabe people and Indigenous peoples in general are still working towards revitalizing their knowledge systems and cultural traditions just as they are attempting to incorporate them in renewed forms of governance and political economies. As Andrew Jourdain shared, Indigenous communities are in the process of rebuilding all aspects of their communities, from individual wellbeing to family structures to strategizing economic sustainability. As he stated in chapter 4, at present, many youth and young adults must leave the community to obtain a post-secondary education and employment. For this reason, he argued that Indigenous communities must move towards envisioning how their local economies can be rebuilt by honoring their knowledge systems and cultural traditions.<sup>201</sup> For example, in light of alarming food shortages, how might communities develop regional food sharing economies where local food providers such as hunters assume a leadership role? And, how might these land-based food practices be combined with alternative and sustainable economies that would be guided by local Knowledge Holders?

The very process of creating resurgent Indigenous political economies lies in resilient experimentation. As Gibson-Graham have argued: “If we want to cultivate new habits of thinking for a postcapitalist politics, it seems there is work to be done to loosen the structure of feeling that cannot live with uncertainty or move beyond hopelessness” (Gibson-Graham 2006, 4). Indeed, this alarming need to do something, anything that will rupture everyday realities of colonial-capitalist violence is arguably most resisted by those who feel it and embody the most. While certainty of known institutional pathways continue to be unquestioned and valorized by some, many others within the Treaty 3 are re-envisioning what alternative governance structures and political economies might look like by renewing their cultural traditions. Delbert Horton

---

<sup>201</sup> Andrew Jourdain, personal interview, November 2013.

expressed this as he spoke about the various projects his community, Rainy River First Nation, has experimented with in their efforts to generate alternative economies. Over the course of the last several years, Rainy River has experimented with different forms of sustainable energy, which they hope to combine with local land-based practices in creating more autonomous economies that are founded on their Anishinaabe knowledge systems and cultural traditions. They first experimented with a wind energy initiative based on the success of a similar project in the Anishinaabe community of White Earth in Minnesota. However, after conducting a number of studies to assess the viability of the project, they realized that their local environment was not conducive to this type of initiative. They have since proceeded to develop a solar energy project. As Gibson-Graham argue, it is these sorts of experimentations that will be felt in the most embodied of ways as we “convince our bodies to adopt fundamentally different attitudes” and cultivate “new affective relations with the world” (Gibson-Graham 2006, 7). That is, these alternatives are felt in a bodily and mindful manner as they are based on land-based practices and ontologies rather than just a resistance to colonial violence or state-sanctioned pathways for self-determination. Rather, these alternative experimentations are part of a long lineage of Indigenous knowledge systems, cultural traditions and relations.

Certainly, the renewing aspect of re-establishing Indigenous relational networks through a resurgent decolonial love brings to bear important yet complex questions on how this will be done with settler Canadians. Chela Sandoval reiterates feminist geographers’ perspectives on difference by arguing that decolonial love is based on affinities across spatial and social differences, which opens up the possibility for renewed forms of political mobilization and social movements (Sandoval 2000). As the *Idle No More* movement has shown, the ongoing dispossession of land through privatization and environmental degradation has garnered

increased solidarities amongst Indigenous peoples and environmental and food activists. Specifically, at the height of the rise of the movement, different food sovereignty and environmental movements such as *Food Secure Canada* expressed support and solidarity. At the same time, however, the building of Indigenous-settler relationships rests upon a number of contentious issues regarding the question of land. For this reason, Indigenous factions of the food sovereignty movement in Canada such as the Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty (WGIFS) have dedicated much of their efforts in rebuilding relationships with a range of food actors, including small-scale farmers and foodies (Desmarais and Wittman 2014).

The taxing yet imperative nature of re-building relationships between Indigenous peoples and food actors was perhaps best expressed when I visited another Indigenous territory in what is now known as British Columbia. Specifically, I attended the WGIFS's annual meeting on Secwepemc land located on Interior Coast Salish territory, which was held as part of the B.C. Food Systems Network's annual meeting. Over the course of the meeting, I observed the unraveling of a dialogue that was now built on several years of relationship building between B.C. small-scale farmers and Coast Salish peoples. Specifically, part of the conversation unfolded around the imminent threats of the Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines that would dispossess small-scale farmers and Coast Salish peoples through the development of land and environmental degradation. In this sense, the possibility of building reciprocal and respectful relationships was garnered by common concerns on their interdependent ecologies of environmental degradation and sustainability. Yet, this dialogue became more politically challenging as Coast Salish peoples moved from discussing resistance to capitalist industry to a resurgence of their political economies.

As the meeting unfolded, Coast Salish peoples shared their commitments to revitalizing their pre-settler food trading networks that are referred to in English as the “Grease Trails”.<sup>202</sup> The grease trails are food trading networks that once spanned Interior and Coast Salish territories into what’s now known as B.C., Alberta, Washington and Oregon and perhaps beyond. Currently, the WGIFS headed by Dawn Morrison (who I mentioned in the introduction and chapter 3) are conducting research to better understand the history of the Grease Trails through Elders’ oral histories in order to envision what they might look like in the twenty-first century. Yet, small-scale farmers’ land is now located on these food trading networks. Hence, part of the dialogue during the meeting was to discuss the responsibilities and accountability of settler farmers to the Indigenous territories on which they have been long term visitors. Coast Salish peoples framed this responsibility within their failure to historically do so through the very land dispossession and environmental degradation that they were now experiencing due to pipeline development.

As Morrison shared, she has based her work for the WGIFS within the notion that Indigenous-settler relationships is ultimately just that, a relationship, even though it has historically been rooted in deep colonial violence. For this reason, her focus as a central leader for WGIFS has been to rework this relationship while also garnering support from non-Indigenous supporters to create change within their respective communities rather than employing “save the Indian” mentalities and strategies: “It’s really about building relationships and sharing information. The WGIFS enabled Indigenous peoples to bring their voice, their views on food sovereignty into that larger forum. It’s taking time to develop a common language

---

<sup>202</sup> Nitanis Desjarlais who is Cree but has resided on Nuu-chah-nulth territory told me that the term grease trails comes from the sacred gift of salmon oil that was highly prized and commonly traded within these networks.

and there have been some points of contention and commonality”.<sup>203</sup> Hence, while this allyship has been fraught with fundamentally contrasting views on land, and it remains to be seen how the grease trails project will rupture these long-standing colonial relations, it also opens up the possibility to consider how Indigenous-settler relationships might lend themselves to extending Indigenous views and embodiments of colonial dispossession and self-determination beyond their communities. In other words, how might the knowledge that has been shared by the WGIFS with the BCFSN expand beyond that space to inform other food actors and settler Canadians? Indeed, a growing body of work on settler colonial politics, notably led by an increased number of geographers, argue that decolonization must occur amongst non-Indigenous peoples as well (Reagan 2011; Pickerill and Barker 2014). Part of this process entails learning from Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural traditions in non-appropriative and non-dominant ways while also reflecting on what their role is in creating change within their respective communities.

