Local Traditional/Country Food Processing and Food Sovereignty:

Investigating the Political Challenges for an Indigenous Self-government to Self-Determine and Develop its Local Food System

by

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Author's Declaration

This thesis consists of material all of which I authored or co-authored: see Statement of Contributions included in the thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Statement of Contributions

This thesis presents the work of Connor Judge in direct collaboration with his thesis supervisor, Dr. Kelly Skinner and input from his committee members Dr. Andrew Spring, Dr. Janice Barry, and collaborator Dr. Lyle Renecker. I, Connor Judge, authored Chapters 1 (Introduction), 2 (Literature Review), 3 (Theoretical Framing), 4 (Methodology and Methods), and 7 (Conclusion and Contribution) of this thesis under the supervision of Dr. Kelly Skinner. These chapters were not written for publication. Chapters 5 and 6 are two manuscripts written for publication. The contribution of co-authors in the preparation of these manuscripts is as described below. Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Andrew Spring, and Dr. Lyle Renecker and I conceptualized this study in Délı̨ne, NT with the support of our collaborators: Indigenous Skills and Employment Training, Aurora College, Canadian Institutes of Health Research, the Délı̨ne Got'ine Government, FLEdGE, ECE, ITI and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

Chapter 5

Dr. Andrew Spring, Dr. Kelly Skinner and I conceptualized the paper. I prepared multiple drafts with preliminary feedback from Dr. Kelly Skinner and Dr. Andrew Spring. This evaluation investigating the potential for a mobile abattoir to increase food access in Délı̨ne, NWT was prepared for submission to the Canadian Food Studies Journal (Research Article). I shared a draft plain language evaluation report, designed for the community and our partners with Dr. Lyle Renecker for feedback. This feedback was incorporated into the evaluation report and the manuscript for Chapter 5.

Chapter 6

Dr. Janice Barry and I conceptualized the paper. I prepared multiple drafts with preliminary feedback from Dr. Kelly Skinner and Dr. Janice Barry. This critical discourse analysis of contemporary treaty texts to understand the sovereign powers of an Indigenous self-government to control its foods system was prepared for submission to the Critical Policy Studies Journal (Research Article).

Abstract

Background: Climate change in tandem with previous colonial policies have severely impacted local traditional food systems, resulting in a disruption to traditional knowledge sharing, a greater reliance on market foods and disproportionate rates of food insecurity.

Objectives: The purpose of this thesis is to understand how an Indigenous self-government can leverage a mobile abattoir (also known as a trailer facility) to increase food access for community members. This pertains to understanding what is possible within the trailer facility as well as understanding the power of an Indigenous self-government in influencing policies that pertain to incorporating the trailer facility into the local food system.

Methods: The methodology of this thesis is based upon the principles of participatory action research, evaluation, and settler colonial theory. Data was collected in interviews with trainees of the country food processing training course, surveys from community members and a title screening process of all the legislated acts and regulations in the Northwest Territories. Two different analyses were conducted. First, a reflexive thematic analysis of interview data from trainees of the course was used to inform a process evaluation on a country food processing training course held within the trailer facility. Second, an applied approach to Norman Fairclough's (1989) critical discourse analysis was adapted to the policies identified within title screening process. The resulting data corpus was too large to incorporate into this applied thesis. Data reduction resulted in a data set of two contemporary treaty texts: The Sahtú Dene Métis Land Claim Agreement and the Délı̨ne Final Self-Government Agreement.

Results: We found that the trailer facility was perceived to be a tool that could create employment opportunities, teach youth the importance of the traditional way and create traditional/country foods that cater to the food preferences of the community's youth. The trailer facility was found to not be a viable place to hold the country food processing training course in due to its size and faulty equipment inside. The factors that influenced why the trailer was not viable for the training course were found to be compounded by policies from different levels of government. Through investigating how these policies implicate Délı̨ne, it was revealed that local food development is not within the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-governance. Wildlife conservation discourses, and agricultural discourses were found within this thesis as affecting an Indigenous self-government from self-determination and food sovereignty.

Conclusion: Policies at both the territorial and the regional level create barriers for Indigenous self-governments to implement a trailer facility to its local food system to increase food access. The findings of this thesis highlight how contemporary treaty texts such as Indigenous self-government agreements continue to legitimize the authority of settler governments and control Indigenous Peoples. This thesis provides empirical evidence of the mechanisms within contemporary treaty texts that settler colonialism uses to undermine Indigenous self-determination and Indigenous food sovereignty.

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I would like to first acknowledge and thank the community of Délı̨ne for their generosity and support. Thank you to the trainees of the training who were kind enough to share their stories and experiences with me. Thank you to community for inviting me to attend the events and feasts at the spiritual gathering. Thank you to the community members who attended the open house to try the new foods and to those who let us know their thoughts. It was a privilege to serve tea at the spiritual gathering and learn about the prophets. While my time in Délı̨ne was short, it was an experience I will never forget. During one of the feasts I attended, I was told stories about the lake, and how the black rocks from Great Bear Lake bring good luck. Since my trip, I always ensure that my black rock is never too far away. I am forever indebted to the community and the opportunity they provided me. It is my greatest hope that the results of this thesis can be used to benefit the people of Délı̨ne. It is the least I could do, after all the things the community and its members have done for me.

To the collaborators and partners of this thesis. I would like to thank you for your dedication and support to ensure the success of the country food training course within the food processing trailer facility. If it were not for the resources and time that was invested by you all, this thesis project would have not come to be.

To my supervisor Dr. Kelly Skinner. It has been a privilege to have you as my mentor. The space you have created for me to explore and learn as a young researcher has made a significant contribution to my growth. You provided opportunities for me to get first-hand experience in working with Indigenous partners. These opportunities were only possible through the inspiring research you are a part of. Thank you for your patience as I navigated (and sometimes fumbled) through the unfamiliar waters of academia. This journey has been simultaneously the most challenging and rewarding experience of my life. I would have not had this opportunity if it was not for you taking a chance on a student who didn’t have the strongest grades but a dream to try and make a difference in this world.

To my committee, I am grateful for your guidance and expertise in your areas of research. Dr. Barry, thank you for helping me stay intact as my thesis project pulled me in two opposite scholastic directions. You helped me understand the complex nuances of critical policy analysis and how to utilize it in an applied research project. If it was not for your direction, I would have fell victim to one of the many scholarly rabbit holes I encountered on this journey. Dr. Spring, thank you for providing me the opportunity to develop a research project that builds off the previous participatory research you have done. I have gained valuable insight from working with you and seeing firsthand your ability to take complex systems and break them down into digestible components. I am happy to say that I have been a part of your research and look forward to the future food systems work you complete in the north.

To my partner, Monique. Thank you for the endless support you have provided me throughout this journey. This journey would have not been possible if you were not in my life. Thank you for your patience. Thank you for letting me think out loud and go off on tangents as I learned about the current and previous injustices in this world. Your continuous motivation without a doubt got me through the times I found myself struggling. As this chapter of my life comes to an end, I look forward to beginning the next one with you by my side.

Finally, to my friends, family and loved ones. Thank you for your support during this journey.

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List of Abbreviations

CBPR – Community Based Participatory Research
CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis
CFPTC – Country Food Processing Training Course
DBB – Dene béré belarewílé
DFSGA – Délı̨ne Final Self-government Agreement
DGG – Délı̨ne Got'ine Government.
FAO – Food and Agricultural Organization
FNIGC – First Nations Information Governance Centre
GNWT – Government of Northwest Territories
MR – Members Resources
NNC – Nutrition North Canada
NWT – Northwest Territories
OCAP® – Ownership, Control, Access and Possession
RRB – Renewable Resources Board
RRC – Renewable Resources Councils
RTA – Reflexive Thematic Analysis
SDMLCA – Sahtú Dene Métis Land Claim Agreement
SFFCR – Safe Food for Canadian's Regulations
SSI – Sahtú Secretariat Incorporated
TCPS 2 – Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
UNDRIP – United Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Chapter 1: Introduction

Study Overview

In 2011, the hamlet of Délįne received a mobile abattoir (also known as a trailer facility) from the territorial government. The 27' flatbed trailer is retrofitted with commercial food equipment to conduct primary and secondary processing. The trailer facility is technically a mobile abattoir. When the trailer facility arrived, no instruction on how to use the equipment inside was provided, thus the trailer facility was not connected to power and parked behind the local lodge to be used for storage. This facility is the foundation of this thesis project. Through prior participatory action research done with Délįne, the trailer facility was identified as a potential lever to increase food access to community members. It was not until the instructor of a country food processing training course (CFPTC) was introduced into the project that a plan was created for the trailer facility. The trailer facility was viewed by Délįne as an opportunity to teach community members food processing skills and to expose community members to new wild game that have not been traditionally harvested. Establishing the trailer facility as the foundation for this thesis project originated from our community partners, however, the incorporation of the trailer into food system does align with the literature on northern food system development and Indigenous food sovereignty.

Indigenous Peoples[1] in Canada experience disproportionate rates of food insecurity (CCA 2014). The nutrition transition that many Indigenous Peoples in the north have undergone has resulted in a decreased consumption of culturally significant foods from the land and an increased consumption and reliance on market foods (CCA, 2014; Kuhnlein, 2004). The high costs of hunting, changes in animal migration patterns from climate change, and the lack of access to the necessary tools and equipment have only made harvesting less accessible for Indigenous Peoples (Berkes & Jolly, 2002; Boyd, Furgal & Jardine, 2010; King & Furgal, 2014; Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013; Spring, Carter, & Blay-Palmer, 2018; Usher, Duhaime, & Searles, 2003). Community level food procurement initiatives such as community gardens, green houses and traditional/country food programs are gaining popularity in the north to increase access to food

[1] The term "Indigenous" is used to refer collectively to the First Nations, Métis and Inuit Peoples in the Canadian context. To avoid representing these distinct cultures as homogenous, the designation in which communities refer to themselves shall be used when applicable.

and decrease reliance on expensive market foods (Chen & Natcher, 2019, Kenny et al., 2018c; Last, 2020). Localizing food procurement may be an important step for northern communities to adapt to climate change and its impact on their local food systems (Settee, 2020; Willet, 2016).

Having ownership and control over the production of food is only a small component of Indigenous food sovereignty. It is the reconnection of Indigenous Peoples to their culture and the land through land-based food practices that have been disrupted by colonial governments (Desmarais and Wittman, 2014). For Indigenous Peoples, food sovereignty is the resistance to the neo-liberal paradigm dominating the food industry and the policies that facilitate its hegemony (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Grey & Patel, 2015). Policy has been identified as creating additional barriers for Indigenous Peoples to harvest and thus engage in the traditional food system (Cruickshank et al, 2019, Judge, Skinner & Spring, 2021 b; Loring, & Gerlach, 2015). Barriers to accessing culturally appropriate food within policy are negatively impacting Indigenous food sovereignty and continuing the legacy of colonial actions against Indigenous foodways (Burnett, Hay & Chambers, 2016).

While the original intentions of this thesis were to answer our community partners questions, this thesis does address two knowledge gaps within the literature. The first is understanding the application of mobile abattoirs in northern remote geographies and in a non-agricultural context. The small niche of literature on mobile abattoirs and their application is often in an agricultural context (Pinkney, 2014). There has been little research done on the application of mobile abattoirs in northern remote settings and to process wild animals that are from the land. There are other trailers within the territorial north, however to date, no research has been conducted on the impact of the trailers on the food system nor the communities experience with getting their operations running. The second knowledge gap is understanding an Indigenous self-governments jurisdiction over local food systems and their related policies. Within the literature there has been little attention directed to how Indigenous governing entities can address Indigenous food security at the community level (Cruickshank et al., 2019; Loring & Gerlach, 2015; Rosol, Powell-Hellyer & Chan, 2016). Literature specifically focused on Indigenous self-governments and their ability to influence food security is even more scarce (Wesche, 2016). This thesis is attempting to expand this area of research by understanding if local food system development is within the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-governance within a land-claim agreement in the Northwest Territories (NWT). Addressing this knowledge gap will inform and encourage the various Indigenous

communities across Canada entering and negotiating contemporary treaty agreements the need to incorporate food security within their agreements. As food insecurity is an issue that disproportionately effects Indigenous Peoples across the country (CCA 2014), ensuring that these contemporary treaty agreements allow for Indigenous communities to influence their local food system will align with the principles of Indigenous food sovereignty (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Martens et al., 2016).

Study context and research objectives

Study Location

Déljne is located in central Northwest Territories on the western shore of Great Bear Lake, the largest lake in Canada that is not shared with the United States (Piper, 2016). Déljne is a fly-in community, but during the winter season, other adjacent communities can be accessed via ice roads. As of 2017, the population of the Déljne was 510 individuals (Government of Northwest Territories, n.d). The members of Déljne predominantly identify as Sahtúot'ine Dene, or Bear Lake People. (Bayha & Spring, 2020). Déljne is one of five Indigenous communities situated within the Sahtú Region. In 1994, the Sahtú Dene and Métis Land Claim Agreement was sign, which established the Sahtú Secretariat Incorporated to be the main decision-making body for economic development, social programs, health, and education (Land Claims Agreement Coalition, n.d.). Furthermore, as of 2014, Déljne established the first self-government agreement in the territory (Asch, 2017; Déljne Final Self-Government Agreement Act, 2015). Indigenous self-governance empowers the local band government to make decisions on the federal funding it receives on a variety of areas, not limited to education, job creation, and how research must be conducted (Government of Canada, 2018a).

Research Objectives

This thesis has three overarching research objectives; however, it is important to highlight how this thesis progressed to result into two unique manuscripts that took two completely different approaches to understand how the trailer facility can be incorporated into Déljne food system. For a comprehensive overview of both manuscripts, see Figure 1. Manuscript 1 was designed to address this thesis's first research objective: 1) to inform our community partners how to utilize

the trailer facility to increase food access to community members. Manuscript 1 was an evaluation of the trailer facility. It was designed to understand what can be done within the trailer, to understand what the community perceived of the trailer and the new foods created within it, and to identify how it could be incorporated into the food system. Through collaborating with the Dél̨ne Got'ine Government, Aurora College, two academic institutions and multiple territorial government departments, an evaluation of a CFPTC held in the trailer facility was arranged.

Manuscript 2 was then conceptualized to address the political factors that were identified in Manuscript 1 as having an impact on Dél̨ne implementing the trailer facility. Throughout the evaluation, trainees discussed with instructors the role of policy and how it would implicate incorporating the trailer facility into the community. Within the interview data, policy was understood as something created in the south, enforced by the government, and mandatory to follow to get funding from the government:

"I know in food industry you have to have policies, you have to, safety food policy … Now a'days, the policies is, food policy, you just can't do [without following the policies], you just can't. The government has to see it to, because they are providing samba, and samba means money." (Participant 4)

The identification of these political factors within Manuscript 1 resulted in the addition of the second and third research objective to this thesis: 2) to understand what policies are involved in the different pathways for the trailer facility identified in the evaluation and 3) which is to understand the power of the DGG in influencing its local food system within the broader regulatory system. This was done by investigating the power of an Indigenous self-government to influence its local food system relative to other governing entities in the territory and incorporating critical policy analysis to explore some of the theoretical questions pertaining to Indigenous self-determination.

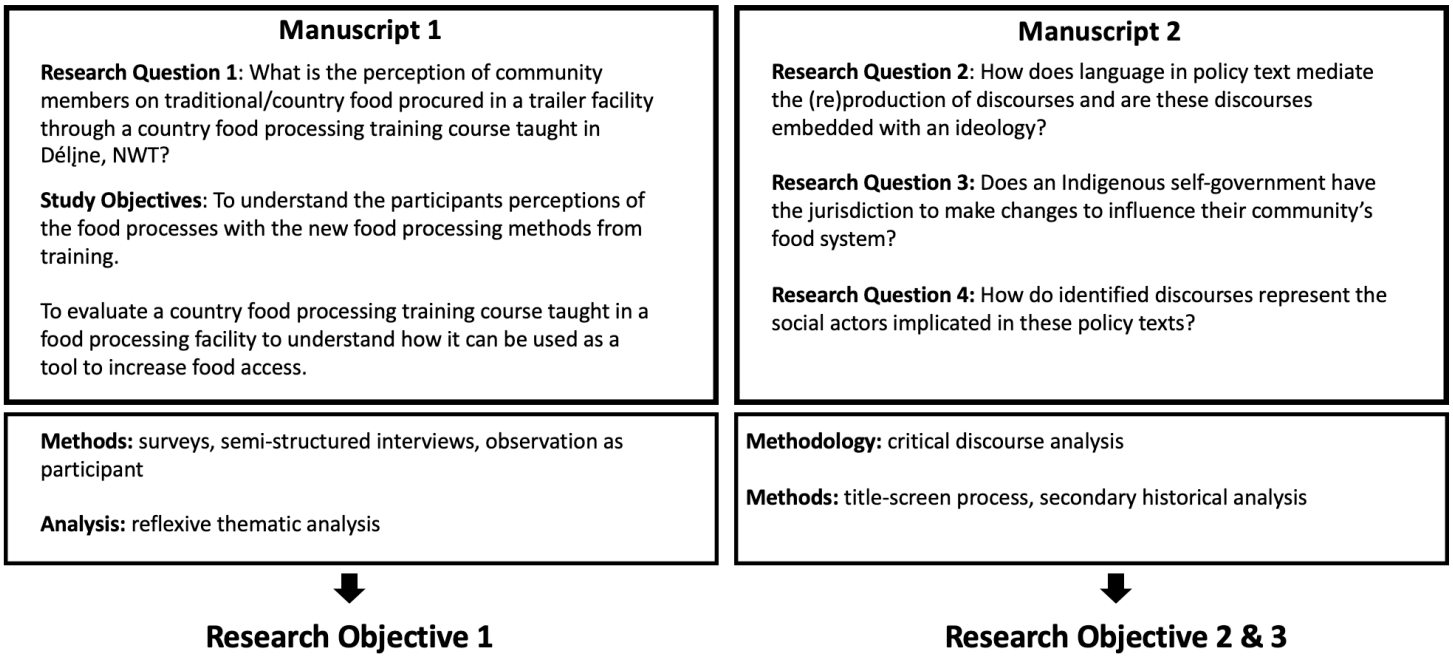

Figure 1 – Overview of Manuscripts

Summary of Manuscripts

The research described in this thesis is presented in two co-authored manuscripts (see Statement of Contributions for further information on co-authorship). In Manuscript 1, I present a manuscript that uses a process evaluation and a reflexive thematic analysis to answer the following research question: *what is the perception of community members on traditional/country food procured in a trailer facility through a country food processing training course taught in Déljne, NWT.* The findings are the result of a process evaluation on a country food processing training course held in a food processing trailer facility in 2019. This manuscript highlights what the community can accomplish within the trailer facility, as well as how trainees perceive the new traditional/country foods and how to incorporate the trailer facility into the community. This chapter also identified further cultural and political factors that need to be understood in order to provide enough evidence to inform our community partners on not only what can be done within the trailer facility but how it can be utilized within the local food system. These factors were the driving factor behind the conceptualization of the second manuscript in this thesis.

In Manuscript 2, I present a manuscript that uses a critical discourse analysis to answer the following research questions: 1*) does an Indigenous self-government have the jurisdiction to make changes to influence their community's food system 2) how does language in policy texts mediate the (re)production of discourses and are these discourses embedded with an ideology and, 3) how do the identified discourses represent the social actors implicated in these policy texts.* The policy text data collected within this manuscript serves two purposes: the first is to analyze using the critical discourse analysis and the second is to provide the community with a resource that highlights all the potential policies that may apply to the trailer facility. We uncover three grammatical and vocabular features of contemporary treaty texts that operate two types of authority which allow settler governments to undermine Indigenous sovereignty. The findings of the analysis shine light on how wildlife conservation discourses are still operating the ideology of settler colonialism within contemporary treat texts and how the local food system is not in the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-government.

Positionality Statement

As a tenth-generation settler Canadian, I am involuntarily intertwined with the Eurocentric way of being. I have been raised and shaped by the colonial system of Canadian jurisprudence that has historically assimilated and discriminated against Indigenous Peoples. As a white male, I must acknowledge the power that comes from my gender and how I look. I have been able to benefit from the many structures in society that have been designed only for people that share my privilege. As a researcher, I am part of a historically colonial and racist institution that has taken advantage of Indigenous Peoples and other peoples of colour. It is important for a researcher to critically reflect and position themselves in the broader society which they are conducting research. As a settler, I have no lived experience as an Indigenous person. My knowledge on the traditional way of life and Indigeneity was often written by settlers as well. This created somewhat of a disconnect as much of the information I was collecting involved traditional knowledge. It is a responsibility in itself to ensure that this knowledge is not misconstrued or used in an exploitive way.

I was born and raised on the traditional territory of the Anishnabek, Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), Ojibway/Chippewa Peoples. This territory is covered by the Upper Canada Treaties. Throughout the entirety of my education within St. Thomas, I was not taught once that I was

currently learning and playing on the dispossessed lands of the Anishnabek, Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), Ojibway/Chippewa Peoples. The entirety of this thesis has been written whilst on the traditional lands of Indigenous Peoples. The first half of my project was written at the University of Waterloo, which is located along the Haldimand Tract. This land that was promised to the Haudenosaunee of the Six Nations of the Grand River. In addition, the University is part of the Upper Canada Treaties and within the territory of the Neutral, Anishinaabe, and Haudenosaunee Peoples. The second half of my project was completed in Toronto, which is the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit, the Anishnabeg, the Chippewa, the Haudenosaunee, and the Wendat Peoples. Toronto is covered by Treaty 13 signed with the Mississaugas of the Credit, and the Williams Treaties signed with multiple Mississaugas and Chippewa bands. As a settler that continues to benefit from being on the dispossessed lands of Indigenous Peoples, I believe that myself, along with every other settler in my position have an obligation to use their privilege to contribute to reconciliation.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Indigenous Food (In)Security and Mitigating the Impacts of Climate Change

According to the FAO, food insecurity is "a situation that exists when people lack secure access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food for normal growth and development and an active and healthy life" (Napoli, De Muro & Mazziotta, 2011). Despite food security and its prominence in measuring food deprivation, there have been calls to create food security measurement tools that accurately accounts for Indigenous mixed economies and traditional/country food[2] (Lysenko & Schott, 2019; Ready, 2016). On the one hand, the introduction of grocery stores provided Indigenous communities the ability to supplement their access to traditional/country foods (Halseth, 2015). On the other hand, the "selection did not reflect a diet that is consistent with healthy living" (Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013). The food that is sold in these grocery stores are high in price and are often high in carbohydrates and unhealthy fats, which are understood to be a significant contributor to the disproportionate rates of chronic disease in Indigenous populations (CCA, 2014; Halseth 2015; Kenny et al., 2018a; Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013). Furthermore, there is not much competition in the north, thus grocery stores like Co-Op and Northern possess a monopoly on market foods (Burnett, Skinner, & LeBlanc, 2015; Burnett, Skinner, Hay et al., 2017). In 2011, the Nutrition North Canada (NNC) subsidy program was launched to bring healthier food options to isolated communities in the north (Government of Canada, 2018). Not every community in the north is eligible for this subsidy and the effectiveness of this program in addressing Indigenous food insecurity has been repeatedly disputed in the literature, leading to calls for program changes and policy overhaul (Burnett, Skinner & LeBlanc, 2015; Galloway, 2014; Galloway, 2017; St. Germain, Galloway, & Tarasuk, 2019).

Indigenous Peoples rely on both the traditional/country food system and the market-based food system for their day-to-day food needs. Traditional/country food represents a significant portion of Indigenous People's diet in the NWT, with over 60% of people consuming traditional/country food every day (Halseth, 2015; Kim, Chan, & Receveur 1998). The nutritional and cultural benefits of consuming traditional/country food over market food, even with the potential risks of environmental contamination, are indisputable (Berti et al., 1999; Downs et al.,

[2] The CCA has established that the use of traditional food/country food is the most appropriate language to account for the cultural nuances among the different Indigenous populations in Canada.

2009; Kuhnlein, 1995; Lambden, Receveur, & Kuhnlein, 2007; Simoneau & Receveur, 2000). Considering the significant pushback from academics and activists, the NNC program expanded to include a harvester's support grant to increase access to traditional/country foods while decreasing the costs of harvesting (NNC, 2020). Pal and colleagues estimated that the total upfront costs for an Indigenous person to be able to hunt in Northern Ontario was approximately $25,000 (Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013) with recent upfront costs estimated at $27,000 (Leibovitch, Randazzo & Robidoux, 2019). Neither of these estimates include reoccurring seasonal costs, equipment upkeep and gasoline. At the territorial level, the Government of The Northwest Territories (GNWT) has a implemented a community harvest assistance program where local wildlife committees and renewable resource councils are provided with annual funding for their respective members (ENR, n.d.). Harvester support programs were initially designed to strengthen the traditional food system but were found to be beneficial to harvesters to cover their losses and financial adaptations caused by climate change (Ford et al., 2007). Increased funding to harvester support programs has been recommended within the literature to improve community food security through the facilitation of community sharing (Chan et al., 2006).

While the impact from climate change varies for the different food systems, both are still affected and have consequences for food access at the community level (Pearce et al., 2010). For remote communities, ice roads are critical to transport in key materials for infrastructure development (Stephenson et al., 2011; Pearce et al., 2010; Prowse et al., 2009). However, due to unpredictable warming weather patterns, ice road structural integrity is compromised, which greatly reduces the timeframe of using the ice road safely (Stephenson et al., 2011; Prowse et al., 2009). Travel for harvesters has also been impacted, as the weakened integrity of ice has created new safety risks for harvesters to traverse the land. (Jayaratne, 2021; Spring, 2018). For many Indigenous communities in the Sahtú Region, one of the most significant effects climate change has had on the traditional food system is the decline in the blue nose caribou herd's health. Caribou are a significant source of food to many Indigenous communities in the territory (see Figure 1) (Leibovitch, Randazzo & Robidoux, 2019; Parlee & Wray, 2016). Through traditional knowledge and scientific research, it has been established that caribou go through population cycles, but climate change is introducing new factors that effect this cycle (ACCWM, 2014; Joly et al., 2003; Kenny et al., 2018c; Tyler, 2010). Increased predation (Tyler, 2010), lower lichen availability from

ecosystem changes and forest fires (Joly et al., 2003) are a few known factors contributing to the decline of herd health.

The continuing decline of caribou herds has resulted in the creation of different co-management strategies at the territorial and community level (ACCWM, 2014; Délıné Ɂekwę́ Working Group, 2016). The Bluenose East and Bluenose West herds are jointly managed by four entities: Sahtú Renewable Resources Board, Gwich'in Renewable Resources Board, Inuvialuit Game Council and Wek'eezhi Renewable Resources Board (Parlee & Wray, 2016). The introduction of wildlife co-management boards in tandem with the increasing rates of food insecurity for Indigenous Peoples shows that wildlife conservation policies do not account for the socioeconomic significance of wildlife (Kenny et al., 2018c; Parlee & Wray, 2016).

Sharing food is a social custom among different Indigenous Peoples across the world, commonly through kinship relations and community events (Chan et al., 2006; Kenny et al., 2018c; McMillan & Parlee, 2013; Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013). Sharing is integrated into the social fabric of Délįne, as it is institutionalized into the Délįne Constitution (DGG, 2013). It is also understood as a mediator to the challenges that climate change creates in accessing traditional/country food. (McMillan & Parlee, 2013; Spring, 2018). Community members with the capacity, both time and financially, will often distribute their hunted game to community members in need first, then to other community members (McMillan & Parlee, 2013). Wild food donation programs exist in some communities to help facilitate the sharing of traditional/country foods (Leibovitch, Randazzo & Robidoux, 2019). Due to restrictions on selling food, harvesters occasionally will receive gas or ammunition as repayment for sharing food (Chan et al., 2006; McMillan & Parlee, 2013).

Country food markets have been a successful initiative to promote the consumption of traditional/country food while decreasing reliance of government subsidies in Greenland (Loukes et al., 2021). Country food markets were briefly piloted in Nunavut, however the markets were

unsuccessful as selling traditional/country food was viewed as stingy[3], as there is a shared belief that traditional/country food should only be shared (Chan et al., 2006; Searles, 2016). Similar findings have been found in the Northwest Territories (McMillan & Parlee, 2013). Since the 1970's there have been commercial harvests of muskox on Sachs Harbour, initially motivated by the belief that the growing muskox population has a direct impact on caribou populations (Gunn et al., 1991). Muskox have also been commercially harvested within Iqaluktuqiaq (Cambridge Bay) until recent, as harvesting restrictions were implemented to preserve local muskox populations (Tomaselli et al., 2018). Caribou is the preferred species for Iqaluktuqiaq, however if the caribou populations are lower one year or in the event of an unsuccessful caribou harvest, muskox are used to supplement the lack of caribou meat (Tomaselli et al., 2018). While muskox have not been harvested traditionally in Déljne, there are other communities in the territory such as Sachs Harbour that regularly harvest muskox and have even implemented commercial operations.

Indigenous Food Sovereignty and Resilient Northern Food Systems

Food sovereignty can be understood as a grass-roots movement that is attempting to change the dominating neo-liberal agricultural industry that dictates food sources across the world (Wittman et al., 2010). Food sovereignty goes beyond equitable access to nutritional food (Clapp, 2014), encompassing sustainable production, community empowerment and ensuring food is culturally appropriate (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Martens et al., 2016). Despite the emphasis on food and its procurement, food sovereignty is rooted in social change that utilizes food as a vehicle to address the underlying social inequities and policy restrictions that communities face when attempting to change their food system (Grey & Patel, 2015; Wittman et al., 2010). For Indigenous Peoples, food sovereignty is the resistance to the neo-liberal paradigm dominating the food industry and the policies that facilitate it (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Grey & Patel, 2015). It is the disengagement from colonialization to regenerate the cultural traditions surrounding food that have disappeared through colonial actions taken against Indigenous Peoples (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Grey & Patel, 2015; Martens et al., 2016). Having ownership and control over

[3] Stingy was the language used by participants within the evaluation (Judge et al., a), as well as within the literature in Nunavut (Martens, 2015; Searles, 2016). In this context, stingy is understood as withholding or selling traditional/country food instead of sharing it.

the production of food is only a small component of Indigenous food sovereignty. Instead of establishing new localized systems, Indigenous food sovereignty involves reconnecting with the land and culture through land-based food practices which have been disrupted from residential schools and other colonial actions (Desmarais and Wittman, 2014).

Profound changes are occurring in the territorial north as community champions and food producers come together to develop grassroots initiatives to develop a food system that reflects the north (Johnston & Williams, 2017). The development of these strategies is not only a testament to citizens and their discontent with the current food system, but also an example of innovative civil leadership to take action in adapting to climate change. The development of these programs in both small and large communities highlights the strong desire to develop a resilient northern food system that is for the north, by the north. Communities have implemented youth-focused on the land programming to combat the disruption of Indigenous foodways by colonial policies (Mason, 2014; Wesche et al., 2016). On the land programming is an Indigenous approach to teaching, where the land becomes the classroom to teach youth about Indigenous culture and the traditional way (McGregor et al., 2010; NCCIE, 2020). These programs have seen success in encouraging youth to learn traditional knowledge and regenerate communication lines between Elders and youth (McGregor et al, 2010; Ross & Mason, 2020; Wesche et al., 2016).

Community gardens, green houses and small-scale agriculture initiatives are becoming increasingly popular in the north. (Chen & Natcher, 2019; Johnston & Spring, 2021; Natcher et al., 2021). Country food development and value-adding processing initiatives similar to the CFPTC in this thesis have become operational in Inuvik, Fort Good Hope and Nelson House, Manitoba (Kenny et al., 2018c; Last, 2020; Thompson et al., 2011; Thompson & Pritty, 2020). Fort Good Hope just recently started a traditional/country food processing initiative using a mobile abattoir similar to the trailer facility in Déljne, citing the abundance of muskox as the reason behind starting the initiative (Last, 2020). While the literature on country food programs is limited, some of these programs have been successful in addressing community level food insecurity (Thompson et al., 2012; Thompson & Pritty, 2020). A knowledge gap exists in the utilization of traditional/country food processing with these types of facilities to increase food access in northern remote communities. Much of the research on localized food procurement and the use of mobile abattoirs is focused through an agricultural lens and within urban and non-Indigenous contexts (Pinkney, 2014; Swensson & Tartanac, 2020).

A challenge that many communities and grass roots initiatives encounter is policy from various levels of government. Policy pertaining to food often do not appropriately scale down to local or community initiatives (Miewald, Hodgson & Ostry, 2015; Loring, & Gerlach, 2015) and do not include local perspectives and voices (Ross & Mason, 2020). This is evident in programs such as Food Mail or Nutrition North Canada, as the government decided that addressing food insecurity shall be done through market foods (Burnett, Hay & Chambers, 2016). Rather than address the underlying causes of food insecurity such as poverty, these programs pushed Indigenous communities to further rely on the federal government and further removed themselves from their own food systems (Burnett, Hay & Chambers, 2016). This missing dialog between governments and Indigenous communities highlights the need for programs to be flexible and continually adapted (Johnston & Spring, 2021; Ross & Mason, 2020).

