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Subverting the Local Food Economy Status Quo

The Intrinsic Relationship of Regionalized Ethics to the Practice and Discourse of Food Sovereignty

Maximilian Aulinger

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to the Practice and Discourse of Food Sovereignty

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of Co-operatives

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The Literature Review

THE DEBATE AS TO WHETHER TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE, as a concept, has any relevance to Indigenous peoples requires a closer analysis of the discourse in which the concept is being employed. Stuart Hall describes a discourse as a set of statements intended to construct a topical conversation in a specific way (Hall 2006, 165). The act of speaking about traditional ecological knowledge within academia, therefore, imbues the conversation with a particular degree of personal investment. Hall further mentions that, "anyone deploying a discourse must position themselves *as if* they were the subject of the discourse" (166). What is conceivable from this statement is that the formal training of the academic participant, and the dominant socio-political influences to which s/he is exposed, nullify the possibility of an unbiased or purely theoretical analysis. Rather, following Stuart's reasoning, the way this concept is spoken about will represent how the academic personally relates to the concept of what is traditional, his/her sense of ecological and what constitutes as knowledge.

It is crucial to consider that such a personalized interpretation of a concept, as in the example of the academic, is replicated within every dominant institution in which the identities or bases of knowledge belonging to Indigenous peoples are spoken *about*. In his chapter "Discourse or Ideology," Hall works through Michel Foucault's differentiation of the two terms. While Foucault initially associates "ideology" with statements that can be perceived to be false, Hall summarizes Foucault's later premise that, "certain descriptions, even if they appear false to us, can be *made* 'true' because people act on them believing they are true, and so their actions have real consequences" (167). Thus, this paper will argue that legislation of a

discriminatory nature, which overlooks the diversity of Indigenous identity politics sur-rounding self-identification, continues as a result of the perpetuation of static, Eurocentric ideological constructs.

The theoretical concept of traditional ecological knowledge does not exist in a space that is politically neutral. A continuing legacy of colonial oppression has created an environment in which the knowledge systems of non-European peoples (and their descendants) are de-legitimized in terms of their authority to affect dominant decision-making processes. The manifestation of this politico-legal monopolization is the relentless appropriation, manipula-tion and reproduction of what the dominant culture perceives Indigenous Knowledge to be and what it is capable of offering. One of the disconcerting features of this intellectual domi-nation is that Indigenous peoples are often forced into a situation, whereby their interaction with government agencies or the courts require that they are the ones to initiate a knowledge transfer according to terms set by external standards. Leanne Simpson refers to the example of land use and occupancy projects beginning in the 1970s in which various First Nations provided documentary evidence to bolster their claims of Aboriginal rights stemming from territorial occupation (Simpson 1999, 12). Vital to this process was the incorporation of maps outlining patterns of game migration and resource use. Simpson offers that while this me-dium is a useful visual aid in presenting accrued ecological knowledge of selected regions, maps are ultimately unable to convey, "the cosmologies of the earth, and the rituals, codes and values governing behaviors to one self, the community, the Nation and the cosmos" (12). Exploitation of Indigenous knowledge systems, however de-contextualized they may be in their translation out of their respective languages or epistemological methods, is implicitly accepted. Thomas Greaves indicates that this is due in part to the fact that Western legal principles situate knowledge as existing in the public domain (Greaves 1996, 26). Measures to curb appropriation, such as copyrights and intellectual patents, can be applied for, yet they require Indigenous plaintiffs to submit reasonable evidence that their knowledge is of a *sui generis* nature. Accordingly, it must be proven that distribution of this knowledge will have detrimental consequences to the well being of those who possess it.

In this context, the legal category of *sui generis* can also be interpreted as the transforma-tive capabilities this knowledge has for a respective human community as its use, is most rel-evant to a specific region or place where the community's members reside. Keith Basso remarks that the epistemological value of such place-based knowledge stands in stark con-trast to the dominant forms of Western scientific knowledge systems predominantly adhered

to and institutionalized in industrialized states. The latter, he describes, borrows heavily from the tenets of both Christian and positivist ideological frameworks, in which the acquisition of knowledge is premised on methods that are reductionist, independently verifiable and objective in their scope (Basso 1996, 23). According to *Indigenous Peoples and the Collaborative Stewardship of Nature,* it is not only the methods for acquiring knowledge that distinguish Indigenous and Western scientific systems, but the use value as well. Referring to Indigenous systems,

> knowledge that allows for an action in situations of incomplete understanding is typically judged to be more valuable than knowledge rigorously proven to be true, as is knowledge that takes into account complex real-world contexts as compared to that which, rigorously though artificially combines a few abstract variables (Ross et al. 2011, 49).

Where Western scientific systems rely on a law of averages when confronted with discrepancies in phenomenal occurrences, Indigenous intellectual systems value abstractions for the capability they have to inform (Pierotti 2011, 8). In his assessment of Indigenous metaphysical frameworks, Vine Deloria Jr. (2001(describes this method of observation as "suspended judgment." Participants do not concern themselves with the need to generate definitive conclusions, which are accessible at a moments notice, but rather process these experiences in order to relate them to ecological patterns occurring over an extended period of time (6). Indigenous knowledge is thus particularly concerned with the context in which it is accessed and disseminated. The immersion of an observer into a given region provides for an experiential understanding of how interacting ecologies generate a mode of interdependency, in which a shifting behavioral dynamic in one species will result in fluctuations throughout the entire chain. Ross et al. (2011) concur that such an interpretation of interdependent ecologies is not limited to Indigenous knowledge systems. The distinction, however, is notable on the part of the observer or knowledge holder. Within Western scientific systems, the preoccupation with causation often manifests into fields of study where the practitioner's investment of resources is defined by a highly specialized set of expertise. The translation of monitored phenomena, therefore, is often coded within terminology that is esoteric (37). Practitioners within Indigenous knowledge systems, contend the authors, are not immune from rigorous training that prepares them for the intricacies of the information they will be exposed to. What is required of them, however, is the ability to interpret experiences and

convey them in such a manner that knowledge will be relevant and accessible to community members involved in a variety of professions and lifeways (37).

The value placed on experiential learning in Indigenous knowledge systems is what qualifies it as a dynamic order capable of contributing to the anti-colonial and anti-oppressive struggles of Indigenous peoples. At the centre of what provides Indigenous knowledge with its authority is its adherence to the oral tradition. Through this medium, the transmission of knowledge by a holder, its resonance amongst a listener, following evaluation and its reapplication, is a continuous cycle that reiterates the primacy of intergenerational mentorship to the strengthening of Indigenous communities from within (Simpson 2009, 147). Imbued in oral presentation, whether in the form of description or story, are ethical premises/insights interpreted by the listener as having potential relevance for informing conduct according to his/her current circumstances (Pierotti 2011, 11). This may include, but is not limited to, politico-legal arrangements informing self-identification, social networks, conditions of ecologies, and related economic opportunities.

The emphasis placed on an exposure to orality in experiential learning also applies to what Simpson describes as "on site educational adjustment" for researchers working alongside Indigenous peoples. Simpson warns that even "participatory" research methodologies may inadvertently contribute to intellectual imperialism. The tendency to conduct research labeled as postcolonial dismisses the reality that an inherent power dynamic is always at play between the researcher and those who participate. Linda Tuhiwai Smith elaborates, "Researchers are in receipt of privileged information. They may interpret it within an overt theoretical framework, but also in terms of a covert ideological framework" (Smith 1999, 176). Both the theoretical and ideological spaces remain grounded in ethical protocols commonly derived from academic disciplines in which the researchers are accredited. When these protocols, despite their merit, are followed to the exclusion of community expectations or culturally relevant protocols for accessing knowledge, the researcher implies that his/her formal training is most appropriately qualified to determine the course of procedures (Simpson 2009, 142). "On site educational adjustment," therefore, demands of the researcher to acknowledge that s/he is in a position of being without the appropriate knowledge of community-based protocols. In turn, the expectation is placed on this individual to approach knowledge holders as experts and participate as a listener/learner. Simpson reasons that the restructuring of such roles advances "Indigenist theory" within academia and "promotes a fluid, dynamic and *Indigenous* understandings of Indigenous knowledge rather than a rigid, 'fundamentalist' approach to tradition" (145).

