Confronting Settler Colonialism in Food Movements

By

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Declaration of originality

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this 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.

Abstract

The dominant global capitalist food system is contributing significantly to social, political, ecological, and economic crises around the world. In response, food movements have emerged to challenge the legitimacy of corporate power, neoliberal trade policies, and the exploitation of people and natural resources. Despite important accomplishments, food movements have been criticized for reinforcing aspects of the dominant food system. This includes settler colonialism, a fundamental issue uniquely and intimately tied to food systems that has not received the attention it deserves in food movement scholarship or practice. While there is a small but growing body of literature that speaks to settler colonialism in contemporary food movements and a burgeoning scholarship on Indigenous food sovereignties, there are few studies that examine practical examples of how settler colonialism is being actively addressed by and through food movement organizations. This research asks: How are food movement organizations addressing settler colonialism? Using a community-based methodology informed by settler colonial theory/studies, anti-colonial and decolonizing approaches, and food sovereignty, research partnerships were formed with two food systems networks, the Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy and Sustain: The Australian Food Network. Purposeful sampling was used to conduct in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 23 settlers and 4 Indigenous participants in Northwestern Ontario, Canada, and Australia (Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia). Findings from thematic analysis are presented in three parts: 1) Settler inaction; 2) Problematic inclusion; and, 3) Productive engagements, organizational commitments, and long-term visions. Based on these findings, three areas are proposed where food movement organizations can more deeply engage in addressing settler colonialism: Situating our(settler)selves, (re)negotiating relationships, and making organizational commitment. Several broad methodological limitations of this research are considered, underscoring the need for additional place-based research that traces anti-colonial and decolonizing food movement processes and holds them up to the dreams and demands of specific Indigenous communities whose lands they occupy.

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Chapter 1: Introduction & Background

The dominant global capitalist food system is contributing significantly to social, political, ecological, and economic crises around the world (Lang & Heasman, 2015), intensifying issues of food insecurity, occupational hazards, diet-related diseases, biodiversity loss, antibiotic resistance, and pollution of soils, air, and water (De Schutter, 2017; IPES-Food, 2017). For example over 820 million people globally lack sufficient food (FAO, 2018); non-communicable diseases are now the leading cause of death (WHO, 2014); food systems contribute up to 30% of greenhouse gas emissions and 70% of freshwater use (Willett et al., 2019); and between 2030 and 2050, climate change alone will cause 250,000 deaths per year (WHO, 2018). In response, food movements have emerged to challenge the legitimacy of corporate power, neoliberal trade policies, and the exploitation of people and natural resources (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). Food movements can be described as "networks of networks": collaborative efforts spanning across sectors, scales and places with a collective goal of achieving more socially and ecologically healthy, just, and sustainable food systems (Levkoe, 2014). Food movements are increasingly enacted through a broad range of coordinated groups including community-based non-profit organizations, economic development boards, healthcare bodies, local governments, food purveyors, emergency food providers, schools, environmental groups, labour unions, Indigenous communities, farming groups, academic institutions, urban and university youth, public health units, and local business (Levkoe & Wakefield, 2014). Food sovereignty in particular has become an important framework for food movements to envision and enact food system transformations by placing decision-making power in the hands of food producers and harvesters while challenging the logics of the dominant food system (Wittman et al., 2010).

Food movements in the global north have had important accomplishments in critiquing, politicizing, and raising consciousness around inequities in the food system. Despite these accomplishments, they have been criticized for failing to instill transformative change toward social and ecological justice, and instead reinforcing aspects of the dominant food system such as consumerism, individualism, reductive and disjointed approaches, agrocentrism, patriarchy, classism, and white supremacy (Goodman et al., 2012; Levkoe, 2011). Critiques have been a vital part of the development and evolution of movements, pushing them closer to their aspirational goals. For example, critiques of urban agriculture have led to innovative projects that not only focus on food production but are explicitly concerned with dismantling structural inequities toward social change (Reynolds & Cohen, 2016). However, far less attention is paid to

settler colonialism, an underlying and compounding force in all of the above critiques. Settler colonialism is a land-based project that aims to systematically eliminate Indigenous Peoples in place of an invasive settler society (Wolfe, 2006). It is an ongoing system of naturalized institutional and individual motivations and logics (Memmi, 1991), shaping nearly every aspect of life in settler states like Canada and Australia. The impacts of settler colonialism can be seen in a wide range of outcomes on social and ecological health and well-being that are disproportionally experienced by Indigenous Peoples in Canada and Australia (NCCAH, 2013; Australian Government, 2019).

Settler colonialism is a fundamental issue uniquely and intimately tied to food systems that has not received the attention it deserves in food movement scholarship or practice. With respect to food movements in settler states, it is extremely problematic to consider the social, ecological, political, and economic sustainability of food systems without confronting land theft, broken treaties, and precarious (at best) relationships between settler and Indigenous communities. Addressing settler colonialism constitutes important work for food movement organizations with goals of social and ecological justice through food systems transformation (Levkoe, 2015). While there is a small but growing body of literature that speaks to settler colonialism in contemporary food movements (Bradley & Herrera, 2015; Coté, 2016; Etmanski, 2012; Grey & Newman, 2018; Grey & Patel, 2014; Kepkiewicz, 2020; Kepkiewicz, 2015; Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2018; Kepkiewicz et al., 2015; Matties, 2016; Mayes, 2018; Rotz, 2017; Rotz & Kepkiewicz, 2018), as well as a burgeoning scholarship on Indigenous food sovereignties (Cidro et al., 2015; Daigle, 2019; FSC, 2009; Kamal et al., 2015; Martens et al., 2016; Morrison, 2011; Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013; Whyte, 2018), there are virtually no studies that examine practical examples of how settler colonialism is being actively addressed by and through food movement organizations (with the exception of Morrison & Brynne, 2016).

The broad goal of my research is to examine how food movement organizations can actualize more healthy, just, and sustainable food systems through addressing settler colonialism in their work. I consider the following overarching research question: How are food movement organizations addressing settler colonialism? To answer this, I attend to the following objectives:

1. To explore what addressing settler colonialism entails for food movement organizations; and,
2. To explore if and how food movement organizations addressing settler colonialism are responding to the calls of Indigenous scholars and activists.

My research uses a community-based methodology informed by settler colonial theory (SCT), literature that addresses Indigenous-settler alliances, solidarity, and allyship, and decolonization practice and scholarship. Research partnerships based on pre-existing relationships were formed with two food systems networks, the Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy and Sustain: The Australian Food Network to collect data in Northwestern Ontario, Canada, and Australia (Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia), respectively. Both networks had expressed a commitment to the goal of this research. Purposeful sampling was used to conduct in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 27 participants between these two sites. Twenty-three participants were settlers working in or with food movement organizations who identified as being interested in, or actively addressing, issues of settler colonialism. An additional four participants were Indigenous community leaders with experience partnering with settler-based food movement organizations. The two sites were also chosen in recognition that food movements in both Canada and Australia continue to evolve without adequately addressing ongoing settler colonial violence, while crises of climate change, capitalism, and democracy deepen. Conducting this research in places with similar, yet distinct settler colonial contexts presents an opportunity for shared learning and deeper engagement in these issues within and among broader food movements.

Positionality

Positioning myself within this research constitutes an important part of self-reflexivity, an engagement that Kovach (2009) refers to as establishing "self-location, cultural-ground and purpose." Instead of serving merely as a confession of privilege (Snelgrove et al., 2014), I position myself in an effort to engage in social transformation, as the goal of self-reflexivity is "not the mastery of antiracist and anti-colonialist lingo but a different self-understanding that sees one's being as fundamentally constituted through other beings" (Smith, 2014, p. 221). Though I write my positionality here, under a single subheading, it impacts every part of this research in both positive and negative ways. For example, it impacts how I select, interpret, analyze, and present data from research participants, and it limits my ability to see the research outside of my own worldview. In addition to this statement, I practice self-reflexivity by naming and honouring the Indigenous influences of this work wherever and however possible, acknowledging the tensions and limitations of my positionality and research decisions (Pillow, 2003), and being accountable to the Indigenous Peoples whose lands I occupy (Boudreau Morris, 2017).