Policy has been identified within the literature as creating additional barriers for Indigenous Peoples to harvest and thus engage in the traditional food system (Cruickshank et al, 2019, Judge, Skinner & Spring, 2021 b; Loring, & Gerlach, 2015). These policies are negatively impacting Indigenous food sovereignty, as the barriers created effect access to culturally appropriate foods and continue the legacy of colonial actions against Indigenous foodways (Burnett, Hay & Chambers, 2016). Research on land-claim agreements, referred to as multi-level governance in the literature, is often theoretical in nature and lacks any participatory methodologies (Alcantara & Morden, 2019; Lelievre, 2018; Purvis, 2018). To date, there has been limited consideration within the literature on how regional Indigenous governing bodies can impact food security at the community level (Cruickshank et al., 2019; Loring & Gerlach, 2015; Rosol, Powell-Hellyer & Chan, 2016). There is even less literature looking specifically at Indigenous self-governments and their ability to influence food security (Wesche, 2016). This thesis is attempting to expand this area of research by understanding if local food system development is within the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-government within a land-claim agreement. The application of policies that create barriers to food sovereignty are of particular interest for Dél̨ne, as the process of self-governance is supposed to devolve authority to the community to address its own needs, which the local food system is expected to fall within.

Indigenous Self-Government, On the Path to Sovereignty or Another Settler Construct?

Under Section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act, the rights of Indigenous Peoples established by historical treaties and contemporary land claim agreements are recognized and affirmed. Section 35 only confirms the rights of Indigenous Peoples; it does not go into detail of what specifically an Indigenous right is. The existence of Indigenous rights prior to European settlement has been acknowledged in the courts, as it was established that "aboriginal rights do not require recognition in European laws to be constitutionally valid" (Henderson, 2008). It is important to distinguish between treaty rights and aboriginal rights. The former establishes rights that were promised through written agreements made with the Crown and Indigenous Peoples in a specific geographical area. The latter pertains to rights that all Indigenous Peoples who reside within Canada are entitled to (CIRNAC, 2020). It was not until several years after the entrenchment of Indigenous rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms that what exactly an "aboriginal right" was recognized. The judicial system has been instrumental to this interpretation, as the constitution establishes rights while it is the responsibility of the courts to interpret their application. *Table 1* includes a list of court cases that have been key to the development of reaching a collective interpretation of an Indigenous right. R. v. Sparrow is arguably the most significant case within the series, as it essentially established that an Indigenous Right can be infringed by the Crown (Hellinga, 2020). In critical Canadian literature, this court case is often referenced as the simultaneous establishment of Indigenous rights and the legitimization of Crown sovereignty to encroach these rights (Blackburn, 2005; Mackey, 2014). Uniform rights are a paramount feature of democratic equality; however, it has been argued that "uniform rights do not accommodate the legal and political rights of Indigenous Peoples" (Blackburn, 2009).

As of 2018 there were 16 land-claim agreements and 22 Indigenous self-governments across Canada, with 43 Indigenous communities still in the process of negotiation (CIRNAC, 2018). A land claim agreement is based on the assertion of continuing Indigenous treaty rights and the entitlement to lands and resources (Government of Canada, 2016). Land claims were created primarily to provide more clarity to the ambiguous nature of treaty rights and establish a transparent process between governments and Indigenous communities on the rights and benefits that come with the agreement (Government of Canada, 2016). There have been calls to support the progression of Indigenous communities' objectives within the current legal paradigm (Feit, 2010),

while others have called for the disengagement from the dominating colonial paradigm (Alfred, 2001, Watson, 2005). These new Indigenous governments are navigating uncertainty and by doing so, are occupying a new political space for Indigenous Peoples across the country. This occupation is without a doubt contributing to the deconstruction of settler sovereignty, through the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge at the policy level as well as the dispersion of power at the local level (Christensen & Grant, 2007).

Indigenous sovereignty is the collective conquest for Indigenous peoples to achieve self-determination within historically colonial frameworks. The idea of Indigenous sovereignty has received criticism, as its very conception is in relation with the dominating settler colonial system (Alfred, 2001; Grey & Patel, 2015). Furthermore, Indigenous sovereignty is only operational within the current dominant colonial framework. Taiaiake Alfred argues:

> "A perspective that does not see the ongoing crisis fuelled by continuing efforts to keep Indigenous people focused on a quest for power within a paradigm bounded by the vocabulary, logic and institutions of "sovereignty" will be blind to the reality of a persistent intent to maintain the colonial oppression of Indigenous nations." (Alfred, 2001)

Land-claim agreements as multilevel governance have been acknowledged as a positive development for Indigenous Peoples given the colonial history of Canada. (Alcantara & Morden, 2019). However, the current power-relations within land-claim agreements in Canada did not reflect the dispersion of power away from central governments (Alcantara & Morden, 2019). Within the literature, land-claims and self-government agreements have been critiqued as making no contribution to Indigenous sovereignty and simply continuing existing power relations (Leleivre, 2018; Stevenson, 2004). Spear Chief-Morris argues "these land claim policies are not set up for the assertion of Indigenous rights, they are set up in favour of the colonial powers who wish to extinguish them". (Spear Chief-Morris, 2020). While the theoretical underpinning of this thesis does draw from literature that is critical of contemporary treaty agreements such as Indigenous self-governments, this thesis is not critical of the decisions of our community partners. This thesis attempted to take an approach similar to Johnston and Spring's (2021) "community needs" approach. This approach is participatory in nature and acknowledges the many different forms that community objectives can take (Johnston & Spring, 2021). It centres the voices of community partners within the research project and ensures relational accountability (Wilson, 2008). Regardless of the of the "how", it is the community's understanding of their needs and

goals and to how to best address them that is significant. The "how" in this context is undergoing the process of self-governance.

Certainty in the context of Indigenous rights is a mechanism of security to help achieve desired outcomes for governments (Blackburn, 2005). An example of this mechanism is through the extinguishment of treaty and Indigenous rights in land claim agreements (Corntassel, 2008; Blackburn 2005). Mackey argues that certainty has been tested and reinforced multiple times as new developments in terms of Indigenous sovereignty have been brought forth in contemporary society (Mackey, 2014). The structure and conditions of historical treaties, that is, it's historical genre as a nation-to-nation document that does not align with the current settler system is what critical scholars have argued land claim agreements and self-government agreements will make certain (Blackburn, 2005). This settler system of negotiating Indigenous sovereignty is designed to have winners and losers. Within this system, the losers are those who take a critical stance of the process itself, questioning the authority of the settler system and demanding for the recognition of Indigenous self-determination. The winners "negotiate between the cracks of the sovereign power of the state and the unrecognized, displaced space of Aboriginal sovereignty" (Watson, 2005). The cracks in which Indigenous Peoples are forced to navigate through are pre-defined mechanisms that reinforce settler "fantasies of entitlement" (Mackey, 2014), which undermine and disregard the inherent right for Indigenous Peoples to self-determine and to achieve sovereignty in a capacity that is culturally appropriate and self-defined.

Table 1

Summary of Key Supreme Court Cases Involved in Interpreting Indigenous Right

Date	Court Case	Contribution of Court Cases
1973	Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia	Formally acknowledged for the first time the existence of Aboriginal title by declaring the Nisga title to their lands and resources on them had never been extinguished. "a declaration that the aboriginal title, otherwise known as the Indian title, of the plaintiffs to their ancient tribal territory hereinbefore described, has never been lawfully extinguished"[1]
1978	Kruger et al. v. the Queen	Provided a definition of what general application is under section 88 of the Indian Act. Established that as a long as a policy is implemented in a general uniform manner, general application is applicable. This means that provincial laws can apply to Indigenous Peoples. "If the Act does not extend uniformly throughout the territory, the inquiry is at the end and the question is answered in the negative"[2]
1985	Dick v. La Reine	Built upon the summation from the previous case. As long as law is not relation to one class of citizens with its purpose, despite the fact that it may have more sincere consequences for one class of citizens makes it general application. "The law must not be "in relation to" one class of citizens in object and purpose. But the fact that a law may have graver consequence to one person than to another does not, on that account alone, make the law other than one of general application"[3]
1990	R. v. Sparrow	Resulted in the creation of the Sparrow Test, which was designed to assist the courts in understanding if the court is justified in infringing Indigenous rights. This court case also established that Indigenous rights are entrenched and protected within the constitution and that the government can infringe these rights if sufficient reason is provided. Essentially establishing these rights as not absolute.
1996	R v. Van der Peet	Established that an Indigenous right can only pertain to a tradition or custom that was exercised prior to European contact. "The practices, customs and traditions which constitute aboriginal rights are those which have continuity with the practices, customs and traditions that existed prior to contact with European society"[4]
2004	Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)	Established the duty to consult with Indigenous Peoples if any proposed action from the government to infringe Indigenous rights is to pass the sparrow test "Crown behaviour in determining if any infringements were justified, is to behaviour before determination of the right. This negates the contention that a proven right is the trigger for a legal duty to consult and if appropriate accommodate even in the context of justification."[5]

1. Calder et al. v. Attorney General of British Columbia, 2. Kruger and al. v. The Queen, 1978, 3. Dick v. La Reine, 1985, 4. R. v. Van Der Peet, 1996, 5. Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framing

Language as Policy Texts and Discourse

Language can be manifested in many different forms, including texts, spoken word, and pictures (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Language can regulate institutional behaviours by establishing the criteria of what is and what is not possible (Porter & Barry, 2015). Thus, utilizing legal language, power defines the rules that demarcate what can be said within its boundaries, as well as establishes specific relationships between people by assigning them to categories (Salter, 1985). The effect language has on relationships can be understood through the heterogeneous and diverse nature of language. Despite this inherent diverse nature, the resulting use of language in society is homogenous, as it is socially determined and imposed by those who have power (Fairclough, 1989). Furthermore, its structure, how its written and interacted with and the mechanisms in place to ensure credibility sustain status relationships and exercise exclusivity (Gouveia, 2003). The purpose of policy texts, more specifically law, is to authorize and regulate individuals to perform certain actions within society (Salter, 1985).

Within this thesis, there are two types of texts that we exclusively refer to. The first is policy text, which it used as a blanket typology to encompass all types of political and legislative documents such as legislated acts and regulations. The second is contemporary treaty texts, which refers to land-claim and self-government agreements. Contemporary treaty texts are like policy texts in their structure and effect; however, these texts are unique in how authority between multiple governing agencies is divided. While these texts are treaties, they are accompanied by a statutory act at either the federal or territorial level which gives rise to the authority of these texts which is similar to acts and regulations.

Language is part of society and constitutes a social process that is socially conditioned (Fairclough, 1989). Society is part of language in the sense that when language occurs in a social context, it is not an expression of social processes and practices, it is a part of them. Language can be understood as social as whenever an individual listens or reads, they do so in a socially determined manner which has social effects on relationships (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough conceptualizes text as a "product of the process of text production". Text as a process constitutes part of whole process of social interaction, which Fairclough refers to as discourse. Text is a

product in the process of text production; however, it is a resource for the process of text interpretation (Fairclough, 1989). The processes of production and interpretation and their relation to text are understood through individuals' cognitive 'members' resources (MR). Fairclough defines MR as "something in [an individual's] head … their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values beliefs and assumptions" (Fairclough, 1989).

Discourse is the interface of language, that is, its production and dissemination that enables language to (re)produce power that results in influencing individuals to perform social actions (Morgan & Castleden, 2014; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Van Dijk, 1993). It is not only a single text that constitutes a discourse, but it also includes the interrelations between texts and changes in forms of text within its context (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Porter & Barry, 2015). Discourses are dialectical due their ability to influence and shape social actions and political processes (Fairclough 1989; Van Dijk, 2011). At the same time, these social processes and political actions can then influence discourses, meaning discourse constitute social practices while being constituted by them (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Like discourses, language is also part of a dialectical relationship with society (Fairclough, 1989). Discourse analysis has been used to analyze a variety forms of language, especially text. Examples are not limited to media texts (Sloan Morgan & Castleden, 2014), billboards (Morton, 2015), interview transcripts (Klien, 2020), promotional texts (Grimwood, Muldoon, & Stevens, 2019), and policy texts (Alcock, 2009; Porter & Barry, 2015). Political texts such as speeches (Wang, 2010), political advertisements (Moufahim et al, 2007 and parliamentary debates (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010) have also been subject to discourse analysis.

Ideology, and the (Re)Production of Power

An ideology can be understood as a general system of ideas that are shared by members of a social group (Van Dijk, 2011). Ideologies are "the fundamental social cognitions that reflect the basic aims interests and values of groups" (Van Dijk, 1993). This system then influences members of the social group to interpret knowledge and engage in social practices that align with the ideological group (Van Dijk, 2011). The effectiveness of ideology depends on its ability to be merged with the common-sense background and how well it can be taken for granted (Fairclough,

1989). When the dominating discourses become naturalized and the practices of institutions become common sense, the ideological features seem to disappear (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough defines ideological power as "the power to project one's practice as universal and common sense" (Fairclough 1989). The ideologies that are often found in the literature pertain to the traditional political left vs right ideologies, feminism, socialism, or Thatcherism (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993; Van Dijk, 2011). This thesis seeks to contribute to the small but growing number of publications applying critical discourse analysis to the ideology of settler colonialism (Chen, Mason & Misener, 2018; Grimwood, Muldoom & Stevens, 2019; Klein, 2020.)

Obtaining power means having control, which can take different forms, such as physical force or cognitive persuasion (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993). Language is at the centre of power as well as the site of struggle to obtain power, due the ideological properties of language and because it is the most common form of social behaviour (Fairclough, 1989). Power is related to ideology through the nature of ideological assumptions underlying particular social practices, as it depends on the power relations surrounding the practice. This type of power is often covert and can be operated in seemingly normal and harmless ways that result in the reproduction of the power (Van Dijk, 1993). Social actions can be controlled through influencing cognition by manipulation, persuasion, incentivization and so forth (Van Dijk, 1993). Thus, language as a social practice acts as a medium for legitimizing existing social and power relationships through the unconscious engagement in the social practices that are activated by the underlying ideology (Fairclough, 1989). By individuals of society engaging in these social practices, they are further legitimizing the power that is deeply ingrained in institutions to control behaviour (Van Dijk, 1993). The ability for policy texts to gently coerce individuals to perform desired social actions may have underlying ideological assumptions which are hidden and protected by the esoteric nature of these texts.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

Overall Methodology

Theoretical Orientation

For the theoretical orientation of this thesis, I draw from the critical policy work of Maarten Hajer (2003), interpretivism and settler colonialism theory to arrive at an understanding of the truth which is not limited by Eurocentric ideals and liberal objectivity. With all the different political actors with varying degrees of decision-making power, the NWT can be considered within an institutional void. Hajer defines an institutional void as a space where there are no definite rules and norms as to how politics are conducted or how policies are to be created (Hajer, 2003). In addition, the devolution of authority from the federal government to the territorial government only happened five years prior the evaluation of the trailer facility, further shifting the power in the policy making process. Incorporating Hajer's institutional void to this policy analysis accounts for the changing context of policy making that is not accounted for within the main analysis of this thesis.

Interpretivism is the product of a growing distaste in the importance that post-positivist theorists give to using methods that are reliable and valid that are rooted in positivist objectivity (Ryan, 2018). Interpretivism posits that objectivity is not possible, as truth and knowledge are subjective, as both are situated within unique cultural, historical, and individual contexts (Ryan, 2018). As a researcher using an interpretivist theoretical approach, I must acknowledge that my prior values, beliefs, and biases are unavoidable. (Ryan, 2018). I am a white settler with no lived Indigenous experience trying to conduct respectful research that will assist our community partners.

Settler colonialism destroys to replace (Wolfe, 2006). Settler colonialism is a "persistent societal structure, not just an historical event or origin story for a nation-state" (Rowe & Tuck, 2017). It is important to understand settler colonialism as a structure rather than an event, as it accentuates the ongoing and organizing colonial forces within countries such as Canada to assimilate Indigenous Peoples (Rowe & Tuck, 2017; Wolfe, 2006). Veracini argues that "the politics of Indigenous recognition and reconciliation institute a framework designed to manage and neutralize Indigenous difference … [to] promote the domestication of Indigenous

sovereignties for the benefit of the settler state" (Veracini, 2011). It is vital within settler colonial work that Indigenous Peoples are centred, as de-centring has the potential to frame colonialism as inevitable rather than conditioned (Snelgrove, Dhamoon & Corntassel, 2014). Researchers under settler colonial theory have the ability to see beyond the façade of settler colonial structures, especially those with a narrative of decolonization (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). I would like to clarify that by assuming this theoretical position, it is not my intention to criticize or judge the decisions made by the Indigenous Peoples of the Sahtú Region or by the community of Délįne. Rather, I wish to contribute an understanding that is grounded in methodologies that provide a combination of empirical and theoretical evidence of how the contemporary mechanisms of settler colonialism are mediated by text.

Participatory Research Approach

At its core, PAR is rooted in striving to achieve social change by working to address social issues that have been defined by the community (Flicker et al, 2008). PAR has become an increasingly common methodological approach when working with Indigenous communities (Islam et al, 2017; Skinner, Hanning & Tsuji, 2006; Skinner et al. 2013, Stroink and Nelson 2013; Wesche et al, 2011). Incorporating participatory methodologies aligns with the collaborative research within Indigenous communities, as it centres the community and evenly redistributes the power between researcher and their community partners (Wilson, 2008). PAR is an approach to research, however there is not one standardized approach on how to utilize the approach or a criterion to compare if a research study was PAR or not. The very nature of PAR, that is, how it is rooted in collaboration and relationship building, ensures that no two research projects are the same as no two communities will approach research in the same way. Thus, PAR can be simultaneous considered as a methodological spectrum and a recursive research process (Walker, 1993).

The start of the process is characterized by establishing relationships and includes the collaborative identification of a problem by the community partners (Pain et al., 2011). This thesis is a continuation of a research agreement that was established with our community partners through previous research projects. The conceptualization of this thesis is the product of the prior participatory action research conducted with Délįne. Through this prior research, the problem of understanding how to incorporate the trailer facility into Délįne's food system was identified by

the community in 2016. In 2019, a collaborative plan was designed to understand how to create a research project to answer Délįne's questions around the trailer facility. Before finalizing the research approach, we consulted with our partners for feedback on the initial selection of methods. We received confirmation of our methods, which continued our research process and led to the successful evaluation of the CFPTC held in the trailer facility. The next stages of the research process involved the primary researcher completing their thesis proposal, with the agreement that preliminary findings would be shared the following spring. In the March of 2020, a meeting was arranged with our community partners, multiple research institutions and government departments to discuss muskox in the Sahtú. It was at this point within the research process that the participatory approach had to be modified.

Despite our best efforts, there were factors that ultimately impacted our ability to design and implement a thesis project that aligned truly to PAR methodologies. The novel COVID-19 virus made engaging with our community partners and adhering to the principles of PAR very challenging with the travel restrictions caused by the territorial border closure. This has resulted in this project not being as participatory as planned. Another factor contributing to our participatory capabilities was changes and restructures in Délįne's governance. Government position turnover was something noted within Yukon as creating challenges for a land claim agreement, with community members citing lack of knowledge as a challenge for meaningful collaboration (Cruickshank et al., 2019). Similar challenges have been experienced in this project as researchers. As decisions had to be made for this thesis without the consultation of our partners, we decided to adhere to the principles of participatory research as best we could. This resulted in us ensuring that all components of this project can be related back towards the initial goal of the community, which is understanding how to incorporate the trailer facility into Délįne's local food system. These factors are all compounded by the limited timeframe of a master's thesis. PAR research continues till the identified research problem is solved, creating challenges for master's thesis projects seeking to conduct respectful research with Indigenous Communities (Walker, 1993). Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, executing master's thesis that truly adheres to the principles of participatory approach was a challenge, as to create and uphold meaningful relationships within a research project requires more time.

While this thesis did encounter challenges that did ultimately limit how close we could adhere to the original participatory approach, this thesis did manage to still be within the boundaries of the aforementioned participatory spectrum. When reflecting on the original intentions of this thesis and how the plan was put into practice, there were participatory principles of PAR that could not be incorporated due to the travel restrictions caused by COVID-19. This thesis included two manuscripts that took two different approaches to understanding how the trailer facility could be incorporated into Dél̨ne's food system. The most significant difference between the two manuscripts is that first was guided and informed by our community partners, while the second manuscript was informed only by the original intentions of the thesis. It is evident within the results of the second manuscript that it was not guided by the community, as the results of the analysis do not particularly apply to or benefit Dél̨ne and their approach with the trailer facility.

Indigenous Research Paradigm

In addition to the participatory approach, this thesis drew from Wilson's (2008) Indigenous research paradigm and attempted to incorporate similar methods to Indigenous methodologies to further centre the community partners and their priorities. An Indigenous research paradigm can be understood as an approach to research that is designed by and for Indigenous Peoples. It incorporates methods and the epistemology of the people the research is being done for (Evans et al., 2009; Gone, 2019; Windchief et al., 2017). It is relational with the necessary relational accountability maintained by incorporating methods that adhere to the Indigenous axiology (Wilson, 2008). Engaging in Indigenous methodologies incorporates an Indigenous person's relationship to their community and the land (Ryder et al., 2020; Wilson, 2008). The inherent relational accountability then influences how knowledge is collected, analyzed, and presented by a researcher (Gerlach, 2018). By grounding research in a relational epistemology, "an intellectual space for generating complex, contextualized, and nuanced knowledge centered on Indigenous participants' perspectives and lives experiences" can be created (Gerlach, 2018). The relationality between all things that is the foundation of the Indigenous research paradigm, which is lost within the traditional research paradigm. Rather than taking the relationships between things into consideration, the traditional paradigm takes a reductionist approach to remove the context between things to isolate knowledge. In an Indigenous research paradigm, there is no separation of forms of knowledge. Art, stories, and written texts are equal in the contribution they make to

knowledge (Martin, 2017). It is critical for researchers conducting research with Indigenous Peoples to understand how traditional knowledge and the Indigenous worldview is used to understand life in a modern society (Kurtz, 2013). Martin argues that researchers must "create an ontological space of cultural ideology in order to reaffirm the cohesion between life, culture, Country, practice and memory" to decentralize the traditional western modes of research (Martin, 2017). Finally, by engaging in an Indigenous research paradigm, it will disrupt "the taken for grantedness of pejorative deficit-based Indigenous data commonly seen across the colonizing nation states" (Walter & Suina, 2019).

Ethics and Funding

Délįne is responsible for administering research licenses for all research projects with the community. This thesis received approval under the Laurier Ethics Review Board (REB, #4876), approval from the University of Waterloo Ethics Committee (REB, #41897), and approval from the Aurora Research Institute (License No. 1647). Furthermore, this study received approval and support from the DGG under an existing verbal research agreement. The researchers in this thesis also hold certificates for completing TCPS 2.

Research Objective 1

The first objective of this thesis is to inform our community partners how to utilize the trailer facility to increase food access to community members. To achieve this, a CFPTC held in a mobile abattoir was evaluated. Through establishing if the CFPTC could achieve all its training objectives within the trailer facility, what can be accomplished within the trailer can be established.

Trainee & Participant Recruitment

Establishing eligibility criteria and recruitment (see Appendix A) for the country food processing training was managed by the Délįne Got'ine Government. The resulting sample of trainees (n = 6) included a wide range of ages with an even gender distribution. All trainees recorded Délįne as their main residence and identified as Indigenous. Trainees received a $20.00 gift voucher to the Co-op for their participations within the study. Recruitment for the open house involved posting posters (see Appendix A) in high traffic areas (grocery stores, government

building) and a social media post on Facebook. We utilized convivence sampling for the open house due to its nonprobable sampling technique that eases recruiting participants in a unique geographic setting (Lavrakas, 2008). A conservative estimate of 50 community members attended the open house, with n = 17 completing the survey, with the majority of survey participants being female. For their time and participation in the survey, open house survey participants received a raffle entry to win one of two gift baskets, containing a variety of goods that were created within the CFPTC.

Quantitative Data Collection

Surveys

All surveys in this thesis used a four-point Likert Scale, an ordered scale that prompts respondents to select one of the listed options that best reflects their personal view (Losby & Wetmore, 2012). A traditional Likert scale has the options organized along a continuum of categories, with ordinal numeric values assigned to every category and equal number of positive and negative choices (Losby & Wetmore, 2012). The ideal number of options for a Likert scale is between 4-7, with the validity decreasing as the number of options decreases (Lozano, García-Cueto & Muñiz, 2008). A four-point scale was used to require participants to make a positive or negative answer, preventing neutral answers. The use of the Likert scale allowed for the perceptions and attitudes of trainees to be measured efficiently and not in a manner that burdens the trainee or take too much time from the training. Any individual who decided to participate was given the Participant Information Letter and Consent Form (see Appendix B) to read and sign before completing the pre-questionnaire.

The trainees of the country food program completed two surveys throughout the two-week training course. The pre-questionnaire (see Appendix C) was designed to collect basic demographic information, understand traditional food processing and consumption patterns, and establish trainee's knowledge on food safety and wildlife policies. This knowledge was established through eight outcome indicators based off the objectives of the training course. The outcome indicators in the prequestionnaire established a baseline of trainee's knowledge. The post-questionnaire (see Appendix C) was administered on the final day of the training and included the same eight outcome indicators. This allowed us to measure any change of trainee's self-perceived knowledge from the beginning and end of the training. In addition, the post-questionnaire had

questions on what trainees thought of the training and how they plan to utilize their new skills developed in the training. The open house survey (see Appendix C) collected basic demographic information, perceptions on the food samples at the open house and information on food processing in their household. All the quantitative data collected in this evaluation was used to create descriptive statistics.

Qualitative Data Collection

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were chosen over other interviewing techniques for its prominence in conversational method, an Indigenous methodology (Kovach, 2010). Semi-structured interviews encourage a more dialogic interaction between participant and researcher, where the interview guide only serves to establish the topic of the conversation. The resulting conversations aligns with the Indigenous worldview of orality as a means of transmitting knowledge (Kovach, 2010). It enables reciprocity between interview and participant, allowing for follow-up questions and "space for participant's individual verbal expressions" (Kallio et al, 2016). Relative to other interview methods, semi-structure interviews are more flexible and versatile to account for the research setting and research questions of a study (Given, 2008, Kallio et al., 2016). Interviews ranged from 25 minutes to one hour and were all guided by a structured interview guide with five open-ended questions and additional prompts (see Appendix C). All interviews were in the classroom where all the in-class learning from the training occurred at the Aurora College Délı̨ne Community Learning Centre. We also conducted a phone interview (n =1) with a GNWT employee who was knowledgeable on the revitalization of the meat inspection regulations. All interviewees agreed to have their interviews recorded. The interviews with the trainees were transcribed by the primary researcher while the interview with the GNWT employee was transcribed via a transcription service.

Observation

Observations were recorded with an adaptation to the observation guide developed by Skinner & Pratley (2019) and recorded throughout the entire two-weeks of the training course into a notebook. Observation is the systematic descriptions of experiences, actions, and interactions

within and with the social setting of a research project (Kawulich, 2005). The observation stance of "observer as participant" was taken to help establish rapport with participants, encouraging them to act naturally in the social setting of interest (Kawulich, 2005). Observer as participant aligns with CBPR and PAR methodologies by reducing the difference in the power between researcher and participant. Furthermore, participant observation allows for a more action-oriented approach to research, emphasizes developing relationships with participants and encourages participants to share their experiences (Wilson, 2008).

Journaling

Journaling was incorporated to help process the information that was gathered, to help identify pre-conceived assumptions, and to act as a memoir for the project (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). Journaling is not an analytical method, rather an activity that encourages reflection of a researcher experiences to generate new understandings (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). Journaling is a heuristic tool that encourages a researcher to be reflexive of their work and the responses of participants, to develop a deeper understanding of what is experienced during the research process (Janesick, 1999; Ortlipp, 2008). The journaling process used in this evaluation consisted of at least one typed page of reflections after every day of research. This resulted in 10 different journal entries.

Supplementary Materials

To provide further context on the CFPTC, reports from Renecker (2019) were used. The reports from previous country food training courses held in other northern communities were used to help structure the program evaluation of the training. The report from the training course held in Délı̨ne provided critical technological information pertaining to the trailer facility in terms of its condition and how it can be made operational.

Program Evaluation

The Canadian Evaluation society defines evaluation as "the systematic assessment of the design, implementation or results of an initiative for the purposes of learning or decision-making (CES, 2015). A process evaluation is an inductive method used to monitor and document program implementation and can aid in understanding the relationship between specific program elements

and program outcomes (Helitzer et al, 2000; Saunders, Evans & Joshi, 2005). This project utilized an adaptation of Saunders, Evans, and Joshi's process evaluation guide to assist in designing the evaluation plan for this thesis. This guide was selected for its comprehensive and user-friendly approach, as well as it is appropriate for stand-alone programs with specific target populations (Saunders, Evans & Joshi, 2005). An adaptation of this process evaluation guide had to be taken, as the CFPTC is a pilot project. This program had to be very flexible and dynamic, to account for operating the training in northern remote community with limited resources available. Success of the training depended on a variety of external factors, such as training equipment arriving through the mail without delays and raw materials like a muskox carcass and fish being acquired. This evaluation had to assume that the complete and acceptable delivery of the program was the program achieving all its established program objectives.

For this evaluation, four evaluation questions were established: 1) how satisfied were students with the training 2) were there any aspects of the training that participants recommended to change 3) did the training instructors achieve the established objectives in the training 4) is the trailer facility viable to teach the country food processing training in? By answering these questions, this evaluation was able to highlight what is possible with the trailer in terms of traditional/country food processing. The results of the evaluation will inform the DGG in deciding on how to best utilize the trailer facility to increase food access for community members. A logic model (see Figure 2) was created to visually display the resources, activities, and outcomes of the country food processing training (Abdi & Mensah, 2016). This logic model was created through observations made whilst collecting data for this training, an informal conversation with the head instructor and reports from Renecker (2019).

In Vivo & Line-by-Line Coding

A combination of in vivo and line-by-line coding approaches were used in this analysis. In vivo coding pertains to assigning labels to sections of data (codes) that are drawn from the section of data. This ensures that the connection between research participants own words and concepts upholds during analysis (Given, 2008). Line-by-line coding involves coding each line of text to forces the researcher to pay close attention to what respondents are actually saying (Gibbs, 2007). The combination of these two coding approaches ensures that the data reflects the experience and worldview of participants and not the researcher (Gibbs, 2007). Coding is a recursive process,

where the data is revisited multiple times to alter and combine previous codes to more succinct concepts within the data. Transcribed interviews were inputted into NVivo 12 for analysis. Identification numbers were assigned to each interview participant to maintain confidentiality.

Reflexive Thematic Analysis

We employed a reflexive thematic analysis for its comprehensive nature and because it is commonly used for identifying and analyzing trends within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It's an analysis that can identify patterns within and across data in relation to perspectives and lived experiences of participants (Braun & Clarke, 2017). The reflexive nature of the thematic analysis comes from the acknowledgment of the researcher and their involvement in the knowledge creation process as an analytic resource (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2020). A common misconception of this analysis is that themes emerge from the data. Braun & Clarke address this misconception:

> "… the researcher strives to be fully cognisant of the philosophical sensibility and theoretical assumptions informing their use of TA; and these are consistently, coherently and transparently enacted throughout the analytic process and reporting of the research" (Braun & Clarke, 2019).

An inductive approach rather than theoretical was taken for this analysis. An inductive thematic analysis is essentially a data-driven processes where the themes are strongly linked to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun & Clarke (2014) explain that thematic analysis is a particularly useful approach in applied research, with the ability to support robust and complex analyses while presenting the findings in an accessible manner to those not in academia. Braun & Clarke (2006) established a six-step guide to conducting a thematic analysis. It is important to note that this process is not linear, but rather recursive, as during the analysis process, previous steps may be revisited. Table 2 includes the procedure for this analysis.