Within the Treaty 3, the re-building of Indigenous-settler relationships was, as is the case with renewing their familial relationships, centered on intimate relationships by both creating a dialogue and, at times, mentoring settlers in Anishinaabe knowledge systems and cultural practices. The Elders in particular reminded me that settler Canadians share many of the same concerns that Indigenous peoples have. For instance, Marie Allen spoke about how members of a local Mennonite community had expressed concerns to her about the rising level of environmental degradation: “A lot of people are worrying about pollution, even non-Natives are concerned about it”.<sup>204</sup> Likewise, as Ogimaagwanebiik reminded me throughout our discussions: “This knowledge (Anishinaabe knowledge) isn’t just for us, it’s for everyone. It’s important for

---

<sup>203</sup> Dawn Morrison, personal interview, December 2013.

<sup>204</sup> Marie Allen, personal interview, March 2014.

everyone to learn about these ways”.<sup>205</sup> I observed Ogimaagwanebiik embody this herself on multiple occasions as she mentored non-Indigenous peoples who live on Anishinaabe territory and who have expressed a real commitment to her and her community over the years.

In other cases, this entailed more contentious encounters. For example, in chapter 4 Sherri Kabatay spoke about how her family food harvesting grounds have been increasingly encroached on by settler cottagers. Yet, Sherri’s family has approached this form of dispossession not by mobilizing settler colonial legal frameworks but by building a dialogue and relationship with cottagers:

Our approach has been to try to develop a relationship with those particular people to the point where you tolerate one another or try to work together. We are trying that approach. I think to a degree it’s been successful. When you have the same people living in the same area for a long period of time and they know people from my community are coming there (to traditional harvesting grounds), they don’t interfere with it. But I think what’s happening now in the last 5 years or so is that there are more people coming from the city, and they’re coming there temporarily. They don’t have those relationships and they don’t think that way. Coming from the city, they don’t realize the connection to land. They think plots divide the land. It’s actually all connected and there is no plot. They have that way of thinking. When we have so people who are invested for a short period of time, it’s difficult to develop those relationships. They get territorial because in the city, you go over my property line and that’s it. So when they come out and have lots in the country they still have that kind of attitude it makes it difficult. Right now, people in my community have been able to work out agreements but I don’t know how much it’s going to change as more new faces come in. But, they try to develop friendships.<sup>206</sup>

In this sense, community members’ approach resistance and resurgence by continually situating politics within the importance of rebuilding relationships whether that is with family, community

---

<sup>205</sup> Ogimaagwanebiik, personal interview, February 2014.

<sup>206</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

members, Indigenous peoples from other nations or non-Indigenous peoples. Yet, as reflected throughout this paper, the way they approach these relationships is ultimately rooted in their land-based ontological perspectives. That is, Anishinaabe social, economic and political structures are ultimately tied to an embodied and spiritual relationship to their homelands, including their animal and plant relatives, which again, opens up the possibility to ask how geographies of connectivity and responsibility might be mobilized according to shared ontological perspectives on land.

I was reminded of this deep spiritual connection at the WGIFS meeting. During the meeting, a Secwepemc Elder shared his nation's version of "The Great Flood", which I recounted at the beginning of chapter 4. I had a visceral reaction to his telling of this story. Although I always feel somewhat at home when I am with other Indigenous peoples and on other Indigenous lands, it was this sharing of the story that immediately filled my body with both happiness, to know I was somewhere familiar, and sadness because I missed the people and place that I had grown so close to during my stay in the Treaty 3. But, it is the sharing of the story that reminded me in the most intimate way that Indigenous peoples and lands are connected, not only through a common experience of colonialism but through our responsibilities, love and spiritual connection with our land and lifeways. Like Jason's curiosity about the Dakota and the Anishinaabe, I found myself wondering how this story has travelled throughout different Indigenous geographies on Turtle Island and perhaps even beyond through the trading of food. Around this same time, Hokulani Aikau, urged others and myself to reframe the Pacific Northwest through Indigenous ontologies of land, which more accurately understand this region in Canada and the U.S. as the eastern part and shore of the Pacific.<sup>207</sup> In doing this,

---

<sup>207</sup> Hokulani Aikau shared this perspective and story during a presentation she did at the University of Washington, April 2014.

she shared a story of a recent visit to Coast Salish territory on what is now known as Vancouver Island. During her visit, Coast Salish peoples sang a song as part of protocols for a gathering. The song, she shared, was markedly similar to a song she was familiar with on her ancestral lands of what is now known as Hawaii. As she shared this with an Elder, he proceeded to tell her that many stories, songs, and physical objects tell of the trading relationships that existed amongst the Coast Salish peoples and Indigenous peoples of the Pacific.

Again, this story pushes us to think of the international and transnational from the embodied geographies of Indigenous ontologies and, specifically, foodways. Indeed, the WGIFS has simultaneously sought to build relationships with other colonized and marginalized peoples around the globe. Again, in these instances, relationship building has often started as just that, getting to know each other, building trust and sharing knowledge of both struggles and ontological perspectives on food and land. For example, in 2009 WGIFS participated in the South African Knowledge Exchange, which allowed the group to connect with the Coastal Links Network (CLN), coalition that seeks to secure the livelihoods and rights of small-scale fishers in South Africa. As Morrison shared, the learning exchange allowed the WGIFS and CLN to share knowledge on common struggles for land and food. Moving forward, it is important to consider how these types of relationships can be built outside of formal institutional measures and government funding and how action can be embodied across space. While much has been written within food sovereignty scholarship on how these relationships can be built through a resistant politics, it also becomes crucial to think about how this might be embodied through a resurgent politics. That is, how might shared geographies of land-based ontologies based on a responsibility, love and spiritual connection with land cultivate and sustain an alternative international politics of resurgence? On this note, I end here with some final reflections on how

embodying self-determination ultimately rests upon re-honoring a spiritual connection with the land.

### ***Embodying Self-determination through a Spiritual Connection***

As Leroy Little Bear once taught me, the land will remember you. What he meant by this was that even though some Indigenous peoples might have been disconnected from their homelands and land-based practices, Indigenous knowledge systems and laws still lie within their traditional territories and that they will remember who they are, where they come from and where they should be headed if they reconnect with their land. From this teaching I understood that Indigenous peoples, though varied in our ontological views and the ways we have been impacted by colonial violence, are united in the spiritual connections that we share with our homelands. And, perhaps, this is also how we should approach our relationships with others across social and spatial difference. That is, by simply starting with a dialogue and asking, what is your relationship to land? How do you embody your land-based ontologies in everyday life? Indeed, this question would be hard to answer by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples alike, which is an alarming reality altogether.

As Anishinaabe people have shared and as I have relayed throughout this dissertation, their thinking and relationship with land all starts with an embodied spiritual connection that is cultivated on their home territories but which they carry with them as they live in the city or visit other Indigenous lands. They spoke about their spiritual connections through their protocol and ceremonies, yet this was also reflected through their stories and Anishinaabemowin. For these land-base ontologies, land and food becomes sacred gifts and relatives that must be honored and respected through the cyclical renewal of relationships, which includes actually going out on the land to harvest wild rice, to pick berries, to snare rabbits, to hunt deer and to trap beavers. While

this spiritual connection is deeply personal experience that is recalled through our individual sensory systems and through our spiritual selves, it is also something that is shared with loved ones through the gifting and feasting of food, through the singing of songs and the sharing of stories.

