Food from here and there, from us and them: Characterizing the food system of Rigolet, Nunatsiavut, Canada

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August 2015

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Communities in the Canadian North face many challenges in accessing traditional and market foods. These challenges are attributed to a complex combination of factors including social, economic and environmental shifts, colonial legacies, and the remote geography of communities. Despite these challenges, communities across the North are resilient in maintaining food as a core element of their culture and identity. It is therefore essential to search beyond generalized experiences, to gain a contextual understanding of communities and the intricacies of their local food systems. This thesis adopts such an approach in characterizing the food system of Rigolet, Nunatsiavut. Conducted in partnership with the Rigolet Inuit Community Government, and a community-based research team, the project examines community members' preferences, harvesting, purchasing, sharing, and consumption of both wild and market foods in an effort to answer the research question *What is the story of food in Rigolet, Nunatsiavut*? Drawing from postcolonial, indigenous, and community based participatory research methodologies, the community-based research team and I adapted two participatory methods for this study. Photo card interviews were conducted with 48 participants, from 27 households in May and June 2013, followed by four phases of month-long food inventories from August 2013 through May 2014, during which 22 households documented all store purchases and wild food harvests. In analyzing these datasets I find that participants' diets are based primarily on store foods, with notable differences in the quantity of wild foods that individuals and households consume, but that the sharing and consumption of wild foods carry significant meaning in terms of identity and culture for all participants. I conclude that Rigolet's food system is a mixed system that combines both market and wild foods, and that the system is resilient given how participants have coped with past and ongoing fluctuations in the availability of species harvested from the land, and the shipment and stock of market foods.

NAITTUK UKAUSIK

Nunagijaujuit Canadaup Taggâni unuttunik uKumaitsautilet pitâgiamut taimangasuanit amma niuvipvimiutanik niKinik. Tamakkua uKumailutait ilautitsijut unuttunik ilautillugu inuguset, kenaujaliugutet amma avatet asianguvallianingit, avittusimajuni , pivalliagutaugunnatut, amma Kanitagenginingit nunait. Taimaigaluattilugit uKumailutait, nunagijaujut Taggami pigiaKajut niKinik kamagillugit ilikKusingit amma kinakkoningit. Taimaimmat pimmagittovuk Kinijagiamik ajunnasongujukkut, tukisigasuagiamik nunagijaujunik amma pimmagiuninginnik niKituKangit. Tamanna tigusiniattuk tugâgutiKagiamik niKigijausonik Rigolettimi, Nunatsiavut. Suliagijausimalluni ikajuttigennikut Rigolet Inuit Nunalet kavamangalu, amma nunalini Kaujisattet, suliaKausiujuk Kimmigijuk nunalet pigumaluattanginnik, katitsuinik, pisiniannik, aviukKainik, amma nigijauningit niKituKait amma niuvipvimiutait kiugasuagiangit apitsotik *Kanuk unikkausiKavâ niKinik Rigolettimi, Nunatsiavut?* kamagillugit sivullinitait, adjigenginingit, amma nunalet ilauKatauningit Kaujisautinnut, nunalet Kaujisattet uvangalu tigusilaukKugut maggonik piusiujutsânik Kaujisagiamut. Adjinguanik atullutik apitsuniKalaukKuk 48 ilaujunut, 27 illulinnit Mai amma Jonimi 2013, malittilugu sitamaulingajut takKimi niKet kamagijauningit Auggos 2013 tikillugu Mai 2014, taitsumani 22 illulet allalauttut ilonnainik niuvipvimit pisijaumajunnik amma niKituKiat pijausimanninginnik. kamagillugit Kaujisautiusimajut, KaujilaukKunga apitsutaujut niKigiluaKattajangit niuvipvimiutait, adjiutinnagit ununningit niKituKait kinakkunut illulinnulu nigijauKattaju, tâvatuak aviutitauningit amma nigijauningit niKituKait tukitâtitsisiattuk kinakkoninginnik amma ilikKusinginnik ilonnaita ilaulauttuit apitsutaunimmut. PijagegutiKavunga Rigolettimiut nigiKattajangit aviutisimajojâttut niuvipviumiutanik amma niKituKaujunik, amma piusiuKattajut tukisinattut Kanuk apitsutaumajut inogusigiKattajangit siagunit mânnamut uKumaittut atuinnauninginnut pijauKattajut niKituKait nunamit, amma tikitauKattaningit amma niuvipvimiutait niKet.

RÉSUMÉ

Les communautés au Nord du Canada font face à plusieurs défis quant à l'accès aux aliments traditionnels et commercialisés. Ces défis sont attribués à plusieurs facteurs complexes dont les changements socio-économiques et environnementaux, une histoire coloniale et la géographie éloignée des communautés. Malgré ces défis, les communautés du Nord font preuve de résilience en conservant la nourriture comme une partie intégrale de leur culture et de leur identité. C'est pour cette raison qu'il faut chercher au-delà des expériences généralisées pour acquérir une compréhension contextuelle des communautés et des complexités de leur système alimentaire local. La présente recherche s'appuie sur cette approche pour caractériser le système alimentaire de Rigolet, Nunatsiavut. En partenariat avec la communauté Rigolet Inuit Community Government et d'une équipe de recherche communautaire, le projet examine les préférences, les pratiques de récoltes et d'achat, le partage ainsi que la consommation de nourritures traditionnelles et commerciales de la communauté. Ceci dans l'effort de répondre à la question de recherche : « Quel est l'histoire de la nourriture à Rigolet, Nunatsiavut? ». À l'aide d'un cadre de recherche qui intègre des méthodologies postcoloniale et indigène, et d'une approche de recherche participative communautaire, nous avons adapté deux méthodes participatives pour cette étude. L'équipe de recherche a coordonné des entrevues facilité par des cartes de photographes avec 48 participants venant de 27 ménages en mai et juin 2013. Par la suite, nous avons effectué un inventaire à quatre reprise entre les mois d'août et mai 2014. Lors de ces inventaires, 22 ménages ont documenté tous leurs achats et leurs récoltes de nourriture traditionnelle. En analysant les résultats, nous constatons que la diète des participants relève principalement d'achat de nourritures commerciales. Nous constatons également une différence importante au niveau de la quantité de nourriture traditionnelle que les individus et les ménages consomment. Malgré cette différence, les participants soutiennent que le partage et la consommation de nourriture traditionnelle représente un aspect significatif au niveau de leur culture et de leur identité. Cela dit, cette recherche nous permet de conclure que le système alimentaire à Rigolet est mixte, combinant à la fois les produits alimentaires commerciaux et traditionnels. Enfin, grâce aux moyens de subsistance adoptés par les participants pour combattre les fluctuations des récoltes et des produits alimentaires expédiés, nous pouvons aussi conclure que le système alimentaire à Rigolet est résilient.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the Nasivvik Centre for Inuit Health and Changing Environments, the Northern Scientific Training Program, and the IHACC project and its respective funders for their financial and training support, without which this project would not have been possible. I would also like to acknowledge the National Gathering of Graduate Students (IAPH-CIHR); over the course of this Masters I have learned so much from this caring and driven community of students, support staff, researchers, and faculty.

To my supervisor, Dr. James Ford, you have set an invaluable example of the importance and potential of what academic research can contribute to society. I have learned so much from your work ethic, and your approach; you have shown me the depth through which research can influence and make a difference. Thank you for trusting and believing in my ability to do this project, for your guidance, constant support, and the opportunities through which you have enabled me to learn.

To my committee members, Dr. George Wenzel and Dr. Chris Furgal, thank you for the time and contributions that you have each given. Chris, your knowledge of and experience across the Nunangat but especially Nunatsiavut, and your holistic mindset have greatly affected this research. George, thank you for the many cups of tea, your perspective and unending encouragement; you have shaped this project and who I am as a student in immense ways. To Dr. Ashlee Cunsolo Willox and Dr. Sherilee Harper, thank you for the profound role that you have played in establishing this research. I have learned so much from your dedication and commitment to the community of Rigolet, and I cannot express how grateful I am to have had the opportunity to work with and learn from you both.

I would like to express my sincere respect for Jack Shiwak, and Charlotte Wolfrey, current and former AngajukKâks of Rigolet. Thank you for the time, energy, thoughtfulness, and care that you have both brought to your roles, and the guidance that you have given to this project. Thank you as well to all staff at the Rigolet Inuit Community Government and the Nunatsiavut Government for your kindness and assistance that has made this research possible. Inez, I am so grateful to have had the opportunity to work with you for the past three years. Your unending patience, humour, creativity, thoughtfulness and guidance have got me through the longest days. From responding to my endless calls and emails to going along when I accidentally go off-script while presenting together at conferences you have been at the heart of this research project. Charlie and Lisa, I feel very fortunate to have worked with you both. From responding to my silly questions, to adapting research methods, conducting interviews, and working with community members to verify findings, you have always been a pleasure to work with and you have influenced this research in many, many ways.

To those who participated and to the community of Rigolet as a whole, thank you for your engagement with this project and your kindness. The drives around town, always saying hello and asking about the project, your time, contributions and feedback have meant so much; this project would not have been possible without you. To Sandi and Karl, thank you for the weekends at the cabin, day trips on skidoo and boat, and for keeping me fed, warm, and safe; this was no easy task considering my wealth of food allergies. You have shown me the true meaning of what it is to welcome someone into your home and life.

I would like to thank Alex Sawatzky and Alex Brovkin for their incredible assistance with all things Excel related. Alex S., your impeccable data entry work came at a time and stage when I was feeling overwhelmed and your enthusiasm and engagement with the food inventory data entry meant so much to me. Alex B., you are an absolute Excel wiz; thank you for teaching me everything that was necessary for this project and for your continued patience throughout the process.

To my lab mates in the CCARG, you have been an amazing source of necessary distraction, encouragement, and understanding. To the Geography department staff on the 7th floor, especially Nancy, Elisa, and Franca I wholeheartedly appreciate everything that you have done to enable this project. To my colleagues at IDRC, I am so grateful for the interest, understanding and constant encouragement that you have all expressed in my work. Knut, Ellie, Joelle, and Layla; thank you for your listening ears, your thoughts, and for being a part of my life. You have each shared so much of your own research, academic endeavours, and lives with me, and because of you all I have never been alone on my own journey. Adrian, if it weren't for you, your mentorship, and your friendship, I would not have been in a place to commence my Masters studies. Thank you for encouraging me to strive for balance in my life and for always being there.

To Gram, my Gramma Girl, Matthew, Mom and Dad you are my grounding, and my reason for caring so deeply about what I do, thank you for believing in me. I love you all so much…more than all the phone calls I have ever made to you all combined.

And Alex, I don't have the right words to say how much I appreciate you and all that you have done to support me through this Masters, and since the day that we first met. From reading every word that I have written, through your guidance in data analysis you have played an incredibly active role in this process. You have been there through my health challenges, and my living between two provinces; you have never hesitated to encourage me to follow my heart and my dreams – even when you know that it may be difficult for us. You are my rock when I need strength, my sunshine and happiness, you are my everything, thank you.

1 Introduction

Indigenous communities globally are experiencing processes of rapid, socio-cultural change because of economic and political pressures at the local, national and international scales (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014; Elliott, Jayatilaka, Brown, Varley, & Corbett, 2012; Kuhnlein, FAO, & CINE, 2013). The consequences of these changes can be seen in diverse facets of life, but for many indigenous peoples the effects are especially apparent in their diets and food systems. In Canada for instance, a 2014 report by the Council of Canadian Academies highlights the on-going challenges that Aboriginal communities in the Canadian North are experiencing with their food systems, despite their location within a high-income country that ranks high on the United Nations Development Index (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014). O'Neil (1986), used the term *fourth world* to describe this phenomenon and experience of populations that are indigenous to an area being marginalized by non-indigenous populations, resulting in marked economic and health disparities such as food insecurity. This phenomenon has been evidenced in the Canadian North where food insecurity rates in Inuit communities are up to six times higher than the rest of Canada, ranging from 43.3% to 68.8%, making these "the highest documented food insecurity prevalence rate for any Aboriginal population residing in a developed country" (G. M. Egeland, 2011; ITK & ICC, 2012, p. 7; Rosol et al., 2011). These high rates of food insecurity are being further compounded by significant climatic changes that are increasingly evident in the food systems of Inuit communities (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014; IPCC, 2014), providing impetus for research that seeks to understand the current, and potential future state of these systems.

For thousands of years Inuit have inhabited the Canadian North, subsisting off the land. Food became, and continues to be, core to Inuit culture, functioning as a key element in social organization and economy (Harder & Wenzel, 2012). "Inuit believe that you are literally the food you eat" (Hanrahan, 2008, p. 316), and therefore changes in Inuit food systems have greater consequences beyond individuals' nutritional and physiological needs, and extend to the culture and identity of entire communities. Even as

features of the southern economy, such as wage employment and consumption of store-bought food, become increasingly entrenched within Northern communities, aspects of the traditional food system, such as harvesting from the land and sharing wild foods, remain integral to what it means to be Inuit (Harder & Wenzel, 2012).

Inuit food systems are closely connected to their local environment given the importance of wild foods in Inuit diet and culture, and any change including regional economics and politics, as well as changes in the natural environment, will have significant effects. Climate change is therefore a key factor to consider when examining Inuit food systems. The Inuit Nunangat, and Canadian Arctic as a whole are already experiencing the impacts of climate change on daily life (Ford & Pearce, 2012; Prowse, Furgal, Bonsal, & Edwards, 2009; Prowse, Furgal, Bonsal, & Peters, 2009). Changes in snowfall, sea ice, and shifts in marine and terrestrial species are affecting subsistence practices – such as hunting, trapping, and fishing – that are key to sustaining households and communities (Allard & Lemay, 2012). "Inuit live in an environment that has historically been perceived as susceptible to dramatic fluctuations in food availability," (Harder & Wenzel, 2012, p. 314) and climate change stands to further exacerbate these fluctuations within Northern food systems.

Located in the Nunatsiavut region of Northern Labrador, the community of Rigolet has been actively engaged in developing an understanding of the dynamics of its food system. Above and beyond changes in the natural environment, Rigolet's food system is affected by regional political and economic factors. An important and recent development involving such factors is the harvesting ban on the George River Caribou Herd that was instituted by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador in January of 2013 (for an expected five years), a ban that is effective throughout the entire province, including Nunatsiavut (Environment & Conservation Executive Council, 2013). Caribou is an important species for Inuit because of its nutritional and cultural values, and the harvesting ban is therefore a key element to be considered when examining Nunatsiavut's food system and the food systems of its communities.

The Nunatsiavut Government and the five Inuit Community Governments are currently contributing to a number of policy and research programs that seek to enhance the region's food systems, but policy and academic publications focused on food are

limited at this time. This thesis will focus on the food system of Rigolet, the southernmost of Nunatsiavut's communities, and aims to explore the cultural, political, economic, environmental, and geographic factors that are affecting how residents of Rigolet experience and engage with their food system.

1.1 Study site: Rigolet, Nunatsiavut

Situated along the Northern Labrador coast, Rigolet (54°N, 58°W) (see Figure 1 and Figure 2), is one of five Inuit communities in the Nunatsiavut region, the others being Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, and Postville. A remote community with a population of 310 (Statscan, 2011), Rigolet is not accessible by road, but weather permitting it can be reached by boat in the summer, snowmobile in the winter months, and by plane year round. Rigolet is located below the tree line and is recognized as the world's most southerly Inuit community.

The area around present-day Rigolet was claimed by France in 1743 and was the site of a French Canadian run trading post in the late 1700s, with the eventual establishment of a Hudson Bay Company trading post in 1836 (Town of Rigolet, 2012). Consequently, Inuit living in the area experienced contact and co-habited with Europeans and non-Inuit Canadians sooner than other areas of the Inuit Nunangat. This early contact greatly affected processes of cultural and demographic change in the region, one result being that "the present population of Rigolet is composed of Settlers, Inuit, and persons of mixed ancestry" (Brice-Bennett & Labrador Inuit Association, 1977, p. 280).

Residents of Rigolet hold a deep appreciation and knowledge of the natural landscape of the region. Community members value time spent at the cabin and on the land, hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering a multitude of species including but not limited to Atlantic salmon, Arctic char, seals, lynx, ducks, partridges (ptarmigan) and geese. This connection to and time spent on the land has been found to be "of the utmost importance to physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health and well-being" of community members (Cunsolo Willox A. et al., 2013, p. 18). Furthermore, this connection to the land is core to understanding community members' experiences and perspectives concerning food.

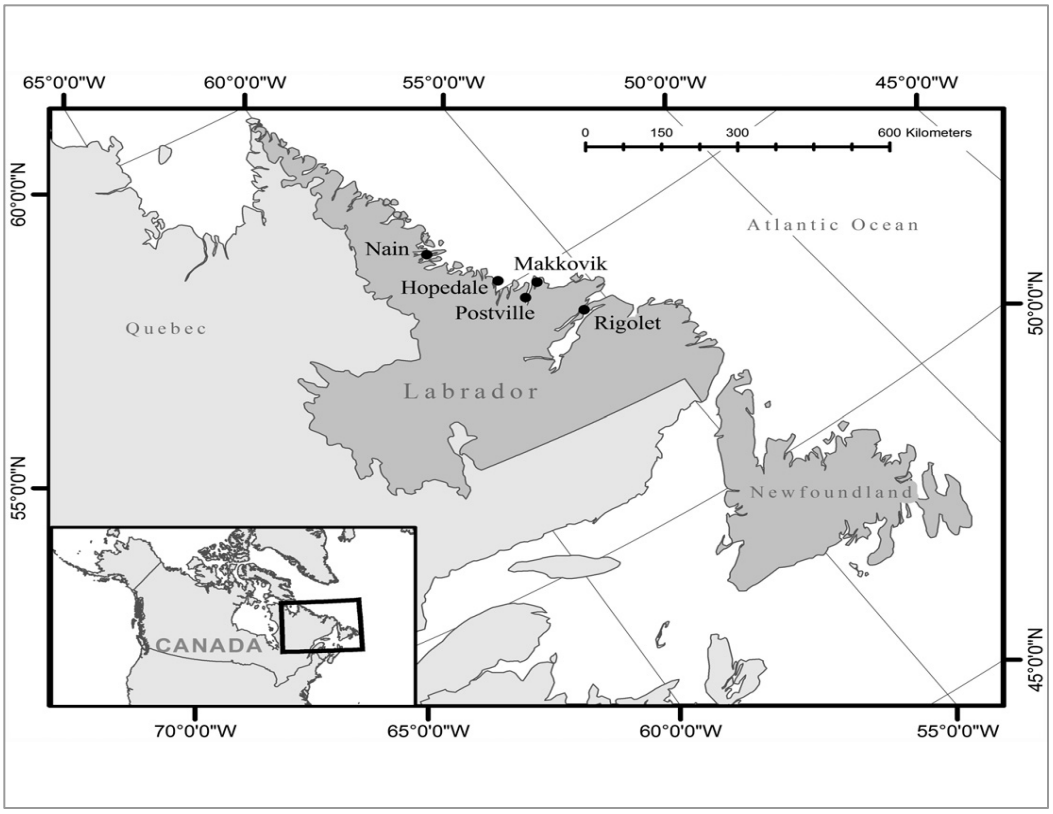

Figure 1: Communities of Nunatsiavut (Source: Cunsolo Willox et al. (2012)).

Figure 2: Rigolet, Nunatsiavut (Source: Author)

1.2 Setting the study priorities

This study's priorities were co-developed with the Rigolet Inuit Community Government (RICG), a locally elected body that maintains an active role in all research within the community. Based on the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, each of the five Nunatsiavut communities elect their own Inuit Community Government. The agreement states that "The legislative authority of each Inuit Community Government shall be vested in an elected Inuit Community Council composed of an AngajukKâk [mayor and chief executive officer] and Inuit Community Councillors" (Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, 2005, s.17.40.1) The Inuit Community Governments thereby play a key role in the self-governance structure of Nunatsiavut, and act as an important means for community members to influence local governance. Management of community-based research projects has been one element of Rigolet's self-governance as all studies within the community require RICG's approval and support. Furthermore, staff members of RICG have made significant, primary contributions to many of these research projects.

As per this protocol, this Masters research project is being run in partnership with RICG, and is also part of the Indigenous Health Adaptation to Climate Change (IHACC) research program and the Inuit Traditional Knowledge for Adapting to the Health Effects of Climate Change (IK-ADAPT) project; two larger, multi-year research programs that RICG is helping to lead. IHACC is an interdisciplinary program that seeks to examine indigenous communities' experiences with climate change by partnering researchers with Inuit communities in the Canadian Arctic, Batwa (pygmy) communities in Uganda, and Shipibo and Shawi communities in Peru to develop comparative insights on the current and potential health outcomes these populations face in light of climate change and socio-cultural change (Indigenous Health Adaptation to Climate Change, 2012). The IK-ADAPT project focuses specifically on the Canadian North and "is a multi-year, community-based initiative that combines scientific research and Inuit knowledge (IK) to develop an evidentiary base to inform policy and programming needed to assist Inuit communities in adapting to the health effects of climate change" (Inuit Traditional Knowledge for Adapting to the Health Effects of Climate Change, 2013).

Throughout these projects and others, RICG, and the community as a whole continually demonstrate a strong capacity for and support of research (Cunsolo Willox,

Harper, & Edge, 2012; Cunsolo Willox, Harper, Ford, et al., 2012; Cunsolo Willox A. et al., 2013; Harper S.L., Edge V. L., & A., 2012; S. L. Harper et al., 2015). This has been especially evident with the creation and operation of the "'My Word': Storytelling and Digital Media Lab [My Word Lab]… the first northern Canadian center for digital media and community-engaged research and capacity development – Inuit research and facilitation by and for Inuit" (Cunsolo Willox, Harper, & Edge, 2012, p. 7). Through the My Word Lab, external researchers, government staff, and nongovernmental organizations can work with and learn from a community-based research team.

At the request of, and through the guidance of RICG the research question and objectives of this project were formulated. Preliminary discussions for the project included but were not limited to researching: the community freezer, food handling and food safety, food availability (market and/or, wild foods), household need, and seasonality. The final scope and aim of the project are based on priorities determined through community consultations, as well as the guidance of RICG and the community-based research team.

1.3 Research question and objectives

The primary question underlying this research is: *What is the story of food in Rigolet, Nunatsiavut?* The primary goal of the research is to characterize Rigolet's food system in order to better understand what foods community members have access to, the factors that enable or deter this access, as well as whether the system meets expectations and preferences of community members. Based on this goal the objectives of this research are threefold: (1) To document and characterize the main foods that are being consumed by individuals and households; (2) To determine the common sources of food within Rigolet; and (3) To identify the internal and external resources that are available to the community to prepare for and respond to shocks to their food system, and adapt to potentially long term challenges such as climate change.

1.4 Overview of the thesis

This thesis will examine the current food system of Rigolet, Nunatsiavut, through the analysis of the existing academic literature as well as primary data that was collected

between May 2013 and June 2014. Relevant literature is reviewed in Chapter 2, providing context through a discussion of the socio-political, economic and historical processes that Labrador Inuit have experienced throughout colonialism and the eventual settlement of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement. Key concepts from the literature on indigenous food systems, food security, as well as the deeply connected relationship between food and economy in the Canadian North is then reviewed. In Chapter 3 an overview of the methodology and methods are provided, explaining how indigenous and postcolonial methodologies, and the community based participatory research approaches have informed the development and adaptation of the photo card interview and food inventory methods used for data collection. This is followed by an examination of the data, analysis, and results in Chapter 4. In classifying the data by store and wild foods, 13 sub-classifications are applied to allow for an in-depth analysis of what participants are eating and why. Chapter 5 offers a discussion on the salient themes that emerged from the results, emphasizing the ongoing change and resilience of Rigolet's food system, and the role that food plays in the maintenance and practicing of identity and culture. The thesis concludes with a summary of the results and key findings in Chapter 6.

2 Literature Review

2.1 An overview of Nunatsiavut's recent history

Archaeological findings have shown the presence of Paleo-Eskimo, Groswater Dorset, and Thule populations throughout northern Labrador. By the time of first European contact, the Inuit of Labrador inhabited a vast territory that enabled seasonal movement and the harvesting of a range of terrestrial and aquatic species. As contact intensified, Nunatsiavut's southern locality and proximity to the Atlantic Ocean facilitated colonial experiences that "were more intensive than those in the other Inuit regions" (Rodon & Grey, 2009, p. 324). Labrador's rich natural resources, its fisheries in particular, drew attention from colonial and settler powers on both sides of the Atlantic. "Control of the developing Labrador fishery was disputed between the French, British and Americans throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Plaice, 2009, p. 68), resulting in the continued presence of outsiders within the region. As control over the fisheries shifted, Christian churches were one of the few constants in the settlements established along the coast, acting as the primary service providers (Rodon & Grey, 2009, p. 323), but also colonial presence. In 1949 Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation, but throughout this process refused to "recognize the existence of aboriginal people in its territory" (Rodon & Grey, 2009, p. 324). Consequently, Canada's newest province offered no protection or rights – harvesting and land rights included – to Inuit.

This was to be a decade of immense change for Labrador as a whole, as in addition to joining Confederation large-scale infrastructure developments began in 1941 with the construction of a military base in Goose Bay in response to World War II. The:

> Goose Bay airbase was built with extraordinary speed at the end of 1941…Iron ore mining and hydro development followed. All these developments posed demands on the land that transformed land use activities throughout the region, none more persistently and pervasively than the military: most recently involving large areas of air space with a severe impact on land use (Plaice, 2009, p. 70).

The establishment of iron-ore mines in the 1950s and the building of the Churchill Falls hydroelectric dam in the 1970s further disrupted the natural environment, but also the

socio-economics of Labrador communities (Barker, 2001, p. 237). These projects also served to further exacerbate the social changes that were occurring within aboriginal communities across Canada, as the Federal Government sought to relocate all families into permanent, established communities, thereby, affecting subsistence harvesting practices and the very social make-up of families and communities, as well as identity and culture.

Arguably, the greatest effect of these projects, aside from altering the physical landscape, was the economic consequences. Barker (2001) has argued that a dual economy emerged in response to the development projects, in which one part of the economy was reliant and contributing to the southern industrial economy through resource extraction and service provision; drawing on the work of other researchers Barker further argues that the second part of the economy functioned as a subsistence economy, focusing on the harvesting and provision of wild foods with equipment and resources that were only available through participation in the market economy (Brice-Bennett & Labrador Inuit Association, 1977; Usher, Duhaime, & Searles, 2003). The characterization of the dual economy has been strongly critiqued however; although there is support within the literature of Barker's idea that the economies of Northern Labrador diversified and became more complex as individuals, households, communities, and the region as a whole became increasingly linked to resource production and extraction, which carried consequences for subsistence practices.

Barker has described this as a "dependency relationship between the Quebec-Labrador peninsula and southern Canada" (2001, p. 237), a characterization that has been made of economies across the Inuit Nunangat and their relationship with the South. Similar arguments have been made that the incorporation of Canadian Inuit into the national economy, fostered a destabilizing, dependent, relationship for northern communities (Brody, 1975, p. 23; Duhaime, 2002).

Weissling (1989) took this argument further, directly comparing the economic development experiences of sub-Saharan Africa, specifically Zambia, and the Canadian North. Weissling argued that a trifold initiative by government, private business, and religious institutions had shaped the economic, and so called "development" trajectory in both regions, so that the economies of Zambia and the Canadian North would mirror

those of southern Canada and other world economic powers as much as possible. The argument was further made that these changing economies were *developed* explicitly to benefit the economics of the governments, businesses, and religious institutions that were driving their so-called *development* (Weissling, 1989). Whether or not this was the case for Labrador there are certainly parallels between Weissling's arguments and the experiences and history of the region's Inuit and their ancestral territory.