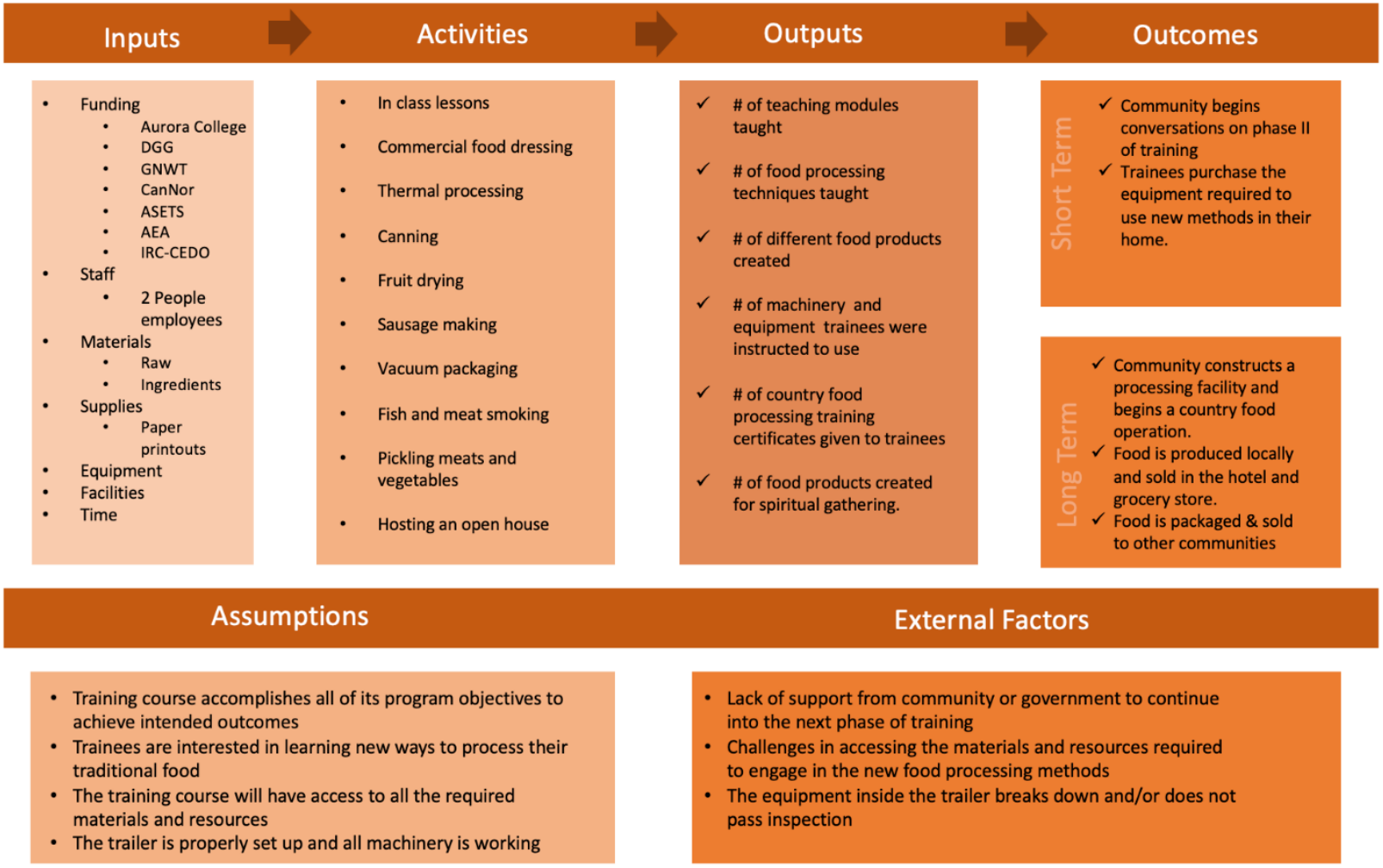

Figure 2. Country Food Processing Training Logic Model

Table 2 – Reflexive Thematic Analysis Procedures – Adapted from Braun & Clarke

Analysis Procedures	Explanation of Procedure
Familiarizing oneself with data	This familiarization process for this project will begin with the transcription of interviews and the repeated reading of transcripts. It is important for a researcher to repeatedly engage with the data to ensure an adequate level of familiarity is established.[1]
Generating Initial codes	A code is a segment of data that is identified by an analyst as significant to the context of the research objectives.[1] Codes can be understood as the building blocks to construct themes.[2] The reflexive thematic analysis offers little guidance on how to code texts. Thus, the in vivo and line-by-line coding approaches were pragmatically drawn upon to for the reflexive thematic analysis in this project.
Begin Searching for Themes.	A theme is a patterned segment with significant meaning found throughout the data.[1]Themes are actively created through the researcher's theoretical orientation, epistemological stance and the data themselves.[1] Themes represent a common understanding that has implicitly or explicitly occurred in the data[3] and are created by condensing similar codes.[1]
Reviewing and Refining Themes	After the codes were condensed further, similar codes were arranged into categorical themes ensure that there are distinct differences among themes and to prevent any redundancies.[1] This allowed for a visualization of the relation and hierarchy of codes to come together. This step in the procedure if very similar to the first, with the encouraged repeated reading of data to ensure the established themes reflect the most significant stories and nuances within the data. At this point in the analysis, all of the codes were taken from NVivo 12 and written onto pieces of paper. This was to assist in the understanding of the relationship between themes and subthemes, as well as in the development of conceptual models.
Defining and naming Themes	Themes must be condensed or reorganized into a manageable number to allow for adequate explanation within the analysis. This also pushes the researcher to refine their understanding of the themes and the relationship between the themes and guiding research questions.[1] Once the codes were arranged by likeness, a hierarchy with four unique themes were established. Underneath four themes are subthemes to help better organize codes with similarities but respecting the unique nuances between them. Finally, under each subtheme are the codes that contain majority of the data that will inform this study.
Producing the Report	The sixth and final step is producing the report that provides enough evidence that explains the significance of the themes. Stakeholder checks will be conducted with participants after analysis to prevent any misinterpretations by the researcher and ensure the analysis is accurate. These checks will increase the credibility of findings as it allows interviewees to confirm and challenge the interpretations of the researcher.[4]
1. (Braun & Clarke, 2006), 2. (Braun & Clarke, 2017), 3. (Allen, 2017), 4. (Thomas, 2003).	

Research Objective 2 & 3

It was necessary for this thesis to add two additional research objectives to address the political factors that were identified as having an influence on being able to achieve the first research objective. The second research objective is to understand what policies are involved in the different pathways for the trailer facility identified in the evaluation. By identifying and understanding all the policies that affect the trailer facility, this thesis can better inform our community partners on how to utilize the trailer facility. The third research objective is to understand the power of the DGG in influencing its local food system within the broader regulatory system. By establishing the if an Indigenous self-government can influence its local food system to increase food access, this thesis can understand if the trailer facility is even within the power of the DGG to influence.

Positionality

Being aware of one's position can make oneself aware of the dissimilatory processes and their personal beliefs (Freshwater & Avis, 2004; Russell-Mundine, 2012). Furthermore, positionality of the researcher is a critical component of CDA. Critical discourse analysts must declare their sociopolitical stance in the domain they are researching in. Thus, researchers need to align themselves with those who are suffering due to the social inequalities that those in power are accountable to improve or are responsible for (Van Dijk, 1993). Researchers utilizing this framework are as much a researcher as they are an activist. Therefore, I herein establish my stance as aligning with the community partners of this project. Viewing this domain through a settler colonial lens, I side with many critical Indigenous scholars that argue self-government and land claim agreements are contemporary and legitimated forms of control over Indigenous Peoples.

Data Collection

Title Screening Process

In 2002, the Montreal Declaration on Free Access to Law was passed, which mandated participating legal information institutes to promote access to public legal information through the internet (Canlii, n.d.). The establishment of this declaration indirectly put pressure on governments across Canada to post their legislated bills and statutes on their respective websites. A legislated

act is a statute that was introduced to parliament and received assent while a legislated regulation is made authority under an Act, which defines the application of enforcement of the statute (Health Canada, 2006). This thesis chapter is incorporated a title screening process (see Figure 3) for every legislated act and regulation on the GNWT legislation website. The screening criteria for the title screening process pertained to if a legislated act or regulation related to any the four identified pathways for the trailer facility: a commercial operation, a service for hunters, a tool for community and to teach youth. Due to the structure and desired specificity of legislation, simply reading the title was enough to gauge if a title should be screened. If the title of a policy was ambiguous or suspected to have any relevance, it passed through the initial title screening to be reviewed and examined at the next step. Whether or not a section was deemed relevant was left to the discretion of the researcher, whom has previous experience and background knowledge on Indigenous food insecurity, food processing and policy. To further clean and organize the data, two code books were created, and a section-by-section coding technique was employed.

Section-by-Section Coding

Using NVivo 12, each policy document was coded twice, once for each of the established codebooks (see Table 3). The first codebook was to reduce the amount of text, by identifying the sections of text that were relevant to the analysis. This allowed the sections of text that were not relevant to be omitted from the analysis. The first codebook was created through drawing from the themes and sub themes established within the analysis in Manuscript 1. After the relevant sections were coded, a second codebook was applied over the same codes to understand which governing bodies have jurisdiction over the areas of policy identified. For the second codebook, jurisdiction was classified as having the authority to fulfill or to obligate another party to fulfill the contents of a section. The purpose of the second codebook was to gain a general understanding of which governing entity within the territory possesses the most jurisdiction within the identified sections of policy. Descriptive statistics (see Appendix D) were created to help visualize how the codes were distributed among the different policy texts and how the jurisdiction was divided amongst the different governing entities.

Table 3

Codebooks for Section-by-Section Coding

Codebook 1	Codebook 2
- Food Safety - Harvesting - Indigenous Governance - Indigenous Rights - Settler Governance - Trade - Wildlife and Land Management	- Federal Government Jurisdiction - GNWT Jurisdiction - Land Claim Jurisdiction - Self-Government Jurisdiction

Critical Discourse Analysis

This chapter seeks to understand how language, more specifically policy texts, functions in mediating discourses that are being operated by historically colonial institutions (Fairclough 1989; Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Much of settler colonial theoretical research focuses on the constitutionalist mechanisms of law as maintaining power-relations (Alfred, 2001, Watson, 2005), thus analyzing the texts which mediate these power-relations in the NWT was the then the natural selection of data to answer this chapter's research questions. Hajer implores researchers to conduct deliberative policy analyses, which discourse analysis was recommended to "promote an understanding of the intricacies of successful policy deliberation" (Hajer. 2003). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a methodological framework that directs a researcher towards developing an understanding of the relationship between language and power. An applied approach is being taken to this analytical framework (see Figure 4), seeking not to provide generalizations, but rather taking a practical approach to the CDA that allows us to relate the research questions to the problems this applied thesis is trying to address. An applied approach is complementary to the applied nature of this thesis and accounts for a limited timeframe of a master's thesis. We selected the framework from Norman Fairclough (1989) for its ability to connect language, ideology, and power. Fairclough has three dimensions of analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation. Table 4 includes an overview of the three dimensions of analysis.

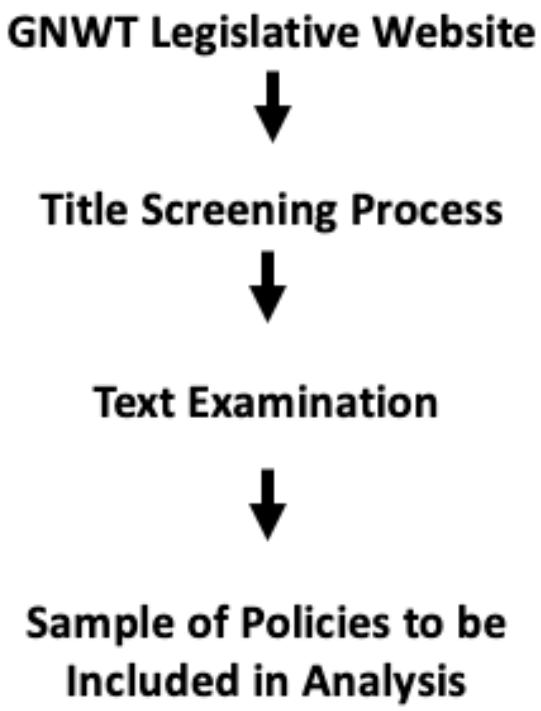

Figure 3 – Data Collection Process for Manuscript 2

Description

This section of the analysis is focused on the primary features of the texts. Fairclough's 10 question model is commonly used within the literature to refer to this dimension of analysis. These questions act as a guide to identify the various types of primary features of texts, such as punctuation, grammar, and vocabulary, which all have relations to power and to ideological processes of discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Special consideration was necessary for the texts in this analysis, as they are all legislative documents. These texts have undergone the mechanicalistic processes of the parliamentary system, which embed text with the power to alter or control the behaviours of the individuals within its jurisdiction. In addition, the intended language of these texts is written in a manner to prevent any ambiguity with its interpretation. The structure of the policy texts only allowed for a small portion of the questions within the 10-question model to be incorporated into this analysis: 1) what experiential values words have, 6) what relational values do grammatical features have and, 8) how are (simple) sentences linked together. The resulting primary grammatical and vocabular features of texts that were identified in this analysis were:

overwording, relational modality and subordination. Over wording is a type of experiential value characterized with an irregular high degree of wording. Modality is a linguistic device that establishes the conditions for something; the focus of relational modality is on authority of the text producer in relation to other individuals. Subordination is the use of subordinate clauses after a main clause to include additional information that is often presupposed. Fairclough provides examples and explains how each of these grammatical and vocabular features can be part of or influence ideological processes which are mediated by text.

Table 4

Norman Fairclough's Stages of Critical Discourse Analysis with their Analytical Questions – Adapted from Fairclough (1989)

Dimension of Analysis	Concern of Stage of Analysis	Analytical Questions
Description	Also referred to as Fairclough's "10 questions model", this stage is concerned with the properties of text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures.	See Appendix E for Fairclough's 10 questions model.
Interpretation	Is concerned with the text and its relation to interaction. At this stage, text is seen as a resource in the process of interpretation, as well as a product in the process of production.	- What interpretations participants are giving to the situation and intertextual contexts? - What discourse types are being drawn up? - Are the answers to questions one and two different among different participants?
Explanation	Is concerned with the interaction and its relation to social context, including the social determination of production, interpretation, and their social effects.	- What power relations at situational, institutional, and societal levels help shape this discourse? - What elements of member resources which are drawn upon have ideological character? - How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional, and societal levels?

Interpretation

Fairclough explains that this dimension of analysis is interested in how texts are interpreted by social actors; it is the essentially the simultaneous interpretation of text and context (Fairclough,

1989). This dimension consists of interpreting the sections of policy to understand how their application impacts the DGG and SSI. There are several different analytical approaches within this dimension that CDA analysts can utilize. We took an applied approach and only focused the situational context and intertextual context, as these two contexts had the most applicability to the research questions of this thesis. The former pertains the properties of participants and their current situation while the latter refers to the assumptions and previous discourses that the current discourse is connected to (Fairclough, 1989). To understand the situation context, we incorporated four questions: 1) what is going on, 2) who is involved, 3) in what relations and, 4) what is the role of language in what is going on (Fairclough, 1989). The intertextual context was established through the incorporation of a secondary historical analysis explained later in this thesis. We applied these questions to each of the sections identified within the previous dimension of analysis. The answers to the analytical questions were then used as the criteria to understand if a section was significant in its implication of the DGG and SSI and thus if the section should continue to the next dimension of analysis.

Explanation

This dimension of analysis is to "portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures and what reproductive effects can cumulatively have on these structures" (Fairclough, 1989). Similar to the previous dimension, we took an applied approach and drew only from the analytical approaches within the dimension that were applicable to our research questions. Fairclough provides several questions to be asked for investigating a particular discourse, we incorporated three of the questions: 1) what power relations at situational, institutional, and societal levels help shape this discourse 2) is the discourse normative with respect to members resources or creative 3) does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations or transforming them (Fairclough, 1989). For the first question, the power relations were only considered at the situational and institutional level as only the implications for Délı̨ne are of interest for this analysis. An inherent feature of discourses is their longevity through the ability to be reproduced over periods of time through different texts from the same institution (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). This means that the historical context surrounding the discourses of interest are vital in the interpretation and explanation of these discourses. Ideally the previous renditions of policies and their predecessors would have been the starting point to understand the

historical contexts behind these discourses. However, due to the travel restrictions in place due to the novel COVID-19 virus, these policy texts and other significant historical records cannot be incorporated into this analysis. Even though territorial policies were not directly included in this analysis, a secondary historical analysis incorporated to account for the historical context that was critical in the success of this analysis.

Secondary Historical Analysis

To account for this limitation in access to texts, this thesis incorporated a secondary historical analysis, utilizing the work of John Sandlos, specifically his book: *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories.* Sandlos provides a comprehensive historical overview of the conservation efforts taken by governments in the past century and how Indigenous Peoples in the NWT have been implicated by these efforts. Using historical government reports, newspaper articles and policy texts, Sandlos constructs three timelines of government interventions for bison, muskox, and caribou (Sandlos, 2011). This book was chosen for its specific scope of policies and related texts in the NWT. Sandlos in other works makes his position very clear on the use of policy to control access to wild foods (Parlee, Sandlos & Thatcher, 2018), a position similar to this thesis. Despite the difference in forms of texts being used in the CDA and historical analysis, the discourses can still be compared due to the many forms that language can manifest (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993). Thus, the historical analysis shall be beneficial to the CDA by providing valuable historical context.

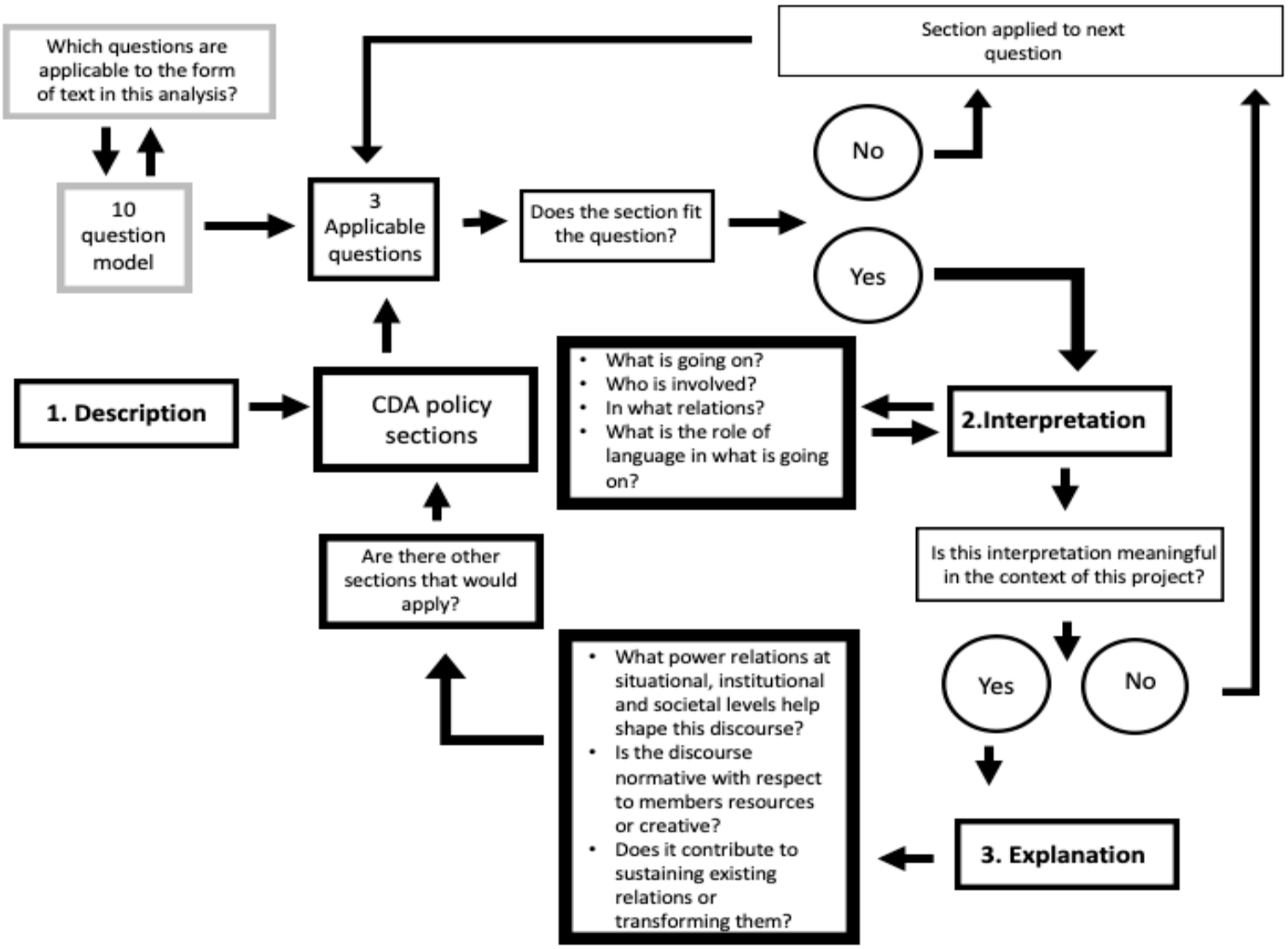

Figure 4 –Applied Critical Discourse Analysis Model – Adapted from Fairclough 1989

Chapter 5: Local food procurement, climate change and adaptive ecological harvesting - Understanding the potential for a mobile abattoir to increase food access in Deline, NWT.

Abstract

In the summer of 2019, a process evaluation of a country food processing training course (CFPTC) organized within a mobile abattoir (herein trailer facility) was held in Déljne, NWT. The purpose of the evaluation was to understand if the CFPTC can achieve all its program objectives within the trailer facility, which will establish what is possible within the trailer facility. The results of the evaluation found four potential pathways for the trailer facility: a commercial operation, a service for hunters, a tool for community and to teach youth. These pathways happened to align with the four needs identified within the analysis: to create employment opportunities, to teach youth the traditional way and its importance, to create traditional/country foods that the entire family will enjoy eating and to provide regular access to the space and tools required to process traditional/country food. After analysis, it became apparent that an evaluation was simply not enough to inform the DGG on how to utilize the trailer facility. Cultural laws, policy and the condition of the trailer were identified as having implications with how the trailer facility will be utilized. We attempted to provide further context for the DGG to ensure our findings would inform rather than guide them to a decision with the trailer facility. Despite our best efforts, there are still unknown factors, such as what the new meat inspection regulations will entail and the sovereign power of an Indigenous self-government within a land claim to address food insecurity that we could not answer.

Keywords: food procurement, traditional/country food, climate change adaptation, Indigenous food security, policy, evaluation

Introduction

In 2011, the hamlet of Délįne received a mobile abattoir (herein trailer facility). The trailer facility is a 27' covered flatbed trailer retrofitted with commercial grade food equipment. Délįne was not provided with any instruction on how to properly operate the trailer facility, thus it was never connected to electricity and was used as storage for the community's lodge. In 2015, the Sahtú Renewable Resource Board and a researcher collaborated to develop a community-level climate change food adaptation strategy for Délįne. The trailer facility was identified within the strategy as a potential lever to increase food access. This project is continuing the previous relationship building and community-based participatory research (CBPR) done by Spring (2018). Through collaborating with the Délįne Got'ine Government (DGG), Aurora College, two academic institutions and multiple territorial government departments, a country food processing training course (CFPTC) was arranged to be held in Délįne the summer of 2019. This study is an evaluation that was organized in tandem with the CFPTC to learn if the instructors could achieve their program objectives within the trailer facility. This will then establish what is possible with the trailer facility and ultimately inform the DGG how to utilize it to increase food access.

Background

Indigenous Peoples in Canada experience disproportionate rates of food security (CCA 2014, Tarasuk, 2020). The Northwest Territories (NWT) has the second highest rate of food insecurity in the country (Tarasuk, 2020). Climate change is impacting the global food system, however northern geographies are being disproportionately affected (Schnitter & Berry, 2019). For Indigenous Peoples in the north, climate change is affecting both the market food system and the traditional food system. Unpredictable warming weather patterns have resulted in compromised ice road structural integrity, greatly reducing the timeframe to use the road safely (Stephenson et al., 2011; Prowse et al., 2009). Increased forest fires, lower lichen availability and changing migration patterns are just a few of the ecological changes caused by climate change that are influencing the traditional food system (Joly et al., 2003). Within the intersection between climate change, food security and human health, localized food procurement is understood as a mediator to account for effects of climate change on food systems (Schnitter & Berry, 2019). Within the territory, there are examples of local food productions, such as traditional/country food development and value-added processing initiatives (Kenny et al., 2018c; Last, 2020), small-scale

agriculture initiatives (Johnston & Spring, 2021) and various community gardens and greenhouses (Chen & Natcher, 2019; Natcher et al., 2021). This study is looking to address the knowledge gap on the application of mobile abattoirs in northern remote geographies and in non-agricultural contexts.

Methodology

Evaluation

The Canadian Evaluation society defines evaluation as "the systematic assessment of the design, implementation or results of an initiative for the purposes of learning or decision-making (CES, 2015). A process evaluation is an inductive method used to monitor and document program implementation and can aid in understanding the relationship between specific program elements and program outcomes (Helitzer et al, 2000; Saunders, Evans & Joshi, 2005). This project utilized an adaptation of Saunders, Evans, and Joshi's (2005) process evaluation guide to assist in designing the evaluation plan for this thesis. This guide was selected for its comprehensive and user-friendly approach, as well as it is appropriate for stand-alone programs with specific target populations (Saunders, Evans & Joshi, 2005). A process evaluation was strategically incorporated to learn if the CFPTC is able to achieve its training objectives, which will then provide an understanding of what is possible within the trailer facility in the community. An adaptation of this process evaluation guide had to be taken, as the CFPTC is a pilot project. This program had to be flexible and dynamic to account for operating the training in northern remote community with limited resources available, thus there was no established criteria for what was considered a complete and acceptable program delivery. Success of the training depended on a variety of external factors, such as training equipment arriving through the mail without delays and raw materials like a muskox carcass and fish being acquired. This evaluation had to assume that complete and acceptable delivery of the program was the program achieving all of its eight established objectives within its two-week timeframe. For a comprehensive overview of the components of the CFPTC, see Figure 2. For a comprehensive overview of the results of the CFPTC evaluation, see Appendix F.

For this evaluation, four evaluation questions were established: 1) how satisfied were students with the training 2) were there any aspects of the training that participants recommended to change 3) did the training instructors achieve the established objectives in the training 4) is the trailer facility viable to teach the country food processing training in. These four evaluation questions guided the evaluator while collecting data and assisted in adhering to the inductive approach of inquiry.

Data Collection

A variety of data collection methods were strategically selected to collect as much data as possible within the short time frame of the CFPTC (Hulscher et al., 2003). It was important to incorporate methods that shared similarities with Indigenous methodologies and the Indigenous research paradigm (Wilson, 2008). Semi-structured interviews were chosen over other interviewing techniques for its prominence in conversational method, a common Indigenous methodology (Kovach, 2010). Semi-structured interviews encourage a more dialogic interaction between participant and researcher, where the interview guide only serves to establish the topic of the conversation. The resulting conversations aligns with the Indigenous worldview of orality as a means of transmitting knowledge (Kovach, 2010). Interviews (three female, three male) ranged from 25 minutes to one hour and were all guided by a structured interview guide. All trainees indicated Délı̨ne as their main residence and identified as Indigenous. All interviews were conducted in a private room adjacent to the training area in the Aurora College. The observation stance of "observer as participant" was taken, which enables the researcher to participate in the activities which will create an identity that is parallel to the trainees (Kawulich, 2005). Reflexive journaling was incorporated to assist the evaluator process the information that was gathered, to help identify pre-conceived assumptions, and to act as a memoir for the project (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). A pre- and post-questionnaire was administered to trainees at the beginning and end of training respectively. The purpose of these surveys was to collect basic demographic information, understand traditional food processing and consumption patterns, establish trainee's knowledge on the various learning outcomes of the training course. The third survey (twelve female, five male) was administered at the open house to understand attendees' perceptions on the new food from training course. All surveys utilized a 4-point Likert Scale, an ordered scale that prompts respondents to select one of the listed options that best reflects their personal view (Losby & Wetmore, 2012). Finally, a semi-structured interview was held in the spring of 2021 with a

Department of Health and Social services employee with knowledge on the development of the new meat inspection regulations to understand the current state of food processing policies in the territory and how it may implicate Déljne. This study received ethical approval under the Laurier Ethics Review Board (REB, #4876), approval from the University of Waterloo Ethics Committee (REB #41897), and approval from the Aurora Research Institute (License No. 1647). Furthermore, this study received approval and support from the DGG through an existing verbal research agreement.

Analysis

We used a reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) to analyze the semi-structured interview transcripts and used descriptive statistics for the quantitative data. Braun & Clarke's RTA is a comprehensive qualitative method that is commonly used for identifying patterns within and across data in relation to perspectives and lived experiences of participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun & Clarke, 2017). The reflexive nature of the thematic analysis comes from the acknowledgment of the researcher and their involvement in the knowledge creation process as an analytic resource (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2020). An inductive approach rather than theoretical was taken for this analysis. An inductive thematic analysis is essentially a data-driven processes where the themes are strongly linked to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun & Clarke (2014) explain that thematic analysis is a particularly useful approach in applied research, with the ability to support robust and complex analyses while presenting the findings in an accessible manner to those not in academia. Braun & Clarke (2006) established a recursive six-step guide to conducting a thematic analysis.

First, interviews were transcribed by the primary investigator and repeatedly read to develop a deep familiarization of the data. Interviews were then uploaded into NVivo 12 for coding. A combination of line-by-line coding and in vivo coding was utilized to ensure that the data reflects the experience and worldview of participants and not the researcher (Gibbs, 2007; Given, 2008). Five themes were established through identifying patterns and categorizing like codes with each other. The aim of this study is to answer the following question: What is the perception of community members on traditional/country food procured in a trailer facility through a country food processing training course taught in Déljne, NWT? In addition, this study aims to complete

the following objectives: 1) to understand participant's perceptions of the food processed with the new processing methods from the training, 2) to evaluate a country food processing training course taught in a food processing facility trailer to understand how it could be used as a tool to increase food access in Déljne, NWT.

Results

Evaluation Results

The pilot training encountered a variety of challenges, such as: the trailer facility not being hooked up to electricity or potable water, materials and supplies not arriving, faulty equipment, and missing equipment. From the data, it was found that only seven of the eight training objectives were achieved. Trainees perceived the trailer facility to have potential to create jobs, to help increase food access and to provide a greater variety of country foods for families. While the CFPTC only achieved seven out of the eight objectives, the implementation of the training course was a success with the challenges and barriers the instructors encountered during their program. There were two main features of the trailer facility that impacted the CFPTC: faulty or missing equipment and the size of the trailer facility. The former was identified in the reporting from the training instructors while the latter was identified in the data by trainees. The most significant factor that impacted the training course was the faulty or missing equipment in the trailer facility. The trailer facility was not hooked up to a potable source of water, the instructors had to connect a garden hose to the local lodges washing machine to bring in water to the trailer facility. In addition, one of the three sinks was not hooked up and the ventilation hood was missing. The ventilation hood had arguably the most significant impact, as the smoker from the industrial smoker remains in the trailer facility resulting in a hazardous working environment. Furthermore, it was identified that the industrial smoker cannot be operated in the colder months and that the current source of potable water would freeze (Renecker, 2019). The size of the trailer facility was identified by every trainee as something that limited the CFPTC. Trainees identified the size of the trailer as limiting the amount of time that could be spent with the equipment and limited the amount of community members that could benefit from the training.

"… but I wish the training, like we had more students, more students for the training. And because of the facility there was only so many applicants that they could accept for the training, so, but it would have been nice to have more students." – Participant 6

"I'd say the only thing is get a bigger trailer, I mean even just for two people to work in there, you can even walk by shoulder to shoulder" – Participant 5

The size of the trailer facility and the missing and faulty equipment inside created challenges for the instructors to successfully implement the CFPTC. These factors will ultimately have an influence in how the trailer facility is incorporated into the community. The missing ventilation hood will need to be replaced for the industrial smoker to be safely used and the trailer facility will have to be hooked up to its own source of potable water. These are costly investments that will be necessary if the trailer is to be used year-round. Furthermore, it was identified that the trailer in its current condition would not pass an inspection, limiting the commercial opportunities with trailer the facility.

Research Study Results

'A Flavourable' Kick With a Little Spice' for the Youth

"Because they don't have it [traditional/country food] at home, especially young parents, maybe you know they tried it, but they haven't tried it with their kids. And store-bought stuff, that's all they give them. … And some, most, mostly the young parents don't know how to cut fish, or how to prepare it, maybe that's why [not understanding importance of traditional food], that's another thing, the training and learning from our parent's right. Now in today's world, some young parents don't know or how to teach their kids the traditional way." – Participant 1

Participant 1 was not the only participant that claimed the community's youth prefer to eat food from the store. They believe that youth do not understand the importance of the traditional/country food as their parents have not exposed their children to traditional/country foods. The reasoning for this is that the parents themselves do not know how to process traditional food. One of the younger trainees believes that the new methods from the CFPTC are an opportunity to use the trailer facility to create traditional/country food that that align with the food preferences that youth desire. It was identified that flavour is a significant factor influencing youth's food preferences. Traditional/country food involves very little secondary processing and are often bland in flavour. This is a very different flavour profile from the store-bought foods that are high in sugar and salt which many youths in the community consume.

"… I guess of more it's like a salt bland taste for them [elders]. They probably don't mind that, but uhm (short pause), the spices are totally different for my age group than to the older people. Cause, say, we just add a little bit of tiny spice, and they will say its spicy for them [elders] (laughs) and for my age group it's not that spicy, it's the right amount of spice … My age group, right now my age group likes the spices. Like spicy, and a kickful, a veryful, kickful sweet taste. That's more my age group. Cause, we do like sweets … maybe just a little help from the meat parlour [trailer facility] would give a different taste to different people, like different age groups, or say like someone wants spicier stew, or a bit of both with a flavourable' kick with a little spice, that thing. Cause, it would make a lot of people happy. It would make me happy, that's for sure." – Participant 2

Participant 2 explains there is a divide in food preferences between the youth and older community members. In specific, the youth want foods that have sweet and spicy flavour while older community members prefer simpler and more bland flavours. During the open house, one participant received feedback from an elder regarding the amount of spice within the foods that were served:

"The only thing, when we had our open house yesterday, when I was talking to the community members, I asked them about the tastes, about the spices we used in the country food, and I asked them about their tastes, and they said, very few are not used to so much spice in their food." – Participant 6

It is apparent that the taste preferences of older community members do not align with the taste preferences of the community's youth. The older community members prefer the natural flavours of traditional/country food, which is complimentary to the traditional way of processing. On the other hand, youth prefer foods with sweet and spicy flavours. Prior to this training, traditional/country food was only processed the traditional way, as the community did not have the knowledge or capacity to create new foods with the trailer facility. These results suggest that food preference, more specifically the flavour of the food that youth consume, may be an important factor in understanding their lack of interest in eating and learning about traditional/country foods.