These everyday acts of resurgence remind us of our love and responsibilities for the land, which routinely become blunted through institutional measures, whether they are through a state politics of recognition or through UN declarations and initiatives that remain embedded within state-centric and colonial discourses and relationships. And, this resurgent decolonial love cannot be embodied or felt without direct engagement and lived experiences on the land. Sherri Kabatay perhaps best summed this up by saying:

If you can't even go and sit on the land for an hour, how are you going to have it in you to protect that land? That's what I think. If you don't have that connection there, you're not going to fight for that [...] You need to accept your spirit. You need to see the world through that spirituality. That's the change that needs to happen. It's really about teaching young people to identify themselves through their Anishinaabe ways of thinking. There has to be a whole resurgence about that.<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>208</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

## CHAPTER 6

### Conclusion: Geographies of Decolonial Futures

*We're still here and the reason we're still here is because of our connection to the land, to the earth, to creation. That's why our ancestors were able to survive and it's why we're still here. We have to, we just have to do that for our younger generations. We have to do our part in that and accept that responsibility and accept that accountability. We have to. If we don't, if we discontinue that (relationship with the land) and our kids don't know that, our grandchildren don't know that and our great grandchildren don't know that, then they become devastated because they won't know how to survive and live as Anishinaabe people, because they will be disconnected from the land. It's about helping people reconnect.*<sup>209</sup>

\*\*\*

As I stated in my opening words, this is a story about Indigenous peoples' relationships with our relatives, the land, animals and plants that make up not only our foodways but also our lifeways in the most intimate manner. As Sherri Kabatay shares, Indigenous peoples, lands, knowledge systems and cultural traditions are still here, thriving, resisting and resurging, despite of historical and ongoing brute colonial violence. As many Anishinaabe (re)creation stories tell us, including those that were recounted throughout this dissertation, the ability to survive, to be resilient peoples and to embody decolonial presents and futures depends on our intimate connections, responsibilities and love for our ancestral lands, for our ancestors and coming generations. These stories teach us to embody self-determination through all our relations.

In telling this story, I have re-placed the conceptualization and embodiment of food sovereignty through everyday geographies of Indigenous resurgence. In doing this, I complicate

---

<sup>209</sup> Sherri Kabatay, personal interview, December 2013.

the “big tent politics” that have been cultivated through the experiences of peasants, small-scale farmers and pastoralists’ fight for autonomy and control of local food systems through a rights-based framework. I argue that this has silenced the way food sovereignty is embodied across place, place-based experiences (including those of structures of power), knowledge systems and local ecologies. Recent critiques of the silencing of Indigenous experiences and knowledge systems have opened up the space for research that seeks to break through the limitations of food sovereignty scholarship, which I re-summarize here (Morrison 2011; Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Jarosz 2014; Patel and Grey 2014).

First, food sovereignty scholarship has generally employed a narrow Marxist political economy approach which attends to the impacts of neoliberal capitalism, specifically, the global food economy, and has more limitedly engaged with historical legacies of colonial assimilationist policies and the contemporary impacts of colonial-capitalist development through resource exploitation. Secondly, food sovereignty scholarship and activism has been ag-centric in that it has primarily focused on the struggles and movements of agricultural food actors which silence Indigenous land-based practices such as hunting, trapping, fishing and the harvesting of plants and, thus, the political landscape of Indigenous foodways that are fraught with colonial-capitalist enclosures. Thirdly, the food sovereignty movement has generally mobilized through established institutional pathways of formal governing institutions, including the state, the U.N. and the WTO. Although institutional pathways and best scales of mobilization have certainly been debated at length, more attention needs to be directed towards the coloniality of Indigenous-state relations and thus the increased refusal of institutional pathways on behalf of Indigenous grassroots movements and everyday geographies of resurgence. Moreover, Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural traditions provide us with alternative visions and

embodiments of what the political might look like. Fourthly, food sovereignty has largely been framed as a form of resistance, that is, as alternative food initiatives and networks *against* the global food economy with limited engagement on the idea of a resurgent politics that is committed to revitalizing and living Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices. These Indigenous lifeways are founded on the belief and embodiment that land and food are sacred beings and relatives rather than mere commodities and sources of subsistence.

Given these sets of limitations, my task has been to open up food sovereignty to broader and interconnected landscapes of colonial dispossession of Indigenous foodways while simultaneously honing in on the intimate geographies of Indigenous peoples' relationships with land and food, including the nexus of practices that are embodied through food practices such as language, storytelling, ceremony, family and mentoring relationships, governance structures and political economies. I did this by moving away from solely examining renowned global and national food movements to learn from Indigenous embodiments of local food practices in the Anishinaabe Treaty 3 territory. At the same time, I brought these embodied experiences into conversation with food sovereignty scholarship as well as Indigenous studies and feminist geographies. In doing this, I argued that political economy approaches that are largely used in food sovereignty scholarship are best applied to Indigenous geographies when they are brought into conversation with a colonial framework from Indigenous studies and an intimate geographies framework cultivated by feminist geographic scholarship. The sub-fields and their attention to embodied everyday life renew our understandings of the multi-scalar places and relationships where violence circulates. Yet, these places and relationships are the very sites and relations where alternative, renewed and creative forms of resurgence emerge.

Within Indigenous studies, I primarily engaged with works on colonial-capitalist dispossession, self-determination and resurgence, including Indigenous feminist works that have attended to the intimate spaces of violence and decolonial love (Alfred 1999, 2005; Coulthard 2007, 2014; Corntassel 2007, 2012; Simpson 2007, 2013; Goeman 2013; Hunt 2014, 2015).

Within feminist geographies, I have drawn on feminist political economies, care ethics, transnational feminism and relational place making with a particular attention to scholarly works on the global and the intimate (Massey 2005; Gibson-Graham 2006; Lawson 2007; Hyndman and Rosner 2006; Pratt and Rosner 2006, 2012). From this theoretical framework, I started the dissertation from a position of strength in part 1 titled “The Centrality of Indigenous Foodways”. Specifically, I argued that a project on Indigenous food sovereignty and more generally embodied self-determination must start by complicating Indigenous foodways as mere cultural practices void of political and economic significance on the one hand and, narrow forms of livelihood absent of a larger spiritual significance on the other hand. For this reason, chapter 2, “The Embodied Scales of Anishinaabe Foodways”, delineates the multiple and interconnected scales of Anishinaabe foodways by drawing on the embodied knowledge and experiences of the Treaty 3. Specifically, I examined how Anishinaabe foodways are founded on multi-scalar and intimate relationships with relatives, including animal and plant relatives; Anishinaabemowin, storytelling and ceremony, all of which make up what I call land-based ontologies; political and economic structures including food trading economies and Anishinaabe governance structures and; embodiment. On this last point, I focus on how Anishinaabe understandings of “living the good life” entail everyday embodiments that cultivate intimate and spiritual relationships with their ancestral lands and foodways. This understanding of the sacred cultivates alternative

ontological perspectives on land and food systems, which ultimately lead to renewed visions of what food sovereignty means for Anishinaabe people.