The province's refusal to acknowledge Labrador's indigenous populations, the large-scale development projects, the lack of autonomy that Labradoreans held over these projects, and the consequent effects on lifestyle and culture catalyzed a land claim movement among Labrador's indigenous groups. A significant outcome of these culminating events was the formation of the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) and the subsequent 1977 submission of a land claim proposal (Felt, Procter, & Natcher, 2012, p. 194). This was followed by almost three decades of negotiations with the provincial and federal governments, further complicated by increasing pressure from private businesses seeking access to Labrador's diverse and plentiful resources.

In 2005 the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was signed, a significant event for Canadian indigenous communities and supporters across the country as "the Inuit of Labrador negotiated self-government at the same time as they settled their land claim" (Rodon & Grey, 2009, p. 334), and established the Nunatsiavut Government, "the only Inuit ethnic government in Canada" (Felt et al., 2012; Rodon & Grey, 2009, p. 337). Two elements of the land claim settlement and resultant establishment of the Nunatsiavut Government are particularly relevant to this thesis. The first being that the Nunatsiavut Government has Inuit staffing rates of 80 to 90 percent (Rodon & Grey, 2009), and the second is that community governments are at the core of Nunatsiavut's governance model (Rodon & Grey, 2009). Both of these points speak to role that the Inuit Community Governments play in decision-making and governance within the region, and the potential for ensuring autonomy in many elements of daily life from resource development to academic studies.

2.2 Changing food systems in Nunatsiavut, Labrador

There is consensus within the food and nutrition literatures that the current diet of Labrador Inuit is the product of prolonged epidemiological and dietary transitions that are greatly correlated with the region's colonial experience and recent history. These transitions are said to have originated with the initial contact between Inuit and Europeans on the eastern coast of Labrador in the 1700s (Pufall et al., 2011). The Inuit way of life was greatly affected by this interaction which eventually resulted in the adoption of many European practices and cultural elements, including a significant shift in diet. The establishment of European trading posts in northern Labrador was an especially important event because it led to the semi-permanent settlement of Inuit and "by the mid-1800s…[Inuit] activities shifted to the extraction of resources that could be traded to European markets" (Stopp, 2002, p. 304). Inuit experienced further cultural change as intermarriages increased and the economic practices and dietary habits of the Europeans were further entrenched in daily life through trading. The result was an increased consumption of non-local foods, and therefore less wild foods (McGrath-Hanna, Greene, Tavernier, & Bult-Ito, 2003; Pufall et al., 2011); a process that would eventually occur throughout the Inuit Nunangat (*Inuit Homeland*, comprised of the four Inuit land claim regions, and accounting for about 40% of Canada's landmass (ITK & ICC, 2012)).

The food and nutrition literatures contend that these events are part of a process of social change that culminated in an epidemiological transition that carries significant implications for human health. During an epidemiological transition "there is a fundamental change in the main determinants of health and a shift in the primary causes of death to non-infectious, instead of infectious diseases" (Pufall et al., 2011, p. 319). Furthermore, the epidemiological transition involves an increase in life expectancy and a related rise in chronic degenerative diseases among the population (Hanrahan, 2008). Such a transition has been reported in Indigenous populations across North America, and it has been an especially strong focus of research with Inuit communities as it is argued that the epidemiological transition is still ongoing in the Canadian North (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014; Kuhnlein, Erasmus, Spigelski, FAO, & CINE, 2009).

The first reports to identify this phenomenon emerged in the 1920s as healthcare workers documented the epidemiological transition among Labrador's Inuit. These early reports stated that a reduction in the amount of country foods being consumed was responsible for a significant decrease in the healthy protein and fats in the Inuit diet (Hanrahan, 2008), and they concluded "that Inuit were better nourished by their Indigenous diet" (Hanrahan, 2008, p. 325). The epidemiological transition has been closely linked to this dietary transition that was documented in the 1920s.

During the 1930s and 1970s the Labrador coastal Inuit communities became more deeply integrated into the economies of Newfoundland and Labrador (Hanrahan, 2008). These events exemplify the arguments of Barker (2001); Weissling (1989) and others, that Inuit communities experienced an increased reliance on the southern economy. New wildlife management regulations were also introduced in this period and many residents began work in the wage-labour economy, resulting in a trade-off for harvesters between time on the land and time spent at work in the market economy. In this same period, communities like Rigolet gained increased access to market foods because economic integration allowed for more food shipments to the coast and households now had the financial means of purchasing market foods (Alton Mackey, Unpublished).

The food and nutrition literatures therefore highlight the deeply connected epidemiological and diet transitions that were initiated with European contact and that continue today in Labrador. This pattern and these arguments have been documented and written about across the Canadian Arctic (Chan et al., 2006; Council of Canadian Academies, 2014; Duhaime, Chabot, & Gaudreault, 2002; Kuhnlein et al., 2009). However, it is important to acknowledge the interconnection that exists between Inuit livelihoods, the environment, and the foods that are harvested from this environment as this relationship is central to Inuit identity, and continues to be so even though store foods are commonly consumed (Bolton et al., 2011; Chan et al., 2006; ITK & ICC, 2012, p. 6; Kuhnlein et al., 2009; Kuhnlein & Receveur, 1996).

This offers a caution against assuming that *transition* means a movement away from the traditional food system. The remainder of this chapter examines a number of factors and terms that currently affect, and are relevant to Inuit food systems. In examining these concepts throughout this thesis I highlight that Inuit have not necessarily

transitioned from their traditional diets, but have instead extended and diversified the scope of their diets, adapting to a multitude of factors while maintaining the importance of wild foods and the related processes for their procurement.

2.3 Inuit and Indigenous food systems

Although *food system* is a simple term, there are many definitions of what comprises a food system. The majority of these definitions, however, are focused on agrarian production and are consequently of limited applicability to societies and cultures with a heavy reliance on hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering. Drawing on the work of Gregory, Ingram, and Brklacich (2005), Ford (2009) conceptualized a different model that identified the core elements of a food system as: (1) production and processing, (2) distribution, and (3) consumption. This conceptualization is useful in its applicability to Inuit culture and food systems as it is not specific to agrarian food systems, and it is descriptive of food systems that involve alternative forms of production and processing such as hunting and fishing.

Another notable aspect of Ford's food system model is that it is relevant to both market and wild foods. This is necessary with any model of Inuit food systems because "the production, processing, consumption, and distribution of traditional and store food do not exist in isolation" (Ford, 2009, p. 86). The distinction between traditional and store foods is also greatly emphasized in the wider discourse on indigenous food systems because the interplay of market and wild foods is a defining feature and a shared experience in many indigenous cultures.

For some indigenous peoples, such as Inuit, the importance of traditional foods and traditional food systems cannot be overstated as they "provide a strong foundation for cultural identity, as a basis for social support networks and medicinal remedies, and nutritional health" (G. Egeland et al., 2013, p. 21). Traditional foods can be defined as those that are obtained from the land and are culturally accepted by the community (Kuhnlein & Receveur, 1996). Traditional food systems are comprised of traditional foods, but also include socially embedded procurement, preparation and consumption practices (Kuhnlein & Receveur, 1996). The very essence of what it means to be of an indigenous identity is at least partly tied to the food of one's people. This sense of

identity and connection that indigenous peoples foster through food is also deeply related to their relationship and continued experience with their geography and natural environment from which traditional foods are obtained (Turner & Clifton, 2009).

Despite the continued importance of traditional foods, many indigenous food systems, including that of the Inuit, are now considered mixed systems comprised of both imported and wild foods. The store-bought aspect of food systems in the Canadian North is deeply connected to the market-based food systems of the South (Ford, 2009). This speaks to the complex relationship and dependence between Inuit communities and the southern economy as described by Weissling (1989) and Barker (2001) while also highlighting the diversity of Inuit food systems, from how food is produced to what foods are consumed.

2.4 Food Security: What Does it Mean?

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations' (FAO) "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (2001). However, this definition and similar conceptualizations have been criticized for over-simplifying the complexities of food security, especially in relation to indigenous food systems. Much in the same way that definitions of food systems have been critiqued, conceptualizations of food security such as the FAO's have been criticized for focusing on the economics of store-bought foods and consequent failure to acknowledge the importance of wild foods for indigenous food security (G. Egeland et al., 2013; Elliott et al., 2012). By obscuring the potential role of wild foods in indigenous diets, these food security definitions overlook the deep connection that exists between wild foods and indigenous identity, and in turn health.

The challenge of defining food security extends to Inuit food systems. Emerging as a research priority in the 1990s, food security first came to the fore of Arctic studies in response to concern over the impact of contaminants on food systems and the implications of changing dietary patterns (Ford, 2009). Since then, northern food insecurity has been linked to numerous factors including but not limited to: food prices, transportation and quality issues, low incomes in the North, and climate change (Council

of Canadian Academies, 2014; ITK & ICC, 2012). Food insecurity across Inuit Nunangat is argued to far exceed the Canadian average (Guyot, Dickson, Paci, Furgal, & Chan, 2006; ITK & ICC, 2012; Lawn & Harvey, 2003, 2004; Rosol et al., 2011). According to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Inuit Circumpolar Council, Canada, "the current inability for a significant portion of Inuit to access safe, sufficient, nutritionally adequate, and socially acceptable food is undermining the well-being of the population and the very integrity of the culture" (ITK & ICC, 2012, p. 4).

A culmination of external factors such as globalization and climate change are driving localized challenges to ensuring food secure populations in the Arctic (IPCC, 2014). Many of these national and international factors, such as the onset of the 2008 global financial crisis, or the world's increasing population (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014), are positioning food security as a timely and important policy issue for indigenous and non-indigenous populations alike.

2.5 A Mixed Economy and a Mixed Food System: Two Sides of the Same Coin

Natcher (2009) and Thornton (1998) characterize subsistence as the harvesting, processing, distribution, and consumption of wild foods as an important aspect of culture. Like all facets of Inuit life, subsistence practices have endured significant pressures as northern communities and their economies have become increasingly linked to the South, but despite these changes, Inuit subsistence remains an integral part of daily life in the North (Duhaime et al., 2002).

An important element of subsistence is the sharing of food. Food sharing among Inuit is part of the social economy, a "complex set of behaviors, structured principally by kinship but also by residential association, that frame economic decisions" (Harder & Wenzel, 2012, p. 306). Through engaging in the social economy, Inuit practice a fundamental element of their culture that is based on their connection to the land and their kin. Gombay (2010) describes the importance and complexity of Inuit sharing practices in Nunavik highlighting the constant movement of food between households, within a community, based on complex social relations. Notably, these social relations and norms differ across the Canadian North. Kishigami (2004) argues that there exist

nine forms of Inuit food sharing that differ based on the societal norms governing the distribution of foods within households and across communities.

Despite these differences, food sharing remains a key aspect of Inuit life but these practices have adapted in response to the complex changes and pressures that communities have continually experienced. One way in which sharing practices have responded to these changes is the inclusion of store-bought foods in some sharing transactions, but also the sharing of technologies from the market economy – such as snowmobiles – that enable subsistence harvesting (G. W. Wenzel, 1995).

This extension of traditional economic practices to include money and market-goods such as store-bought food and technologies, signify a shift to a *mixed economy*; "a mixed economy adaptation in which money and traditional foods are the currencies" (G. W. Wenzel, In press). In this economy money functions as a new and disruptive factor, but it also facilitates the purchasing of inputs needed for subsistence activities like hunting and trapping. This interdependence between money and subsistence, and the resultant mixed economy has been characterized as an *optimal economy* (Natcher, 2009, p. 90; Nuttall et al., 2005) as it has assisted Inuit in maintaining subsistence through the means of the market-economy.

However, the mixed economy is not without its challenges as increased engagement with market-based activities is based on wage-employment, and individuals participating in the wage-employment sector generally have less time to participate in subsistence. Consequently, the mixed economy has been characterized as a spectrum or continuum, as individuals and households often shift between the market and subsistence economies to varying degrees as opportunities arise (Natcher, 2009; Usher et al., 2003). The monetary and subsistence resources and outputs available to any given individual or household tend to vary. Usher et al. (2003) explain that "people move between subsistence and market activities, depending on opportunities and preference. Subsistence in a mixed economy thus acts like a sponge, absorbing labour when opportunities decline, and releasing it when they arise" (p. 178). The social economy persists as an important element of the mixed economy as it is through the social economy that wild foods and the market resources required for harvesting are shared and distributed (G. W. Wenzel, In press).

It is important to discuss the difference between the mixed economy and the dual economy that Barker (2001) writes about. Usher et al. (2003) explain that a dual economy exists when two distinct economies co-exist but are separate from one another, one based on subsistence and the other on modern economic development. The dual economy is therefore based on a dichotomy and characterized by the absence of interaction between market and subsistence activities; which is not the case of Inuit economies whereby the market and subsistence sectors interact fluidly and variably, and in some cases may even be interdependent. Gombay (2010) further explains, "These two economies, the market and the vernacular, have been operating in tandem – sometimes in apparent isolation, but in fact increasingly overlapping and mixing together, with the distinction between them becoming blurred" (p. 12). The term dual economy should therefore be applied carefully, and arguably not to the economies of Canadian Inuit communities within which the subsistence and market factors are increasingly mixed, and in some cases indiscernible.

The responsiveness of Inuit culture and economics to these complex changes can be understood as an adaptation. Drawing on Wolfe and Walker's idea of the *mixed economy adaptation*, Wenzel explains that faced with immense social, political and economic change, Inuit adapted their existing institutions and practices which organized subsistence and the social economy, to respond to these new pressures (G. Wenzel, Personal Communication). Through this adaptation, Inuit have engaged with the market economy in a way that maintains their cultural values, connection to their physical environment, as well as the endurance of subsistence practices. Gombay (2010, p. 12) has said that:

> … we need to recognize that the Inuit economy is intimately linked to people's understanding of place, which, in turn, relates to such things as their experiences of time and history, their understandings of natural forces, their basic notions of value, and their conceptions of community and the social institutions that sustain it.

Thus the Inuit food system, economy and culture are deeply interconnected, and any analysis or discussion of one of these elements must acknowledge this complex relationship. To attempt to distinguish between these elements, where one ends and the others begin, would not only fail to see that food is both a social and economic entity, but also the core of Inuit identity and what it has meant for a culture and people to survive in

a highly variable physical environment that has been the locality of intense colonization and social change.

3 Methodology

Chilisa (2012) argues that when following an indigenous post-colonial research approach. methodology is "the place where assumptions about the nature of reality, knowledge, values, and theory and practice on a given topic converge" (p. 162). In this chapter I describe my own convergence process of how this research project was shaped and conducted in partnership with the Rigolet Inuit Community Government, and a community-based research team. I begin by describing the paradigm and methodological approaches that have influenced the project, and how these approaches interact with positionality, both my own and that of the community-based research team. This is followed by a description of the data collection process and methods, focusing on the development and adaptation of the photo card interview and food inventory methods. I then discuss our sampling and data analysis processes, explaining the differences in how they were actualized for the two methods. Key ethics considerations and practices are then overviewed. The chapter concludes with a description of the member checking and results sharing practices that we undertook as a means of ensuring the project's validity.

3.1 Determining the Research Approach, Determining Our Choices

Indigenous academics have called for a careful consideration of paradigm and methodology when conducting research with indigenous peoples (Chilisa, 2012; Kuokkanen, 2000; Rigney, 1999; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999); among them, Porsanger (2004) has argued "…indigenous peoples' interests, experiences and knowledge must be at the centre of research methodologies and the construction of knowledge concerning indigenous peoples" (p. 109; Rigney, 1999). While some indigenous academics focus on decolonizing, post-colonial or indigenous methodologies, others argue that these approaches must shape the very research paradigms that influence methodology. Yet regardless of whether the focus is on methodology or at a greater level such as paradigm, a commonality across this discourse is an emphasis on the choices and decisions that are central to research processes. The importance of these choices, and the processes by which researchers make these choices, cannot be overstated when conducting research with indigenous peoples and communities.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) argue that "each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions that are asked and the interpretations that are brought to them" (p. 13). Echoing the importance of questions and choices, Chilisa (2012) explains that in research "…choices are made about the literature to be reviewed, the theoretical frameworks, research questions, techniques of gathering data" (p. 49), and each of these choices is a manifestation of power relations between the researcher and the researched. Writing from a postcolonial indigenous research perspective, Chilisa offers question sets to guide researchers through self-examination of the potential power relations that can result from research (see Table 1).

	Orienting Decisions	**Research Design and Methodology**	**Data Analysis**	**Presenting and Reporting Results**
QUESTIONS	Why do I research with the formerly colonized, oppressed, and the disempowered? Will the research bring about change and transformation? Will the research have a clear stance against the political, academic, and methodological imperialism of its time? Will the research take a stance against Western archival knowledge and its colonizing and Othering ideologies?	Will the research take a stance against methodological imperialism? What is the main research approach? Is it decolonization of Western-based methodologies…? What is the purpose of the study, and what are the research questions emanating from the purpose of the study? What worldview and theories frame the purpose of the study, research questions, and methods of data collection? What type of data will be required to address the research questions? What techniques or methods of gathering data will the study use? Who will carry out the study?	How will the data be analyzed, and who will analyze it? Will the study use indigenous analytical frameworks? Will conventional analytical frameworks be used? Will the research problematize and critique the tendency to make the researched speak through the voices, academic language, concepts, and theories of the West? Whose worldviews and theories will be used to conceptualize and analyze the data? Who will verify and validate the data and the way is it interpreted? Whose data is it? Who will own and store it?	Who will write the research report, for whom, and in what language? Will different constituencies require different forms of reporting and disseminating research findings? Will the researched coauthor the report? Will bilingual texts be used for analyses and presentation of data? Will research results be available, accessible, and usable for both the researched and the international community of scholars?

Table 1: Questions for Planning Research from a Postcolonial Indigenous Research Perspective (Sources: Table adapted by author, text from Chilisa 2012 pp.298-307)

These question sets seek to guide researchers in orienting their decisions, establishing a research design and methodology, as well as choosing their approach to data analysis, and presenting and reporting their results (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 298-307). However, questions such as these can take a researcher beyond determining the basics of their research process to better understanding how their identity as an individual affects their work as "the[se] questions also require researchers to define their roles and responsibilities and to arrive at a clear, conscious definition of the self in relation to the research"(p. 299). Furthermore:

> addressing the politically engaged and practical questions and taking decisions on them ensures that the research is aligned with the intentions of postcolonial indigenous research methodologies and that the coherence and practicability of the planned study are addressed in an ethically defensible context (p. 307).

Power relations are therefore embedded within the choices we make, but in being aware we can determine and influence how these power relations are actualized. It is important to acknowledge though that our power and choices do not end with choosing a specific paradigm and methodology such as postcolonial indigenous; power relations exist at every step in our research because we have choice over the very questions that we ask and therefore the decisions that we will face throughout our research from developing our research questions, to data analysis and results sharing.

3.1.1 Positionality

Our individual identities as researchers influence the choices that arise in our work, but our identities also extend into our internal processes of how we go about making these choices. Fine (1994) explains that "…we are human inventors of some questions and repressors of others, shapers of the very contexts we study, co-participants in our interviews, interpreters of other's stories and narrators of our own"(p. 14). Thus, our personalities, experiences, and biases cannot be fully separated from our research methodology, results and outcomes.

3.1.1.1 My Identity is Not Separate from this Research

I identify as non-indigenous and live with many privileges that stem from my family name and the structures within which I have lived most of my life. Yet I live in an area of

Canada where many families – to my knowledge, like my own – have made great efforts to erase their connections to what colonial and imperial powers saw as inferior. These acts were not only erasing connections, they were erasing the identity of families, of future generations, and they were also erasing elements of our collective identity as a society.

When I began this research, and first examined the discourse on indigenous methodologies and paradigms I was immediately drawn to its framing and implications; how could research with indigenous peoples and communities not place indigenous experiences and perspectives at the centre of all decisions and processes? Yet, like many non-indigenous students I struggled with how I could conduct this research, and embrace these paradigms and methodologies if I myself do not identify as indigenous. It is not my place to decolonize research methodologies or the academy, doing so would risk being another manifestation of colonialism; a student that has not lived an indigenous experience exerting power regarding circumstances that do not apply to them, further propagating oppression.

So began my dialogue and reflection, with academics and community members both indigenous and non-indigenous, and internally with myself. Through this process I have come to understand and recognize that I care deeply about challenging the colonial structures that exist within research practices, academia, and society and that I can learn from indigenous researchers, leaders, discourse, and communities to inform decisions within my own work. For me, and this research, decolonizing and indigenous methodologies have been embraced as a lens from which I try to conceptualize and think through the decisions and methodological practices that are inherent to the current standards of graduate research. It is through applying the ideas and arguments of Porsanger, Tuhiwai Smith, Fine and others that I have navigated the decisions and challenges of this project. Through answering and continually revisiting Chilisa's question sets when faced with a challenge or choice, the lessons gained from this discourse and approach have helped me to consider the assumptions and options that are inherent and possible within this research.

I am a 26-year-old female, the first member of my family to complete post-secondary studies. I grew up the youngest of two children, regularly interacting with a

large extended family, in an Ontario farming community. However, unlike much of my family and community, during my high school and undergraduate studies I had several opportunities to volunteer, live, and work abroad in West Africa, and Latin America.

Having grown up outside a small town, spending evenings and weekends outdoors, dirt-biking and skidooing, interacting with men and women who spend extensive time farming and at cabins, I first visited Rigolet with a different comfort and familiarity than some of my classmates had upon initially arriving at the locations of their research. I was comfortable handling equipment and vehicles, I was eager to contribute to building cabins, I was used to small towns where everyone says hello – even to people they do not know – and I appreciated the ebbing and flow of silences and humour that punctuate conversations on the Labrador coast.

Despite all of these comforts though, I was still from away; I am not from Rigolet, a community that is much smaller than the town where I grew up even, and though I had worked abroad, I had never been to a fly-in community. I had not been to the Arctic or sub-Arctic, I had certainly never engaged in a Northern food system, but most importantly I had no idea what it meant to be on the land, and to have such a deep, historical and ancestral connection to a place and the physical environment.

Rigolet has exceptionally strong research capacity that can be further appreciated given its small population size. As an outsider I had much to learn and understand, and yet time and again community members, staff at RICG, and the community-based researchers were unendingly patient, humble, and conscientious in showing me and explaining all facets of life in the community from ensuring that I was comfortable with eating new wild foods, to talking about culture along the Labrador coast. Three years, four trips, and nine weeks spent in Rigolet and I still have so much to understand and appreciate about the community and its way of life, some of which I will never be able to know or conceptualize. As a result of my positionality and limited experience, the community-based research team proved vital to enabling this project.

3.1.1.2 The Community-Based Research Team

An important aspect of this research is that it has been conducted in close partnership with the community of Rigolet. This approach is based on the principle of Community

Based Participatory Research (CBPR), the idea of which is that "research [is] undertaken with" (Castleden, Garvin, & Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 2008, p. 1394) the community, as opposed to an external researcher studying a community without community members' input into research objectives and design. The CBPR approach is increasingly used in research with Canadian indigenous communities as it has been developed with the intention of overcoming the neo-colonial approaches of past research programs that objectified, and even alienated, communities. This approach has been identified as a means of reducing research fatigue within small communities as it assists communities in articulating their objectives and terms for research, and therefore better ensures that the research findings can contribute to an initiative or concern that is relevant to and has been identified by the community.

The CBPR approach is just one of the many potential research approaches identified in the indigenous paradigms and methodologies discourse as "postcolonial indigenous research methodologies emphasize research with people rather than research on people" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 306) which is a central tenant of CBPR. Chilisa has argued that "it is only when researchers from multiple cultures work collaboratively to acknowledge and interrogate the theories, the literature, the methodologies, and the embedded ethical and moral issues that decolonization and indigenization can become a reality" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 24), and the CBPR approach is our effort to do so.

In following the CBPR approach and the Rigolet Inuit Community Government's research protocols (as discussed in Chapter 2), a community-based research team has provided significant guidance, and contributions to this project. Former and current AngajukKâks (chief executive officer and mayor) Charlotte Wolfrey and Jack Shiwak, have guided the overall direction of the project. Their work has included ensuring that the research sample and framing is representative of the community, as well as decision-making regarding results sharing within Rigolet, and the broader academic community.

The community-based research team has also included a research coordinator (Inez Shiwak), and two research assistants (Charlie Flowers, and Lisa Palliser-Bennett). All three have lived most of their lives in Rigolet, with time away from the community for post-secondary studies. As research coordinator, Inez has contributed to all stages of the research process from the identification of research questions to results sharing. She

developed the photo cards used during interviews (which will be further discussed in this chapter), as well as overseeing the food inventory data collection. Inez has presented on this research at academic conferences, verified transcripts, and assisted in the development and running of participant verification and results sharing activities. In addition to being very well liked in the community, she is well respected for her professionalism and protection of confidentiality.

As a research assistant, Charlie adapted and ran the photo card interview process. His positionality as a male in his early thirties was especially important in interviews as he was well received by participants, especially older male harvesters. Charlie's knowledge of the community – community members, household dynamics, as well as the local harvesting patterns and practices – was central to the success of the interviews and how the research method was developed over the course of data collection. Lisa, the final member of the research team, has played a different role in comparison to Charlie and Inez, as Lisa joined after data collection was completed for both the photo card interviews and food inventories. She brought a fresh community-based perspective to the research by contributing to transcript verification, and participant verification of the interviews and preliminary results.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Methods

In aiming to document and characterize the current story of food in Rigolet we (the community-based research team and myself) determined that it was necessary to examine what community members consume, and why. Arguably, the simplest and most effective way of doing this is to track what participants purchase and harvest for consumption, and to ask participants what factors influence and direct these actions and what they consume. To track participants' harvesting and purchasing patterns we knew that it would be necessary to aggregate them in some way, likely with basic frequency counts, but we also recognized that this approach was quantitative in nature and needed to be complemented by a more qualitative approach that was better able to examine why people were consuming what they were; upon further reading I found that this assumption aligned with the qualitative methods literature.

Proponents of qualitative research methods often caution against the sole employment of quantitative methods when trying to examine human behaviours, as Berg (2007) argues "if humans are studied in a symbolically reduced, statistically aggregated fashion, there is danger that conclusions – although arithmetically precise – may fail to fit reality" (p. 8; Mills, 1959). We were certainly seeking arithmetically precise conclusions but we also needed these conclusions to be grounded in the reality of participants' experiences and perspectives.

Furthermore, the literature on qualitative methods generally supports the use of multiple methods because it is recognized "that each practice makes the world visible in a different way"(Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 4). We therefore concluded that different data collection methods were needed – at least two – if we were to address our research questions; one would be qualitative, while the second would be more quantitative in nature.

3.2.1.1 Photo Card Interviews

3.2.1.1.1 Using Visuals to Honour the Oral Tradition and Connection to Place

In following the indigenous paradigm and methodologies discourse, we sought to choose a qualitative method that aligned with how knowledge is created, maintained and shared within Inuit culture (Chilisa, 2012, p. 61). For Inuit the "past is preserved and explained through the telling of stories and the passing of information from one generation to the next through what is called the oral tradition" (ITK, 2014); we therefore wanted to employ a method that respected the oral tradition and gave space for storytelling in the research process.