Muskox

The first objective of this training is to understand the trainee's perceptions of the food processed using the new commercial methods from the training. Only two animals were incorporated into the CFPTC, muskox and Great Bear Lake trout. Muskox was strategically incorporated into the training as the species is in abundance in the Sahtú region, presenting a potential new source of

food from the land for the community. For many of the trainees, the CFPTC was the first opportunity to handle and taste muskox meat:

"The muskox, I, uhm, I never have done in my home … I didn't even know how to process the meat to tell you the truth. Because they never came back for a long, long time. They just started coming around several years ago, they started showing up again, and that's when, people, hardly killed them, and now they are starting to kill them and you know, they usually just boil them and eat the meat. But, for me, I never had it in my home. So, I had no idea until I learned about the new skills from the training. And with these new skills, we made like muskox burgers, and I tasted, and it was just so awesome, and it just tasted a lot better than the store bought. … so I'm thinking that now, I'm gonna' accept muskox in my home and process the meat" – Participant 6

In Déljne muskox has not been traditionally hunted. It is unknown if muskox holds the same cultural and spiritual significance relative to other species like caribou. This may be one explanation to as why many community members do not possess the traditional knowledge on how to harvest or process muskox. Despite the general unfamiliarity with the species, 15 out of 17 participants from the open house reported having a positive experience trying the muskox food samples. This positive experience did not directly translate into an interest to harvesting muskox, as only just over half of open house participants indicated being very likely to start harvesting muskox after trying the samples. For one trainee, despite their positive experience with muskox, they perceived hunting muskox to be a waste of resources:

"They [muskox] are not close to Déljne, or the northern parts, like, like uh, not the Sahtú region, not that I know of. I don't think there is not a muskox around the Sahtú region, but next door to, to uh, Decho region, there is muskox. But I don't think we are going to butcher a muskox in Déljne anytime soon. Absolutely not. Because it would be a waste of resources, waste of gas, and yeah." – Participant 2

Participant 2 perceives harvesting muskox as a waste of resources due to the distance required to travel to harvest. This is an interesting nuance, as other participants have mentioned within their interviews that muskox are all around the Sahtú. Participant 5 is very knowledgeable on the species, as they harvested the muskox for the CFPTC. They know that muskox are moving further into the Sahtú and believe the animal is the ideal source of meat to be used in the trailer facility:

"I see if they are going to start anything with that (trailer facility). I'm saying they will primarily use muskox, because the populations are getting to be high now, because nobody is hunting them,

and they are moving in … they are all around the Sahtú now … It's just its harder, tougher to work on, tougher to skin. Mostly the skin, the skin is tougher, a lot tougher meat on them. Hide is thicker too." – Participant 5

Trying to understand participant's perception of muskox is compounded by a variety of factors, such as the taste of the meat, traditional knowledge, availability of resources, and the desire for other wild game. It is apparent that just a positive experience may not be enough to convince community members to harvest muskox, as how muskox is processed may also impact if its regularly harvested or not by community members.

"I mean the muskox, at first, I don't eat muskox. Right? And then, and I tried it, and I'm so impressed, how all the spice and we learn all the stuff, and I am so impressed, how it turned out and I am happy that, now I can eat muskox whenever I want (laughs), but as long as you know, its processed and mixed, with all the spice, hamburger and sausage." – Participant 6

Traditional Processing Versus Commercial Food Processing

Trainees were asked in their interviews to describe how they normally process traditional food, with the intention to understand how perceptions of the traditional way could be compared to the new processing methods. After analysis, it became apparent that the intended dichotomous comparison was inappropriate, as the traditional way of processing is not just a method to process food. For Indigenous Peoples, the traditional way encompasses more than just the material processes of food procurement, it involves Indigenous culture, spirituality, and traditional knowledge:

"You respect traditional food too, right. And that's how Dene law is. And so, you always have to clean it and prepare. … our traditional way, women are not supposed to go over the blood, bones or meat whatever, so we always watch were we are going or how we walk, with traditional food, so, so that's why I always stay away from blood, so you watch what you're doing. … Like if there's blood, like on the floor, I don't go over it, I clean it." – Participant 1

"We're very spiritual people. We pray, we pray lots on food, to the lake too. And if you're a beginner, like you're new to the community too. Even my friend who lives in Alberta, over spiritually, you have to pay them you're on. Even a cigarette… you feed the land. So, the next time you come to the land, you are kind of welcome you know." – Participant 4

The traditional way of processing food incorporates kinship relationships, traditions, the Dene laws, and is true reflection of the Indigenous ontological understanding of the world. Despite the traditional and commercial processing methods being incommensurable, there are underlying ontological differences between how Indigenous Peoples and settlers view and understand food. The importance to follow the traditional way stems from continuing cultural practices. On the other hand, the importance of adhering to food safety standards and protocols is from the regulations established by the government and the potential consequences if these standards are not adhered to. A story from the training that was captured through participant observation is an excellent example that highlights the difference in the ontological understanding of food processing methods and food in general:

Instructor teaching commercial way of processing fish. One of first steps is chopping off the head. Instructor took the head of the fish off, tossed it in the garbage and continued the demonstration. Two of the trainees gasped in horror. The instructor instantly inquired if everyone was okay. One trainee told the instructor "You just threw a delicacy in the trash" and proceeded to explain that fish heads are one of the most desired parts of the fish. The instructor instantly apologized and said that they will make sure all fish heads are saved for any trainee that would like to take them home. (Observation notes, August 9th)

This incident with the CFPTC shows how only certain parts of an animal are deemed to be edible under the commercial processing method. Only the fillets are seen as valuable, as the rest of the fish gets thrown away during the process. This is not to say that the traditional way does not throw away parts of the fish, but overall, more of the fish is utilized and consumed under the traditional way. Regardless of the ontological differences, the trainees perceived various components from the new commercial methods to be complementary to their day-to-day processing:

"The way, they, uhm, I was taught the skills about country food processing, (short pause), I'm aware of, uhm, wild animals that we harvest from our lands, like caribou, moose, muskox, and we also get lake trout form the lake too, and the way, the way we handle the food, and process it, it's, it's a lot different than the ways we were taught the skills. It's just like, just, it opened more options for us to do more with our country food." – Participant 6

Pathways for Trailer Facility

The third objective of this study was to identify all the potential uses for the trailer facility. Within the data, four different pathways were identified by trainees in their interviews: a commercial

operation, a service for hunters, a tool for community and teaching youth. Table 5 includes an overview of the different pathways that participants identified as potential ways to utilize the trailer.

Table 5

Identified pathways for trailer facility

Trailer Pathway		Quote
Commercial operation	Selling food to other communities	"I just, pretty much sell wild meat, not only that, but sell it to other communities. Yeah, that's pretty much, sell it to other communities." – Participant 5
	Sell food in hotel	"I wish, the hotel can use it. … make hamburger, sausage so the whole town can sell it and then business will go up ... and the hotel can use them too right, for the food, for the menu, you know? – Participant 1
	Sell food in a traditional store	"… somebody start, just starts small and works your way up and maybe it will expand and create employment for the local people, because it's our traditional food. And once the store, someday, they still think they talking about our own store, eventually, you know, instead of co-op or northern store." – Participant 4
Service for hunters	Custom-cut and wrap	"Well, whoever goes hunting can bring moose, or caribou, then they bring it to the trailer, and whoever is working the trailer can cut it up, just grind it, and then add spices to it, then just like make anything, whatever the person wants. They can make it, and can even package it for them, or even smoke it for them." – Participant 3
	Buying meat off of hunters to share or sell	"Well, it could pay for anyone that works in there to process the food, or save up money to buy meat off of hunters …They can just be like 'hey I got some meat if you want to get it off of me' and then you could buy it." – Participant 5
A tool for community	A tool for families in community to use	"I can see them supporting the community members, if say, they, uhm, have wild animals, and they wanna' do the food processing at the trailer, and, I can see them having access to the trailer, say on the weekend, say they wanna' do the food processing and they will do it on their own." – Participant 6 Only 23% of open house participants reported having regular access to the space necessary to process traditional/country foods.
	A teaching tool for community	"Like anyone that brings their meat there to process the meat, is going to have the ability to clean and sanitizing the trailer, because they have to clean up after themselves, clean up their mess, and if they don't know how to do it, then that person will be there, and will teach them." – Participant 6
	A tool/equipment lending service	"We don't have the equipment. They're expensive, families can't afford to buy expensive equipment, so that's why we are going to have rely on the trailer to process our, wild animals, like caribou and muskox, cause' we don't have the equipment at home." – Participant 6

		Only 23% of open house participants reported having regular access to the tools necessary to process traditional/country foods.
Teaching youth	Snacks for youth	"Even just bring a student here one a week, as part of their curriculum, like curriculum, they need to know the food safety too, they think it just comes like that, I know how the people here, it's so easy, but there's work to it. And, and so maybe like something like that, they store will buy off us, but the school will be ideal for the snacks" – Participant 4
	A high school credit or co op	"I don't know the school has a food curriculum, like in healthy part of this curriculum there, and they can, and sometimes, and sometimes they don't have many students there and the students can learn from the trailer too, whoever they hire to teach them to, even the group can walk through, cause they can learn how to cut, how to vacuum, you know the measure on how to make burger the process" – Participant 4
	On the land programming	"I mean there is potential for everyone to learn. There is lots of wild game around, I mean, it would be good to start harvesting their own meat. So, they do a lot of on the land programs, and could even add processing meats." – Participant 5

Sharing, Selling and Stinginess

With half of the identified pathways incorporating either selling traditional/country food or a service to process it, it seems that the trailer should involve a commercial component in some capacity. At first glance, it appeared that this interest was due to a desire to increase access to traditional food. This interest was due the trainees perceiving the trailer facility to be an opportunity to create employment opportunities. "I feel about the training program, it's very, very, very beneficial to our community because it will create jobs for local people" (Participant 4). Despite Participant 4's interest in a traditional store, they still explain that the main reason for the store would be to create jobs for the community:

"[M]aybe someday down the road will start a business, or you know the DGG. Like you know they will have their own store. And have a place, in Yellowknife, independent, there is a place that just do meat and fish. They cut it there. And then it creates jobs for people. And that's the main thing for here. To create job for the local people" – Participant 4

Another trainee in their interview explained that employment opportunities in the community are infrequent, with most being short term contract opportunities in the summer. Depending on how the trailer facility it utilized, it has the potential to provide year-round employment for Délįne.

"In the community there are not many people working, because there are no job offers. Only in the summer are there jobs here and there. And there are some people that are lucky that they are even working." – Participant 3

Most trainees touched on the idea of creating jobs in the trailer, however not every trainee supported selling food from the trailer. For Participant 5, a commercial operation would not be the best choice for the trailer as it won't make any profit. They believe that the trailer facility could be a paid opportunity to create food for community members struggling:

"Well, I'm not really sure about making [food to be sold] cause, all the money it would make would be coming from the community anyways. So it's not really gonna' to make a profit. It's really just money circulating around in the community. But its more beneficial if the uh, if donated meat, like pay someone to package meat for elders, or people that are struggling. I think that would be best." – Participant 5

Within the data, the commercial sale of traditional/country was shadowed by the importance of sharing food with community members. 16 out of 17 participants from the open house survey reported sharing food with others. All the trainees touched on the importance of sharing traditional food in their interviews.

"Its so important because I was taught, like, from my parents and my grandparents and they always give out food and they say, when you're hard on food, to people, you know struggle, so I always learned that, that being stingy with the food they always going to have a hard time. So my parents, they always shared and so that's why my brothers, they share all the time. And that's what we do. We share with people" – Participant 1

There is a belief that if an individual is stingy with sharing traditional/country foods, then hard times will follow. Participant 1 was raised to always share food with those in need, as one may never know when they themselves will fall on hard times and require assistance. The importance of sharing is very evident for Participant 1, as they believe than exceptions need to be in place if traditional/country food is to be sold.

"So even if the hotel uses it, they can buy and the business can go up, but that part, give it out to the elders, should be, I don't know, to show respect, and they came a long way." – Participant 1

Discussion

From the analysis, there were four needs that were identified with the data: to create employment opportunities, to teach youth the traditional way and its importance, to create traditional/country foods that the entire family will enjoy eating and to provide regular access to the space and tools required to process traditional/country food. The following section will explain how the trailer facility may address these needs and the implications of each pathway for the trailer.

Utilizing the Trailer to Address the Needs Identified by the Community

Trainees perceived Dél̨ine's youth, in particular the children of younger families, as not possessing the skills and knowledge required to survive off the land. One trainee believed that youth do not enjoy traditional food or understand its significance due to not being exposed to it. Today's youth have not been exposed to the traditional way of processing food nearly as much as previous generations. The connect to food and transmission of traditional ecological knowledge has been severely affected by the insidious impacts of residential schools (Bodirsky, & Johnson, 2008; Wilk, Maltby & Cooke, 2017). In addition, youth have less time to engage in and learn the traditional way of living due to time constraints like school (King and Furgal; 2014; Loukes et al., 2021). In the literature, members from different Indigenous communities also believe that youth need to learn more about the traditional way (Parket et al, 2018; Power 2008; Spring et al., 2018). With the nutrition transition experienced across the Canadian north (Kuhnlein et al, 2004; Kuhnlein & Receveur 1996; Egeland et al. 2011), the youth of today have been exposed to more foods and flavours than previous generations. This may be an important nuance to consider when trying to understand why younger generations prefer store-bought foods (Kuhnlein & Receveur 2007). This was also identified by one trainee as a reason for why the youth of the community prefer sweeter and spicier flavours. This presents the trailer facility as a potential facilitator to mediate the tensions between youth wanting to eat food with flavours they desire, eating foods that are culturally significant, and avoiding food from the stores. This could encourage youth to consume more traditional food, consume less expensive store-bought foods and ignite an interest in learning more about traditional food.

Within their interviews, trainees identified utilizing the trailer facility as a co-op opportunity, a high school credit, to complement the existing on the land programming in the community, or to create healthy snacks for the school. This emphasis on providing learning opportunities for youth is not unique to Dél̨ne, as communities across the territory (Wesche et al., 2016) have implemented youth-focused programming to combat the disruption of traditional food systems impacts by colonial policies (Mason, 2014). On the land programming is an Indigenous approach to teaching, where the land becomes the classroom to teach youth about Indigenous culture and the traditional way (McGregor et al., 2010; NCCIE, 2020). These programs have seen success in to encouraging youth to learn traditional knowledge and regenerate communication lines between elders and youth (McGregor et al, 2010; Ross & Mason, 2020; Wesche et al., 2016). There have also been territorial initiatives such as Take-A-Kid-Trapping Program that provide financial support to communities to bring youth to the land and learn from Elders (Ross & Mason, 2020).

This study revealed that a barrier to harvesting traditional food is having regular access to an appropriate space and/or the necessary tools to process traditional foods. The former is more reflected in the data from trainees in their interviews while the latter is from community members in the open house survey. While absent within the literature, members of the research team through informal conversations have identified the issue of space for individuals at the household level. In the literature, barriers, and challenges to obtaining the equipment needed to harvested have also been noted (Bayha, & Spring, 2020; King and Furgal, 2014; Loukes et al., 2021). Supported by the results that many community members lack access to the necessary space and tools to process traditional food, the trailer facility could be used as a tool to address these needs. There are examples of different approaches to community level tool lending initiatives in Victoria (Hill, 2012), Calgary (Calgary Tool Library, n.d.), Ottawa (Ottawa Tool Library, 2014) and Toronto (Toronto Tool Library, 2018). Both pathways for the trailer facility have the potential to address all the needs identified within this study.

Traditional Processing vs Commercial Food Processing, Two Conflicting Ontologies

It is apparent that there is a disconnect in ontologies between Indigenous Peoples and settlers (Smylie et al., 2004) stemming from the dominant agricultural discourses that overlook traditional food systems (Daigle, 2019). This conflicting relationship between the two ontologies pertaining

to food not only include how food should be processed, but how it should be given and received. Sharing food is an Indigenous custom that has been noted in the literature as a mediator to Indigenous food insecurity (Harder & Wenzel, 2012; Laberge Gaudin et al, 2015; Loukes et al., 2021, McMillan & Parlee, 2013). For Dél̨ı̨ne, sharing is integrated into the social fabric of the community, as it is institutionalized into the Dél̨ı̨ne Constitution (DGG, 2013). Furthermore, the entrenchment of sharing can be seen in the Dene Laws, as 'share what you have' is the first law. Within their interview, Participant 1 believed that not sharing food is stingy, but does not elaborate if the commercial sale of traditional/country food is also viewed as stingy. Within the literature, the commercial sale of traditional food is viewed as stingy (Searles, 2016) in addition to conflicting with cultural laws and traditions (Loukes et al., 2021; McMillan & Parlee, 2013). Country food markets have been a successful initiative to promote the consumption of traditional food while decreasing reliance of government subsidies in Greenland (Loukes et al., 2021). Traditional/country food markets have been briefly piloted in the territorial north (Searles, 2016), however in the NWT, the commercial sale of wild game is regulated by land-claims and the territorial government. In addition to the cultural, social, and political factors that underly the different ontologies on how food should be acquired. The difference in ontology pertaining what is considered food and how it should be processed is entirely influenced from political factors like food safety standards and food regulations.

The trainees perceived the new processing methods as complementary to how they currently process their foods, providing a greater variety of foods to prepare and making their food safer for their families. While the incidence of food borne related illness is low in the territory (DHSS, 2010), it is suspected that climate change will increase the incidence of parasitic disease (Marcogliese, 2008), increasing the existing risk for food borne related illnesses from traditional/country food (Jhung & Skinner, 2017). Food safety standards are important for ensuring a safe food system for consumers; however, these standards and regulations have distinctly separate classifications of food and traditional/country foods. The GNWT has established guidelines for serving traditional foods in healthcare facilities. If wild game is donated to the facility directly without any prior secondary processing performed by a licensed facility, this meat must be kept in a separate space from the regular product (DHSS, 2019). This is also seen in northern Ontario, where the only medical facility to serve traditional/country foods has two

separate food processing spaces to accommodate their food safety protocols (Food Premise Regulations, O.Reg. 493/17). The settler ontology pertaining to meat from wild game does not accommodate the traditional way of processing wild game. Not only is this evident in how wild game meat is stored, but it also pertains to what parts of the animal are edible and how it is processed. With the national food processing regulations, only certain parts of an animal are deemed to be edible, and the rest of the animal is to be thrown out or used as materials for other industries (SFCR, 2018). While these policy restrictions do not necessarily limit Indigenous Peoples from processing their food, it does highlight how traditional/country foods are shadowed by the dominating agricultural discourses with the broader food system and its policies. In addition to contributing to the conflicting ontologies, policy will create additional challenges for Déljne depending on how they choose to utilize the trailer facility.

Navigating Pathways or Navigating Policy

"Now a'days, the policies is, food policy, you just can't do, you just can't [not follow policies]. The government has to see it to, because they are providing samba, and samba means money" (Participant 4). Policy was mentioned only briefly within the data as something that was mandatory to follow as the government provides money to the community. The significance of policy and its role on influencing how to utilize the trailer facility was only understood after analysis. It is apparent that policy is another component that must be accounted for in the decision regarding the trailer facility. Relative to the commercial pathways, utilizing the trailer as a tool to educate to youth or as a tool for the community involves less policy. Education is an area of policy where the DGG has some jurisdiction, if the education is in line with the learning objectives of GNWT curriculum framework (DFSGA, 2015). The only pathway to not include any form of policy is operating the trailer facility as a tool for the community. On the other hand, the commercial pathways involve the most policies and thus challenges out of any of the pathway. A challenge that the DGG will face if a commercial pathway is taken is that the Meat Inspection Regulations have been repealed since 2009 The purpose of our interview the DHSS was to understand more context regarding the repeal and to gain some insight on what stage the new regulations are at.

From our conversation, we learned that the repeal of the meat inspection regulations was due to the legislation being obsolete, as there were no federal or territorial processing facilities in the

territory. The strategy for the new regulations is to create legislation that is designed towards small-scale local producers, to address food insecurity and to adapt to the effects of climate change that are creating favourable conditions for agriculture. British Columbia's food processing regulations, in specific the Class D licensing (Ministry of Agriculture Food and Fisheries, n.d.) were mentioned as a strategy which the GNWT were planning to mirror. This is due to the ability for small producers to accept uninspected meat which can be sold at farm gate, local stores, and food establishments within a specific geographic boundary (Ministry of Agriculture Food and Fisheries, n.d.). Most of the discussion regarding the new regulations was under an agricultural lens, which does not apply to the traditional/country food focus for the trailer facility. Under the new regulations, small-scale operations could accept traditional/country foods to be processed only in a manner like a custom-cut and wrap shop.

We learned that there are currently no plans to allow the commercial sale of traditional food as the GNWT does not want to commodify wild game. We asked specifically about the DGG and how these new regulations may implicate the trailer facility and how it may be used. There was not a definite answer, as the regulations are still in development. Déljne's trailer facility would qualify as one of the small-scale producers under the new meat inspection regulations if it passed an inspection. The criteria to pass an inspection is still in development, however, we were told it would resemble the criteria from the existing food establishment regulations. With the current condition of the trailer facility, it would not pass an inspection. It is missing a potable source of water, it does not have adequate ventilation or adequate storage facilities to hold food and non-food products (Food Establishment Safety Regulations, R-055-2020). The most significant finding from our conversation was the ambiguity surrounding Déljne and if the meat inspection regulations will even apply to the trailer facility. We attempted to provide further context for the DGG to ensure our findings would inform rather than guide them to a decision with the trailer facility. However, with the meat inspection regulations still in development for at least two to three more years, we are limited in our capacity to under all the nuances of an Indigenous self-government trying to start a traditional/country food operation to increase food access.

Conclusion

This study is the first evaluation to be conducted on a mobile abattoir in the Northwest Territories.

Despite the success of the CFPTC, the size and condition of the trailer facility will be a significant factor when deciding how to utilize it. Trainees identified four potential pathways for the trailer facility: a commercial operation, a service for hunters, a tool for community and to teach youth. These pathways align with the four needs identified within the analysis: to create employment opportunities, to teach youth the traditional way and its importance, to create traditional/country foods that the entire family will enjoy eating and to provide regular access to the space and tools required to process traditional/country food. The purpose of this study was to assist the DGG to understand how to use the trailer facility to increase food access in the community. It was apparent that an evaluation alone is not enough to allow for an informed decision, as there are external factors such as policy and cultural customs that must be taken into consideration. More research is necessary to understand the nuances of the conflicting ontological understandings of food and how it should be processed and acquired. In addition, the power of the DGG over its food system needs to be better understood within the context of northern food system development. While the exact implication of policy is unclear due to the repealed meat inspection regulations, the unique political status of an Indigenous self-government within a land-claim agreement and how policy applies is also unknown. Understanding where the DGG resides among the other governing entities in the territory with regard to policies pertaining to food may be an important step forward to understanding how Dél̨ne, and other Indigenous communities in the territory can achieve food sovereignty.

Chapter 6: (Food) Sovereignty, Indigenous Self-Government, and their capacity to develop local food systems in the Northwest Territories

Abstract

The intention for Indigenous self-governance is to govern as close to the community level as possible. Indigenous self-government and land-claim agreements are modern treaty making processes that have resulted in the creation of contemporary Indigenous governing bodies within the current settler colonial system. This investigation is in light of the disproportionate rates of food insecurity that Indigenous Peoples across Canada experience. The purpose of this study is to understand if a local food system, in specific a traditional/country food initiative, is within the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-government. Within the literature, policy has been identified as a barrier to the implementation of local food procurement initiatives and ultimately food sovereignty. We employed a title screening process of all the legislated acts and regulations on the territorial legislative website to identify all the policies that pertain to an Indigenous self-government trying to incorporate a mobile abattoir into its local food system. Two contemporary treaty texts, two legislated acts and four regulations were identified, however only the contemporary treaty texts were incorporated into analysis after data reduction. We took an applied approach to Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to understand the relationship between power, language and ideology within the policies identified. The results of this analysis revealed two types of authority that exist within the texts that continue to undermine Indigenous sovereignty. Wildlife conservation discourses were identified as mediating texts as well as the continuing ideology of settler colonialism within policy. Within the boundaries of policy, local food systems are not within the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-government, as wildlife conservation and food safety policies restrict the potential for a commercial traditional/country food operation. While the commercialization of food is often against Indigenous cultural customs, it is the principle that an Indigenous self-government is restricted by the current settler colonial system from exploring all potential pathways to work towards food sovereignty.

Introduction

This study is the continuation of a prior community-based project in Dél̨ne, NT. Judge, Skinner and Spring (2021 a) conducted an evaluation on a country food processing training course held in

a mobile abattoir (herein trailer facility) that was identified by the community as potential lever to increase food access. The onset of the novel COVID-19 virus created significant barriers to engaging with our community partners. Adhering to the original participatory approach was also restricted by territorial border closures and recent government restructures and position turnover. From the results of the evaluation, policy was identified as an additional challenge for the community to navigate as it created additional challenges to implement the trailer facility. The identification of policy by community members revealed that the evaluation alone was not enough to inform the Dél̨ı̨ne Got'ine Government on how to utilize the trailer facility. A policy analysis was necessary to identify the specific policies that would apply to the potential pathways identified within the evaluation for the trailer facility, but also to understand the power of an Indigenous self-government in relation to further developing its community's food system.

Indigenous Food Security and Traditional/Country Food in the NWT.

Indigenous Peoples in Canada experience disproportionate rates of food security relative to non-Indigenous Canadians (CCA 2014, Tarasuk, 2020). The Northwest Territories has the second highest rate of food insecurity in the country (Tarasuk, 2020). The remote location of many communities in the north results in high cost of commodities, as all goods must be shipped by winter barge, barge, or cargo plane. For community members without access to the tools and equipment to harvest, they must rely on the expensive foods at the grocery store within the community (Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013; Skinner et al., 2014). Not only are the prices within northern grocery stores high, but the selection of products is low in nutritious foods and high in foods that lead to poor health outcomes (Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013). In attempt to offset the high costs of nutritious foods in the north, the Nutrition North Subsidy was introduced in 2011 to eligible communities (Government of Canada, 2018a). However, the effectiveness of this program has been repeatedly disputed in the literature, leading to calls for program changes and policy overhaul (Burnett, Skinner & LeBlanc, 2015; Galloway, 2014; Galloway, 2017).

Within some communities in Nunavut and NWT, the commercial sale of wild food is viewed as stingy, as traditional/country food should be shared not sold (McMillan & Parlee, 2013; Searles, 2016). On the other hand, it could potentially provide a cost-effective source of traditional food relative to market foods (Chiu, Goddard & Parlee, 2016) for community members who lack access

to the transportation required to harvest, if done properly (Last, 2020; Ross & Mason, 2020). The sale of country food has seen success throughout Greenland through country food markets; however, traditional/country food markets have not seen as much success in Canada (Ford et al., 2016; Searles, 2016). In addition to the inherent challenges that Indigenous harvesters face when harvesting on the land, the high cost of the tools, gas and equipment necessary to hunt can act as a barrier for Indigenous families to access traditional food (Brinkman et al., 2014; King & Furgal, 2014; Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013; Spring, Carter, & Blay-Palmer, 2018). It was estimated that the total upfront costs for an Indigenous person to hunt in Northern Ontario was approximately $25,000 (Pal, Haman, & Robidoux, 2013; Leibovitch Randazzo & Robidoux, 2018).

Indigenous Food Sovereignty and Localized Food Systems

Food sovereignty is the decentralization of power from global and corporatized food regimes, allowing for localized and sustainable food systems to form (Wittman, 2015). For Indigenous Peoples, food sovereignty is the disengagement from colonialization to regenerate the cultural traditions surrounding food that have disappeared through colonial actions taken against Indigenous Peoples (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Grey & Patel, 2015; Martens, Cidro, Hart & McLachlan, 2016). Most of the literature on local food procurement to achieve food sovereignty focuses on civil grassroots agricultural initiatives (Wittman, 2015; Wittman & Blesh, 2017). Agricultural options are very limited for Northern Indigenous communities; thus, community gardens and green houses are a growing initiative in the NWT to increase access to affordable fresh vegetables and self- reliance (Chen & Natcher, 2019; Skinner et al, 2013). For Indigenous communities, developing a more localized food system may reduce the reliance on the government subsidies, the price volatility of particular foods and the transport costs of transporting food (Wittman & Blesh, 2017). In the context of Indigenous food sovereignty, access to culturally relevant food is a significant component, as colonial governments have implemented policies that encouraged market food consumption versus traditional/country food (Burnett, Hay & Chambers, 2016). Traditional/country food processing initiatives are modern food procurement strategies for northern Indigenous communities, with operations currently in Inuvik and Fort Good Hope (Kenny et al., 2018; Last, 2020). These operations are more in line with Indigenous food sovereignty, as it increases access to culturally relevant foods and regenerates cultural traditions surround food.

Historical and Contextual Background

Throughout his book, *Hunters in the Margin – Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories,* Sandlos provides a comprehensive overview of the policies and decisions made by government in the NWT to promote wildlife conversation. Sandlos (2009) includes passages of various forms of policy and non-political texts from many different bureaucrats, politicians, historical naturalists, and big game hunters. The sport hunting fraternity and their ideologies pertaining to hunting has had a significant impact on wildlife policy decisions in the NWT and Canada (Bouchier & Cruikshank, 1997; Mason, 2014; Sandlos, 2009). Furthermore, Sandlos provides evidence of the many racist bureaucrats throughout this time period who would discredit Indigenous Peoples ability to manage wildlife populations, often calling for outlandish conservation measures (such as a commercial bison operation) that would push their own policy agenda forward and completely disregard Indigenous Peoples (Sandlos, 2009). Table 6 contains a comprehensive overview of the significant events that took place in the territory as identified by Sandlos.

The Structure of Language in Policy

Policy texts have a more rigid structure, have a specified level of language designed to require professional interpretation, and have codified procedures to make any amendments (Salter, 1985). We use policy text to encompass all political documents such as legislated acts and regulations. The structure of policy text influences the interaction between the text and its interpreter and vice versa. In addition, the language of these texts is written in a manner to prevent any ambiguity with its interpretation. By establishing the meaning of a word through providing a definition, it allows those in power to establish what is and what is not the truth and prevents contestation (Fairclough, 1989). Sections within policy are all imperative, despite their structure as a declarative sentence. Instead of directly giving a command, these sections establish the conditions which one can act, and the repercussions and penalties that will happen if one does not act a certain way. Contemporary treaty texts differ from policy texts as some authority over areas of policy has been given to the benefactors of the agreement. Contemporary treaty texts are similar to policy texts in their structure and effect; however, these texts are unique in how authority between multiple governing agencies is divided. While these texts are treaties, they are accompanied by a statutory

act at either the federal or territorial level which gives rise to the authority of these texts which is similar to acts and regulations. Despite the rigid structure of policy texts, the interpretivist and settler colonial theoretical orientation taken in this thesis has guided the analysis to not be restricted by settler constructions of how policy texts are to be written and interpreted. In other words, this analysis will acknowledge the structure of policy texts, but it will not allow these structures to limit the analysis.

Study Context

This paper is a case study investigating how the community of Déljne can incorporate a trailer facility into their local food system to increase food access. The community of Déljne is in the Sahtú Region of the NWT, which community members are benefactors of the Sahtú Dene and Métis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement (SDMLCA). The SDMLCA came into effect in 1994, which set the stage for economic development, resource management and establishing self-governance procedures for all the communities under the agreement. As of 2014, Déljne established the first self-government agreement in the territory (Asch, 2017; Déljne Final Self-Government Agreement Act, 2015). Indigenous self-governance empowers the local band government to make decisions on the federal funding it receives on a variety of areas, not limited to education, job creation, and how research must be conducted (Government of Canada, 2018b). In their preliminary study, Judge, Skinner & Spring (2021, a) identified policy as barrier that must be navigated to understand the potential pathways and limitations of the trailer facility. The purpose of this study was to identify the policies that are involved with incorporating the trailer facility into a northern community's food system and to understand what jurisdiction Indigenous self-governments have within policy to influence its local food system.