I am a white settler woman born and raised on Treaty One Territory, the original lands of the Anishinaabeg, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota, and Dene Peoples, and the homeland of the Métis Nation (Winnipeg, Manitoba). I arrived at this research having moved freely across stolen lands now known as Winnipeg, Sudbury, and now Thunder Bay to pursue education and work in dietetics—a gendered, positivist, medicalized field steeped in imperial bias (Coveney & Booth, 2019). I wrote this paper on Robinson Superior Treaty Territory, the original lands of the Fort William First Nation (Thunder Bay, Ontario). Here, I have gained foundational experiences over three years working with various organizations represented within the Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy, namely Roots to Harvest, Nishnawbe Aski Nation, and the Indigenous Food Circle. These experiences have highlighted many deep-seated structural and interpersonal tensions inherent in doing nutrition and food systems work on stolen land. These tensions continue to pose significant challenges to Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous-settler relations, and the collective capacity of community efforts to envision and enact alternative futures. I arrived at this research hoping to remedy the enormous gap in my own consciousness laid bare to me through these organizational experiences, and to bring other settlers along in the process. I also hoped to find and articulate more instances of where and how these tensions were being overcome. This research is an attempt to embody my settler responsibilities as a dietitian, scholar, activist and community member. There are many ironies and limitations to this project—many of which are valuable and necessary. I am proud of this work but am humbled by how much I have yet to learn and do (which seems both urgent and timeless). And, I am not saying anything new here; I am learning alongside the settler participants of this research and from decades (and more) of work by Indigenous people, and some allies, that I've engaged with through books and podcasts and in person, within and outside of the food movement—this includes the Indigenous leaders that have generously participated in this research. All errors and shortcomings are my own. All findings and recommendations will be taken with me in my work.

Now that I have established a general overview of the research, the remaining chapters detail and discuss the research process: Chapter 2 reviews pertinent literature and introduces foundational frameworks; Chapter 3 applies these frameworks as a research methodology and outlines the methods used to operationalize the research methodology; Chapter 4 presents the findings. Findings are presented through three overlapping categories that emerged from a thematic analysis: settler inaction, problematic inclusion, and productive engagements (including organizational commitments and long-term visions). Data from Australia and Northwestern Ontario are presented together, with each part concluding with a paragraph or so expanding on place-specific findings. In Chapter 5 I put the findings into conversation with the literature to

outline three areas where food movement organizations can more deeply engage in addressing settler colonialism: Situating our(settler)selves, (re)negotiating relationships, and making organizational commitment. Chapter 6 provides concluding reflections, arguments, and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I introduce the active and ongoing process of settler colonialism, including the settler identity and the risks and opportunities of applying SCT in research. I then introduce the process of decolonization, situating it as a supplemental frame to SCT and the ultimate goal of this research. This includes outlining how a decolonizing lens unsettles settler approaches, generally and specific to social movements, as well as how it provides guidance to more meaningful ways settlers can engage in anti-colonial action and decolonization. Next, I examine how settler colonialism is implicated in food systems and food movement scholarship, identifying gaps and criticisms in the literature, particularly related to food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignties. I conclude by drawing connections between settler colonialism and social and ecological health and justice.

Settler Colonialism

Settler colonialism has been described as an ongoing, land-based process—not a past event or legacy—that aims to eliminate and replace Indigenous societies with an invasive settler population (Wolfe, 2006). Theft of territory is its irreducible element, whereby land transfers are forced through direct and indirect violence in the form of disease, starvation, warfare, imposed legal systems, and/or falsified narratives (Lowman & Barker, 2015). To these ends, settler colonialism often involves forced dissolution of native title, child abduction and family separation, bans on spiritual practices, religious conversion, structural discrimination, and ultimately, genocide (Lowman & Barker, 2015). Importantly, Indigenous scholars further complicate settler colonialism, describing it as a "cacophony" of contradictions (Byrd, 2011) intimately linked with other systems of power including heteropatriarchy, white supremacy, imperialism, and capitalism (Coulthard, 2015). Settler colonialism is more than a geographical or political project (Barker, 2009)—it is also a social and cultural one (Memmi, 1991). It acts through "imperial arrogance"—institutional and individual behaviours and mentalities premised on the superiority and universality of European and Euro-American cultures (Alfred, 2005), existing "alongside our outrage at injustice and our sadness over Indigenous suffering" (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013).

Despite being a systemic issue, settler colonialism begins (and ends) at the personal level, profoundly shaping individual and collective identities (and senses of belonging) which are then *mobilized* to create and shape larger structures (Lowman & Barker, 2015). Thus, it's not being and/or identifying as settler that is the problem per se, but settlers' everyday choices to

collectively invest and believe in, consent to, and actively support ongoing settler colonial processes, including the reluctance to challenge the unearned benefits of being settlers (Barker, 2009). Alfred (2005) argues,

> People, not the system, must be the focus of the movement for change because, after all, it is people who make empires; systems and structures are only the theoretical constructions we use to understand the dynamics of psychology manifesting and people interacting in public and private ways (p. 104-5).

In other words, individuals' actions must never be falsely separated from their effects on broader systems (Flowers, 2015); actions to address settler colonialism must therefore target both individual and systems-level processes.

For this project, I use Barker's (2009) definition of settler to refer to "most peoples who occupy lands previously stolen or in the process of being taken from their Indigenous inhabitants or who are otherwise members of the 'Settler society,' which is founded on co-opted lands and resources." Further, Lowman & Barker (2015) use settler to signify a particular relationship to land, power, and migration, and describe it as situated (location-specific), process-based (practice-centered), and disavowed (invisibility-seeking), but also relational (to other people, creatures, and land), non-discrete (at times overlapping with other identities), and non-binary (there are more identities than just settler and Indigenous).[1] However, this research gives little attention to positionality outside the Indigenous-settler binary[2]. Consequently, I lean on several points of caution offered in the literature. First, Jafri (2012) calls for a shift in focus from settler privilege to complicity, as one does not have to be privileged to be complicit in settler colonialism, as is the case for many settlers of colour (Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Complicity also re-centers complex systems of power, whereas privilege tends to be oversimplified, homogenous, indulgent, performative, and self-centered. Settler is not a static object we possess (Jafri, 2012), but a "set of responsibilities and action" not to be used synonymously with non-Indigeneity (Flowers, 2015). Further, settler is a critical, relational term

[1] Though by no means a complete list, see the following for some perspectives of the inclusion of people of color under the label "settler": Amadahy & Lawrence (2009); Byrd (2011); Jafri (2012); Lawrence & Dua (2005); Morgan (2019); and Phung (2011).

[2] Important criticisms of the Indigenous-Settler binary exist alongside arguments in support of it. Wolfe (2013) argues that settler denial of binarism is itself an instrument of conquest; "it is naïve, if not consciously complicit, for academic discourse to recapitulate multiculturalism's claim to have subverted a binarism of White vs. the rest" (p. 259). He also asserts that "The fact that enslaved people immigrated against their will…does not alter the structural fact that their presence, however involuntary, was part of the process of Native dispossession" (p. 263). Kovach (2009) contends that "As the academic landscape shifts with an increasing Indigenous presence, there is a desire among a growing community of non-Indigenous academics to move beyond the binaries found within Indigenous-settler relations to construct new, mutual forms of dialogue, research, theory, and action. As long as the academy mirrors a homogenous reflection of bodies, minds, and methods, our move in this direction is stalled" (p. 12).

that "denaturalizes and politicizes the presence of non-Indigenous people on Indigenous lands," forces confrontation of one's roles in ongoing colonialism (Flowers, 2015), and provides an impetus for transformation (Snelgrove et al., 2014). To claim settler identity is to declare illegitimacy on the land, as well as complicity with and benefit from settler colonialism (Lowman & Barker, 2015).

While settler colonialism is by no means a new area of scholarly inquiry, SCT, and more broadly settler colonial studies, can be described as a recent and burgeoning white settler endeavour to better understand our positionality in present-day settler states. Using the frame of settler colonialism or SCT is useful in multiple ways for this research. Specifically, it: emphasizes the *ongoingness* of colonization in settler societies, dismissing the temporality often attributed to it (for example, referring to the "legacy" of colonization or consigning "authentic" Indigeneity to a romanticized past); helps define settlers' frame of reference, thus enabling us to consider perspectives beyond it; draws similarities between conservative and progressive policy approaches, thus implicating *everyone* no matter how well-intentioned, left-leaning, or differently-located; and connects individual investments in settler colonialism to broader structures (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013).