We also wanted the method to be inclusive of the connection that Inuit have with the land and their local food systems. We knew from past research in Rigolet that changes in the natural environment are affecting the availability and quality of wild foods (Cunsolo Willox, Harper, Ford, et al., 2012). This speaks to the connection that exists between the land and Rigolet's food system, and the consequent importance of acknowledging the role that place-based identities and culture play in the community's experiences, perceptions and preferences regarding food.

In reviewing the qualitative methods literature I found that visual methods fit into a greater understanding of how individuals interact with and understand place through all five senses (Lombard, 2013; Tuan, 1977). Visual methods could therefore be a means to examine how people experience food, place, and the intersection of both in a context where food and place affect identity and culture. The focus was further narrowed to photo elicitation techniques which use photographs as prompts in interviews (D. Harper, 2002). Photo elicitation techniques have been credited with resulting in richer and more in-depth interview responses than interviews that rely solely on talking without photo prompts (Rose, 2001) because "images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words" (D. Harper, 2002, p. 13).

3.2.1.1.2 Developing the Photo Cards and Piloting Card Sorts

We determined that the card sort method had the potential to incorporate storytelling and photo elicitation in an easily replicated process that could spark more interesting exchanges than what would result from interviews alone. A card sort is an elicitation technique that asks participants to look at a series of cards containing pictures and, or words, that are relevant to the research; participants then separate the cards into different categories (Rugg & McGeorge, 2005; Saunders & Thornhill, 2011; Whaley A. & R., 2009). There exists many ways to administer the sorting process and these different approaches determine how much control the administrator and participant each have over the process. The key questions of control concern who determines the categories that the cards are sorted into, and how many times the cards get sorted. "The categories into which items are sorted can be chosen by the researcher, participant or a combination of both" (Rugg & McGeorge, 2005, p. 336; Saunders & Thornhill, 2011).

We developed an interview guide that included the categories we would ask participants to sort the cards into, as well as potential follow-up questions. The next major step was to develop the photo cards that would be sorted; working from 1980s harvesting data (Alton Mackey, Unpublished), we determined which wild foods should be pictured on the cards. Photos of these foods were obtained from a number of community members and the My Word Lab's photo database. We then received permission from the Northern store to photograph the most commonly consumed store

foods. Former store employees assisted in determining which store items were best pictured together; for example, all root vegetables were pictured on a single card while vegetables identified as “fresh” or garden vegetables such as lettuce and peppers, were pictured on a second card. The former store staff were also key in determining the overall list of most commonly consumed store foods that were included on the cards. All together, the wild and store food photos resulted in 72 photo cards that were printed and laminated on four by six inch photo paper (see Figure 3 below for an example of the photo cards, and the Appendix for the complete photo card listing).

Figure 3: Example Photo Cards (Source: Author)

The card sorts were then piloted with staff from the RICG. Based on this experience we thought that card sorting was an appropriate method as it allowed for participants to share stories about the food system, providing insight into what they commonly eat and why. Charlie and I began interviews with research participants, and it was in our first non-pilot interview that we came to understand the drawbacks of card sorting as a method.

Following the initial interview guide meant that participants were sorting all 72 photo cards a minimum of five times as we had identified five different sorting

categories. Our intention was to run the card sorts as individual or group interviews, depending on participants' preferences. The community-based research team had emphasized the importance of using interview methods that gave participants the option to be interviewed alone or with other adult members of their households; we would come to appreciate this once we learned that the group interview approach often elicited richer responses in comparison to one-on-one interviews with individual participants.

The couple that participated in the first non-pilot interview shared many stories, but Charlie recognized that the number of cards and categories was overwhelming, and the participants rushed their responses because of the time required for each sort. As a result of this experience Charlie recommended that we adapt to a simpler photo elicitation interview.

3.2.1.1.3 Adapting from Card Sorts to the Photo Card Interviews

In using the simpler photo elicitation approach to the interviews Charlie remained the main interviewer and I took notes, asking follow-up and clarifying questions as needed. Charlie would review each photo card, one-by-one with participant(s), asking about each of the 72 cards; the adapted interview guide and the resultant questions were developed from the initial guide and sorting categories (see Table 2 for a summary of the finalized guide). Our intention with the adapted method was to gain insight into the same general discussion topics regarding participants' diets and food choices as with the card sorts, but in a more efficient and less overwhelming approach that was better suited for storytelling and moving beyond the questions on the guide.

As a research team we appreciated how easily the method could be modified to ensure participants were comfortable with the interview process. We did not want to restrict how participants could respond to questions such as scales regarding preferences, or even the choice to respond describing their own preferences and food consumption, or that of their whole family. We just asked that participants clearly describe to us how they were responding. Participants were also able to choose the location of their interviews, and whether they wanted to be interviewed one-on-one or with fellow household members. The majority opted to be interviewed in their homes with family members,

with only three participants choosing to be interviewed at the community council office where the community-based research team is based.

Questions	General Discussion Topics
How much do you like this food/drink?	Preference
How often do you eat it?	Consumption pattern
Is there a certain time of year you eat it?	Seasonality
Where do you usually get your food/drinks – wild and store?	Source
Are there food/drinks you often share or that others share with you? Is it usually with friends and/or family?	Sharing
How much time and/or money do you spend accessing food?	Resource Requirement
Has your diet changed over time? If so, how?	Change in diet

Table 2: Summarized Interview Guide

We quickly learned that responses became richer as we progressed through the photo cards in each interview, with initial responses often being more superficial, accented with laughter as people seemed somewhat shy with being asked about their eating and harvesting habits. We were concerned that if we reviewed the photo cards in the same order with all participants, there was a risk of biasing the responses for the food and drink items that were always reviewed first. In an effort to address this potential bias we decided to vary the order of the photo cards between interviews.

Over four weeks in May and June 2013, 48 people from 27 households participated in the photo card interviews. Over 14 hours of audio recordings were made from the interviews, with several additional hours of interviews taking place with seven interview participants that had chosen to not be audio recorded.

3.2.1.2 Food Inventories

3.2.1.2.1 Learning from the Nutritional Methods

Food inventories were used as a second data collection method that was intended to complement the photo card interviews. Where the photo cards were meant to be qualitative in nature, examining how and why participants accessed different aspects of Rigolet's food system, the food inventories were designed to determine what households

were actually consuming given the many challenges and influences they had discussed during the interviews.

From the outset of the project, we recognized that we would not conduct a nutritional assessment or use overtly quantitative nutritional methods, such as 24hour food recalls, as this was not the aim of the research. However, the food inventory method we eventually employed was indeed influenced by nutritional methods. We knew that we were interested in understanding food consumption and harvesting patterns at the household level and settled on a method that combined the food account and inventory methods. Within the nutrition literature "a food account [is described as] a daily record, prepared by the household, either purchased, received as a gift, or produced for household use during a specified period – usually seven days" (Gibson, 1990, p. 26). This method was especially appealing because it is considered to have a low response burden and "the diet does not appear to be altered by the recording process" (Gibson, 1990, p. 26).

However, the food account method is best suited to circumstances where the household inventory will be constant (Gibson, 1990, p. 26). In situations where household inventories are likely to change during the study period, the inventory method is better suited as it "aims at recording acquisitions and changes in the food inventory of households" (Gibson, 1990, p. 27). In this sense the inventory method was better aligned to the changes that participants described during the interviews, particularly regarding the seasonality of harvesting and the Northern store's stock that varies depending on whether supplies are being brought in by boat or plane; yet the inventory method entailed weighing items that were brought into participating households and this posed a potentially heavy response burden for participants. We therefore settled on an approach that mixed both the food account and inventory methods, that we refer to as the food inventories.

3.2.1.2.2 Food Inventory Collection

We conducted the food inventories for four month-long study periods, during which participating households were asked to document all foods that were brought into their homes. Participants were given an envelope to keep their store receipts, and wild food log

sheets were provided to document additional food and drink items that were harvested, or brought out of storage from freezers or cellars (see Appendix for the wild food log sheet). As the community-based researcher leading the food inventories, Inez visited households on a weekly and biweekly basis during the study months to collect all receipts and wild food logs.

The food inventories were ran for four weeks in August/September and November 2013, as well as March and May 2014. Decided in consultation with RICG, and the community-based research team, the August/September phase was chosen to capture the seasonality of salmon and berry harvesting. November was selected as the second phase because we wanted to document the changes in harvesting that occur just prior to and during freeze-up, as well as the orders to regional grocers that some households bring in by boat before the ice. This contrasts our choice in documenting March for an early spring month when harvesting households are generally active hunting seal and fishing through the ice. Finally, May was included in the inventories because the ice usually begins to breakup at this time, making it difficult to get out on the land and to cabins to harvest. Furthermore, the boat does not resume its run to Rigolet until after breakup therefore the Northern store generally experiences stock shortages come May.

An added benefit to the above stated food inventory schedule was that it provided participants a break between phases. We also followed recommendations in the qualitative, and indigenous methodologies literature that advised adapting methods whenever possible to accommodate participants (Chilisa, 2012). For instance, in the beginning of the inventories Inez picked up receipts and wild food logs on a weekly basis, providing support to households that experienced challenges in documenting what they had brought into the house. However, as households became increasingly comfortable with the process Inez's visits became bi-weekly, and by the end of the final food inventory phase biweekly visits and pick-up were the norm for all households. This is just one example of how we tried to monitor and shift our approach to respect participants' time and space.

3.2.2 Sampling

When discussing potential sampling strategies with members of RICG and the community-based research team, it was recommended that a general information call be put out to the community about the project. The call could provide an overview of the project and its purpose, inviting community members to contact RICG or the research team if they would like more information, or were interested in participating. As discussed in Chapter 2, Rigolet is a small community but very active with research, so it has become common protocol to open participation to any interested community members and/or households, whenever study design permits.

In respect of this protocol we developed a set of project information materials; posters were placed in all household's mailboxes, as well as posted on information boards around town. A posting was shared on the community Facebook page, and an announcement ran on the community radio station over the course of a week. The research team and RICG staff also shared information and responded to any inquiries that were made.

As a result of these efforts, 19 individuals from 13 households contacted the research team expressing interest in participating. The sample eventually grew to 48 participants from 27 households (25% of community households) through word of mouth; upon completing the photo card interviews many of the initial participants shared their experiences with family members and friends who in turn reached out to us to participate. However, we were reaching content saturation in the interviews; the research team reviewed the list of participants and households and determined that the existing sample was representative of the varied income levels and engagement with the community food system such as users and administrators of the community food bank, the community freezer, families both with and without children, families that only eat from the store, as well as active hunters. We then followed up with the remaining households, explaining that we had reached a sufficient sample, but that we were happy to have them participate if they wanted to participate, although all declined.

Household Number	Household Composition		Participation by Method	
	Number of Adults*	Number of Children*	Photo Card Interviews	Food Inventories
1	1	0	Yes	Yes
2	2	1	Yes	Yes
3	2	0	Yes	Yes
4	4	1	Yes	Yes
5	1	0	Yes	Yes
6	2	2	Yes	No
7	2	0	Yes	Yes
8	3	0	Yes	Yes
9	2	0	Yes	Yes
10	2	1	Yes	Yes
11	2	3	Yes	No
12	2	1	Yes	No
13	2	0	Yes	No
14	1	0	Yes	Yes
15	2	1	Yes	Yes
16	2	2	Yes	Yes
17	2	4	Yes	Yes
18	2	1	Yes	Yes
19	1	1	Yes	Yes
20	1	1	Yes	Yes
21	2	3	Yes	Yes
22	3	0	Yes	Yes
23	4	1	Yes	No
24	2	3	Yes	Yes
25	2	0	Yes	Yes
26	2	3	Yes	Yes
27	3	0	Yes	Yes

Table 3: Household Composition and Participation

(*Note: The number of adults and children per household refers to the *household composition*, not the *number of participants* per household. Furthermore, detailed information on household profiles is not provided given the small number of households in Rigolet and the need to ensure confidentiality.)

In trying to understand what households were eating and why, we wanted to work with the same cohort of households for both the photo card interviews and food inventories and therefore invited all interview participants to contribute to the inventories. Of the 27

households that took part in the interviews 22 opted to participate in the food inventories. The remaining five households chose to not participate in the food inventories due to time constraints with their work, and travel outside of the community (see Table 3 for an overview of the household composition, as well as participation in the photo card interviews and food inventories).

3.3 Data Analysis

3.3.1 Photo Card Interviews

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011) "all research is interpretive: guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (p. 13). The power relations associated with data analysis are perhaps the greatest responsibility emphasized in the indigenous methodologies literature, and it is this responsibility that I continually revisited and reflected on while reviewing the photo card interview data.

I began the data analysis process by reviewing my field notes, and transcribing the audio recordings of interviews. During the transcription process I wrote memos on the patterns emerging regarding certain foods, consumption and harvesting practices, as well as the patterns I saw between and within households (Saldaña, 2013). A member of the community-based research team then reviewed each of the transcripts and my notes for accuracy.

The verified transcripts were imported into Excel, and organized into units for analysis based on the photo card that was discussed in each text segment (Saldaña, 2013). Every unit of text was then coded, unit by unit, for the following concepts that were identified through my earlier memoing: *preference*, *enoughness*, *cost/resources*, *seasonality*, *stock*, *convenience/time*, *harvesting restrictions*, *health/wellbeing*, *culture/family practice*, *change*, and *unsure*. After testing these codes on all text units for five transcripts, an additional code for *preparation/storage* was added (see Appendix for a summary of the codebook).

I then ran filters in Excel to review all text units associated with each of the 72 photo cards, identifying the applicable codes for each card and consequently the codes that were relevant to each food and drink that it pictured. At this time I also identified

relevant quotes that could be used to represent the codes and patterns that were emerging. The food and drinks featured on each photo were then grouped into 13 classifications based on categorizations in Health Canada's Food Guide for First Nations, Inuit and Métis, Nutrition North's Eligible Food listing, and the Inuit Health Survey's Food Frequency Questionnaire (CINE, 2008; Government of Canada, 2014; Health Canada, 2007), as further discussed in Chapter 5. Relevant codes and quotes for each classification were then reorganized to facilitate their description as findings.

3.3.2 Food Inventories

The receipts and wild food logs that participants kept were anonymized then summarized in Excel. Each line of store receipts and the wild food logs were entered as a row in Excel, and each of these entries tracked key information such as the date of the purchase and/or harvest, the food inventory phase that it occurred within (August/September, November, March, or May), the household identification number that it was attributed to, the classification the item fit within, the source of the item (such as land, Northern store, friend and/or family), as well as cost if the item was store-bought. An undergraduate research assistant completed the majority of this data entry, and throughout the entry process we worked together to perform randomized checks for accuracy. The dataset was then cleaned, sorted, and categorized using Open refine, and then manually in Excel. Following this process, the data was further grouped into the 13 classifications that were used to group the photo cards (as shown in the Appendix). Graphs, as shown in Chapter 5, were then generated for each classification.

3.4 Ethics

This research has been approved by McGill University's Research Ethics Board I, under Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans REB File#: 421-0313. A letter of support for this project was also obtained from the Nunatsiavut Government Research Advisory Committee in May 2013. In accordance with the research ethics applications submitted to McGill's REB and the Nunatsiavut Government, as well as in agreement with the RICG, the data produced by this project belongs to the community of Rigolet.

Before commencing each interview, as well as the food inventories, the purpose and ethical considerations of this project were reviewed with each participant. Informed written consent was obtained from all participants, in addition to consent for audio recording when applicable. In further accordance with RICG standards, and regional research practice within Nunatsiavut, all participants received a $40.00 honorarium for the photo card interviews, and households contributing to the food inventories received $40.00 for each week of food inventories. Participants had the choice to receive the honorariums as gift cards to either the Northern store, or for gas.

3.5 Validation

The validation approach used in this research was informed by the postcolonial and indigenous research methodologies, and was developed in consultation with the community-based research team. The central assumption of this approach has been that engaging with participants throughout data analysis and interpretation, as well as verifying potential results with households and the broader community, is a key means of improving and ensuring the validity of research findings.

3.5.1 Member Checking

Member checking, also referred to as participant verification, is about working with participants to review the emerging patterns and findings of research to ensure that they align with participants' experiences and perspectives (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Chilisa, 2012). We conducted two rounds of member checking for this project; the first set of checks occurred in January 2014 and the second in March 2015. During both sets of checks, a member of the community-based research team and I would visit with participants to update them on the interview data analysis process and findings, as well as the process for food inventories. The discussions, although often brief, were very informative as it allowed me to gain insights to improve data interpretation. An example of this resulted from the March 2015 checks during which the majority of households informed us that their wild food entries were more underreported than their store entries, enabling us consider this underreporting in the study findings, as shown in Chapter 5.

3.5.2 Results Sharing

Results sharing is a key element of research practice in Rigolet. During meetings and community events in January 2014, preliminary results for this project were shared with stakeholders of the Nunatsiavut Government, the RICG, and community members. This weeklong sharing process sought to provide updates on a range of research within the community, while also highlighting the connections that exist between this project and other Rigolet-based projects focused on water, mental health and well-being, and infrastructure planning. Community events included workshops with elementary and high school students, an open-house that used games and trivia to share preliminary results, and a community supper. Researchers and staff from McGill University, the University of Guelph, Cape Breton University, and RICG organized these events.

Upon completing this thesis, I will continue working with RICG and the research team to host a similar set of events in early 2016. Project participants and government staff will be invited to one-on-one meetings to share the draft results and a community open house will be held for all residents. As with the original call for participants and the January 2014 events, the forthcoming open house will be advertised with mailbox flyers, posters, the community radio station, and on the community Facebook page.

I will work with the community research team and government to develop a final report that will be circulated to participants, the community as a whole, staff at the Nunatsiavut Government, as well as other researchers and non-governmental groups that are active within Rigolet. All reports of the study will be translated into Inuttitut and the use of technical terminology will be minimized or fully defined to ensure a clear understanding of the results. This is a key element of the research partnership, as all the data, findings and the research process as a whole belong to RICG and the community, and all members of the research team are working together to present findings in an accurate and appropriate manner that is meaningful and useful for ongoing and future community policy.

4 Results

This chapter examines the data generated by the photo elicitation interviews and food inventories that were conducted between May 2013 and June 2014. The aim of the analysis is to identify what is commonly consumed in Rigolet, as well as the factors that enable and limit these consumption practices. In analyzing these two datasets concurrently my intention is to examine the interconnections that exist between wild and store foods, in addition to the breadth of influences that affect participants' diets on a day-to-day basis.

During debriefing interviews in 2014 and 2015, households that contributed to the food inventories reported that wild food entries were underreported in comparison to store foods during the 12 weeks of food inventories. For this reason, this analysis does not seek to compare the quantity of store and wild foods that participants are accessing and consuming, but instead to identify and examine the different classifications of what was reported, as well as the patterns of the food inventories, and to understand these findings in light of what participants shared during the photo card interviews.

This chapter is structured around 13 classifications of food that can be broadly grouped into wild foods and store foods. The wild food classifications include land mammals, mollusks, birds, marine mammals, fish, and berries, and a total of 1,051 entries were made in the food inventories for these classifications (see Figure 4). The store food classifications had a total of 14,969 entries which were divided between the following classifications: vegetables and fruits, milk and alternatives, meat and alternatives, grain products, oils, fats and sugars, combination foods, as well as other foods (see Figure 5). In this chapter, each classification is examined in terms of the quantity, seasonality, and source of its food inventory entries, as well as the factors that participants identified during the photo card interviews regarding what influences their diet, including access and consumption of foods from the specific classifications. The examination of these 13 classifications is followed by an overview of a final classification for mixed foods – foods and drinks that are homemade – they are made from, and conceptualized primarily as wild foods but include ingredients from the store. This is followed by a discussion of participant-identified factors that influence diet; these factors are different from those

identified in the individual classification analyses, and are included because they are factors that are not specific to any one classification, but multiple or all. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of findings.

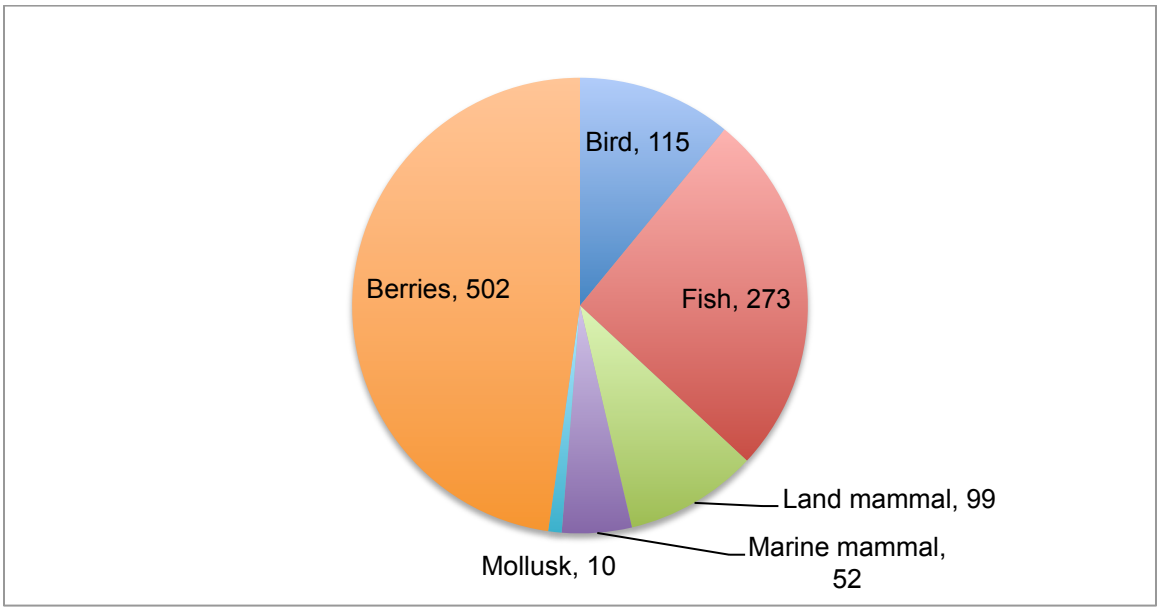

Figure 4: Wild Food Entries (by Classification)

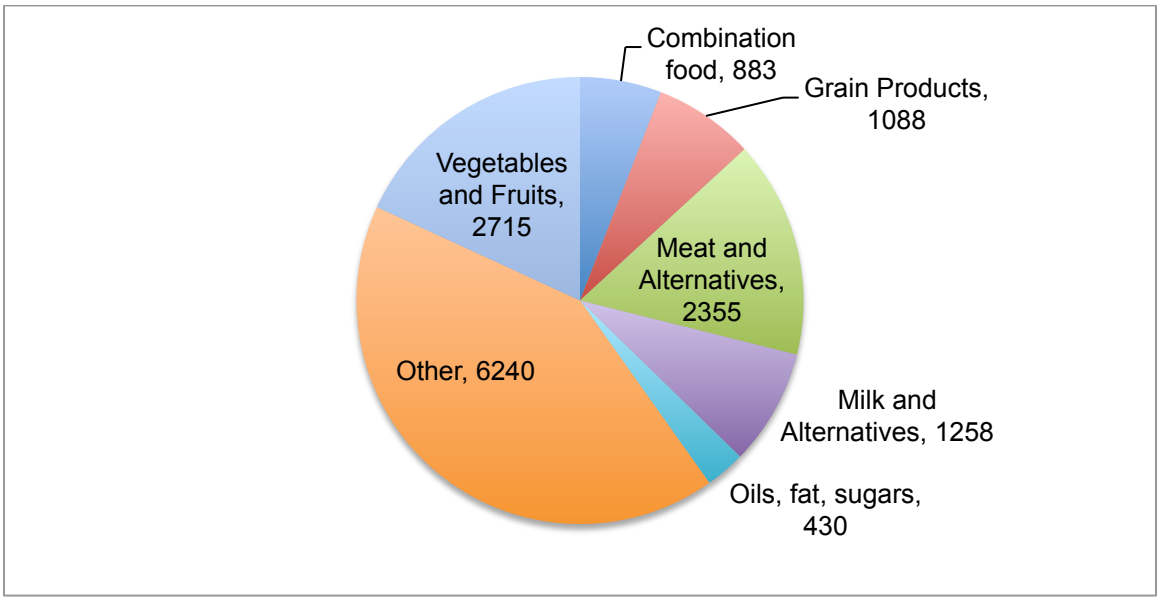

Figure 5: Store Food Entries (by Classification)

4.1 Analysis by Classification

4.1.1 Wild Foods

4.1.1.1 Land Mammals

The land mammal classification includes moose (*tuktuvak*, *alces alces*), caribou (*tuktuk*, *rangifer tarandus*), black bear (*akslak*, *ursus americanus*), lynx (*piktosigiak*, *lynx canadensis*), beaver (*kigiak*, *castor*), porcupine (*illâgusik*, *erethizon dorsatum*), and rabbit (*ukalik*, *leporidae*). It accounts for 99 (9%) of the total 1,051 wild foods entries that participating households documented during the 12-week food inventories. Yet despite land mammals' small presence in the food inventories, the photo card interviews suggest that this classification has important cultural and dietary value to the community of Rigolet; firstly because it includes caribou, and secondly because changes in the consumption of land mammals are deeply connected to social, cultural, and economic changes that affect the community food system.

Of the 22 households that contributed to the food inventories, 13 reported harvesting and/or consuming land mammals during the study period (see Figure 6, note that household identification numbers have been removed from the axis to better ensure the confidentiality of participants). The majority of these (70 entries) were for moose, followed by rabbit (16 entries) caribou (12 entries), and black bear (one entry). The numbers reported for land mammals were consistent across three of the four food inventory phases as there was little variation between Phase 1 in August/September (12 entries), Phase 2 in November (15 entries), and Phase 4 in May (17 entries). March however, was an anomalous month for land mammal harvesting and consumption with 55 entries, 40 of which were for moose, 12 for rabbit, and the remaining three entries were for caribou.

The increase in land mammals – specifically moose entries – corresponds to a harvest and sharing of moose from the community freezer program (as shown in Figure 7). It is important to note that moose, along with char, are generally the only wild foods that are available as community-wide giveaways, organized by the Nunatsiavut Government. The regular operations of the freezer prioritizes ensuring that community members with diabetes, or those with low-income or no active hunter in their household

have access to wild foods; community members who meet these criteria have access to all animal and berry supplies of the freezer, up to twice per month. The freezer is run as a partnership between the Rigolet Inuit Community Government, and Food First NL (formerly the Food Security Network of Newfoundland and Labrador) as part of the NiKigijavut Nunatsiavutinni: Our Food in Nunatsiavut program (FSN, 2014). This thesis tracks community freezer distributions to the extent that they involve participating households and the four month-long food inventory periods, however overall community-level distribution trends of the community freezer were not tracked or analyzed for this thesis as this was outside the agreed scope of data collection and analysis.

Of the 99 food inventory entries for land mammals, 50 were sourced from the community freezer and 22 were the result of sharing from family and friends both within and outside the community. The source is unknown for nine of the entries, and the final 18 entries were reported by a select number of households that had licenses for their own moose, hunted their own rabbit, or that had remaining caribou from before the moratorium was put into place.

The food inventories position moose as a key element of participants' diets in terms of land mammal consumption, showing that it is commonly accessed through sharing and the community freezer program. The photo elicitation interviews that were held in May 2013 offer insight into the dynamics of household diets, including explanations of how and why moose is the prominent land mammal in the food inventory data. Interviews reported that moose has only recently become a common element of diets in Rigolet because it is seen as a substitute for caribou. As one female participant explained, "I eat moose… it's not what I'm used to but it's something I know I got to get accustomed to because there's no caribou". The community freezer has played an enabling role for the substitution, according to one male participant "[the community freezer has] given us some moose meat and we're learnin' how to like that now cause we're not used to it… so we're adjusting… and I'm sure we'll like it just as much as caribou now cause can't get no caribou".