The value that knowledge is perceived as having and who or what institution retains the power to make such a determination is a question that requires an analysis of how dominant power dynamics result from the institutionalization of specific ideological frameworks. Place-based knowledge, or traditional ecological knowledge, is commonly dismissed as its methods and use values are deemed irreconcilable with the principles and protocols that govern the operational mandates of institutions such as the courts or the state-administered education system. Ironically, initiatives designed to address inequity are often hindered from providing a constructive space where marginalized peoples have the authority to affect policy outcome. At play within bureaucratic organizations is an ingrained perception of who can be designated as an "expert" and thus what arguments are considered valid for dissemination. The initial forums on Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) and Indigenous Knowledge in the late 1980s, notes Thomas Greaves, were an example of this. He states that, "Although some of the members of indigenous groups were present and active … it was safe to conclude that IPR was mainly an interest of non-indigenous people — academics, employees in various agencies, human rights and biodiversity activists…" (Greaves 1996, 27). Assessing the inclusiveness of such forums depends not only on the actors involved, but the itinerary listing how topics are to be discussed. Greaves alludes to international conferences or symposia where government and non-government organizations convene to discuss working papers or conventions. The outcome, whether considered in terms of the development of intellectual domains or the published products, heavily mirrored the formalized language and ideological training of participants, rather than the social realities of discrimination and dislocation within marginalized communities. This discrepancy is reiterated by Sharon Venne in her analysis of the International Labour Organization's "Partial Revision of the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention," 1957 (No. 107). Check this (not in references?) One of the primary dilemmas was that the two subsequent review processes severely limited Indigenous participation, as called for by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Peoples (Venne 1998, 89; 1990). Instead, upon the daily conclusion of negotiations, only brief presentation periods were allotted to a small contingent of Indigenous representatives of pre-selected, non-governmental organizations (Berman, *ILO Revisions,* supra note 10 at 51–52, cited in Venne, 89). The exclusion of Indigenous peoples (and their affiliated NGOs) effectively pronounced that their politico-legal status remained relegated to "objects" under the overarching authority of international law principles, rather than "subjects" possessing inherent rights to self-determination.

It is crucial to analyze how the norms of relationality embedded within the Eurocentric ideology guiding dominant legal principles contribute to the suppression of Indigenous peoples' self-determination, in which place-based knowledge is vested within their respective constitutions. As a legal construct, a declaration of sovereignty stipulates the absolute and uncontestable jurisdiction of a political entity (state or Crown) within a specified set of geo-political boundaries. The key element embodied in this term is the right to exercise dominion (or ownership) over other entities, rather than integrate personalized forms of power in conjunction with one another (Alfred 2005, 45). In her discussion of the relational principles informing Siiksikaawa (Blackfoot) governance, Kiera Ladner describes the Niitsitapi as, "part of, not separate from, the larger territorial community consisting of all living beings, including those who comprise the land itself" (Ladner 2003, 134). Despite an obvious divergence between the two theories, both are derivatives of an intellectual faculty common to all human societies. Vine Deloria (2001) refers to this as the act of metaphysical interpretation, or that through which a collective draws upon relevant values in order to conceptualize itself as a participant within the larger cosmos (2).

The corpus of International Law, therefore, is in no way immune from the ideological doctrines and subsequent institutionalized procedural ethics given legitimacy by the societies in which it was developed. The term itself is somewhat of a misnomer, as the jurisprudential context of inquiry and reference originated within colonial European nation-states. J.M. Blaut (1993) refers to the exportation of this system of legal postulations unto non-European nations and territories (and in turn their peoples) as occurring in tandem with the theory of diffusionism (19). The rapid metamorphosis of feudal propriety and servitude into a burgeoning economic system of capital accumulation ultimately posed an ideological challenge as well as a geographical one for European power brokers. Blaut comments that, "Medieval folk tended rather to see their society as being in a relative state of equilibrium; their religion spoke of the Fall, and of the need to accept existing conditions (and rules), while the reality of medieval life … was not one of perceptible forward progress for the mass of people" (18). Diffusion, therefore, was predicated upon a dogmatic interpretation of rationality as an inherent and exclusively Christian virtue. It was this key premise, supported by arguments of ingenuity and morality, upon which the supposed superiority of European civilization and progress was propagated. Intrinsic to Eurocentric ideological constructs and accompanying systems of thought dealing with relationality is a spatial character ultimately based on separation (as indicated by Alfred above). This fallacious ethnocentric construct is summarized by

Blaut as the world having, "a permanent geographical centre and permanent periphery: an Inside and Outside. Inside leads, Outside lags. Inside innovates, Outside imitates" (Blaut 1993, 1).

Within international law, the general political backlash on behalf of member states in the United Nations forum towards the legal recognition of Indigenous peoples' inherent right to self-determination is a matter implicitly and/or explicitly expressed in geo-spatial terms. Specifically, Principle IV of the UN General Assembly's Resolution 1541 (1960) indicates that self-determination is relevant in the case, "*of a territory which is geographically separate* and is distinct ethnically and/or culturally from the country administering it" [emphasis added] (29). The definition of "geographically separate," states Russel Lawrence Barsh, is loosely interpreted to mean a territory beyond a colonial sovereign's own homeland borders (Barsh 2004, 16–17). A careful reading of how this conceptual wording applies to colonial-settler states, founded on the occupation of Indigenous national territories, reveals that viability of a legal application of the right to self-determination privileges the former entity while dismissing current circumstances of the latter. Further, taking advantage of the resulting two-tier criteria of eligibility serves as a strategic method for states to safeguard the claim that Indigenous territories (and their inhabitants) were legally annexed under sovereign dominion through measures such as treaty.

Perhaps, then, approaching the discourse on self-determination exclusively through the corpus of international law limits a critical analysis of the role that legal plurality has, and continues to play, in the court decisions of individual states. The alternative notion of self-determination cited by Barsh transitions away from the inimical end goal of succession and is in favour of the potential for working towards "a constitutional restructuring of existing states" (17). Within the geo-political context of Canada, there is argument that viability of a "treaty federal" order between the Canadian state and Aboriginal nations (conducted on a nation-to-nation basis) is implicitly recognized in s.35(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. At the least, the space to negotiate the possibility of such an arrangement is accommodated by the recognition of self-government as an Aboriginal right. Referencing the 1990 Supreme Court of Canada decision in *R. v. Sparrow,* Kent McNeil draws attention to the first of two supporting premises. He indicates that without legislation seeking to specifically extinguish the Aboriginal right to self-government prior to 1982, such a right would become entrenched on a constitutional basis thereafter (McNeil 1996, 65). Considering how self-government is articulated as a developing relationship between Aboriginal people, place, and practice, it is

worthwhile to note the scholarly examination underpinning the Supreme Court's conceptual definition of "existing" rights within *R. v. Sparrow*. Recognizing that a convergence of internal/external influences necessitate a continuous assessment of and renewal of partnership conditions in any relationship, Chief Justice Brian Dickson and Justice Gérard La Forest comment that, "Far from being defined according to the regulatory scheme in place in 1982, the phrase 'existing aboriginal rights' must be interpreted flexibly so as to permit their evolution over time" (*R. v. Sparrow* 1990). The second premise referred to by McNeil concerns the power dynamics of the federal government in relation to its legal jurisdiction to regulate Aboriginal rights. Here, McNeil invokes the test presented in *R. v. Sparrow*, which sets out to determine whether the degree of impact emanating from federal legislation or regulatory policy is justifiable in the face of the government's fiduciary responsibility to Aboriginal peoples. Commenting on the first principle of the test, Chief Justice Dickson and Justice La Forest remark that "a legislative objective must be attained in such a way as to uphold the honour of the Crown and be in keeping with the unique contemporary relationship, grounded in history and policy, between the Crown and Canada's Aboriginal peoples" (*R. v. Sparrow* 1990). Corresponding to the recognition of a possible *prima facie* infringement, the test then seeks to evaluate whether there exists enough merit for the infringement to be deemed acceptable. By indicating that possible conflict may ensue as a result of respective Aboriginal rights being recognized and affirmed, both justices reiterate that the duty to consult arises from the *sui generis* nature of Aboriginal rights. Such an admission, while not providing universal legal precedent guiding future decisions on such matters, does propel the issue into an analytical arena of law in which the basis of Aboriginal rights does not exist in a frozen context.

While the language of *R. v. Sparrow* facilitates an interpretation of s.35(1) in which a concurrent constitutional order is not nullified, what remains unresolved is the pressing and often contentious matter of how knowing informs rights. Discrepancies between oral/performance testimony and the attempt of the judiciary to situate these expressions within English common law principles is of a far greater complexity than pure semantics. As *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* illustrates, the principles governing Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en practices of "ownership" were not synonymous with the rigid indicators of prescription and fee simple title ownership fundamental to English property law. Through a comparative legal analysis, Brian Slattery muses on the court's conceptual limitations of the word "ownership," as for Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en peoples, "it may have been thought that the land is far greater

than the people who inhabit it, so that it would be truer to say that the people belong to the land than the land to them" (Slattery 1992, 116). Slattery, however, expresses that a dualistic approach between the customary or inherent legal systems of Indigenous nations and common law structures of European settlers denies the historical presence of legal pluralism. In theory, it is in this third realm that Aboriginal title is active, so as to confirm the long-standing occupation of a territory by a respective Indigenous nation.

