Unsettling settler food movements:

An exploration of colonialism, food movements, and decolonization

by

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BCFSN	BC Food Systems Network
IFS	Indigenous Food Sovereignty
PFPP	People's Food Policy Project of Canada
WGIFS	Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty

This thesis is dedicated to my parents who have taught me by example "to do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6:8).

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Abstract

My research addresses colonization and decolonization in the food system because I want to learn how food movements challenge or perpetuate colonial discourses and material practices. My hope is that readers will come to understand the effects of colonialism so that alternative food movements can become spaces and places of critical reflection, decolonization and renewed relationship. In order to address the problem of colonialism in the food system I answer two research questions: How have food movements, as explained in academic literature, addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system? And, how do settler expressions of food movements in North America engage decolonization in practice? I provide background to my questions by reviewing the connections between the colonization of North America, agriculture, and food movements, and by outlining a methodology and method of decolonization. To answer my first question I examine the goals, engagements and critiques of the food justice and food sovereignty movements as they pertain to colonization and decolonization. My second question is answered by examining the publically available documents of the BC Food Systems Network as an example of how settlers are beginning to engage decolonization in practice. I argue that as settlers working to create equitable and sustainable food systems we must recognize complicity in colonialism, engage Indigenous perspectives and narratives, and work to support Indigenous communities seeking Indigenous food sovereignty and self-determination. To do so requires creating alliances based on learning about our differences from and with each other, and embracing settler discomfort as a motivation for change.

Keywords: food justice, food sovereignty, Indigenous food sovereignty, colonialism, decolonization, alliances

Chapter One

Introduction

Stories that tell us who we are and how we got to be where we are now are important. They shape how we view the world and how we respond to the world. The history of the colonization of North America is one such story. As told by popular history, it is an exciting tale of "discovery" and settlement of a fertile land ripe for the picking. Looking at this story from the lens of the First Peoples of Turtle Island (also called North America), however, tells a completely different story. It becomes a story of betrayal, dispossession, and genocide, including forceful relocations, abusive residential schools and policies intended to erase Indigenous culture, identity and relationship with land. Today, Indigenous peoples suffer from the ongoing trauma of colonialism with some of the worst instances of poverty, disease, food insecurity, inadequate housing, lower income levels, unemployment, incarceration, death rates and suicide. Though faced with many barriers, Indigenous peoples have been resisting colonialism since its very beginning, which has resulted in vibrant and hopeful expressions of self-determination and cultural revival. Examining colonialism can help explain the state of our food system today. The current global food system is characterized by lack of respect for people and the planet resulting in widespread environmental degradation and oppression. The lack of respect towards peoples, and the environment, is a direct legacy of colonization, but can also be seen as a continuation of colonialism in today's world.

In North America, and around the world, the food system is deeply embedded in the frameworks of colonialism, capitalism, cultural imperialism, and violence. An alternative food movement has emerged that attempts to engage with these issues. Made popular by authors such as Michael Pollan, this food movement focuses on ideas such as "voting with your fork", eating

locally, growing your own food, and "bringing good food to others" (Guthman, 2008). While the writing of Michael Pollan is admirable for the work he has done to bring the issues around food and agriculture into cultural consciousness, it has been criticized for being elitist and economically exclusive (Guthman, 2008; Zimmerman, 2015). Guthman (2008) suggests the local food movement also tends towards a missionary impulse of converting others to culturally specific (i.e., white) ideals of "getting your hands in the dirt" and eating "good food." Meanwhile, most local, organic food, as it currently exists, is just not an affordable, or practical, option for many people.

Critics of Pollan focus on his seeming lack of concern for the privileged nature of his ethical eating standards that tend "to render the food histories and realities of low-income people and people of color invisible" (Holt-Gimenez and Wang, 2011, p.85). Zimmerman (2015) argues that while Pollan's work is indeed elitist and economically exclusive it does not appeal to "a disembodied elite motivated solely by gaining or maintaining economic status, but rather a historically, socially and culturally situated group whose activities are informed by a range of (at times competing) values: the liberal professional middle class" (p 36). High levels of education, rather than level of wealth characterizes this class. Pollan's books promise to help readers navigate conflicting desires for the comforts and privileges of middle class life versus anxieties about conforming to its norms and being a responsible citizen (Zimmerman, 2015). These competing values seem irresolvable, but the struggle for an ethical and equitable life has shaped the emergence of movements that address the alternative food movement's shortcomings.

Some food movements, using the concepts of food justice, food sovereignty, and Indigenous Food Sovereignty, have emerged that attempt to grapple with the issues of race, class, and gender that often get overlooked in alternative food initiatives. Food systems scholars

agree that the current food system, including some mainstream alternatives, bestows privilege and power on select groups of people: mainly whites, males, and landowners. As a result, women, people of colour, those who are landless, and labourers have been oppressed. In the current food system, gender, race, and class oppression "have functioned as primary organizing principles, and labor exploitation is the rule" (Allen, 2004, p. 27). Allen (2004) suggests that changing the historical and cultural distributions of power and privilege is not an easy or a quick job, but a necessary one if we would like to see an equitable and sustainable food system (p. 164).

The alternative food movement has attempted to address many social and ecological problems in and through the food system, however, attempts to confront the legacies of colonization and the continuation of colonialism in the food system today are few. Mares and Peña (2012) describe a disappointing conversation with an acquaintance in which they discover that this acquaintance had no knowledge of the state of local Indigenous food systems or the forced disappearance of Indigenous foods and resources that can result from "even the most organic, vegan-friendly settler-farmers" (p.198). Indigenous scholars and activists have challenged me, as a settler, to think about how agriculture has been used as a tool of colonization. In North America, agricultural expansion was often the justification for the removal of Indigenous peoples from traditional lands. In both Canada and the United States policies were introduced that attempted to force modern agriculture and conceptions of private property on Indigenous peoples with the ultimate goal of assimilation and erasure. These policies marginalized Indigenous food procurement practices, and ignored generations of agricultural experience that many communities already had. Additionally, working in vegetable gardens was also used as a punishment in residential schools. For over one hundred years, generations of

Indigenous children were separated from their families and raised in overcrowded, and underfunded residential schools. Many children died while attending these schools, and many others experienced abuse. The last residential school in Canada closed in 1996. For some Indigenous people, modern agriculture is a cruel reminder of the trauma of residential school and a source of pain (Mullinix, 2015).

For Indigenous peoples, reconnecting to and revitalizing traditional Indigenous foodways, in all of their diversity including hunting, fishing, farming, and gathering, has been essential to resistance, resurgence and self-determination (Martens, 2015). Mares and Peña (2012) ask two important questions that frame why this thesis has been written: First, "should we not… consider how a call to eat locally invokes spaces that have been settled, colonized, ruptured, and remade through complex processes of human movement and environmental history making?" and second, "is it not necessary to stand in solidarity with those communities that are disallowed from celebrating *their* local food because of forced displacement at the hands of… settler-led or corporate-engineered takeover of rural lands, seeds, and livelihoods?" (p. 198). Justice Murray Sinclair, in his speech at the closing ceremonies of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada begins to give an answer to the questions above. He reported, "Reconciliation is not an aboriginal problem — it is a Canadian problem. It involves all of us" (Fedio, 2015). Similarly, Dawn Morisson (Secwepemc) (2011) agrees, "'everyone is to blame, and everyone is responsible' for reconciling past social and environmental injustices that have impacted Indigenous peoples and the land and food systems" (p.107).

My research addresses colonization and decolonization in the food system because I want to learn how food movements challenge or perpetuate colonial discourses and material practices in order to help readers understand the effects of colonialism so that alternative food movements

can become spaces and places of critical reflection and decolonization. To do this I answer two research questions: How have food movements, as explained in academic literature, addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system? And how do settler expressions of food movements in North America engage decolonization in practice? In this thesis I argue that as settlers working to transform the food system, it is fundamental to creating equitable and sustainable food systems to consider colonized spaces in the food movement and stand in solidarity with Indigenous communities fighting for food sovereignty and food justice.

In "Chapter Two" I discuss the background and significance of my research. I examine the history of agriculture and colonization in North America and how the two are intimately and inextricably linked. I also provide background on food justice and food sovereignty as food movements and on decolonization as a movement. In "Chapter Three" I discuss my methodology and methods including my epistemology and positionality. I use decolonization and critical discourse analysis as methodologies. In chapter four I answer my two research questions. Question one examines the academic literature on food justice, food sovereignty, and Indigenous food sovereignty and how they engage structures of colonialism in the food system. Question two analyzes decolonization in practice within the food system by examining the work of the BC [British Columbia] Food Systems Network. I conclude with a contribution section that summarizes my findings and offers ways to move forward.

A Note on Terminology

For transparency, I must address the terminology I choose to use within this thesis. The society we live in is one that, over the years since settlers first came to this continent, has attempted to erase Indigenous identities and presences. Even the kind of language that is used has been, and still can be, part of colonial structures. Despite systematic injustices, Indigenous

peoples across Turtle Island have survived and resisted. In listening to these voices I choose to refer to the first peoples of so-called North America as Indigenous peoples rather than Aboriginal or Native American, except when quoting others. I also use the term First Nation when referring to a specific community of Indigenous peoples united by location, language and culture within Canada who do not identify as Inuit or Métis. Aboriginal refers to those who are First Nations, Métis and Inuit. While this term is widely used in Canada, Taiaiake Alfred (Mohawk) and Jeff Corntassle (Cherokee; 2005) write, “this identity is purely a state construction that is instrumental to the state’s attempt to gradually subsume Indigenous existences into its own constitutional system and body politic” (p. 598). In 2011, the government of Canada changed the name of the department of “Indian Affairs” to “Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development”, which embodies the discursive tactic outlined by Alfred and Corntassle (2005). As of October 2015 this department is called Indigenous and Northern Affairs.

The term “Indigenous” has emerged as an alternative identifier to labels appointed by colonial governments. While the danger in the use of the term “Indigenous” is assuming that Indigenous peoples are a homogenous cultural category, “the struggle to survive as distinct peoples on foundations constituted in their unique heritages, attachments to their homelands, and natural ways of life is what is shared by all Indigenous peoples” (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p. 597). The title is capitalized to show respect for those who have been marginalized. The addition of the plural term “peoples” acknowledges the existence of distinct nations or land-based people groups. As such, many Indigenous peoples prefer to be identified by their tribe or First Nation, and where possible, I display that identity.

Chapter Two

Background and Significance: The Colonization of the Food System

They say once you grow crops somewhere, you have officially colonized it.

–The Martian, 2015

Agriculture and colonization are intimately connected. When humans first began domesticating plants and animals, "subduing" land to maximize production, they also developed voracious appetites for new territory and, subsequently, labour to work that land. This narrative has repeated itself many times in history, including in the colonization of North America. In the proceeding chapter I will explore the colonization of North America and its connection to the food system. I will also give background to my research questions that address this problem. My research questions are: How have food movements, as explained in academic literature, addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system? And, how do settler expressions of food movements in North America engage decolonization in practice?

Food Systems and the Colonization of North America

Mars will come to fear my botany powers.