The community freezer has not only served to introduce some participants to moose, it has also ensured that community members have access to it as Nunatsiavut Government has a total allowable harvest of only 28 moose for the land claim area, of

which six licenses are designated for Rigolet (Nunatsiavut Government, 2015). Four of Rigolet's licenses are allocated for residents and two licenses are used to supply the community freezer as per Nunatsiavut Government regulation. As a result of these harvesting regulations, up to four households can harvest their own moose and the remaining households and community members are dependent on household-to-household sharing and the community freezer program as shown in the food inventory data.

Despite efforts to make moose accessible to more community members there remains strong views regarding the taste of moose. One male participant explained that he will eat moose "if it's from Newfoundland, I don't like Labrador moose", and he was not the only participant to voice this preference. Another male interviewee explained "I think it's the season… Most of the one's they get around here they kill them in the winter... After they've been eat'n ol'trees and that." Thus the accessibility and consumption of moose will likely be increasingly important as the caribou harvesting moratorium continues, but for many participants it will take time to adjust to this shift.

During the photo card interviews a female participant spoke about the cultural importance of caribou to Inuit identity, and a concern for cultural loss that could occur if the ban is extended beyond five years. She explained "young people [will] never know the taste of caribou, that's a thing of the past for them now". The loss of caribou in the community food system was a common discussion theme throughout the interviews; of the 27 households that participated, members from 25 households spoke about this loss. Participants often had an initial emotional reaction to the caribou photo card followed by a statement of how long it had been since their last meal of caribou, a description of how little was left in their freezers, or an explanation of why they no longer have any. One female participant responded: "oh my god! Best thing in the world, love it, don't get it very often… specially now you're not allowed to" while another said upon seeing the caribou card "I'm gonna drool here, I have none in my freezer, I would eat it… like if I could I'd eat it four times a month… But – I can't cause there's none".

There were also discussions of how the location of caribou had made access difficult in the past. Sharing practices were described as a means of obtaining caribou meat during these times when the regional herd had moved North, away from Rigolet.

One male participant explained: "like my daughter done and [got] it down in Nain, but them can't get none no more now" because the moratorium applies to all of Nunatsiavut, including Nain. A second male participant explained:

> it hasn't happened lately, but normally we would… get our caribou from North, from ah, either from my brother in-law or from one of my brothers, like they would usually… send us a caribou or two… on the plane usually… just a butchered and frozen… it would be fairly expensive for us to go from here… so usually what'll happen is everybody will chip in to buy him the gas… then he'll come back with the caribou… and spread it among family members.

However, strategies such as this no longer address the lack of caribou in household diets because they were only viable when the herd had moved North from Rigolet – they are not strategies for addressing a harvesting ban like the one currently in place.

In coming to terms with the caribou moratorium, many households discussed how they intended to, or were already supplementing their diets to account for the lack of caribou. As demonstrated in the food inventories, moose was commonly viewed as a viable replacement for caribou; however, it was not the only wild food that was considered an alternative. One woman explained "the partridges and the ducks are… more in our diet now than it would have been caribou before". Some households were choosing a different approach though by consuming more store-bought meat. One couple stated, "if we had caribou we probably wouldn't get beef… We would cut out the beef part… or more of the store-bought stuff anyway". Therefore, households had different preferences and approaches for using both wild and store foods to offset the lack of caribou in their diets.

Changes in moose and caribou consumption were not the only changes that were reported involving land mammals. The food inventories had only one entry for black bear, which is consistent with attitudes and preferences that were reported during the photo card interviews. Older participants from four of the households discussed being selective, or no longer harvesting and eating black bear because they can often be seen eating in the community dump. As one couple stated "we used to years and years ago, not now… Now a days they eats everything… [people have] too much contact with bears and look at the stuff their eat'n… It's different now". A male participant described how black bear consumption has changed since he was young, saying "we used to eat it when I was

growing up, going fishin and stay'n away for weeks… but now don't even bother if I sees a black bear I won't even think about killing it or nothing… but I guess we just lost the taste or just didn't need to bother anymore". Similar shifts away from eating beaver and lynx were also mentioned in the interviews. One participant explained "I could eat it, like I've eaten beaver like when we were growing up and Daddy used to kill them but I don't ask for it". Thus the decline in eating certain land mammals such as beaver, lynx and black bear were explained as changes in taste and a shift from certain practices such as trapping and living on the land for extended periods of time because of the increase in waged jobs, but also changes in animals' behaviours such as bears feeding on garbage.

During the interviews households also identified porcupine as a land mammal that is eaten less frequently than it was in the past. An older couple spoke about their own change in eating porcupine explaining "I don't kill them anymore… there was such a long space when… there was none seemed like it…years…they're plentiful now". For other households the choice to not harvest porcupine is based on an emotional reaction, and similar feelings were expressed about harvesting and eating rabbit. One female participant said that she no longer likes eating rabbit because "turns me right off that do from eat'n them – they're on our yard like that". However, participants from four households confirmed that they still eat rabbit, but it is generally accessed through sharing or a meal out with family or friends. A female participant stated, "ukalik [rabbit] I eat it, same as goose and stuff, like if Mom cooked it and I went up for supper… I never cooked it myself". Furthermore, there were strong preferences regarding the season – fall or winter – that rabbit should be harvested and frozen.

Land mammals are therefore a food classification that was reported to have undergone significant change in terms of availability, commonality of consumption, as well as preference and willingness to harvest. These changes have strong connections to harvesting restrictions, economic and harvesting shifts such as declines in trapping and living away from the community for long periods of time, as well as the proximity of certain animals near and within the community. The food inventory data demonstrates this change, with the increased consumption of moose and the low harvesting levels of other animals, as well as the role that the community freezer now plays in enabling participants to access land mammals for consumption.

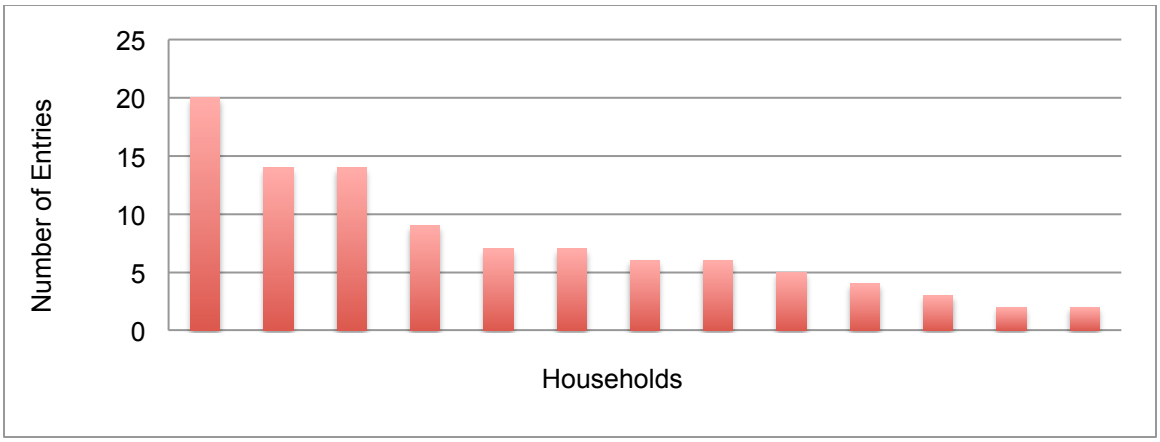

Figure 6: Land Mammals by Household

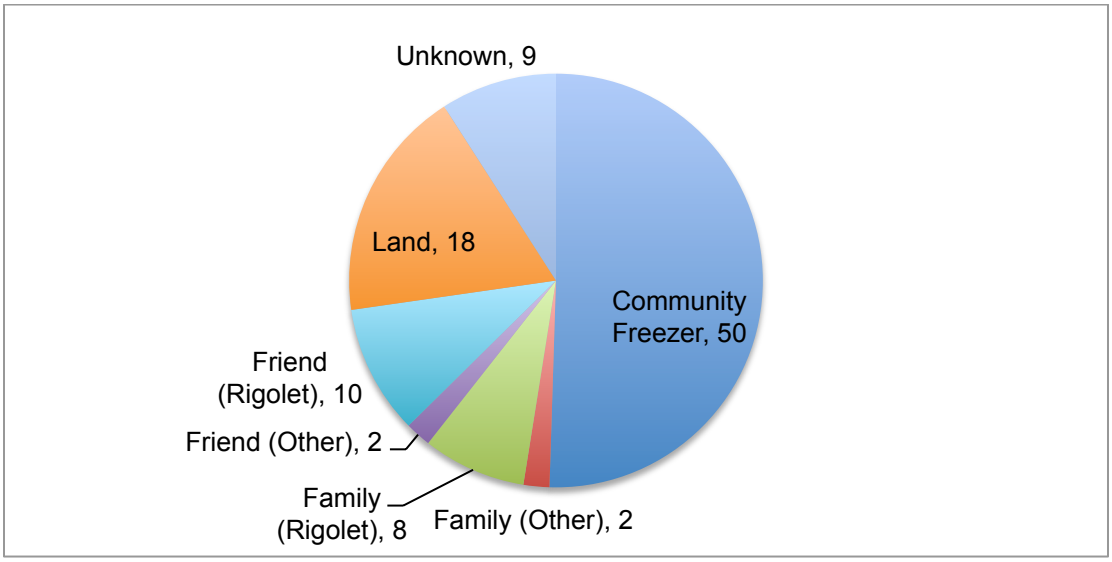

Figure 7: Land Mammals by Source

4.1.1.2 Mollusks

The mollusk classification includes scallops (*maksojait*, *pectinidae*), mussels (*uvaluit*, *mytilus*), clams (*ammomajuit*, *spisula polynyma*, *mya arenaria*) and wrinkles/snails (*siutiguit*, *nassarius mutabilis*). Mollusks had the lowest number of food inventory entries among the wild food classifications (10 out of 1,051, or 1% of wild food entries). Five households reported harvesting and/or consuming mollusks during the food inventories, and of the combined entries (total of 10, as shown in Figure 8), the majority were for scallops (seven entries) and the remaining were for mussels (three). There were two entries for mollusks in both the August/September (Phase 1) and November (Phase 2)

food inventories, with the number of entries rising to six during May (Phase 4). The lack of entries in March (Phase 3) is consistent with the weather and ice conditions that generally impede harvesting mollusks in winter and early springtime. However, the relationship between harvesting conditions and the distribution of mollusk harvesting and consumption across the four phases is less clear when taking into account the documented sources of the food inventory entries as only two of the entries were sourced directly from the land by the participating households. The remaining eight entries were sourced by other means; three of the entries were reported as being purchased from local or regional suppliers, one entry was obtained through sharing from a friend, and the source of the final three entries was not stated (see Figure 9).

The practice of purchasing mollusks instead of harvesting them directly from the land was not only evidenced in the food inventories, but was also an element of the photo card interviews. Participants noted that mollusks were often available to buy locally through regional, small businesses such as the Torngat Fish Producers Cooperative and the Cartwright fish plant (Labrador Fishermen's Union Shrimp Company), as well as the Northern store. However, the high cost of certain varieties was noted by multiple participants as an impediment to buying them, as one female interviewee explained "it's like more like a treat thing, like the ones from the store, because they're kind of expensive".

A different set of challenges exists for harvesting mollusks locally. It can be difficult to get out on the land to an area where particular varieties can be harvested, in addition to some varieties changing in quality and availability because of water temperature and tides. One woman described her craving and frustration at not having regular access to mollusks in saying "I'm starving for them for days". Certain varieties are rare, if present at all, around Rigolet, while other varieties are simply preferred from specific locations for their quality and taste. One man explained that he eats mussels "depending where they're from… Up at Double Mer, don't eat them… because there's pearls in them". Other participants said they lacked the necessary knowledge and/or equipment for harvesting mollusks on their own as a motorboat is generally needed to get out to the harvesting areas, and scallop harvesting requires a scallop drag (rake), while a specific pot is needed for harvesting wrinkles.

However, some participants spoke about sharing as a means of addressing these challenges. A couple with access to a boat and scallop drag explained that they "go out and drag two or three salmon tubs [worth of scallops] every time [they] go… But that's also for like two or three households". They therefore drag for scallops with the intention of sharing their harvest with family and other households in the community.

Many of the interviews included detailed discussions of when it is safe to harvest and eat mussels. A number of approaches were described including a common view that mussels should not be picked in August. However, some participants disagreed with the August guideline, as one woman stated "they says August they're poison but I don't really believe that, I think it depends on, what the weather, like the water is cold, if the water is warm they may poison you, but if you get them in the cold I think they might be alright". Another female explained "it all depends on the month… something to do with the moons and all that… And then there's certain times of month they won't pick'em cause they says they're bad." Other health concerns included two participants reporting allergies to specific mollusks such as scallops. One woman explained, "I'm allergic… but I love them, but I can't eat them".

A specific pattern emerged from the photo cards regarding clams; several participants stated that they enjoy eating clams but that they no longer harvest them. One female explained that she no longer digs for them "Not since I was a kid… I don't know just, time and, time and stuff I guess," while a male participant stated "never bothers them", and a third, female, participant reported "I never cooks clams anymore… never ever bothers gett'n them anymore". There seemed to be a general indifference to eating clams related to the time and effort that is required to harvest them. However, participants did acknowledge that they seek out clams and other mollusks such as scallops when at restaurants while traveling or living away from the community.

Mollusks were therefore harvested and/or consumed by a small subset of the participating households, and access to them was influenced by a number of factors. Harvesting mollusks from the land can be time intensive, and dependent on having the necessary equipment and knowledge of where they are located, as well as when it is safe to harvest certain varieties. Mollusks are also obtained through purchasing them to

prepare at home or by ordering them at restaurants when away from Rigolet, however, prices can be inhibitive for some households.

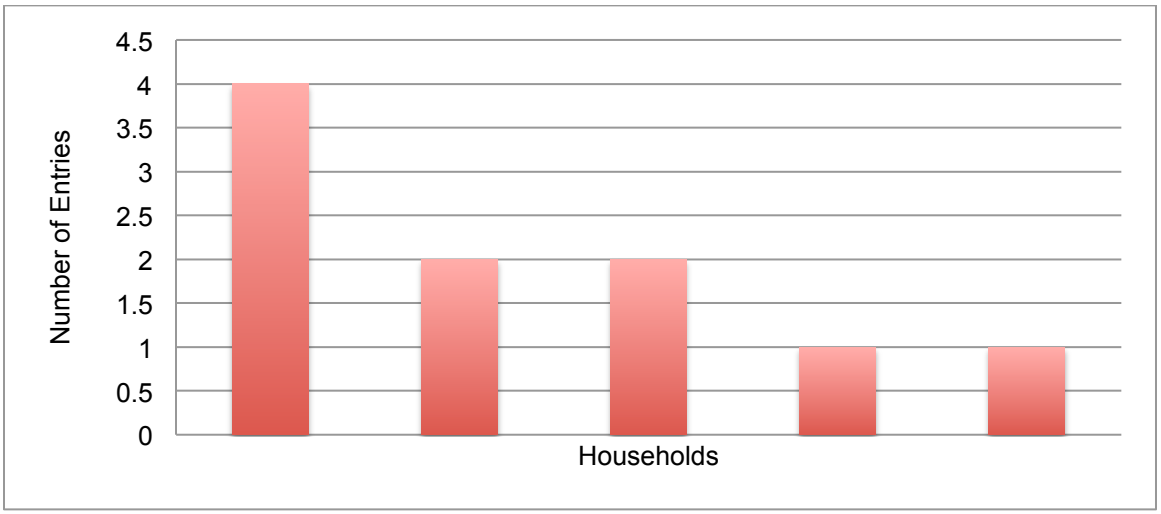

Figure 8: Mollusks by Household

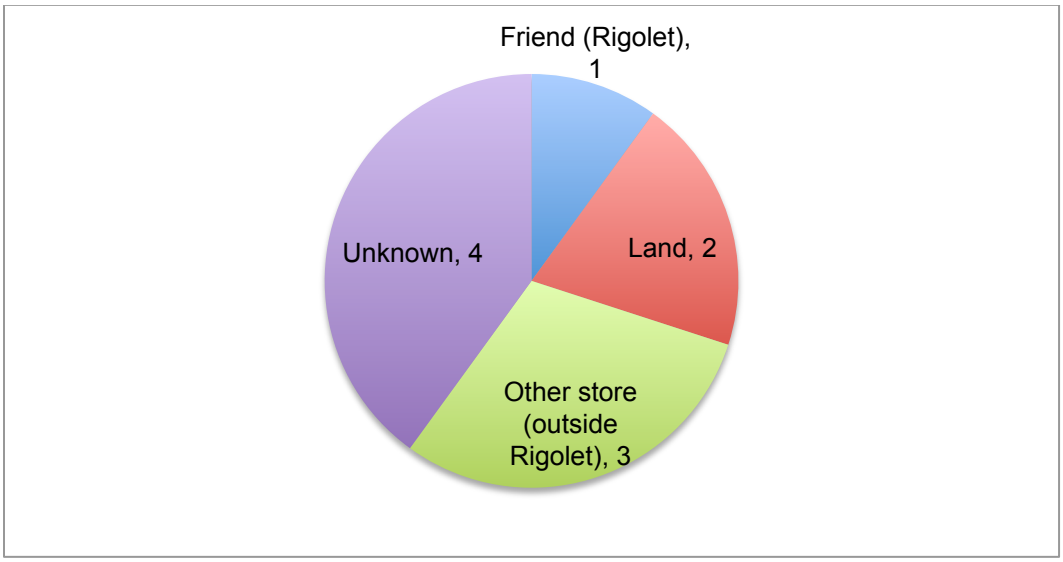

Figure 9: Mollusks by Source

4.1.1.3 Birds

The bird classification includes photo cards for ruffed grouse, known as spruce partridge locally (*akiggilik*, *bonasa umbellus*), white partridge (*akiggik*, *phasianidae*), loon/wobby (*tollik*/*katsauk*, *gavia immer*), eider/shore duck (*mitik*, *somateria*), black duck (*mitiluk*, *anas rubripes*), turrs/murres (*akpait*, *uria)*, geese (*niglet*, *branta canadensis*), and wild birds' eggs; however other birds such as shell and shore birds are also included in this classification as they were reported in the food inventories, but in low numbers. Of the 22

households that participated in the inventories, 16 had entries for the bird classification, with a total 115 bird entries (11% of all wild food entries) (see Figure 10). The most commonly harvested and consumed birds were partridges (46 entries) and geese (29 entries). Ducks were also common (27 entries); however, many of the entries were not explicit in stating the type of duck, which was often emphasized in the photo card interviews. There is therefore little detail regarding the numbers for each type of duck, and a similar reporting issue occurred with spruce and white partridge.

The number of entries for birds was highest in August/September (32 entries), and May (42 entries), which are key migration months for certain birds. Fewer entries were reported in November (19 entries) and March (22 entries). The high number of entries in phases 1 and 4 are for partridges (hunted and frozen in late fall and winter), ducks (generally hunted May through September), and geese (hunted in May and September/October). The majority of reported entries were harvested by participating households, directly from the land (89 entries) (see Figure 11). Participants also reported that 20 entries were obtained through sharing from family and friends within Rigolet, as well as the community freezer, and the source of the remaining six entries was not stated.

As the most commonly harvested and consumed bird in the food inventories, partridges are an important element of many participating households' diets. During the photo card interviews one participant highlighted the increasing importance of partridges for her family, explaining that partridges will "take the place of caribou I think they're going to for us". However, she was careful to point out that their household preference was for white partridges, not spruce partridges. This distinction was a focus in many of the interviews as spruce partridges are both preferred and disliked – depending on the individual – for their "sprucey" taste that intensifies throughout fall and winter as the birds' diets change. Many participants discussed the distinction, as one female explained "ahh, partridge when we do have it it's probably twice a week and I really enjoy partridge, as long as it's white and they're not too sprucey", while a female from another household held a different view, stating "stronger they's gets in the winter the better they is, like February like that… it's more sprucey".

Households also expressed different practices for preparing and storing partridges. One male participant said that partridges in their home are "usually frozen with the

feathers on… keeps longer that way", while another male interviewee stated that before freezing partridges "we usually pick them and clean them and all that, so it's ready to go in the oven". Despite varied practices for preparing and storing partridges, the majority of households spoke about freezing partridges if they could be harvested in sufficient quantity; as one female participant said they will freeze partridges "depending on how much we got like that winter if we can kill enough to freeze and then to be able to eat them often… off season".

Geese are another bird that are commonly harvested and frozen, however, they are different from partridges in that there are harvesting guidelines allowing for up to only four geese to be harvested, per land claim beneficiary, during the spring migration season (Nunatsiavut Government, 2015). Despite this limit, eating goose for special occasions was a common family tradition and practice discussed by many households. One male interviewee described his family's consumption of geese saying "yeah every few months, two or three months, so like on my anniversary and on my birthday we'll have a goose, then we have one for Christmas, then one again later in the summer before, before hunt'n season starts again".

Some households explained that even though it can be challenging to harvest enough geese to last for special occasions throughout the year, sharing with family and friends was still a normalized, and important practice. One female participant explained that "I eat [geese] when I can get it… I don't hunt myself, ahm, so I [am] usually invited out to eat…", while another woman said "[I] spends extensive times and money trying to get them… well a lot of people give me their left over goose and that too cause they know I enjoy it so much".

Multiple participants also expressed the desire to have more access to black duck as it is difficult to harvest. One male participant said "[I] loves black duck, just as good as partridge or goose, and mostly again in season but not so many cause they're hard to get… they're wild as hell… anything like that's good eh is hard to get".

Loon was another type of bird that several participants spoke about wanting access to, but unlike black duck the issue with loon is not that it is scarce, but that there is a harvesting ban. Participants identified additional reasons why they no longer ate loon despite having enjoyed it in the past when harvesting was still permitted. One male said

"when I was growing up younger we eat loon then… I did like it then and find it goes just as good as any other bird down I guess", he went on to explain though that he no longer felt that it was necessary to harvest loon because there are birds that are comparable in taste that are not protected. The idea that it is unnecessary to eat loon was shared by several participants that explained that it is different now than in the past, where previously people spent extended periods of time out on the land away from the community with little choice in what foods they had access to, this is no longer common practice, and dietary substitutes can be easily found and accessed. Two participants expressed further reason to not harvest loons, as one man simply stated, "I find them just so pretty eh".

Households also reported changes in consumption patterns of wild eggs, turrs, and eider ducks. Older participants from two households described eating eider duck often as children – sometimes daily – but it is no longer common practice. One of the couples went on to say "we don't get them very often… its not that we can't… could of got some the other day going up but you didn't bother". Which echoed descriptions of changing practices concerning turr, as one man said "no I don't even bother", and another female participant explained "if we're starving we'd eat a turr, that's all". Similar changes were reported for wild birds' eggs. A male interviewee reflected "I have, like as a child growing up but as an adult I choose not to because I don't like them… I ate them because my family had them all the time in the spring… I don't know if I've ever really enjoyed them but my Dad thinks they're great". This contrasts with another male participant who described his changing consumption of wild birds eggs saying "I'm at that age now where I'm starting to like stuff like that and enjoy stuff more".

Seasonality was another element of harvesting wild birds' eggs that was spoken about in several interviews. A female described the practice of harvesting and eating eggs as something she does with her grandchildren and family in the spring and early summer:

> we don't freeze or preserve them or anything like that, we just eats them, we'll eat them like when we're out there to our cabin… we'll eat them now on every weekend and we'll gather them and eat them throughout the week right… So we'll eat them between May and the last of June I'll say.

However, there were divergent views among participants regarding conservation practices particular to harvesting eggs, and hunting geese and other birds in the spring. As

one female hunter explained "something that Nunatsiavut does is hunt geese in the springtime… they take the eggs off too… I think it should be just really in the fall because how can they have anything for the future if they kill it, they're not only killing one bird, but they're taking the eggs". The choice to harvest wild eggs, and to participate in spring hunting of birds therefore differs between households.

A final topic that emerged during a number of interviews was the time that is required to hunt birds and collect wild eggs. Participants often stated that they wanted access to more of certain birds but that their own work schedule or that of their partners restricted how often, and for how long they could be out on the land hunting. One woman explained that she eats birds "whenever I can get it cause… [my husband] hardly goes hunting eh, he goes back and forth working all the time", while a male participant from another household stated that "for myself, like working all week… I don't get to hunt duck as much as I want to". Thus it was not uncommon for a job in the local or regional wage economy to be seen as an impediment to harvesting, especially for different types of birds as the good hunting for these animals is generally away from the community.

Birds are therefore an important part of many participants' diets but preferences and practices for accessing and preparing birds differ across households. The role of certain birds for special occasions, as well as the regular presence of other varieties in day-to-day diets speaks to the importance of this classification. However, it is also a classification that has seen notable changes, as some birds such as turrs, loon, and eider ducks are no longer harvested and eaten as commonly as they were in the past, and views of conservation and seasonality contrast between households.

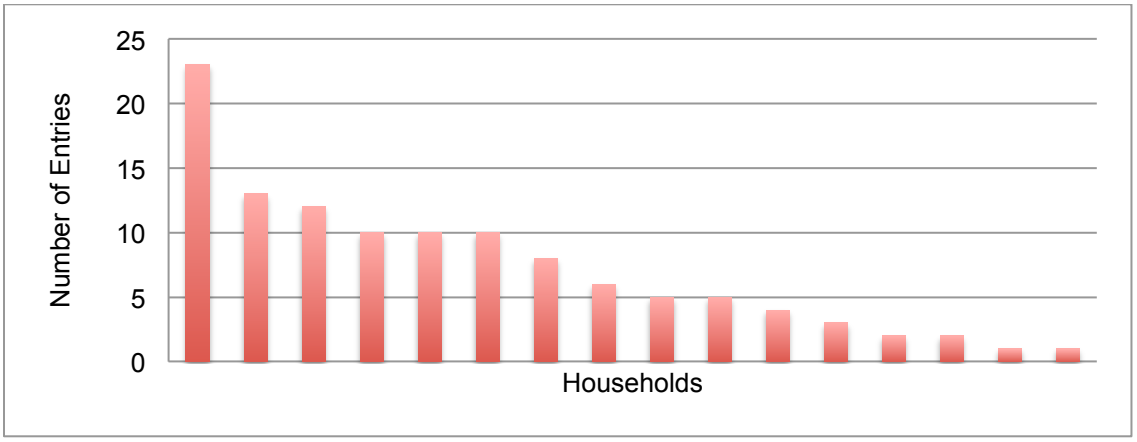

Figure 10: Birds by Household

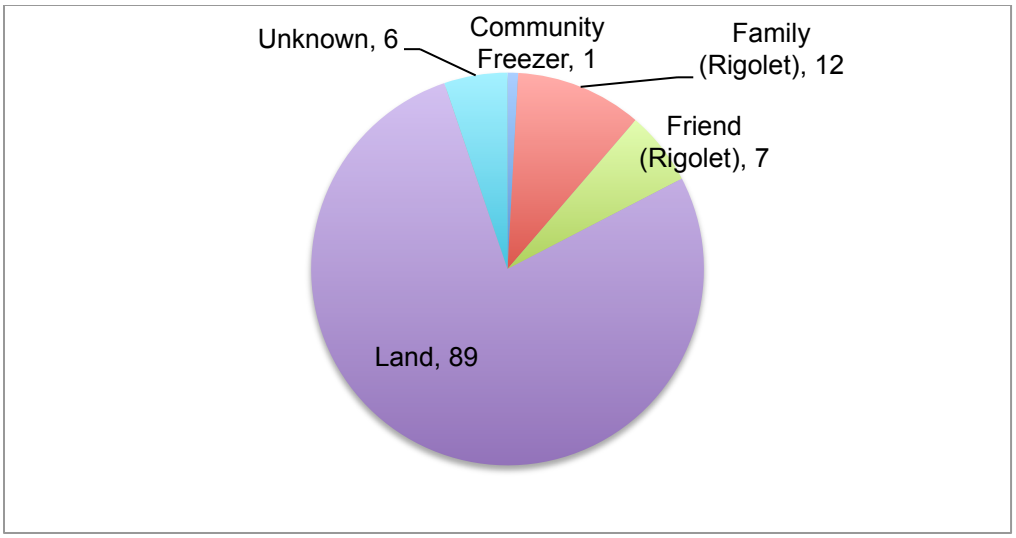

Figure 11: Birds by Source

4.1.1.4 Marine Mammals

For the purposes of this research the marine mammal classification is comprised of porpoise (*nesâtsuk*/*âlluasiak*, *phocoenidae*) and seal (*puijik*, *pusa hispida*, *phoca vitulina*, *pagophils groenlandicus*). Of the 1,051 wild food entries in the food inventories, 52 (5%) were for the marine mammal classification, and all of these entries were for the harvesting and consumption of seal as there were no entries for porpoise.