Possession by use, a concept identifiable in English common law, is enshrined through the presence of Aboriginal rights, which are exercised in the context of their specific relationship to interests vested in the Crown. Slattery notes that an Aboriginal right derived from a convergence of two separate legal systems operating where overlapping claims exist does not supplant the inherent, customary rights of Indigenous peoples (Slattery 1992, 119). Further, the political, personal, and economic relationships that formed, "and the basic values and principles implicit in them, were influenced by *both* Aboriginal and British conceptions" [emphasis added] (Slattery 117; Harris 2005, 5). Yet, in Chief Justice McEachern's ruling in *Delgamuukw*, Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en oral/performance testimony did not constitute a recognized legal code on par with that of English property rights.[1] Following Slattery's thesis, the court's suppression of Indigenous knowledge, therefore, ultimately skewed the nature of an Aboriginal right. So long as Indigenous people did not willingly relinquish their Aboriginal title, Aboriginal rights would continue to evolve on the basis of the adaptation of established practices or the pursuit of new avenues (Slattery1992, 119). What the court's ruling failed to understand in this regard is that the incorporation of new practices, such as commercial fishing to meet economic circumstances, for example, would not contradict the esteemed values or culturally relevant social dynamics linking Indigenous societies to a larger network of non-human ecologies since time immemorial. It is this overarching ethnocentric approach to privileging a universalized, objective standard of relationality as well as epistemology that distinguishes the theoretical practice of deciphering *the law* from decision making in which personal bias is interwoven.

In order for courts to deliver a ruling on a matter as complex as the realm of Aboriginal rights, a cross-section of civil society and academic disciplines will inevitably be required to submit testimony and expertise. In this regard, *Delgamuukw* proved to be no exception. Due

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1 For a further analysis of the quantitative measurement scheme responsible for defining the parameters of land title (and commoditization) within English property law, see Douglas C. Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

to what is at stake regarding a possible redistribution of governance authority within a multi-constitutional order, "extensive anthropological, historical, linguistic, and genealogical evidence will be relied upon … to establish that the claimants [respective Indigenous nation] have been an organized society for centuries" (Storrow and Bryant 1992, 183). What is unique to this process of sifting through historical records, from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives, is the array of methodologies responsible for accessing such knowledge, the ethics guiding the conduct of the researchers, and the intellectual mandates of the disciplines within which they work. Combined, all of these factors often contribute to a historical discourse that judges perceive as disjointed, subjective, and, therefore, complicated to evaluate in an objective sense (Storrow and Bryant, 183). As has been discussed in the aforementioned consideration of *Delgamuukw*, objectivism is often heralded as a type of procedural ethic that supports decision making, which at its core, is intended to minimize ethnocentric representations capable of denigrating people, communities, or organizations of differing beliefs.

In speaking of, and about, objectivity in a prudent manner, one cannot disassociate the very concept from its past and continuing application within dominant ideological systems. An ideology is described by John Plamenatz as "a set of closely related beliefs, or ideas, or even attitudes, characteristic of a group or community" (cited in Macridis 1992, 2). The concept of objectivity can thus be understood to be shaped in conjunction with the development of a respective society's cultural and institutional orders. Through a structural Marxist lens, Louis Althusser (1971) contends that an inextricable feature congruent with any ideology is the act of repetition. Practices that reaffirm the "imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (162) are so pervasive that he employs the term "material" to represent a temporal notion of something that is always in existence. Roy Macridi (1992), while acknowledging that ideology is always present, draws attention to the conflict between ideological conservation and formation. Despite collective identifiers, such as a nationality or ethnicity, people situated under such umbrella labels possess varying attitudes towards the political, social, religious, and economic arrangements entrenched as the status-quo (2-3). The impetus behind such advocacy for restructuring of the political system is inequitable representation or marginalization of communities based on lines of gender, race constructs, class, bodily accessibility, personal interest, or religious orientation. Mobilization of such minority groups along political lines, however, does not necessarily translate into the deconstruction of dominant power dynamics. In such a scenario, the individual actors have

been replaced, yet the prejudices, elitism, and hierarchy entrenched through dominant ideology remain relatively unchanged. The outcome is that communities dealing with a history of abuses may, in fact, reproduce and perpetuate them amongst their own members as well as redirect them outwards to their previous identifiable oppressors. According to Macridis, evaluating the degree to which a regime change effectively takes place depends on the following two factors: 1) if the ruling ideology has been identified as the source of oppressive behaviour, and 2) what mechanisms are put into place to guide a collective re-envisioning of personal agency and responsibility between one another (Macridis 1992, 3).

Althusser is not so concerned with deciphering the conditions upon which a subordinate ideology transforms into a dominant ideology and vice versa. Instead, he invests his energy into an uncompromising explanation of the fundamental nature of the bond between ideological systems and human beings. Regardless of the community, dependence always exists between an individual (referred to as an "s" subject) and a symbolic entity, serving as a visual representation of a specific ideological framework or set of codes outlining behaviour that is to be adhered to (referred to as an "S" subject) (Althusser 1971, 170). Inherent in this relationship is the act of interpellation, or the process through which a person ("s" subject) recognizes him/herself in the commands or symbols characteristic of what the ideology intends to convey and how it intends to do so. Althusser observes that through this instantaneous recognition, the "s" subject freely reaffirms his/her subjection to the ideological construct, thus reiterating that all people, despite their zealousness or dismissal of an ideology, are in fact predetermined ideological subjects. This position ultimately challenges the basic principles of humanism, as individual subjectivity is instead equated with the act of being subjugated, dominated, or possessed. Further, interpellation has a dualistic nature, in that the credence of the ideological framework is not inherent or objective to all beings, but achieved only once the "s" subject has become aware of it (Althusser 1971, 182). Upon recognizing and responding within the symbols of the ideology, the person referred to by Althusser as a concrete individual is attributed with the designation of a lower-case "s" to indicate s/he is a category or possession of the ideology. Alex Callinicos remarks of this relationship,

> the category of the subject can fulfill the function of ideology, of adapting individuals to the demands society makes on them, because it presupposes the notion of an underlying and predetermined complicity between subject and object (Callinicos 1976, 65).

As is the case with drawing upon any theory concerning how people identify themselves in regard to social arrangements and the ethnopolitical contexts in which they develop (also described by Deloria and Ladner in regard to Indigenous metaphysics), caution is due when incorporating a structural Marxist perspective into a discourse of Indigenous knowledge. Althusser's thesis is grounded not only within a Western-European ideological framework, but is also situated within a critique of other dominant philosophical phenomena (capitalism or humanism, for example) operating within the same hemisphere. Keeping this in mind, however, Marxist critical theory can still *contribute* as a lens through which to broadly interpret the intrinsic role of essentialist ideologies in replicating existing conditions of reproduction. The value of Althusser's analysis, in particular, is that it extends beyond "the scope of an economically reductionist analysis into hithero unreachable areas of social life" (Barrett 1993, 181). Yet the capability to interpret the trickle-down effect of essentialist ideology does not give structural Marxism the overarching authority to represent the diverse experiences of Indigenous peoples, nor with insight into how knowledge is formed in respect to their ontological systems in the face of colonialism/imperialism. Such a limitation coincides with the primary thesis of this literature review, i.e., that the ongoing struggle to deconstruct essentialist ideologies is in fact a process of denouement, or unravelling, of the objective standards imposed upon how human beings are to collectively know in a similar fashion. Once this artificial façade is stripped away, what is revealed is a multi-dimensional discourse of experiences, identification, and expression of agency.

The fracturing of a "unified" whitestream feminist discourse further demonstrates that the struggle against hierarchal structures of privilege and a suppression of voice and personal agency are not limited to essentialist binaries such as man-woman, Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Expounding on the term "whitestream," Sandy Grande remarks that the first- and second-wave models of feminist activism most recognizable within the consciousness of the dominant society were directed and defined predominantly by white women. At the outset, feminists identified patriarchy as a primary barrier to gender equity. Against this meta-narrative, European and Euro-American women ascribed themselves with the authority to project their goals of emancipation upon Indigenous women as well (Grande 2004, 128). The initial problem is that this attitude of benevolence carries with it an implicit assumption that the persons shaping the dominant feminist movement could also speak for the experiences of Indigenous women. This unilaterally determined act of coalescence failed to recognize that individual self-identification consists of a simultaneous overlap and divergence of multiple

voices from which a single person speaks. Devon Abbott Mihesuah refers to each of these voices as worlds through which an experience will both resonate and be responded to (Mihesuah 2003, 162). Depending on the individual, this may include a variety of scenarios consisting of self, family, community, clan, personal belief values (religious affiliation or spiritual way), and nationhood. In response to the appropriation of Indigenous women's voices by first and second-wave feminist movements, Seneca woman and activist Laura Waterman Wittstock has been outspoken:

> No group can impart power over another group. Setting women aside as a group of under-privileged human beings and then trying to figure out ways to impart power to them ignores custom, culture, and in the instance of American Indians, national sovereignty (Laura Waterman Wittstock, cited in Mihesuah, 163).