–The Martian, 2015

Since the arrival of settlers in 1492 Indigenous peoples have been systematically removed from their land. The early settlers and explorers believed that the wilderness land they had "discovered" was *terra nullius,* meaning empty land. Coulthard (Yellowknives Dene; 2014) writes, "Because Indigenous societies were considered so low on the natural scale of social and cultural evolution, settler authorities felt justified in claiming North America legally vacant...and sovereignty was acquired by the mere act of settlement itself" (p. 100). Colonization is generally understood as the act of establishing political control over an area by settling on it. In much of

history, this has often been a violent process associated with military conquest. Knobloch (1996), however, argues, “Colonization is an agricultural act. It is also an agricultural idea” (p. 1). She emphasizes that both “agriculture” and “colonization” come from the same root ideas. She explains, agriculture is “the science and art of cultivating the soil” (Knobloch, 1996, p.4). The word “cultivate” means “to put labor into improving the land by tilling it” (p. 4). Thus, agriculture is not simply about growing crops but about “improving.” It is the process of transforming nature or wilderness into “agri/culture.” The Indigenous peoples who inhabited the land were seen as lesser beings because settler peoples believed they were “wasting” the land. In other words, they were not putting effort into “improving” or cultivating the land.

We can see the connection between agriculture and colonization by exploring colonization’s etymological roots. The word colony comes from the latin word for farmer: *colonus* (New Oxford American Dictionary). Knobloch (1996) describes that at the time of the origin of the word “colonization” wealthy landowners were colonizing the countryside in Europe by bringing new lands into cultivation. Consequently, the land use practices of peasants were altered, and many were forced from the land that sustained them. Knobloch (1996) concludes, “colonization is about enforcing land ownership through a new, agricultural occupation of lands once used differently” (p. 5). The ultimate goal is “improvement” of this newly cultivated land. In this understanding, agriculture becomes a tool of colonization that facilitates the dispossession of Indigenous peoples, plants and animals of their traditional lands.

The dispossession of Indigenous peoples by colonization can also be understood by an exploration of the concept of food regimes, which describe the creation of the global food system as we know it today. Food regimes are defined as “an historically specific geopolitical-economic organization of international agricultural and food relations” (McMichael, 2004, p. 3). There

have been two main food regimes and an emergent third regime. The first food regime occurred from 1870 until 1914 and was developed under British and European colonial powers (McMichael, 2009). It was characterized by the relocation of agricultural production from Europe to the new world settler colonies (Canada, the US, Australia, and Argentina). This process contributed to massive relocation and displacement of Indigenous peoples around the globe.

Around the same time, The Numbered Treaties were signed in Canada, allocating reserve land for Indigenous peoples in order to secure land for incoming settlers to Canada. The land that was allocated, however, was usually infertile and inadequate for sustenance. At the same time, settler authorities thought that the best way for Indigenous peoples to be assimilated into society was to teach them how to farm. In Canada, officials passed a “peasant farming policy” based on the idea that in order for Indigenous peoples to transition from traditional hunter/gatherer to modern farmer, they must pass through the evolution of farming from using small rudimentary hand tools to modern technology. Despite evidence that agriculture was already a common practice in many Indigenous communities across the Americas, settler authorities set these policies in motion. Regulation of foodways was believed to streamline the colonization process. On Blackfeet land, for example, it was believed that regulating access to meat “could transform the Blackfeet from hunters to herders, from barbaric predators preying on the plains' ownerless stocks of animal capital, to civilized producers subject to Anglo-American standards of labor, property, and land tenure” (Wise, 2011, p. 60). Subsistence hunting needed to be transformed to fit in with the values of capitalism and wage labour.

Settler authorities had other motivations for imposing modern agriculture on Indigenous communities. Carter (1990) suggests authorities believed “Agriculture would teach an

appreciation of private property and impart a will to own and master nature" (p. 18). The notion of "improvement" is echoed here. "Improvement" is at the heart of settler conceptions of private property. The work of John Locke is foundational to these concepts. McCarthy and Prudham (2004) explain that according to Locke, nature has no value until it has been improved through the application of human labour (p. 277). Through the application of this kind of ideology a moral economy based on the ability of individuals to exclusively control and improve land is formed, including the formation of a state to protect these individual property rights. Locke argued individuals should be able to accumulate land without limit, "including beyond that which individuals could work themselves" (McCarthy and Prudham, 2004, p. 277). While his goal was a just and efficient social order in comparison to the feudalism of the past, his system ultimately created a stratified social order based on access to land and a state whose objective was to protect the rights of property owners. Out of such ideas countries, like the United States, have been founded primarily on property rights rather than human rights. Bringing this into context, Harris (1993) argues, "the settlement and seizure of Native American land supported white privilege through a system of property rights in land in which the 'race' of the Native Americans rendered their first possession rights invisible and justified conquest" (p. 1721). Further, Harris (1993) contends, white privilege became embedded in the definition of property and, "Possession - the act necessary to lay the basis for rights in property - was defined to include only the cultural practices of whites" (p. 1721). This definition of property led to the idea that whiteness is valuable and is property, contributing to the settler colonial idea that Indigenous peoples must assimilate to white cultural practices, effectively erasing Indigenous identity and relationships to land. Reserve farming, for example, came to be seen as threatening to white settler society because it challenged these assumptions.

Carter (1990) argues that reserve farming was threatening because it created competition for the settler farmers (p. 141). It also tended to be more communal, which disrupted the settler notion that private property was the only way to productivity and prosperity. In order to destroy the tribal nature of the Indigenous peoples in the United States and in Canada, policies were put in place that created allotments of land for each First Nation or tribal member. Administrators believed that introducing "individual tenure was the best means of undermining the tribal system, as it would implant a spirit of individualism and self-reliance, thus creating self-supporting farmers" (Carter, 1990, p. 193). The majority of Indigenous people in Canada rejected this plan, but the view that Indigenous peoples were not using the land effectively justified further reduction of reserve lands in the United States. The Dawes Act of 1887 decreed that the acceptance of an allotment of land also meant being granted US citizenship, thus losing legal status as an Indigenous person. Allotted reserve land that remained unaccepted or unused, was sold or given to white settlers (Knobloch, 1996). Grey and Patel (2015) suggest, "colonial techniques and crops rapidly erased thousands of years of prior cultivation because Indigenous subsistence activity was barely recognized…. Forests, coastlines, steppes, and deserts were cultivated systems, even if governments could not see the human activity therein as 'agriculture'" (p. 8). Needless to say, the government's attempts to force modern agriculture upon the Indigenous peoples of Canada and the US became part of the systemic destruction of Indigenous life and culture and dispossession of land.

The dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands continued into the mid twentieth century when the second food regime occurred between the 1950s to 1970s. Its main approach was to distribute surplus food from the United States to the developing world as a way of gaining the control and loyalty of these vulnerable states. In addition, a model of industrial

agricultural development was adopted by developing nations (McMichael, 2009), and global supply chains were expanded. Echoes of the anti-communal policies of the late nineteenth century can be seen in the development of the Green Revolution. Entz (2015) writes, “Much of the motivation for the green revolution was as an antidote to the ‘red revolution;’ in fact, that is how the term ‘green revolution’ came about. Green revolution technologies were more palatable to Western interests than was land reform, which is distributing land to the poor” (p. 206). Smallholder farmers in many parts of the world were again dispossessed of their land through this process and many moved into slums surrounding cities. Development politics and pressure often dictated the movements of poor and Indigenous peoples. Many Indigenous peoples in North America also moved into the cities, often settling in city outskirts, or inner cities until development or gentrification forced movement once again. The concept of *terra nullius* can be seen through the gradual gentrification of inner city neighborhoods. Development projects are often defended “as a form of ‘improvement,’ where previously ‘wasted’ land or property (rooming houses, social housing, shelters, small businesses that cater to the community, etc.)...are made more socially and economically productive” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 175).

Since the late 1980s a third food regime, referred to as the corporate food regime, has been building off the last one. This regime is characterized by an increasingly privatized and corporate global food/fuel agricultural complex and free trade agreements that benefit the privileged global North over the global South. Resource extraction is one of the main ways the corporate food regime functions and is also the primary way Indigenous peoples are dispossessed of their lands today. McMichael (2009) argues that this third regime is also characterized by tensions between the agro-industrial complex and the food movements that have emerged to counteract it. Analyses of the food system have done an excellent job of acknowledging the

tensions created by the corporate food regime (McMichael, 2009; Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2011). These engagements, however, have done far less to acknowledge the role of colonialism and the tensions it produces in the food system today. Food regimes analyses point to colonization as a foundation for the modern food system, but they are limited in that boundaries of analyses are placed around the regimes' functional elements and timeframes. Colonialism is only analyzed as an event that contributed to the formation of the current food system rather than as a foundational aspect of the current food system. Most often, these engagements situate colonialism as an event rather than as a structure (Wolfe, 2006).

Colonialism is a mindset and a system that consumes, subsumes, and renders invisible cultures, places, and peoples. According to Alfred (2009a) colonialism is "an irresistible outcome of a multigenerational and multifaceted process of forced dispossession and attempted acculturation - a disconnection from land, culture and community..." (p. 52). Grey and Patel (2015) suggest, "colonialism is both goal and ongoing process—not merely in terms of the neo-colonial economic policies that shape the world, but also in the more traditional sense of the active consolidation and legitimation of Settler control" (p. 5). North American society exists within a particular kind of colonialism called settler colonialism. Settler colonialism's main goal is the erasure of Indigenous presence. Lawrence and Dua (2005) write, "settler states in the Americas are founded on, and maintained through policies of direct extermination, displacement, or assimilation" with the intention "that Indigenous peoples ultimately disappear as peoples, so that settler nations can seamlessly take their place" (Lawrence and Dua, 2005, p. 123). Indigenous lives and cultures are threatening to settler justification for control of land; therefore, Grey and Patel (2015) argue, "colonialism remade history so that newcomer became native, resetting the national clock to achieve a kind of 'indigeneity without Indians'" (p. 7).

I want to acknowledge that the term "settler" has been used in multiple ways and can be influenced by race and class dimensions. While a settler is anyone who is non-Indigenous living on stolen Indigenous land, not all settlers benefit equally from settler colonialism. Race and class often indicate which settlers benefit the most from settlement on Indigenous land. The term settler is often synonymous with whiteness, but Indigenous scholars have also called upon "settlers of color" to be in solidarity with Indigenous peoples. Jody Byrd (Chickasaw Nation; 2008) distinguishes between settlers (a term invoking whiteness) and arrivants, non-natives who may benefit from settler colonialism, but who are also subjugated and marginalized by colonialism and racism. Racism is systemic discrimination based on race, while colonialism is the systemic erasure and removal of Indigenous peoples from the land. Racism and colonialism act together to produce white supremacy. White settler aspirations for decolonization must take into account the differences between settlers and "lead us to challenge all forms of racism and colonialism that produce white settler power and rule" (Morgenson, 2014).

I have two main research questions that address the problem of colonialism in the food system: How have food movements, as explained in academic literature, addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system? And, how do settler expressions food movements in North America engage decolonization in practice? In the following section I will explain the significance of each of my research questions and the importance of each question for addressing the problem of colonialism.

Research question 1: Food Movements and Colonialism

An alternative food movement is emerging that attempts to grapple with the issues of the global food system. This movement is defined by its advocacy for "more ecologically sound and socially just farming methods, food marketing and distribution, and healthier food options"

(Slocum, 2007, p. 522). Often, this food movement focuses on eating local and organic, and "voting with your fork" (i.e. the food you buy) to change the food system. They also assume a universal significance behind what it means to "eat quality food." The work of Guthman (2008), Slocum (2007), and Allen (2004) shows that those who are white and upper to middle-class dominate the narrative of this movement. The movement's often expensive or time consuming suggestions tend to shrug off the realities and challenges of food insecurity and encourage shame or guilt in those who cannot follow the suggestions (Athens, 2015).