In the second part of the dissertation titled “Embodied Geographies of Colonial Violence”, I examine the colonial-capitalist dispossession of Anishinaabe foodways. I start in chapter 3, “Tracing the Coloniality of Dispossession”, by setting up a theoretical framework for dispossession. I complicate narrow Marxist political economy approaches deployed in food sovereignty scholarship by drawing on Coulthard’s theory of colonial-capitalist dispossession, which I then bring into dialogue with Indigenous feminism and feminist geographic scholarship on embodied violence (Goeman 2013; Coulthard 2014; Hunt 2014). I argue that dispossession is a multi-scalar process of violence, reproduced through colonial structures of domination and modes of governmentality that re-territorialize Indigenous relationships with their traditional territories and foodways. I then turned to the ways colonial-capitalist dispossession is embodied by Anishinaabe people and their land in chapter 4 titled “The Embodiment of Colonial Dispossession”. Specifically, I examined dispossession through a state of extraction, land removal and exclusion through colonial policies implemented by the settler Canadian state and genocidal practices of assimilation implemented under the *Indian Act* including forced residential schooling and the banning of Indigenous ceremonies. Ultimately, I argue that the re-territorialization of Indigenous relationships with their land and foodways is a co-constitutive process that impacts Anishinaabe social, political and economic structures and the intimate geographies of their bodies, minds and spirits, all of which are felt physically, intellectually and emotionally. In doing this, I focused on how some Anishinaabe people become disembodied from their love and responsibilities to their traditional territories and, instead, become more aligned with market capitalist ideals and settler colonial imaginaries of citizenship and territory.

The third part of the text titled “Embodying Self-determination” examines how Anishinaabe people have resisted colonial-capitalist structures of power while embodying the resurgence of Anishinaabe social, political and economic lifeways. Chapter 5, “Everyday Geographies of Indigenous Resurgence” grapples with the embodiment of resistance and resurgence in the Treaty 3 territory. I argue that Indigenous food sovereignty is founded on both an anti-colonial resistance (and emotions of anger) and a resurgent decolonial love. While I trace forms of what Coulthard has called illegitimate and legitimate forms of resistance unfolding within the Treaty 3, I end with an extensive analysis of the ways a resurgent decolonial love is embodied in the everyday. In many ways, this concluding discussion brought us back full circle to many of the principles that were sketched out in chapter 2. Namely, everyday acts of Anishinaabe resurgence are founded on the rebuilding of intimate relationships with family and land, including the reclamation of their traditional food harvesting grounds. Additionally, a resurgent decolonial love entails the re-envisioning, experimentation and embodiment of alternative political economies and governance structures. I ended the chapter by reflecting on how a sacred and spiritual relationship with land and food ultimately makes up the foundation of a resurgent decolonial love that sustains the philosophy and practices of what I have called an embodied self-determination, which is also expressed as *mino bimaadiziwin* for Anishinaabe people. Embodying self-determination through “living the good life” entails a larger project of decolonization and resurgence, which includes resistance to colonial violence through direct confrontations, the reclaiming of land through intimate geographies of negotiation and relationship building, the reclaiming of dispossessed lands through everyday practices, the rebuilding of family structures and mentoring relationships and the embodiment of foodways, including language, storytelling traditions and spiritual practices.

### **Embodying Self-determination: Moving Forward**

The holistic nature of Indigenous foodways has left me with a number of questions about Indigenous foods, land and self-determination that cannot be contained to one sub-field and certainly not to the academic space. For this reason, I end here by reflecting on a number of issues that came up throughout my time in Anishinaabe territory and my travels and experiences on other Indigenous territories. Many of these questions are pertinent to ongoing activism and everyday forms of resurgence at the community level in addition to unfolding dialogues and debates in a number of sub-fields, specifically those which I have engaged with here including food sovereignty, Indigenous studies and feminist geographies. And, all of them are centered on the idea of reconnecting and resurging Indigenous knowledge systems and cultural traditions.

The first set of questions I am left with is concerned with leadership. As many Knowledge Holders in the Treaty 3 shared, the future of Indigenous foodways and self-determination rests in re-honoring youth. Anishinaabe knowledge systems convey how youth are unique spiritual beings that must be cultivated from birth. Yet, as I shared, it was extremely difficult for me to locate youth to interview during my time in Treaty 3. For this reason, I argue that future scholarship and community activism on Indigenous foodways must move towards first, understanding why youth are not engaging in and practicing their foodways, from going out on the land, to processing and cooking their traditional foods. At the same time, however, I believe that more is needed on the intimate geographies of Indigenous youth resurgence. That is, how do they understand and embody the process of reconnecting with their land, foods, knowledge systems and cultural traditions? What can we learn from grassroots movements that have recently garnered considerable support from Indigenous youth? What roles and forms of

leadership are youth taking on in these movements and how does that push us in rethinking the political? And, how might a relational politics be built across geographies of youth?

In other instances, Anishinaabe people spoke about the leadership qualities of women within their societies. As Al Hunter beautifully shared, during pre-settler times, women assumed the role of Clan Mothers, or Ogiichitakwe which translates to “the ones who are burdened with peace”, that is, “the leaders, protectors and carriers of knowledge”.<sup>210</sup> As Sherri Kabatay shared in chapter 5, Anishinaabe women have traditionally been regarded as the caretakers and keepers of water. In Al’s words, they have been burdened with the peace of restoring the equilibrium of waterways as this rests upon confronting both state and capitalist powers in a way that will honor and renew their Anishinaabe knowledge systems and cultural traditions. Indeed, Indigenous women’s connections with their leadership roles remain present, which has been exemplified by the number of women assuming principal roles in the fight for Indigenous lands.

As many Indigenous scholars have increasingly argued, a serious consideration of Indigenous self-determination necessitates an engagement with the gendered politics of both colonial violence and resurgence (Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2013a, 2013b; Hunt 2015). In this dissertation, I sought to include a feminist political praxis by attending to the embodied and intimate geographies of colonial violence and resurgence. In this sense, I believe that a gendered and feminist analysis should be incorporated in analyses of colonial violence and self-determination even as the primary objective might not center entirely on gendered violence. At the same time, much more research is needed on the intimate geographies of gendered violence implicated in Indigenous foodways. For example, going back to chapter 4’s analysis of the *Indian Act* and enfranchisement, how has colonization reproduced a particular kind of patriarchy on Indigenous women’s political and economic leadership roles by altering their participation in

---

<sup>210</sup> Al Hunter, personal interview, March 2014.

local food practices? Also, following Sherri's reflections, how do Indigenous women think about and embody their roles as caretakers of the land? How do they think about and embody a decolonial love for the land? And, how have Indigenous women built relationships with other women across social and spatial difference in their efforts to protect their homelands?