In tracing the contradictory outcomes of whitestream feminism, such as the imposition of additional stratums of authority/subordination into the lives of women of colour, the pertinent question asks, what sources of (mis)information were consulted for an explanation of the power dynamics between women and men in Indigenous nations? Mihesuah (2003) contends that the majority of ethnographic literature detailing the social order of "traditional" societies was written by European or Euro-American men (45). Where women were written *about*, the presence of individuality and diversity was effectively ignored. Rather, ethnographers developed a singular image of the collective gender experience of women that would not only be applied universally, but would also evoke particular experiences of, sentiments towards, and prescribed ways of relating to. Alfred Memmi (1967) notes that the colonizer's insidious reiteration of such impersonal identity constructs intended to exemplify the purported gulfs between the cultures of the colonizer and the colonized (71). Every single word/description about, or a (re)action and response to, the colonized must buttress the ideological assertions regarding irreconcilability of differences. What occurs by design is a cycle of vehement denigration through which the colonizer continues to rationalize how s/he can justify the behaviours contributing to highly inequitable power dynamics (LaRocque 2010, 37). Exhaustive criticism also operates as a mechanism of defence that masks any point of agreement that might possibly lead to co-operative endeavours and a balancing of authority (Memmi 71). How the colonizer comes to know, and relates to, the cultures of the colonized is ultimately dependent on a precarious ideological foundation relying on uniformity and hyperbole. Thus, the complexity of the personal realm of the colonized, and by extension

the relationships that s/he is engaged in, is made invisible. Instead s/he is depicted an un-knowable and objectifiable entity, caricatured by wanton desire, lack of foresight, as well as devoid of rational ways of deciphering his/her experiences in a larger social order (Memmi 84). Consistent with the dualistic nature of ethnocentric ideology, this entity exists beyond the reasonable comprehension of the "civilized" European mind and all its faculties, yet is easily identifiable by a generalized set of traits replicable across lines of gender, ethnicity, age etc. The colonized wo/man, therefore, is a political being, but one whose terms of participation within a colonial regime are defined by his/her oppressor. With specific reference to the bondage of Indigenous peoples, Emma LaRocque (2010) explains that the civilization/savagery dichotomy "is really an ideological container for the systematic construction of self-confirming 'evidence' that Natives were savages who 'inevitably' had to yield to the superior powers of civilization as carried forward by Euro-Canadians" (38).

The (mis)representations of the agency and authority possessed by Indigenous women, or an application of sweeping value judgments based on how gender roles were conceived of in European societies, was a means of concealing discrepancies that were fundamentally damaging to the ideological construct of the savage. As women in "civilized" European and Euro-American societies were relegated by the dominant ideological apparatuses as being subservient to men, the ethnographic accounts of Indigenous women needed to, at the very minimum, mirror this reality or describe one in which Indigenous women were constantly exposed to the threat of gratuitous violence (Mihesuah 2003, 45). At stake was a fracturing of dominant Eurocentric beliefs that were commonly held to be true.

Within Judeo-Christian spheres of influence, it was men who unequivocally controlled the institutional structures responsible for delegating norms concerning gender interaction. Matrilineal societies presented a liability to such entrenched patriarchy, as they were exam-ples of social organizations in which women held property, determined intergenerational identity inheritance, and were esteemed as decision makers. In debunking Eurocentric con-ceptions of the rigid correlation between gender, division of labour, and according power, Olive P. Dickason (1984) comments that early European colonizers were unaware that Indigenous women were accorded significant respect for the duties they fulfilled, and that these tasks were associated as belonging to those in a position of relative power (14). For col-onizers to exact an agenda of territorial occupation and likewise instill a program of obedi-ence towards hierarchy amongst occupied populations, it became imperative to subjugate Indigenous women. This was, and is, achieved, says Andrea Smith, through a process of vic-

arious domination (Smith 2005, 22). As the oppression of Indigenous peoples is justified by what LaRocque has described as the mantra of the inevitable civilizing of the savage, the male colonizer is symbolically exerting his unrestrained power over the European or Euro-American women. In other words, the act of forcing Indigenous peoples into a position of subservience reiterates the patriarchal hierarchy governing the relationships between European or Euro-American men and women (Smith 2005, 22). Two outcomes are identified by Smith: 1) throughout the unrelenting assaults upon Indigenous peoples, their cultures, and metaphysical frameworks, sexual violence perpetrated by the colonizer against Indigenous women is omitted from the colonial narrative, and 2) the oppression that is documented against women usually vilifies the Indigenous man as inherently violent due to his irrational and lustful nature (22–23). It is clear that Indigenous women's experiences and voices are written entirely out of dominant European or Euro-American historical and ethnographical sources. Adhering to uncritical, cross-cultural value judgements, however, is not an oversight limited to European and Euro-American men. Whitestream feminist movements have continually made assumptions regarding the subordination of Indigenous women by the patriarchal behaviour of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men. In response, two critical observations are due. The first is that whitestream feminism (especially in its initial two waves) can be described as an *ahistorical* discourse. Consequently, it has, through practice, reproduced certain conditions of colonial ideological doctrine by giving primacy to Eurocentric knowledge while first appropriating and then assimilating Indigenous voices when it has been advantageous to do so.

The emergence of a dominant third-wave feminist discourse has sought to deconstruct the equal-rights position upon which the initial two efforts were developed. Sandy Grande (2004) states that the incorporation of "antifoundationalist movements (e.g., postmodernism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism)," has led to a merger whereby the theoretical feminist critique of the political self is applied to an analytical reading of dominant cultural symbols and devices (136). The focus within this discourse touches upon principles similar to Althusser's discussion of how the self can be located within and deciphered from both ritual acts of presentation and symbolism. The theoretical tenets of third-wave or "postfeminism" may appear to compliment this paper's thesis that experiences are interpreted and responded to on an individual level and occur in conjunction with a simultaneous presence of multiple voices or worlds. Nevertheless, Grande is quick to caution that the energy dedicated to opening up the subjective as a place of study has yet to materialize into a process of reclamation,

deconstruction, and redefinition of authority amongst women of colour (Grande 2004, 126). Andrea Smith emphasizes this point, offering a case study pertaining to the organizational agenda of the Fund for a Feminist Majority during the allied military invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Despite open condemnation by the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan against the actions of Western governments, the Fund for a Feminist Majority continued to deliver its edict that military intervention was the most appropriate method of liberating Afghani women from the oppressive rule of the Taliban. Smith delivers the sobering conclusion that "even within feminist circles, the colonial logic prevails that women of colour, Indigenous women, and women from Global South countries are only victims of oppressors rather than organizers in their own right" (Smith 2005, 25). Therefore, it is not as symbolic as it is necessary for the current realities and concerns of women in their respective communities to frame the context in which these issues are discussed.

Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez (2010) observes that the severance of a critical feminist discourse from Indigenous decolonization strategies is often due to its conceptualization as a peripheral ideology, one that is not coherent with the struggle for recognition of collective rights (115). Further, it is commonly described in objective terms as having a divisive quality that interferes with the concentration of social capital and material resources crucial for decolonization strategies (Green 2007, 24). Gendered discourse is thus omitted in favour of more visibly coherent, or supposedly gender-unified articulations of nationhood and race. Altamirano-Jimenez disputes the constructive merits of a unified gender approach, opting instead to evaluate the political motive underpinning the dismissal of women's voices. She views this as a reoccurring manipulation "of who gets to tell stories about Indigeneity, what stories are remembered, in what forums they are told, and for what purposes — all of these abilities are linked to memory and power" (114). Examined from this perspective, the grounds upon which certain Indigenous organizations or people reject an inclusion of feminist discourse does not necessarily stem from a perceived threat that gendered analyses are utterly incompatible with aims for Indigenous emancipation. Instead, such divisive identity politics is a response to the pressures that states place on Indigenous nations to conform to prescribed legal parameters of identity. Within a Canadian context, Cheryl Suzack (2010) asserts that a constant tension exists between Aboriginal women, who rely on Aboriginal rights to secure their inheritance, and the courts, whose discretion on the matter rests largely on prescribed dominant legal norms rather than Aboriginal kinship systems (130). The locus, therefore, of the conflict between an Indigenous feminist critique of discrimination as having "gender-specific forms of injury" and the courts hegemonic power to determine the legiti-

macy of a woman's Aboriginal identity is at the intersection of subjective experience and objective interpretation. Said alternatively, the domination of a woman's body through a legal determination of the category of her status coincides with the personal act of her self-identification. It is in this latter space that the agency to articulate knowledge through story is an inherent feature, one developed through interpretation of personal experience.

Using the figure of the "Aboriginal-woman-as-feeling-subject," Suzack argues that critical Indigenous feminism has the potential to align Aboriginal women in their resistance to the discriminatory application of the universality of the law without imposing upon each of them a heterogeneous set of experiences. A second feature is that politico-legal discrimination concerning status and inheritance (legal categories 6.1 & 6.2) and socio-economic marginalization (manifested in poverty and violence) are presented as forces of pervasive oppression that intersect the private lives of both genders (Altamirano-Jimenez 2010, 120). Borrowing from Marion Isis Young's concept of "Gender as Seriality," Suzack indicates that "in being brought together by a material object or goal, women have no essential characteristics or affinities that define them." Further, "their membership in the collective is also contingent, historically variable, and context specific (Suzack 2010, 134). What distinguishes this approach is that the courts are confronted with personal narrative rather than an impersonalized claim. The former elicits a multiplicity of raw dialogues in which the circumstances of social marginalization and relational dynamics impacting the claimant's lives can be traced through their individual stories. Incorporating an emotive element also places a burden upon the courts to scrutinize how legislation that was once intended to disenfranchise Aboriginal women on the basis of their gender may provoke the felt effects or anxiety responsible for bringing the challenge forward in the first place (Suzack 2010, 142). This is particularly relevant with regard to the 1985 Indian Act amendment, as reinstatement neither erases personal trauma resulting from past status exclusion nor guarantees status for the children of Aboriginal women classified as 6(2). While such dialogue does not merit the grounds upon which to deliver a ruling, it does provide for a space in which to articulate the intricacies of factors such as family history, connection to place, access to knowledge, and shifting social dynamics, all of which combine to influence how Aboriginal women may choose to self-identify. Joyce Green reminds us that "many of us have multiple cultural heritages and historical experiences, and so there can never be a single cultural version of tradition" (Green 2004, 26).