One way the local food movement ends up being exclusive is through the ideology of "voting with your fork." This popular idea claims that we can change the food system through doing something many in North America are very good at: consuming. It is assumed that through individuals making "ethical" choices, we can fix societal problems. Responsibility for changing inequitable social structures is shifted from society as a whole to privatized institutions and individuals. Making "better" individual choices does not necessarily add up to addressing the problematic structural inequalities of our food system. The notion of "voting" equates citizenship with consumerism. We must ask, who gets the privilege of being able to vote? While all humans should have the right to healthy, sustainable food, those with thicker wallets get more votes. Those with more votes also tend to be white, meaning the local food movement ends up reflecting "white" values, which are presumed to be universal.

Guthman (2008) reveals that there is a connection between buying and eating locally grown, organically produced food, desiring to bring this good food to others, and whiteness. Slocum (2007) and Saldana (2006) argue that white bodies tend to stick together or cluster, which creates spaces that exclude those who are not white. Alkon and McCullen (2011) suggest that critical agrifood scholarship points to the food movement's complicity in whiteness as a

hindrance to its ability to create transformation. They also suggest, however, that affluence is inseparable from this whiteness. Thus, race and class are intersecting dynamics in the food movement that need to be understood together in order to address some of the shortcomings of the modern food system, and some of its alternatives.

In an effort to address some of the shortcomings of the alternative food movement, alternatives to the alternative have begun to emerge. Food justice, food sovereignty, and Indigenous food sovereignty attempt to grapple with the issues of race, class, and gender within the food system and its alternatives. Food justice, as defined by Gottlieb and Joshi (2010), identifies three areas for action: "(i) seeking to challenge and restructure the dominant food system, (ii) providing a core focus on equity and disparities and the struggles by those who are most vulnerable, and (iii) establishing linkages and common goals with other forms of social justice activism and advocacy" (p. ix).

Food sovereignty, in comparison, is defined as "the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments" (Wittman, Desmarais and Wiebe, 2011a, p, 2). Indigenous peoples across the globe have also articulated an approach to food sovereignty that takes into account "the underlying issues impacting Indigenous peoples and our ability to respond to our own needs for healthy, culturally adapted Indigenous foods" (Indigenous Food Systems Network, n.d.). Indigenous food sovereignty is part of the broader discourse on food sovereignty, but focuses particularly on preserving and sustaining traditional Indigenous food systems, upholding cultures, and (re)connecting to land.

My first research question asks, therefore, how food movements, as explained in academic literature, have addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system. In chapter four I

explore the main goals, engagements and critiques of both food justice and food sovereignty. I have analyzed each for their engagement or lack of engagement with colonialism and decolonization, meaning the "ending of colonialism and the liberation of the colonized" (Unsettling Minnesota Collective, 2009, p. 43).

Research question 2: Decolonization and food movements

It was through my research on decolonization that I began to ask questions about food movements and their conceptualizations of land. A big concern of food movements is land, access to land, and relationships to land. This is evident through the emphasis food movements place on re-localizing food, sustainable farming, building connections to land, and valorizing farmers. Wendell Berry is one of the most outspoken advocates of the connection between land and eating. He argues that it is humanity's disconnection with the land, and with particular places, that is the cause of environmental and social destruction. In his essay *The Pleasures of Eating* he describes an "industrial eater" as a person "who no longer knows or imagines the connections between eating and the land" (Berry, 2008). Conversely, responsible eating involves knowledge that "eating takes place inescapably in the world, that it is inescapably an agricultural act, and how we eat determines, to a considerable extent, how the world is used" (Berry, 1990). In other words, if we eat industrially the land and communities will be destroyed, but if we eat responsibly the land and its communities will be cared for. For Berry, humans have a responsibility to take care of the land, the soil, and local communities. As such, caring for the physical land of a particular place is essential to developing just and sustainable food systems. Additionally, Berry (2002) believes that care for land must involve acknowledging limits, including limits in land ownership and control, but he admits this is challenging when the current

political theory suggests the "government exists to guarantee the right of the most wealthy to own or control the land without limit" (p. 29).

As we consider the state of land concentration in the United States, we can see that Berry has a point. The North American agricultural system is highly concentrated when it comes to land ownership. In fact, in the United States a decade ago, "Only 5 percent of American landowners own[ed] 80 percent of the land" (Allen, 2004, p. 28). The statistics today are equally dismal regarding the diversity of land ownership and farm operators. Only 3.3 percent of farm operators in the US are nonwhite, while white people account for "96% of the owners, 97% of all agricultural value and 98% of the acres" (Ayazi and Elsheikh, 2015). We can clearly see the results of colonial policies when looking at land concentration on reservations in the US. For example, non-native people control 60 percent of the land and collect 84.5 percent of agricultural income on South Dakota reservations (Bartecchi, 2014). The USDA 2012 Agriculture Census reports non-native people as the largest beneficiaries of resources from reservations across the United States (Bartecchi, 2014). Allen (2004) argues that in alternative food movements corporate agriculture and land ownership is seen as problematic, but there is little within the discourse "that suggests a critique of private property as a fundamental economic relation or seeks redress for historically inequitable land acquisition patterns" (p. 132). It is not in the interest of farmers, or would-be farmers, whether male or female, to question the social relations of private property because it would place the ideology of individualism and economic liberalism at risk. These ideologies promote "a naturalization of social relations of ownership and hired labor," despite the fact that "There is nothing natural or necessarily 'earned' about present patterns of land ownership" (Allen, 2004, p. 133). These patterns of land ownership are the result of colonialism and white privilege.

Decolonization is the "ending of colonialism and the liberation of the colonized" (Unsettling Minnesota Collective, 2009, p. 43). Indigenous perspectives often refer to colonialism as a "lie" or a "myth" (Waziyatawin, 2008). African American critic of colonialism Franz Fanon noted, "the most powerful weapon in the hands of the colonizer is the mind of the colonized" (as cited in Grey and Patel, 2015, p. 6). Foundational to decolonization is spotting the lie and taking part in "truth-telling." Decolonization must happen in the mind but must also manifest in physical actions. Decolonization does involve cultural revitalization for Indigenous peoples but must also include a dismantling of colonial structures and social systems in which oppression and exploitation are based. Decolonization is about "confessing and resisting a system that perpetually privileges 'white skin tones and European genetic lines' as it devours 'whole peoples in its hungry economy and phobic gaze'" (Perkinson, 2012, as cited in Heinrichs, 2013, p. 19). Smith (1999) writes, "Decolonization, once viewed as the formal process of handing over the instruments of government, is now recognized as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power" (p. 98). This shift has occurred because even if colonial powers were to physically leave, their systems and institutions would remain. Thus, Tuck and Yang (2012) argue, "decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, all of the land, and not just symbolically" (p. 7). Tuck and Yang (2012) acknowledge this cannot happen within a colonial power system. Therefore, my second research question is how do settler expressions of food movements in North America engage decolonization in practice? In chapter four I examine the BC Food Systems Network in order to explore their engagement with

decolonization, and the hope that settler/indigenous alliance brings to healing relationships and the land.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Methods: Decolonizing Research

Underpinning any careful study is an epistemological orientation, positionality, methodology and method. Whether these are made explicit is a matter of choice, but feminist and decolonizing methodologies make it clear that in order to be an honest researcher it is important to be transparent about how we understand knowledge, whose knowledge counts, and how our life experiences shape that understanding. I seek to follow in the tradition of feminist and Indigenous scholars and be explicit about my positionality and motivations for writing this thesis, as it may be suspect why a settler would write about these topics.

My research addresses colonization and decolonization in the food system because I want to learn how food movements challenge or perpetuate colonial discourses and material practices. My hope is that readers will come to understand the effects of colonialism so that alternative food movements can become spaces and places of critical reflection and decolonization. In this chapter I will explain my epistemological orientations, positionality, methodology, and methods as they pertain to my research and my research questions. I draw from scholars who explore critical discourse analysis and decolonization as methodologies and methods.

Epistemological Orientation

Maori scholar and researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) writes "representation is important as a concept because it gives the impression of 'the truth'" (p. 35). There is a long history of scholarly research about Indigenous peoples that has misrepresented and harmed rather than advanced relationships between academics and Indigenous peoples. This long history has created distrust and skepticism about the intentions of settler research (Smith, 1999). I do not seek to do this kind of academics; rather I seek to examine my own experiences and the

discourses within my own communities. I write this thesis not out of guilt but out of a sense of profound grief at the damage colonialism has caused and still causes, and out of a desire to see all things – plants, animals, humans, and the land – live together in respect and harmony. I think part of this process involves confessing our (settler) complicity in oppressive structures, and working to transform them. In this subsection I will explain my positionality and epistemological viewpoints.

Positionality

I am a white woman of English and Dutch-German descent. My ancestors were English settlers who came to the land now called Canada before it became a country, and Mennonite settlers who came to Canada fleeing persecution in Russia two generations ago. I was born and raised in Treaty 1 Territory in the city known as Winnipeg, Manitoba, where I lived as a guest in the lands of the Cree, Ojibway, Dakota, Dene, Oji-Cree and Métis people. I currently reside in the unceded Coast Salish territory of the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil Waututh peoples, in the city known as Vancouver.

My personal experience working on a gardening solidarity project informs how I think about and question these kinds of projects. Two summers ago I participated in a solidarity effort to grow relationships between Indigenous peoples and Mennonite peoples through gardening. On the one hand, this project accomplished few of the goals it had set out to achieve in terms of connecting Indigenous and Mennonite young people, or getting people in the lower-income neighborhood interested in gardening. On the other hand, I had the opportunity to spend a summer researching and getting to know the history of Manitoba, residential schools, and the Indigenous nations on whose land I was a guest with the guidance of an Indigenous teacher. This experience was invaluable to me and opened my eyes to the need for decolonization. The desire

to understand what could have been done differently motivates me to do this research.

My assumed position going into the program was that as Western people, the corporate food regime assists us in losing our sense of place and connection to the land and to the food that we eat. This narrative assumes that participating in growing your own food and forging relationships to the land is a means to overcome this separation. While this position is not wrong, I have encountered only a few times where this narrative is also accompanied by an acknowledgement of the role that settler desires for land and connection to land has played and still can play in the dispossession of Indigenous land and culture. This has led me to try to discover what decolonization means for settlers who want to live in right relationship to the land, water, plants, animals, and peoples who inhabit this land today. I am writing this, as a settler on my own decolonizing journey, to fellow settlers engaged in food systems work in order that we might listen to and learn from our Indigenous hosts and begin the challenging and uncomfortable process of unsettling our imperial and colonial ways of thinking about the food system. As a white settler engaged in alternative food systems work, I want to learn how to "unsettle the settler within" (Regan, 2010, p.11), to discover how alternative food movements can transform the colonial system rather than unconsciously perpetuate it. In other words, I want to discover the ways in which food movements can more effectively be accomplices[1] in the work of decolonization.