Table 7

Overview of Significant Historical Events in NWT – Adapted from Sandlos (2009)

Date			*Significant Historical Events*
1800s		1894	Introduction of The Unorganized Territories Game Preservation Act of 1894 – first policy in the area now known as the NWT to impose harvesting restrictions.
1900s	1910s	1917	Northwest Game Act of 1917 and Federal Migratory Convention Act of 1917 received ascension.
		1919	A royal commission was passed at National Conference on Conservation of Game, Fur Bearing Animals and Wildlife to investigate the potential for a commercial reindeer and muskox operation.
	1920s	1921	Treaty 11, the last numbered treaty in the country was signed.
		1922	Wood Buffalo National Park is created – Non-treaty and Métis families were expelled from park boundaries, only treaty Indigenous Peoples allowed to stay.
		1924	Muskox ban that was implemented in 1917 was expanded to include Indigenous hunters and the starvation clause is removed from all policies in the territory.
		1925	Marked the beginning of a three year-initiative to transfer plain bison from the Buffalo National Park to Woodland Buffalo National Park in attempt to conserve bison populations. Thelon Game Sanctuary was created, and the export of caribou hides, and meat is restricted.
		1929	Northern Administration amended regulations to make it illegal for any individual to enter the Thelon Game Sanctuary without written permission from Department of Interior.
	1930s	1930	Natural Resource Transfer Agreement passed, transferring jurisdiction over wildlife from federal government to the provinces.
	1940s	1947	A ban on serving caribou in establishments that charge for meals was placed.
	1950s	1950	The sale of caribou meat was restricted to only those who held a general license prior to 1938 and feeding caribou meat to dogs was banned.
		1951	The first "relief slaughter" of bison in Woodland Buffalo National Park for population management control and disease management occurs.
		1953	The first commercial slaughter of bison in Woodland Buffalo National Park occurs.
		1955	NWT Game Warden began organizing supervised caribou hunts under the suspicion that Indigenous harvesters were overharvesting.
		1956	The Northern Administration removed a portion of the Thelon Game Sanctuary to allow for the resource extraction industry to explore for minerals.
		1957	Two educational resources were released by federal government: "*Tuktut"* and "*Save the Caribou".* The purpose of both resources was to educate Indigenous hunters how to hunt.
	1960s	1965	"A Question of Survival", another educational resource was released by federal government. The final commercial slaughter in Woodland Buffalo National Park is conducted as decrease in demand from south made the operation unsustainable.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Orientation

For the theoretical orientation of this thesis, we drew from the critical policy work of Maarten Hajer, interpretivism and settler colonialism to arrive at an understanding of the truth which is not limited by Eurocentric ideals and liberal objectivity. Hajer defines an institutional void as a space where there are no definite rules and norms as to how politics are to be conducted or how policies are to be created (Hajer, 2003). In addition, the devolution of authority from the federal government to the territorial government only happened five years prior the evaluation of the trailer facility, further shifting the power in the policy making process. The introduction of land-claim agreements and self-governance agreements devolves the power even further in certain regions. Interpretivism posits that objectivity is not possible, as truth and knowledge are subjective, as both are situated within unique cultural, historical, and individual contexts (Ryan, 2018). As a researcher using an interpretivist theoretical approach, we must acknowledge that our prior values, beliefs, and biases are unavoidable, and actually contribute to ways that data are interpreted (Ryan, 2018).

Settler colonial theory has established a framework to identify settler colonial structures with the narrative of decolonization that act as a facade to settler colonial continuity (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). Colonialism now engages in more assimilatory mechanisms with the intention to absorb Indigeneity in less coercive and more consensual mechanisms of control (Snelgrove, Dhamoon & Corntassel, 2014; Wolfe, 2006). The objectives of policy that are rooted in decolonizing such as modern treaty making benefit settler colonialism by absorbing Indigenous political differences without altering the foundational structures of settler dominance (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). It is vital within settler colonial work that Indigenous Peoples are centred, as de-centring has the potential to frame colonialism as inevitable rather than conditioned (Snelgrove, Dhamoon & Corntassel, 2014). The features of liberal positivism refuse to acknowledge or cooperate with concepts of law that are not institutionalized in the settler colonial model (Roy, 2008). By liberal positivism, we refer to the features of the current jurisprudence, such as how law is generated, how legal systems should be structured and how these limit Indigenous self-determination (Christie, 2019).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach that has been used by many academic disciplines, such as nursing (see Boyrd & Kerr, 2016), environmental studies (see Smith, 2006) and public health (see Smith, 2007). Fairclough's CDA draws heavily from critical language studies, with the understanding that the exercise of power is increasingly achieved through the ideological workings of language (Fairclough, 1989). An ideology can be understood as a general system of ideas that are shared by members of a social group (Van Dijk, 2011). The effectiveness of ideology depends on its ability to be merged with the common-sense background and how well it can be taken for granted (Fairclough, 1989). As when the dominating discourses become naturalized and the practices of institutions become common sense, the ideological features seem to disappear (Fairclough, 1989). When social practices and discourses function in a way to sustain unequal power relations, they are ideological (Fairclough, 1989). We defined discourse as the interface of language, that is, its production and dissemination that enables language to (re)produce power that results in influencing individuals to perform social actions (Morgan & Castleden, 2014; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Van Dijk, 1993). A ubiquitous way that this type of power is utilized is through language. It is not only a single text that constitutes a discourse, but it also includes the interrelations between texts and changes in forms of text within its context (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Porter & Barry, 2015). Language can be manifested in many ways, including texts, spoken word, and pictures (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Policy texts are the language of focus for this thesis chapter, due to the ability of policy texts to gently coerce individuals to perform desired social actions. The feature of these texts may have underlying ideological assumptions which are hidden and protected by the esoteric nature of these texts that legitimize settler colonialism.

Methods

We employed Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. CDA was selected for its interdisciplinary nature to understand how language functions in accounting for the transmission of knowledge, in organizing social institutions and in exercising power (Fairclough 1989; Weiss & Wodak, 2003). An applied approach was taken to ensure the size of data corpus was not overwhelmingly large, as this study is complementary to an applied project (see Judge, Skinner & Spring, 2021 a). An inherent feature of discourses is their longevity through the ability to be

reproduced over periods of time through different texts from the same institution (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). This means that the historical context surrounding the discourses of interest are vital to the interpretation and explanation of these discourses. We first established the historical context of policy use pertaining to wildlife in the territory with Sandlos (2009). We then examined the primary grammatical features (see Table 7) of text within the data, how the features of text mediate the identified discourses, and investigated how jurisdiction is devolved to Indigenous governing bodies within text. We define jurisdiction as having the authority to fulfill or to obligate another party to fulfill the contents of a section of policy.

The data was analyzed through Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse: description, interpretation, and explanation. Due to the structure of policy texts, only three questions were applied from Fairclough's 10 question model in the description dimension. For a detailed overview of the analytical approach taken in this study, please refer to Figure 4. Critical discourse analysts must declare their sociopolitical stance in the domain they are researching in. Being aware of one's position can make oneself aware of the dissimilatory processes and their personal beliefs (Freshwater & Avis, 2004; Russell-Mundine, 2012). Therefore, we herein establish our stance as aligning with the Dél̨ı̨ne Got'ine Government. Viewing this domain through a settler colonial lens, we also side with many critical Indigenous scholars that argue self-government and land claim agreements are contemporary and legitimated forms of control over Indigenous Peoples. The research questions asked in this study are: 1) does an Indigenous self-government have the jurisdiction to make changes to influence their community's food system 2) how does language in policy texts mediate the (re)production of discourses and are these discourses embedded with an ideology and, 3) how do the identified discourses represent the social actors implicated in these policy texts.

Table 8 – Summary of the Primary Features of Vocabulary and Grammar found in Analysis

Grammatical Feature	Question	Description	Significance
Overwording	1	Over wording is a type of experiential value characterized with an irregularly high degree of wording.	Fairclough argues over wording shows a preoccupation with some aspect of reality, suggesting a site for ideological struggle.[1]
Relational modality	6	Modality is a linguistic device that establishes the conditions for something. This analysis is interested in relational modality, where the focus is on authority of the text producer in relation to other individuals.	The interest in modality in these texts is the authority between the producer of the text and its targeted audience, as the implicitness of the conditions which modalities establish may be embedded with an ideology. [1]
Subordination	8	Compared to coordination where the clauses of a complex sentence have equal weight, subordination has a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses.	Fairclough argues that it is important to notice how text producers commonsensically divide the information provided in the main clause and subordinates clauses. The subordinate clauses are often assumed to be presupposed by text interpreters, meaning there is potential for these subordinate clauses to have ideological functions. [1]

[1.] Fairclough, 1989

Data Collection

In the spring of 2020, a title screening process was employed for every single legislated act and regulation on the GNWT legislation website. The screening criteria for the title screening process pertained to if a legislated act or regulation had anything to do with the four identified pathways for the trailer facility: a commercial operation, a service for hunters, a tool for community and to teach youth. Due to the specified structure of legislation, a title screening was sufficient to identify all the necessary policy texts. However, it quickly became apparent that the data corpus was beyond the scope of this study and data reduction was necessary. To address this challenge, two coding books were developed and applied in NVivo 12 utilizing a descriptive section-by-section coding technique to identify the relevant sections of each policy. The first codebook was developed from the themes identified in Judge, Skinner & Spring (2021 a) and contained seven categories: 1) food safety 2) harvesting 3) Indigenous governance 4) Indigenous rights 5) settler governance 6) trade and 7) wildlife and land management. The purpose of this codebook was to simply identify the relevant sections of text within the identified policies. The codes identified in the first codebook were subject to a second round of coding using the second code book which included four categories: 1) federal jurisdiction 2) territorial jurisdiction 3) regional jurisdiction 4) Indigenous self-government jurisdiction. The final stage of data reduction involved descriptive statistics (see Appendix E) of the number of codes for each theme identified in codebook one compared to each of the policy texts. From the descriptive statistics, it was revealed that the majority of codes only came from two documents: the Sahtú Dene Métis Land Claim Agreement and Délı̨ne Final Self-Government Agreement (DFSGA). These two texts were incorporated into the analysis while the other policy texts were used to create a policy resource for the community. The original versions of text were included in analysis with amended documents cross referenced for accuracy during analysis. For a comprehensive overview of the data collection process, see Figure 3.

Results

The results have been structured as followed. First, we explain the two different types of authority that were found within the contemporary treaty agreements: continuous and fragmented. Then the implications of the resulting fragmented authority over wildlife, the community's traditional food system is explained. The focus of this analysis is on food, however we identified only small number

of sections pertaining to the food system. It was necessary to group these sections together and organize them after the different authorities have been explained to highlight the significance of their implications. Finally, we identify the discourses that are being mediated with the texts and the ideology of settler colonialism.

Continuous Authority

Unlike other political discourses where there is a turn-taking process or other interactional conventions, discourses pertaining to policy texts consistently dictate what is possible and what can be done. A continuous authority exists for those with jurisdiction to implement the sections of a policy text. We define authority as the legitimate power that gives rise to jurisdiction, empowering a person or party to establish the conditions that social actors must follow. It is continuous due to the inability for the interpreters to make any changes outside of the predefined boundaries established within a policy text. An interesting feature of this authority is that it is only accessible by the governing bodies on the top half of the aforementioned hierarchy: GNWT and federal government. Certain structures within these contemporary treaty texts act as a cog in the machine that is the constitutional parliamentary system, ultimately legitimizing the authority of the territorial government and the continuation of prior discourses. Not only do those implicated have to abide by the conditions of a section, but they must also abide by the established structures and mechanisms also within the policy text to attempt to make any amendments. The amendment process for SDMLCA is established in section 3.1.26 (a):

> "The provisions of this agreement may be amended with the consent of government, as represented by the Governor in Council, and the Sahtú Dene and Métis as represented by the Sahtú Tribal Council, but the jurisdiction of the Government of the Northwest Territories shall not be altered, nor shall it incur any financial obligations, through any amendment without the written consent of its Executive Council." (3.1.26 (a), SDMLCA)

Section 3.1.26 (a) establishes the consent required to make an amendment as well as solidifies those amendments made cannot alter the jurisdiction without the consent of the executive council. This then establishes two types of amendment processes, with amendments pertaining to the benefactors gaining more jurisdiction involving more convoluted procedures. To change the provisions of the agreement, parties must adhere to the established protocols within the agreement to make amendments. If the parties cannot informally reach a conclusion through negotiation, then

both parties enter a dispute resolution process. Instead of benefactors challenging policy decisions through the judicial system on their own accord, the territorial government has developed dispute resolution and arbitration protocols to incorporate the judicial system, as well as sections that prevent any such action from being taken outside of these protocols. The established dispute processes to negotiate altering the contents of the land-claim agreement or self-government agreement favours the government in the decision-making process. An example of this can be seen in Section 2.13.14-part b), which pertains to what will happen once a dispute with matters pertaining to international legal obligations enters arbitration at the courts:

"if the final decision maker, having taken into account all relevant considerations determines that the DGG Law or other exercise of power of the DGG causes Canada to be unable to perform the International Legal Obligation or that the remedial measures are insufficient to enable Canada to perform the International Legal Obligation, the DGG will remedy the DGG Law or other exercise of power to the extent necessary to enable Canada to perform the International Legal Obligation." (2.13.4, part b., SDMLCA)

This section establishes that regardless of what the nature of a dispute claim is, if the ability for Canada to fulfil an international legal obligation is found to be negatively impacted, the resolution will favour Canada. This pre-defined outcome essentially establishes the boundaries of a dispute and arbitration process before it even begins, as the ability of a government to fulfill an international agreement will be the only criteria that will be taken into consideration. While the SDMLCA has pre-defined dispute processes, there is opportunity within the DFSGA for the DGG to request an alternative dispute process. Section 17.6 of the DFSGA pertains to an Alternative Dispute Resolution process that the DGG can propose to use as an alternative to the litigation and civil process that would normally be applicable. Section 17.6.1 states:

"The DGG may provide alternative dispute resolution services, including those relying on traditional methods and approaches, as an alternative to litigation in civil matters, on the condition that the parties to the dispute agree to use those services." (17.6.1, DFSGA)

This alternative can encompass more traditional methods that are more culturally acceptable. However, all parties must agree to this alternative dispute resolution. In Section 17.6.1, we see an example of subordination with use of *on the condition that*. This use of subordination is strategic, as the main clause gives the impression to interpreters that there is the ability to control the dispute resolution process. However, with what has been discussed within this analysis already, it is clear

that the government will only agree to this resolution if it pertains to an area of policy that is not a priority. By establishing that this alternative will only be taken if both parties agree, it allows the government to be selective in which dispute process to engage in and thus position itself always in a manner that legitimizes its own authority and furthers its own agenda. The result of these dispute processes, that either prevent any actions from being taken or pre-define the outcomes ensure that the content within these texts will not change unless the government needs it to. An additional mechanism found within the text for the government to maintain its sovereign power is requiring parties to agree to not take action with regard to the sections within the agreement. This is especially evident in section 2.14.2 and 2.14.3, as both sections restrict any party from taking any type of claim of action in regard to the contents of the DFSGA:

"No Party shall have a claim or cause of action based on a finding that any provision of the [D]FSGA is invalid or unenforceable." (2.14.2, DFSGA)

"No Party shall challenge, or support a challenge to, the validity or enforceability of any provision of the [D]FSGA." (2.14.3, DFSGA)

What is evident in several instances is that there is a definite intentionality to maintain control in this new era of collaborative governance. A comprehensive summary of all of the sections within the two agreements exhibiting continuous authority and the respective primary grammatical features that mediate continuous authority can be found in Table 8. Not only do the sections of text within this analysis include textual features that suggests the involvement of an ideology. The implications of these texts effect the ability for the SSI or DGG to make changes on their own accord, without the oversight or potential intrusion of the territorial or federal government.

Table 8 – Examples of Continuous Authority with Respective Primary Grammatical Features

Type of Interaction	Grammatical Feature	Examples	Policy Text
Continuous	Relational Modality	No Party shall have a claim or cause of action based on a finding that any provision of the FSGA is invalid or unenforceable.	DFSGA
		No Party shall challenge, or support a challenge to, the validity or enforceability of any provision of the FSGA.	DFSGA
		The DGG may provide alternative dispute resolution services, including those relying on traditional methods and approaches, as an alternative to litigation in civil matters, on the condition that the parties to the dispute agree to use those services.	DFSGA
		If the final decision maker, having taken into account all relevant considerations determines that the DGG Law or other exercise of power of the DGG causes Canada to be unable to perform the International Legal Obligation or that the remedial measures are insufficient to enable Canada to perform the International Legal Obligation, the DGG will remedy the DGG Law or other exercise of power to the extent necessary to enable Canada to perform the International Legal Obligation.	DFSGA
	Overwording	In consideration of the rights and benefits provided to the Sahtú Dene and Métis by this agreement the Sahtú Dene and Métis agree on their behalf, and on behalf of their heirs, descendants and successors not to assert any cause of action, action for a declaration, claim or demand of whatever kind or nature which they ever had, now have or may hereafter have against Her Majesty in Right of Canada or any province, the government of any territory or any person based on any claim, right, title or interest described in 3.1.12.	SDMLCA
		… agree to indemnify and forever save harmless Her Majesty in Right of Canada from all manner of *suits and actions*, *causes of action*, *claims*, *demands*, *damages*, *costs or expenses*, *liability* and *entitlement initiated*, made or incurred after this agreement, whether known or unknown against Canada which any person who is eligible to participate in this agreement, including any *heir, successor* or *permitted assign of such a person*, ever had, now has or may hereafter have against Canada relating to or in any way arising from the claims, rights, titles and interests described in 3.1.12.	SDMLCA

Fragmented Authority

Due to these agreements being relatively new to the other policy mechanisms that have been in place for over a century, this is a new political space, an institutional void. Within this new space, the power to make decisions in policy is made in spirit of cooperation, or as this section will show, fragmented. Fragmented authority applies to the jurisdiction given to Indigenous governing bodies like the SSI or the DGG. Their authority is fragmented in the sense that they only have as much jurisdiction as what is prescribed to them. This is evident in section 5.1.8 of the SDMLCA, which states there is a potential for more authority to be acquired from the government:

"This agreement shall not be interpreted to preclude the possibility that Sahtú institutions may acquire additional powers and authority through a process of transfer of further powers and authorities from government." (5.1.8, SDMLCA)

There is not a continuous flow of authority that is within the jurisdiction of the SSI or the DGG. Even within sections that devolve authority from the government to the SSI or the DGG, there are still clauses or contingencies that still give the government power to overturn or modify decisions. The key difference between the continuous and fragmented authority is that fragmented authority is intertwined with the authority of both government and Indigenous governing entities. Section 13.8.30 is an excellent example of this:

"Government may make changes of a technical nature only, not going to substance, to any decision or final decision of the Board, without varying or setting aside and replacing the decision or final decision provided the Board is advised of any such change." (13.8.30, SDMLCA)

The above example allows the government to modify the decisions of the RRB as long as it is not in a capacity that completely alters the decision. However, once again, the decision whether a change is substantial or not is left up to body making the change. The fragmented authority evident here as essentially allows every decision made by the RRB to be altered or modified by the government. Similar mechanisms were found in Section 16.2.3 and Section 13.8.34 respectively:

"If the Sahtú Tribal Council [SSI] and government fail to reach agreement on a plan for a proposed park within a reasonable period of time, each party may submit its own plan to the Minister for the Minister's consideration and decision. The Minister shall give written reasons for a decision." (16.2.3, SDMLCA)

"The Minister *may* request the Board to exercise a power described in 13.8.23 and the Board shall comply with the request within such reasonable time as the Minister requires." (13.8.24. SDMLCA)

The first example is very similar to 13.6.2, however, the language does suggest there is an opportunity for the Minister to select their plan. As the Minister is part of the government, it is very unlikely that a decision that was not from the government would be selected. In the second example, the government has the ability to request the RRB to perform an action that is within its jurisdiction. This ability undermines the sovereign authority of the RRB, as the government can exert its authority to require an action from the RRB. The implications from 16.2.4 and 13.8.34 highlight the fragmented authority that Indigenous governing bodies have and how this authority is intertwined with the authority of the government. Another notable feature that is shared in both of the above cases is an ambiguous timeline that is established by the government for both parties to reach an agreement within. Section 13.8.33 is very similar to 16.2.3 in it allows the government to proceed with an action without the consultation or consent of the RRB, however it does not only pertain to parks:

"The Board shall provide any advice to government under 13.8.32 within such reasonable time as government requires, failing which, government may proceed without any such advice." (13.8.33, SDMLCA).

In this example, the use of shall requires the Board to provide feedback to the government within their established timeline. These tight timelines do not account for the limited capacity of regional governing entities relative to the capacity of territorial branches. These time limits have been addressed within recent implementation strategies as priority areas to amend (Government of Canada, 2019). Regardless, the fragmented authority that is given to the SSI and DGG highlight how subtle the continuous authority can be exercised by the GNWT or federal government to undermine or ignore decisions made by the SSI or DGG. Once again, there is evidence of an underlying ideology within these sections, as primary grammatical features were evident in almost every example in this section. For a comprehensive summary of all of the sections within the two agreements exhibiting fragmented authority can be found in Table 9.

Table 9

E*xamples of Fragmented Authority with Respective Primary Grammatical Features*

Type of Interaction	Grammatical Feature	Examples	Policy Text
Fragmented	Relational Modality	Government shall work with the Board, other wildlife management bodies and users to establish wildlife management agreements with respect to migratory species. Where an agreement has not been concluded for the management of a migratory species, government may exercise its powers of management including stipulating the terms of a management plan which shall be binding on all persons.	SDMLCA
		Government may make changes of a technical nature only, not going to substance, to any decision or final decision of the Board, without varying or setting aside and replacing the decision or final decision provided the Board is advised of any such change.	SDMLCA
		The Minister may request the Board to exercise a power described in 13.8.23 and the Board shall comply with the request within such reasonable time as the Minister requires.	SDMLCA
	Subordination	The Board shall provide any advice to government under 13.8.32 within such reasonable time as government requires, failing which, government may proceed without any such advice.	SDMLCA
		Participants may gather plant material for food, medicine, cultural and other personal purposes and for purposes required in the exercise of wildlife harvesting rights within the settlement area, subject to legislation in respect of conservation, land management within local government boundaries, public health, public safety, and protection of the environment from significant damage.	SDMLCA
		National parks shall be managed in a manner which provides for wildlife harvesting by the participants, consistent with the protection of wildlife habitat, the maintenance of viable wildlife populations, and the natural evolution of ecosystems and their associated plant and animal species, as well as public use and enjoyment of the national parks.	SDMLCA

Fragmented Authority over Wildlife, the Foundation of Délįne's Traditional Food System

Sections pertaining to wildlife within the SDMLCA follow the same structure and utilize similar clauses and conditions as the other sections pertaining to fragmented authority. Wildlife is scarcely mentioned within the DFSGA, but the SDMLCA contains a substantial amount of text pertaining to wildlife management. Within the context of wildlife, there are instances of fragmented authority with the utilization of subordinate clauses:

"National parks shall be managed in a manner which provides for wildlife harvesting by the participants, *consistent with* the protection of wildlife habitat, the maintenance of viable wildlife populations, and the natural evolution of ecosystems and their associated plant and animal species, as well as public use and enjoyment of the national parks." (16.5.1, SDMLCA)

So far there has been little application of the sections within this analysis which relate to Délįne and their efforts to implement the trailer facility within their local food system. The following sections of policy do not necessarily have the same grammatical features but rather significant implications for the DGG trying to build its food system. Délįne can benefit from the SDMLCA as they are a benefactor; however, they have very little sway in terms of modifying or negotiating the terms of the agreement. While the jurisdiction of wildlife is an area of policy for the federal, territorial, and regional governing bodies, there are still sections with the SDMLCA that have indirect or direct implications for Délįne. These implications only apply if the trailer facility is used in a commercial capacity. Section 13.4.16 (d) clarifies that the right to trade established in Section 13.4.16 (a) does not include commercial trade:

"The right provided in (a) is intended to maintain traditional sharing among individuals and communities and is not to be exercised in a manner that would be considered by the Board to be commercial. The Board may propose regulations in respect of such trade but only to ensure that it is not done in a manner that it considers commercial. Notwithstanding 13.8.25, the Minister may review any such proposed regulation only for purposes of conservation, public safety or public health." (13.4.16 (d), SDMLCA).

This section does not necessarily prevent the commercial trade of wildlife products, rather it requires benefactors to adhere to the sections within the SDMLCA and territorial policies that pertain to the commercial sale of wildlife. While the DGG is not necessarily restricted by the SDMLCA, this section establishes that utilizing the trailer facility in a commercial capacity is not

within their jurisdiction. This is confirmed in section 13.7.12, with further detail being provided in section 13.7.1:

"The Board shall determine whether commercial harvesting is to be permitted in a particular area for a particular species or population and may prescribe terms and conditions for such harvesting. The terms and conditions may include general licence terms in respect of employment, training and business opportunities for participants, non-interference with harvesting by the participants, and like matters" (13.7.1, SDMLCA).

Section 13.7.1 confirms that the DGG must consult with the RRB to begin any type of commercial operation with wildlife. Délįne's climate change food adaptation strategy mentions a variety of different species that could be harvested to replace caribou. One of the species, muskox was the focus of the country food training course. Within the SDMLCA, the SSI has the exclusive right to be licensed to commercially harvest muskox:

"The Sahtú Tribal Council [SSI] shall have the exclusive right to be licensed to commercially harvest free-roaming muskox and the exclusive right to be licensed to provide guiding services and harvesting opportunities with respect to this species." (13.7.9, SDMLCA)

Section 13.7.1 provides the DGG with the opportunity to consult to potentially establish a commercial operation and Section 13.7.9 frames muskox as the ideal species to harvest as the SSI has exclusive commercial harvesting rights. Délıné can benefit from both sections, however Délıné is unable to take actions themselves with the limited jurisdiction they have. While the exact protocols and procedures are not listed within the SDMLCA, the DGG will have to collaborate with both the RRB, the SSI, and the territorial government to utilize the trailer facility in a commercial capacity. The results of this analysis have highlighted policies pertaining to acquiring and selling traditional food are within the SDMLCA. What is not evident in this analysis is the territorial and federal policies that include meat inspection regulations and food safety standards. This is especially a challenge as the meat inspection regulations have been repealed since 2009 (Judge et al, 2021 b). Délıné's aggregate food system can be organized into two: the traditional food system and the market food system. This analysis has highlighted that each of the food systems is held within different policies. Not only does policy undermine the capacity of Indigenous self-government to self-determine, but it also limits the capacity for a northern remote community to work towards food sovereignty.

Settler Colonialism and its Subtle Contemporary Manifestations

Through Fairclough's understanding of ideology, it is evident within this analysis that an ideology is embedded within discourses which contemporary treaty texts mediate. The primary grammatical features such as overwording and subordination were the first cue to this ideology, as Fairclough argues both features suggest the presence of ideology. These sections establish pre-defined dispute processes that add additional barriers to be overcome in order for change to be made that does not benefit the government. These processes result in contemporary treaty texts becoming almost static texts that almost permanently establish what is and what is not possible, and conditions its interpreters to act a particular way, which overtime will become normalized. It is when these actions become commonsensical when ideology is at its strongest (Fairclough, 1989). Given the national historic context of government interventions in the form of policy that discriminate against Indigenous Peoples in Canada as well as the territorial context from Sandlos, it is safe to conclude this ideology is settler colonialism. There is a policy legacy surrounding the commercialization of wild food, stemming from the previous failed attempts on bison and muskox commercial operations (Sandlos, 2009). These initiatives were seen as necessary to prevent the overharvesting of wild animals and to provide food for Indigenous populations that were starving due to harvesting restrictions (Sandlos, 2009). It is the ideology that guided these policy decisions that is still evident within contemporary policy texts. Despite the efforts that have been taken to encourage co-management and Indigenous sovereignty, colonial discourses such as wildlife conservation discourses are still being reproduced and mediated through contemporary policy texts. Rather than attempt to create new frameworks and mechanisms that account for the previous legacy extended through policy, Indigenous sovereignty was simply just a new extension within the current system. In the end, the introduction of contemporary treaty texts reenforced these historic discourses while simultaneously expanding and legitimizing new discourses as the mechanisms of settler colonialism evolved.

Discussion

Maintaining Certainty through Contemporary Treaty Texts

Certainty in the context of Indigenous rights is a mechanism of security to help achieve desired outcomes for governments (Blackburn, 2005) which has been tested and reinforced multiple times

as new developments in terms of Indigenous sovereignty have been brought forth (Mackey, 2014). The conditions of historical treaties, that is, it's uncertain and unspecified conditions is an example of an uncertainty that land claim agreements and self-government agreements wish to make certain (Blackburn, 2005). The ambiguity that stems from treaty rights and the resulting involvement of the courts to interpret said rights creates challenges for governments to achieve economic or policy goals (Blackburn, 2005). By establishing the boundaries of the processes to dispute the contents of a section within a contemporary treaty texts, the government is establishing certainty pertaining to the jurisdiction of the DGG and SSI. This certainty is ensuring that the contents of the text remain unchanged: static. As the results of this analysis show, this is achieved through a simultaneously continuous and fragmented authority. The continuous interaction is characterized by clearly defining and establishing the boundaries of mechanisms to make change to any sections of the document. The fragmented authority contributes to the static nature of these texts through the use of subordinate clauses that allow the government to modify, change or completely overturn decisions made by the RRB. This ability to have the final say ensures that actions taken by Indigenous governing groups align with the government policy agenda, ultimately reenforcing and maintaining certainty. The implications of both these interactions echo the fundamental arguments of Alfred (2001), that it is not possible to achieve sovereignty if it is within the system which establishes the language of what is and what is not possible (Alfred, 2001). The requirement for the rights of Indigenous Peoples to be in textual forms that are constitutionally recognized "leaves the cultural specificity of institutions unchallenged" (Blackburn, 2007).

Implications for Northern Food System Development

The intentions for an Indigenous self-government are to govern "as close to the community level as possible" (DFSGA, 2015). What is evident from the analysis is jurisdiction over Délı̨ne's traditional/country food system is a regional and territorial area of policy. A commercial operation with the trailer facility would require adhering to food safety standards at the territorial level. Adhering to these policies does not account for the limited capacity of an Indigenous self-government or remote Indigenous community. Kakisa, another community in the NWT, has encountered challenges with policies such as land use and agricultural zoning to utilize the firebreak as soil for growing food (Johnston & Spring, 2021). While Kakisa and Délı̨ne are

engaging in different areas of policy, their shared challenge is an example that policies act as a significant barrier to help adapting to the effects of climate change for northern remote community's food systems.-Kakisa had to create a firebreak to protect the community from the growing number of wildfires in the territory, a suspected result of climate change (Joly et al., 2003). Dél̨ine implemented The Dél̨ı̨nę Caribou Management Plan to help preserve the caribou populations which their community has relied on for generations (Dél̨ı̨nę ʔekwę́ Working Group, 2016). This community level harvesting restriction is also complemented by other territorial and national harvesting restrictions on caribou (ACCWM, 2014; Dél̨ı̨nę ʔekwę́ Working Group, 2016). Not only do policies that limit harvesting undermine the socioeconomic importance of wildlife (Parlee & Wray, 2016) but the suspected impact harvesting has on wildlife populations is minimal compared to mining and other resource extraction operations (Parlee, Sandlos & Natcher, 2018).

Supportive legislation and policy are one of the pillars of Indigenous food sovereignty (Cidro et al, 2015). Colonization has been historically operationalized through policy to disrupt Indigenous traditional knowledge, food sharing networks and the importance of intergenerational knowledge transfer (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Grey & Patel Martens, Cidro, Hart & McLachlan, 2016). Desmarais and Wittman (2014), draw from Morrison (2011) in the understanding of self-determination. It is "the freedom and ability to respond to our own needs for healthy, culturally-adapted Indigenous foods." (Desmarais and Wittman draw (2014). Self-determination, within the context of food system development, especially the element of freedom to make decisions, is not a feature in the policies included in this analysis. It is apparent that Dél̨ine is at the mercy of the settler colonial system, as any attempts to self-determine are restricted and limited by the system which has been designed to maintain itself. It refutes to acknowledge any other form of determination that is not within the settler colonial system.

This analysis has shown that food system development, especially one that is culturally appropriate for Indigenous Peoples is not within the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-government. While the vocabular and grammatical structures with the SDMLCA and DFSGA do create additional challenges for Dél̨ine to navigate, there are still pathways within the document that can be taken to make amendments. The results of this analysis are arguably more applicable for Indigenous communities currently undergoing or planning to under the self-governance process or regions

planning to undergo the land-claim process. The findings of this analysis can inform these communities of the use of subordinate clauses that allow for a fragmented authority on areas of policy and the dispute resolution mechanisms that favour the government. It is important to note that no two self-government agreements will look the same as each community has different priorities and goals. However, it is important to facilitate the sharing of knowledge and experiences in dealing with the self-government process and how the resulting incorporation of self-governance has influenced the community's ability to address their own issues. As food insecurity is an issue that disproportionately affects Indigenous Peoples (CCA 2014, Tarasuk, 2020), the capacity for communities to address food insecurity within their own community will without a doubt be a priority.