The second set of questions are centered on the embodiment of alternative political economies. Specifically, I am interested in further exploring how a resurgent Indigenous politics can be scaled up. As shared throughout this paper, many Anishinaabe people think about and embody this scaling up through interpersonal relationships and intimate strategies that are built across Indigenous geographies. Moving forward, how do these political economies, including the harvesting, trading, sharing and gifting of foods disrupt colonial boundaries and enclosures and re-envision the inter-(nation)al? For example, going back to Hokulani's story in chapter 5, how might pre-settler trading networks cultivate contemporary embodiments of trans-Indigenous food trading and gifting? In this sense, how do these alternative economies open up the possibility to renew relationships across colonial territorial boundaries, including reserves, treaty territories and geopolitical borders? Also, as reflected through WGIFS's collaborative work, how are Indigenous peoples building political economies across affinities with settlers and marginalized peoples across space? And, how do interdependent ecologies threatened by environmental contamination by extractive industry or global climate change cultivate relationship building around the protection land? Along these lines, how might a relational politics at all scales be built on the affect and emotions of responsibility and a decolonial love? At the same time, however, how will these relationships be built on real material changes regarding the sharing of land?

Also, as reflected by Al Hunter in chapter 5, the rupture of colonial boundaries requires us to think about the regeneration of Indigenous foodways in urban areas. From this perspective, how do Indigenous peoples residing in urban areas maintain connections with their ancestral foodways? Similarly, how might Indigenous experiences within the city reframe how we think of Indigenous foodways? How do they embody their responsibilities and love for the land in the city, and how do they do so by honoring the fact that they are visitors on another Indigenous territory (in some instances at least)? What does the reclamation of land look like in urban areas? How is food trading and gifting in the city embodied? And, how might we trace the colonial violence of Indigenous lands and foodways from rural areas of the reserve to the city?

Following this, I am interested in alternative forms of land governance embodied through Indigenous foodways. Specifically, how can land governance be re-envisioned by Indigenous genealogical ties to food harvesting grounds? How does this renew possibilities to communal land sharing and ideas on the mobility of bodies across space and territorial boundaries? As reflected throughout this paper, many Anishinaabe families continue to cultivate their foods on lands that no longer fall within the colonial boundaries of their reservation. Yet, families continue to govern food-harvesting areas according to their genealogical ties. To me, this seems like a crucial strategy that will renew Indigenous forms of governance while providing families and communities with local foods. And so, how might these genealogical ties be scaled up in re-envisioning and renewing Indigenous self-determination?

Finally, how does decolonial love open up the possibility for alternative forms of political agency and mobilization moving forward? Given the differing and contested views unfolding within our Indigenous communities, how might a decolonial love ethic help us work through differences and find common struggles and a sense of responsibility and accountability for our

knowledge systems and cultural traditions? And, how might this love cultivate decolonial relationships between Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups and with settlers?

### **Final Reflections**

As I bring this dissertation to a close, it is important for me to acknowledge that it would not have been possible without the varied sets of knowledge and experiences that have cultivated it across time, space and social difference. I hold the places, people, relationships and dialogues that have cultivated this work in the highest regard. Specifically, I have the utmost gratitude and love for the Anishinaabe people and land that have cultivated my thinking on Indigenous foodways and embodying self-determination. As I was reminded throughout my time on Anishinaabe land, and as Sherri reflects in the opening words of this conclusive chapter, we are here, we have survived and we are resurging because of our relationships with our ancestral lands. While Anishinaabe people generously shared their stories here on embodying *mino bimaadiziwn*, or “living the good life”, it is up to all of us *Nistam Eniniwak* (Original Peoples) to think about how we will resurge forward by creating and living our own stories of resurgence by renewing and embodying our responsibilities and love for our sacred lands.

## References

- Agarwal, B. 2014. Food Sovereignty, Food Security and Democratic Choice: Critical Contradictions, Difficult Conciliations. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(6): 1247-1268.
- Alfred, T. 1999. *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as a Ground of Contentions. In *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, edited by D. A. Mihesuah and A. Cavender Wilson. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska: 88-99.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- Alfred, T. and J. Corntassel. 2005. Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Contemporary Colonialism. *Government and Opposition* 40(4): 597-614.
- Alkon, A. H. 2008. From Value to Values: Sustainable Consumption at Farmers Markets. *Agriculture and Human Values* 25(4): 487-498.
- Alkon, A. H., & Agyeman, J. 2011. *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Alkon, A. H. and T. M. Mares. 2012. Food Sovereignty in US Food Movements: Radical Visions and Neoliberal Constraints. *Agriculture and Human Values* 29(3): 347-359.
- Alkon, A. H. and K.M. Norgaard. 2009. Breaking the Food Chains: An Investigation of Food Justice Activism. *Sociological Inquiry* 79(3): 289-305.
- Allen, P. and J. Guthman. 2006. From "Old School" to "Farm-to-School": Neoliberalization from the Ground up. *Agriculture and Human Values* 23(4): 401- 415.
- Altieri, M. A. 2009. Agroecology, Small Farms, and Food Sovereignty. *Monthly Review New York* 61(3): 102-113.
- Altieri, M. A. and C.I. Nicholls. 2008. Scaling up Agroecological Approaches for Food Sovereignty in Latin America. *Development* 51(4): 472-480.
- Altieri, M. A. and V. M. Toledo. 2011. The Agro-ecological Revolution in Latin America: Rescuing Nature, Ensuring Food Sovereignty and Empowering Peasants. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38(3): 587-612.
- Anzaldúa, G. 2007. *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La frontera* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

- Arnold, J.S.N. 2013. *Dibaajimpwinan: Anishinaabe Stories of Culture and Respect*. Odanah, WI: Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission.
- Bang, M., L. Curley, A. Kessel, A. Marin, E.S. III Suzukovich and G. Strack. 2014. Muskrat Theories, Tobacco in the Streets, and Living Chicago as Indigenous Land. *Environmental Education Research* 20(1): 37-55.
- Barker, A. J. and J. Pickerill. 2012. Radicalizing Relationships to and Through Shared Geographies: Why Anarchists Need to Understand Indigenous Connections to Land and Place. *Antipode* 44(5): 1705-1725.
- Bartlett, R., & University of Saskatchewan. Native Law Centre. 1990. *Indian Reserves and Aboriginal Lands in Canada: A Homeland: A Study in Law and History*. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, Native Law Centre.
- Basso, K. H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. 1st ed. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Benton-Banai, E. 1988. *The Mishomis Book : The Voice of the Ojibway*. Hayward, WI: Indian Country Communications
- Bernstein, H. 2014. Food Sovereignty via the 'Peasant Way': A Skeptical View. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(6): 1031-1063.
- Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Bone, R. 1993. The Forgotten North: A History of Canada's Provincial Norths, by Kenneth Coates and William Morrison. *ARCTIC*, 46(2), ARCTIC.
- Borrows, J. 2010. *Canada's Indigenous Constitution*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Botting, G. 2005. *Chief Smallboy: In Pursuit of Freedom*. Calgary, AB: Fifth House.
- Boyer, J. 2010. Food Security, Food Sovereignty, and Local Challenges for Transnational Agrarian Movements: The Honduras Case. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 37(2): 319-351.
- Braun, B. 1996. Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post)colonial British Columbia. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87(1): 3-31.
- Burnett K. and S. Murphy. 2014. What Place for International Trade in Food Sovereignty? *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(6): 1065-1084.