Epistemology

Epistemology, or how we understand and validate what we know, is interested in defining who can know and what kinds of knowledge count as legitimate. Western science has

[1] I choose the term accomplice rather than ally. To be an ally means to align yourself with whoever your "other" is. Words, however, have ceased to be enough in the struggle. Those seeking justice are calling for accomplices in action. See Friesen Thorpe, (2015) and Accomplices Not Allies: Abolishing the Ally Industrial Complex, (2014) for a more detailed explanation.

often limited the scope of who can be a knower and what kinds of knowledge are legitimate. Smith (1999) makes the argument that in research, the ideas of “research” and “problem” are intimately connected. This becomes problematic when we add “Indigenous” into the equation because of the long “history of defining indigenous peoples as...the problem” (p. 92). In fact, what we have in North America is not an “Indian problem” that can be fixed through education, salvation, or economic development but a “settler problem” (Heinrichs, 2013). Paulette Regan (2010) asserts that settlers have to confront their complicity in the ongoing project of colonialism. Feminist, critical-race, and post-structuralist theorists critique the Enlightenment paradigm of research that shapes much of Western qualitative and quantitative research and includes the concepts of “objectivity” and “neutrality.” We can never be fully objective or neutral in research situations, and as settlers we must confront and take responsibility for our heritage as “heirs of oppression” (Corlett, 2010). Part of this responsibility involves acknowledging that it is easy to unwittingly reassert our privilege as white researchers. In this regard, Scott Morgenson (2014) asks a very good question: “if non-natives in particular trace the critique of settler colonialism only to white scholars, how are Indigenous critiques of colonialism erased, and white epistemic authority entrenched, in the very attempt to challenge colonial power?” (para. 9).

According to Mignolo (2011), to decolonize epistemologies means to de-link from the euro-centric modernity/rationality knowledge paradigm. Although scholars in post-structuralism, liberation, anti-racism, and post-colonialism have done important work by “exposing power structures, analyzing ideological systems, and deconstructing the pseudo-universalist claims of particulars” (Kampen, 2014, p. 12), these critiques are not sufficient. Mignolo (2011) claims they still exist within Western conceptions of knowledge production. Smith (1999) argues some

critical theories have been defined in ways that can leave out Indigenous peoples, along with their concerns and ways of knowing. For example, according to Smith (1999), "Naming the world as 'post-colonial' is, from indigenous perspectives, to name colonialism as finished business" (p. 98). In order for colonialism to be finished business, as implied by "post-colonial" analyses, colonizers must leave, and "There is rather compelling evidence that in fact this has not occurred" (Smith, 1999, p.98). North America exists in a colonial space, including our knowledge systems. Decolonial thinking "means engaging in knowledge making and transformation at the edge, in and of, the disciplines" (Mignolo, 2011, p. 42). Decolonial epistemologies, writes Mignolo (2011), "legitimate 'living in harmony and reciprocity,' rather than 'living in competition and meritocracy'" (p. 25). For decolonization to take place, it is the epistemologies, methodologies, and methods of Indigenous traditions that must guide and inform research. Jones and Jenkins (2008) suggest this is a difficult, unsettling task involving "learning (about difference) from the Other, rather than learning about the Other" (Jones and Jenkins, 2008, p.473).

Methodology

In this thesis I seek to examine the discourses of alternative food movements through the methodology of decolonization, which is a particular type of discourse analysis (Smith, 1999). Decolonization is not a concept or a field of study, but "a daily mode of resistance—a form of food systems practice informed, in equal measure, by a vision of democratic engagement and historical experiences of resistance" (Grey and Patel, 2014, p. 3). In methodological terms, decolonization is "a procedure, a technique, a practice performed on a dominant discourse" (Kampen, 2014, p. 10). Discourse forms the "ensemble of social, political, and cultural languages, meanings, codes, and relationships that construct, maintain, or challenge the social

order. It is the process through which social reality comes into being" (Allen, 2004, p. 6). Discourse can either sustain the status quo in a society or transform it. According to Foucault, discourse does not simply mean languages but also material practices and structures, which inform the knowledge of a specific topic and its effects on power relationships (as cited in Hall, 2004, p. 347). Decolonization as a methodology seeks to upend these power relationships. Using critical discourse analysis, along with decolonization, as a methodology makes sense for addressing my research questions because it also seeks to upend power relationship by making visible the aspects of discourse that may be opaque because they have been normalized, such as racism, classism, sexism, and even colonialism (Fairclough and Wodak, 2004).

Bradley and Herrera (2016) define the decolonial research agenda as "mobilization, healing, transformation, and decolonization—all with political, social, spiritual and psychological dimensions—and moving in waves from survival to recovery, development and ultimately self-determination" (p. 105). For my first research question, I draw on decolonial and critical discourse analysis methodologies to examine the goals, engagements and critiques of food movements as explained in academic literature, and as they align with this research agenda. For my second research question on settler food movement engagement with decolonization, I use these same methodologies and draw on the principles of Indigenous food sovereignty to provide categories with which it will be possible to analyze the data. The principles that guide the practice of Indigenous food sovereignty include: sacred or divine sovereignty, participation, self-determination, and legislation and policy (Morrison, 2011). These are the categories with which I will examine food movements in practice. In the next subsection I explain my specific methods for doing this.

Methods

In this section I explain the methods that I used to gather and analyze the data that I collected. Both of my research questions seek to understand the effects of colonialism so that alternative food movements can become spaces and places of critical reflection and decolonization. My first research question focuses on the discourse in academic literature and my second research question focuses on the practical expression of food movements by settlers. For my first question I used thematic analysis, and for my second question I used a case study.

Research Question 1: How have food movements, as explained in academic literature, addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system?

For my first research question I collected data from academic literature on food justice and food sovereignty. I gathered these data from academic databases and academic blogs by performing key word searches. Food justice and food sovereignty, as represented in academic literature, are located globally, but I focus on North America and the Canadian context, in particular. I recognize, along with Kepkiewicz (2015), "that colonial state boundaries are not necessarily the best demarcations for this type of analysis" (para. 2). I analyzed the data for the main goals of the food movement, its engagements with colonialism and decolonization, and critiques of the movement.

Research Question 2: How do settler expressions of food movements in North decolonization?

To answer my second research question I conducted a case study of the BC Food Systems Network. This project is located in British Columbia, Canada and was selected as an example of a settler food movement engaged in food system transformation, working in collaboration with Indigenous peoples. Given the length and time constraints on this thesis it made sense to analyze in depth one specific project. I gathered data on the network from publicly available books,

websites, and articles. Data collection focused on their mission statement, principles, and policy recommendations in their Good Food Solutions for BC project. I examined these data at an organizational level focusing my analysis on the consequences for Canada. This scope made sense given that I live in Canada and am concerned with the ongoing project of colonization that is occurring here and across Turtle Island. I analyzed the data by using the principles of Indigenous food sovereignty to ask how the BC Food Systems Network engaged each. Specific analytical categories included sacred or divine sovereignty, participation, self-determination, and legislation and policy.

Chapter Four

Results, Analysis, and Contribution

The course of the last few hundred years has seen the unfettered colonization of Turtle Island (known as North America) at the expense of Indigenous peoples and the land. As I described in "Chapter Two", the development of modern agriculture had a large role to play in this process. Critics acknowledge the modern industrial agricultural system's environmental costs, unfair labour practices, and disparities along race, class and gender lines. A myriad of food movements have emerged that attempt to provide alternatives to colonial agricultural models and the industrial product that it produces. My research addresses colonization and decolonization in the food system because I want to learn how food movements challenge or perpetuate colonial discourses and material practices in order to help readers understand the effects of colonialism so that alternative food movements can become spaces and places of critical reflection and decolonization. In order to address this problem, I have asked two questions. The first question is how have food movements, as explained in academic literature, addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system? The second question is how do settler expressions of food movements in North America engage decolonization? These questions are significant in the pursuit of justice and equity in the food movement because while issues of race, class, and gender in the food system are being addressed, much less has been written about settler colonialism in the food system. There has been relatively little mention of how the food system, both industrial and alternative, contributes to the ongoing colonial project.

My research addresses this problem by examining the ways in which food justice and food sovereignty have engaged the topics of colonialism and decolonization. My research also addresses this problem by examining the way that the BC Food Systems Network has engaged

decolonization. In this chapter I will address both of my research questions. First, I will discuss the ways in which academic literature about food justice and food sovereignty as movements has addressed colonialism and decolonization through each movement's goals, engagements and critiques. Then, I will discuss how the BC Food Systems Network has begun to address decolonization. Finally, I will offer some conclusions on ways to move forward and future needs for research and action.

Food Justice, Food Sovereignty, and Decolonization

Food Justice Goals

Food justice as a social movement arose out of a consciousness that the alternative food movement was not addressing systemic issues of inequality that contributed to unequal access to or distribution of nutritious, culturally appropriate, local and sustainable food. Activists and scholars recognized that the alternative food movement, as espoused by popular discourse, tended "to render the food histories and realities of low-income people and people of color invisible" (Holt-Giménez and Yang, 2011, p. 84). The discourse of food justice, comparatively, is rooted in the knowledge of a "context of institutional racism, racial formation, and racialized geographies" (Alkon and Norgaard, 2009 p. 289). Food justice seeks to address structures of inequality and oppression resulting from racism, classism and sexism. Ultimately the goal of food justice is "to institutionalize equity and control over the food system" (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015a, p. 3) and "dismantl[e]… racism in the food system" (Holt-Gimenez and Yang, 2009, p. 89).

According to many scholars and advocates, food justice is primarily about positive systemic transformation. Cadieux and Slocum (2015a) note that while many organizations and scholars write about the concept of food justice, there is little consensus about what it means to

actually *do* the work of food justice. They suggest that, in practice, food justice involves transformative change in four areas: trauma/inequity, exchange, land, and labor. Addressing trauma/inequity means recognizing "structural relations of power as necessary to confront race, class, and gender privilege" (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015, p. 14). Part of this process is addressing collective histories of trauma that vary in different localities, and making policies that address and seek to repair the damage that has continued to today. Addressing exchange means forging "new exchange mechanisms that build communal reliance through cooperation, trust, and sharing economies" (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015, p. 14). Transformative change in land involves the adoption of agro-ecological methods, as well as accepting and celebrating "diverse knowledge systems to grow food, make change, and sustain societies" (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015, p. 14). It also involves building equitable access, management and control of the land and its resources. Food justice that addresses labor involves valuing and protecting all kinds of labor and paying labourers fairly (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015).

Food Justice Engagements

While anti-racism and anti-oppression form a large part of the discourse around food justice, colonialism has not entered the discourse until recently. Cadieux and Slocum (2015a) position their work in food justice as "feminist, antiracist and anti-colonial" (p. 2). Though they situate their work as anti-colonial, there is little mention of that vocabulary throughout their writing. Instead, they focus on anti-racism and develop the concept of trauma "to conceptualize the present day experience of significant historical and contemporary harm done especially to indigenous people and people of color in the U.S. and Canada through foundational racism" (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015b, p. 32). They propose that action towards equity must be met with recognition of the embodied experience of trauma that is felt individually and inter-

generationally. Working with the concept of trauma is challenging, but brings a sense of urgency to the work of food justice because of ongoing harm. The concept of trauma acknowledges that for some, simply surviving can be a practice of food justice. Cadieux and Slocum (2015b) suggest "Trauma combines the power of an analysis of inequality with the lived experience of how racialized (dis)advantage settles in bodies" (p. 33). With this acknowledgement it is no longer possible to frame responses to health problems in terms of personal responsibility, but rather the focus shifts to the systemic effects of racism, gender inequality, and class. Cadieux and Slocum (2015b) conclude, "where a focus on healing trauma appears to be contributing to conditions under which people are successfully practicing food justice, the concept is being deployed toward a food justice politics based on affinity, not identity" (p.34). Developing relationships based on kinship and responsibility is a good place to start the conversation on decolonization.