Conclusion

Contemporary treaty texts contain sections that establish two types of authority for the parties involved in these Indigenous agreements: continuous and fragmented. These texts also establish the processes required to change the content of the agreement, with conditions that favour the party who establishes the processes. Despite the additional jurisdiction that has been devolved to Indigenous governing bodies, the results of this analysis have shown that the intention of these documents is to maintain prior power. This power is maintained through the reproduction of wildlife conservation discourses that ensure that the settler system still has ultimate authority over wildlife and thus traditional food. Indigenous harvesting rights are now the same genre as the policies that have been used to Eliminate Indigeneity. Contemporary treaty texts re-establish the authority of the government and sets the boundaries of what Indigenous governments and land claim corporations can achieve. Food systems were not directly mentioned within the contemporary treaty texts, suggesting that Indigenous self-governments do not have jurisdiction over their local food system, as these texts are where the powers of these Indigenous governments are held. The utilization of primary features of text, that is, subtle clauses and sections that prevent change limits Indigenous food sovereignty to the textual boundaries of the settler colonial system.

Perhaps this analysis may be premature in making its arguments, as the fact that the SDMLCA was signed in 1996 and its implementation agreement is still ongoing over 20 years later (Government of Canada, 2019) The DSFGA was only signed in 2014, and accounting for the

relative capacity of an Indigenous self-government to a land corporation is most likely similar if not less. In making these arguments, this thesis does not wish to undermine the accomplishments achieved by Indigenous Peoples across the country to self-govern. Prior to these agreements, Indigenous Peoples were bound by the words of the Indian Act, which defined Indigeneity (Blackburn, 2009; Holyk & Harder, 2016). These new Indigenous governments are navigating uncertainty, however, by doing so, are occupying a new political space for Indigenous Peoples across the country. This occupation is without a doubt contributing to the deconstruction of settler sovereignty, through the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge at the policy level as well as the dispersion of power at the community level (Christensen & Grant, 2007). Now more than ever, it is important that as a nation, we work towards decolonizing the structures of society that were built on the colonial entitlement of settlers. Rather than creating these static documents that establish certainty, contemporary treaty texts need to become dynamic and living texts. This would allow for more autonomy for Indigenous Peoples to self-determine and adapt to the changes that have an impact on their community and their food systems.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Contribution

The objective of this thesis was to understand if an Indigenous self-government within a land-claim agreement can take control of its local food system through the incorporation of a trailer facility. Interviews with trainees and a GNWT employee in tandem with surveys and legislative documents provided data to answer the research questions. The main findings by manuscript are as follows.

In chapter 3, the process evaluation of the CFPTC established what was possible within the trailer facility. The CPFTC was able to achieve 7/8 of its objectives, however the condition of the trailer, in particular the missing ventilation hood did result in challenges to properly implement the training. From the interviews with trainees, four different pathways were identified on how to potentially utilize the trailer facility. The first pathway was a commercial operation, where traditional/country foods would be processed in the trailer facility to be sold at local grocery stores, the local lodge or to other communities. The second pathway was a service for hunters, akin to a custom-cut and wrap shop. The third pathway was a tool for the community, where the trailer facility could be used a space by community members to process their traditional/country foods and learn how to use the commercial equipment. The fourth and final pathway was teaching youth, where the trainees believed the trailer facility could be incorporated as a co-op or high school credit, complement existing on the land programming, and help teach youth the traditional way. These pathways coincide with the needs that arose from the analysis: to create employment opportunities, to teach youth the traditional way and its importance, to create traditional/country foods that the entire family will enjoy eating and to provide regular access to the space and tools required to process traditional/country food.

Within the analysis, the evaluation was limited in accounting for the cultural and political factors that were identified as having potential implications for the trailer facility. Within the results, there was ambiguity surrounding if the traditional/country food should be sold. The importance of sharing was highlighted as a more effective way to utilize the trailer facility. In addition, it is unknown if muskox is considered traditional/country food and considered as sacred as caribou. Policy was briefly discussed by the participants; however, its significance only became apparent when attempting to understand what was possible with the trailer facility, and how it could be incorporated into Délı̨ne's food system. The first challenge was the repeal of the meat inspection regulations, as this piece of legislation would have been a critical document to

understand the necessary requirements to incorporate the trailer facility in a commercial capacity. We attempted to address this knowledge gap by arranging a conversation with a GNWT employee working on the revitalization of the new meat inspections regulations. The regulations are still being drafted; however, we were able to learn some important context behind the regulations and the plan of action going forward. This conversation revealed that the current condition and the size of the trailer would not pass an inspection required to process food for a fee or process food to be sold, as the trailer currently does not meet the standards within the food establishment regulations.

In chapter 4, we employed a title screening process of all the legislated acts and regulations with the territory to identify policies that pertain to the four pathways of the trailer facility identified within the evaluation. After reduction, the resulting sample was two contemporary treaty agreements: the SDMLCA and DFSGA. We used Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to analyze two contemporary treaty agreements texts to address the knowledge gap of if developing their local food system is within Délı̨ne's jurisdiction. The differences in settler and Indigenous ontology of food that was identified in Manuscript 1 was found within the analyzed texts, with the settler ontology reflected within the dominating institutions and in policy. Findings from the CDA showed the ideology of settler colonialism to be embedded within wildlife conservation. These discourses were identified through three primary grammatical and vocabulary features in text: relational modality, overwording and subordination. Within the SDMLCA and DFSGA, two types of authority were identified: continuous authority and fragmented authority. The former pertains to the sections of text that reinforced the existing power relations between the territorial and federal governments in relation to the contemporary Indigenous governing bodies. The latter pertains to sections of policy that devolve authority to only very specific localized areas of policy. However, a condition on this authority is that the territorial and federal government still have the ability to undermine or supersede certain decisions.

This thesis included two studies to understanding how an Indigenous self-government can utilize the food procurement of wild game meat to increase food access. The results of both studies shed light on the inherently colonial mechanisms of policy and how both food sovereignty and Indigenous self-determination are limited by dominating settler discourses. Agricultural discourses have led to the development of policies that only reflect the settler ontology of food, resulting in policies with multiple layers of restrictions on wild game meat, or no mention or consideration for wild game meat at all. The implications of this are compounded by wildlife conservation

discourses which limit the ability of Indigenous governing bodies such as land claim corporations or Indigenous self-governments from addressing the policies that exclude the Indigenous ontology all together. This thesis acknowledges the critical arguments of Indigenous sovereignty and even provided empirical examples with how land-claim and self-government agreements continue to legitimize the power and authority of settler governments. However, in the context of an applied project, simply echoing the arguments of critical authors does nothing to benefit our community partners. We agree with the critical Indigenous scholars that the current settler colonial system will never allow for Indigenous Peoples to achieve self-determination as defined by them. However, across Canada, there are many land-claim agreement and self-government agreement negotiations currently underway. This is not to say different mechanisms for Indigenous self-determination may not arise in the future, but it is paramount to support the communities and regions going through this process. As researchers, we need to help communities advocate for themselves in designing agreements that reflect their goals and interests and not those of the government. In the face of climate change and rapidly changing political dynamics in the territory, it is important now more than ever that our community partners understand what is within their control when it comes to addressing food insecurity and ensuring the health and well-being of their community.

Limitations

One limitation was my position as a white settler researcher from the south. It must be acknowledged that I am trying to conduct research on traditional/country food, which is deeply engrained in Indigenous culture and spirituality. I tried to address my knowledge gap by reading grey and academic literature, with a focus on literature from Indigenous scholars, to develop a further understanding of Indigenous culture and the significance of traditional/country food. Since I am not Indigenous, how I understood the trainee's experiences in the training with new traditional/country foods cannot be regarded as completely accurate. While I acknowledged in my methods that my past experiences were an important tool in the processes of my qualitative analysis, there was a fundamental difference between the ontology of food for the trainees and myself. Furthermore, in spite of my best efforts to educate myself, to acknowledge my positionality and to place myself in the larger context of this project, my interpretation of how Indigenous Peoples would interpret these policy texts is not from an Indigenous perspective.

An additional limitation of this study was including only policy texts, specifically contemporary treaty texts. This then ultimately limited the understanding of the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-government over their food system to only policy. There may have been other political or organizational documents that could have been incorporated to deepen the analysis. By including territorial and federal policies, this analysis could have developed a better understanding of jurisdiction of the DGG over its aggregate food system versus just the traditional food system.

Another limitation to this study was the impact of COVID-19. Travel restrictions due to the territorial border closure made engagement with the community very challenging. Much of the relationship building and meaningful collaboration that occurs in a participatory approach is during face-to-face meetings. These meetings ensure that the research is continuing to align with the goals and objectives of the community. The original plan was to go back to the community and conduct more interviews to understand how the trainees were using what they have learned in the trailer training and if they had started to harvest more muskox. It would have also been an opportunity to share preliminary findings with our community partners in person and to gain critical feedback on the project. While the intentions of this study prior to COVID-19 were to closely follow the PAR approach, the resulting study was not able to involve community participation during the analysis and writing process. This is evident in the results of the critical discourse analysis, where the results are not beneficial to the community.

Directions for future research

This thesis has shown the applicability of policy texts within critical discourse analysis to identify discourses. While the structure of language within policy texts did limit the depth of the analysis, the structure resulted in the cadenced use of primary features of text that could be identified. For areas of research where there are multiple levels of governance, intertextuality and context is paramount to understand the nuances of power between governments. This is because legislative documents are not necessarily guiding documents, they only provide an overview of what is, and what is not, considered legal. These texts do not necessarily guide interpreters how to implement the policy, there are subjective and contextual factors that ultimately influence policy interpreters when they attempt to implement policy. Researchers planning to utilize CDA should also conduct interviews with policy makers and those who implement policy to understand how the contents of a policy directly translate to tangible actions that implicate social actors. It would

also be beneficial to interview individuals who have been impacted by policies within the area of interest for prolonged periods of time to understand how changes overtime have impacted them. While this thesis has shown that critical discourse analysis can be an excellent framework to understand power hierarchies between multiple governing actors and to identify discourses within text, it highlights that only policy text as a data source for CDA is insufficient to answer the questions of an applied research study.

The evaluation study in chapter 3 was the first of its kind. What is possible within the trailer facility was established through evaluating the CFPTC. However, what is not known are the longitudinal impacts of having a local food procurement operation within a northern community. Food procurement at the local level, especially traditional/country food, has the potential to mitigate the impacts of climate change and socioeconomic factors that many community members in remote geographies face. The three food processing facilities (Délı̨ne, Fort Good Hope, Inuvik) fall within two different regions, where the nuances between the different land claim agreements could be explored. Future case studies should assess how the trailer facilities are utilized to shine light on the knowledge gaps that were not addressed within this thesis, such as if selling food conflicts with cultural laws. Furthermore, regional case-studies could provide an opportunity to facilitate traditional ecological knowledge sharing. Understanding the impacts of the different facilities throughout the NWT would assist other remote communities in northern Canada, and even the circumpolar north in potentially establishing their own food procurement operations. There needs to be evidence, or at least applicability of findings in multiple communities for the government to consider something a policy problem, and thus something that should be addressed (Ford & Pearce, 2012).

This study also echoes the findings of other northern researchers (Loukes et al., 2021) that more research is needed to understand the potential for the commercial sale of traditional/country foods. This study indirectly contributed to this discussion, by identifying that it is unknown if cultural laws apply to species that have not been traditional harvested. Muskox have not been traditionally harvested in the community and do not seem to be considered sacred in the way that other animals are, such as caribou. This is an important knowledge gap to address as the ecosystems of the north are changing and influencing the populations of animal species that are part of northern remote community's food systems (Ford & Pearce, 2010). An important question that needs to be considered when addressing this knowledge gap is if this the role for us as white

settler researchers? With the processing facilities in Fort Good Hope and in Inuvik, and commercial muskox harvests in Sachs Harbour, more research needs to be conducted on the experiences of communities in getting their facility operational, the challenges they encountered, and the successes and benefits of their operations.

Muskox and lake trout were the only animal species included in the evaluation, however only muskox was the only species that was further explored within how the trailer facility could be utilized in the community. While both fish and muskox are considered wild game and to some degrees are regulated at the territorial level, the commercial sale of fish is a federal area of jurisdiction (Judge et al., 2021 b). It was beyond the scope of this thesis to explore how policy applies to fish harvested in Great Bear Lake. Furthermore, the entirety of Great Bear Lake is within the Tsá Tué Biosphere Reserve, incorporating international governing actors and their values and agendas that must be taken into consideration. Fish is a household staple within the community and thus more research is necessary to inform the community how fish could be incorporated into how the community plans to utilize the trailer facility. Many communities in the NWT, especially the Sahtú, reside near bodies of water and rely on fish for their well-being. A commercial fish operation is under development in Hay River on the edge of Great Slave Lake (Morritt-Jacob, 2021), presenting another regional knowledge sharing opportunity. Research on the commercial processing of fish at the community level could provide valuable context for the different regions in the territory looking to address food insecurity.

Concluding thoughts

This thesis project started out as a community-based project to understand how a trailer facility could be leveraged to increase food access. Through the research process, additional knowledge gaps that were inherently political were identified, guiding the thesis to include a policy analysis component around the notion of Indigenous food sovereignty. Within our interview with the GNWT, Délı̨ne was framed as a unique political entity, almost as a sovereign state within the NWT. The application of the meat inspection regulations was not identified within the critical discourse analysis. However, with the limited power of the DGG that was identified within the SDMLCA and DFSGA and the applicability of territorial policies where these Indigenous governing bodies have some jurisdiction, the meat inspection regulations will most likely apply. Understanding the powers of the DGG and SSI established within this thesis was only limited to

formal policy texts, with the assumption that the implementation of these policies would strictly adhere to sections of text. The results of this thesis have highlighted the underlying political considerations that are necessary to consider when understanding how to incorporate a mobile abattoir to increase local food access for an Indigenous remote community and how political traditional/country food is.

The CFPTC served two purposes: to understand what is possible in the training, but also to expose the community to muskox and provide some community members with the skills and knowledge to process it. Muskox was specifically selected for this training course as it was understood to be an ecological harvesting adaptation to the declining caribou herds which Délı̨ne has historically relied on. Trainees within their interviews identified a desire to understand more about muskox, in specific learning how to tell a muskox is healthy or not to shoot. This highlights the need for traditional ecological knowledge sharing to be facilitated with communities in the NWT that have regularly harvested muskox. During the conception of the evaluation, it was unknown that the SSI have exclusive commercial harvesting rights to free roaming muskox in the Sahtú (SDMLCA, 2015). The exclusive rights to commercial harvest muskox in addition to the abundance of the species does position the trailer facility to be a potential commercial operation, especially with the existing operations in Fort Good Hope and Sachs Harbour. However, the brief history of traditional/country food markets in Nunavut and various Indigenous groups with cultural laws that clash with the commercial sale of traditional/country food does suggest a commercial pathway should not be taken (Loukes et al., 2021; Searles, 2016).

There are examples of other traditional/country food programs that been successful in increasing food access for community members that do not involve a commercial operation. For example, the Nelson House Country food Program in Nelson House, Manitoba operates a year-round traditional/country foods program that shares similarities with both the non-commercial pathways identified in the evaluation. The Nelson Country food Program has been operational since 1992 and would be an excellent learning opportunity for Délı̨ne to learn from the program's challenges and successes (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2021). This program particularly aligns with the goals of the DGG and the dene, as food is shared and not commercially sold like the traditional/country food operation in Fort Good Hope. With our discussion with the GNWT, we learned that their decision with the revitalized meat inspection regulations was based on what other provinces and territories had done. Rather than re-inventing the wheel, it was more practical to

design the regulations off currently implemented policy. I think that this is an approach that Délı̨ne should incorporate, as designing a program completely from the bottom up will require more capacity and resources than drawing from a plan that is already implemented. The Nelson House Country food program has established protocols with government bodies to ensure that their operation aligns with the requirements of food safety and wildlife conservation policies (Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, 2021). The continuity of success that the traditional/country food program within Nelson house has seen over the course of almost three decades may appeal to the GNWT as success in other jurisdiction is an important factor for the territory when designing and implementing new policy.

The conservation measures taken in Sachs harbour (Inuvialuit Communications Society, 2012) have highlighted how the sustainable harvest of muskox can align with commercial harvesting operations. The brief commercial operation within Cambridge Bay, Nunavut also highlighted the important of implementing conservation measures, as their operation was shut down to allow the local muskox populations to replenish (Tomaselli et al., 2018). Wildlife conservation discourses and agricultural discourses have created a division between the market and traditional based food systems, which ultimately prevent them from being used in tandem to address community level food insecurity. One of the significant contributing factors is the difference between the settler and Indigenous ontology of wildlife and the land. Under the Indigenous ontology, "[f]ood, water, soil, and air are not viewed as 'resources' but as sources of life itself" (Food Secure Canada, 2015). The combination of wildlife conservation and agricultural discourses influences policy to overlook the land and water-based food practices such as hunting, fishing, and trapping (Daigle, 2019). This difference is evident within policy, as the dominant settler ontology is reflected within the restrictions on how food is processed, acquired, and distributed. The brief mention of wild game within the territorial policies are about Indigenous Peoples, however, they are still very much "created and informed by settlers, for settlers." (Kepkiewicz & Rotz, 2018). Under settler colonial theory, the inclusion of wild game within policy is simply the absorption of Indigenous ontology of food within the overarching settler structures (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). Burnett and colleagues argue "food insecurity is not only a symptom of settler colonialism, but part of its very architecture" (Burnett, Hay & Chambers, 2016).

While it has not been established what Délı̨ne is looking to achieve with the trailer facility, the current settler colonial system favours only two of the pathways identified in chapter 3:

teaching youth and a tool for the community. This is not to suggest that the non-commercial pathways should not be taken. It is the principle that even an Indigenous self-government, within an Indigenous land claim, arguably the most sovereign power any Indigenous community can legally acquire in Canada, cannot self-determine within the current legal system to work towards food sovereignty. The intentions for self-governance were to govern as "close as the community level as possible", however what is considered as "community level" is something that was clearly not defined by the Indigenous government. The settler ontology of wildlife divides jurisdiction between two territorial departments and one land claim corporation. A community's food system only involves the community, yet this thesis highlights it is not necessarily within the jurisdiction of an Indigenous self-government. The application of these policies pertaining to food safety and harvesting wild game and how it can be distributed undermines the ability for Indigenous self-governments to self-determine. The structures of text within land-claims and self-government agreements that establish the fragmented authority of the DGG, and the SSI ensures that Indigenous self-determination will never expand beyond the settler mold that has been conceptualized by colonial governments.

In 2011, Food Secure Canada released *Resetting the Table – A Peoples Food Policy for Canada.* This comprehensive grassroots document is rooted in the concepts of food sovereignty and contains 10 categories of recommendations for the federal government to design and implement a national food policy (Food Secure Canada, 2015). At the federal level, a notable shift has occurred with Nutrition North Canada and their attempts to address northern food insecurity. This shift in priority better aligns with Indigenous food sovereignty has it provides the opportunities for communities to decide how to use the funding. This priority switch is also evident within the *Food Policy for Canada and Everyone at the Table*. Out of the four-action area highlighted, the third is to support food security in northern and Indigenous communities, where actions will "recogniz[e] the importance of food to Indigenous culture and well-being, and, in so doing, support Indigenous food self-determination" (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2019). While no action has been taken yet, this national food policy does seem promising. A pressing "concern is that a national food policy has the potential to become another tool to subsume Indigenous Peoples within the colonial state system and undermine Indigenous self-determination" (Kepkiewicz & Rotz, 2018).

In the same year as *Food Policy for Canada and Everyone at the Table* was released, the Safe Food for Canadians Regulations (SFFCR) came into force. The goal of the SFFCR is to "strengthen Canada's food safety system, enable industry to innovate, and create greater market access opportunities for Canadian food products exported abroad" (CFIA, 2019). Neo-liberal and agriculture discourses are very evident in these regulations, which essentially encompass everything that Food Secure Canada was advocating to change. While the plan for a national food policy incorporates the importance of traditional/country food and Indigenous food sovereignty, this is not reflected in the current national food safety regulations that are in force. If only one thing is taken away from this thesis, it is the significance of policy that continues to create barriers that limit Indigenous People's from achieving food sovereignty.

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Appendices
APPENDIX A – Recruitment Materials

Dél̨ne Country Foods Processing Course

The Deline Got'tine Government is now accepting names for the Deline Country Foods Processing Course to be held in Deline, NT scheduled for August 5 to 16, 2019.

This is an intensive two-week training school where the content is based on a hands-on program design. The program exposes persons to value added food processing options, food safety concerns, cleaning and sanitation as it relates to food security, preparing personnel for employment and economic development of country food resources within the community. The course modules in this training program are targeted towards persons who are new the processing industry. Students will learn through hands-on training, demonstrations, classroom lectures and written materials.

Requirements:

Must sign waiver form (if under 18 you must have your parent/legal guardian sign a waiver form)
Must be physically fit
Strong communication skills
Be able to follow directions, rules and safety procedures

Training for selected 6 – 8 Students:

Class Time:

Course times are flexible and can be adjusted to each class in order to fit schedules. They will run Monday to Friday from 9:00 am – 5:00pm.

Instructors:

Lyle Renecker and one Assistant

Please submit your name if interested in being a student to the Employment Officer Connie Modeste @ the DGG Main Office Building.

If you have any questions or inquiries, you can contact EDO Peter Bayha @ (867) 589-8100 ext 1012.

Country Food Processing Open House
Date: August 12th
Location: Aurora College
Time: 3:00pm to 5:00pm

Description:

As part of the Country Food Processing Training, the students will have an open house. It is open to everyone. At this open house will be samples of the new types of food that students have made. Examples of food that are: Lake Trout Pate, Muskox Burgers, Muskox Sausage, Candied Lake Trout and Fresh Jam. In addition, interested community members will have the option to receive a tour of the mobile food processing facility that is located behind The Grey Goose Lodge. Transportation to and from the trailer will be provided to interested community members.

Raffle:

In collaboration with the University of Waterloo, Wilfred Laurier University, Aurora College, NWT-ITI, NWT-ECE, and Arctic Energy Alliance, a raffle for two gift baskets with assorted goods and new food samples will be held. Interested individuals must complete a brief survey to receive their raffle entry.

For more information or any questions, please contact Connor Judge
by phone at: 226-808-3262 or
by email at: cmjudge@uwaterloo.ca

APPENDIX B – Participation Information Letter and Consent Forms

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

INFORMATION

We are seeking your voluntary participation in a research project exploring a potential method for building local food processing capacity in Déljne, NWT. This study seeks to understand how a mobile food processing facility paired with food processing training can increase traditional food consumption in Déljne. This research will be conducted as part of collaborative partnership between the University of Waterloo (Dr. Kelly Skinner and Connor Judge) and Wilfrid Laurier University (Dr. Andrew Spring) with the community of Déljne and Palace Hillside Farming Group (Dr. Lyle Renecker).

For this study, we are hoping to interview you as a participant of the training to understand your experiences participating in the training and to share your thoughts on the mobile food processing facility. You have been selected as one of eight individuals to participate in this program. The interviews will take place at some point during or in the days shortly after the food processing training held this summer in Déljne and take approximately one hour. The interview will include questions about your thoughts on your training experience, how you normally process traditional food and what you envision for the future of the mobile food processing facility. We are also looking to have you complete a pre-survey at the start of the training and a post-survey at the end of the training. The pre-survey is to establish baseline information like knowledge on food processing and food safety and the post-survey is to measure any change in your knowledge and to receive feedback on the training. You will receive a gift card for your participation in the surveys and interviews. Results of this study will be summarized in a report and distributed to the community in 2020.

RISKS

It is possible that as a participant, by answering the questions in the interviews, you could make statements that could be awkward for you when made public (e.g., through academic publications, presentations, plain language reports to the community or other materials created from this research). We consider these risks to be very low, and in line with the risks encountered in the participants' everyday lives; however, we will mitigate these risks by preserving your anonymity in reports, and only use your name after your consent is given, and by meeting with you individually to allow you to review and edit relevant field notes and transcribed interview texts prior to their being made public.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The researchers will keep the collected data in locked facilities or password-protected on computers. The only people that will have access to the files will be the supervisor and researchers. All data collected from this research will be destroyed by August 31, 2024 or when the reports and publications are completed, whichever comes first. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the research at any time, all data collected will be destroyed or returned to you. You are not obliged to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable.

CONTACT

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Wilfrid Laurier University Research Ethics Board. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Andrew Spring, Adjunct Professor, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, (226) 772-3127 , aspring@wlu.ca or Dr. Jayne Kalmar, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University, (519) 884-0710, extension 3131, REBChair@wlu.ca.

FEEDBACK AND PUBLICATION

The results of this research might be published/presented in a thesis, course project report, book, journal article, conference presentation, class presentation.

CONSENT

I understand the information described on the previous page and consent to participate in this research:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Interviews and Pre- Post-Surveys

By initialing the statements below:

_____ I agree to participate in **interviews**.

_____ I agree to participate in the **pre- and post-surveys**.

_____ I grant permission for the researcher to use an **audio recorder**.

_____ I grant permission for the researcher to use **direct quotations** from our interview and identify me as the source of the information.

_____ I grant permission for the researcher to use **direct quotations** from our interview but **NOT** identify me as their source.

Researcher:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

INFORMATION

We are seeking your voluntary participation in a research project exploring a potential method for reducing food insecurity and building local food processing capacity in Déljne, NWT. This study seeks to understand how a mobile food processing facility paired with food processing training can increase traditional food consumption in Déljne. This research will be conducted as part of a collaborative partnership between the University of Waterloo (Dr. Kelly Skinner and Connor Judge) and Wilfrid Laurier University (Dr. Andrew Spring) with the community of Déljne and Palace Hillside Farming Group (Dr. Lyle Renecker).

For this study, we are hoping to administer a brief survey to understand the perspectives of Déljne community members on the open house, the processing trailer, and the food sampled at the open house. This survey will take approximately 5 minutes and will include questions about your own traditional food processing, your opinion of the foods you sample at the open house, your knowledge on food safety and food processing, and your thoughts on the mobile food processing facility. Your name will be entered into a draw to thank you for your participation in the surveys. Results of this study will be summarized in a report and distributed to the community in 2020.

RISKS

We consider the risks of participating in these surveys to be very low and could be considered to be less than the risks encountered in the participants' everyday lives. Despite this, we will mitigate any possible risks by preserving your anonymity (we will not use your name) in reports and presentations

CONFIDENTIALITY

The researchers will keep the collected data in locked facilities or password-protected on computers. The only people that will have access to the files will be the supervisor and researchers. All data collected from this research will be destroyed by August 31, 2024 or when the reports and publications are completed, whichever comes first. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the research at any time, all data collected will be destroyed or returned to you. You are not obliged to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable.

CONTACT

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Wilfrid Laurier University Research Ethics Board. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Andrew Spring, Adjunct Professor, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, (226) 772-3127 , aspring@wlu.ca or Dr. Jayne Kalmar, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University, (519) 884-0710, extension 3131, REBChair@wlu.ca.

FEEDBACK AND PUBLICATION

The results of this research might be published/presented in a thesis, course project report, book, journal article, conference presentation, class presentation.

CONSENT

I understand the information described on the previous page and consent to participate in this research:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Survey

By initialing the statements below:

_____ I agree to participate in this **survey**.

Researcher:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

PRE-QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____

Demographics

1. **What community do you live in (most of the time)?** _____

2. **What gender do you most identify with?**

   Male Female Other

3. **Is there an active harvester in your household?**

   Yes No

   3a. If yes, is the active harvester you?

   Yes No

4. **Do you prefer mainly traditional food, store-bought food, or a mix of both?**

   Traditional food Store-bought food Mix of both

5. **Would you prefer to eat more traditional food than you can get?**

   Yes No

6. **During the past 12 months, were you or members of your household able to harvest or receive enough traditional food from others to meet your household's needs?**

   Yes No

7. **How often do you process your own traditional food?**

   Always Often Sometimes Never

7a. If you don't always process your own traditional food, who processes it for you?

_____

8. Do you have a place where you can process your own traditional food?

Always Often Sometimes Never

9. **In the past 12 months, how did you get your traditional food?** (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ Hunting, fishing or gathering
- ☐ From family, including family from other communities
- ☐ From friends, including friends from other communities
- ☐ From other members of my community, including those from other communities
- ☐ From stores
- ☐ Community freezer/Hunters and Trappers Organization
- ☐ No traditional food acquired in the home
- ☐ Not interested in traditional food

10. Do you have access to the required tools and equipment you need to process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

11. Have you ever had to borrow tools and equipment process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

12. How often do you or members of your household distribute traditional food to other community members?

Never Sometimes Often Always

Pre-Questionnaire

1. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

2. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Preservation?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

3. **How knowledgeable are you on Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points *(HACCP)?***

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

4. **How knowledgeable are you on the mobile food processing facility?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

5. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild game?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

6. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild fish?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

7. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies and regulations set on wild game and wild fish?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

8. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

POST-QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____

1. **How satisfied are you with this training?**

   Not Satisfied Somewhat Satisfied Satisfied Very Satisfied

2. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

3. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Preservation?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

4. **How knowledgeable are you on Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points *(HACCP)?***

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

5. **How knowledgeable are you on the mobile food processing facility*?***

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

6. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild game?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

7. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild fish?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

LAURIER Inspiring Lives.

UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

8. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies and regulations set on wild game and wild fish?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

9. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

10. **How likely are you to use what you learned in your everyday cooking?**

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

11. **How likely are you to use what you learned in your cooking for the community?**

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

12. How likely are you to use what you learned in your cooking for economic opportunity?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

13. How likely are you to recommend a friend to take this food processing training course?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

14. How likely are you to show somebody in your family or community some of the food processing methods you have learned?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

15. How likely are you to use the mobile food processing facility for your wild game/wild fish/berry processing now?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

16. How often do you process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

17. Do you have access to the required tools and equipment you need to process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

18. Have you ever had to borrow tools and equipment process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

19. How often do you or members of your household distribute traditional food to other community members?

Never Sometimes Often Always

20. Is there anything you would like to add in regard to the training, mobile food processing facility, new traditional foods, or traditional food processing that was not covered already?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Would you be interested in participating in a follow-up interview at a later date in 2020 to discuss traditional food processing further? You will receive an honorarium for your time.

Yes **No**

If Yes, please fill in your Contact Information:

Name: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

1. **What community do you live in (most of the time)?** _____

2. **What gender do you most identify with?**

   Male Female Other

3. **Is there an active harvester in your household?**

   Yes No

   3a. If yes, is the active harvester you?

   Yes No

4. **After touring the mobile food processing facility what is your impression of it?**

   Negative Somewhat negative Somewhat positive Positive

5. **After the tour, how likely are you to be interested in using the mobile food processing facility for some of your wild game processing?**

   Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

6. **What are your thoughts on the food samples your tried today at the open house?**

Negative Somewhat negative Somewhat positive Positive

7. **How likely are you to go and learn about these new processing methods to make the new foods you tried today?**

   Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

8. **How was your experience trying muskox?**

Negative Somewhat negative Somewhat positive Positive

9. **How likely are you now to hunt muskox after trying the muskox samples?**

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

10. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

11. **How often do you process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

11a. If you don't always process your own traditional food, who processes it for you?

_____

12. **Do you have a place where you can process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

13. **Do you have access to the required tools and equipment you need to process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

14. **Have you ever had to borrow tools and equipment process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

15. **How often do you or members of your household distribute traditional food to other community members?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

16. **Is there anything you would like to add in regard to the mobile food processing facility, new traditional foods, or traditional food processing or training that was not covered already?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

Would you be interested in participating in a follow-up interview at a later date in 2020 to discuss traditional food processing further? You will receive an honorarium for your time.

Yes **No**

If Yes, please fill in your Contact Information:

Name: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

Interview Questions

1. What did you think of the training from Palace Hillside Farm Group?
    - What parts were beneficial to you?
    - What didn't you like?
    - How might it be improved?