- Byrd, J. 2011. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (First peoples 2010). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Castleden, H., V. Morgan, V. and C. Lamb, C. 2012. "I Spent the First Year Drinking Tea": Exploring Canadian University Researchers' Perspectives on Community- based Participatory Research Involving Indigenous peoples. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien* 56(2): 160-179.
- Clapp, J. 2014. Financialization, Distance and Global Food Politics. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(5): 797-814.
- Clayton, D. 2000. *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Corntassel, J. 2003. Who is Indigenous? 'Peoplehood' and Ethnonationalist Approaches to Rearticulating Indigenous Identity. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 9(1): 75-100.
- \_\_. 2007. Towards a New Partnership? Indigenous Political Mobilization and Co-optation During the First UN Indigenous Decade (1995-2004). *Human Rights Quarterly* 29(1): 137-166.
- \_\_. 2012. Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-determination. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1(1): 86-101.
- Corntassel, J. & J. Bryce. 2012. Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination: Indigenous Approaches to Cultural Restoration and Revitalization. *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 18(2): 151-162.
- Coté, C. 2010. *Spirits of our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah & Nuuchahnulth Traditions*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Coulthard, G. 2007. Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada. *Contemporary Political Theory* 6(4): 437-460.
- \_\_. 2008. Beyond Recognition: Indigenous Self-determination as Prefigurative Practice. In *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations*, ed. L. Simpson. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 187-203.
- \_\_. 2010. Place Against Empire: Understanding Indigenous Anti-colonialism. *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture and Action* 4(2): 79-83.
- \_\_. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

- Daigle, M. 2010. Awuwainithukik: Living an Authentic Omushkegowuk Cree Way of Life: A Discussion on the Regeneration and Transmission of Nistam Eniniwak Ways. MA thesis, University of Victoria.
- \_\_\_ . 2015. Self-determination Through Place: The Limits of Recognition and Indigenous Pathways of Resurgence. *Canadian Geographer*. (Accepted).
- Damman, S., Eide, W. B., & Kuhnlein, H. V. 2008 . Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition Transition in a Right to Food Perspective. *Food Policy* 33(2): 135-155.
- Dargo, G. 2008. Food Mail Program Review Findings and Recommendations of the Minister's Special Representative. Yellowknife, N.W.T.: Dargo & Associates. <http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/219509>.
- Davin, N. F. 1879. Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-breeds. Ottawa, ON.
- Day, R. 2001. Who is this we that Gives the Gift? Native American Political Theory and the Western Tradition. *Critical Horizons* 2(2): 173-201.
- Day, R. J.F., and T. Sadik. 2002. BC Land Question, Liberal Multiculturalism, and the S Spectre of Aboriginal Nationhood. *BC Studies* 134: 5-34.
- Deleuze, G., & F. Guattari. 1977. *Anti-Oedipus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. New York: Viking Press.
- Deloria, V. Jr. 1969. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: Avon.
- \_\_\_ . 1985. *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century*. 1st ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- \_\_\_ . 2006. *The World We Used to Live In: Remembering the Powers of the Medicine Men*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.
- Desmarais, A.A. 2003. The Via Campesina: Peasant Women at the Frontiers of Food Sovereignty. *Canadian Woman Studies* 23: 140-145.
- \_\_\_ . 2007. *La Via Campesina: Globalization and the Power of Peasants*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
- \_\_\_ . 2008. The Power of Peasants: Reflections on the Meanings of La Vía Campesina. *Journal of Rural Studies* 24(2): 138-149.
- \_\_\_ . 2012. Food sovereignty: A Radical Alternative for Sustainable Food Systems. In *Critical Perspectives in Food Studies*, edited by M. Koc, J. Sumner and T. Winson. Toronto: Oxford University Press: 359-377.

- Desmarais, A.A. and H. Wittman. 2014. Farmers, Foodies and First Nations: Getting to Food Sovereignty in Canada. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(6): 1153-1173.
- Dickason, O. P. 1992. *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Dixon, J. 2014. The Public Health Contribution to the Discursive Struggles Surrounding Food Security and Food Sovereignty. *Dialogues in Human Geography* 4(2): 200-205.
- Doerfler, J., J. N. Sinclair and H. K. Stark. 2013. *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies : Understanding the World through Stories*. American Indian Studies Series (East L Lansing, Mich.). East Lansing: Winnipeg: Michigan State University Press; University of Manitoba Press.
- DuPuis, E. M., & Goodman, D. 2005. Should We Go "Home" to Eat?: Toward a Reflexive Politics of Localism. *Journal of Rural Studies* 21(3): 359-371.
- Edelman, M. 2014a. The Next Stage of the Food Sovereignty Debate. *Dialogues in Human Geography* 4(2): 182-184.
- \_\_\_ 2014b. Food Sovereignty: Forgotten Genealogies and Future Regulatory Challenges. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(6): 959-978.
- England, K. V. L. 1994. Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research. *The Professional Geographer* 46(1): 80-89.
- Evans-Campbell, T., K. Walters, C. Pearson and C. Campbell, C. 2012. Indian Boarding School Experience, Substance Use, and Mental Health Among Urban Two-Spirit American Indian/Alaska Natives. *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 38(5): 421-7.
- Fairbairn, M. 2012. Framing Transformation: The Counter-hegemonic Potential of Food Sovereignty in the US Context. *Agriculture and Human Values* 29(2): 217-230.
- Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- \_\_\_ . 2005. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Fluke, J. D., M. Chabot, B. Fallon, B. MacLaurin and C. Blackstock, Cindy. 2010. Placement Decisions and Disparities among Aboriginal Groups: An Application of the Decision Making Ecology through Multi-Level Analysis. *Child Abuse & Neglect: The International Journal* 34(1): 57-69.
- Follett, J. 2009. Choosing a Food Future: Differentiating Among Alternative Food Options. *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 22(1): 31-51.

- Fontana, L. 2014. Indigenous Peoples vs Peasant Unions: Land Conflicts and Rural Movements in Plurinational Bolivia. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(3): 297-319.
- Fournier, S. and E. Crey. 1997. *Stolen from Our Embrace : The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Fraser, N. and A. Honneth. 2003. *Redistribution or Recognition?: A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso.
- Gibson-Graham, J. 2006. *Postcapitalist Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gilberthorpe, E. and G. Hilson, Gavin. 2014. *Natural Resource Extraction and Indigenous Livelihoods Development Challenges in an Era of Globalisation*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.
- Goeman, M. 2013. *Mark my Words: Native Women Mapping our Nations*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, N. 2013. *The Seeds We Planted*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Grey S., and Patel R. 2014. Food Sovereignty as Decolonization: Some Contributions from Indigenous Movements to Food System and Development Politics. *Agriculture and Human Values* 32(3): 431-444.
- Grier, S. and K. Majid. 2010. The Food Mail Program: “When Pigs Fly” Dispatching Access and Affordability to Healthy Food. *Social Marketing Quarterly* 16(3): 77-95.
- Guthman, J. 2004. *Agrarian Dreams: The Paradox of Organic Farming in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Harris, C. 2004. How did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94(1): 165–182.
- Hart, G. 2004. Geography and Development: Critical Ethnographies. *Progress in Human Geography* 28(1): 91-100.
- Harvey, D. 2003. *The New Imperialism*, Clarendon.
- Hawthorn, H. 1966-1967. *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*. 2 Vols. Ottawa: Queen's Printer Press, 1966–1967. Available online: <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/arp/ls/phi-eng.asp>
- Heath, J.R. 1985. El Programa Nacional de Alimentación y la Crisis de Alimentos. *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 47(3): 115–135.