SCT can bring about revelatory understandings of settler positionalities, however, there are several criticisms of particular relevance to this project. First, SCT frames colonialism as an inevitable and unchanging structure that "struggles to narrate its own ending," evoking settler fatalism and the responsibility to act (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). This structural inevitability also has the effect of foreclosing Indigenous agency (Merlan, 1997; Povinelli, 1997) and overlooks complex and enduring aspects of Indigeneity such as the ontological relationships Indigenous Peoples hold with land that exist despite and outside of settler colonialism (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009; Konishi, 2019; Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Russell, 2010). I have tried to counter this by situating settler colonialism as an ongoing process, rather than a structure, throughout this paper, as well as placing it alongside oppositional frameworks of decolonization and Indigenous resistance and resurgence. Second, despite being founded on the scholarship and activism of Black and Indigenous people, the field of settler colonial studies today centers upon a small number of white, male scholars (Carey & Silverstein, 2020), thereby reinforcing settler dominance in a realm where Indigenous Peoples will always have ultimate authority (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). "Ethical SCT", Carlson (2017) writes, must involve the recognition of Indigenous scholarship before, outside, and critical of SCT and the inherent limitations of settlers engaging in anti-colonial methodologies:

> Settler colonial studies and anti-colonial settler scholars owe a huge debt to Indigenous oral and academic scholarship and to traditions of activism. Not only has our scholarship

> (hopefully) been built on the foundation of Indigenous anti-colonial oral and academic scholarship, the content of our work is also dependent on the historical and contemporary presence of the suffering of Indigenous peoples under settler colonialism. As we research, write, publish, gain academic positions and promotions, we are benefiting from Indigenous dispossession. (p. 508)

Without this recognition, research by, on, and for settlers—like this research—(re)centers settler perspectives and positions settlers as the main actors in challenging settler colonialism, thereby obscuring settler complicity and silencing Indigenous voices (Fortier, 2017a). Moreover, the institutionalization of settler colonial studies can "displace, overshadow, or even mask over" Indigenous studies, Peoples, and struggles (Snelgrove et al., 2014) including those whose analyses do not fit neatly into the bounds of, or revolve around, the settler colonial framework (Carey & Silverstein, 2020). For example, settler colonialism is described as invisible, naturalized, and pervasive—but for whom? As it stands, non-Indigenous theorists denigrate Indigenous knowledges as primitive, physical, un-philosophical, fictive, mythological, and opinion-based (Sium et al., 2012), as well as heteropatriarchal (Smith, 2014). Diligence by settler scholars is needed to right this. Thirdly, SCT enforces a settler-Indigenous binarism that paints settler colonialism as a meta-structure, negating the influence of interwoven forms of domination such as racism, patriarchy, homonationalism, ableism, and capitalism (Snelgrove et al., 2014). Lastly, the separation between settler epistemology and ontology (Watts, 2013) leads to a disconnect between theory driven by settlers and their research practices and life praxis (Carlson, 2017). Because of these critiques (and others), it is suggested that SCT be used in a way that emphasizes its own limitations and supplemented by other approaches that more meaningfully engage with the Indigenous (Carey & Silverstein, 2020; Kehaulani, 2016; Macoun & Strakosch, 2013).

Decolonization

I situate decolonization within this research as the supplemental (or counter) frame to SCT, and the imperative that lies beyond addressing settler colonialism. Decolonization can be described as a "messy, dynamic, and contradictory process" whose definitions and outcomes are diverse, place-based, and largely unknown (Sium et al., 2012). Smith (2014) contends that decolonization *must* be unknown, as it entails the *collective* creation of new worlds for which the language and vision does not yet exist. It is not to be conflated with anti-colonialism; decolonization, Lowman & Barker (2015) contend, involves more than anti-colonial action but is "both the ending of colonialism and also the act of *becoming something other than colonial*" (p.

111, emphasis in original). It involves a "constant state of trial and error and radical experimentation" (Smith, 2014, p. 225). In light of the collective work decolonization entails, Tuck & Yang (2012) assert that decolonization is not accountable to settlers and must fundamentally be about the "repatriation of Indigenous land and life".

Tuck & Yang (2012) discuss the myriad ways in which decolonization is insidiously homogenized with other forms of oppression and used as a metaphor for settler acts that do more to uphold settler colonialism than disrupt it. Many of these partial and convenient acts toward decolonization, they argue, are in fact "moves to innocence": settler rationalizations that absolve feelings of guilt and complicity around the settler project without promoting any redistribution of power such as land, rights and sovereignty. Settler moves to innocence can be likened to Memmi's (1991) concept of "colonizers who refuse," self-identified progressives who intellectually oppose colonial injustice while nevertheless refusing to accept their unearned benefit and involvement and thus do not act in ways that challenge colonization. Building off Tuck & Yang (2012), Lowman & Barker (2015) introduce a related, but different concept of settler "moves to comfort," emotional shifts that rely on feelings of guilt, confession, and false ignorance. In this thesis, I am not concerned with comparing these concepts but rather wish to highlight that settlers cannot meaningfully engage in the collective process of decolonization if they haven't first begun the hard work of confronting their own positions and investments in settler colonialism (Butler Burke, 2004) as well as imagining alternative relationships with the specific Indigenous Peoples whose lands they occupy (Flowers, 2015).

A decolonizing lens also offers important epistemological cautions. Smith (2014) discusses the ways in which the settler identity relies on a fixed, homogenized understanding of the Indigenous Other. Settlers' preoccupations with the belief that Indigenous Peoples can be "known" and therefore managed distracts settlers from turning our gaze inward, onto ourselves. Jones & Jenkins (2008) discuss the major skew in learning needs in Indigenous-settler dialogue and that settler listening does not automatically lead to a truer understanding of Indigeneity and often fails to produce meaningful shifts in power. "Deafness of the colonizers to indigenous speakers is one of the necessary conditions of a colonized society," they add (p. 11). Listening and learning become convenient ends where settlers can claim redemption (Tuck & Yang, 2012). At the same time, the assumption that being known by settlers leads to being liberated means that Indigenous Peoples are often put into the position of "articulating both who they are and their struggles in easily containable and understandable sound bites that foreclose the possibilities of collective imagining, analysis, and thought that are necessary to build another world" (Smith, 2014, p. 230). Thus, decolonization entails Indigenous Peoples' "refusal to be known and the

refusal to be infinitely knowable" (Smith, 2014, p. 231) and requires that settlers abandon the myth of total accessibility to Indigenous knowledges and experiences (Jones & Jenkins, 2008).

Using a decolonizing framework has important implications in the context of social movements. First, in regard to social movement research, Sium et al. (2012) assert that decolonization demands scholars become actors and not simply remain spectators to the knowledge we produce. However, they note that the theory-action divide, or the disconnect between scholarship and activism, remains a key challenge to the conceptualization and practice of decolonization. For example, they write that the concept has been deemed too "academic" for some activists; consequently, these disconnects become weaknesses of social movement practice and scholarship. Next, a decolonizing lens can "unsettle the innocence" of settler-based social movements (Lawrence & Dua, 2005) under the wide banners of social and ecological justice (*Accomplices not Allies*, 2014; Davis, 2010; Fortier, 2017b; Greensmith & Giwa, 2013; Wallace, 2013). For instance, Lawrence & Dua (2005) argue decolonization cannot be equated to forms of anti-racism praxis premised on ongoing colonialism within a liberal-pluralist, multicultural framework. Doing so, they assert, distorts and dilutes decolonization and obscures the complex ways people of color are involved in settler colonialism. Similarly, Fortier (2017b) and Grande (2013) differentiate decolonization from other liberatory struggles in settler colonial contexts by exploring the contradictions inherent in social movements like Occupy that seek to "(re)claim the commons" on stolen land. There is also a rich area of literature on Indigenous-settler alliances, solidarity, and allyship within social movements that traces and problematizes the transformative processes settlers experience as they confront settler colonialism (Boudreau Morris, 2017; Davis, 2010; Davis et al. 2017; Hiller, 2017; Lowman & Barker, 2015; Maddison et al., 2016; McGuire & Denis, 2019; Regan, 2010; Reynolds, 2013).

In contrast, meaningful settler approaches to decolonization are grounded in difference and discomfort. To center difference between Indigenous and settler Peoples means to adopt an "ethic of incommensurability" rather than one that seeks points of commonality (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Such an approach involves a "dangerous understanding of uncommonality…that may feel very unfriendly (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Along these lines, Jones & Jenkins (2008) suggest that productive discourse between Indigenous and Settler Peoples is contentious and uncertain, and requires settlers to learn and accept irreducible, incommensurable differences *from* the Other, rather than approaching collaboration to merely learn *about* the Other (Jones & Jenkins, 2008). To this end, accepting incommensurability and being unsettled in general can be channeled into a "pedagogy of discomfort" for settlers seeking positions of solidarity with Indigenous Peoples (Corntassel & Gaudry, 2014; deLeeuw et al., 2013; Tuck & Yang, 2012). It is imperative these multiple forms of settler misconduct are front of mind in social movements, as the cooperation

and active support of settler allies is a key tenet of a successful decolonization movement (Alfred, 2005; Walia, 2012).