The original structure of this literature review was intended to consider the following three questions:

1) the dominant politico-legal atmosphere in which the concept of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is invoked

2) whether, due to its decontextualization within academic discourse and/or bureaucratic forums, TEK could still be considered an Indigenous concept

3) how Indigenous conceptualizations of what constitutes "traditional" differs from the interpretations of European and Euro-American ideologies

As the research progressed, however, it became clear that the latter two portions of the original outline had to be omitted in favour of a closer analytical critique of the complexities affiliated with agency of voice.

A further reading of literary sources reveals that anti-oppressive and anti-colonial struggles pertaining to Indigenous peoples cannot be encapsulated within a unified paradigm of resistance. The effects of gendered discrimination, for example, require a separate analysis to properly interpret the diversity of voices from which Indigenous women speak. While there is a debate as to the value of Indigenous feminist theory for grassroots initiatives centred around self-determination (often phrased in terms of relationship to territory), such a critique exposes how Aboriginal women are making use of the courts to create a dialogue concerning rights and self-identification.

A similar effort on behalf of Aboriginal peoples to argue that s.35(1) provides the possibility for a concurrent constitutional order is also forcing the courts to re-examine the origin and dynamic nature of Aboriginal rights. Where an Indigenous feminist critique values the subjective character of women's experiences, cases such as *R. v. Sparrow* or *Delgamuukw* are argued along lines of nationhood and collectivity. Both of these approaches reflect how Indigenous peoples have, and continue to respond to, their changing socio-political circumstances. The inadequacy of the dominant legal discourse, therefore, is that the adaptive quality of Aboriginal rights, as a framework integrating two active legal systems, has not coincided with spectrum-of-identity politics resulting from colonialism. Likewise, Indigenous knowledge systems continue to evolve and adapt in relation to shifting ecological phenomena. The incorporation of new technological devices, for example, does not pose a contradiction, as the protocols and principles for accessing knowledge, such as experiential learning, remain an integral component informing the praxis.

Conflict originates in the inability of dominant institutions to reconcile the fact that Indigenous peoples, their respective knowledge systems, and the social arrangements they comprise do not reflect the static ideological constructs against which they are qualified.

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Part Two

The Cookbook Case Study

Introduction

As described in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP), children/youth play a critical role in the fostering of social cohesion within Aboriginal families. This is due in part to a re-occurring theme, which appears throughout the teachings of Aboriginal cultures, namely that each child/youth possesses an inherent gift or quality that is to be nurtured in order for his/her unique potential to be fully recognized. In his testimony to the RCAP commissioners, Grand Chief Joe Miskokomon explained that "our children are our future, the leadership of tomorrow. If you believe in that, then you have to believe also that you must equip your future with the best possible tools to lead your community and lead your nation into the twenty-first century" (RCAP 1996).

Entrusted with the responsibilities of providing guidance and experiential learning environments to younger generations are extended family, and particularly Elders. The resulting mentorship processes are, however, not simply one-dimensional. Instead, a mutual benefit occurs as Elders are continuously exposed to the various social and technological influences facing youth, including their perspectives on, or responses to, such matters. With this additional frame of reference, Elders are able to further determine how culturally specific values and their amassed knowledge is able to contribute to informed decision-making on a community governance level. A key aspect of such an intergenerational partnership is the medium or model through which both youth and Elders are able to share their insights and offer their respective skills.

Collecting recipes of food with cultural significance to Aboriginal people and compiling them into a cookbook was originally proposed by Elders in Skownan Anishinaabek First

Nation to their partners in educational development at Career Trek Incorporated. Envisioned by both parties as a teaching tool, the cookbook intends to do more than simply celebrate the diversity of foods that are prepared as a result of hunting, trapping, fishing, harvesting or growing. Rather, it provides an alternative way for Elders to share ways that preparation processes involved are a symbol of their family and/or cultural identity.

Development of the cookbook will include participation of youth. While the stories or teachings that accompany each recipe will appear in printed form, it is youth who will be encouraged to bring the initial idea forward to their Elders. Asking for a recipe and describing the basic idea of the cookbook begins a discussion between generations. By including youth as active partners in this way, the development of the cookbook will honour how the oral tradition amongst Aboriginal peoples continues to be a highly effective and inclusive method of education. While Elders are recognized as the knowledge holders in their respective communities, as well as in this project, it is important that the contemporary technological skills that youth have developed (such as social media) are not only recognized but also utilized. Combining their roles as both listeners and as networking partners, the cookbook is structured around the principle that, "formal education and practical experience is the best blend, each element contributing to a young person's future success" (Wuttunee 2004, 78).

The following case study will be divided into four sections. This is done to map the chronological order of events that will lead to a successful final product. In the first section, the issue of possible funding is addressed. As the cookbook is in its preliminary stages, there are many unknown details about sponsorship. Once a summary of a few possible sources has been discussed, the focus will shift from the necessary financial support to the core of what this project is about, community involvement. In this second section, the principles of mutual co-operation, reciprocity and respect will be examined for they guide the relationships between Career Trek Inc. and its First Nations' partners. As well, a brief description of the concept of social capital will be included. This concept will then be applied in an analysis of how knowledge transfer between generations supports stronger community networks from within. The third section will address some of the initial ideas about cookbook sections. Having already noted that the finished product intends to pair each recipe with a story or teaching, the layout of the cookbook, rationale and potential audience will be examined. In closing, the final section examines means of publication, distribution options and proceeds investment.

Financial Considerations and Potential Sponsorship

One of the responsibilities taken on by the author of this paper has been to work alongside the executive director of Career Trek, Inc., Darrell Cole, to brainstorm about possible sources of funding. The initial strategy focused upon was to take the concept of a cookbook and divide it into easily recognizable categories. Each of these categories represented a theme that might fall under the general mandate of an organization or government department at either a provincial or federal level.

The first question posed was, who are the primary participants in the cookbook? Said alternatively, what segment of society has the greatest amount of resources (time, people, knowledge etc.) invested in this project? Being that the project revolves around foods that are also described as "traditional," "land based," or "country food," the focus is decidedly on Aboriginal peoples and their communities. The types of food that fall under the previously mentioned headings require particular skills which each generation of Aboriginal peoples has put into practice and adapted to suit changing seasonal climate conditions and/or the addition of developing technologies. Further, these skills are part of a system of education that relies upon experiential learning (doing through practice) and oral (spoken) instruction. Both of these features are especially unique to Aboriginal cultures, as each generation is able to demonstrate the values that guide how respectful relationships between human beings and the rest of Creation are to be maintained. The continuity of teachings by Elders to younger generations, and the link to heritage, was the first theme chosen to pursue for funding.

Heritage Grants Program
Through the provincial government of Manitoba, the Heritage Grants Program is offered to, "assist Manitobans in identifying, protecting and interpreting the Province's human and natural heritage" (Government of Manitoba). Grants are offered on a bi-annual basis with deadlines for the applications set on January 31 and June 1. The Heritage Grants Program is made available to any non-profit, incorporated community organization, municipal government, university or individual First Nation. As was discussed in numerous meetings between the author of this case study and Darrell Cole, an application for a potential grant would be submitted on behalf of Career Trek. This course of action was chosen as a result of deliberation about extending the scope of the cookbook project to include First Nations communities throughout Manitoba. While this decision creates numerous logistical uncertainties in the current planning stage, such as time frame, communication, confirmed participants, and

dedication of employee involvement (on behalf of Career Trek), it also allows for funds to be accessed and distributed by a centralized body. This is done in part so that the maximum amount of funds can be applied for.

The first determination made by the project selection committee for the Heritage Grants Program is whether a project has already secured financial support through any other provincial government source (Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Tourism 2011, 3). The total amount of funding provided by provincial government departments is not to exceed 50 percent of the costs that the project managers (in this case, Career Trek) are *eligible* in applying for. Reading through the restrictions on funding, therefore, it is clear that this particular grant is designed to support start up costs or one-time development rather than prolonged maintenance. Another factor that requires closer scrutiny is the process of fund distribution. Upon having the proposal accepted by the application commission committee, during which time it will be determined to what degree the budgeted costs will be supported, 50 percent of this final figure will be distributed. The remaining half of the funding will only be distributed once the project has been completed and a final evaluation report has been submitted to the Heritage Grants Program. Included in this document is a detailed breakdown of how funds have been spent. If the final cost to complete the project is lower than what was first projected in the budget, the latter 50 percent payment will be adjusted.