- Hodgson, D. L. 2011. *Being Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World*. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Hokowhitu, B. 2010. *Indigenous Identity and Resistance : Researching the Diversity of Knowledge*. Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago University Press.
- Holm, T. J., D. Pearson and B. Chavis. 2003. Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies. *Wicazo Sa Review* 18(1): 7-24.
- Holt-Giménez, E. 2006. *Campesino a Campesino: Voices from Latin America's Farmer to Farmer Movement for Sustainable Agriculture*. Oakland, CA: Food First Books.
- Hunt, S. 2014. Ontologies of Indigeneity: The Politics of Embodying a Concept. *Cultural Geographies* 21(1): 27-32.
- \_\_. 2015. Violence, Law and the Everyday Politics of Recognition. Paper presented at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA), June 4-6 2015, Washington DC.
- Hyndman, J. 2004. Mind the Gap: Bridging Feminist and Political Geography Through Geopolitics. *Political Geography* 23(3): 307-322.
- Iles, A., & Montenegro De Wit, M. 2014. Sovereignty at what Scale? An Inquiry into Multiple Dimensions of Food Sovereignty. *Globalizations* (2): 1-17.
- Isakson, S. R. 2009. No Hay Ganancia en la Milpa: The Agrarian Question, Food Sovereignty, and the On-farm Conservation of Agrobiodiversity in the Guatemalan Highlands. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(4): 725-759.
- Jarosz, L. 2011. Nourishing Women: Toward a Feminist Political Ecology of Community Supported Agriculture in the United States. *Gender, Place and Culture* 18(3): 307-326.
- \_\_. 2014a. Comparing Food Security and Food Sovereignty Discourses. *Dialogues in Human Geography* 4(2): 168-181.
- \_\_. 2014b. Considering Sovereignty, Care Ethics and Policy in Food Politics. *Dialogues in Human Geography* 4(2): 229-232.
- Johnston, B. 1976. *Ojibway Heritage*. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart.
- Katz, C. 1994. Playing the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography. *The Professional Geographer* 46(1): 67-72.
- \_\_. 2001. On the Grounds of Globalization: A Topography for Feminist Political Engagement. *Signs* 26(4): 1213-1234.

- Kauanui J.K. and P. Wolfe. 2012. Settler Colonialism Then and Now. A Conversation Between. *Politica & Società* 2: 235-258.
- Krieger, N. 2001. Theories for Social Epidemiology in the 21st Century: An Ecosocial Perspective. *International Journal of Epidemiology* 30(4): 668-77.
- LaDuke, W. 1999. *All Our Relations : Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Cambridge, MA: Minneapolis, MN: South End Press; Honor the Earth.
- \_\_. 2005. *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming*. 1st ed. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- \_\_. 2007. Ricekeepers: A Struggle to Protect Biodiversity and a Native American Way of Life. *Orion magazine*: July/August Issue.
- Lawrence. B. 2003. Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview. *Hypatia* 18(2): 3-31.
- Lawson, V. 2007. Geographies of Care and Responsibility. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97(1): 1-11.
- Levkoe, C. 2014. The Food Movement in Canada: A Social Movement Network Perspective. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(3): 385-403.
- Lucero, J. A. 2008. *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes*. Pitt Latin American Series. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Manuel, G. 1974. *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*. Collier-MacMillan Canada.
- Martineau, J. 2014. Indigenous Media, Remix and Revolution. Paper presented at the Indigenous New Media Symposium, February 21, 2014, The New School, New York City, NY.
- Martineau J. and Ritskes E. 2014. Fugitive Indigeneity: Reclaiming the Terrain of Decolonial Struggle Through Indigenous Art. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3(1): 1-12.
- Martinez-Torres, M. E., & Rosset, P. M. 2010. La Vía Campesina: The Birth and Evolution of a Transnational Social Movement. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 37(1): 149-75.
- \_\_. 2014. Dialogo de Saberes in La Via Campesina: Food Sovereignty and Agroecology. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 41(6): 979-997.
- Massey, D. 1993. Question of Locality. *Geography* 78(2): 142-149.

- \_\_\_ 1999. Imagining Globalization. In *Global Futures*, edited by A. Brah et al. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 27-44.
- \_\_\_ 2004. Geographies of Responsibility. *Geografiska Annaler* 86B(1): 5-18.
- \_\_\_ 2005. *For Space*. London, England: Sage Publications Ltd.
- McDowell, L. 1999. *Gender, Identity and Place*. University of Minnesota Press.
- McKenna, C "Cancer Rate to be Studied Among Ontario Aboriginals", *The Globe and Mail*, July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/health-and-fitness/health/cancer-rate-to-be-studied-among-ontario-aboriginals/article25724291/> [Accessed August 2015].
- McMichael, P. 2008. Peasants Make Their Own History, But Not Just as They Please . . . *Journal of Agrarian Change* 8(2-3): 205-228.
- \_\_\_ 2012. The Land Grab and Corporate Food Regime Restructuring. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 39: 681-701.
- Million, D. 2013. *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*. Critical Issues in Indigenous Studies.
- Mohanty, C. 1988. Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. *Feminist Review* 30 (1): 61-88.
- \_\_\_ 2003. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonization Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Duke University Press Books.
- Morrison, D. 2011. Indigenous food sovereignty: A model for social learning. In *Food sovereignty in Canada: Creating just and sustainable food systems*, eds. H. Wittman, A.A. Desmarais and N. Wiebe. Halifax, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing: 97-113.
- Mosby, I. 2013. Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952. *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 46(1): 45-172.
- \_\_\_ 2014. *Food Will Win the War : The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front*.
- Mountz, A. and J. Hyndman. 2006. Feminist Approaches to the Global Intimate. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 34 (1/2): 446-463.
- Nadasdy, P. 2005. *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-state Relations in the Southwest Yukon*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

- Nagar, R. 2002. Footloose Researchers, 'Traveling' Theories and the Politics of Transnational Feminist Praxis' *Gender, Place and Culture* 9(2): 179-186.
- Nagar, R., V. Lawson, L. McDowell and S. Hanson. 2002. Locating Globalization: Feminist (Re)readings of the Subjects and Spaces of Globalization. *Economic Geography* 78(3): 257-284.
- Nagar, R. and the Sangtin Writers. 2006. *Playing with Fire: Feminist Thought and Action through Seven Lives in India*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Naranjo, S. 2012. Enabling Food Sovereignty and a Prosperous Future for Peasants by Understanding the Factors that Marginalize Peasants and Lead to Poverty and Hunger. *Agriculture and Human Values* 29: 231-246.
- Nast, H. J. 1994. Women in the Field: Critical Feminist Methodologies and Theoretical Perspectives. *The Professional Geographer* 46(1): 54-66.
- NNC, Northern Nutrition Canada. 2015. Eligible Food. <http://www.nutritionnorthcanada.gc.ca/eng/1415548276694/1415548329309>. [Accessed September 2015].
- Norgaard, K.M., R. Reed and C. Van Horn. 2011. Institutional Racism, Hunger, and Nutritional Justice on the Klamath. In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. Hope Alkon and J. Agyemen. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press: 23-46.
- Nyéleni. 2007. *Declaration of Nyéleni*. Available from: <http://www.nyeleni.org/spip.php?article290> [Accessed July 2014].
- Palmater, P. 2011. *Beyond blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing.
- Patel, R. 2009. Food sovereignty. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(3): 663-706.
- Peck, J. and A. Tickell. 2002. Neoliberalising Space. *Antipode* 34(3): 380-404.
- Penner, K. 1983. *Indian Self-Government in Canada: Report of the Special Committee*. Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Special Committee on Indian Self-Government.
- Pratt, G. 2002. Collaborating across Our Differences. *Gender, Place & Culture* 9(2): 195-200.
- Pratt, G. and V. Rosner. 2006. Introduction: The Global and the Intimate. *Women's Studies Quarterly*. 34 (1/2).
- \_\_. 2012. *The Global and the Intimate*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Ramírez, M. 2015. The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food