Settler Colonialism and Food Systems

The settler colonial project works through the legitimation and normalization of settler occupation and control over Indigenous lands and is thus intimately enmeshed in food systems—not only through connections to land, water, culture, and identity, but through investments in logics and institutions that support constructs such as private land ownership, industrial agriculture, and the state (Dennis & Robin, 2020; Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2018; Whyte, 2018). In uncritically (and often unconsciously) maintaining these investments, settlers take an active role in ongoing dispossession of Indigenous Peoples from their traditional lands and food systems (Kepkiewicz, 2020). Further dispossession is enacted through systems such as political borders and jurisdiction, reserves, and (dishonoured or distorted) treaties; assimilationist policies through state legislation such as the Indian Act, residential schools, and bans on ceremonies, gatherings, protocols, and practices related to traditional food systems; patriarchal reconstruction of women's roles to serve the settler economy; privatization of Indigenous lands for urban and rural development; and privatization and pollution of traditional territories through extractive resource industries (Daigle, 2019). Each of these processes profoundly ruptures the complex web of land- and place-based relationships vital to Indigenous identities, cultures and nationhoods (McFarlane & Schabus, 2017; Morrison, 2011).

Critical perspectives have become well-established in food movement scholarship (Goodman et al., 2012; Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Lang & Heasman, 2015), notably those around racism and white supremacy (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011; Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010; Guthman, 2008; Slocum, 2007). However, far fewer accounts use settler colonialism as a critical lens and even fewer examine how settler colonialism is being addressed by food movement organizations. Important work has traced the enforcement of settler colonial processes on Indigenous lands and food systems through early settlement (for examples in Canada, see Daschuk, 2013; for Australia, see Ma Rhea, 2017; Mayes, 2018; Pascoe, 2018). Only in the past decade, though, have critiques emerged around ongoing settler colonialism in contemporary food movements where the very lands that settler food systems play out on are stolen (Bradley & Herrera, 2016; Etmanski, 2012; Matties, 2016; Mayes, 2018; Rotz, 2017). Settler colonialism indeed appears to be a "blind spot", as Mayes (2018) points out, resulting in food movements not only limiting their own capacities to achieve their goals but unintentionally reproducing the oppressive power relations they seek to challenge.

How is settler colonialism reproduced in the context of food movements? In addition to uncritical investments in colonial logics and systems, several scholars have problematized the approach of inclusion. Specifically, Kepkiewicz et al. (2015) highlight the common approach of including marginalized groups in food justice work. They use this as a key example of a well-intended settler move that does little to dismantle systems of oppression and redistribute power, but instead reinforces and naturalizes notions of who needs help, who gives it, and the nature of that help (i.e. incorporating Others into settler society under settler terms). Similarly, Grey & Newman (2018) interrogate the inclusion of Indigenous gastronomy in mainstream settler cuisine as part of a broader strategy of liberal multiculturalism. They call this contemporary frontier "culinary colonialism" and argue that refusal or "mindful withholding" of Indigenous food and cuisine can itself be an act of Indigenous resistance and resurgence and should be included in the definition of food sovereignty (Grey & Newman, 2018). These two problematizations speak to the broader approach by the settler state to recognize and accommodate Indigenous rights *within* existing colonial legal and political frameworks (Coulthard, 2014). We see these politics playing out in national, state-led "Reconciliation" movements, for instance (Alfred, 2014; Alfred, 2016; Maddison et al., 2016). The above critiques also highlight refusal as an important form of Indigenous resistance to settler inclusion and recognition, and a parallel settler responsibility to accept refusal when it is given (Flowers, 2015; Palmater, 2018; Simpson, 2014). Additional critiques include a lack of settler reflexivity and understanding of settler colonialism's intersections with other systems of power such as capitalism, patriarchy, and white supremacy (Etmanski, 2012; Rotz, 2017).

Like other alternative food movements, the manifestations and articulations of food sovereignty in the global north face important critiques, particularly in regard to land and property relations. Food sovereignty is "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (Nyéléni, 2007). At its core, it is a transformative political project rooted in visions of anti-capitalist access, protection, and redistribution of land and food systems under grassroots control (Desmarais, 2007). This focus on land and power makes food sovereignty a favourable framework from which to address settler colonialism. However, although light is being shed on issues of soil degradation, land grabbing, financial speculation, increasing prices, and Indigenous land rights (i.e. settler land access and ownership), the fundamental construct of private property (i.e. settler occupation and appropriation of Indigenous land) remains unchallenged (Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2018). As a result, the movement has so far failed to challenge settler claims to land, adequately engage Indigenous perspectives, and return land to Indigenous nations. Further critiques of more reformist food sovereignty visions include

narrow conceptualizations of rights (as opposed to responsibilities), agriculture, and sovereignty as well disregard for Indigenous food practices, relations, epistemologies, ontologies, and experiences of colonization (Coté, 2016; Edelman et al., 2014; Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Grey & Patel, 2014; Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2018). These critiques signify that Indigenous Peoples in the global north are not seeing their visions reflected in today's broader movement (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014) and that important work is to be done to unsettle food movements and make way for Indigenous visions of food sovereignty (Coté, 2016; Grey & Patel, 2015). This work marks a vital opportunity for movements' growth, collective action and solidarity-building (Daigle, 2019; Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Grey & Patel 2014).

Indigenous Food Sovereignties

Indigenous approaches to food sovereignty represent a rapidly expanding area of research in Canada led by Indigenous people, communities, and organizations (Cidro & Martens, 2015; Daigle, 2019; FSC, 2009; Kamal et al., 2015; Martens et al., 2016; Morrison, 2011; Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013; Whyte, 2018). While the term's acceptance and use varies, Indigenous Peoples have embodied food sovereignty for thousands of years (Daigle, 2019; Morrison, 2011). For the purposes of this thesis, I use the term Indigenous food sovereignties as an overarching frame to encompass a number of other terms used in various places while recognizing that Indigenous Peoples and ways of knowing are incredibly diverse. According to the Pan-Canadian Indigenous Circle (2009) that guided the People's Food Policy Project, current Indigenous food sovereignty efforts "continue to be linked to the historic claims to the hunting, fishing, and gathering grounds in their respective traditional territories" and foster ongoing connections "between the traditional and the contemporary, the urban and rural." Since European settlement, Indigenous food sovereignties have been inextricably tied to broader struggles of resistance to settler colonialism and to cultural, social, and political resurgence (Daigle, 2019; Grey & Patel, 2014)—often met with violent settler backlash (Lowman & Barker, 2015). And though explicitly for and by Indigenous people, Indigenous food sovereignties offer invaluable guidance for settler food movement actors who not only wish to avoid undermining Indigenous efforts but actively support them.

What does meaningful settler engagement in Indigenous food sovereignties look like? Scholars argue settlers must find new ways to relate to land and place that are not predicated on erasure, exploitation and appropriation (Kepkiewicz, 2020; Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2018; Martens, 2015; Townsend et al., 2009); support inherent and treaty rights and responsibilities that uphold Indigenous food practices on Indigenous lands (Grey & Newman, 2018; Morrison, 2011);

decenter settler notions and expressions of sovereignty by re-centering counter-narratives of Indigenous authorities, women, youth, and Elders, as well as queer, trans, and two-spirited people (Daigle, 2019); adopt a decolonizing framework (Bradley & Herrera, 2016; Maddison & Brigg, 2011); and find ways to repay the immeasurable economic and ecological debt owed to Indigenous Peoples (Grey & Patel, 2014). As food movements consider how to engage in these practices within their own work, applying the aforementioned ethic of incommensurability and pedagogy of discomfort will be key (Kepkiewicz, 2015).

Settler Colonialism, Health, and Health Inequities

With sustained, mounting, and diverse forms of Indigenous resistance and resurgence in mind, the violence of settler colonialism impacts all areas of Indigenous life, manifesting in myriad ways, directly and indirectly, as health inequities. Compared to their settler counterparts, Indigenous people in both Australia and Canada are more likely to die younger; experience unemployment, overcrowding and poor housing conditions, interpersonal violence, suicide, infant mortality, diseases and death related to cigarette smoking, drug and alcohol abuse, malnutrition, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, renal disease, and hypertension; and are less likely to obtain a high school diploma/year 12 attainment (Australian Government, 2019; Australian Indigenous HealthInfoNet, 2019; NCCAH, 2013). Indigenous people in both countries are also subject to disproportionate burdens of climate change, many of which directly impact health and food systems (Ford, 2010; Green et al., 2009). At the same time, Indigenous peoples are uniquely positioned to adapt to and mitigate climate change through traditional knowledge systems and institutions that are grounded in relationships with place (Ford et al., 2020; Norton-Smith et al., 2016; Nursey-Bray et al., 2019). Indigenous health literature has well established the many connections of such health inequities to historical and ongoing colonialism and the unique health determinants of Indigenous people in settler states (Adelson, 2005; Reading & Wien, 2009; Richmond et al., 2007). For instance, Greenwood et al. (2015) position land and geography as determinants of health and Czyzewski (2011) argues for the inclusion of colonialism as a distal determinant of health. This literature importantly frames settler colonialism as a pressing public health problem.