Kepkiewicz, et al. (2015) also use an anti-colonial framework in their recent food justice work and research. They suggest that food justice work that focuses on "inclusion" of marginalized peoples may actually reproduce privilege rather than address inequities. Overall, they suggest similar concepts as scholars such as Guthman (2008) and Slocum (2006): that unreflexive food justice work by middle class, white, and settler peoples can "reinforce preconceived notions of who "needs help" and who are the helpers" (Kepkiewicz, et al., 2015, p. 100). In other words, it can reinforce white privilege and white supremacy. They also consciously engage settler colonialism in their work, pushing food justice closer to decolonization.

Moving Toward a Decolonial Food Justice

The work of Kepkiewcz, et al. (2015) is helpful because it helps put previous writing on food justice into (colonialism's) perspective. The authors show that there is a tendency within scholarly work on food justice to suggest that colonialism is something that happened in the past, such as in the food regime framework. This is evident when we examine a food justice-focused analysis by Alkon and Norgaard (2009). Alkon and Norgaard (2009) describe how the Karuk Tribe, located in what is today known as California, defines food justice as the right to traditional foods, such as salmon. The tribe's current food needs (lack of access to traditional foods and lands causing food insecurity and health problems) are situated within the history of "genocide, lack of land rights, and forced assimilation" (Alkon and Norgaard, 2009, p. 297) that occurred during colonization. The solution suggested involves redressing the social, cultural and political causes of these problems. This solution is very much in line with goals of decolonization; however, Alkon and Norgaard (2009) summarize the solution as increasing access to land and water. Access is important, but access is not the root issue. The problem- lack of access, causing health problems- is still framed as a "Native American Problem" or a "Black" problem and does not acknowledge the white privilege and colonialism that is, in truth, the root issue still occurring today. Increasing access will not bring about the dismantling of institutional racism unless there is also a commitment to supporting self-determination.

For food justice to fully commit to being decolonial, colonialism and racism must be clearly distinguished. Lawrence and Dua (2005) and Kuo (2015) argue that racism and colonialism are not the same thing; they have separate logics and goals. While colonialism always manifests as racism, not all racism is colonialism. This is an important distinction. Kepkiewicz (2015) points out that that colonialism is often ignored or conflated with

racialization in food justice-focused academic literature. For example, Indigenous experiences are referred to as part of a series of "racial projects" (Norgaard et al., 2011, p. 25; Alkon and Agyeman, 2011, p. 5). By combining all forms of racism, particular experiences of racial oppression are erased, such as Indigenous people's struggle as sovereign nations for self-determination.

While academics have been quick to acknowledge how Indigenous rights are central to food sovereignty and food justice, Kepkiewicz, et al. (2015) suggest that academics "have yet to unpack what this means in practice and, in particular, how this might alter our understanding of land in the food system" (p. 101). Food justice scholars have provided excellent critiques of capitalist land accumulation and ownership, and the role of systemic racism in land access, however, they have not called into question "settler control of land (e.g., for food production) and… the ongoing violence against Indigenous lands and food systems [that] persists today" (Kepkiewcz, et al, 2015, p. 101). Kepkiewicz, et al. (2015) conclude that "settler attempts to legitimate and justify, or simply to take for granted, their continued occupation of native lands" (p. 102) means participating in perpetuating the ongoing colonial project in North America.

Moving towards truly anti-colonial food justice praxis means doing more than simply using words to bring about a critical consciousness. Indigenous scholars have criticized this tendency. Tuck and Yang (2012) write, "Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism" (p. 19). Kepkiewicz, et al. (2015) suggest that for food justice to truly be anti-colonial, it must pay "serious attention to how the colonial project continues to shape our society and, in particular, how we view land, sovereignty, and our relationships to each other" (p. 102). In listening to Indigenous calls for justice, such as Tuck's and Yang's (2012), Kepkiewicz, et al. (2015) state that "there can be no justice on stolen

land" (p. 103). They conclude that this means, "engaging with how we each come to this land" (p. 103). As serious attention to the counternarratives would suggest, this means considering the ways that land may be relinquished.

Moving from an anti-colonial framework for food justice to a framework of decolonization, Bradley and Herrera (2016) suggest that the "original" notion of food justice has been colonized by a "moralist" notion of food justice. By original food justice they mean efforts to confront systemic racism and oppression, integrated with a practical focus on community owned and operated systems of fresh, culturally appropriate, affordable, and nutritious food, especially in marginalized neighborhoods. Bradley and Herrera (2016) argue, "a moral imperative to establish 'access' to local food without regard for the ownership and governance of the means of production and exchange represents a moralist notion of food justice" (p.101). This moralist notion of food justice has been colonizing the food justice movement by institutionalizing nutritional knowledge, by conflating neoliberal capitalist agency to exercise consumer choice with morality, and by marginalizing people of colour, especially women of colour in organizational leadership.

Citing Brave Heart, Bradley and Herrera (2016) name decolonization as beginning "the painful, agonizing process of at least mitigating if not healing the historical trauma caused by" colonization (p. 104). Similarly to Kepkiewicz, et al. (2015), Bradley and Herrera (2016) argue that decolonizing food justice, and food justice scholarship requires praxis, but they also argue it "requires us to embrace what we don't already know or understand" (p. 110) and to be willing to be open and honest with those with whom we work.

Food justice as a movement has made excellent contributions to the work of anti-racism, and anti-colonialism, and is beginning to engage decolonization. For food justice as a movement

to continue working towards decolonization, racism and colonialism need to be made distinct in food justice analysis and practice; settler control of land needs to be questioned simultaneous to working for the self-determination of Indigenous peoples; and the practice and study of food justice must "center and privilege indigenous knowledge, values, beliefs, interests, needs, hopes, and dreams" (Bradley and Herrera, 2015, p. 106).

Food Sovereignty Goals

Food Sovereignty is food justice's "radical sister from the global South" (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015a, p. 2). In a broad sense, food sovereignty is defined as "the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments" (Wittman, Desmarais and Wiebe, 2011a, p. 2). Food sovereignty originated from peasant and Indigenous movements for land and livelihoods in the global south but has been increasingly used in a North American context (Fairbairn, 2012; Alkon and Mares, 2012; Wittman et al., 2011b). Holt-Gimenez and Yang (2011) write, "The food-sovereignty movement seeks to dismantle global markets and the monopoly power of corporations at local, national, and international scales, and advocates redistributing and protecting productive assets such as seeds, water, land, and processing and distribution facilities" (p. 90). Food sovereignty discourse centers on the ideas of food, water, and land as human rights, and transforming the current corporate global food system so that the needs of the poor and marginalized will be met.

In 2007, people from around the world gathered in Mali at the Nyéléni Forum for Food Sovereignty. They developed six guiding principles for food sovereignty: focuses on food for people, values food providers, localizes food systems, puts control locally, builds knowledge and skills, works with nature (Schiavoni, 2009, p. 685). The nature of the food sovereignty description allows for diversity in how food sovereignty is conceptualized according to the needs

and desires of diverse communities. This is a strength of the food sovereignty movement; it allows for local definitions and resists a one-size fits all answer. In Canada, for example, Desmarais and Wittman (2013) suggest that there are three actors involved in defining food sovereignty: farmers, foodies, and Indigenous peoples. This provides challenges and tensions when describing food sovereignty and creating policies, but also an opportunity to unite in diversity. A common thread running through all conceptualizations is "a shared aim to reclaim a public voice in shaping the food system and a growing convergence around ideals of social justice, environmental sustainability and diversity" (Desmarais and Wittman, 2013, p. 1). Desmarais and Wittman (2013) conclude that if food sovereignty is primarily about transformation of society as a whole through the food system, the conversation in Canada is just beginning. Grey and Patel (2014) argue that a key theme within the food sovereignty framework "is the continuation of anti-colonial struggles in ostensibly postcolonial contexts" (p.3). For a country such as Canada that has historically claimed to have "no history of colonialism" (Adler, 2009), or claims that colonialism is finished business, food sovereignty counters these claims. Food sovereignty argues that colonialism is ongoing and it offers a corrective; an alternative based on rights, land reform, and self-determination.

Scholars and activists of Canadian organizations writing on food sovereignty have been recognizing that Indigenous voices must be leaders in discussions of food sovereignty. For example, The BC Food Systems Network (BCFSN) works with the Indigenous Food Sovereignty Working Group to make sure that the needs of Indigenous peoples are being prioritized within Canadian policy. Another Canadian organization, the People's Food Policy Project of Canada (PFPP), worked with the PFPP's Indigenous Circle acknowledging that Indigenous peoples must speak for themselves (PFPP, 2011). The PFPP (2012) statement on

food sovereignty recognizes that Indigenous peoples have been “nurturers of food systems that have been sustainable for thousands of years” (p. 9). Therefore, in consultation with Indigenous peoples across Canada, a seventh pillar was added to the six pillars developed in Nyéléni: “food sovereignty understands food as sacred, part of the web of relationships with the natural world that define culture and community” (Kneen, 2011, p. 92). The addition of the seventh pillar emphasizes that Indigenous perspectives are integral to creating sustainable and equitable food systems. It also serves as an effort to stand in solidarity with Indigenous peoples seeking self-determination through Indigenous food sovereignty.

Food Sovereignty Engagements

The peasant and Indigenous origins of the food sovereignty movements have shaped the movement’s discourse on land, land access and land reform. While not specifically addressing problems from the angle of colonialism, similar themes emerge. Addressing unequal access to land is usually framed as overcoming the problem of land policies that favour the elite, either by refusing to make land reform policies, or by making policies that continue to concentrate land in the hands of the elite. Olivier De Shutter, the former UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food made land issues and land rights a priority in his mandate. De Shutter (2010) argues that while secure land tenure is critical for the food security of Indigenous peoples, small holders, herders, pastoralists and fisherfolk, “individual titling and the creation of a market for land rights may not be the most appropriate means to achieve it” (p. 2). Rather, the report suggests that traditional land tenure systems should be honoured and strengthened and tenancy regulations should be reinforced. It is acknowledged that secure land tenure is critical to the ability of small holders to make a livelihood. Traditionally, it has been suggested that the way to increase security of land tenure is by increasing individual titling, thereby promoting integration to the market and

allowing smallholders to either mortgage or sell their land, which encourages economic growth. De Shutter (2010) argues, “individual titling, combined with the marketability of land, may not be compatible with the [recognition] of customary forms of tenure with respect to communal land and common property resource” (p.10). In fact, the creation of a market for land only ensures that land will be available for those who have access to capital. Borras and Franco (2010) argue, “land policies need to be analyzed in terms of the nature and direction of transfers of wealth and power” (p. 118). Patel (2010) makes note that La Via Campesina (an international peasants movement for food sovereignty) “demands are for ‘access to land’ rather than ‘ownership of land’” (p. 193). He suggests that La Via Campesina challenges “the scope of power through ownership—be it land, intellectual property rights or gene patents,” which in turn places a challenge “to the foundations of capitalism itself, insofar as it advances through enclosure and privatization” (Patel, 2010, p. 193). Handy and Fehr (2010) argue that it was precisely the enclosure of land at the exclusion of others that has produced the modern agricultural system and capitalism. Food sovereignty discourse and practice challenges the myths about the benefits of capitalist agriculture because “it demands we rethink what was at the very center of [the] transition [to modern agriculture]; it demands that we treat food not simply as a good, access to which and the production of which is determined by a mythically natural and fetishized ‘market’” (Handy and Fehr, 2010, p. 58).