- Spaces. *Antipode* 47(3): 748-769.
- Regan, P. 2010. *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Robins, C.P. 1960. *Ontario Road Map* (Map). Ontario Department of Highways.
- Robinson, F. 2005. Care, Gender and Global Social Justice: Towards a Moral Framework for Ethical Globalization.
- Rosset, P. 2003. *Food Sovereignty: Global Rallying Cry of Farmer Movements*. Oakland, CA: Institute for Food and Development Policy.
- Rosset, P. M., B. M. Sosa, A. M. Jaime and D. R. Lozano. 2011. The Campesino-to-Campesino Agroecology Movement of ANAP in Cuba: Social Process Methodology in the Construction of Sustainable Peasant Agriculture and Food Sovereignty. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38(1): 161-91.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. 1996. *Report of Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. 5 vols. Ottawa, ON: Canada Communication Group.
- Sandoval, C. 2000. *Methodology of the Oppressed*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sedgwick, E. 1997. Paranoid Reading and Reparative Readings; or 'You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction Is About You'. In *Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1-37.
- Simpson, A. 2007. On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'voice' and Colonial Citizenship. *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9: 67.
- \_\_. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus : Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*.
- Simpson, L. 2004. Anticolonial Strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge. *The American Indian Quarterly* 28 (3/4): 373.
- \_\_. 2008. Our Elder Brothers: The Lifeblood of Resurgences. In *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations*, edited by L. Simpson. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publishing: 73-87.
- \_\_. 2013a. *Dancing on our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence*. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.
- \_\_. 2013b. *Islands of Decolonial Love : Stories & Songs*. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

- \_\_\_ . 2014. Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3(3): 1-25.
- Slocum, R. 2006. Anti-racist Practice and the Work of Community Food Organizations. *Antipode*: 327-349.
- \_\_\_ . 2007. Whiteness, Space and Alternative Food Practice. *Geoforum* 38(3): 520-533.
- \_\_\_ . 2010. Race in the Study of Food. *Progress in Human Geography* 35(3): 303-327.
- Smith, L.H. 2005. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. New York, NY: Zed Books Ltd.
- Sparke, M.1998. A Map that Roared and an Original Atlas: Canada, Cartography and the Narration of a Nation. *Annals of the Association of American Geographer* 8(3): 463-495.
- \_\_\_ . 2004. Political Geography: Political Geographies of Globalization (1) – Dominance. *Progress in Human Geography* 28(6): 777-794.
- \_\_\_ . 2006. Political Geography: Political Geographies of Globalization (2) – Governance. *Progress in Human Geography* 30(3): 357-72.
- \_\_\_ . 2008. Political Geographies of Globalization III: Resistance. *Progress in Human Geography* 32(1): 1 – 18.
- Speed, S. 2007. *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle and Human Rights in Chiapas*. Stanford University Press.
- Staeheli, L. and Nagar, R. 2002. ‘Feminists Talking Across Worlds’ *Gender, Place and Culture* 9(2): 167-172.
- Stark, H. 2010. Respect, Responsibility, and Renewal: The Foundations and Anishinaabe Treaty Making with the United States and Canada. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 34(2): 145-164.
- Teuton, C and S. Hastings. 2012. *Cherokee Stories of the Turtle Island Liars' Club: Dakasi Elohi Anigagoga Junilawisdii (turtle, Earth, the Liars, Meeting Place)*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Tough, F. 1995. Introduction to Documents: Indian Hunting Rights, Natural Resources, Transfer Agreements, and Legal Opinions from the Department of Justice. *Native Studies Review* 10(2): 121-149.
- Treaty 3. 2015. Grand Council Treaty #3: History of Program <https://gct3.net/administrative-office/trapping/history-of-program/>. [Accessed August 2015].

- Trocm, N., D. Knoke, D. and C. Blackstock, C. 2004. Pathways to the Overrepresentation of Aboriginal Children in Canadas Child Welfare System. *Social Service Review* 78(4): 577-600.
- Tronto, J. 1993. *Moral Boundaries. A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. New York: Routledge.
- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015. *Calls To Action*. Winnipeg, MN. [http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls\\_to\\_Action\\_English2.pdf](http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf) [Accessed August 2015].
- Tully, J. 2000. Aboriginal Peoples: Negotiating Reconciliation. In *Canadian Politics*, edited by J. Bickerton and A. Gagnon. Third Edition, Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Turner, D. A. 2006. *This Is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- UNGA (United Nations General Assembly). 2012. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter. Mission to Canada. UN Doc A/HRC/22/50/Add.1.
- Valentine, G. 2008. The Ties that Bind: Towards Geographies of Intimacy. *Geography Compass* 2(6): 2097-2110.
- Walters, K. L., S. A. Mohammed, S.A., T. Evans-Campbell, R. E. Beltrán, D. H. Chae and B. Duran. 2011. Bodies Don't Just Tell Stories, They Tell Histories: Embodiment of Historical Trauma Among American Indians and Alaska Natives. *Dubois Review* 8(1): 179-189.
- Wildcat, M., M. McDonald, S. Irlbacher-Fox and G. Coulthard 2014 Learning from the Land: I Indigenous Land Based Pedagogy and Decolonization. *Decolonization, Education & Society* 3(3): 1-15.
- Wilson, S. 2008. *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Wittman, H. 2009. Reworking the Metabolic Rift: La Via Campesina, Agrarian Citizenship and Food Sovereignty. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(4): 805-826.
- Wittman, H. Desmarais, A.A. and Wiebe, N (eds). 2010. *Food Sovereignty: Reconnecting Food, Nature and Community*. Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing.
- . 2011. *Food Sovereignty in Canada: Creating Just and Sustainable Food Systems*. Halifax; Winnipeg: Ferwood Publishing.

Yellow Horse Brave Heart, M. and L. M. Debruyn. 1998. The American Indian Holocaust: Healing Historical Unresolved Grief." *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research : Journal of the National Center* 8(2): 56-78.

—. 2003. The Historical Trauma Response Among Natives and Its Relationship with Substance Abuse: A Lakota Illustration. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 35(1): 7- 13.

YouTube. 2013. What is Mino bimaadiziwin? Published on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJqe7uP4fcQ> [Accessed July 2015].