Rayner & Lang (2015) argue that the best approach to public health today is one that incorporates a broad range of models and aims at fundamentally changing interrelated social and ecological factors. This involves thinking long-term and confronting systemic causes of social and ecological crises such as climate change, neoliberalism, capitalism, and democracy (Rayner & Lang, 2015). Interestingly, this conceptualization of public health is not far from the idea of

food sovereignty, which aims to fundamentally change the conditions and relations within the food system; food sovereignty is a call for Peoples to have the capacity to secure the farming, fishing, labour, and land conditions and relations that support the social and ecological health of their unique contexts (Wittman, 2011). If social and ecological health inequities are understood as injustices, there are important connections between approaches for social and ecological health (such as in public health) and social and ecological justice (such as food sovereignty and other food movements) that beg further exploration. In this way, food sovereignty and public health are aligned in their goals of social and ecological health/justice and their commitment to equity through approaches that seek long-term, systemic improvements in democracy, access, power relations, and well-being (Borras & Mohamed, 2020; Welier et al., 2015).

Conclusion

This chapter has established settler colonialism as a systemic, but also deeply personal land-based process with important intersections with other structures of oppression. The Indigenous-settler binary I include in my understanding of settler colonialism is imperfect, but functional for the purposes of this research and is meant to emphasize responsibility and accountability. Decolonization is situated as a supplemental framework and imperative beyond this research that is far more than the antithesis of settler colonialism. I have also outlined ways in which decolonization is appropriated and diluted by settlers, but how it can unsettle movements for social and ecological justice by centering incommensurability and discomfort. Finally, I have discussed the ways in which settler colonialism is intimately tied to food systems and (often blindly) perpetuated by food movements—an issue that goes under-examined in the literature. Approaches of "inclusion" as well as the food sovereignty movement in the global north are importantly critiqued by Indigenous perspectives, including those offered by Indigenous food sovereignties. Important connections are to be made between settler colonialism, food sovereignties, public health, and social and ecological health and justice.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I expand on anti-colonial and decolonizing approaches outlined in the previous chapter and consider their implications for methodologies I use in this research project done by, on, and for settlers. By this, I mean that this research conducted by a settler, supervised and reviewed by settlers, informed by mostly settler participants, and intended for settler audiences needs to be interrogated and unsettled at every turn using a variety of strategies. I then discuss how a community-based approach works in conjunction with these frameworks to partner with two food systems network organizations—The Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy and Sustain: The Australian Food Network. National and regional contexts are provided alongside introductions to these two network organizations. Next, I detail my methods of purposeful participant sampling, data collection through in-depth, semi-structured interviews, and thematic analysis. I conclude by briefly reflecting on several ethical considerations and limitations of this work.

Anti-Colonial and Decolonizing Settler Research Methodologies

A plethora of theories and methodologies contribute to anti-colonial and decolonizing scholarship. I feel it is neither my place nor aim to apply Indigenous and decolonizing research methodologies to a project done by, on, and for settlers. However, these approaches contextualize and guide my work—particularly in their demands and critiques of anti-colonial settler scholarship that strives toward decolonization. Much of the anti-colonial settler scholarship is located within the broad field of settler colonial studies and uses SCT, the main theoretical underpinning of this project.

As discussed in the previous chapter, SCT can be thought of as an imperfect, but functional framework with which to approach the study of settler colonialism. Using the framework had several implications in this research. First, it complicated data collection. I used the terminology and a brief definition of settler colonialism during the data collection process (including in recruitment, information and consent materials, as well as interview questions) in an attempt to ensure my participants shared a basic understanding and acknowledgment of settler colonialism and met the eligibility criteria of being interested or actively involved in addressing it through their work. However, using the framework of SCT also revealed many discrepancies between participants' and my own use and understanding of the issue, diluting or obscuring the research objectives at hand. For example, I would often find myself swapping "…addressing

settler colonialism" with "…addressing relationships with Indigenous Peoples", or "engaging in reconciliation" in an attempt to get on more familiar terms with participants.

Second, it highlights the need for settlers to take greater responsibility in unpacking settler colonialism, which largely constitutes my rationale to focus on settler participants for this research. However, the critiques or risks of using SCT oblige me to simultaneously decenter these settler voices wherever possible to avoid positioning settlers as the main actors and experts in anti-colonial work, and to lay bare settler complicity and silencing of Indigenous voices (Fortier, 2017a). In this research, I attempted to decenter settler perspectives by seeking out particular Indigenous participants who could offer counter-perspectives, as well as by considering decolonization and Indigenous food sovereignty scholarship. This scholarship is important in that it articulates what SCT cannot—that is, possible ends and alternatives to settler colonialism—the broader intention of this work: helping to contextualize the act of confronting settler colonialism as a prerequisite to, more than a synonym for, decolonization; problematizing common settler attempts to engage (and disengage) in these issues, whether done in the name of inclusion, diversity, or social and ecological justice; and underscoring the risks, limitations, and ethical demands of my research (which I expand on below).

Considering the rich area of anti-colonial and decolonizing research methodologies, far less has been written about whether and how they apply to research by, on, and for settlers wishing to support and participate in decolonization. Exploring this in his own doctoral research on settler-based, anti-authoritarian social movements, Fortier (2017a) identifies guiding principles in using a decolonizing research methodology. Similarly, Carlson (2017) proposes principles of anti-colonial research methodology for settler scholars. A synthesis of Fortier (2017a) and Carlson's (2017) principles especially relevant in this research include:

1. Situating social movement analyses within settler colonialism and intersecting power structures such as white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, capitalism, and imperialism
2. Grounding work in long-term, reciprocal, place-based relationships with specific Indigenous people, communities, and lands
3. Sharing Indigenous knowledges and practices with other settlers in non-appropriative, respectful and responsible ways
4. Attributing each piece of knowledge to specific Indigenous people and nations
5. Practicing critical self-reflexivity; and remaining attentive to the inherent limitations of settler subjectivities.

I incorporate the above principles into this project in earnest but nevertheless partial ways. Specifically, in recognizing that settler colonialism is bound to other systems of domination, I drew from intersectional scholarship and community perspectives in Thunder Bay and Australia through, for example, public discussions and social media campaigns. However, my early learning stage and the scope of the project limits intersectionality of my analysis. Next, the impetus for this project originated from past engagements and experiences (for example, with the Indigenous Food Circle) that constitute what Kovach (2009) calls the "relational work" of engaging with specific Indigenous people and communities. However, the research process itself has ironically detached me from sustaining this relational work, as my participants were predominantly settlers and my analysis and writing has largely taken place in the confines of a secluded campus space and with my own settler thoughts. Regarding the third principle, I have tried to accurately convey the perspectives of Indigenous participants by including direct quotations wherever possible and minimizing paraphrasing or abstraction. I also structured my analysis around their insights—in other words, I tried to speak with, rather than for, Indigenous participants. However, my attempts to emphasize the plurality of Indigenous perspectives and identities are hampered by my persistent use of "Indigenous," a term that homogenizes and essentializes the many distinct nations referred to or implicated in my own and participants' work. This reveals another limitation of offering confidentiality to settler participants in that the specific Indigenous communities whose land they are settled on go unnamed. Speaking to the last principle, I understand critical self-reflexivity as the ongoing practice of locating myself within settler colonialism, which includes examining my shifting privilege, benefit, complicity, responsibility, epistemology, whiteness, and power (Kovach, 2009) and connecting it with action through personal learning as well as collective solidarity. It also entails understanding and making known the inherent limitations of my positionality as well as the incommensurable differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways of knowing (Kovach, 2009) so that audiences engage with this work with those inadequacies in mind. My intention to embody some of my settler responsibility by conducting this research makes me no more immune to the countless missteps of settler scholars. I practiced critical self-reflexivity by keeping the following questions front of mind: Why am I doing this work? What are the demands of the Fort William First Nation, the diverse Indigenous communities in Thunder Bay, throughout Northwestern Ontario, and in Australia, and how is this work responding accordingly? What are my ties to these communities?

As this chapter has demonstrated thus far, applying anti-colonial and decolonizing research methodologies to research done by, on, and for settlers carries with it many critiques, risks, and limitations and requires constant unsettling. I now introduce the community-based

approach of this research and discuss how such an approach can help apply these anti-colonial and decolonizing methodologies in localized contexts through partnerships with two food systems networks.