The harvesting and/or consumption of seal was reported by 15 households during the four months of the food inventories (see Figure 12), with seal entries highest in May (25) and lowest in March (two). The high number of entries in May corresponds to the spring harvest when seals are hunted at the floe edge, or at seal breathing holes, but it is also hunted by boat in the summer and fall months. Seal is therefore hunted both by rifle, and 12 gauge shotgun, however it can be harvested in nets, but such harvests are only used as food for dog teams.

Half of the entries (26) were for seal that was harvested by the participating households (see Figure 13). Of the remaining entries, 23 were obtained through sharing from family in Rigolet, the community freezer, and friends both from within and outside the community, and the source of three entries was unknown.

During the photo card interviews, six households reported eating seal regularly. As one woman said “we eat it all year long, and in the springtime… we’ll eat it… until

it's gone". However, as suggested in the food inventory data, not all participants harvest seal, and therefore some depend on sharing to access it; one female participant who does not hunt, and who does not have an active hunter in her household explained that she eats seal "whenever I can get some… Whenever somebody will give me some I like to eat it… I grew up with it and I, I still enjoy it". The idea of not having enough access to seal was spoken about by a number of participants. One woman said "since I'm away from home for college, I ah, don't eat it as much as I would like to", a feeling that was shared by other participants that regularly spend time outside of Rigolet for work and studies. Not all participants expressed interest in accessing more seal though as two individuals reported allergic reactions when eating it in the past.

One participant explained that they enjoyed seal but it was something they ate infrequently, and that someone else usually cooked it. They recalled recently endeavouring to cook seal on their own:

> that challenged me – cooking seal liver, like how do you do this right, I do eat liver… it was enjoyable, again challenged by the knowledge right… but I thoroughly enjoy it and if I went to your house or your house and you had seal I would sit and enjoy it but cooking it for myself I don't know, I guess I'm a lazy traditional cook.

Another participant had concerns around preparing seal to be stored. She explained "I done last year the bottling cause you gotta have proper, them proper canners… but what I do is when I bottles it when it gets cold I freezes it… So I knows its safe, but actually I didn't freeze it all the time like that but I'm still kinda nervous about it". Although porpoise is seldom consumed in Rigolet, participants reported similar experiences as with seal where they felt they lacked the necessary experience and/or knowledge to harvest porpoise. One man explained "made several attempts and never got nothing, I don't know how to hunt them". This is consistent with several households' interviews as porpoise is no longer harvested as frequently as in the past. One male participant explained "used to eat it when we were younger… when my father was alive", while a female participant said "long time since I had any meat from porpoise and mattak but I, I mean not very often, once every two years probably (a friend) gives us some or someone form up North sends me some". Little explanation was given for the change in porpoise consumption aside from the fact that key harvesters that hunted it in the past have since passed away.

There were however, a number of participants that do not eat porpoise, even when it is available to them. Similar to explanations given for not having interest in eating loon, a male participant stated about porpoise "they're too pretty I finds", and when asked if she eats porpoise, a female participant responded by laughing and saying "no – I don't think we should eat things that are smarter than us".

Participants therefore have different views on the consumption of porpoise; a practice that has declined but is still of interest to some households. Seal consumption was also reported to be lower for some participants than in the past but it remains an enjoyed food by many households, with active harvesters inviting friends and family over to share a meal.

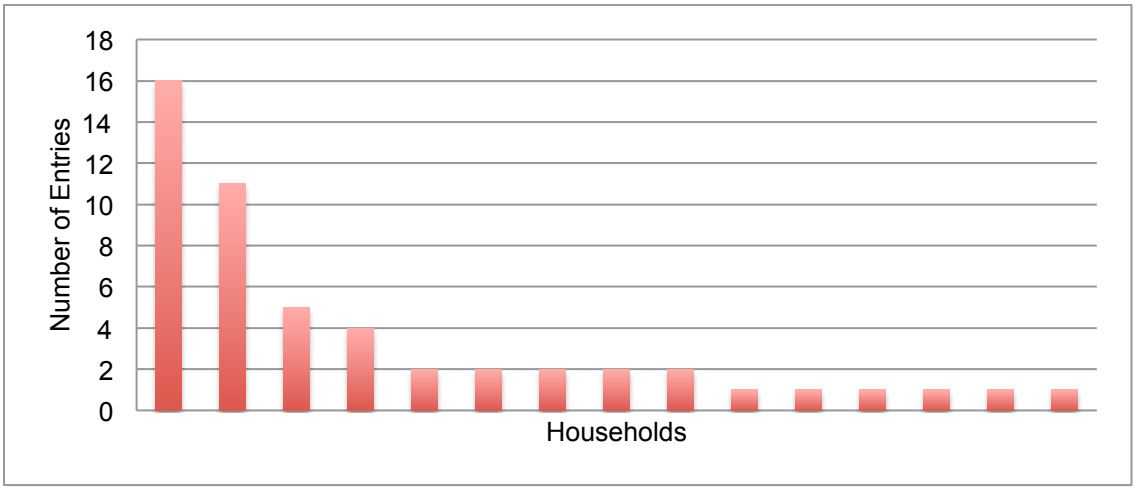

Figure 12: Marine Mammals by Household

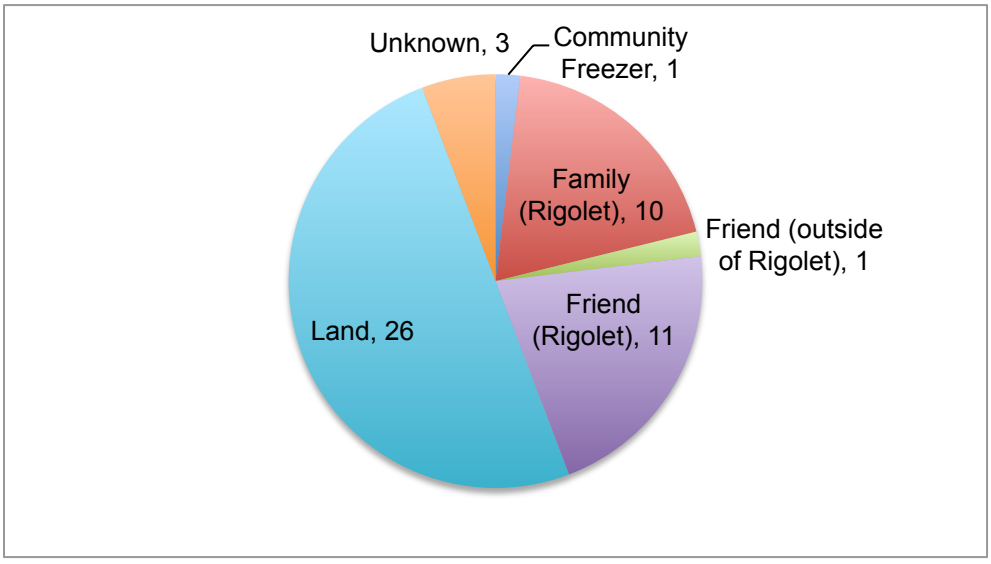

Figure 13: Marine Mammals by Source

4.1.1.5 Fish

The fish classification includes brook/speckled trout (*ikaluk*, *salvelinus fontinalis*), salmon (*kavisilik*, *salmo salar*), cod (*ogak*, *gadus morhua*), capelin (*kulelik*, *mallotus villosus*), and smelts (*kakilasak*, *osmeridae*) in addition to char, which was not part of the photo card interviews but was reported in the food inventories as it is often accessed through the community freezer as community-wide giveaways. Although fish can be both harvested from the land and purchased locally, the community based researchers advised that it should be classified as a wild food. Of the 1,051 wild food entries that were made, 273 (26%) were for fish, and they were made by 18 of the participating households (see Figure 14).

Fish was harvested and consumed during all four phases of the inventories with the highest number of reported entries in August/September (92). November had the lowest number of entries (50), while 71 entries were reported for March, and 60 entries were made for May. The high number of entries for August/September corresponds to the summer fishing season, while the low numbers for November aligns with freeze up conditions that do not allow for fishing through the ice, as is possible in March and – ice conditions permitting – in May.

Fish was most commonly obtained by participating households harvesting their own, as a total of 121 entries were reported as being sourced from the land (see Figure 15). However, the community freezer and sharing from friends and family also enabled many participants to access fish during the food inventories with 60 entries atributed to the community freezer and 58 entries reported as being sourced from friends and family – the majority of which came from other households within the community. Only six entries were purchased, all of which were cod.

The reported purchasing of cod aligns with what participants stated during the photo card interviews regarding the challenges of accessing it in the community since the decline of the Atlantic cod stocks; cod was widely consumed prior to the decline. One older female participant said “never see that here again”, while a male participant explained that he eats it “when you can get it… that’s pretty scarce stuff right there… that’s probably like gold now, so, but probably three or four meals a year”. Many participants did not see store-bought cod as a viable replacement for fresh because of the

cost. Like one female interviewee said "we buy it for… a treat because it's too expensive to buy right… We'd only eat it like, not very often in a year". However, the cost is not the only deterrent of store-bought cod for some households, as another female participant explained "and the codfish, I'd eat a lot more of that if I could too cause we don't get that very- well I mean you can buy it eh but it's not the same as fresh ones."

During the interviews, several households reported that they often use store-bought cod to make fish and brewis; a dish commonly made throughout Labrador that combines fish with other store-bought items such as hard bread, further blurring the lines of fish as a store and/or wild food. However, whether harvested locally or purchased at the Northern, many participants reported enjoying the versatility of different fish and the multitude of ways that it can be prepared. During the interviews there were many reflections such as: "my favourite way is for them to be partially dried outdoors… and then baked in the oven in the mornings or dinnertime, or suppertime" or "enjoyed… pan-fried and when I have them I totally enjoy them… just you know rolled in flour and fried". Salmon in particular was appreciated for its versatility: stewed, fried, baked, smoked, in salmon pie, boiled, and barbequed were just some of the ways that participants reported enjoying it prepared.

Salmon was also lauded for its role in family traditions, as one male participant described "special occasions… we always have salmon Christmas Eve and maybe for like someone's birthday". Households also reported that it can be challenging to have salmon for occasions throughout the year because they are restricted to only harvesting seven. The same male participant explained "we try to stick to our, our limit, so like we can't really stretch it very long". However, some households choose to eat their quota only when fresh, as a female from one family explained "we keeps our seven salmon and no more, and we don't even keep seven sometimes cause they're not that good frozen". Other participants reported sharing their frozen salmon with family members who do not mind eating it after it is frozen, as one female said "we don't freeze it, we do but dad usually takes it [be]cause we finds it goes, its not so good as fresh right… but we eats, try to eat it kinda quickly though cause… finds it goes bad".

Similar preferences were reported for trout. When one man was asked about freezing and storing trout he said "not all that much cause they spoils if you freeze them

just like that they turn right yellow eh, you got to have them in water or whatever and that's the same with the salmon". Several participants agreed that storing and freezing certain fish in a bag or bucket of water is the best way to avoid freezer burn if storing it for the off-season.

Smelts were also a fish that was commonly preferred fresh. Like trout, smelts are often harvested in both summer and winter. A female participant reported "we eat them yeah quite a few times, we get'em through the ice whenever we can, and then we get'em like nett'n time and rod time". Yet despite their availability throughout the year, some participants have particular preferences about seasonality. For example, another female participant said "it would be through the ice, smelts… and lot of people catch'em in a net and that, I usually don't eat them in the summer". Other participants said that they enjoy smelts but would not want them all the time, one woman said "and the smelts, I couldn't eat them over and over and over everyday, we'd get sick of them but we would eat more if we could get more".

It was also common for participants to speak about the location of where they harvest and prefer to get certain varieties of fish. Often it was a location near family cabins or areas where they had spent extensive time as a child. One woman spoke about trout while laughing saying "only from [my cabin] though… I'm very particular… they're really small, and they're really red and they're really good."

Childhood practices and memories were also reflected on when speaking about capelin. A female participant said:

> you can dry them like in a fish box with a screen but see when we were growing up we used to get them like barrels, and I means barrels, and we'd, Daddy'd salt'em and we'd spread them all out one by one all over the rocks and… we'd turn them over bout half way through the day, we do this for three or four days until they was dry and if you saw it clouding up and it's going to rain we went out and picked out every one of them capelin and there was barrels. Ah my, but we loved it, we still do.

A second participant spoke about the changes with capelin explaining that few people dry them now because it requires certain weather conditions. Participants also reported that the practice is further challenged because capelin do not seem to be coming into shore to spawn in the same numbers that they have in the past.

Finally, a number of participants touched on not being able to eat certain types of fish, particularly those that are dried and salted, because of their sodium levels or diabetes. Upon seeing the capelin photo card one female participant responded "loves them but then again they're salted, but they're really good". Health concerns are just one of the many things that influence participant's harvesting and consumption of fish; others include changes in weather relevant to how it is prepared and stored, and the availability of certain fish like capelin and cod, the cost of purchasing certain types, family traditions and norms such as eating specific varieties on special occasions or at the cabin, and the location of where it is harvested from.

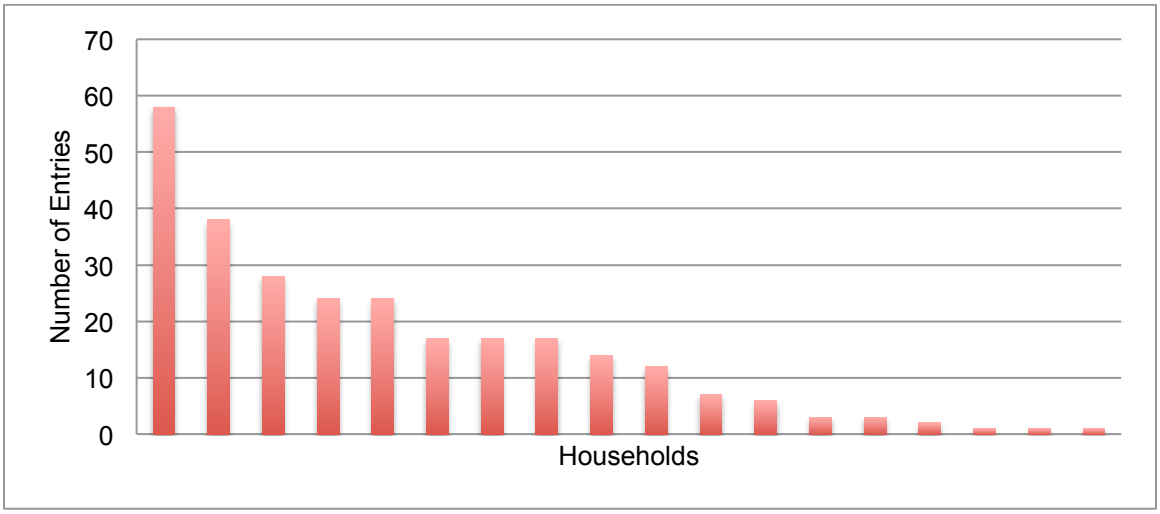

Figure 14: Fish by Household

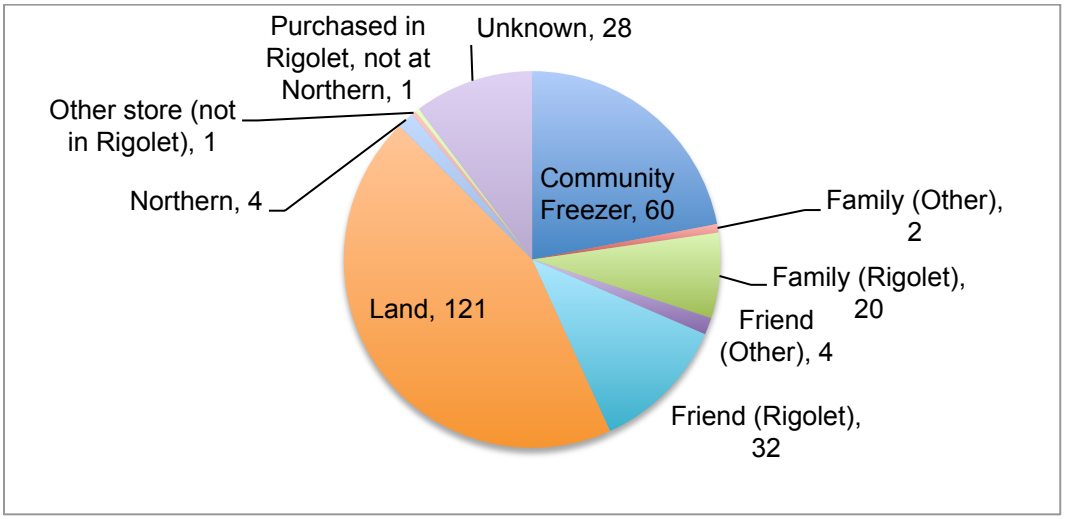

Figure 15: Fish by Source

4.1.1.6 Berries

The berry classification includes raspberries (*rubus idaeu/arcticus/pubescens*), blueberries (*kigutanginnait*, *vaccinium boreale*), bakeapples/cloudberries (*akpet*, *rubus chamaemorus*), blackberries/crowberries (*paungait*, *empetrum nigrum*), and redberries/lingonberries/cowberries (*kingmigait*, *vaccinium vitis-idaea*). In addition to being harvested from the land, some of these berries are available for purchase within Rigolet or regionally; blueberries, raspberries, and blackberries are sometimes available through the Northern or other stores in Goose Bay, and all varieties of berries were reported as being bartered for both within Rigolet and from along coastal Labrador. It is important to note that the food entries for berries represented in the graphs in this section are for fresh berries only and therefore excludes store-bought frozen berries, as well as canned and preserved berries as these are accounted for in the Vegetables and Fruits analysis of the food inventory data. However, during the photo card interviews, some participating households categorized certain berries as store-bought and not from the land as it is not the practice in some households to harvest these specific varieties such as raspberries, blueberries, or blackberries; these varieties are instead seen as "store" foods by some participants as will be discussed below.

Berry entries account for 48% of the 1,051 wild food entries that were made in the food inventories; the 502 berry entries were split among 16 households, but with great variation between the households (see Figure 16). For example, two "households each had only one entry for berries while the two "super" berry harvesting households with the highest number of berry entries in the food inventories had 140, and 185 entries. Both households with a high number of entries reported using berries throughout the year, usually on a daily basis, while also sharing them with their extended families.

In terms of seasonality, the number of entries was consistent across August/September (141 entries), March (130 entries), and May (133 entries). The greatest difference was in November, as only 98 entries were made in this month. This decrease in entries for November in comparison to other months may be attributed – at least in part – to the low number of entries that one of the above mentioned "super" households had in November; this household reported only nine entries in November, in comparison to 51 in August/September, 49 in March, and 31 in May.

Participating households obtained the majority of their berries by harvesting them from the land (444 entries), and the other 58 entries were obtained through sharing, household gardens, purchasing and bartering (for other wild foods or baked goods), and the community freezer (see Figure 17 and Figure 18). Of the 28 entries that were purchased or bartered, 11 were from the Northern, nine were from other suppliers or households within Rigolet, and eight were from outside the community. In regards to sharing, 13 entries came from family within Rigolet and one from family living away, six from friends within Rigolet, and two from the community freezer; notably, the three households with the greatest number of entries were also identified as significant sharing households during the photo card interviews. The remaining entries came from household gardens (three), and the source of the final five berry entries was not stated in the food inventories.

Some of the wild food inventory entries simply stated "berries", however 91 explicitly listed bakeapples. As with all berries, bakeapples may be picked at different times from year to year but they are generally harvested in August. During the photo card interviews a number of participants noted that some years it can be difficult to pick bakeapples as they can grow in limited quantity, or not at all depending on the weather conditions in a given year. Households also explained that it can be challenging to pick enough bakeapples to be able to freeze and preserve them for the remainder of the year. Several participants explained that they only eat bakeapples out on the land, or while fresh in season, but many households spoke about eating them throughout the year, especially for special occasions such as Christmas. As one female interviewee explained:

> we freezes them yeah… we eat them until, it depends on how many we get, are able to get each year, right... the years we don't get very many I put some aside for Christmas… up until Christmas we eat them quite often, you know sometimes, if we've had a good year… I'll eat them a little bit beyond.

Participants often described their favourite ways to prepare and eat bakeapples once they have been frozen or preserved. Some of these came up in the food inventories as households included entries for bakeapple jams, pies, pancakes, and even simply bakeapples with bread.

Participants also spoke about the challenges they face in accessing bakeapples because, as was described with all berries, they can be time consuming to pick, and it often requires having access to a boat to go off on the land. Sharing is one common and important means of overcoming these challenges. Households and extended families often described having a key family member who did much of the berry harvesting. One such key individual spoke about sharing her bakeapples:

> I mean I takes them out as far as Ottawa you know… And I'll take them, I gotta take some bake apples to someone now… but I will take bake apples out to Inuit, or if Inuit come here like from Nunavut… And they want some, I'll picks, I'll give them some, I has a lot of bake apples, and I shares my bake apples a lot.

Other participants and households also described sharing their bakeapples throughout Nunatsiavut, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Nunangat, but they also spoke about the importance and commonality of sharing their limited harvests with family and friends within Rigolet.

Blackberries differ from bakeapples in that participants reported that they are eaten less, although still very much enjoyed. This is supported by the food inventories as only 31 of the berry entries specifically identified blackberries. Participants described eating them fresh, especially when at the cabin or out on the land. One female participant explained: "when we used to be up to the cabin, we used to go out and get a cup of blackberries and make a Johnny cake on top of the stove", while other participants spoke about eating them fresh off the bush, but in the food inventories participants also described eating blackberry cakes and jams.

A number of participants also spoke about the challenges of eating blackberries outside the season of when they are fresh. A male participant explained that "they don't freeze very well… if I'm going to use it to cook that'll be fine… but frozen and then try to thaw'em out so that they're good for my cereal… they get a little squishy." A couple shared this view saying "we freeze them yeah… they don't last as well in the freezer, they gets like freeze burnt… burst."

Participants reported that raspberries were also difficult to access – at least in part because they are scarce locally – and only 29 of the food inventory entries were for raspberries. Similar to blackberries, many participants said that they prefer to eat

raspberries when they are freshly picked, and some households avoid freezing them. One woman explained "we don't freeze 'em… We like them fresh… I find its not so good if you freeze'm… they gets kinda mushy". In addition to not keeping well, participants said that it can be difficult to find and harvest enough locally to bother freezing them. Another female participant said "I find it hard to find the raspberries around here cause everybody likes to get'em… they're harder to get". Some participants said that if they are able to pick enough to store for the off-season they opt to prepare them immediately, as one woman said "I just cook as soons I get them… into a jam or cake whatever." Notably though, the majority of interview participants and food inventories suggested that raspberries are usually consumed as jam. The interviews and inventories also showed that some participants are willing to buy fresh raspberries if they are available at the Northern, or elsewhere regionally. The cost however, is a deterrent for many households.

Blueberries were another berry variety that participants spoke about purchasing at times. Some households discussed buying them at roadside markets or at grocery stores when traveling in southern Newfoundland and Labrador and other provinces during summer months. Like raspberries, blueberries can be scarce around the community. As one female participant explained "I like blueberries but I don't eat much of them... they're harder to find, harder to get." Another female participant said that she accesses blueberries through family members that live away, in areas where they are more plentiful and of a different variety:

> sometimes my niece picks me them out around St. John's and stuff, they're bigger eh… And the blueberries out St. John's I'd eat them in handfuls… the ones around here mostly I use for cooking, I eats them sometimes but mostly for cooking, making pancakes and things like that.

A number of other participants also spoke about the difference in taste and subsequently the preparation and use of blueberries depending on where they are grown and picked.

The final type of berry discussed in the photo card interviews was redberries, which accounted for 183 entries in the food inventories, making it the most commonly documented of all berries. During the interviews it was widely described as a household favourite and many participants took pride in describing the quantity of redberries that they harvest and consume. As one female participant stated upon seeing the redberry photo card "they go over very well… That's the favourite berry of the house". The

redberry card also elicited much discussion on how they are prepared and eaten; a couple reflected on how one of them prefers to eat them saying "I eat them frozen, right out of the fridge… no sweet or anything, and our grandson is like that too, he can eat them like that." Another participant explained "yeah, I'd say every other day, we makes, does everything… we makes our jam, muffins, we makes juice out of them… Homemade juice, so kids grow'd up on that, they never had no store-bought sweet stuff". A third participant reacted "mmm another one, that's more of a staple even than the bakeapples cause they're used throughout with the meals and that… or puddings and that kind of thing… loves them and I uses them a lot, at least weekly." The use of redberries as a staple food, especially for Sunday meals, can be more of a challenge for some households though, as similar to other berries, it can be difficult to pick sufficient amounts. One woman stated "I usually pick them in the fall and spare them along, for redberry puddings and… pies and stuff." While another male participant simply stated "love it, don't eat it enough".

Participants in the photo card interviews and food inventories therefore had strong preferences and practices for the picking, preparation, and consumption of all types of berries. From juices and baked goods, to freshly picked, the harvesting and eating of berries has deep cultural and familial value for many participants. Sharing was described as an important element of how berries are accessed and used, and their role in different seasons and in special occasions was emphasized by many participants.