To figure out what costs may be covered (pending an acceptance of the application), the Heritage Grants Program has broken down project types into various categories. Each category is accompanied by its own unique set of restrictions on the maximum amount of funding that can be offered and for what it can be applied to. The first matter to be addressed with the cookbook is that it cannot be neatly defined according to the categories that are listed. Taking this scenario into consideration, the grant committee has established a "Special Initiatives" designation for projects where overlapping or unlisted factors exist. In order to figure out what restrictions apply, however, the project manager is required to assess each existing category individually for features that are relevant to the cookbook project. The two project categories from which criteria can be drawn are "Programs" and "Research."

Under the heading "Programs," the sub-category of "Interpretive Leaflets, Brochures or Posters" bears some resemblance to the cookbook as it deals with printed materials. What may void the cookbook from being recognized under this heading, however, is that "Interpretative Leaflets, Brochures or Posters" are intended as giveaways (Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Tourism 2011, 6). While a copy of final product will be given at no charge to

each sponsor and contributor whose recipe is included, the aim is to sell the cookbook and reinvest all proceeds into Career Trek's Children Rising program. The second subcategory, "Planning," lists numerous examples of what activities would be considered as eligible for funding. Most relevant to the cookbook is the development of a comprehensive list of resources that deal with heritage. The term resources is not described in any further detail, but it may be possible that knowledge or skills belonging to a person qualify. This is a question that has been noted in the draft application document and will be put forth to the administrative staff in the grants department of Culture, Heritage and Tourism.

The second heading, "Research," is divided into the sub-categories of "Historical Research" and "Oral History Projects." Both of these aspects are featured in the overall development of the cookbook, whether documented in the personal story or teaching that accompanies the recipe or the process of Elders speaking to youth. Yet, there are two sets of criteria, which apply to both project types. The first is that, where a publication is designed to generate a profit through sale, any costs for type setting, printing, publishing and binding will not be covered. The second requirement is that any proposal for a research project must include the following:

- a description of the research objectives, including subject and how findings will be distributed to the public
- the research methods guiding the project, as well as a list of all specific participants and their role in the research
- resumés of the researchers (if possible) as well as the project co-ordinator(s) (Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Tourism 2011, 7)

For "Historical Research" and "Oral History Projects," funding ranges from a minimum of $500 to a maximum of $5,000 per project. Further, and with specific reference to "Oral History Projects," grant proposals require that the following information is included: number of days spent developing a research plan; estimated duration of research/interviews; a list of the participants involved in interviews; a list of the interviewers; a sample questionnaire; and a description of the audio/visual devices that are going to be employed.

Northern Healthy Foods Initiative
While the pursuit of funding through the Heritage Grants Program is based on the reasoning that intergenerational knowledge transfer is a way of preserving heritage, a proposal is also being submitted to the Northern Healthy Foods Initiative (NHFI) on the basis that the

cookbook is an alternative medium through which community "asset mapping" occurs. This term is used to describe, "the process that matches local food system goals with local resources (people, places, and things)" (Manitoba Aboriginal and Northern Affairs 2011, 2). For Aboriginal communities and organizations invested in preventative programming targeting type 2 diabetes, for example, a critical link exists between the formative practices having shaped the relationship between Elders and place (during their youth), mentorship and contemporary patterns in youth health. In their report titled "The Epidemiology of Diabetes in the Manitoba-Registered First Nation Population," Chris Green celebrates the potential for "traditional" practices to positively influence early habits amongst youth with regards to healthy dietary choices (Green et al. 2003, 5). Nurturing intergenerational relationships, therefore, creates an educational environment that builds on the knowledge and human resources already located within a community.

"Asset mapping" is listed as one of the primary criteria for projects seeking funding under the heading "Local Community Food Security or Food Self-Sufficiency Community Planning Projects." Project proposals are accepted by the NHFI throughout the year, however, similar funding restrictions apply as with the Heritage Grants Program. In an effort to encourage applicants to seek sponsorship through various means, such as in-kind support from non-governmental sources (listed in the application as donations in the form of equipment, cash, materials, human resources, infrastructure etc.), the Province of Manitoba will provide only a maximum of 50 percent of the total estimated project cost. Alternative funding sources, and the amount contributed, must be clearly noted in the application form provided on the NHFI website. As part of the application, a brief description must be included of how each of the following criteria are to be met:

- how the cookbook is affiliated with the process of reaching and maintaining food security
- what roles or responsibilities youth take on
- what in-kind sponsorship has been secured
- who will conduct an evaluative report based on successes and lessons to improve on
- written support from acting partners
- measures implemented for cost-efficiency
- reasons necessitating financial sponsorship from the NHFI (Manitoba Aboriginal and Northern Affairs 2011, 3)

Prior to preparing an application for the cookbook project, Career Trek Inc. will need to

contact the administrative manager of the Northern Healthy Foods Initiative in order to clarify how proposal submissions are needed. As one of the project objectives is to implement it on a province wide basis, it will likely involve communities located in four separate jurisdictions, each corresponding with a representative regional partner. Acting as standing committees, they include the Bayline Regional Roundtable; Northern Association of Community Councils; Four Arrows Regional Health Authority; and Food Matters Manitoba.

Direct Selling

The ability of any non-profit organization to remain in operation and provide specific services to its target community is due in part to the annual funding that it receives. As demonstrated by the stipulation in both of the previous provincial government grants, that the maximum amount of funding per project will equal no more than 50 percent of certain costs, the non-profit sector is required to diversify its methods through which financial support is received. Darrell Cole (executive director of Career Trek) has stated that aside from the provincial government, the sources of monetary contributions dedicated to programming include foundations, donations (both private and corporate), awards and fundraising (Cole 2011). The advantage of fundraising is that the mandate of a non-profit, or the objective of a particular program, is given an exposure, which other methods may not provide. Fundraising also takes numerous forms, some of which directly involve the general public and provide volunteer or employment opportunities for participants. Despite these clear benefits, fundraising may prove to be a less reliable source of generating consistent financial targets year after year. Especially where a campaign is directed at the general public or private donations, this method is influenced by the prevailing economic conditions at any given point. According to a Statistics Canada report of nation-wide charitable donations in 2009, 5,616,340 registered individual tax filers gave a total of $7.75 billion (Statistics Canada 2010). This figure represents a 5.37 percent reduction of the $8.19 billion sum recorded from the previous year, 2008. Further, citing a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation article, the $8.19 billion represented a 5.3 percent decrease from total registered donations in 2007 (CBC 2009). A surface analysis of these statistics indicates that the most recent economic downturn, marked by the sub prime mortgage crisis, ongoing volatility of global markets, work force restructuring/unemployment and lack of expendable household savings etc., coincides with a steady lag in donations. Faced with uncertainty in terms of securing valuable donations, as

well as intense competition throughout the charitable organization sector, a non-profit's success in generating support for programming may not necessarily be measured entirely in the dollar amounts it receives directly from contributors. Instead, an alternative approach may benefit from the integration of individuals into the development of the project itself, by providing them with the responsibilities of advertising to potential contributors (networking), sales or distribution.

The concept of direct selling emphasizes that the most effective way to market, and by extension sell, a product is to utilize social networks within a community. Where community members are often familiar with one another due to shared interests/values, cultural ties, familial bonds, personal responsibilities or general proximity, a relative degree of reciprocity, trust and respect exists. Where direct selling differs from the standard forms of funding raising is in the context through which potential supporters are made aware of an idea or product. Rather than a third party phoning, going door to door or attempting to capture one's attention in a public place regarding donations, this method allows the seller to use his/her discretion about when and where to draw awareness to the product in question. For this reason, it can be considered an integrative approach more closely in tune with the unique social dynamics of any community (not necessarily defined in a spatial sense). The underlying principle of this method, therefore, is that if the seller believes in the capability of the product to positively influence the quality of people's lives in a community, than this attitude may be the catalyst for increased support or in the least, consideration thereof. In a social context where two or more people are familiar with one another and relatively comfortable in one another's company, the person proposing the value of the idea (the seller) may have an inherently greater power of persuasion with reference to his/her audience. For any non-profit organization concluding that there is merit to this argument, it is imperative that thorough scrutiny be applied to the potential that exists for inequitable power relations to negatively distort the relationship between the sellers and his/her audience. This would include the audience's perceived abuse of trust on the part of the seller for having an alternative motive for pursuing a working or personal relationship. Navigating through the ethical questions surrounding social networks, relationships and the advertising of an idea or product is a complex process. It is one that needs to be assessed based on the specific protocols for acceptable behavior on an individual community basis. One notable concern, however, is that by entering into a contractual agreement with the product supplier, the seller is subject to minimal oversight or regulation. It is expected that this individual always remains aware

of his/her community's best interest and acts accordingly. The issue of individual capital gain, in the form of commission, however, may result in tension that is then directed by community members towards the non-profit that either supplies the product or is the force behind pushing for exposure of an idea through community social networks. This may in turn also have a detrimental effect on the success of future partnership programming as trust and respect between the involved parties is perceived as being compromised.