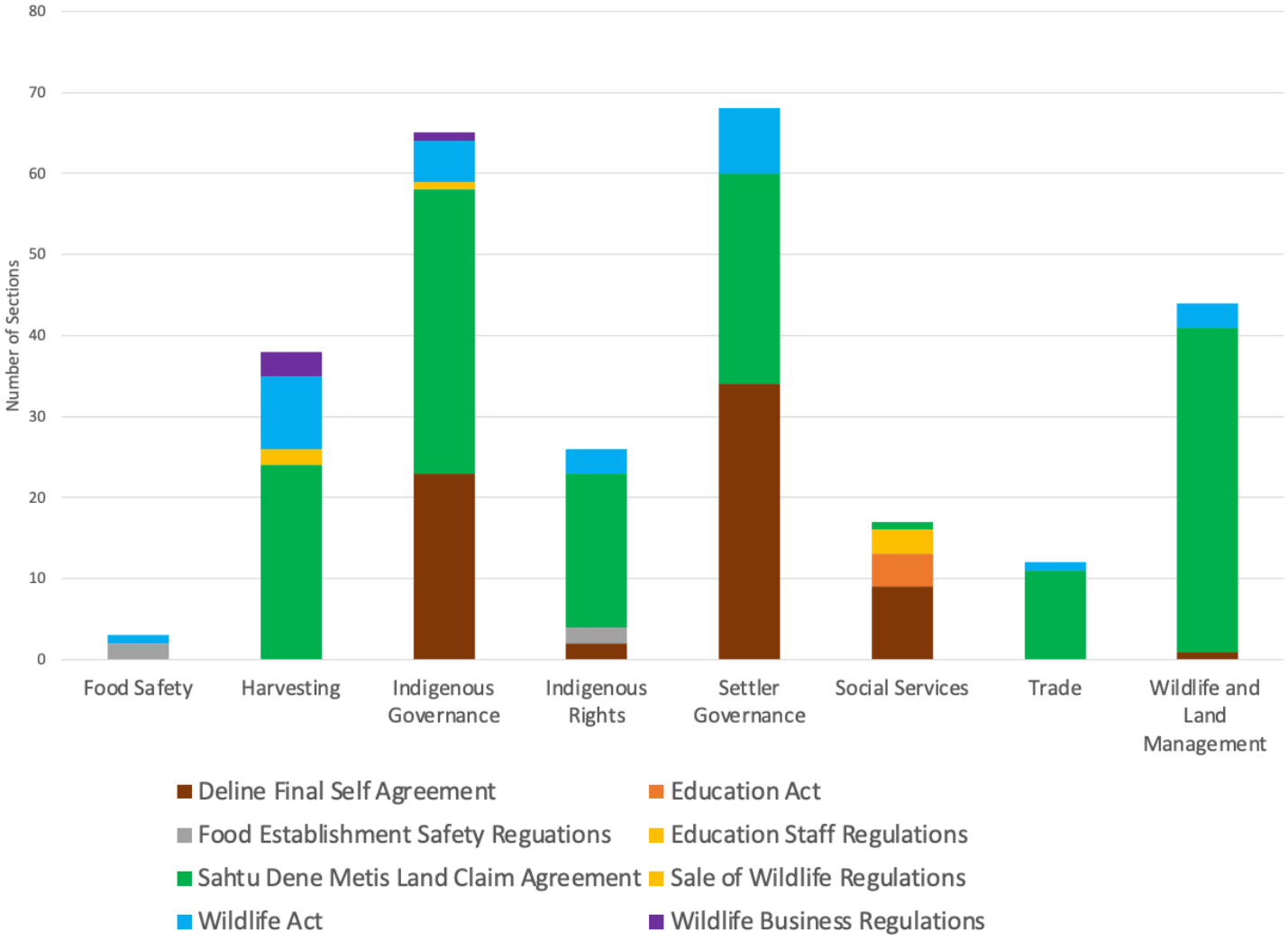
2. Tell me about how you normally process traditional food in your home or wherever you process it?
    - Who's involved, what's involved, space, equipment, challenges in your home

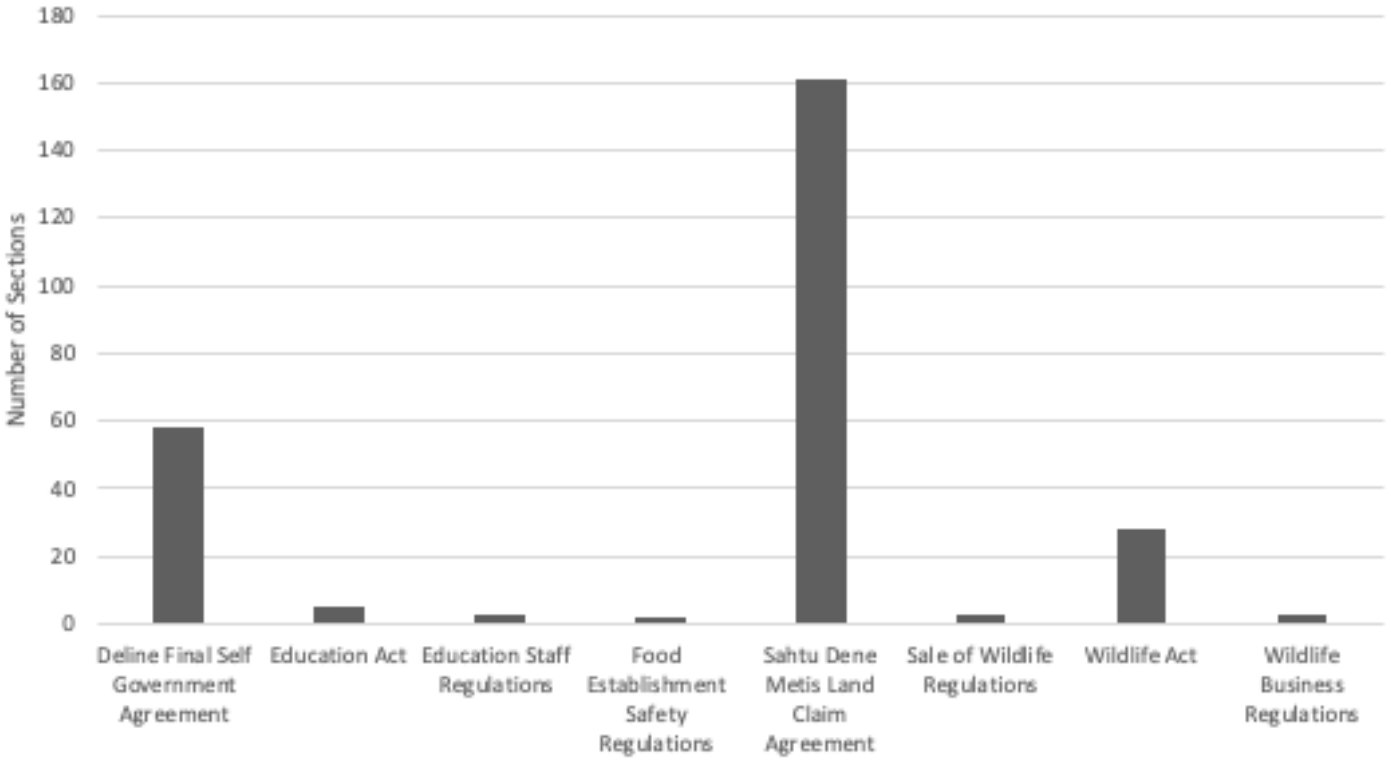
3. How does processing meat with this trailer differ from more traditional methods?
    - What is your opinion on the new processing methods you learned?
    - In what ways do you think you will use these new methods?

4. How do you see this trailer as a tool in Déljne? Or do you see the trailer and processing training as important to your community? If yes, how is it important?
    - For example, would this make food more available in the community?
    - What do you see as the opportunity for the trailer in the future?

5. How do you envision the community establishing a balance with introduction of the mobile food processing facility and conservation of wild game populations?

APPENDIX D- Descriptive Statistics




180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
Number of Sections
Deline Final Self Government Agreement
Education Act
Education Staff Regulations
Food Establishment Safety Regulations
Sahtu Dene Metis Land Claim Agreement
Sale of Wildlife Regulations
Wildlife Act
Wildlife Business Regulations

APPENDIX E – Fairclough 10 Question Model

Vocabulary
(1) What experiential values do word have? What classification schemes are drawn upon? Are there words which are ideologically contested? Is there rewording or over wording? What ideologically significant meaning relationships (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words? (2) What relational values do words have? Are there euphemistic expressions? Are there markedly formal or informal words? (3) What expressive values do words have? (4) What metaphors are used?
Grammar
(5) What experiential values do grammatical features have? What types of process and participant predominate? Is agency unclear? Are processes what they seem? Are nominalization used? Are sentences active or passive? Are sentences positive or negative? (6)What relational values do grammatical features have? What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used? Are there important features of relational modality? Are the pronouns we and you used, and if so, how? (7) What expressive values do grammatical features have? Are there important features of expressive modality? (8) How are (simple) sentences linked together? What logical connectors are used? Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination? What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?
Textual Structures
(9) What interactional conventions are used? What is the turn-taking system?

Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?

(10) What large scale structures does the text have?

APPENDIX F – Country Food Processing Training Course Evaluation Report

Evaluation of a Food Processing Trailer Facility & a Country Food Training Course in Déline, NT

FLEdGE
Food: Locally Embedded, Globally Engaged

Déline Got'ine Government
Our People. Our Future. Our Déline.

University of Waterloo

Laurier
Inspiring Lives.

Collège Aurora College

Evaluation of a food processing trailer facility and a country food processing training course

Trainee demographics

3 3

Training locations

Aurora College

Food processing trailer facility

80 hours of training over 2 weeks

Participant satisfaction

2 Very Satisfied

2 Satisfied

2 Somewhat Satisfied

Data collection

6 Interviews

12 Evaluation Surveys

17 Openhouse Surveys

10 days Observation

> "I am so happy ... You all have been so awesome, been talking to us and been working with us. You were all so helpful and made us all feel so comfortable."
>
> - Participant 6

Different pathways for trailer facility identified by trainees

- Commercial Meat Operation
- A tool for community to use
- Teaching Youth
- Service for hunters

Skills taught in training

Jam-making
Canning
Sausage making
Grinding
Smoking

Product made in training

Fireweed jelly
Pickled eggs
Muskox sausages
Muskox burgers
Candied lake trout

Over **70** community members attended open house.

Only **23%** of open house attendees reported always having access to tools required in harvesting.

100% of participants said the trailer facility was too small for the training.

82% of open house attendants had a very positive experience trying new samples.

Over **70 kg** of product donated to spiritual gathering.

Only **23%** of open house attendees reported always having a place to process country food.

7/8 Program objectives were achieved.

Délıne Got'ıne Government
Our People. Our Future. Our Délıne.

UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

Northwest Territories Industry, Tourism and Investment

LAURIER Inspiring Lives.

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Acknowledgements

This work would have not been possible without the support and dedication from these partners and collaborators:

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And of course, the training would not have been successful if it were not for the kind and hard-working trainees of the training course.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

- Traditional food is the foundation of Dél̨ı̨ne's food system. For countless generations, Dene people have relied on harvesting from the lands and water surrounding Great Bear Lake for survival. However, the effects of climate change have caused substantial changes to the ecosystems of animals, resulting in altered migration patterns, changes in food availability, and declining animal herd health. In order to combat the decline in particular species, such as caribou, Indigenous, territorial, and federal governments have imposed harvesting restrictions to assist with the conservation of these populations. Subsequently, this has resulted in a decrease in the consumption of traditional foods, requiring families to have to rely on market foods, which are expensive and not as nutritious.

- This evaluation is the result of a multi-sector collaboration with an Indigenous Self-government, academic institutions, territorial agencies and Palace Hillside Farm group, a private consultation firm. This evaluation was organized to understand how a food processing trailer facility can increase food access for community members by utilizing natural resources that have not been traditionally harvested, like muskox. To understand the potential of the trailer facility, a pilot country food processing training course was arranged to be held within it. By understanding if the training course can achieve its objectives, what can and cannot be done in the trailer facility can be established.

- The pilot country food processing training course happened over two weeks in the summer of 2019. The training was conducted in two different locations: the trailer facility and in the kitchen and classroom of Aurora College. The Dél̨ı̨ne Got'ine Government managed the recruitment of trainees. Posters were hung up in high-traffic areas around the community as well as online postings on Facebook. Six community members (3 male and 3 female) took part in the training.

- A variety of data collection methods were employed in order to answer the following evaluation questions: 1) Did the training instructors achieve the established objectives in the training? 2) Is the food processing facility viable to teach the country food processing training in? Surveys were employed at the beginning of the training, the end of training, and at a community open house event. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with every trainee for approximately one hour at various times throughout the training course.

- Several of the training objectives focused on teaching trainees on the equipment and processes used in the training. To understand if the instructors were successful, we established 8 outcome indicator questions that were based off of the objectives of the training and evaluation questions. At the beginning of the training, the overall knowledge of trainees ranged between not knowledgeable (1.0) and sort of knowledgeable (2.0). By the end of the training, there was an overall positive increase in the scores of 7 out of the 8 indicators. Overall, there was an average increase of almost 1.0 categorial score across all indicators, which suggests the trainees believed their self-perceived knowledge pertaining to the contents of the course had increased from the beginning of the training.

- The open house was held the at the beginning of the second week of the training. This was an opportunity for the community to learn more about the training and sample some of the food being prepared. Approximately 70 community members attending the event. 17 community members participated in a survey at the open house. The key findings from this survey are that 82% of participants had a positive experience trying muskox, that 76% of participants were likely to hunt muskox after trying the samples, that only 23% of participants reported always having the tools required in harvesting, and that only 23% of participants reported always having an appropriate space to process traditional food.

- It was found that the pilot country food processing training course from Palace Hillside Farm Group achieved 7 out of the 8 objectives. It is important to note the various challenges the instructors encountered, such as a missing ventilation hood and the size of the trailer facility. While not all the program objectives were achieved, the training course should be considered nothing less than a great accomplishment.

- The trainees identified a variety of different ways that the trailer facility could be used to benefit the community, including: a service for hunters, a tool for teaching youth, a tool for the community to use, and a potential commercial meat operation.

Background & Context

Introduction

This evaluation is the result of a multi-sector collaboration with an Indigenous Self-government, academic institutions, territorial agencies and a private consultation firm. The purpose for conducting this evaluation is to better understand how a food processing trailer facility can be used to increase food access to the community of Deline.

In 2011, Déljne received the trailer facility from the Government of Northwest Territories. The trailer facility was provided with no instruction on how to use the commercial grade equipment inside. As no one in the community was formally trained on any of the equipment, the trailer facility was parked behind the Grey Goose Lodge and was used for storage. Recent conversations between the DGG, Aurora College, Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Waterloo led to the identification of the trailer facility as a potential tool to increase food access.

Instructor explaining how to prepare mason jars to begin the processing of canning.

A pressure cooker (left) and canner (right) that was used to create a variety of products, such as: pickled muskox heart, pickled eggs, and blueberry jam.

Country food processing training

Organizing the country food processing training was a coordinated effort between the DGG, Aurora College, researchers from two academic institutions and Palace Hillside Farm Group, a private consulting firm. This firm has taught previous food processing training courses in similar facilities in other northern communities in Canada. This training presented an opportunity for the DGG to learn what is possible in terms of increasing food access for community members using the trailer facility.

Country food processing training objectives

Palace Hillside Farm Group established one global objective and nine program objectives that were to be achieved by the end of the country food processing training. For this evaluation, only eight program objectives were included, as the global objective and remaining program objective did not provide any insight on the effectiveness of the training or what is possible in the trailer facility.

Global objective

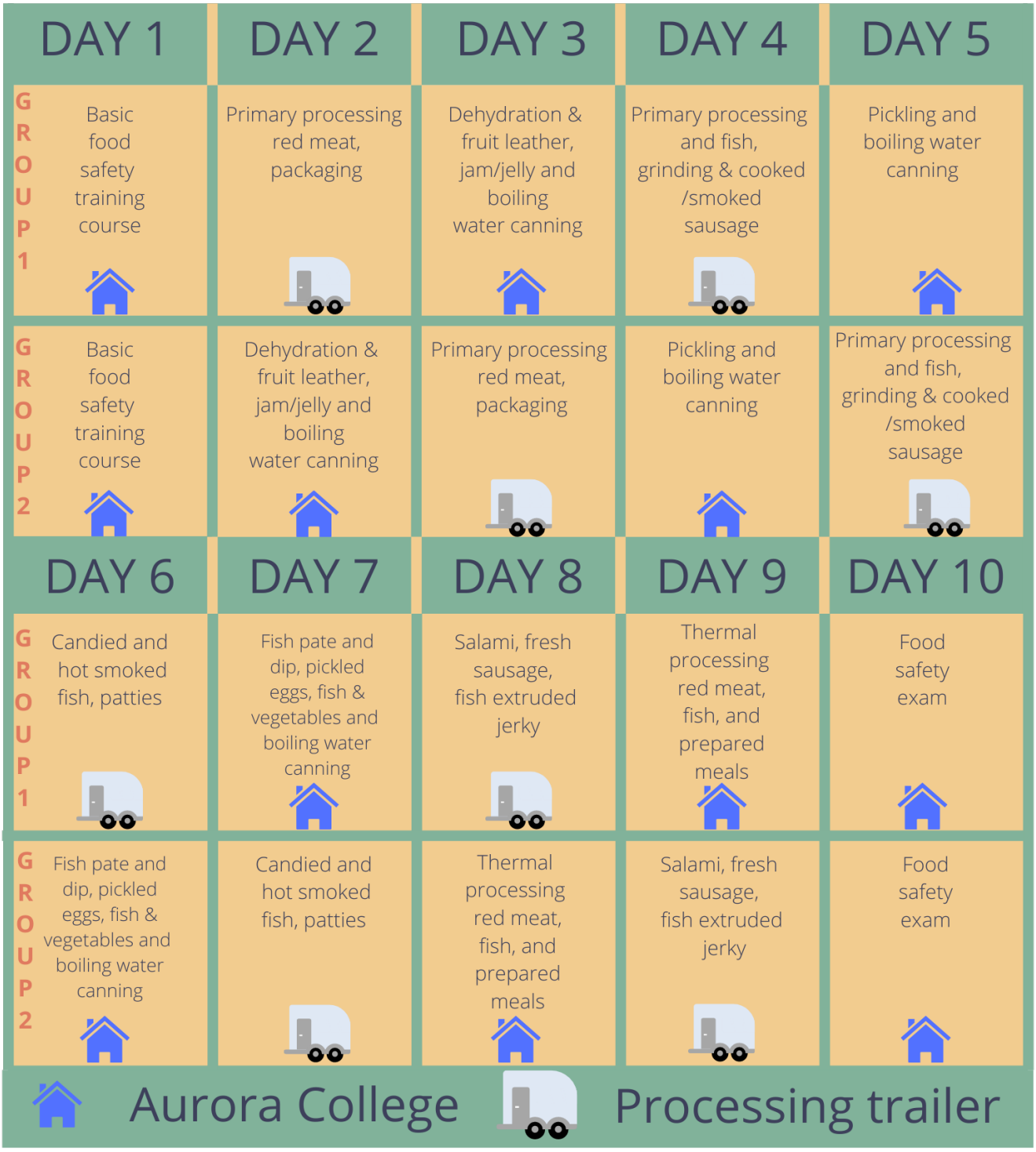
To introduce students to options in value-added processing and preservation of country foods (meat, fish and berries) and to produce a surplus of products that would be available at gatherings for the community to sample.

Program objectives

1. Train students to operate and maintain the basic equipment in meat and fish value-added processing;
2. Train students how to cure and smoke meat and fish products and prepare sausage;
3. Train students how to dehydrate meat, fish, and fruit products in order to make them shelf stable;
4. Explain the process of fermentation and why food, including meat and fish, are fermented;
5. Train students how to grind meat and fish in relation to the product being made and to make burger patties;
6. Train students in the 2 procedures of canning and how it applies to jars, cans and retort pouches. Also, have students understand what foods can be canned in each of the two procedures on the basis of acidity in order to assure products would be shelf stable and food safe;
7. Train students in the history of food safety and preservation, food safety principles and practices, and microbiology as it relates to food safety;
8. Discuss, in an overview, the principles of PCP (Preventative Control Plan) as it is required by CFIA for commercial meat and fish processing establishments and the principles of HACCP and the pre-requisite programs that it incorporates.

Schedule of training

The country food processing training was organized into two different locations: The Aurora College classroom and kitchen and the trailer facility behind the Grey Goose Lodge. Due to the size of the trailer facility being unable to accommodate the entire group, the training had to be split into two groups. The following diagram is the schedule of the training.



Food processing trailer facility

The trailer facility is a 27-foot-long covered flatbed trailer that has been retrofitted with the equipment and storage required to commercially process food.

A look inside the trailer

List of equipment

- Chest freezer
- Vertical freezer
- Single chamber vacuum packer
- Manual sausage stuffer
- 2HP Meat grinder
- Manual meat tenderizer
- Electric stove
- Meat slicer
- 3 compartment washing sink
- Electric smoke house
- Stainless steel tables
- Digital measuring scale
- Patty making press
- Stainless steel shelving
- Table top band saw

Background research

In Déljne, the food system can be divided into two: the traditional food system and the market food system. Traditional food is truly the foundation of the community's food system, which is to be expected as the community resides on Great Bear Lake, the biggest freshwater lake in the territory and the seventh largest in the world.[2] There are many aspects of traditional food that are connected with Dene culture, such as obtaining food through hunting or gathering, processing food with community or family, teaching younger generations the traditional food preparation methods, or sharing food with the community.[3-5]

The nutritional and cultural benefits of consuming traditional food over market food are indisputable.[6-10] The traditional food system is reliant on the community's ability to harvest from the land. However, over time, harvesting has become more challenging with:

- Changes in animal migration patterns from climate change [3,11,12]
- High costs of hunting [3,4,12,13]
- Lack of time available to hunt from working [4,12-14]

Trainee dressing a hind leg of muskox to be processed further.

The market food system is comprised of two grocery stores where community members can purchase food, medicine and other commodities. Déljne does not have an all-season road, thus supplies like food and fuel must be flown in on a weekly basis.[2] Due to Déljne not having permanent road access, it qualifies for the Nutrition North Canada (NNC) subsidy, a federal initiative launched to bring subsidized healthier food options to remote communities in the north. However, the effectiveness of this program has been disputed as not ensuring food security[17], leading to suggestions for program changes and policy overhaul.[14-16] Above all, the food that sold in these grocery stores are often high in carbohydrates and unhealthy fats, which can lead to food related chronic disease.[4] As more research is published on the negative health impacts of market foods, there is more emphasis on increasing the capacity of the traditional food system to increase food access and the health of families.

A shared feature between the traditional food system and the market food system in Déljne is that both are being negatively impacted by climate change. Changing ice road conditions due to unstable warming weather patterns is just one example of the impact climate change has on the market food system.[18] For remote communities, ice roads are critical to transport key materials into the community for infrastructure development[19] but also an opportunity for community members to avoid northern prices and shipping expenses by driving south to purchase goods. However, due to unpredictable warming weather patterns, ice road structural integrity is compromised, which greatly reduces the timeframe of safely using the road.[19]

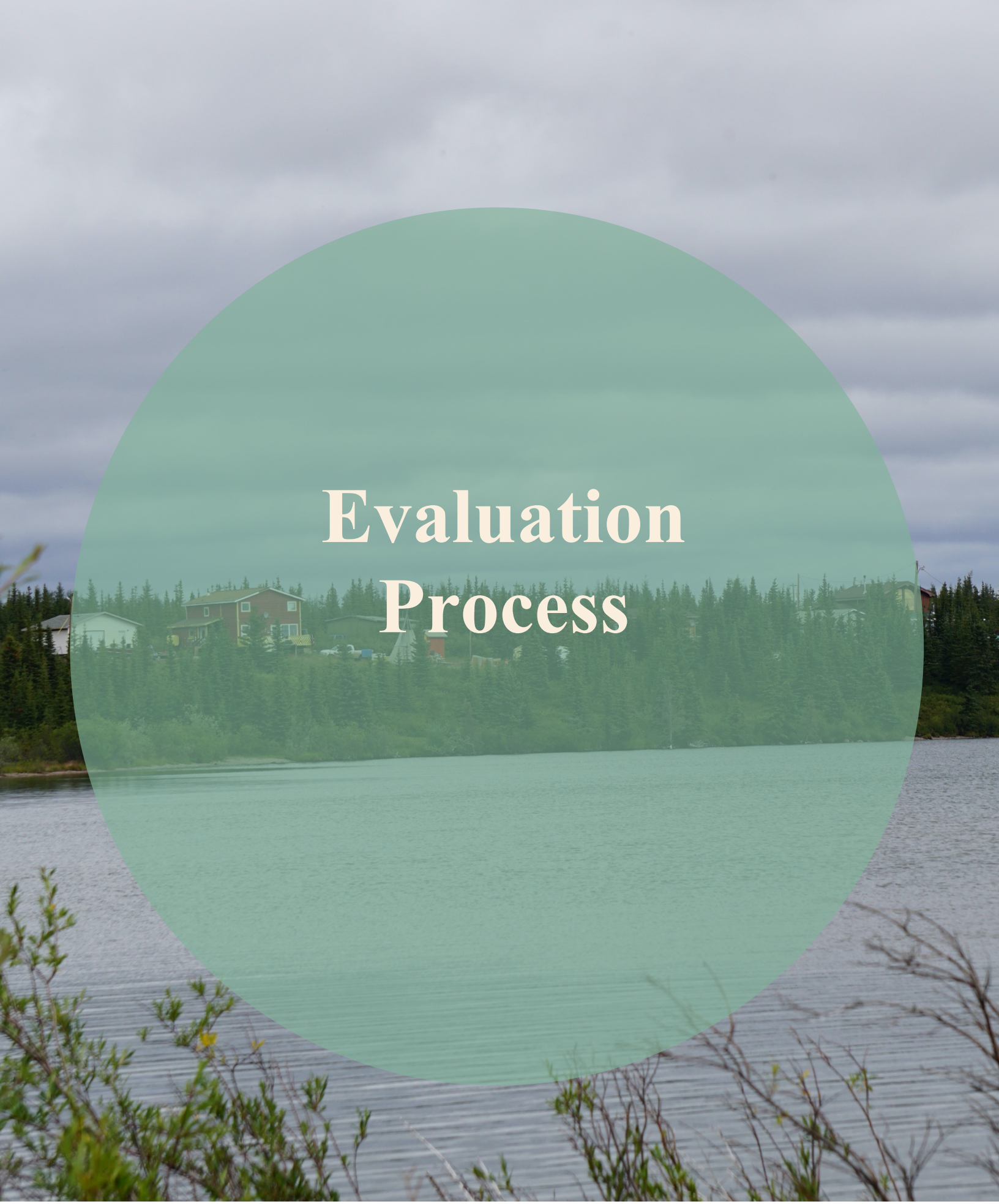
Trainee mixing in spices in ground muskox meat.

Local food procurement is an adaptation to the effects of climate change on food security.[20] Localized food initiatives, such as a community gardens, small scale agriculture and country food processing initiatives are becoming more popular in the territory. In Kakisa, the community is planning to incorporate a garden into their firebreak. Greenhouses have been built in Inuvik, Gameti, and Yellowknife.[21] Local community gardens have been arranged in Fort Simpson, and Fort Smith.[21] Northern communities are taking action in the face of climate change, designing and implementing self-sustaining food initiatives that reduce reliance on the government and market food system.

Délįne is not the only community in the NWT to receive a trailer facility. Inuvik and Fort Good Hope also have similar trailer facilities and have started country food processing initiatives. Fort Good Hope has begun a custom-cut wrap shop within their trailer facility, where food is processed at cost.[22] In addition, the community commissions hunts where all the food harvested is processed and then sold at cost for community members who are unable to hunt.[22] The operation within the trailer facility began due to the abundance of muskox in the area.

According to local elders and harvesters, muskox are driving away caribou from the region and there is a small body of research to support that there is some sort of conflicting ecological relationship between the two species.[23] Muskox are abundant in the region and present an untapped resource for increasing food access, however since they have not been traditionally harvested, there is not much traditional knowledge on the species and thus a hesitation from community members to hunt them. Muskox was strategically incorporated into this country food processing training course to learn how it could be processed. Learning how to harvest muskox and understanding how to incorporate the growing muskox populations in the community is a potential climate adaptation strategy for the community.

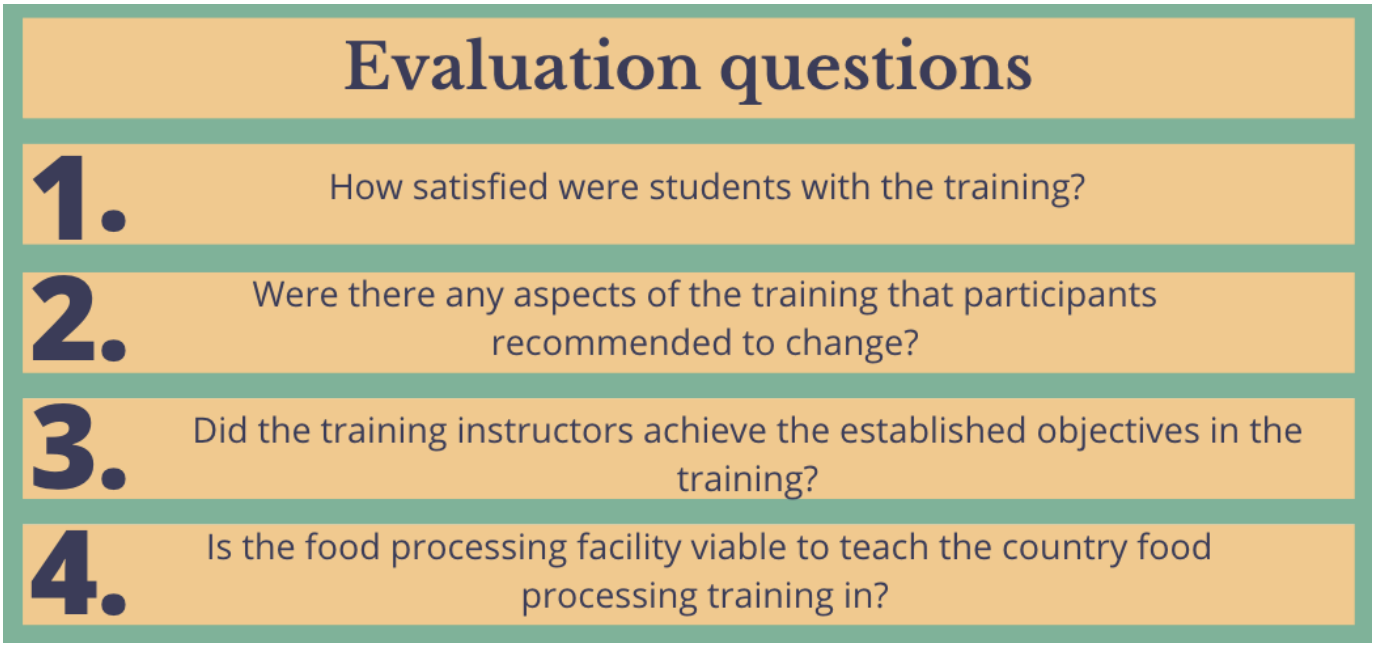
A package of vacuum sealed candied Great Bear Lake trout.



Evaluation Process

Introduction

The purpose of this evaluation is to understand the potential for the trailer facility to assist the community in increasing food access. The following four questions were designed to guide this evaluation through understanding the different aspects and processes of the training hosted in the trailer facility.



Trainee recruitment

The recruitment process of trainees into the country food processing training was managed by the DGG. Informative posters (see Appendix A) were placed throughout the community as well as on Facebook to spread word to the community. Interested applicants were required to write a brief statement of interest as well as provide some background information on themselves. The DGG invited six community members (three male and three female) to participate in the pilot training course.

Ethics

This evaluation received approval under the Laurier Ethics Review Board (REB, #4876), approval from the University of Waterloo Ethics Committee (REB, #41897), and approval from the Aurora Research Institute (License No. 1647). Furthermore, this study received approval and support from the DGG, an existing verbal research agreement.

Data collection methods

A variety of different data collection methods had to be employed in order to capture as much data as possible for this evaluation. The figure below includes all of the data collection methods and why they were chosen.

Data collection method	When was it administered?	Why was this method used?	Corresponding evaluation questions
Pre-Questionnaire	At the beginning of training course	To record basic demographic and background information of trainees To establish 8 evaluation outcome indicators	1,2,3,4
Post-Questionnaire	At the end of training course	To allow for a comparison using the 8 evaluation outcome indicators from the beginning to end of training To capture trainee's opinion on the training and trailer	1,2,3,4
Open-house survey	At the open-house held on the 6th day of training	To understand community member's perceptions on new foods prepared in training To understand community member's food processing behaviours and country food consumption	4
Semi-structured interviews	At various times across the two weeks of training	To understand trainee's experience with training and trailer To understand how the trainees think the trailer should be used to benefit the community	2,3,4
Observation	At every available moment during the training	To record how trainees interact with instructors, other trainees and the trailer To confirm what trainees say in interviews is accurate	1,2,3,4

Key Findings

Introduction

Teaching objectives are the objectives that involve explaining or discussing the contents of the training course. These objectives are: 4,6,7, and 8. To establish if the teaching objectives were achieved, the outcome indicators established in the pre-questionnaire will used in tandem with quotes from trainees in their interviews. Training objectives are the hands-on type of objectives that involve trainees learning how to operate a certain piece of equipment or follow a method of preservation. These objectives are: 1,2,3, and 5. To establish if the teaching objectives were achieved, quotes from interviews were used.

Teaching objectives	Training objectives
4. Explain the process of fermentation and why food, including meat and fish, are fermented;	**1.** Train students to operate and maintain the basic equipment in meat and fish value-added processing;
6. Train students in the 2 procedures of canning and how it applies to jars, cans and retort pouches. Also, have students understand what foods can be canned in each of the two procedures on the basis of acidity in order to assure products would be shelf stable and food safe;	**2.** Train Students how to cure and smoke meat and fish products and prepare sausage;
7. Train students in the history of food safety and preservation, food safety principles and practices, and microbiology as it relates to food safety;	**3.** Train students how to dehydrate meat, fish, and fruit products in order to make them shelf stable;
8. Discuss, in an overview, the principles of PCP (Preventative Control Plan) as it is required by CFIA for commercial meat and fish processing establishments and the principles of HACCP and the pre-requisite programs that it incorporates.	**5.** Train students how to grind meat and fish in relation to the product being made and to make burger patties.

HOW SATISFIED WERE TRAINEES WITH THE TRAINING?