Food sovereignty discourse has explicitly engaged with decolonization in a few ways. Grey and Patel (2015) consider food sovereignty as decolonization. An important aspect to understanding food sovereignty as decolonization is the idea of sovereignty. Sovereignty is a contentious term in Indigenous contexts because of its connections to state control and colonization. Self-determination, the ability of Indigenous nations to “determine their own

futures" (Martens, 2015, p.17), is a term preferred by many Indigenous peoples (Alfred, 2009b). The struggle for the self-determination of Indigenous nations is grounded in particular places and landscapes. These struggles are part of a larger struggle against the exploitation and colonization of those places. Grey and Patel (2015) argue that it is this specific and unique relationship with place and with the land, "lived in contention with the state, society and market, that marks the greater part of Indigenous struggles today" (p. 5).

The White Earth Land Recovery Project has emerged as one way of reclaiming land stolen or surrendered unfairly. When land goes on the market, the project purchases the land in order to "facilitate the recovery of the original land base of the White Earth Indian Reservation while preserving and restoring traditional practices of sound land stewardship, language fluency, community development, and strengthening our spiritual and cultural heritage" (White Earth Land Recovery Project, 2013). These purchases occur despite the fact that Indigenous peoples should not have to purchase land that they rightfully belong to. LaDuke (2012) explains, the Ojibwe phrase "*anishinaabe akiing*, for example, means the land to which the people belong. It's not the same thing as private property or even common property. It has to do with a relationship that a people has to a place—a relationship that reaffirms the sacredness of that place" (van Gelder, 2008).

Grey and Patel (2015) argue that there is distinct clash of cosmologies between capitalism and Indigenous visions of the order of the universe. Following Enrique Salmon's kincentric view— that the living cosmos is included in social relations—Grey and Patel (2015) suggest it is accurate to understand the making of land into a commodity as enslavement rather than deeper reification since land is viewed as kin and as sacred. "Sacredness does not merely congeal in particular spaces, but is a quality of the totality of the natural world—including all of

the life-forms that provide sustenance and frame trade networks" (Grey and Patel, 2015, p. 7). Winona LaDuke says, "food for us comes from our relatives. Whether they have wings or fins or roots" (TED, 2012). In fact, on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, agriculture and spirituality are intimately connected through ceremony; harvests are celebrated with feasting. When an anthropologist came to the reservation to observe wild ricing practices, LaDuke recalls the anthropologist's observation that, "we would never become civilized because we enjoyed our harvest too much" (van Gelder, 2008). When industrial producers attempted to patent and genetically modify *manoomin,* wild rice, residents of LaDuke's White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, took the issue to court and won. There have been similar stories from Hawaii, protesting the genetic modification of taro, which Native Hawaiians view as an elder brother according to traditional stories (LaDuke, 2012). It is understandable that Indigenous peoples would protest and fight the genetic modification and patenting of their food sources given their understanding of food as kin. Grey and Patel (2015) contend, "it is precisely this refusal to view foods as spiritually inert, or the cultivation of food as a series of impersonal impositions and extractions, that makes the assertion of Indigenous food sovereignty in White Earth decolonizing in process as well as outcome" (p. 10).

A second way in which food sovereignty can be decolonial is through interrupting the patriarchal systems that often went along with colonization. In many Indigenous societies across North America, men were responsible for hunting and fishing, while women were responsible for gathering and processing plant foods and other nutritious edibles. Women's roles in

> land management practices included tending wild and cultivated plots, to control competition between species; transplanting cultivars; coppicing and selective harvesting to increase yield; creating micro-environments at various elevations or latitudes/longitudes; promoting advantageous patterns of seed dispersal; cross-breeding to

> encourage particular characteristics; and manipulating soil quality. (Grey and Patel, 2015, p. 8)

Women were also responsible for transmitting this knowledge and the attitude of conservation. Colonization saw men take primary responsibility for agriculture as the "colonial patriarchy found its first foothold in the fields and gardens of Indigenous Peoples" (Grey and Patel, 2015, p.8). Enclosure onto reserves, and separation from traditional food sources undermined women's knowledge and skills. In Blackfeet communities, women were often responsible for butchering and processing bison, which was a concern to colonial administrators. The construction of slaughterhouses and butcher shops allowed administrators to "supervise the Blackfeet's assimilation toward Anglo-American standards of gender and labor" (Wise, 2011, p.72) in which killing was sanitized from its ostensibly barbaric origins, and men did what was counted as labour. Women were left learning how to bake bread: a staple that had no equal in Blackfeet foodways (Wise, 2011). Further, the advance of modern agriculture contradicted Indigenous women's teachings on conservation. The imposition of European attitudes and values by the church and state drastically changed women's roles within Indigenous society. Food sovereignty and in particular Indigenous food sovereignty, offers a corrective to the colonial patterns of patriarchy and white supremacy. Food sovereignty honors and reclaims traditional foodways and self-determination as a corrective to the imposition of Western, gendered, and racialized foodways.

Indigenous Food Sovereignty as Decolonization

Indigenous Food Sovereignty (IFS) has emerged as an Indigenous mode of resistance that approaches the food sovereignty framework from the particular perspective of Indigenous peoples. IFS provides a critique to the often agriculture-centric discourses of global food

sovereignty adding that food provisioning practices such as hunting, fishing, gathering and tending the environment must be engaged. For IFS "a 'right to define agricultural policy' is indistinguishable from a right to *be* Indigenous, in any substantive sense of the term" (Grey and Patel, 2015, p. 9). Morrison (2011) contends that Indigenous eco-philosophy is opposite the Eurocentric idea that nature or land should be dominated or managed by humans, rather, humans "can only manage our behaviours in relation to it" (p. 99). Food systems transformation must embrace this kind of Indigenous eco-philosophy within policies, laws and institutions rather than continue to uphold the colonial tendency to dominate and control. IFS is a model for social learning that provides a "restorative framework for health and community development and appreciates the ways in which we can work together cross-culturally to heal our relationship with one another and the land, plants and animals that provide us with our food" (Morrison, 2011, p. 100). There are four main principles that guide Indigenous food sovereignty. The first is sacred or divine sovereignty, which recognizes food as a gift from the creator. The second is participation in the daily acts of "nurturing healthy relationships with the land, plants and animals that provide us with our food" (Morrison, 2011, p. 100). The third is self-determination, or "the freedom and ability to respond to [Indigneous peoples'] own needs for healthy, culturally-adapted Indigenous foods" (Morrison, 2010, p. 100). Finally, legislation and policy reform works to "reconcile Indigenous food and cultural values with colonial laws, policies and mainstream economic activities" (Morrison, 2011, p. 101).

As a model of social learning, IFS recognizes the unpredictability of growing food and adapts strategies to fit this dynamic system. Settler peoples are called to partner with Indigenous peoples in this work because it has been recognized that Indigenous knowledge and practices are crucial to the preservation of the world's biodiversity. Kepkiewicz (2015) reminds settlers, "Not

only do indigenous food systems form the basis of indigenous peoples' ability to sustain and nourish themselves, but indigenous food systems form the basis of all people's food systems on Turtle Island" (para. 6). Indigenous food systems are important because they "support both directly and indirectly, the transfer of energy through the present day agriculture based economy that has been developed and industrialized by settlers through the process of colonization" (Morrison, 2008, p. 5). IFS "seeks to inform and influence colonial 'policy driven by practice' and promotes reconciliation of part social and environmental injustices" (Morrison, 2011, p. 111). Morrison (2011) is clear that the responsibility for Indigenous food sovereignty lies with both Indigenous and settler. Grey and Patel (2015) suggest, "food sovereignty is (and should be) a… radical anti-colonial project" (p. 3). There has been relatively little written from settlers on this issue, though Grey and Patel (2015) contend that "(re)asserting" food sovereignty for Indigenous peoples "implicates non-Indigenous people… if for no other reason than because it challenges us to make good on our longstanding legal and intellectual concern for freedom and agency. It also calls attention to the tremendous economic and ecological debt owed Indigenous Peoples, which remains unacknowledged (never mind unpaid)" (p.12).

Food sovereignty, as described and practiced by settlers and Indigenous peoples, is well positioned to do decolonizing work in North America, and around world. Its ability to be defined by local people in many different geographies along with its emphasis on self-determination gives it radical potential to disrupt and dismantle the settler colonial capitalist nation state, with one caveat: that these local definitions also include support for Indigenous food sovereignty.

Healing the Divides

Particularly within the local and sustainable food movement, there is an unacknowledged and unrecognized conflict. Settler-run local farms, community gardens, and urban agriculture

projects on unused land are often located on unceded (stolen), or contested land. How do justice- and sovereignty-seeking food movements honour the voices of Indigenous peoples calling for justice? Grey and Patel (2015) argue it is imperative that food projects "include concern for Indigenous access to traditional foods" (p. 12). They do not specify what this concern looks like; they do, however, suggest it would turn food sovereignty into a decolonizing activity that offers "a much richer understanding of the possibility of connection to one another, to nature, and to food" (Grey and Patel, 2015, p. 12).

Similar to Holt-Gimenez and Wang (2011) and Cadieux and Slocum (2015), Morrison (2011) believes that it will only be through alliances and coalitions that the colonial history and destructive nature of the food system will be addressed. Cadieux and Slocum (2015b) suggest that there is a need for research into coalitions addressing trauma in order to understand what has been successful. Alliances need to address "ownership and redistribution over the means of production and reproduction, including credit, land, processing, markets, and retail as well as labor and immigrant rights" (Holt-Gimenez and Wang, p. 98). As Secwepemc Elder Jones Ignace says, "Food will be what brings us together" (Morrison, 2011, p. 97). Kaylena Bray (Seneca) and Melissa K. Nelson (Anishinaabe/Turtle Mountain Chippewa; 2015) argue, "emerging native food sovereignty movements offer mainstream societies important lessons in resilience and adaptation" (p. 49). Settler peoples must learn to listen to the guidance of Indigenous peoples. The PFPP (2011) on Indigenous food sovereignty has four priority recommendations: a return to the agreements made in treaties, along with land reform and redistribution; an integration of the Indigenous concept of harmony with nature into resource-based policy; addressing the socioeconomics determinants of health that are negatively affecting Indigenous peoples; and rebuilding relationships between Indigenous peoples and stakeholders.

To develop further understanding of how this last recommendation may take place, I am led to my second research question examining how settler peoples engaged in food movements have engaged decolonization.