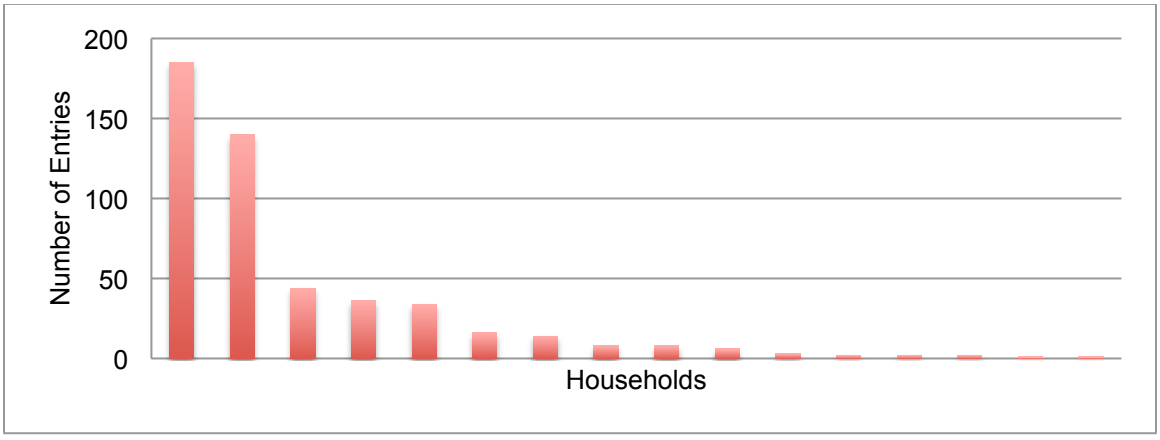

Figure 16: Berries by Household

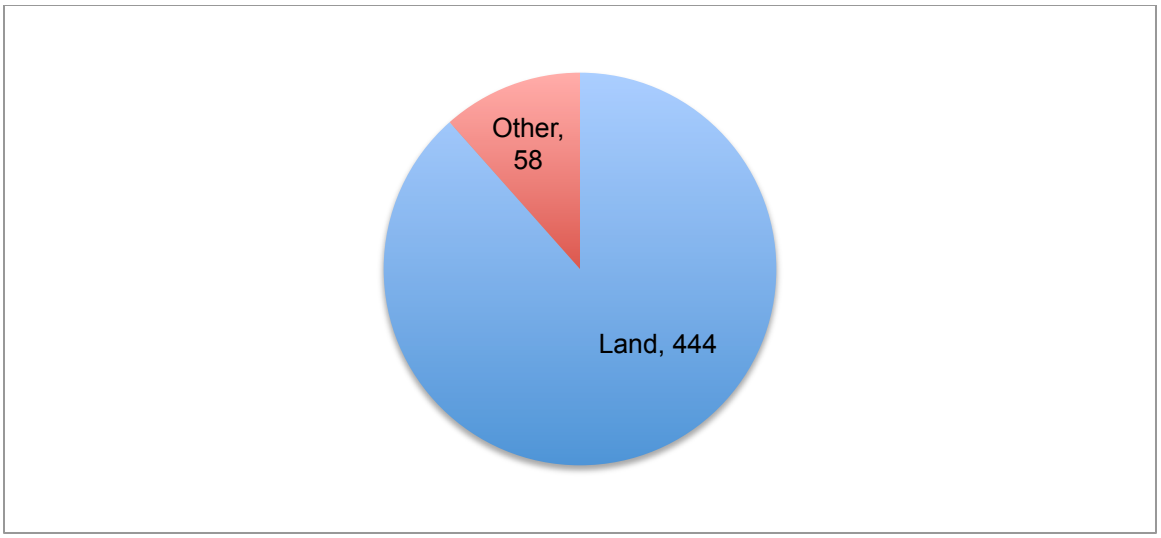

Figure 17: Berries by Source

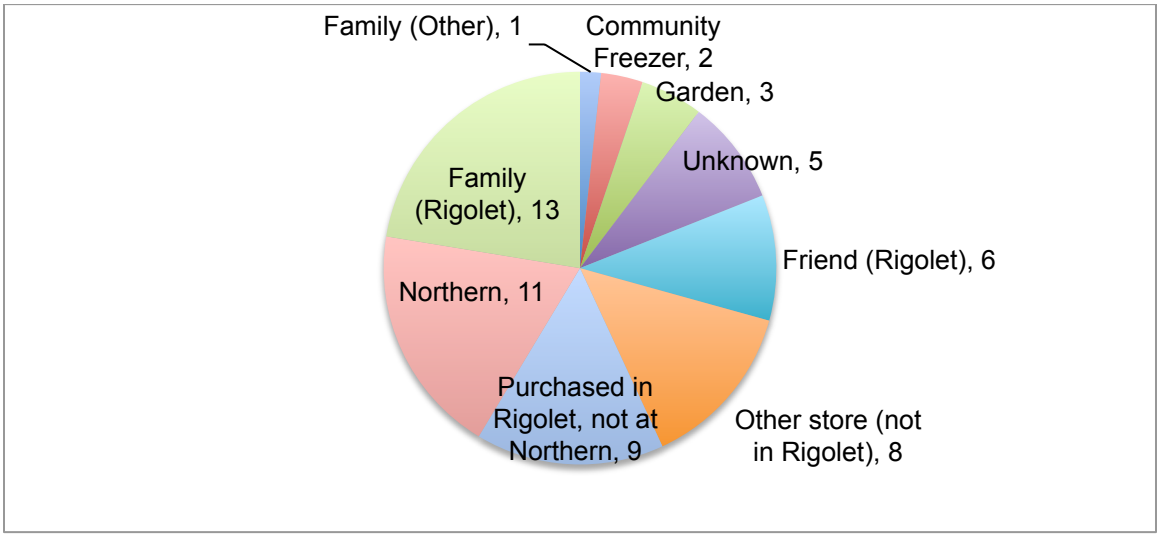

Figure 18: Berries by Source (Excluding Land)

4.1.2 Store Foods

4.1.2.1 Vegetables and Fruits

The vegetables and fruits classification includes all fruits (fresh, frozen, canned, and preserved – excluding fresh berries), vegetables (fresh root vegetables, fresh garden vegetables, frozen, and canned), as well as pure juices (frozen, bottled, and packaged). Of the 14,969 store food entries that were documented in the food inventories, 2,715 (18%) were for the vegetables and fruits classification, and all the participating households had entries for this classification (see Figure 19). There was however, great variation in the

number of entries that were listed by each household; the highest number of entries listed was 450, while the second highest number by a single household was 203. This indicates different access and consumption patterns between households, especially when considering that the lowest number of vegetable and fruit entries for a household was 21. There was also variation in the number of reported entries across the four phases of the food inventories; 743 entries in August/September, 811 in November, 670 in March, and 491 in May. This aligns with participants' comments on ordering canned, packaged and preserved fruits and vegetables to be brought in by boat in November before freeze up, as well as the annual decline of stock in the store and participants' own supplies of vegetables and fruits come May, when items are scarce and their purchasing cost increases to accommodate for being flown in. It is also not uncommon for participants to spend more time on the land harvesting seal and at cabins in April and May because of the spring ice.

In regards to source, the majority of entries (2,142) were purchased from the Northern in Rigolet, as shown in Figure 20. An additional 379 entries were purchased from stores other than the Northern, and 174 entries were listed as having been harvested from participants' gardens; for example, 37 entries were for potatoes grown in a household garden. The sharing of vegetables and fruits was limited to only 20 entries; five were sourced from friends and family in Rigolet, six from friends that live outside of the community, six from the community food bank, and the source of the final three entries was not stated.

As stated above, vegetable and fruit entries account for 2,715 (18%) entries of the total store food entries in the food inventories, and yet many participants spoke about wanting more access to a higher quantity and quality of vegetables and fruits. Participants expressed the desire to eat fresh fruits and veggies whenever possible, daily in most cases, but said that it is not available in sufficient quality, quantity, or choice given that it is flown in for much of the year. As one female participant said "I tr[y] to eat fresh fruits everyday but it's hard, it's hard but I do try… the best fruit I likes of all… you can't get them here". Many participants also spoke about the inhibitive cost of vegetables and fruits, as another female participant explained, she eats them "everyday if I can afford to get it". Interestingly, statements regarding cost greatly focused on canned, preserved, and

frozen vegetables and fruits, as a number of participants explained that they recognize the cost and difficulty of transporting fresh items but do not understand why the prepared and more preserved and packaged items are so expensive.

Household's often described their own hierarchies for choices between fresh, canned/preserved, and frozen fruits and veggies; these hierarches were generally based on taste and quality, as well as cost. One female participant said:

> uhm veggies we eat as often as we can, now I say that because I find that the store is really difficult to get good quality if it is - you have to get up there and I'm not gonna take the time and energy to keep peel'n away to try to get to the good.

Another woman explained "the frozen vegetables and canned fruit is the alternative to fresh produce right." A third female interviewee discussed her propensity to avoid fresh vegetables and fruits, instead opting for the prepared and packaged options, saying that with the poor quality of fresh produce at the store "you've got to buy it and use it right away…so it's not that good". Yet, despite households' differing tastes and practices with fruits and vegetables, the majority of participants spoke about eating root vegetables on a weekly basis for Sunday meals with their families.

A number of factors therefore affect households' access and consumption of vegetables and fruits, from family practices like eating vegetables for Sunday meals, to availability and cost. Similar to caribou in the land mammal classification, this was one of the only types of food that a majority of participants said they would like more of.

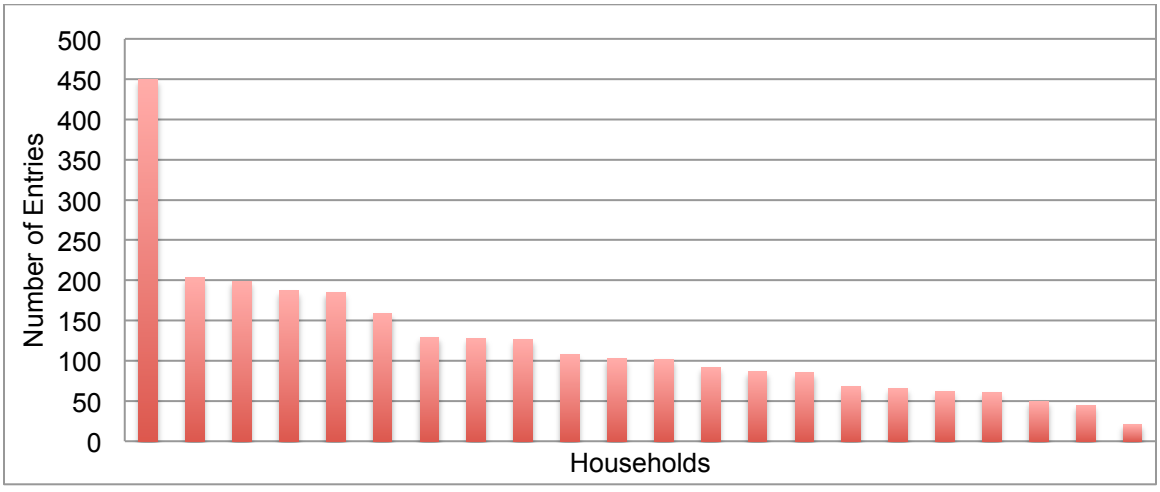

Figure 19: Vegetables and Fruits by Household

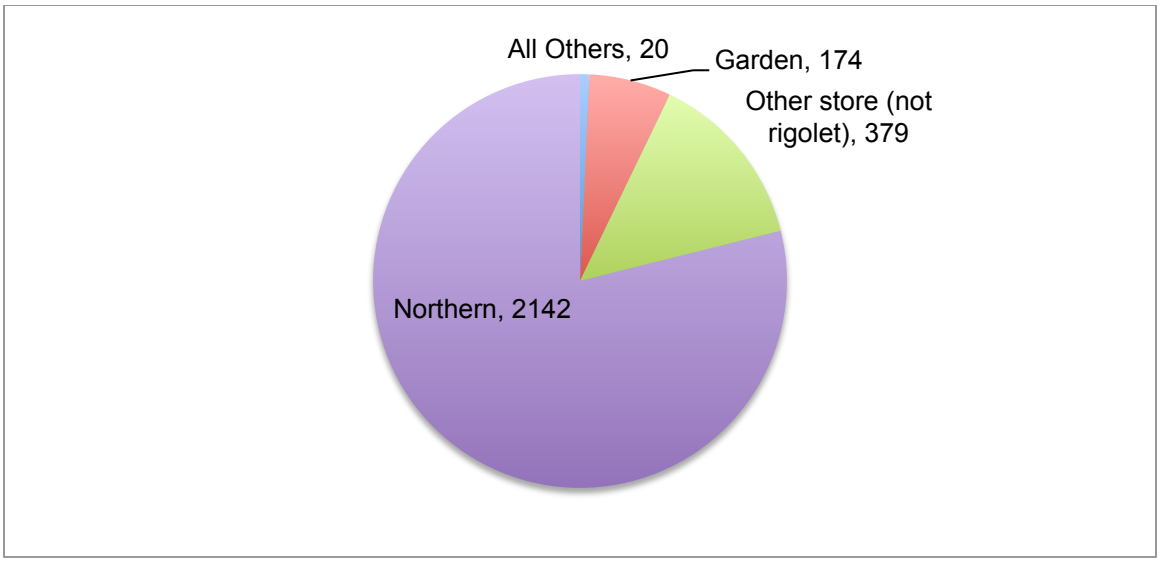

Figure 20: Vegetables and Fruits by Source

4.1.2.2 Milk and Alternatives

The milk and alternatives classification includes fresh dairy (namely milk, yogurt and cheese), and packaged dairy and alternatives (Grand Pre milk and Lactaid etc.). All 22 households that participated in the food inventories had entries for this classification, totalling 1,264 entries (8% of all store entries) (see Figure 21). However, similar to the vegetable and fruit classification there was variation across the households as the highest number of entries was 171, while the household with the lowest number of entries reported only six.

There were 326 entries reported for August/September, 404 in November, 280 in March, and 254 in May. The increase in November can – at least in part – be attributed to households making orders from Goose Bay for supplies by boat before the ice. Notably, the household that reported the most entries for this classification during the 12-week food inventories purchased the majority of their milk and alternatives in November, from suppliers based in Goose Bay (137 entries of their total 171 entries). However, orders from stores outside of Rigolet only account for 210 entries. The majority of entries were purchased from the Northern (1,052), and the remaining two entries were accessed from the community food bank (see Figure 22).

During the photo card interviews, milk and alternatives were identified as a staple that many households try to have on hand at all times. However, the cost is inhibitive for

some households, and supply chain issues can cause further challenges. One female participant described her family's consumption of milk and alternatives saying "when we can get it... and it's not always here to buy". Participants who spend time outside of the community for work and studies also said that they tend to drink and eat milk and alternatives more while living away, especially yogurt and cheeses, as it is more readily available and affordable.

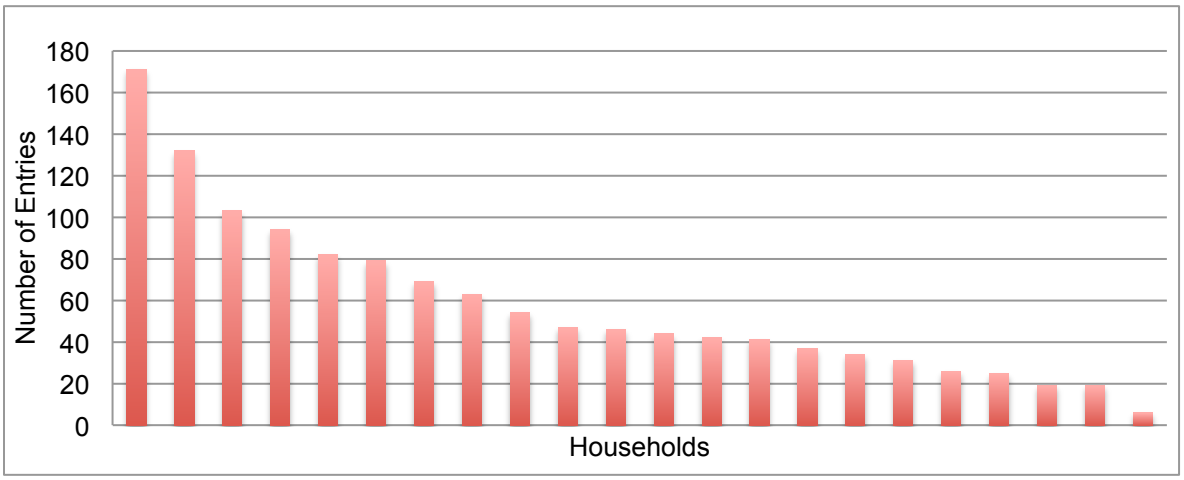

Figure 21: Milk and Alternatives by Household

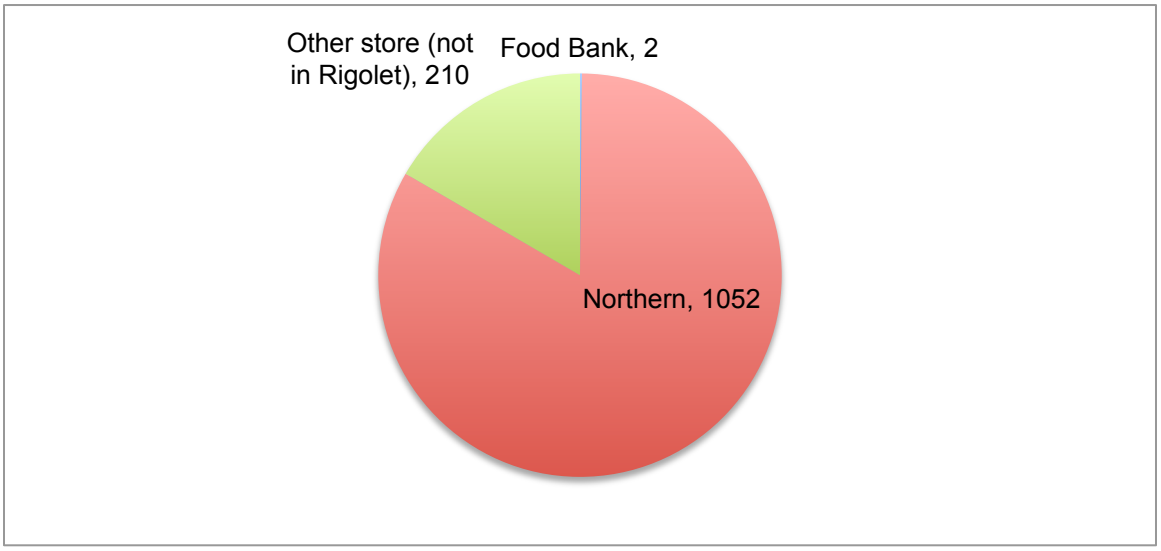

Figure 22: Milk and Alternatives by Source

4.1.2.3 Meats and Alternatives

The meat and alternatives classification includes pork and beef, chicken (unprocessed, and frozen/packaged), canned fish and meats, dried peas and beans, canned/preserved

beans, hot dogs, deli meats, and eggs. All 22 households that took part in the food inventories reported entries for meat and alternatives (see Figure 23). There was a total 2,355 entries (16% of all store entries) for this classification, with the greatest number of entries by a household being 246, and the lowest being 39. There was some variation in the months that these entries were made as 656 entries were reported for August/ September, 644 for November, 593 for March, and 462 for May.

The majority of the meat and alternative entries were purchased from the Northern (2,038 entries), and 257 were purchased from stores outside of Rigolet, almost all from Goose Bay. The remaining 60 entries were sourced in a number of ways; ten entries were documented as coming from the community food bank, nine entries were from family in Rigolet, one entry was from a friend in Rigolet, and the source of the final 40 entries was not stated, as shown in Figure 24 and Figure 25.

During the photo card interviews, a number of participants spoke about meats and alternatives in comparison to their preferences for wild meats. These discussions usually occurred while reviewing the beef and pork, and chicken cards. Upon seeing the card one female participant remarked "I prefer the wild food when it's fresh if I could get it all the time", while another female interviewee stated in reference to the beef and pork card "not so good as caribou". Though, other participants spoke positively about them saying they eat chicken, salt beef and other store meats on a weekly basis at family dinners and suppers on Sundays. However, accessing good quality and affordable meats for these occasions and regular meals throughout the week can be difficult, as one male participant said "they're so expensive… like $18 a chicken… you know that's ridiculous". While another couple spoke about tiring of certain meats, especially chicken, as a result of the limited options at the store.

A number of households described their efforts to avoid purchasing meats from the store by placing orders to Goose Bay, arranging for their own supply to be brought in by boat before the winter ice. Another challenge results from this practice though as households have limited space to store their food orders, especially freezer space for frozen meats. One male participant explained:

> for us it all depends on ti- time of the year… because we get our food order in the fall, and like we'll have lots of all that so like we'll have regular meals of pork chops, and regular meals that involve – lean ground

> beef if we can get it… at this time of the year… we only have so much… room in the freezer… and, we can't always keep what we want… and I don't always enjoy buying it from the store… cause the quality's poor.

Participants – both those who only buy from the Northern, and those that buy from Northern only once their own supplies have run out – also stated that their purchasing and consumption of certain meats and alternatives, especially packaged meats like breaded chicken, is affected by the limited choice in brands and variety at the Northern.

Further discussions were common regarding packaged and processed meats and alternatives. Canned/preserved meats, deli meats, and hot dogs were commonly described as convenience foods that are easy and quick to prepare, especially while at the cabin or out on the land. Participants described eating these items just to have something in your body to fuel your energy. One male participant explained "it's a make-do situation yeah, so yeah… not horrible yeah, not something you look forward to with any kind enthusiasm". These explanations were often followed by discussions of health, as several participants reported limiting or completely eliminating their consumption of processed meats and hot dogs because of pregnancy, diabetes, sodium conditions, and gallstones.

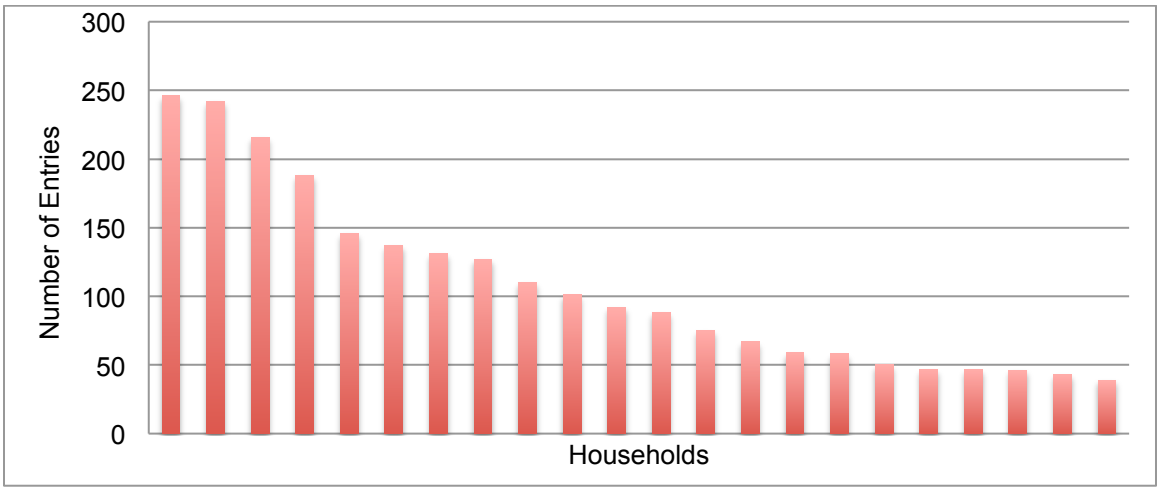

Figure 23: Meat and Alternatives by Household

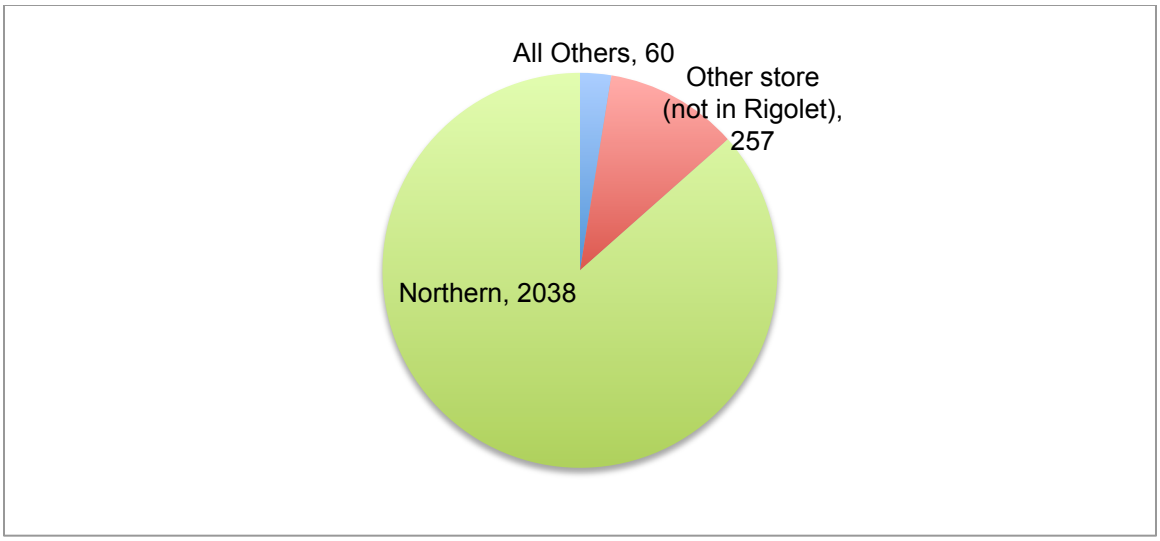

Figure 24: Meat and Alternatives by Source

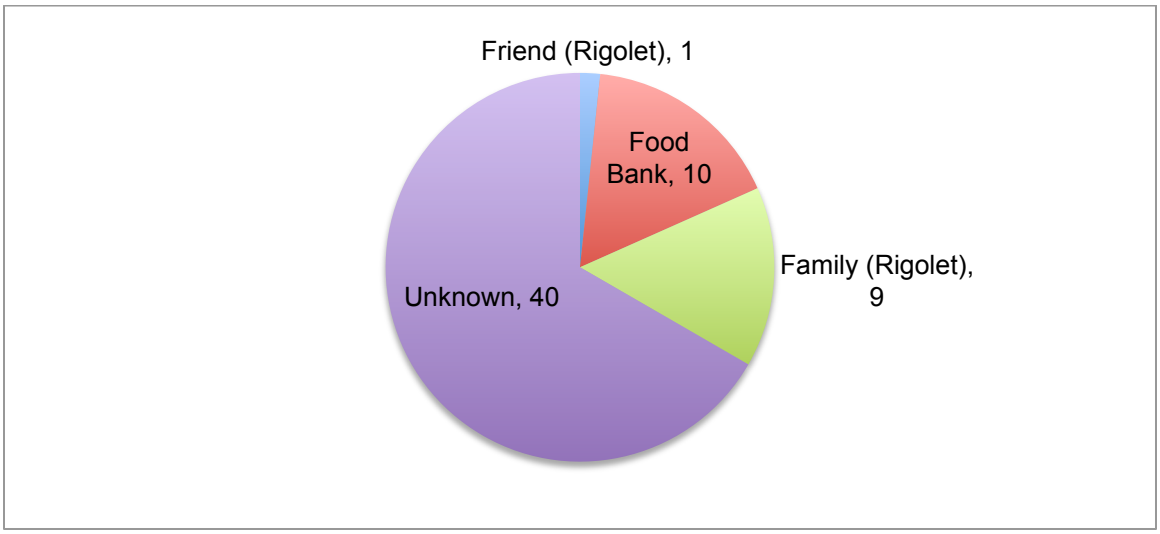

Figure 25: Meat and Alternatives by Source (Excluding store purchases)

4.1.2.4 Grain Products

The grain products classification includes flour, rice, barley, bread and buns, pasta, cereal, and crackers. As shown in Figure 26, a total of 1,088 grain entries (7% of all store entries), were made by the 22 households that contributed to the food inventories. The distribution across households was more even for grain products in comparison to other store foods, as the household with the greatest number of entries reported 97, and the two households with the lowest number both reported 17 entries. Consumption and purchasing of grain products across the four phases of the food inventories was also fairly

uniform as the number of entries per four-week period ranged from 285 (in November and March) to 244 in May.