Community-Based Research

Community-based research (CBR) has grown substantially over the past two decades in response to the demand for higher education to better fulfill its public mandate—to broaden its application of knowledge for the betterment of civil society and to build students' civil capacity (Strand et al., 2003). CBR centers upon three principles: 1) an equitable research partnership between community members, students, and researchers; 2) a valuing of multiple sources of knowledge and methods of inquiry, knowledge-making and knowledge-sharing; and 3) the primary aim of addressing a community problem related to power inequities, thereby effecting social action and ultimately social change (Strand et al., 2003). Notably, the CBR approach has significant overlaps with the food sovereignty research praxis outlined by Levkoe et al. (2019a), further supporting food sovereignty as a supplemental framework to this research. Partnerships were formed with two food systems networks to recruit eligible participants for data collection: The Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy and Sustain: The Australian Food Network. I will now introduce the two network organizations, beginning with the national and regional contexts they operate within.

Canada – Northwestern Ontario

In what is now known as Canada, prolonged contact between Indigenous Peoples and Europeans led to the formation of permanent settler colonies beginning sometime around the early 1600s with Confederation marking the institutionalization of settler colonialism in 1867 (Daschuk, 2013). Lowman & Barker (2015) describe settler colonialism in Canada as manifesting as three main land-based sub-structures: spaces, systems and stories. In the first structure, physical spaces that have been the traditional lands of Indigenous Peoples for thousands of years are transformed into settler property; examples include cities like Thunder Bay but extend to many forms of public and private land. A considerable amount of individual and state-led violence is enacted on Indigenous Peoples when those claims to spaces are challenged, such as in the Oka Crisis of 1990 and more recently the Wet'suwet'en struggle in British Columbia. In the second structure, systems are designed to achieve the goals of settler

colonialism such as the Indian Residential Schools and the Sixties Scoop. Settler colonialism has persisted in more subtle and indirectly violent (neocolonial) ways through systems such as education, social services, police, and health, as well as the broader legal and social system (as demonstrated through, for example, the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women epidemic). In the third structure, stories or narratives are manipulated to mask colonial violence with heroic adventurism using tools of legitimation such as terra nullius, treaties, and national identity, which also rests on the appropriation of countless items, concepts, and ideas (Lowman & Barker, 2015).

Northwestern Ontario encompasses over half of the province's land mass and is bound by Lake Superior (the world's largest freshwater lake) to the south, the Manitoba border to the west, Hudson Bay to the north, and James Bay to the east. It sits on the Traditional Territory of the Anishinaabe Peoples of the Robinson-Superior Treaty of 1850, as well as Treaty 3, Treaty 5, and Treaty 9, and is home to dozens of First Nations, each with their own governance systems, histories, and cultures. Thunder Bay is the region's largest city with a population of about 110,000 (almost half the region's population) and serves as a regional hub for many essential services. While the settler population is primarily of European origin, Indigenous people make up almost 13% of the city's population, the highest proportion of urban Indigenous people in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017). While demonstrating incredible resilience, Indigenous people in Thunder Bay face incredible amounts of direct and systemic racism every day in the form of stereotypes, exclusion, threats, intimidation, physical violence, and death (Haiven, 2019; Sinclair, 2018).

Food movement activity in Northwestern Ontario has been strong. Notably, years of community engagement by the Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy led to the emergence of an Indigenous Food Circle in 2017. The Indigenous Food Circle aims to use food as a tool for reconciliation and resurgence through strengthening the fabric of Indigenous-led organizations in the Thunder Bay area, providing a space to develop Indigenous-led and decolonized solutions to food systems issues, and to forge relationships between Indigenous-led and settler-led organizations (Levkoe et al., 2019b). To the west, the British Columbia Food Systems Network (BCFSN) is another important regional example of a food movement organization in Canada committing to the long-term process of decolonization (other organizations including Food Secure Canada, Meal Exchange, and the National Farmer's Union are initiating similar processes as this thesis is being written). In 2006, the BCFSN Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty began engaging Indigenous communities around how Indigenous struggles for food security and food sovereignty could be better supported and what it means to decolonize practices within the settler-based network (Morrison, 2008; Morrison & Brynne, 2016). Solutions centered upon education and skill-building, research and mapping, and policy and

advocacy. An evaluation model and decolonizing pledge were also developed. Nationally, the People's Food Policy Project presents a grassroots-proposed national food policy as a result of an almost three-year, country-wide consultation from 2008-2011 (PFPP, 2011). An Indigenous Circle guided the formation of the broader policy and wrote the policy paper of Indigenous Food Sovereignty (FSC, 2009), as well as a First Principles Protocol for Building Cross-Cultural Relationships (IC, 2010). Priority recommendations included honouring nation-to-nation agreements through land reform and redistribution; combining Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledges and governance to halt environmental degradation; improving Indigenous health through a social determinants of health approach; and focusing on responsibilities and relationships as a way to begin healing tensions between Indigenous and settler Peoples (FSC, 2009; Levkoe & Sheedy, 2019; PFPP, 2011). Important critiques from Indigenous activists involved in this work continue to unsettle these processes.

The Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy.[3]

The Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy (TBAFS) is a food systems network that brings local organizations together to implement goals of the Thunder Bay Food Charter[4] that center upon creating a more healthy, sustainable, and equitable food system. The TBAFS acts through research, planning, policy, and program-related activities as outlined in its Strategic Action Plan. After five years of development and consultation, the TBAFS officially launched in 2013 with a Strategic Action Plan and several working groups, and in 2016, transitioned their organizational structure from a strategy to a council with 10 elected executive committee members who provide direction to a paid coordinator. A broader council of representatives from across food sectors provides input to the executive committee bi-annually. The TBAFS remains active to date and now seats representatives from over 40 organizations and seven surrounding municipalities. Organizational representatives are from a broad range of sectors including advocacy, agriculture, anti-poverty, economic development, emergency food providers, environment, First Nations, government, healthcare, education/research, labour, land use, public health, and supply chain. Key activities include the Thunder Bay and Area Food and Agriculture Market Study, publication of an annual magazine, and engagement in local and regional policy.

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[3] The information under this subheading is compiled from the TBAFS website (http://tbfoodstrategy.com); Levkoe et al. (2019b); and Levkoe & McLaughlin (2018). See reference list for full details.

[4] The Thunder Bay Food Charter, housed by the City of Thunder Bay, recognizes the right to food security, the need for food systems planning, and the approach of community food security. It endorses the following principles: community economic development, culture and collaboration, social justice, environmental integrity, and population health (http://www.ecosuperior.org/upload/documents/food_charter_sm.pdf).

Despite these achievements, as of 2016 the TBAFS had no formal engagement with Indigenous people or groups. In response to this engagement gap, members of the TBAFS began developing partnerships with Indigenous leaders and organizations in the region to explore challenges and opportunities for improved engagement. The result was the establishment of an Indigenous Food Circle in 2017. Today, the Indigenous Food Circle is facilitated by TBAFS executive member Jessica McLaughlin and has representation from 22 local Indigenous organizations. It is distinct from the TBAFS, but the two groups have committed to exploring opportunities for co-governance and mutual support. The Indigenous Food Circle is an important example of a space actively engaging in unsettling and decolonizing food movement work.

This ongoing commitment from the TBAFS to be party to the work of the Indigenous Food Circle made the organization a favourable partner for my research. Notably, in its 2019 strategic planning process, the TBAFS set a strategic priority to "embody principles and practices of social and environmental justice and indigenous sovereignty." Two years of prior involvement with many organizations within the TBAFS, including the Indigenous Food Circle, further laid the foundation for a formal partnership and relationship of trust with the network through which to access appropriate participants for this research. The partnership, manifesting primarily through my communications with coordinator Karen Kirk, helped me determine which individuals and organizations within the network would be most appropriate to involve in the research. Karen also attended my proposal defense at the outset of the project and provided feedback around how the TBAFS was incorporated into the study design.

Australia – Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia

European invasion of what is now known as Australia began in 1770, was institutionalized in 1901 when it became an independent nation, and continues today (Mayes, 2018). Settler colonial violence has been enacted through processes including the mass appropriation and forced removal of Indigenous Peoples from their traditional lands, systematic removal of Indigenous children from their families and institutionalization by the state and church (referred to as The Stolen Generations), destructive policy packages (such as the Northern Territory "Emergency Response" Intervention), and continued struggles over land rights, self-determination, and representation (Armitage, 1995; Mayes, 2018; Moses, 2012). It is estimated that at the start of invasion, the continent was home to 600 distinct Indigenous nations and language groups (Townsend et al., 2009) who, over the next century, experienced a population loss of 84% from genocidal violence and massacres, disease, land dispossession, and enslavement (Moses, 2000; Rogers & Bain, 2016).