In the post-questionnaire, trainees were asked how satisfied they were with the training, with four different options to answer: not satisfied, somewhat satisfied, satisfied and very satisfied. Overall, all of the trainees reported some degree of satisfaction with the country food processing training from Palace Hillside Farm Group.

Trainee satisfaction was not only captured in the evaluation surveys. Throughout almost all of the interviews, trainees shared how they felt about the training. These testimonies can be seen below:

"… It's pretty good training. I enjoy all the things I am learning about meat processing, with wild meat. It's something that is new to me. All in all, it's pretty good. There are a lot of things I have learned that I didn't know before."

– Participant 5

"You were all so helpful and made us all feel so comfortable. And uh, that was really, really like, it just made the training, much easier for us, you know? And I was really happy."

– Participant 6

Evaluation questions	
3.	Did the training instructors achieve the established objectives in the training?
4.	Is the food processing facility viable to teach the country food processing training in?

Did the training instructors achieve the teaching objectives of the training?

The pre-questionnaire established eight outcome indicator questions to measure trainee's knowledge on the contents of the training course, while the post-questionnaire measured any change from the beginning and end of training. Establishing this change allows for a comparison to be made to understand if trainees felt like their knowledge regarding various aspects of the training had increased from the beginning and end of training.

Outcome indicator questions	
1.	How knowledgable are you on food safety?
2.	How knowledgable are you on food preservation?
3.	How knowledgable are you on Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points ?
4.	How knowledgable are you on the food processing facility?
5.	How knowledgable are you on processing wild game?
6.	How knowledgable are you on processing wild fish?
7.	How knowledgable are you on the policies and regulations set on wild game and fish?
8.	How knowledgable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?

Outcome indicator questions	Median Likert score		Change in score
	Pre-Questionnaire	Post-Questionnaire	
How knowledgable are you on food safety?	2.0 Somewhat knowledgable	3.0 Knowledgable	+1.0
How knowledgable are you on food preservation?	2.0 Somewhat knowledgable	2.5 Somewhat knowledgable to knowledgable	+0.5
How knowledgable are you on Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points?	1.0 Not knowledgable	2.0 Somewhat knowledgable	+1.0
How knowledgable are you on the food processing facility?	3.0 Knowledgable	3.0 Knowledgable	No Change
How knowledgable are you on processing wild game?	2.5 Somewhat knowledgable to knowledgable	3.0 Knowledgable	+0.5
How knowledgable are you on processing wild fish?	2.5 Somewhat knowledgable to knowledgable	3.0 Knowledgable	+0.5
How knowledgable are you on the policies and regulations set on wild game and fish?	2.0 Somewhat knowledgable	3.0 Knowledgable	+1.0
How knowledgable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?	1.5 Not knowledgable to somewhat knowledgable	2.5 Somewhat knowledgable to knowledgable	+1.0

A homemade apple blueberry pie made by one of the instructors.

The above table is a comparison of the median Likert score from the pre-questionnaire, the post questionnaire, and the change in median score between the two surveys. At the prequestionnaire, the overall knowledge of trainees ranged between not knowledgeable (1.0) and sort of knowledgeable (2.0). This was to be expected, as trainees probably did not have much prior experience with food safety protocols, using the trailer facility or any type of commercial equipment

Jars of pickled eggs and vegetables made by trainees through boiling.

There was an average increase of almost 1.0 Likert categorial score across all indicators, which suggests the trainees believe their knowledge has increased from the beginning of the training. An unusual finding was that there was no change in the indicator for the food processing trailer facility. It is apparent that may have been a misunderstanding with the trailer facility. The first time the trailer facility was used was the day after the pre-questionnaire was admitted. Thus, it would be difficult to have much knowledge on the trailer facility prior to the training.

Did the training instructors achieve the training objectives of the training?

1. Train students to operate and maintain the basic equipment in meat and fish value-added processing;

To understand if this objective was achieved or not, it must be broken down. The first component of this objective includes training trainees how to *operate* the equipment in the trailer facility. Almost every trainee (one trainee was absent for a few days of training) had the opportunity to operate all of the equipment in the trailer facility. However, the trailer facility was missing the ventilation hood, creating a hazardous environment for the trainees to work in while the industrial smoker was in use. Thus, it was difficult to establish if the trainees truly learned how to operate the industrial smoker. The second component of this objective pertains to *maintaining* the equipment. Some trainees felt that the training was not enough for them to handle future problems with the equipment or recipes.

> We learned a lot of skills and we can learn the skills on our own. But what if we have problems with some things? And we don't have, we have the questions, [but] we can't do something, and we don't know who to ask, you know? **– Participant 6**

During the training, trainees were shown how to properly operate and maintain the cleanliness of the machinery. The trainees were not taught how to repair any damaged machinery. Due to the remoteness of Déljne and difficulties to access parts for repair, this is a very valid concern for trainees. Taking all of this into consideration, it can be concluded that this objective was not achieved as trainees still felt like they were not confident to maintain the equipment, but also as they needed more time with the machinery in general.

> You know, you should have this course more than two weeks. Longer, [so] I don't have to rush. I like to really learn about the meat grinder and how to cut the meat. Like on, I think they have a cutter in there, and then airtight thing, I want longer in [the training]. **– Participant 4**

2. Train Students how to cure and smoke meat and fish products and prepare sausage;

Curing is the process where a cure like sodium nitrate is added to bind the available water in a product, allowing it to be pre-cooked and then refrigerated, resulting in a longer shelf life. During the training, trainees referred to their course notes in order to know the proper amount of cure to add for each batch of product. The missing ventilation hood had a significant impact on the second training objective. Despite this restriction, trainees still managed to create a variety of products. Smoking is also not an unfamiliar process to the community members of Déljne, as many of the houses have a teepee nearby which foods would be smoked using the traditional way.

> Cause like, a teepee you can only smoke so much right, like unlike the stainless smoker over there, that smokes the hell out of the meat. It's really efficient. Really good. **– Participant 2**

Despite the fact that the industrial smoker was not safe to operate, every trainee had the chance to get hands on experience on preparing muskox and fish to be smoked. Furthermore, the steps for smoking wereincluded within their course work, which trainees can refer back to at any time. Every trainee had a chance to try measuring out the appropriate amount of cure to add to the product batch and the chance to set up the industrial smoker. Despite the challenges experienced by the instructors with machinery breaking down, it can be concluded that the training achieved this objective.

> And the smoke house. It's not set up the way how it should be.
>
> **– Participant 1**

3. Train students how to dehydrate meat, fish, and fruit products in order to make them shelf stable;

This objective is very similar to the second objective; however, the process of dehydration is different from curing. Dehydration is the process of removing almost all of the available water in a product so that no bacteria is able to grow after it's been sealed with a vacuum packager. An example of a product where dehydration was used is the fruit leather strips that were made with frozen berries.

Within the data, there was little mention of the process of dehydration or any of the product that was created using this method. One trainee only mentioned very briefly that the fruit leather would be a good snack for the school to have for students. However, similar to the previous objective, the trainees did have the instructions and recipes for making dehydrated product in their personal course notes to refer back to. While there was little data within the interviews and surveys to confirm this objective was achieved, notes from the observation included comments on trainees preparing the dehydrated product without the immediate supervision of the instructor. Thus, as trainees felt comfortable enough to create the product without direct supervision, it can be concluded that this objective was achieved.

5. Train students how to grind meat and fish in relation to the product being made and to make burger patties;

Every trainee had an opportunity to learn about and operate the meat grinder in the trailer. Two of the trainees personally own grinders and had some prior experience with grinding.

> "I have a little grinder that now I'm going to use it, I know I'm going to take it slow but I'm going to give it a try, what I learned over there [trailer facility]." **– Participant 1**

> "We did use the facility over there, and that's when I really learned lots about grinding, you know? Grinding the country food. For me, personally, I do a little bit of grinding at home, but my equipment is so small and I can do like little portion at a time, and I don't do much, but what really, uhm, [the training] really made me think about grinding" **– Participant 6**

A variety of products were created using the grinder, such as muskox burgers, lake trout burgers, breakfast muskox sausages and muskox salamis. Every trainee was comfortable using the grinder, however one trainee expressed that they wished the training spent more time on learning about the grinder. This trainee was not alone in wanting to spend more time with the instructors and equipment in the trailer facility. However, the available resources only allowed the training to be held for two weeks. Instructions on how to use the grinder were provided in the course notes for

trainees to refer back to. With the variety of products that each trainee made with the grinder and the encouragement of trainees to use their own grinder, this objective was achieved.

Is the food processing facility viable to teach the country food processing training in?

By understanding if the country food processing training could be taught in the food processing trailer facility, it informs this evaluation what can be realistically done within it. Every trainee within the training had something to say on the trailer facility. A recurring discussion that was had was in regard with the condition and size.

> I'd say the only thing is get a bigger trailer, I mean even just for two people to work in there, you can't even walk by shoulder to shoulder **– Participant 5**

There is very limited space within the trailer facility. It is why the training had to be split into two groups, as it would not be possible to teach six trainees at a time. This lack of space resulted in a loss of potential knowledge transfer opportunities between trainees and the instructor. Furthermore, if more space was available, more community members could have attended and benefited from the training.

> … but I wish the training, like we had more students, more students for the training. And because of the facility there was only so many applicants that they could accept for the training, so, but it would have been nice to have more students. **– Participant 6**

Another problem with the trailer facility was its condition, as there were several pieces of equipment that were broken or missing, such as a sink, the ventilation hood, or a fridge. Trainees acknowledged that the trailer facility was still okay to use, just that these would have to be fixed before it can be operational.

> To me I can't complain. Everything is going so well for me. Little bit of stuff isn't working, but it's okay **– Participant 1**

The condition of the trailer facility did have an impact on the training, which the instructors had to account for by making various last-minute adjustments to the training. The biggest adjustment that had to be made was with the industrial smoker. The smoker could not be operated while

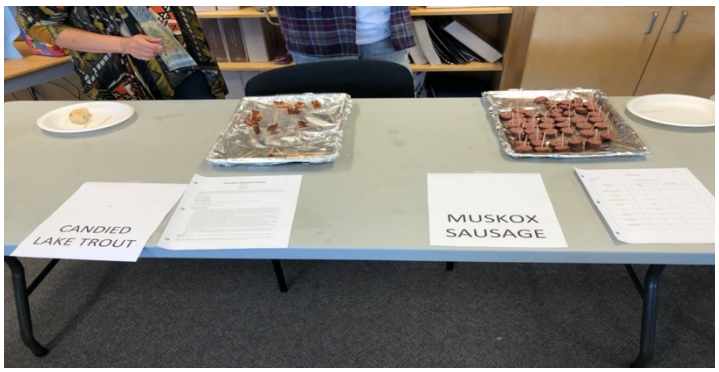
trainees were in the trailer facility because of the missing ventilation hood, which ultimately limited the amount of training time that trainees could spend in the trailer facility and with the smoker.

> … The trailer? Yeah. I'll add some stove pipe to the smoker (laughs). Get like actual water in there instead of the hose. **– Participant 3**

The trailer facility in its current condition would not pass any type of inspection, which does limit what can truly be done within it. With the size of the trailer facility being too small and the various repairs and replacements that have to be made, the trailer facility is not a viable tool to teach the country food processing training in. Despite the current condition of the trailer facility, it is important to note that there are still other ways that this trailer facility in its current condition can be used to benefit the community, which the trainees identified and have been organized into the recommendations section of this report.

Open house

On the second Monday of the training, an open house was held at Aurora College. All community members were invited to attend and try some of the new foods created in the training. The open house was a great success, with over 70 community members attending the event. Trainees were placed in charge of helping serve the different samples and answering any questions about the food and how it was made. As mentioned earlier, a survey was administered during this open house. A summary of the findings can be found on the following page.



Open house survey results

Over **70** people attended the open house.

17 community members took the open house survey.

88% of participants reported *having* an active harvester in their home.

52% of participants reported *being* the active harvester in their home.

Survey respondent demographics

4

13

76% of participants reported having a very positive experience trying the new samples.

How likely participants are to hunt muskox after trying samples at open house.

9 Very likely

4 Likely

3 Somewhat likely

1 Not likely

23% participants reported sharing food *always*.

35% participants reported sharing food *often*.

82% participants reported having a very positive experience trying muskox.

58% reported they were very likely to learn about these new processing methods to make the new foods tried.

"Is there anything else you would like to add that has not been covered already?

"Thank you for introducing your new processing food facility in Deline, we like to see more, very tasty and healthy."

"Very positive to see and food that tastes great. It gives me encouragement to seal my food."

"I hope you come back & do the next phase of the course, so that the hotel can serve dene bere."

Only **23%** of open house attendees reported always having a place to process country food.

Only **23%** of open house attendees reported always having access to tools required in harvesting.

35%

reported having to borrow tools or equipment sometimes to process country food.

Conclusions & Recommendations

Country food processing training

Trainee processing a variety of fruits to be made into dehydrated fruit strips.

This evaluation attempted to understand the satisfaction of the trainees who attended this training, if the training was able to achieve all of its objectives, and if the trailer facility is viable for the training to be taught in. The trainees were satisfied with the course, 7 out of the 8 program objectives were achieved, and the trailer facility was found to be an inadequate place to host the training. It is important to note that this pilot training course is only stage one out of a potential four stages, where the first stage is mainly focused on visualizing what is possible versus the later stages which actually trains participants to be qualified to manage the operation of the trailer facility. Despite all the challenges in accessing resources and malfunctioning equipment, it can be concluded that this pilot training was a success.

However, just because the training was a success, it does not mean there are particular components of the training that could be improved for future country food processing training courses offered. One suggestion to improve the pilot training course would be more succinct and descriptive program objectives. The program objectives of the training were vague, making it difficult to actually measure if they were achieved. Moving forward, Palace Hillside Farm Group should utilize objective setting guidelines like S.M.A.R.T. Organizing the program objectives using the S.M.A.R.T principles will greatly improve the training, as instructors will be better able to understand if the training achieved what it was designed to by understanding if the objectives were completed.

The food processing trailer facility

The condition and limited size of the trailer facility had an impact on what was able to be achieved from the training. The condition of the trailer facility was probably the biggest concern, as a missing potable water supply and a missing ventilation hood created a challenge to follow food safety and work safety guidelines. Regardless of these factors there is still a great amount of potential for the trailer facility to be used to benefit the community. During the interviews with each of the trainees, they were asked what they think the trailer facility should be used for. This resulted in some great conversations and a variety of different ideas on how the trailer facility can be utilized. These conversations have been summarized and arranged into a diagram on the following pages of this report.

WERE THERE ANY ASPECTS OF THE TRAINING THAT PARTICIPANTS RECOMMENDED TO CHANGE?

While the trainees were satisfied with the training, there were suggestions from every trainee on how to improve the training course. Each trainee was asked: "How might the training from Palace Hillside Farm Group be improved?" Below are some of the comments that trainees made during their interview:

"… I wish the training, like we had more students, more students for the training. And because of the facility there was only so many applicants that they could accept for the training, so, but it would have been nice to have more students. I wish it was longer. Because, we don't have the resources, people, are not gonna' come back right away and provide the training, its gonna' take a while."

– Participant 6

"Uh, to me, I don't know if that is enough time. What if there are like, people in the group that are like slow learners? … Maybe three weeks?"

– Participant 3

"Well, like I said, more room, and more message out. We are gonna' do our samples on Monday right? So, people can see what we have been doing, and take the message out to the public. … It would be nice to see a lot of youth too. This is the first start though, so I hope there are a little bit more people."

– Participant 1

"Just get a bigger facility for meat processing."

- Participant 5

Different pathways for trailer

The trainees identified a variety of different ways to utilize this trailer to benefit the community. These ideas have been organized into four different pathways. Each idea has a great amount of potential, with some ideas having similarities with each other. Furthermore, just because one pathway is taken, it does not mean the community can't go backwards and take a different path at a later time.

This diagram includes a variety of quotes from trainees on their different ideas on how to use the trailer as a tool for the community.

Service for hunters

"If a hunter gave me meat, that's basically them doing the town's half of the job. Like I don't want to charge the hunter or his family for giving me meat that he hunted."

- Participant 2

"Whoever goes hunting can bring moose, or caribou, then bring it to the trailer. Whoever is working the trailer can cut it up, grind it, add spices, then just like make anything the person wants."

- Participant 3

"If I can have part of the meat, I can give you half of the meat you are giving to me for free and I will try to sell the other meat to locally. Not for a high price though, not for a high price."

- Participant 2

"I'm gonna ask if they [DGG] can look into some type of employment with the trailer ... start with part time with whatever money they have available, cause some people don't have no work so it's a good start for somebody."

- Participant 4

"This is a traditional town, we are fortunate that we have a lot of wild animals around. We have a lot of fish, and meat and ducks, geese available to us in our community, just we need to open up a future store. Like future traditional store you know."

- Participant 4

"They could sell it to other communities, like, such as Norman wells, or Yellowknife. Sell the meat to them. And if they like it, they will request for more."

- Participant 3

Teaching youth

"I mean there is potential for everyone to learn. There is lots of wild game around, I mean, it would be good to start harvesting their [youth] own meat. They do a lot of on the land programs, and could even add processing meats."

- Participant 5

"Maybe just a little help from the [trailer] would give a different taste to different age groups, or say like someone wants a flavourful kick with a little spice. Cause, It would make a lot of people happy and enjoy it."

- Participant 3

Commercial meat operation

"... Sometimes they [hunters] just donate meat to the community, so I see them, like, people [working in trailer] they'll process the meat and give them out to the families, and it will be a variety of meat too, like the burgers, sausages, salamis, the jerkies."

- Participant 6

"There's our cooks, but they are really short-handed. They are trying to feed over a thousand people. I guess, what I'm trying to say like, the trailer, would be a definitely extra hand for the gatherings and special occasions."

- Participant 2

"We could just bring our meat there and we could process the meat ourselves, it would be a good opportunity for us. Somebody will be there to look after the trailer and the equipment and make sure we clean and sanitize everything before we leave. In case we run into some problems with processing the meat, that person will be there to help us out."

- Participant 6

Tool for community to use

"Even for myself, if I got the equipment, I will teach my girls, then they can use it and not only my girls, but my family, then how to run it, then how to take care of it, like healthy wise, clean it all the time."

- Participant 1

Different pathways for trailer facility

Service for hunters

One of the pathways identified by trainees was utilizing the trailer facility as a type of custom-cut and wrap shop for hunters. With this pathway, hunters could bring parts of their game to the trailer facility to be processed using the commercial equipment. This could result in the creation of a variety of types of food, which then could be packaged using the vacuum packager to ensure maximum shelf-life. Between the trainees, there was not a consensus on how this service should be managed. Ideas ranged from having no costs to hunters, but part of their meat gets donated to the community, to having it be a paid service.

Teaching youth

Another pathway that trainees felt would be a good option for the trailer facility is to somehow incorporate it into the local school curriculum as a new course credit or co-op. One of the trainees in particular was very passionate about this pathway, saying that youth today do not have the skills necessary to survive off the land. This trailer facility is an opportunity to teach trainees the newer commercial methods taught in the training, but also as a space where the traditional way of processing food can be taught. This space could go beyond just food, but also a space for youth to learn how to speak their language and hear stories about their culture by having Elders from the community coming to the trailer facility to teach.

Tool for community to use

This pathway is arguably the largest and contains a variety of different types of ideas that did not fall under the three other pathways. This pathway was purposefully left broad to ensure that no idea for the trailer facility was left out. Some of these ideas include: an opportunity to teach interested community members both traditional and commercial food processing methods, to assist in preparing food for spiritual gatherings or large feasts, as a way to prepare precooked meals for elders not living in the community, to create snacks for children at the school, or a service that is supervised by a trained community member for families who want to book out the trailer facility to process their own food.

Commercial meat operation

The final pathway identified by trainees involves establishing a commercial operation using the trailer facility. Several trainees mentioned selling the new country food made in the trailer facility to the hotel or the grocery store. One trainee had the idea of selling packages of country foods to other communities in NT. Something that almost all trainees felt was important that the price of the country food that would be sold should be more affordable than meat from grocery stores. This pathway would require more work than the others, as any commercial food operation in Canada needs to follow the policies and regulations established by the GNWT.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Materials

Dél̨ine Country Foods Processing Course

The Deline Got'tine Government is now accepting names for the Deline Country Foods Processing Course to be held in Deline, NT scheduled for August 5 to 16, 2019.

This is an intensive two-week training school where the content is based on a hands-on program design. The program exposes persons to value added food processing options, food safety concerns, cleaning and sanitation as it relates to food security, preparing personnel for employment and economic development of country food resources within the community. The course modules in this training program are targeted towards persons who are new the processing industry. Students will learn through hands-on training, demonstrations, classroom lectures and written materials.

Requirements:

- Must sign waiver form (if under 18 you must have your parent/legal guardian sign a waiver form)
- Must be physically fit
- Strong communication skills
- Be able to follow directions, rules and safety procedures

Training for selected 6 – 8 Students:

Class Time:

Course times are flexible and can be adjusted to each class in order to fit schedules. They will run Monday to Friday from 9:00 am – 5:00pm.

Instructors:

Lyle Renecker and one Assistant

Please submit your name if interested in being a student to the Employment Officer Connie Modeste @ the DGG Main Office Building.

If you have any questions or inquiries, you can contact EDO Peter Bayha @ (867) 589-8100 ext 1012.

Country Food Processing Open House
Date: August 12th
Location: Aurora College
Time: 3:00pm to 5:00pm

Description:

As part of the Country Food Processing Training, the students will have an open house. It is open to everyone. At this open house will be samples of the new types of food that students have made. Examples of food that are: Lake Trout Pate, Muskox Burgers, Muskox Sausage, Candied Lake Trout and Fresh Jam. In addition, interested community members will have the option to receive a tour of the mobile food processing facility that is located behind The Grey Goose Lodge. Transportation to and from the trailer will be provided to interested community members.

Raffle:

In collaboration with the University of Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University, Aurora College, NWT-ITI, NWT-ECE, and Arctic Energy Alliance, a raffle for two gift baskets with assorted goods and new food samples will be held. Interested individuals must complete a brief survey to receive their raffle entry.

For more information or any questions, please contact Connor Judge
by phone at: 226-808-3262 or
by email at: cmjudge@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix B: Consent and Information Letters

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

INFORMATION

We are seeking your voluntary participation in a research project exploring a potential method for building local food processing capacity in Déljne, NWT. This study seeks to understand how a mobile food processing facility paired with food processing training can increase traditional food consumption in Déljne. This research will be conducted as part of collaborative partnership between the University of Waterloo (Dr. Kelly Skinner and Connor Judge) and Wilfrid Laurier University (Dr. Andrew Spring) with the community of Déljne and Palace Hillside Farming Group (Dr. Lyle Renecker).

For this study, we are hoping to interview you as a participant of the training to understand your experiences participating in the training and to share your thoughts on the mobile food processing facility. You have been selected as one of eight individuals to participate in this program. The interviews will take place at some point during or in the days shortly after the food processing training held this summer in Déljne and take approximately one hour. The interview will include questions about your thoughts on your training experience, how you normally process traditional food and what you envision for the future of the mobile food processing facility. We are also looking to have you complete a pre-survey at the start of the training and a post-survey at the end of the training. The pre-survey is to establish baseline information like knowledge on food processing and food safety and the post-survey is to measure any change in your knowledge and to receive feedback on the training. You will receive a gift card for your participation in the surveys and interviews. Results of this study will be summarized in a report and distributed to the community in 2020.

RISKS

It is possible that as a participant, by answering the questions in the interviews, you could make statements that could be awkward for you when made public (e.g., through academic publications, presentations, plain language reports to the community or other materials created from this research). We consider these risks to be very low, and in line with the risks encountered in the participants' everyday lives; however, we will mitigate these risks by preserving your anonymity in reports, and only use your name after your consent is given, and by meeting with you individually to allow you to review and edit relevant field notes and transcribed interview texts prior to their being made public.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The researchers will keep the collected data in locked facilities or password-protected on computers. The only people that will have access to the files will be the supervisor and researchers. All data collected from this research will be destroyed by August 31, 2024 or when the reports and publications are completed, whichever comes first. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the research at any time, all data collected will be destroyed or returned to you. You are not obliged to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable.

CONTACT

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Wilfrid Laurier University Research Ethics Board. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Andrew Spring, Adjunct Professor, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, (226) 772-3127 , aspring@wlu.ca or Dr. Jayne Kalmar, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University, (519) 884-0710, extension 3131, REBChair@wlu.ca.

FEEDBACK AND PUBLICATION

The results of this research might be published/presented in a thesis, course project report, book, journal article, conference presentation, class presentation.

CONSENT

I understand the information described on the previous page and consent to participate in this research:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Interviews and Pre- Post-Surveys

By initialing the statements below:

_____ I agree to participate in **interviews**.

_____ I agree to participate in the **pre- and post-surveys**.

_____ I grant permission for the researcher to use an **audio recorder**.

_____ I grant permission for the researcher to use **direct quotations** from our interview and identify me as the source of the information.

_____ I grant permission for the researcher to use **direct quotations** from our interview but **NOT** identify me as their source.

Researcher:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

INFORMATION

We are seeking your voluntary participation in a research project exploring a potential method for reducing food insecurity and building local food processing capacity in Déljne, NWT. This study seeks to understand how a mobile food processing facility paired with food processing training can increase traditional food consumption in Déljne. This research will be conducted as part of a collaborative partnership between the University of Waterloo (Dr. Kelly Skinner and Connor Judge) and Wilfrid Laurier University (Dr. Andrew Spring) with the community of Déljne and Palace Hillside Farming Group (Dr. Lyle Renecker).

For this study, we are hoping to administer a brief survey to understand the perspectives of Déljne community members on the open house, the processing trailer, and the food sampled at the open house. This survey will take approximately 5 minutes and will include questions about your own traditional food processing, your opinion of the foods you sample at the open house, your knowledge on food safety and food processing, and your thoughts on the mobile food processing facility. Your name will be entered into a draw to thank you for your participation in the surveys. Results of this study will be summarized in a report and distributed to the community in 2020.

RISKS

We consider the risks of participating in these surveys to be very low and could be considered to be less than the risks encountered in the participants' everyday lives. Despite this, we will mitigate any possible risks by preserving your anonymity (we will not use your name) in reports and presentations

CONFIDENTIALITY

The researchers will keep the collected data in locked facilities or password-protected on computers. The only people that will have access to the files will be the supervisor and researchers. All data collected from this research will be destroyed by August 31, 2024 or when the reports and publications are completed, whichever comes first. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the research at any time, all data collected will be destroyed or returned to you. You are not obliged to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable.

CONTACT

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Wilfrid Laurier University Research Ethics Board. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Andrew Spring, Adjunct Professor, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, (226) 772-3127 , aspring@wlu.ca or Dr. Jayne Kalmar, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University, (519) 884-0710, extension 3131, REBChair@wlu.ca.

FEEDBACK AND PUBLICATION

The results of this research might be published/presented in a thesis, course project report, book, journal article, conference presentation, class presentation.

CONSENT

I understand the information described on the previous page and consent to participate in this research:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Survey

By initialing the statements below:

_____ I agree to participate in this **survey**.

Researcher:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix C: Survey Documents

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

PRE-QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____

Demographics

1. **What community do you live in (most of the time)?** _____
2. **What gender do you most identify with?**

   Male Female Other

3. **Is there an active harvester in your household?**

   Yes No

   3a. If yes, is the active harvester you?

   Yes No

4. **Do you prefer mainly traditional food, store-bought food, or a mix of both?**

   Traditional food Store-bought food Mix of both

5. **Would you prefer to eat more traditional food than you can get?**

   Yes No

6. **During the past 12 months, were you or members of your household able to harvest or receive enough traditional food from others to meet your household's needs?**

   Yes No

7. **How often do you process your own traditional food?**

   Always Often Sometimes Never

7a. If you don't always process your own traditional food, who processes it for you?

_____

8. Do you have a place where you can process your own traditional food?

Always Often Sometimes Never

9. **In the past 12 months, how did you get your traditional food?** (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ Hunting, fishing or gathering
- ☐ From family, including family from other communities
- ☐ From friends, including friends from other communities
- ☐ From other members of my community, including those from other communities
- ☐ From stores
- ☐ Community freezer/Hunters and Trappers Organization
- ☐ No traditional food acquired in the home
- ☐ Not interested in traditional food

10. Do you have access to the required tools and equipment you need to process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

11. Have you ever had to borrow tools and equipment process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

12. How often do you or members of your household distribute traditional food to other community members?

Never Sometimes Often Always

Pre-Questionnaire

1. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

2. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Preservation?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

3. **How knowledgeable are you on Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points *(HACCP)?***

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

4. **How knowledgeable are you on the mobile food processing facility?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

5. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild game?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

6. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild fish?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

7. How knowledgeable are you on the policies and regulations set on wild game and wild fish?

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

8. How knowledgeable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

POST-QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____

1. **How satisfied are you with this training?**

   Not Satisfied Somewhat Satisfied Satisfied Very Satisfied

2. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

3. **How knowledgeable are you on Food Preservation?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

4. **How knowledgeable are you on Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points *(HACCP)?***

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

5. **How knowledgeable are you on the mobile food processing facility?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

6. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild game?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

7. **How knowledgeable are you on processing wild fish?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

8. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies and regulations set on wild game and wild fish?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

9. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

10. **How likely are you to use what you learned in your everyday cooking?**

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

11. **How likely are you to use what you learned in your cooking for the community?**

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

12. How likely are you to use what you learned in your cooking for economic opportunity?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

13. How likely are you to recommend a friend to take this food processing training course?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

14. How likely are you to show somebody in your family or community some of the food processing methods you have learned?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

15. How likely are you to use the mobile food processing facility for your wild game/wild fish/berry processing now?

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

16. How often do you process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

17. Do you have access to the required tools and equipment you need to process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

18. Have you ever had to borrow tools and equipment process your own traditional food?

Never Sometimes Often Always

19. How often do you or members of your household distribute traditional food to other community members?

Never Sometimes Often Always

20. Is there anything you would like to add in regard to the training, mobile food processing facility, new traditional foods, or traditional food processing that was not covered already?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Would you be interested in participating in a follow-up interview at a later date in 2020 to discuss traditional food processing further? You will receive an honorarium for your time.

Yes **No**

If Yes, please fill in your Contact Information:

Name: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

1. **What community do you live in (most of the time)?** _____

2. **What gender do you most identify with?**

   Male Female Other

3. **Is there an active harvester in your household?**

   Yes No

   3a. If yes, is the active harvester you?

   Yes No

4. **After touring the mobile food processing facility what is your impression of it?**

   Negative Somewhat negative Somewhat positive Positive

5. **After the tour, how likely are you to be interested in using the mobile food processing facility for some of your wild game processing?**

   Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

6. **What are your thoughts on the food samples your tried today at the open house?**

Negative Somewhat negative Somewhat positive Positive

7. **How likely are you to go and learn about these new processing methods to make the new foods you tried today?**

   Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

8. **How was your experience trying muskox?**

Negative Somewhat negative Somewhat positive Positive

9. **How likely are you now to hunt muskox after trying the muskox samples?**

Not likely Somewhat likely Likely Very likely

10. **How knowledgeable are you on the policies, regulations and requirements on food safety?**

Not Knowledgeable Sort of Knowledgeable Knowledgeable Very Knowledgeable

11. **How often do you process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

11a. If you don't always process your own traditional food, who processes it for you?

_____

12. **Do you have a place where you can process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

13. **Do you have access to the required tools and equipment you need to process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

14. **Have you ever had to borrow tools and equipment process your own traditional food?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

15. **How often do you or members of your household distribute traditional food to other community members?**

Never Sometimes Often Always

16. **Is there anything you would like to add in regard to the mobile food processing facility, new traditional foods, or traditional food processing or training that was not covered already?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

Would you be interested in participating in a follow-up interview at a later date in 2020 to discuss traditional food processing further? You will receive an honorarium for your time.

Yes **No**

If Yes, please fill in your Contact Information:

Name: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Appendix D: Interview Guide

Evaluation of a Processing Trailer and Traditional Food Processing Training in Déljne, NWT

Dr. Andrew Spring
Dr. Kelly Skinner, Dr. Lyle Renecker, Connor Judge (graduate student)

Interview Questions

1. What did you think of the training from Palace Hillside Farm Group?
   - What parts were beneficial to you?
   - What didn't you like?
   - How might it be improved?

2. Tell me about how you normally process traditional food in your home or wherever you process it?
   - Who's involved, what's involved, space, equipment, challenges in your home

3. How does processing meat with this trailer differ from more traditional methods?
   - What is your opinion on the new processing methods you learned?
   - In what ways do you think you will use these new methods?

4. How do you see this trailer as a tool in Déljne? Or do you see the trailer and processing training as important to your community? If yes, how is it important?
   - For example, would this make food more available in the community?
   - What do you see as the opportunity for the trailer in the future?

5. How do you envision the community establishing a balance with introduction of the mobile food processing facility and conservation of wild game populations?

Trainees packaging up muskox salami with the vac-packer.

A box of mason jars filled with muskox chili.

Trainees packaging up candied Great Bear Lake trout with the vac-packer.

Trainee breaking up coarsely grinded ground muskox.

Trainee cleaning a Great Bear Lake trout to be processed further.

Trainees adding vegetables to mason jars to be pickled.