As is the case with most store food classifications, the majority of entries were purchased at the Northern (968 entries) (see Figure 27). Another 104 entries were purchased from stores outside of Rigolet, while seven were accessed through the community food bank, family within Rigolet shared one entry, and the source of the final eight entries was not stated.

Many households discussed the practice of making their own grain products as much as possible, from homemade bread to brewis for fish and brewis, as well as *punitsiak*/flummes. Store-bought breads or buns were often described as convenience items that are eaten when there is no time to make homemade bread, or for certain items that are difficult to make such as hot dog or hamburger buns.

Flour is therefore seen as a staple item for most participating households; its cost was discussed during many of the interviews as the Northern had run out of flour while the photo card interviews were being conducted. Bags of flour were therefore being flown in – at a high cost – until the ice broke up and the boat was able to bring in more. Crackers were described as another staple food by a number of households as many participants reported eating them on a daily basis, similar to cereals that many interviewees eat on a daily basis as a quick meal, or in between meals as a snack.

Several participants spoke about health considerations when choosing breads and other flour-based products and homemade items. One household spoke about their conscious shift away from wheat products as a trial to see whether it could positively affect their health. A second household explained that they eat flour-based products but try to always opt for non-bleached flour, incorporating whole grains whenever possible.

Finally, most participants reported eating rice on a regular basis, stating that it is something they enjoy. For many households it was linked to Sunday meals with the family and wild foods. As one female participant explained “rice ahm, we eat a bit of it, I mean quite a bit, traditional meals call for it quite a bit.”

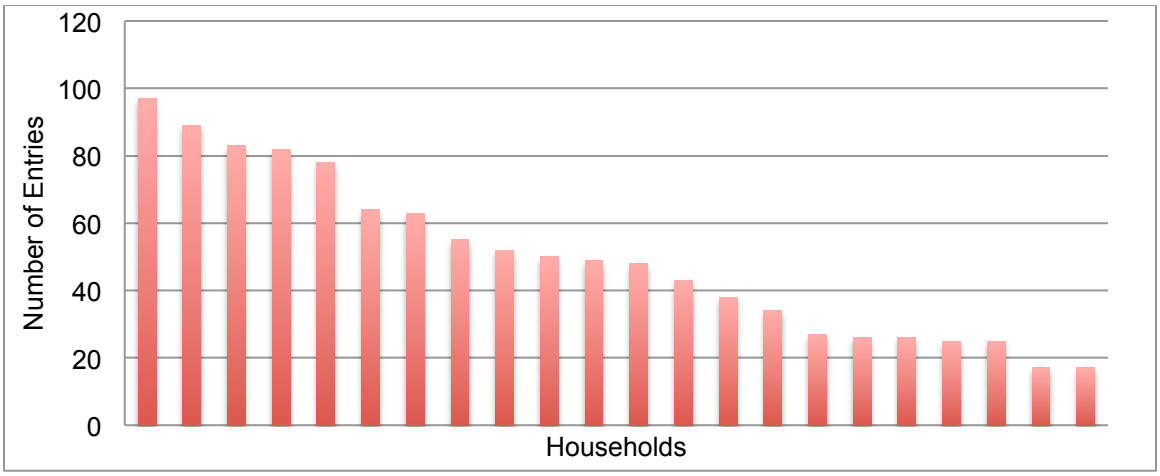

Figure 26: Grain Products by Household

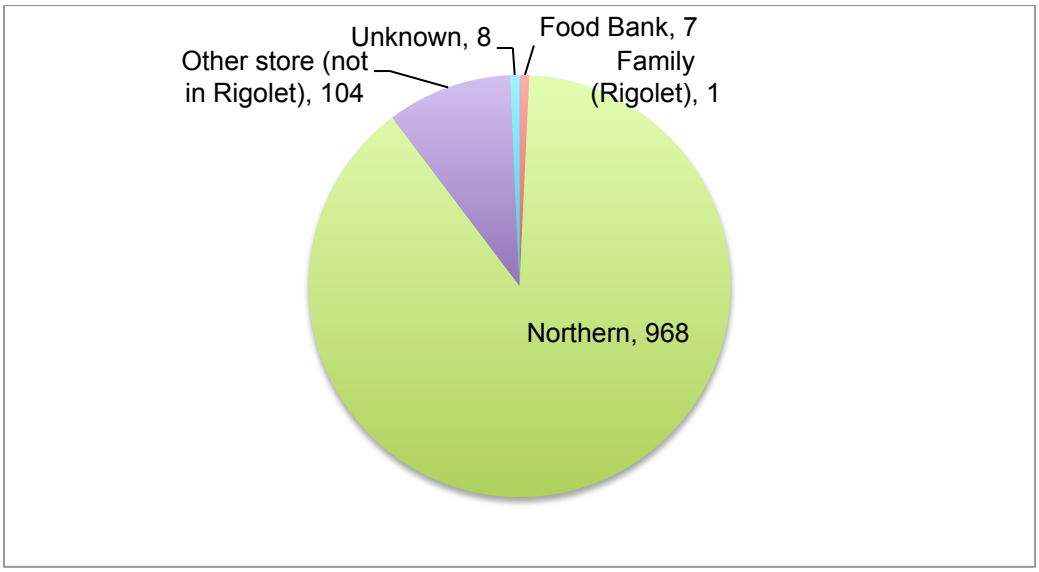

Figure 27: Grain Products by Source

4.1.2.5 Oils, Fats and Sugars

The oils, fats and sugars classification is based on the Nutrition North category (Government of Canada, 2014) of the same name, and for the purposes of this study it includes sugar, margarine, butter, and cooking oils. This classification makes up only a small proportion of the store food entries (430 of a total 14,969 entries, or 3%), but was purchased and consumed by all 22 households that participated in the food inventories (see Figure 28). The food inventory results show one household as an outlier because of the high number of entries they had for this classification (94), however, it should be noted that 90 of their entries were purchased in November through their food order to

Goose Bay, to be brought in by boat for the winter months. Excluding this household, and focusing on the remaining 21 households, the number of entries ranges from 36 to four. The number of entries in August/September, March, and May is fairly consistent (95, 91, and 82), but there is an increase in the number of entries for November to 162. This increase in Phase 2 can be at least partially attributed to food orders that were shipped by boat in advance of the winter ice.

However, the majority of entries for this classification were purchased in the community from the northern store (297 entries), as shown in Figure 29. Only 123 entries were purchased from stores outside of Rigolet, and ten entries were accessed through the community food bank.

Of the items in this classification, sugar was the only one that participants elaborated on during the interviews. As the interviews were conducted in May and June, the Northern store was getting low on its winter stock, and similar to flour the store had ran out of sugar, consequently, sugar was being flown in by plane. One household spoke about opting to buy sugar twins, a sugar supplement, as they could not afford sugar at its regular price let alone the price when it was brought in by plane. Many other households though were continuing to purchase sugar because they consider it to be a staple. As one male participant explained "I needs it… everyday".

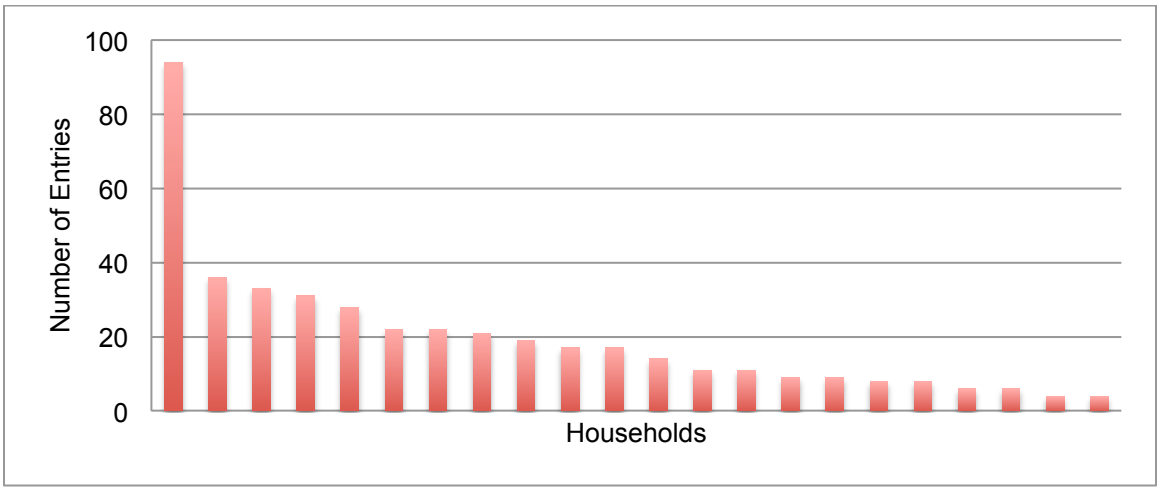

Figure 28: Oils, Fats and Sugars by Household

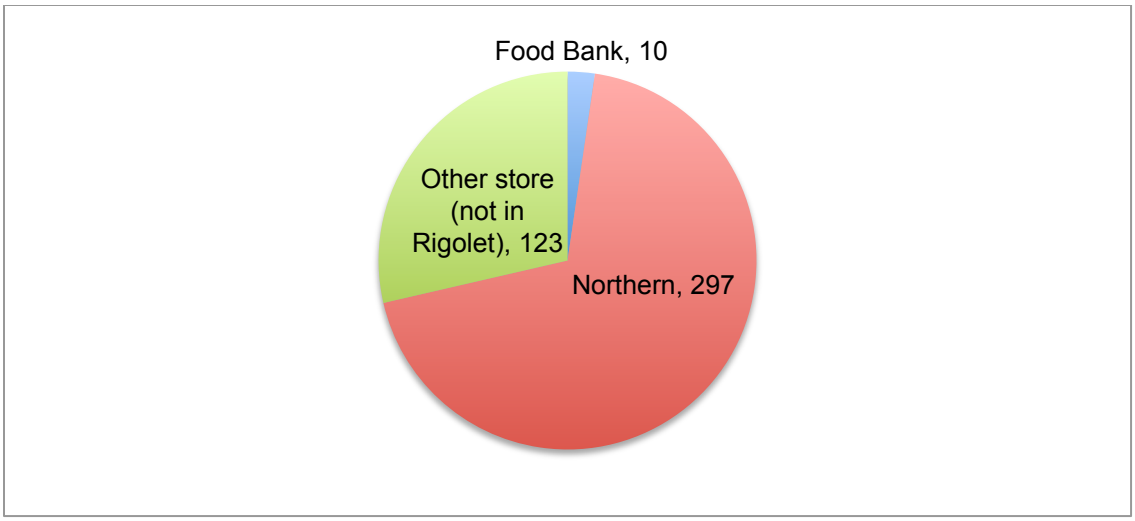

Figure 29: Oils, Fats and Sugars by Source

4.1.2.6 Combination Foods

Combination foods is another classification that was developed based on Nutrition North's (Government of Canada, 2014) categories, and for the purposes of this research it includes frozen dinners, frozen pizzas, as well as canned and packaged soups, stews and dinners. All 22 households reported purchasing and/or consuming foods from this classification; the greatest number of reported entries for one household was 105, and the lowest number was two (see Figure 30). Combining all households, 883 entries (6% of all store entries) were made for combination foods over the four months of food inventories with 238 entries in August/September, 205 in November, peaking at 265 in March, and declining to 175 in May.

The majority of the combination food entries were sourced within Rigolet from the Northern (784 entries), while 73 were purchased from stores outside of Rigolet, 13 were purchased at the local take-out restaurant in Rigolet, and the source of the final 13 entries was not stated (see Figure 31).

Despite accounting for only a small number of the food inventory entries, combination foods fulfill a specific niche within Rigolet's food system. Many participants spoke about the role of combination foods in day-to-day life as a convenience because they can be quick, requiring minimal preparation; however, participants also described their indifference, explaining that combination foods are just something to have when you need to eat. As one male participant said "they fill your gap

that's all… it's not really a meal" while another male interviewee stated "I likes canned food, it's a treat whenever I has it – at least I don't have to cook". A number of households described combination foods, especially canned foods as food for the cabin or at a fire while out on the land, as a third male participant reacted to the canned food photo cards saying "great on the fire… just pop the lid and throw them in the fire and take'em in". However, he went on to say "of no value, they have no food label on them cause they're afraid to say what's in them but when I eat them I totally enjoy them", and the nutritional value of combination foods was a point that was acknowledged and discussed by many participants.

A final topic of discussion for the combination foods focused on frozen dinners. Interviewees from several households stated that they eat frozen dinners, but only the Chinese food options. As one female participant said "the Chinese food is the only kind I normally eat because it's something that you can't really… it's harder to make", and this view was shared by other participants that described missing Chinese food, and actively seeking it out at restaurants while traveling away from the community.

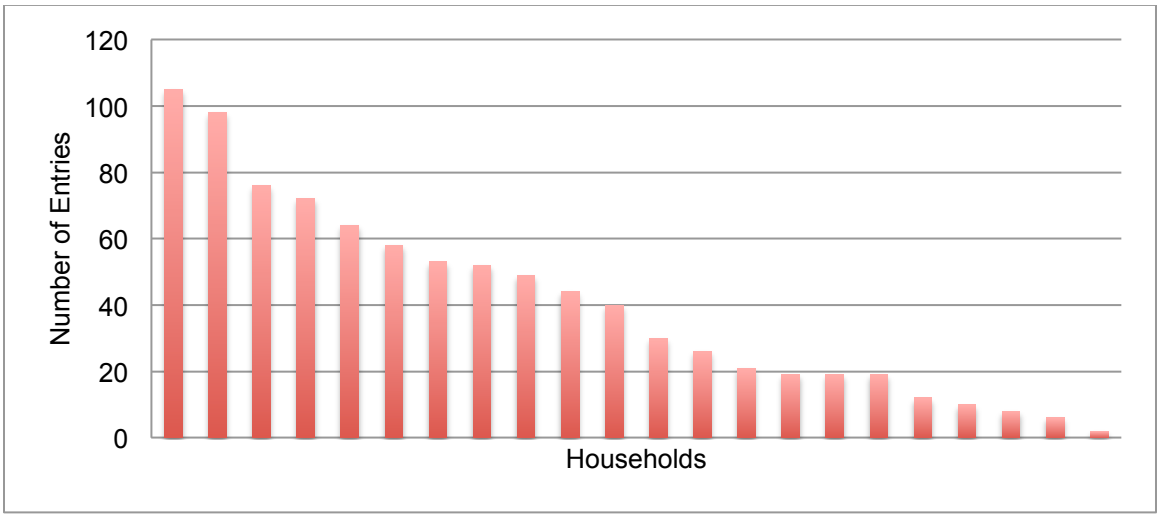

Figure 30: Combination Foods by Household

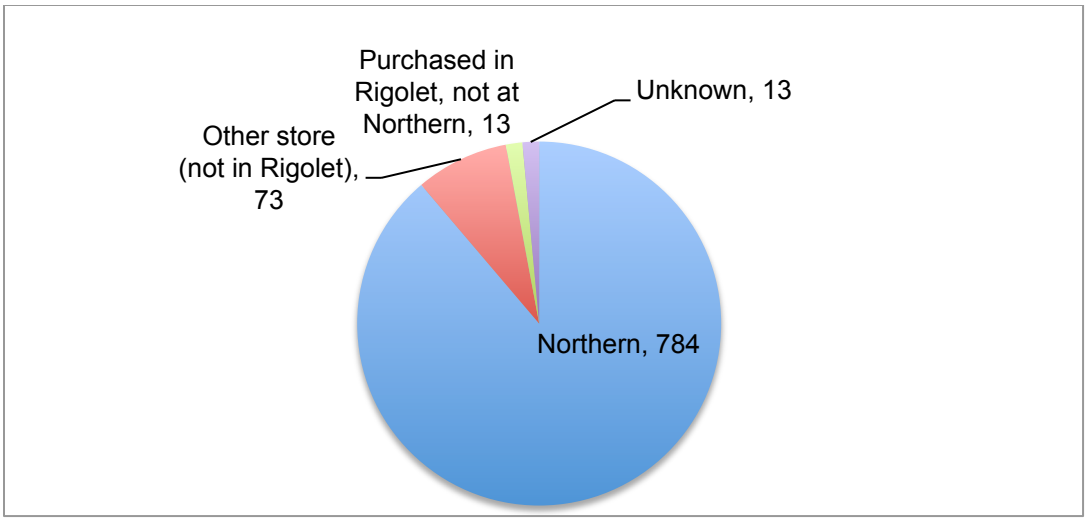

Figure 31: Combination Foods by Source

4.1.2.7 Other Foods

The other foods classification includes tea, coffee, hot chocolate, frozen drink concentrates, frozen breakfast foods, packaged cookies, canned/bottled soft drinks, sweetened juices, and packaged treats such as chocolate bars. This food classification accounted for 6,240 (42%) of all entries made for store foods during the food inventories. All 22 households had entries for this classification (see Figure 32), with great variation between the number of reported entries for each household. The household with the greatest number of entries had 809, and the household with the fewest had only 16 entries for the 12-weeks of food inventories. There was also variation in the monthly patterns of entries, as there were a total of 1,483 entries in August/September, 1,401 in November, 1,845 in March, and 1,511 in May.

The majority of entries for this classification, 5,932 were bought at the Northern in Rigolet (see Figure 33). An additional 300 entries were reported as purchased from other stores outside of the community, and eight entries were sourced from elsewhere; three were accessed through the community food bank, two were shared from family in Rigolet, and the source of the three final entries was not stated.

Participants identified a number of foods from this classification as snacks and meals they would take with them when going out on the land or to the cabin as they are energy dense and convenient. As one female responded upon seeing the packaged snacks photo card “if we’re out on the land… good snacking, energy boost”.

Many participants described having their favourite foods from this classification, and oftentimes even favourite brands. This was especially true of soft drinks, as was noted by several participants whose favourite brands were sold out in the Northern during the ice breakup at the time of the photo card interviews. However, even while describing their preferences, many participants used medicalized and other strong language in reference to their consumption patterns for this category. One female participant described her consumption of pop saying "everyday… and it's addiction… gotta have it type thing eh", while another female said "I've been quit for a while now".

Similar to other high sugar and high sodium foods, a number of participants explained that they limit or avoid these foods all together. Another female participant explained "I'm a chip junkie but cause of the sodium I'm… cutting back on that". These health concerns included sodium restrictions, lactose intolerance and dairy allergies, as well as diabetes.

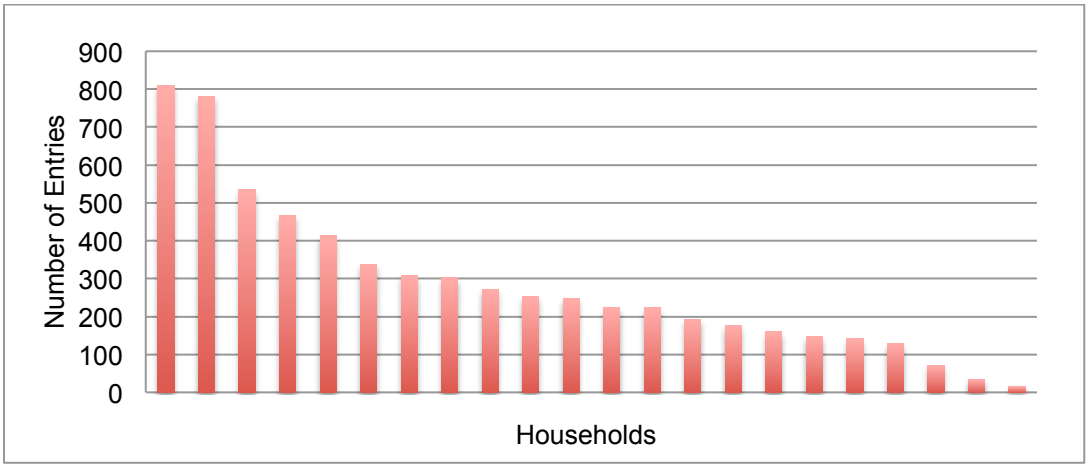

Figure 32: Other Foods by Household

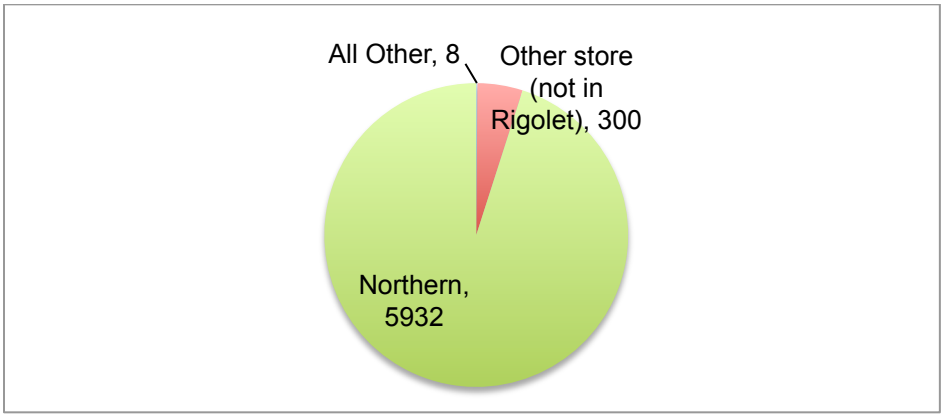

Figure 33: Other Foods by Source

4.1.3 Mixed Foods

A final classification that emerged when reviewing the food inventory and photo card data was the concept of mixed foods; participants documented and spoke about certain items that they had prepared as neither explicitly wild nor store foods, but a mix of the two. These foods and drinks are made at home, and their base is usually locally harvested wild food that is combined with staple items from the store such as flour and sugar. The most commonly talked about mixed items include jams, baked goods, puddings, ringalls (made with fat from land mammals), and fish and brewis.

When making food inventory entries, participants documented these mixed items on their wild food forms and as such these entries were counted in the earlier stated and examined wild food categories. For example, when participants made entries for redberry pudding or blueberry jam, these entries were used in the berry classification counts. However, in speaking with the community based research team it was determined that it was informative to examine the mixed food entries in further detail, as its own classification. As a result, it must be noted that the numbers for this classification have already been counted elsewhere in the wild food inventory data and graphs; these counts are being used here to provide insight into the commonality and composition of mixed foods within Rigolet's food system.

Of the 22 households that participated in the food entries, 10 households reported entries for mixed foods (see Figure 34). However, three of these households had only one entry each, the remaining seven households ranged from 53 to three mixed food entries.

The number of mixed food entries peaked in August/September (43 entries), which aligns with the harvesting season for berries when households tend to harvest, bake with and preserve berries – berry-based mixed foods account for 98 (92%) of the total 107 mixed food entries that were reported. The number of entries for the other three phases was fairly constant with 22 entries in November, 25 in March, and 17 in May.

The majority of mixed foods were documented as having been harvested from the land (81 entries), and the remaining 26 entries were accessed from a variety of sources (see Figure 35 and Figure 36). Only one mixed food entry was documented as having been purchased from the Northern store, while five entries were purchased and/or bartered for within Rigolet. A total of 13 entries were obtained through sharing with

family and friends, three entries were accessed from the community freezer, and the source of the remaining four entries was not stated.

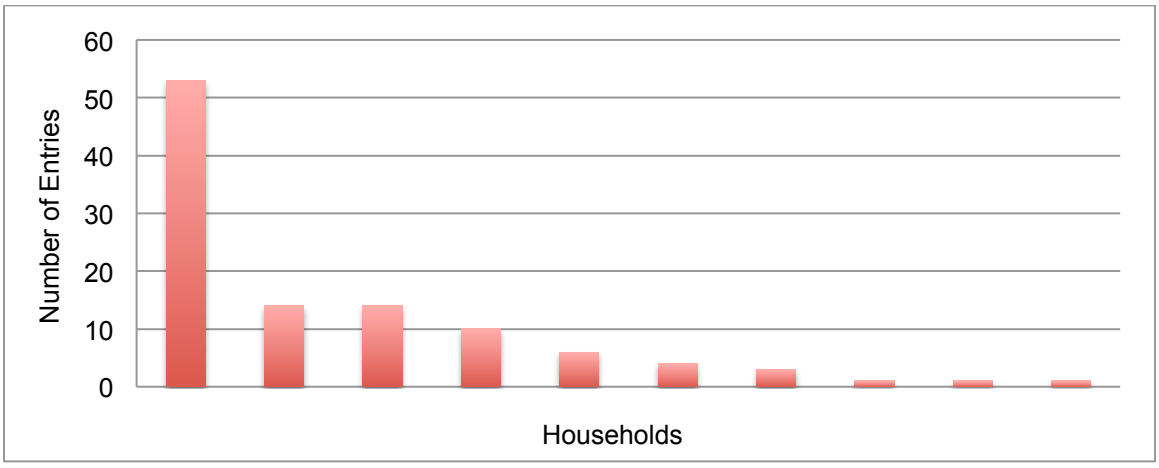

Figure 34: Mixed Foods by Household

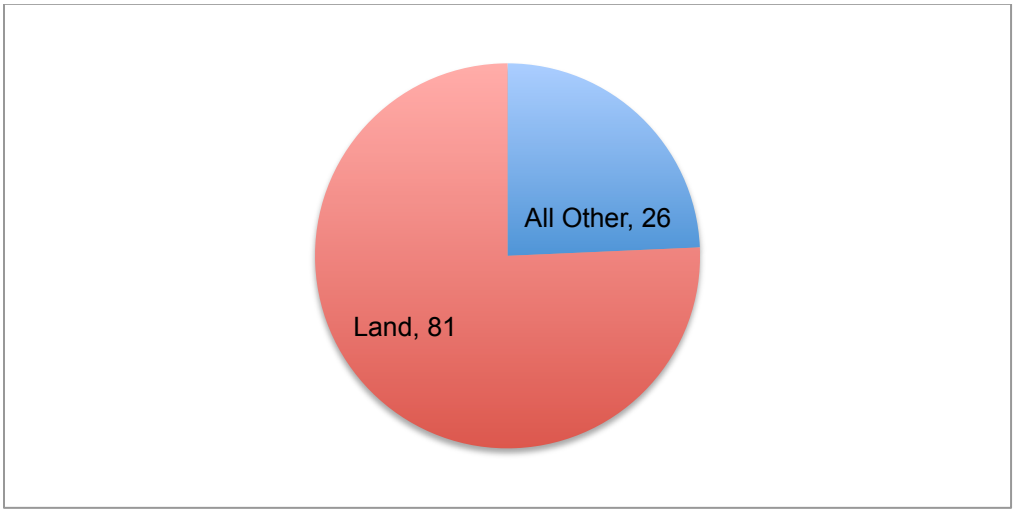

Figure 35: Mixed Foods by Source

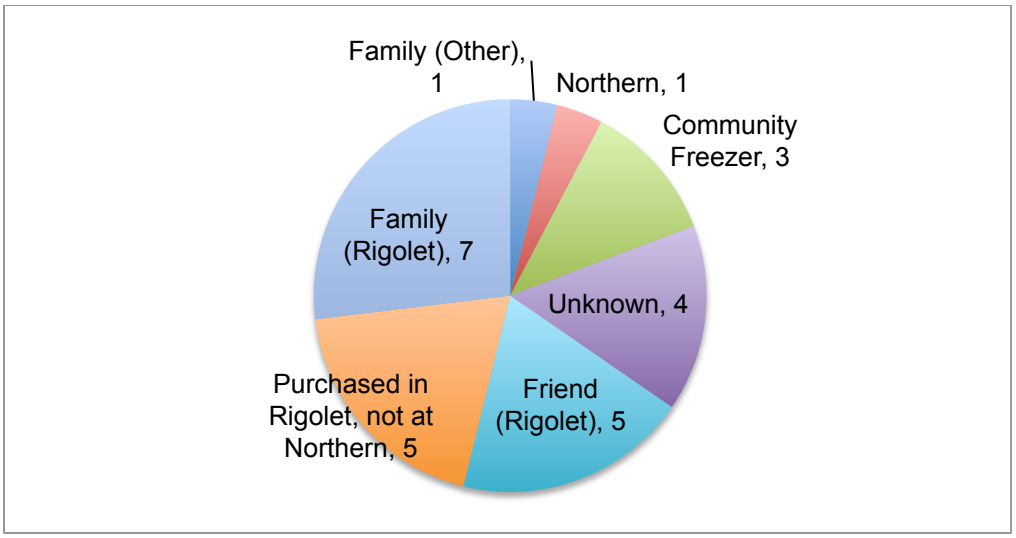

Figure 36: Mixed Foods by Source Excluding Land

4.1.4 Crosscutting Themes

Several themes emerged across the food classifications; initially, when focusing in on specific classifications these themes did not seem to warrant mention, but as they continued to be repeated in different classifications they are introduced and examined here. The first such theme was the idea that food and meals are a social process to be shared with others; as one woman explained "I's cooks something and it's only me eating it's kinda boring". Many participants touched on this theme, explaining that they enjoy certain store or wild foods such as pasta or seal, but they do not eat them because they are the only members of their households and/or families that enjoy them and they do not want to eat something if there is no one else to share in the meal.