Land, Decolonization and Food Movements

If alternative food movements are committed to building equitable and sustainable food systems, settler peoples will need to understand how to heal relationships between Indigenous and settler peoples. One of the key recommendations put forward by the PPFP's Indigenous Circle for *Resetting the Table: A People's Food Policy for Canada* (2011) is about responsibility and relationships. It reads:

> Heal and rebuild (reconcile) contemporary relationships between Indigenous peoples and stakeholders (Canadian citizens and their government), and others who share the gifts of this great land we know as Canada. This will be accomplished by clearly integrating our shared world views and outlining and articulating responsibilities, while also supporting the protection, conservation, and restoration of Indigenous and other land and food systems. (p. 12)

Kepkiewicz (2015) asks an important question that gets at the heart of the tensions between Indigenous and settler relationships: How do settlers, especially those involved in agriculture, relate to land? A colleague of mine recently went to an agriculture conference in California and reported that an attendee made a comment that much of the land being farmed has been stolen from the Indigenous populations. I expressed excitement that these conversations were starting in her community, but she clarified that it was only a side comment and not the focus of the presentation (B. Smoker, personal communication, Jan 28, 2016). The alternative food movement, including food justice and food sovereignty, places high value on consumers, reconnecting to the food they eat and the land it is grown on. Additionally, developing sustainable models of agriculture, including permaculture and agroecology, is incredibly

important in a world where climate change, increasing populations, and environmental degradation place extra pressures on people and the planet. There is a tension, though. Young farmers who aspire to do sustainable agriculture are lauded for “going back to the land” without consideration of the ways that “food and food production intersects with the appropriation of land and a history of settler agriculture” and engage, “in colonial processes of erasure by further invisibilising the ways that dispossession occurs” (Kepkiewicz, 2015, para. 18). It is important that settler food movements think about the ways we relate to land, talk about our relationship to land, and acknowledge that the land we live on and farm on is Indigenous land. We cannot have these conversations without also talking about our distanced relationship, both eaters and growers, to the land; but, how we think, write, and talk about our disconnection and reconnection matters.

Kloppenburg, Hendrickson and Stevenson (1996) develop the concept of a “foodshed” as an organizing framework for understanding and developing a sense of connection to a particular location. The foodshed, they write, “can provide a place for us to ground ourselves in the biological and social realities of living on the land and from the land in a place that we can call home, a place to which we are or can become native” (Kloppenburg, Hendrickson & Stevenson, 1996, p. 33). Tuck and Yang (2012) argue, “decolonization is not a metaphor” (p.3). Indigeneity is not a metaphor either. Phrases such as Kloppenburg’s, Hendrickson’s, and Stevenson’s (1996) are common within alternative food movements, but they also serve to erase the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples in North America and complete the settler colonial project. Kepkiewicz (2015) writes that we must always be wary of “claiming affinity with indigenous peoples and lands without unpacking the ways that these claims have often acted to further legitimise settler claims and belonging to land” (para. 20). Rather than seek to replace

Indigenous peoples with non-indigenous peoples, a decolonial approach from settlers could seek the building of right relationships within and to a place. Coulthard (2015), a Yellowknives Dene author, offers the framework of "grounded normativity" to understand what these right relationships entail and Indigenous communities' struggles for self-determination. He writes,

> One thing that I have come to learn is that when Indigenous folks speak of their relationship to land we don't usually do so in an exclusionary sense. Our claims to land and conceptions of nationhood are not based on an understanding of land that is something to be exploited or horded to the exclusion of others. Land is a relationship based on the obligations we have to other people and the other-than-human relations that constitute the land itself. (para. 20)

This framework of reciprocal relationship and egalitarian coexistence can guide a decolonial approach to reconnecting to land and food including acknowledging settler identity, relinquishing the need for settler futurity and commonality with Indigenous peoples, and building right relationships with Indigenous peoples.

Slocum (2007) quoting Probyn (2000) writes, "At this historical juncture, 'eating, its connections to the land and its histories, may highlight the (im)possibilities of coexistence'" (p. 103, as quoted in Slocum, 2006, p. 528). It is important recognize that as settlers we can never fully understand the experiences of Indigenous peoples. Tuck and Yang (2012) write the "opportunities for solidarity lie in what is incommensurable rather than what is common across [social justice] efforts" (p. 28). Incommensurability is the acknowledgement that systemic change is required. It acknowledges that struggles for decolonization across the globe, "are not parallel, not shared equally, nor do they bring neat closure to the concerns of all involved - particularly not for settlers" (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 31).

Acknowledging the tensions that arise when addressing colonialism and decolonization is an unsettling process for settler peoples. Kepkiewicz (2015) argues that it will be necessary to

embrace a “pedagogy of discomfort” that allows us to acknowledge our emotional ties to dominant ideologies and the privileges we bear, and to move beyond them. Embracing a pedagogy of discomfort for settlers in food systems work means examining our own “emotional investment in settler futurity and land” and recognizing “how these emotions define settlers' inability as well as ability to challenge deeply entrenched norms and ideologies that allow for and reproduce settler colonialism” (Kepkiewicz, 2015, para. 28). Tuck and Yang (2012) remind settlers that decolonization is not about soothing settler guilt or settler hopes for the future. Decolonization requires settlers to come to terms with the differences between settler and Indigenous experience that “un-coalesces coalition politics –moves that may feel very unfriendly” (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 35). Tuck and Yang (2015) call for an “ethic of incommensurability” in which it is recognized that there are parts of Indigenous decolonization projects that are distinct from other social justice projects. Tuck and Yang (2015) state, “There are portions of these projects that simply cannot speak to one another, cannot be aligned or allied” (p. 28). For settlers engaged in conversations on land, sovereignty and food, embracing this ethic can lead to more fruitful solidarities. In an effort to understand how, where, or whether this is being done in food movements in Canada I will describe how the BC Food Systems Network has begun to address decolonization through alliances and embodiment of IFS principles.

BC Food Systems Network

The BC Food Systems Network (BCFSN) is a project based in the westernmost province of Canada. They work:

> To create healthy, just and sustainable food systems in British Columbia by strengthening connections, nurturing capacity, and supporting joined-up food policy at all levels. BCFSN works in partnership with farmers and ranchers, fishers, First Nations, and

> people in communities working to rebuild their food systems from the ground up. BCFSN works to undertake awareness building and education, and to develop balanced policy proposals that adhere to sustainability principles and reflect the needs and interests of a wide range of stakeholders. (BCFSN, 2016a)

Their mission is to “eliminate hunger and create food security for all residents of British Columbia” (BCFN, 2016b). As part of their mandate, they have partnered with Dawn Morrison who directs the Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty (WGIFS). The BCFSN argues that settlers can no longer hide behind ignorance given the many resources at our fingertips to learn about the history and current practices of colonialism (Brynne, 2016a). The partnership with the WGIFS embodies the IFS principle of participation and has shaped the BCFSN’s principles.

The BCFSN is currently working on a three-year project called Good Food Solutions BC (See figure 1). Through this project the BCFSN has published three discussion papers on regional food economies, sustainable food systems and policy reform, and Indigenous Food and Heritage (by the WGIFS). While precedent has allowed for the separation of discussion of colonialism from broader conversations on alternative food systems, the BCFSN includes the conversation within each of the discussion papers, acknowledging that “Any discussion of sustainable food systems and policy reform in BC must recognize that this policy regime was and still is imposed over nations whose governance systems pre-existed it” (Brynne, 2016a, p. 8). The BCFSN argues that there are “parallel systems of policy and oversight in BC: Indigenous and settler” (Brynne, 2016a, p. 8).

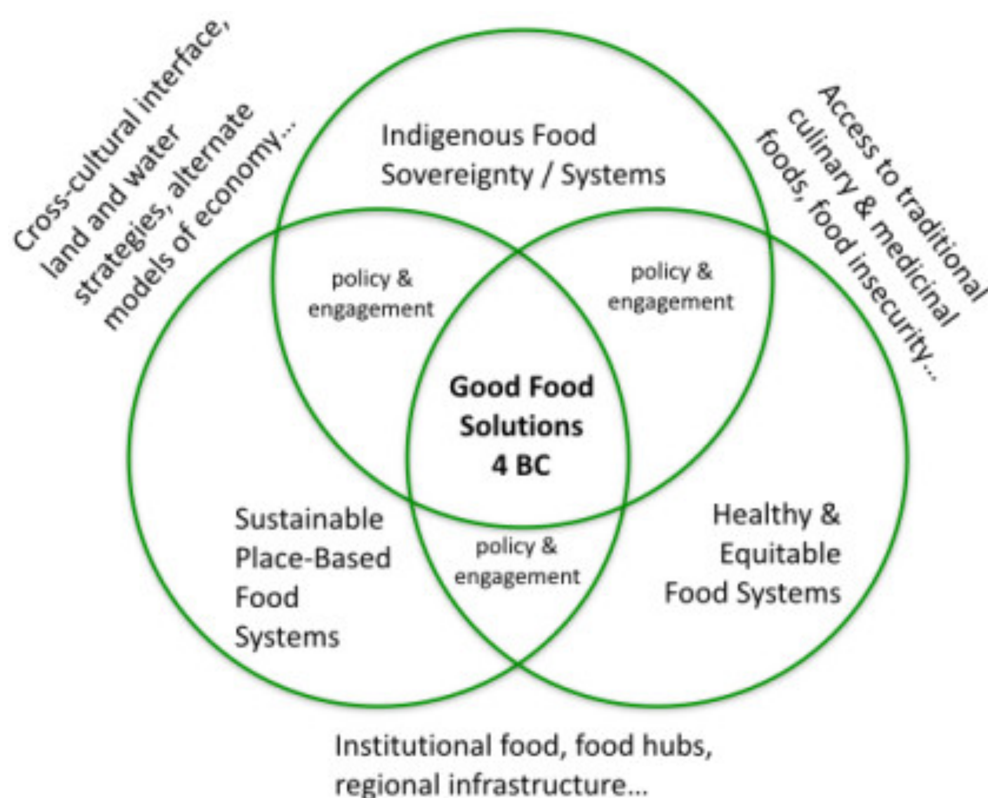

Figure 1. BCFN Good Food Solutions 4 BC (BCFSN, 2016c). This figure represents the elements in the Good Food 4 BC framework.

Figure 1's Venn diagram shows this relationship, acknowledging the parallel categories for policy and engagement between Indigenous food sovereignty, sustainable place-based food systems, and healthy and equitable food systems. The emphasis on Indigenous needs and desires in policy reform embodies the legislation and reform principle of IFS.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples explains that Canada's constitution recognizes the inherent right of Indigenous peoples to self-govern, and that it was the continuation of these rights through treaty agreements that made it possible for Canada to become a country. In acknowledging this, the BCFSN states, "As a Network we are committed to decolonizing our practice and to supporting Indigenous food sovereignty. We must, therefore, recognize and honour the Indigenous peoples of this region, not as subordinates but as Nations

with authority over the land and water" (Brynne, 2016a, p. 9). In addition, the BCFSN acknowledges that settlers must confront their ideologies of "productivist" agriculture, which has kept Indigenous peoples off their land. Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred (2009b) calls Indigenous and settler peoples into nation-to-nation partnerships as "reflected in the original treaties of peace and friendship consecrated between Indigenous peoples and the newcomers who started arriving in our territories" (p.169). The BCFSN takes this to heart expressing, "There are no simple solutions nor answers but they will only be arrived at once we begin to examine how policy is being made and how it can be transformed to address Aboriginal rights and title" (Brynne, 2016a, p. 11). Acknowledging Indigenous rights and title embodies the self-determination principle of IFS.