There are undeniable concerns that need to be given priority when analyzing if direct selling is a viable option for fund raising. However, varying degrees of benefits do exist for all parties involved. In relation to the current economic climate, direct selling may appear enticing, as participants who take on the role of sellers receive a commission on each item sold. For the individual who chooses to enter into such a contractual agreement with the supplier of the product, being Career Trek in the example of the cookbook, this method is also advantageous for the reason of flexible working hours. Further, the seller does not need start up capital for office space or employees. Aside from engaging people within one's social network on a personal basis, the only devices that a seller would benefit from having access to are a telephone line and/or an Internet connection. A fundamental aspect that makes direct selling a relevant concept is the scope of contact which contemporary social media tools, such as email, Facebook, or Twitter provides. An official report released by the Direct Sellers Association of Canada registered the total of 2009 product sales at $1.23 billion (World Federation of Direct Selling Associations 2010). Much of this is due to immediacy with which marketing campaigns are able to reach diverse audiences. For the supplier of the product, relying on social media devices is also cost effective, as the financial resources spent on formal training of employees and their salaries is reduced to a sales commission. Yet, the crux upon which the success of any direct selling campaign rests, is the value that the product or idea is perceived as having to potential audiences.

Returning to the Communities Involved

Following the underlying philosophy of Career Trek's Children Rising (*Apinochek Pasaquok*) program, the cookbook project honours that educational partnerships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples can only succeed if *both* parties involved are willing to learn from one another and be exposed to unfamiliar environments where knowledge is gained. Expressed as having the ability to walk with one foot in the Aboriginal world

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and one foot in the Euro-Canadian world, this approach challenges a continuing legacy of ethnocentrism in Canada's educational institutions. In other words, the exposure of non-Aboriginal peoples to the connection between Aboriginal worldviews, cultural teachings and experiential learning methods is vital in demonstrating that both educational environments are distinct in their practice, but equal in their value to promote holistic personal development. Further, it is not enough for non-Aboriginal people to praise the importance of diversity within the fabric of Canadian society, while continuing to privilege European belief systems, historical portrayals or principles guiding governance and economic systems. Doing so ultimately allows hierarchal relationships that treat certain customs, ethnicities, religious/spiritual beliefs as more desirable and acceptable than others to be reproduced. Celebrating diversity, and building honest cross-cultural partnerships is, therefore, a process that does not have a set end goal to be reached. Instead, all parties involved must commit themselves to a continuous relationship guided by mutual co-operation (a balanced investment of energy), respect for one another's positions (requiring self-reflection on one's own opinions and how they may contribute to possible tension) and reciprocity (knowing that it is as important to give as it is to take). All three of these aspects describe how Career Trek's relationships with various First Nations communities throughout Manitoba were first cultivated (beginning with Skownan) and continue to be maintained, thus allowing for the cookbook project to materialize.

The Concept of "Social Capital" and Its Relevance to the Cookbook
The most effective way to describe what is meant by the concept of social capital is to explain it as a resource that can be accessed by people who are engaged in any form of relationship. Similar to financial or natural resources, social capital can be relied upon to improve or maintain the quality of peoples' daily lives. In situations where money is limited, for example, the knowledge possessed by a particular person about how to track a moose, properly divide the meat, process usable parts, store and prepare it for consumption may help in minimizing hunger amongst a larger number of people (such as a family). Further, if another person within the same family has experience in tanning hides, then his/her skills can result in the productions of clothes. Where both people rely on the necessities of food and clothing, the partnership of their respective skill-sets generates a support structure. If expanded to a community level, the previous example could also represent an active local economy based on a trade/barter system. Javier Mignon indicates, therefore, that the presence of social capi-

tal is high when each person within a group is willing to contribute his/her knowledge and skills in a process of collective exchange (Mignon 2003, 4). Likewise, a low degree of social capital can be understood to exist in a situation where an individual considers his/her prosperity or success as the utmost priority, even at the expense of others. The defining characteristics, therefore, of a relationship strengthened by social capital (whether amongst two people, a family, a shared interest group or a community) are trust and reciprocity.

Due to the disproportionate degree of inequity characterizing most relationships between non-Aboriginal organizations and Aboriginal communities, the notion that these partnerships have a transformative capability for the community is often viewed with considerable initial skepticism. The cookbook, however, serves as a community development project in which the involvement of non-Aboriginal, third parties is minimized. This allows for the involvement of a broad spectrum of participants, some of which, such as youth for example, may not otherwise be included in program development. Further, the benefit of networking between Elders and youth is that both parties express a shared experience of living in a rural community. This is despite the respective influences on each generation, whether technologically, politically, or economically. What results from this intergenerational dialogue is an adaptive body of knowledge that draws upon both traditional teachings possessed by Elders and the frame of references to which youth relate. This process of knowledge formation is not limited to current generations of Elders and youth, but has occurred since time immemorial and speaks to the adaptive quality of Indigenous knowledge systems. The cookbook, therefore, is a contemporary educational tool, which has the possibility to inform knowledge development and self-identification between future generations. What the cookbook project intends to achieve, is to provide a space in which norms of reciprocity and trust common to Aboriginal societies can be reinforced through practice.

Non-Exploitative Community Partnership
Non-Aboriginal organizations providing educational programming for Aboriginal youth remains a contentious issue due to the destructive effects that the Canadian residential school experience has had, and continues to have, on Indigenous communities. Agnes Contois, the Skownan co-ordinator for the Children Rising (*Apinochek Pasaquok*) program remarks, "The idea of institutionalized learning can still carry a stigma for locals who were sent away and forced into residential schools as kids, only to be abused by authority figures" (Contois, cited in Career Trek 2010). While abuse plays out in many different forms, one feature of the resi-

dential school system was denying youth the space to associate with their cultural heritage and self-identification, for example by banning Indigenous languages from being spoken.

Recognizing that trauma caused by cultural dislocation is often passed on from one generation to the next, the management team at Career Trek, especially those involved with Children Rising (*Apinochek Pasaquok*), have structured the program on the heritage of youth participants. Described on Career Trek's website,

> the program builds confidence by not only exploring career options in Winnipeg but opportunities in the participants' own backyard. Skownan youth can hunt, fish, or work in the band office, local school and health centre (Career Trek 2010).

The cookbook project also promotes a balance between skills that can be applied to careers in an urban setting, such as digital media and communication, and skills with a timeless value to them, such as how to catch, prepare and cook fish. A balanced approach, treats all skills as valuable and relevant to personal development. Diverse skills are integrated giving youth experiences where completion of any *task* is ultimately achieved by maintaining an open line of communication. Part of the philosophy informing Career Trek's programming (including the cookbook) is that the process of listening, observing, hands on involvement and asking questions is a shared responsibility belonging to youth and families. Families are the single greatest influence on a child's success. Parents and guardians must possess the knowledge that they need to properly guide their child/children's educational and career decisions" (Career Trek 2010). Career Trek's role is hands on in order to tailor opportunities and programs to what staff and community based program managers consensually agree on as being beneficial to youth development.

What degree do people in Skownan take ownership and control of their own community development initiatives. Economist John Loxley describes community development as, "a *process* by which people consciously seek to improve their well-being through collective action" (Loxley 2010, 19). Loxley points out that the initial questions to be asked in this process are, how are the needs of a community to be defined and who has the authority to do so. Using the cookbook as an example, it is clear that community members have identified the need to promote knowledge and skills that will allow future generations to continue living in a way that is self-sustaining. Community members advocate that incorporating culturally familiar or "traditional" foods into one's regular diet is also a way of avoiding highly processed foods high in saturated fats, cholesterol, and refined sugars. Land-based foods are a

healthy focus for Skownan community members, many of whom suffer the impacts of type 2 diabetes, heart disease and obesity.. E educating youth about their heritage has been a priority for generations prior to the involvement of Career Trek, Loxley would describe the organizations partnership as politically neutral. In other words, the Children Rising (*Apinochek Pasaquok*) program is not intended as a "*directive* approach which concentrates on persuading communities to accept decisions—and therefore expressions of need—which have been worked out *for* them and not *by* them" (Loxley 2010, 26). The debate surrounding this form of community development partnership is that the politically neutral approach fails to introduce community members to new methods or options through which they can seek to better the quality of their daily lives. This argument, however, does not apply to the type of partnership programming Career Trek is involved in. Rather, by having the opportunity to travel to urban areas, such as Winnipeg, and spend time with a variety of different career professionals, youth are able to envision new possibilities for their futures. As well, through their exposure to each different career path, youth also benefit from being able to establish both personal and professional contacts. If maintained, these contacts will eventually allow for a more comfortable transition from life on reserve to that in urban areas. At the same time, Career Trek encourages youth to find value and apply themselves in their current studies as a way of progressing to their newfound career goals. The organization recognizes, however, that while non-community based networks can play an influential role in expanding the horizons of youth, individual development is ultimately most affected by the level of support existing within the family unit.