An important and complex piece of settler colonial history in Australia is that the country was initially settled by convicted vagrants, petty criminals, and political dissidents exiled from Britain, many of whom were Indigenous to that region, such as Peoples of Welsh, Cornish, Irish, and Scottish descent (Moore, 2019; Stokes, 2020; Watson & Arnold, 2019). What began as an "open-air prison" or "penal dumping ground" serviced colonialism and capital for the crown and deterred political revolution in Britain (Stokes, 2020). Convicts had varying relationships to Indigenous Peoples in Australia: some integrated fully into Indigenous communities, while some formed working alliances, and others took more active roles in frontier violence on side with the government (Maxwell-Stewart & Oxley, 2017).

Research conducted in Australia involved participants working in the cities of Melbourne and Bendigo (Victoria), Adelaide (South Australia), and Perth (Western Australia). Melbourne is Australia's second-largest city, with a population of 4.5 million people, of which Indigenous people make up 0.5%. The city occupies the lands of the Wurundjeri-Woiwurrung and the Boonwurrung nations. Bendigo's population of 153,000 includes 1.5% Indigenous people. It rests on the traditional lands of the Dja Dja Wurrung and the Taungurung Peoples of the Kulin Nation. Of Adelaide's population of 1.3 million, Indigenous people make up 1.4%. It was/is settled on the lands of the Kaurna and Peramangk Nations. Perth has a population of 2 million of which Indigenous people make up 1.6%. It sits on the lands of Wajuk Nation. Together with 13 Indigenous groups to the South, these groups make up the Noongar Peoples, one of the largest Indigenous cultural and geographic blocks in Australia (ABS, 2019; AIATSIS, 2020).

Settler-led food movements have been active across Australia, especially in Melbourne. Western Australia has seen a recent push toward regenerative agriculture (commonly called agro-ecology in most other parts of the world) with dialogue emerging between Noongar-led organizations and food movement groups, largely brought on by the scholarship and advocacy of settler-farmer Charles Massey (2017) and others. Nationally, The People's Food Plan resulted from a two-month, country-wide consultation in 2012 in reaction to the government's proposed food plan that was criticized for marginalizing the thousands of people who make up the country's food movement. The People's Food Plan endeavors to advocate for a systems-wide public health approach that addresses the distinct needs and rights of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in relation to food sovereignty. Proposed solutions include facilitating returns to homelands and traditional food practices, and addressing food access issues on remote settlements through Indigenous-led decision-making (AFSA, 2013). As with Canada's food movements, important critiques aim to inform and unsettle this work.

Sustain: The Australian Food Network.[5]

Sustain: The Australian Food Network (Sustain) is a food systems network based at the William Angliss Institute in Melbourne, Australia that fosters food system connections toward more vibrant communities, individuals, and ecosystems. The organization acts through events, research, network-building, and consultation services aligning with the Urban and Regional Food Declaration[6], which holds 43 signatories to date. Sustain formed in 2015 out of the Australian Food Sovereignty Alliance and is staffed by 11 employees and consultants, governed by 9 board members, and has a membership of 23 organizations. Major projects at the time of writing include Cardinia Food Circles and the Melbourne Food Hub.

An "acknowledgement of country", a statement recognizing the traditional lands on which Sustain works—and the contributions of the First Peoples in ecological stewardship—is included in their 2018 annual report. The acknowledgement concludes with: "The path to a better food system for all Australians must begin with the acknowledgement and recovery of this history, based on the principles of care, respect, healing and regeneration" (Sustain, 2018, p. 3). Apart from this statement, Sustain has not had any formal engagement with Indigenous people or efforts noted in publicly available documents. However, the organization is becoming increasingly engaged in (anti-)settler colonial discourse through participating in public presentations, building relationships, and promoting related events and materials through social media platforms.

This trajectory of involvement positions Sustain as an equally favourable partner for this research. I built a relationship with Sustain through Dr. Levkoe as part of a broader research initiative on food systems governance. Dr. Nick Rose, Executive Director of Sustain, served as my primary contact in identifying and connecting with eligible participants, as well as in referring me to key documents and discourses to help contextualize data. Through virtual conversations early on in the project, Nick also provided feedback on the research question and design, including the interview guide. This partnership, supported by a Mitacs Globalink Research Award, allowed me to conduct fieldwork in Melbourne over 45 days from July to September, 2019.

[5] The information under this subheading is compiled from the Sustain website (https://www.sustain.org.au) and Sustain (2018). See reference list for full details.

[6] The Urban and Regional Food Declaration, housed by Sustain, encompasses principles around ecological integrity and biodiversity, economic resiliency and local and regional livelihoods, collaborative and holistic politics, and cultural diversity and significance as it relates to food and social cohesion (https://www.sustain.org.au/get-involved/sign-urban-and-regional-food-declaration-signatories/).

The decision to include Australia as a second research site was born, in part, out of circumstance, in that I had personal interest and prior experience in doing work in Australia, as well as a research connection through a relationship between Dr. Levkoe and Dr. Rose. Further, the issues my research examines have been identified as important by organizations in both places. There are also points of similarity between the two sites that create unique learning opportunities and grounds for further research. Settler-based food movements in both Canada and Australia continue to evolve without adequately addressing their roles in ongoing settler colonial violence and dispossession. Conducting this research in Thunder Bay and Australia, areas with similar, yet distinct settler colonial contexts, creates the opportunity for shared learning within and among food movements that continue to work toward social and ecological justice.

A community-based research (CBR) approach allowed me to build on the pre-established relationships of trust with two partner organizations that identified a need for and commitment to the goal of this research: enhancing food movement organizations' capacities for transformative food systems change through confronting settler colonialism in their work. In many cases, interviews took on a transformational quality, serving as opportunities for participants to critically reflect on and reprioritize commitments in their own work. More broadly, this research offers an opportunity for organizations to share and cross-pollinate insights, engage with the literature, self-interrogate their work, and inform wider audiences. For example, as a way to share knowledge back with all partners and participants, a summary report of the findings will be distributed in September 2020. CBR also allows for a range of approaches to be applied and perspectives voiced, responding to the various needs, interests, skill sets, and knowledges at play in any given community (Strand et al., 2003). This is important for food movements, as the multitude of individuals and organizations involved in them are inherently and necessarily diverse and multidisciplinary.

Methods

Data Sampling

I used purposeful sampling (and to a lesser extent in Australia, snowball sampling) techniques to select individuals and organizations within the TBAFS and Sustain based on the criteria they were interested in or actively addressing: issues of settler colonialism. Sampling decisions were made in partnership with primary contacts in both locations, as well as my

supervisor, Dr. Charles Levkoe. All but four of these participants were settlers working in settler-based organizations. Two Indigenous participants were purposefully selected as Indigenous community leaders affiliated with each network who had experience partnering with such organizations, including some that participated directly in the research. These two individuals were selected based on longstanding relationships—one of my own through working with the Indigenous Food Circle and the other indirectly through Dr. Rose's and Sustain's work in Australia. The other two Indigenous participants were recruited through snowball sampling and took part in a focus group in Australia. Interview participants consisted of individuals guiding decision-making in their organization; individuals in organizational positions partnering with, providing services to, or dealing with content regarding Indigenous Peoples; and individuals thinking about, experiencing, discussing, and acting on these issues in an organizational sense. I tried to include a diversity of participants across different types of organizations that contribute to food systems work to reflect the diversity or organizations contributing to food movement work; Table 1 below outlines the types of organizations represented by interview participants in each country. Before each interview, participants were given the choice to have their identities remain confidential. If participants chose to remain confidential, they are instead identified by their position, organization type, or sector. In instances where multiple people were interviewed from the same organization but diverged in their choices around confidentiality, all data gathered from that organization was anonymized to guarantee confidentiality to the individuals who chose it. All four Indigenous participants chose to be identified; five of nine settler participants in Thunder Bay and five of thirteen in Australia chose to be identified.

It is important to note that in Australia, 17 individuals were interviewed from four cities across three states, compared to 10 in the city of Thunder Bay. I attribute this unintentional variance in part to being less familiar with and connected to participants in Australia, and thus more reliant on Nick, my primary contact, to connect me to eligible participants. Taking a wider sample also allowed me greater flexibility in deciding which individuals would be most appropriate for the final data set. In some instances, these participants would take it upon themselves to introduce me to contacts of theirs directly following the interview, introducing me as a researcher in need of more participants. In another instance, I was given the opportunity to fly from Melbourne to a neighbouring state for a few days to conduct group interviews with various members of a network there. On one hand, this felt like a loss of control over the nature and number of interview participants; on the other hand, data collection still felt exploratory (had not yet reached saturation) and, given the community-based approach, it didn't seem right to say no to such opportunities. Subsequently in Thunder Bay, I matched participants as closely as possible to those in Australia based on the type of organization they worked in (see Table 1).