The idea of tiring or having too much of a certain food was another theme that emerged. During the photo card interviews one couple spoke about having enjoyed chicken in the past but no longer. They explained that because of the limited variety and quality at the Northern store they eat chicken on a regular basis; they have found that it is too much and their preference for chicken is declining as a result. A male participant from another household described his conscientious efforts to avoid a similar occurrence with certain wild foods including smelts. He explained that he enjoys them very much but is conscious of how often he eats them to ensure that he does not tire of their taste.

A third crosscutting theme that was discussed was the relationship between household income and accessing wild food. A female and male participant from two

different households offered similar reflections on how they had grown up eating wild foods because it was the most affordable option. Both spoke about their childhoods eating primarily, if not exclusively from the land because the store food was too expensive. Yet this no longer seems to be the case as many participants stated that they do not have regular access to wild foods that they enjoy because they lack the money for skidoos or motorboats to get out to harvesting areas, or because they cannot justify the cost of gas for harvesting specific wild foods if a viable wild or store food alternative is more affordable. Consequently, sharing has become a key means of ensuring even minimal access to certain wild foods whose presence may be declining in regular diets, but whose cultural, familial or personal importance and enjoyment remains strong for individuals.

Shifts in individuals' diets while traveling and living away from the community for work and school was another crosscutting theme that emerged. These changes result from a range of factors including availability and cost of specific food items, but the general pattern was that healthier store items were more readily consumed but that there was less, if any availability of most traditional and wild foods. One male participant who splits his time between work away and his time off in the community explained that he is more likely to eat prepared and packaged store foods at home than at work, "I take care of myself in there a lot better than I do at home… I take a lot of that with me at work… instead of eating all that processed stuff". However, he further explained that he eats wild meats whenever he is home, and he is very active, spending time on the land hunting. A younger female participant who spent much of the year away for school explained a similar situation; that she missed seal and other wild foods when she was at school but that she had better and more affordable access to fresh vegetables and fruits, as well as milk and alternatives.

A related theme emerged regarding how the geography of where participants had grown up or lived as young adults affected their preferences and food choices. Participants from four households identified specific changes in their diets since moving to Rigolet. For instance, a male participant who spent extensive time in southern Labrador spoke about his lack of exposure to many of the land mammals that are commonly consumed in Rigolet, however, he had spent much of his life eating different fish and mollusks – and prepared in different ways – than in Rigolet. Another male

participant, who had also grown up elsewhere in Labrador explained that he had not eaten some of the smaller land mammals such as porcupine, until moving to Rigolet, while a female participant explained that she had eaten many of the same things growing up, they were just prepared differently. Finally, a number of older participants discussed how their early experiences, while away at school, or living on the land with their families, had affected their tastes and preferences. Certain packaged foods like cereals were associated with bad memories. Wild foods like turres also initiated memories and stories, but of family members who had since passed away, and also memories of harder times when there was less certainty of what or from where the next meal would be.

This relates to the final crosscutting theme that emerged; some participants explained that they eat, or avoid, certain foods simply because of the memories they evoke. A female participant upon seeing the canned meals card said:

> once in a while, if there's nothing else around or there's something quick like that but I don't really like it, we ate a lot of ol'canned foods I think when we were in Goose Bay, when we were young and we'd come home and I, I just don't like it anymore the canned stuff.

Another female participant reflected on her preference to not eat shore duck, "when I was growing up honest to goodness this is true, that we used to have them so much, the eider ducks, because that what was easy to get… I can just see them on the platter on the table browned up and I was so sick of them I wouldn't of wanted to eat it."

However, some of the memories associated with foods were positive. One female interviewee spent a few moments reflecting on the cracker photo card that included Pilot Biscuits. She explained while smiling, "my grandfather used to have them and they used to put them in tea and they'd pouf right up and so I love them… But now they're so thin I don't think they'd puff". Another female participant spoke about porpoise, saying:

> I was young… a teenager, and I only eat the mattak… I never ever gets it anymore. Me and Daddy, when we used to go hunting and we used to come back and cut it up and eat it down to the beach eh, down to the land watch – I probably just misses the thought of that.

The memories associated with different foods can therefore play an important role in shaping individuals' current preferences and diets.

4.2 The Food Inventories and Photo Card Interviews in Summary

The food inventories and photo card interviews were not without shortcomings. Both methods developed iteratively and were adapted based on ongoing dialogue between participants, the community-based research team, and myself; we had made our initial method selection with the intention of using methods that were adaptive and responsive to the issues and challenges that could arise and in this respect both methods worked well.

Yet the food inventories were only run for 12 weeks and at this time we cannot know how the results would have been different had we selected four different months, resulting in variations in seasonality, for the inventories. Furthermore, as previously stated, participants reported during the member checks that wild foods were greatly underreported in comparison to store foods, but that both types of food were underreported as we relied on a self-reporting tool. We are also aware that a much fuller analysis would have been possible had we established a consistent reporting unit for participants to record the quantity of wild and store items for each entry they documented. However, a required measurement would have increased the response burden, and, in working with the indigenous methodologies approach we chose to not implement what could have seemed an arbitrary unit of analysis to participants. We wanted to give space for participants to communicate what they were harvesting, purchasing and consuming in a way that they were comfortable. We instead asked participants to provide detailed descriptions of their harvesting and sharing activities, leaving units of measurement to their discretion. However, few of the descriptions we obtained in the food inventories included specific quantitative measures, and details regarding sharing practices were also omitted. In follow-up conversations with households, a number of participants explained that it was sometimes difficult to track the level of detail the research team was interested in because harvesting and sharing are part of daily life, and it can be challenging to remember to detail everyday activities.

In regards to the photo card interviews, one-on-one interviews with a more detailed interview guide could have allowed for more in-depth discussions with individual participants; however research studies are common in Rigolet and we wanted to respect the time that community members give to these projects, as well their comfort.

As a result we tried to always accommodate preferences for individual and/or group interviews, and our judgments in how far to probe with follow-up question.

Despite these constraints on our methods, the photo card interviews and food inventories provided a nuanced understanding about the story of food in Rigolet, giving insight into the factors that influence household diets (see Table 4). Through these methods we came to see that households' and individual participants' diets vary greatly in terms of the composition of store and wild foods, as well as their social and economic resources. Moreover, these individual and household differences vary depending on seasonality, both in terms of harvesting wild foods, and the transport and availability of stock for the Northern store. These two datasets have shown that participant's diets are primarily based on store foods, but that wild foods remain a culturally important, and commonly consumed element of individuals' diets.

What Foods Participants Purchase, Harvest and Consume	
Wild Foods	**Store Foods**
Land mammals (9%) Mollusks (1%) Birds (11%) Marine mammals (5%) Fish (6%) Berries (48%)	Vegetables and fruits (18%) Milk and alternatives (8%) Meat and alternatives (16%) Grain products (7%) Oils, fats and sugars (3%) Combination foods (6%) Other foods (42%)
Why Participants Purchase, Harvest and Consume these Foods	
Taste and Preference Cost / Resource Requirement to access them Stock *(quality and quantity of what's available)* *Seasonality (harvesting policy, animal migration, boat versus plane for shipments)* Time / Convenience *(required for harvesting, procurement or preparation)* Harvesting restrictions *(hunting bans, policies and guidelines)* Health / Wellbeing *(allergies, intolerances, diabetes, restrictions)* Culture / Family Practice / Tradition (*foods for special occasions, certain preparations)* Change *(animals near community and interacting with people, fluctuations in availability or herd size or range, changes in weather patterns or seasonality)* Preparation / Storage *(knowledge and experience of how, as well as sufficient space)* Geography *(of where participants grew up, of what's available, where participants are living)* Associations *(memories and experiences from the past affecting current food choices)*	

Table 4: Summary of Food Inventories and Photo Card Interviews

5 Discussion

In conducting the photo card interviews and food inventories, several salient themes emerged as I was reviewing and analyzing the data. The first is the idea of how working in the wage economy can both enable and constrain individuals' interaction with the food system. The second is the ways in which the harvesting of wild foods has changed over time. The third salient theme is the nature of how store food consumption has been normalized. Relatedly, the fourth theme concerns the seasonality of store foods. The final theme is the role and importance of food sharing. These five themes provide the basis for the discussion.

5.1 Wage Employment can Enable, but also Constrain Wild Food Harvesting

Throughout the photo card interviews participants spoke about wild foods that they enjoy but do not have regular access to because they lack the necessary means to purchase gas or equipment that is required for harvesting. Residents of Rigolet are not alone in this challenge as it has been documented across the Nunangat. As Wenzel (2009) argues in Nunavut for example, "even the most traditional hunter must have sufficient money to operate and maintain, not to mention periodically renew, a complex and expensive set of tools that include snowmobiles firearms and outboard engine-equipped boats" (p. 92).

Earning sufficient money through the wage economy is a means of addressing this challenge. One female participant who is an active hunter and sharer reflected on the regularity with which she and her husband go off on the land, stating simply "if we didn't have two jobs we wouldn't be able to go out." However, she also acknowledged the difficulty they face in ensuring they have enough time to hunt, as they work during the week, leaving the community to harvest every weekend, weather permitting.

A male participant also noted this difficulty, explaining that because of his job "I don't get to hunt as much as I want". The time that is required to hunt wild foods "sometimes conflicts with the demands of waged employment" (Wenzel, 2009, p. 92), and many of the participants who hunt reported that they have the means to afford harvesting, but lack the time to do so. Employment in the wage economy can therefore enable people because they can afford to harvest, but they are also constrained by the time requirements of the very jobs that enable them to afford going out.

5.2 The Harvesting of Wild Foods has Changed

In addition to the enabling and constraining factors of working in the wage economy, the photo card interviews and food inventories suggested that the harvesting of wild foods have changed in two ways. The first was in what participants chose to harvest, and the second pertained to species that participants could no longer harvest because of restrictions.

Participants reported they no longer harvest certain animals such as lynx, black bear, rabbit, turrs, and porpoise, among others. As one male harvester said regarding black bear "[I] just didn't need to bother anymore". The concepts of 'not bothering', that a food was 'starvation food' or only for when there is nothing else, was applied to a number of animals. When asked to explain more about these changes in harvesting practice it was generally associated with the permanent moves into the community, no longer living on the land for extended periods of time during warmer months, and the decline in trapping. These changes came with the convenience of no longer having to depend on foods that are not enjoyed, or seen as necessary.

A second significant way that the harvesting of wild foods has changed is that certain species can no longer be harvested. Restrictions on the harvesting of migratory birds, such as geese, the decline of the cod stocks, the protection of loon, and the moratorium on caribou hunting were all linked to changes in participants' diets. Participants spoke about the importance of conservation and acting to ensure maintenance and/or the return to healthy population numbers for these animals, while also acknowledging that these restrictions affect their diets and consequently familial and cultural practices. One participant reflected on the caribou moratorium saying, "but we can't now, and we can't get no more". Participants communicated that the ban on harvesting caribou has significantly affected their diets and consequently their lifestyle; this aligns with an acknowledgement in the Labrador Inuit Land Claims 2012 Annual Report that "in terms of food security, no species is more important to the people of Nunatsiavut than caribou" (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012, p. 13).

5.3 The Consumption of Store Foods is Normalized

As the harvesting of wild foods changes, households' diets have adapted. As argued in the dietary transition literature, there is a shift from the procurement and consumption of wild to store foods that was described by participating households.

A number of older participants explained that their diets are now greatly, if not primarily comprised of store foods, but recall that this was not the case when they were growing up. Store foods were unaffordable for many households in the past, while wild foods were more economical, as one female participant explained "there wasn't much money in the house and we had to eat off the land". This is not the case anymore, the commonality and increasing role of store foods in the diet is therefore a more recent development for some households.

5.4 The Seasonality of Store Foods

The increased consumption and prominence of store foods in participants' diets and the food system, means that supply chains and store stock are of great importance to their daily diets. The interviews and food inventories evidenced that the availability of certain foods is linked to weather conditions and thus there is a *seasonality* to store foods.

This seasonality is based on how, and how often store foods are shipped. During the warmer months, when the community is accessible by boat, food arrives regularly on a freighter. The same vessel is used to ship stock in preparation for when the ice sets in and food can only be flown in by plane. Participants described the winter and spring months as particularly uncertain times in terms of what is available to buy locally. This uncertainty and challenge is heightened during storms and bad weather conditions when planes cannot make it into Rigolet. One female participant described a recent incident where there was "absolutely nothing to eat by the end of that storm" in terms of fresh foods, and items that cannot be stored for extended periods of time.

This challenge is not unique to Rigolet, rather it is the norm across the Canadian North. The "vast geographic distances, sparse populations and harsh weather conditions, which are becoming more unpredictable as a result of climate change, all make Northern Canada a difficult place to conduct trade" (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014, p. 107).

5.5 Sharing Matters

The most prominent theme to emerge in this study was that the sharing of wild foods matters in terms of ensuring access to food, but also for maintaining culture and identity. The sharing and consumption of wild foods have been identified as intrinsic to Inuit economy, culture, and identity (Duhaime et al., 2002; J. D. Ford, Pearce, Duerden, Furgal, & Smit, 2010; ITK & ICC, 2012; Wenzel, 2009), and this was strongly communicated throughout the interviews and food inventories. More than 34% of the documented wild food entries were obtained through sharing from friends and families, and the community freezer, and these entries only account for foods that were obtained by participants, not those that they shared out.

Participants described sharing as a twofold practicing of their culture. Through the sharing of wild foods the harvester has provided for others as they were taught to do, and the recipient has gained access not only to food, but to foods that are foundational to Inuit identity. When speaking about sharing one hunter struggled to articulate his need to provide for others, eventually stating “I’ve been brought up that way”. The sharing of food and its connection to culture are now even more important as harvesting restrictions and job requirements further constrain community members’ ability to subsist from the land. As community members practice and connect to their culture in this way, they demonstrate that despite the apparent prominence of store foods, the dietary transition is not necessarily an inevitable process within which the consumption of wild foods will cease; the food system, like the economy, will incorporate, change, and adapt.

6 Conclusion

This research offers a characterization of Rigolet's food system, providing a description of commonly consumed foods and the factors that influence their consumption. These findings on *what* participants are eating and *why* are not unique in themselves as they reflect the existing literature on food systems in the North. However, what is notable regarding these findings is that they are specific to Rigolet, enabling a more nuanced starting point for future research and policy in the community. In sharing our results, we hope to facilitate a more informed baseline for the community, RICG, other levels of government, as well as other researchers as they seek to study and strengthen the food system.

By sharing our research methods and approach, our intention is to also contribute to food systems research and policy in Nunatsiavut and the Nunangat. There exists a wealth of generalized knowledge on food security and food systems in the North, yet the applicability of this knowledge can be strengthened when it is coupled with information and data that is specific to a region, or individual communities. Participatory approaches and methods – such as the photo card interviews and food inventories used in this project – can enable a context-specific understanding of what is relevant to a community and its food system. Such context-specific understandings can be complementary to the more quantifiable and measurable data that is produced from methods such as 24-hour food recalls. Our project therefore offers an example of how research may be conducted so that it is positioned to contribute to decisions, policies, and actions that strengthen community food systems in the North.

This research was developed around the question *What is the story of food in Rigolet, Nunatsiavut?* In seeking to characterize Rigolet's food system I have come to understand this system as a complex set of interactions – harvesting, purchasing, preparing, sharing and consuming – that connects community members and households as they allocate the foods that are available to them from the community and regional stores, and the land. There exist many constraints on the food system from household incomes and store stock, to weather conditions, and animal populations, and yet the

people and the system as a whole are resilient and adaptive as foods cycle through availability.

The four objectives of this project were: (1) To document and characterize the main foods that are being consumed by individuals and households; (2) To determine the common sources of food within Rigolet; and (3) To identify the internal and external resources that are available to the community to prepare for and respond to shocks to their food system, and adapt to potentially long term challenges such as climate change. The food inventories and photo card interviews respond to these objectives, demonstrating that participants' diets tended to be based primarily on store foods, but supplemented – in some households heavily – by wild foods.

Participants' explained their consumption patterns and choices regarding store foods in a number of common ways; from the energy density and convenience of packaged foods, the taste and health benefits of vegetables and fruits, to the role of meat and alternatives as a substitute for wild meats. The cost and available stock at the community store, however, were identified throughout the interviews as two key factors that affect the frequency, enjoyment, and viability of store foods in households' diets. Like store foods, cost was a determining factor in the harvesting and consumption of wild foods as not all households can afford the time, or gas, ammunition, or means of transportation that are required to harvest. The fluctuation of species' availability, memories and associations of certain foods, as well as cultural or familial practices were other important considerations that influenced the results for wild foods.

The majority of items for the store foods classifications were purchased from the Northern store in Rigolet, but these foods were also sourced from stores outside of the community, household gardens, the community food bank, as well as through sharing from family and friends. In contrast, participating households harvested most wild food entries from the land. Many wild foods were also accessed from family and friends, as well as the community freezer. The freezer has played an important role in ensuring community members' access to land mammals through community-wide moose giveaways that are intended to supplement the lack of caribou that has resulted from the harvesting moratorium.

In reviewing the food inventories and photo card inventories it is clear through households' responses to the caribou moratorium, the usage of the community freezer, and the importance and commonality of sharing that there exist coping strategies and that the food system is resilient. Yet despite these strengths, there remains many questions regarding how the system will manage future challenges: What happens if weather is increasingly less predictable further constraining peoples' time on the land beyond the existing constraints of their jobs, while also changing the frequency with which planes can bring food shipments? What are the implications for the community's culture if the caribou moratorium continues and the numbers of other substitute species like moose and partridge decline? If community members' ability to harvest is further constrained, how will sharing, and consequently identity and culture be affected?

When asked whether her diet had changed over the years a female participant took a moment to reflect, eventually saying "never stayed the same, no". There remains many uncertainties regarding the community food system and the stressors that may come in the near and distant future, yet the system has been capable of responding to many changes and challenges in the past, from colonization, to industrial development, the introduction of the wage-economy, and even hunting moratoriums. Community members' diets have experienced many changes, never staying the same, but despite this community members have always been able to maintain their culture through the foods they eat, sharing and adapting to the environmental, economic, and cultural factors that affect their food system.

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Appendix

Photo Card and Food Classification Listing

Photo Card#	Food/Drink Item	Store/Wild	Classification
1	Beef, pork	Store	Meat and Alternatives
2	Frozen desserts	Store	Other Foods
3	Frozen drinks/juices	Store	Other Foods, and Vegetables and Fruits
4	Chicken	Store	Meat and Alternatives
5	Wieners/hot dogs	Store	Meat and Alternatives
6	Frozen dinners	Store	Combination Foods
7	Frozen pizzas	Store	Combination Foods
8	Frozen/packaged chicken	Store	Meat and Alternatives
9	French fries, onion rings etc.	Store	Other Foods
10	Frozen fish	Store	Meat and Alternatives
11	Frozen fruits	Store	Vegetables and Fruits
12	Frozen waffles/breakfast foods	Store	Other Foods
13	Canned vegetables	Store	Vegetables and Fruits
14	Peas, beans, barley	Store	Meat and Alternatives, Grain Products
15	Fresh vegetables: turnip, cabbage, onions, potatos, carrots	Store	Vegetables and Fruits
16	Canned/preserved fruit	Store	Vegetables and Fruits
17	Fresh fruits	Store	Vegetables and Fruits
18	Frozen vegetables	Store	Vegetables and Fruits
19	Bread, buns	Store	Grain Products
20	Fresh vegetables: tomatoes, peppers, mushrooms, celery, lettuce	Store	Vegetables and Fruits
21	Canned/packaged fish	Store	Meat and Alternatives
22	Pasta	Store	Grain Products
23	Rice	Store	Grain Products
24	Canned meals: Irish stew, spaghetti etc.	Store	Combination Foods
25	Packaged drinks: Tang, Kool-Aid, boxed milk and juices	Store	
26	Sugar	Store	Oils, Fats and Sugars
27	Flour	Store	Grain Products
28	Cereals	Store	Grain Products
29	Crackers	Store	Grain Products
30	Margarine, butter	Store	Oils, Fats and Sugars
31	Packaged cookies	Store	Other Foods
32	Soft drinks, canned/bottled juices	Store	Other Foods, Vegetables and Fruits
33	Fresh dairy	Store	Milk and Alternatives
34	Canned/preserved dairy	Store	Milk and Alternatives
35	Canned/packaged soupss	Store	Combination Food
36	Canned/preserved beans	Store	Meat and Alternatives
37	Packaged treats	Store	Other Foods
38	Tea, coffee, hot chocolate	Store	Other Foods

39	Deli meats	Store	Meat and Alternatives
40	Packaged snacks (granola bars, Rice Krispies Squares, gummies)	Store	Other Foods
41	Hens eggs	Store	Meat and Alternatives
42	Bakeapple/cloudberry (*akpik*, *rubus chamaemorus*)	Wild	Berry
43	Blackberry/crowberry (*paungak*, *empetrum nigrum*)	Wild	Berry
44	Redberry/lingonberry/cowberry (*kingmigak*, *vaccinium vitis-idaea*)	Wild	Berry
45	Raspberry (*rubus idaeus/arcticus/pubescens*)	Wild	Berry
46	Caribou (*tuktuk*, *rangifer tarandus*)	Wild	Land Mammal
47	Rabbit (*ukalik*, *leporidae*)	Wild	Land Mammal
48	Black bear (*akslak*, *ursus americanus*)	Wild	Land Mammal
49	Spruce partridge/ruffed grouse (*akiggilik*, *bonasa umbellus*)	Wild	Bird
50	White partridge (*akiggik*, *phasianidae*)	Wild	Bird
51	Wild birds' eggs – all types	Wild	Bird
52	Porcupine (*illâgusik*, *erethizon dorsatum)*	Wild	Land Mammal
53	Beaver (*kigiak*, *castor*)	Wild	Land Mammal
54	Trout (*ikaluk*, *salvelinus fontinalis*)	Wild	Fish
55	Capelin (*kulelik*, *mallotus villosus*)	Wild	Fish
56	Smelts (*kakilasak*, *osmeridae*)	Wild	Mollusk
57	Seal (*puijik*, *pusa hispida*, *phoca vitulina, pagophils groenlandicus*)	Wild	Marine Mammal
58	Mussels (*uvaluk*, *mytilus*)	Wild	Mollusk
59	Loon/wobby (*tollik/katsauk*, *gavia immer)*	Wild	Bird
60	Eider/shore duck (*mitik*, *somateria*)	Wild	Bird
61	Moose (*tuktuvak*, *alces alces*)	Wild	Land Mammal
62	Lynx (*piktosigiak*, *lynx canadensis*)	Wild	Land Mammal
63	Turr/murres (*akpak*, *uria*)	Wild	Bird
64	Porpoise (*nesâtsuk/âlluasiak*, *phocoenidae)*	Wild	Marine Mammal
65	Wrinkles/snails (*siutiguk*, *nassarius mutabilis*)	Wild	Mollusk
66	Scallops (*maksojak*, *pectinidae*)	Wild	Mollusk
67	Blueberry (*kigutanginnak*, *vaccinium boreale*)	Wild	Berry
68	Goose (*niglik, branta canadensis*)	Wild	Bird
69	Cod (*ogak*, *gadus morhua*)	Wild	Fish
70	Clams (*ammomajuk*, *spisula polynyma*, *mya arenaria*)	Wild	Mollusk
71	Black duck (*mitiluk*, *anas rubripes*)	Wild	Bird
72	Salmon (*kavisilik*, *salmo salar*)	Wild	Fish

		Food Source (please check one ☑)						
Date	Species / Berry Type	Family	Friends	Land	Store	Goose Bay	Other	Comments
		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
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		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
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		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

COMMENTS: ______________________________

Code	Description
Preference (Positive)	The participant expresses that they enjoy and/or like the item(s) that are pictured
Preference (Neutral)	The participant indicates that they are indifferent to the item(s) that are pictured or that they do not necessarily prefer them but consume them nonetheless; or the participant does not express an explicit preference but states that they consume the item(s)
Preference (Negative)	The participant states they do not like and/or do not eat the item(s) that are pictured
Preference (Not Applicable)	The participant stated that they do not consume the item(s) that are pictured (and they do not explicitly say that it is because they dislike the item); or the participant has never tried the item(s)
Enoughness	The participant states that they would like better or more regular access to the item(s) that are pictured, or that they do not have enough of it; or the participant says that they have too much of the item(s); or the participant explicitly says that they have enough access to the item(s)
Cost/Resource Requirement	The participant explicitly states that the cost of purchasing or harvesting the item(s) that are pictured as either inhibitive or enabling to their access
Stock	The stock availability, or lack of, at the local store is stated as a reason for purchasing or not having access to the pictured item(s)
Seasonality	The consumption patterns of the pictured item(s) is explained in terms of seasonality
Time / Convenience	The time required to obtain the pictured item(s) is inhibitive or enabling; or the item(s) is or is not consumed because of how easily it can be accessed or prepared
Harvesting Restrictions	Access to the pictured item(s) is affected by harvesting restrictions (moratoriums, quotas, etc.)
Health / Wellbeing	Health and/or wellbeing concerns or considerations affect consumption of the pictured item(s)
Culture / Family Practice	Consumption or harvesting of the pictured item(s) is affected by cultural or familial practices
Change	Changes in the community's or participants' lifestyles, diets, harvesting practices or the availability of different species and the natural environment are reported as affecting the consumption and/or access to the pictured item(s)
Preparation / Storage	The preparation and/or storage practices used for the pictured item(s) affect why it is or is not consumed (ex: because the item freezes well)
Unsure	Any notable quotes or ideas that are beyond the scope of the above stated codes