Developing a Framework for the Cookbook

Career Trek's decision to expand the invitation for recipe submissions to all its partner First Nations communities follows the principle that educational programming should promote networking, both within communities and between them. Although the suggestion has been raised to involve First Nations that are not affiliated with Career Trek, the current scope of communities includes Camperville, Duck Bay Gypsumville, Pine Creek, Rorketon, Waterhen, Winnipegosis as well as the Pembina Trails School Division (Winnipeg) (Career Trek 2010). If the choice is made to transform the cookbook into a province-wide endeavour, this will increase the exposure on the diversity of Manitoba's First Nations and the regions in which they live. To promote interest in participation, Career Trek staff have also considered establishing a draw in which the winner is awarded a com-

puter. Further details regarding this idea have yet to be finalized, however, the relevance of a computer to the project is that it can be used for both educational purposes as well as networking. While the cookbook project is only in its conceptual development stage at this point, Career Trek is committed to the materialization of this project by hiring a part or full time employee to work on it. Preparations also entail establishing a staff committee that will sift through submitted recipes and provide a consensus-based decision on whether to include them.

Recipe Categories Relevant to Manitoba First Nations Cuisine
One of the first steps in developing the cookbook is to draft a rough outline of the various sections that will be included. This involves brainstorming about what the cuisine of First Nations in Manitoba consists of. Through consultation and informal conversation between staff at Career Trek, the author of this report and select community members in Skownan, it has been suggested that the following categories are appropriate: baked goods with flour or grains, e.g., bannock, stews, wild rice and/or potato dishes, fish, and game (meat). As there may be a greater variety of cooking methods or ingredients associated with some dishes, such as stews or game, the number of recipes per section will not be divided evenly. It should be noted, however, that structuring the sections in this way is not intended to suggest bannock is only prepared in one way or with the same set of ingredients. On the contrary, it is recognized that food preparation is a highly personalized process. Through observation, practice and then experimentation each individual develops a recipe according to his/her own preferences, dietary concerns and sense of taste. Providing space for a greater number of dishes involving game, therefore, follows the reasoning that this category may have to accommodate a wider variety of meats such as, caribou, moose, deer, bison, or muskrat etc. At this point, the exact number of pages to be dedicated to each section is still unknown.

Each recipe will receive a two-page spread. Situated on one of the pages will be a picture of the dish in its prepared state. In order to ensure a continuous photographic quality is maintained throughout the cookbook, it has been proposed to hire students in one of Career Trek's photography programs to shoot the pictures in a professional lab. While this would provide youth in this program with the opportunity to gain a publication credit and exercise their skills, there are numerous logistical questions that remain unanswered. For instance, how are the contributors to prepare the dish and have it photographed in Winnipeg. Another possibility is to have a youth participant in the contributor's community access a

digital camera (if available) and send this to the assigned cookbook employee. Positioned on the same page as the photograph of the dish will be a teaching or a personal story provided by the contributor. This feature is considered one of the most valuable features of the published product, as the dish is not only explained in terms of its ingredients, but more importantly, its familial/cultural significance to the contributor. Although described in written form, this teaching is the educational basis upon which the cookbook intends to promote networking between Elders and youth. The author of this report and staff at Career Trek recognize that it may not be possible to list a standardized measurement breakdown of each ingredient. Due to knowledge acquired through firsthand observation and practice rather than following previous written instruction, Elders may not have need for measurements and thus unable to provide this exact information. The second page of the cookbook will contain a photograph of the contributor (if he/she agrees to having a photograph taken and then published). Located next to, or below this potential photograph, will be his/her name and a description of the community/region in which he/she resides. Including a small map of Manitoba in which the contributor's community is pinpointed will also allow a non-Aboriginal audience to better acquaint itself with specific First Nations in Manitoba and their respective traditional territories. Also included will be pages containing introductory statements by various parties involved, dedications, and a list of sponsors.

Production and Distribution

In whatever capacity the cookbook serves its audiences (from educational to aesthetic enjoyment), the final published product is intended to be of a high quality. For contributors, the cookbook is a celebration of their cultures, community networks and distinct relationships to their territories. The pride associated with these aspects of identity should, therefore, be honoured in a document that is both visually appealing and substantial. How it is used by Aboriginal people is entirely their choice, yet the quality of the finished product should at least be such that with proper care it can be passed on from generation to generation. It is also important to recognize that as a cross-cultural educational device, the cookbook will possess value of various forms for non-Aboriginal people. Likewise, the intention is to create a publication that is visually appealing, informative and easy to navigate. Certainly, a cookbook focusing on the cuisine of First Nations peoples throughout the various regions in Manitoba may be a first in what can be considered a niche market. Whether or not non-Aboriginal peoples will have the opportunity to try some of the dishes that are showcased, the informative nature of this project is nonetheless invaluable.

Production Options Considered and Distribution Targets

The production options that have been considered thus far include self-production (in the form of online publishing) or working with a registered publishing company. There are advantages and drawbacks to both, however, for the purpose of this case study, the self-production method has been examined in closer detail. Lulu.com is an online service, which allows clients to register an account and develop their respective projects based on a set of provided templates. Due to market demand, a fully adjustable template for a cookbook is already offered. The immediate benefit of pursuing the online production method is that the account holder has full creative control. This includes basic formatting, such as resizing columns, adding text or picture boxes, adjusting colours/tones, and incorporating patterns into the selected pages. Further, editing can occur at any computer station, therefore, allowing the project to be effectively mobile. The design/editing process can also be conducted by anyone with a minimal degree of experience of photo editing programs. As the client possesses full creative control, however, the amount of time that is invested into physical project development is substantially higher than the professional publishing option. What may be enticing about online publishing is that the price of production is significantly lower than professional publishing, thus offsetting the investment of human resources. For a hardcover casing that is 9 x 7 inches (landscape format), the flat rate is $24.99. Each additional page is a further $0.50. Another appealing aspect of pursuing online publishing is that the quality of the final product is comparable to what most publishing houses will offer. Lulu.com also offers a distribution agreement with numerous booksellers, such as Indigo, however, within Winnipeg much of the potential target audience would not be reached.

As literature regarding Aboriginal cuisine/education is still a niche market, Career Trek recognizes that it would also be beneficial to arrange for distribution agreements with small-scale booksellers already affiliated with the urban Aboriginal community in Winnipeg. Private businesses (especially those related to the food service industry) are also a potential partnership needing to be further explored. At the present time, no business plan has been drafted, however, a target number for a first run publication has been set at five hundred cookbooks. Both financial supporters and recipe contributors will receive complementary copies. This is of particular importance with reference to Aboriginal contributors, as it honours the fact that the knowledge, which this project is based upon, ultimately belongs to them. Selling five hundred units of the cookbook will also require selling the idea to the private donors, small-scale/corporate businesses and provincial agencies, part of Career Trek's

financial contributor network. By reinvesting profits from sale back into the Children Rising (*Apinochek Pasaquok*) program, the cookbook represents a community development initiative designed to promote collective/individual empowerment through education and maintaining partnerships guided by reciprocity.

Conclusion

For Aboriginal youth living in rural areas, formal education can often be an isolating experience. The value of cultural knowledge gained from spending time with family or Elders on the land is rarely equated with the skills, relating to personal development, that are taught in the classroom. What occurs is that youth are not necessarily shown the link between how academics or technical skills can directly contribute to community development programs involving Indigenous knowledge systems. Following this, the respective experiences of different generations are made to seem irreconcilable. As a result of its approach to non-exploitative and partnership based educational programming with First Nations, Career Trek recognizes that social cohesion and the holistic personal development of youth requires intergenerational knowledge transfer. Initially suggested by community members in Skownan, Anishinaabek First Nation, the cookbook has come to represent a unique opportunity example of how networking within communities can promote cultural identity, demonstrate the relevance of experiential learning and contribute to community empowerment.

As an educational resource, the cookbook:

1) creates a space in which youth can be exposed to and practice self sustaining culinary skills through the mentorship of Elders

2) uses traditional foods (specific to regions) to promote nutritional education

3) represents a community development strategy that is authentic to the expectations and experiences of community members who might otherwise be excluded from program development

A crucial aspect of the cookbook is the use of stories to convey traditional knowledge. Incorporating this method of communication ultimately respects the centrality and authority of oral teaching methods within Aboriginal cultures. As partners involved in disseminating traditional knowledge, it is youth who are tasked with the responsibility of approaching their Elders and requesting that they share a story about a particular recipe, or demonstrate how it is prepared. The recipes, which are eventually submitted, come to represent just a

fragment of the overall education process that took place within the community settings of the respective contributors. In this sense, the cookbook intends to function as a project in which creative control, implementation and ownership of knowledge remains firmly embedded within each community.

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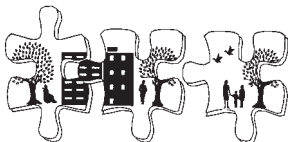
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