Abra Brynne (2015), director of engagement and policy at the BCFSN writes, "I find that I can no longer simply write about how food systems policy can be influenced by the food movement. Because I have become intensely uncomfortable with my status as a squatter on Indigenous Land" (para. 9). While this may seem counterintuitive to some, Alfred (2009b) writes, "If the goals of decolonization are justice and peace, then the process to achieve these goals must reflect a basic covenant on the part of both Indigenous peoples and settlers to honour each other's existence" (p. 169). Settler peoples must enter the uncomfortable position of discomfort that Brynne (2015) confesses, and let this discomfort inform food policy and food movements. The BCFSN framework for "good food 4 BC" (figure 1) shows direct commitment to three of the pillars of IFS: participation, legislation and policy, and self-determination. While there is no explicit mention of a commitment to regarding food as sacred, the diagram clearly integrates concern for access to traditional culinary and medicinal foods demonstrating an underlying commitment to the forth pillar of IFS. The Network's "About Us" also page clearly

states, “We recognize that food is essential to life and is therefore a human right. It is also a gift from the Creator so that both the food and its sources must be honoured” (BCFSN, 2016b).

One example of concrete action that is observable from the Network’s website is evident in the description of their annual gathering. This year the gathering’s theme is “Reconciling cultures and Re-connecting Foodscapes” (BCFSN, 2016d). The gathering is taking place at the En’owkin Center. The center provides quality First Nation post-secondary education, as well as cultural and language programs. According to the center’s website, “En'owkin is an Okanagan conceptual metaphor which describes a process of clarification, conflict resolution and group commitment” (En’owkin Center, n.d.). Using respectful dialogue and consensus, the center hopes to reach the best solutions possible. In such an environment, the gathering’s goal is to bring together activists and practitioners of various cultures from around the province with the Syilx and other Indigenous peoples. Attendees will “explore together what it means to truly reconcile with the first peoples of the land and water” (BCFSN, 2016d). The gathering will showcase “workshops that offer practical tools on what is means to decolonize our thinking, world view and every-day practice” (BCFSN, 2016e) along with discussions on migrant labour, cultural relationships to food, food issues facing Indigenous communities, working with the government, and collective action.

While the outcome of conversations such as these is unclear at this point in time, the fact that they are happening is hopeful. It is possible that the words on the page are simply words and have not resulted in concrete action, but it is clear that the discourse is there and that it is attempting to shift the status quo. It is an indicator that the conversation on decolonization is beginning seriously in Canada. Further research is needed to understand the impact of conversations such as these on policy and practice within the food system.

Contribution: No Land, No Justice

In a review of James Dashuk's recent book *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair (2015) writes, "It's simply not enough to write and read a book. One must act on this information. I look forward to what [authors and readers]… will do next in redirecting this country towards a path of reconciliation that we all deserve." For this reason, Kepkiewicz (2015) suggests, "those of us who are settlers involved in food movements currently inhabit an important moment that requires us to engage with difficult learnings" (para. 5). Future food systems scholarship must engage Indigenous narratives on food systems and also narratives of settler colonialism, decolonization, resistance and resurgence, feminism, trauma, survival and more. Further, Kepkiewicz (2015) argues, "learning from these narratives requires connecting food with land, sovereignty, and self-determination" (para. 1). Engaging in these frameworks, narratives and disciplines can only make the food movement stronger and the food system more equitable.

The analysis presented in this thesis shows that while food movements are beginning to address the issues of colonialism in the food system within academic literature and food movements; there is still significant work to be done. This study was useful because it shows that without the hard, unsettling work of decolonization, Indigenous peoples in particular, and all marginalized people, will continue to be oppressed. Without the work of decolonization, food system alternatives may actually be contributing to these problems rather than working to challenge them.

I propose that both food justice and food sovereignty movements should continue to consider and challenge the structures of oppression that govern today's food system, including colonialism. This kind of work should not be an afterthought but a primary concern of all

alternative food movements working towards a just and sustainable food system. My research shows that unless there are reparations of land, justice will ultimately not be possible. As settlers, we need to reconsider our notions of land ownership and property as the basis for productivity and prosperity. Land in capitalist society is considered an item to be owned and exploited, but in Indigenous worldviews land is part of the web of social relations, and as such is invaluable. When we think about land as a relationship, conceptions about private property and land ownership are turned upside down. I discovered that asking questions about land is at the heart of conversations about decolonization. How do we as settlers, especially those involved in agriculture, relate to land? Answering this question may be the key to reconciling relationships between Indigenous and settler, as well as creating just and sustainable food systems. As Kepkiewicz (2015) suggests, embracing a pedagogy of discomfort will be necessary in the process. This means, "learning to live with the discomfort that results from the uncertainty of not knowing what the end result of a genuine shift to decolonization and justice might be" (Kepkiewicz and Levcoe, 2016, p 2).

We are at an important crossroads in history. Future food systems scholarship must not be ignorant to the connections between food and colonialism especially in conversations about land, property rights, and food. We must face the reality and practical implications of living on stolen land. Haig-Brown (2009) suggests that, as settlers, we should consider the question: "whose traditional land are we on? as a step in our long processes of decolonizing our countries and our lives" (Haig-Brown, 2016, p. 5). As academics, activists, and practitioners interested in food systems this is an important question. This question invites us reimagine our relationship to land and to the land's first peoples. In doing so, we may begin the process of decolonizing the food system.

Playwright Steven Ratzlaff has attempted a reimagining through his play *Reservations.* In the first half of his play, a Mennonite farmer from Alberta decides to give most of his land to the neighbouring Siksika Nation. This act of restitution causes a difficult conversation with his daughter, who is resistant to the idea. The play invites viewers to enter into their own dialogue about land, and their identity as settlers. The idea of repatriating land is certainly an uncomfortable proposition for most settler people. The problem is fraught with emotion; we seem incapable of letting go of our ties to systems that allow the cycle of oppression to continue. Peace scholar John Paul Lederach (2005) suggests we need to cultivate a moral imagination:

> The capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not yet exist…. This is the capacity to imagine and generate constructive responses and initiatives that, while rooted in the day-to-day challenges of violence, transcend and ultimately break the grips of those destructive patterns and cycles. (p. 29)

Nishnaabeg author, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2016), invites settlers to think about how we can better share land between sovereign nations. In what ways can settler food movements become leaders in this reimagining process?

In summary, I offer three recommendations to settler academics and food movements so that they may embrace decolonization. First, racism and colonialism need to be made distinct in food systems analysis and practice. They must be understood as separate, but intersecting oppressions. Second, food movements must question settler control of land simultaneous to advocating for the self-determination of Indigenous peoples. Finally, the practice and study of food movements and policy must engage dynamic Indigenous narratives, knowledges, values, and goals rather than continuing to push a settler terms and agendas. It is my hope that food movements, through working towards food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignty, can

create a more just and equitable world based on reciprocal relationships between Indigenous and settler, and between people, the land, and all its communities.

Chapter Five

Conclusion: "The hurt of one is the hurt of all, the healing of one is the healing of all"

In this thesis I addressed the connections between colonization, colonialism and the food system. I explained the ways that agriculture and regulation of foodways were used as tools of colonization to disrupt and ultimately erase Indigenous culture and lives. The modern food system bears many of the same colonial and imperial tendencies, which has prompted the emergence of alternative food movements as a response. My research addressed colonization and decolonization in the food system because I wanted to learn how food movements challenge or perpetuate colonial discourses and material practices. It has been my goal to help readers understand the effects of colonialism so that alternative food movements can become spaces and places of critical reflection and decolonization. To do this I answered two research questions: How have food movements, as explained in academic literature, addressed or ignored colonialism in the food system? And, how do settler expressions of food movements in North America engage decolonization in practice?

Summary of Findings and Implications

Question one examines the discourse of food justice, food sovereignty, and Indigenous food sovereignty in academic literature. I discovered that the discourse of food justice is deeply rooted in addressing systemic inequality and oppression. While this puts food justice in a good position to engage colonialism, it has been slow on the uptake or it has ignored colonization altogether. In fact, there is a tendency within food justice work either to situate colonization as a singular event rather than a structure, or to equate it with racism. Food justice has also yet to engage settler control of land, or the harms done by resource extraction on Indigenous land and food systems.

The discourse of food sovereignty picks up on many of the missing pieces in food justice. Food sovereignty addresses colonialism directly because of its origins in Indigenous struggles for land and food rights in the global south, but the discourse is often agriculture centric. Indigenous food sovereignty, a movement focused on food systems issues impacting Indigenous communities, offers a critique to the typically agriculture-centric global food sovereignty discourses. It offers this critique by acknowledging that alternative forms of food procurement such as hunting, gathering and fishing must be included in our definitions and conversations about food systems and food sovereignty. Food sovereignty and in particular Indigenous food sovereignty, offers a corrective to the colonial patterns of patriarchy and white supremacy. Food sovereignty honors and reclaims traditional foodways and self-determination as a corrective to the imposition of Western, gendered, and racialized foodways.

Question two asked how, or if, settler food movements were engaging decolonization. I explored the mission, programs, and policy recommendations of the BC Food Systems Network as an example of one organization beginning to engage a framework of decolonization. By collaborating with the Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty, the BCFSN makes Indigenous food sovereignty a priority in their mission and policy recommendations. IFS calls settlers to reconsider our conceptions of land, and to dismantle settler colonial structures and systems that prevent Indigenous people from achieving self-determination. While this may be an unsettling and uncomfortable process for settlers, it is a necessary one. If we are interested in creating just and sustainable food systems, it is essential to consider colonized spaces in the food movement and work in solidarity with Indigenous communities fighting for food sovereignty and self-determination.

Research Limitations and Potential for Further Research

This thesis is necessarily limited in its scope and approach. Time and length constraints allowed me to look only at one case study. More research is necessary to see if other movements and organizations are confronting settler colonialism and beginning to engage decolonization. Since I was only able to use unobtrusive methodologies and methods, I chose to focus on discourse. Future qualitative research is needed that will explore the practical expressions of food movements. Another opportunity includes research on the opportunities for repatriation and sharing of land through food movements.

Conclusion

There is a saying in the Esketemc community of Alkali Lake. The saying is: “the hurt of one is the hurt of all; the honour of one is the honour of all” (4worlds, 1998). There are three main implications of this statement. The first is that healing cannot happen at the expense of anyone else’s well-being. The second is that healing needs to happen within a spirit of respect and cooperation; and the third is that communities need to believe that another’s misfortune is everyone’s misfortune. If food movements become the lived embodiment of this traditional saying, we have a good chance at creating a food system that is truly just and sustainable, and a world where all live in reciprocal relationship, and peaceful coexistence. As settlers we are called to consider the ways we are complicit in the settler colonial project and the responsibility we have to dismantle it. To break this cycle of violence requires that we embrace the discipline of risk. Embracing risk means “taking a step toward and into the unknown. By definition, risk accepts vulnerability and lets go of the [settler] need to a priori control the process or the outcome of [decolonization]” (Lederach, 2005, p. 163). As settlers, can we accept the risk of cooperating with the leadership of Indigenous peoples in defining and setting the terms for what

food system transformation looks like? I believe that we can, and, to create the just and sustainable food system we all hope and dream for, we must.

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