There were no unsolicited snowballing or impromptu interviews here; being much more familiar with the network made research control feel tighter. I was able to communicate with participants with less dependence on Karen, my primary contact, and interacted with her mostly for initial insight regarding appropriate interview participants. I matched participants across research sites to ensure that each data set could speak to the other, knowing that a plethora of people, positions, and organizations could fit my eligibility criteria.

Table 1

Interview participants by organization type

Thunder Bay	**Australia**
Network organization (1)	Network organization (3)
Government (2)	Government (4)
Non-profit (2)	Non-profit (4)
Public health (3)	Academic (3)
Private (1)	Private (2) (Indigenous co-business owners)
Indigenous partner and community leader (1)	Indigenous partner and community leader (1)
Total: 10	Total: 17

Data Collection (in-depth, semi-structured interviews)

In-depth, semi-structured interviews serve as a "middle ground between rigid structure and complete uncertainty" (Cook, 2008), allowing for a greater degree of collaboration between researcher and participant (Ayres, 2008) as well as opportunity for narrative whereby the participant's insights are steered without being fragmented or controlled (Kovach, 2009). This form of data collection allowed me flexibility in framing interview questions for settler and Indigenous participants as well as for individual and group interviews. It also allowed me to revise the order and framing of questions in the moment within each interview depending on the participant's needs and insights. For example, this method proved helpful when I interviewed Bruce Pascoe on his farm while he tended to a planned burn. Additionally, interviews more generally are a cost-efficient data collection method (Cook, 2008), an important consideration in master's-level research. However, in-depth, semi-structured interviews are also vulnerable to researcher and participant subjectivity, participant recall, and interviewer experience/ability

(Cook, 2008)—to which student researchers new to qualitative methods may not be ideally suited. Another limitation is that oral interviews may be "an imperfect medium to capture a moving and fluid dialogue within, between, and inside dynamic social movements" as they are situated in a single moment in time (Fortier, 2017a).

Upon contacting individuals using the recruitment text (see Appendix A), I shared the study's information letter (see Appendix B) and the consent form (see Appendix C) for their initial review. Participants were contacted primarily through email and all but three interviews were conducted in person. Two interviews in Australia were conducted over distance (one by telephone and the other over Skype) with participants situated in distant states, and one interview was conducted over telephone in Thunder Bay due to the participant's busy schedule. Two focus groups were conducted with a total of six Australian participants; one group consisted of four participants and the other of three (one participant attended both). Focus groups were suggested by one participant as a way to maximize in-person data collection with their food movement network in a neighbouring state, considering the limited travel time that I had. At the beginning of each interview, I reviewed the information letter and consent form once more and ensured the form was properly completed and that any questions or concerns had been addressed. In a few instances, conditions of consent around confidentiality were decided after the interview. In all three interviews with Indigenous Australian participants, verbal consent was provided.

Interviews were conducted using the interview guide (see Appendix D) and were audio recorded, with supplemental notes taken in a notebook during and directly after. These supplemental notes reported participants' tone, attitude, body language, environment, intuitions, themes, and distinctions, as well as my own personal reflections. The two interviews with Indigenous partners and community leaders were conducted using adjusted interview guides, as the primary interview guide was oriented toward settlers. The interview guide was developed with the help of Dr. Levkoe and Dr. Rose. Interview questions were informed by the literature and our personal experiences in Indigenous food sovereignty work. Due to time limitations, I did not seek further input from community partners and did not pilot the guide, though I intentionally interviewed Dr. Rose first as a sort of trial run that also captured data. Interview questions were grouped into the following themes: situating the participant and organization in terms of their position on and engagement in settler colonial issues; how settler colonialism is (or is not) being addressed and why; and future outlooks. I began the interviews by asking subjects a few brief questions about their position and organization, including past and current engagements with Indigenous people. I asked about understandings and manifestations of settler colonialism in their work, as well as perceived tensions in addressing it. I asked about things they thought they were doing well as an organization, and things they could be doing better. I also inquired about

the motivations, aspirations, and outcomes involved, and the factors that help or hinder progress. Finally, I asked about structural facilitators such as policies, processes, or other institutionalized pieces that impacted their efforts in this area. Almost immediately in the data collection process, I decided to omit most of page two of the three-page interview guide—questions that asked about organizational discussions, communications, and actions addressing settler colonialism, respectively. I omitted these questions because I found the ways organizations were engaging in these three areas (discussion, communication, and action) were much too fluid, overlapping, and numerous to capture individually, and that to try and do so would be a disservice to the complexity and richness of the insights being offered. Interviews took approximately 40-70 minutes to complete. All recordings and notes were later transcribed and coded in data analysis software, NVivo.

In Australia, data collection was focused over 78 days (July 1st–September 16th, 2019) and primarily involved in-depth, semi-structured interviews as described above. However, it was also an immersive, community-based experience involving many informal conversations, reviewing daily news and media, attending public events, and participating in some of Sustain's programming and collective meetings. Many engagements had a direct focus on current issues around Indigenous Australians and Indigenous-settler relations. Because food movements have no fixed geographical boundaries, and because Sustain's network spans a great area, in-country travel took place in Australia to collect primary data. This stayed within logistical limits such as time and budget. In contrast, data collection in Thunder Bay took place over roughly three months in the midst of data analysis (from Australia), coursework, Graduate Assistant work, and general campus and community engagements.

Data Analysis

I used a thematic approach to qualitative data analysis as outlined in Creswell & Poth (2018) with guidance from Dr. Levkoe at several points. It's important to note that, because I collected all data in Australia before I began collecting data in Thunder Bay, I began analyzing one data set while collecting the other. I nevertheless followed a similar analytical process. Initially, data from each country was analyzed separately. First, all interview recordings were transcribed. Then, I reviewed all transcripts and made a rough list of codes and themes in my notebook (see Appendix F). I also summarized each transcript and the field notes. Eventually, transcripts and field notes were imported into data analysis software, NVivo. Data was reduced and organized through the creation of specific nodes eventually combined into broader themes. The majority of coding took place inductively, informed by connections, patterns, and themes

that emerged throughout data collection. To a lesser degree, coding took place deductively, informed by prior engagement with literature, personal experiences, and relationships. During the research process, my analysis was aided by immersive experiences in a myriad of community events and materials including informal conversations, daily news and media, programming, meetings, and performances in Thunder Bay and Australia, all of which often centered upon power and oppression in various forms. I conducted two thorough rounds of NVivo analysis, with the second focused on refining the first. Importantly, I made the decision partway through the writing process to combine findings from the two data sets, identifying and expanding only on important points of difference. This is in part because of the high degree of similarity between the two sets of themes, but also because data collection wasn't extensive enough in each unique region to conduct a proper comparative analysis. National, or even regional comparison was not a primary objective of this research, yet it was a key interest among people engaging with the research, be it participants or conference audience members.

While additional research is needed, I have questions regarding the ways in which national comparisons may actually be counterproductive in this kind of research. I feel that the place-based nature of settler colonialism, and the solutions and relations required to confront and dismantle it, bring up important questions around whether (strictly) national comparisons are helpful to this kind of research. What I mean by this is that if Canada and Australia are colonial constructs that seek to homogenize, essentialize, invisibilize, and eliminate Indigenous Peoples, in what ways might it be counter-productive to use these nations as the focal points of analysis? At the same time, I do not wish to minimize or distract from the profound ways the settler state has and continues to impose violence on the everyday lives of Indigenous Peoples. My concern is that this national focus limits ways in which to move forward, past settler colonialism and toward decolonization.

Due to time limitations, community partners and participants did not engage in data analysis. Similarly, member checks were not part of the research design. However, participants from two organizations chose to waive confidentiality on the condition that they could review and approve the excerpts that identified them before the research was disseminated. I accepted these requests and ultimately regret not offering some form of member-checking to all participants, though it may have meant postponing my graduation date or interviewing fewer participants. Engaged and active consent, which Fortier (2017a) says involves "opening the research process up to vulnerability and the possibility that participants might want to dis-engage from the project, revise their interviews, or play a more hands-on role in the writing process," is an important piece of decolonizing and community-based research methodologies. In this instance, I substituted rigor for timeliness.

In the next chapter, the findings are presented thematically together, with some concluding insights in each of the three sections noting important place-specific findings. The data is presented through three general themes that emerged from coding: settler inaction, problematic inclusion, and productive engagements (including organizational commitments and long-term visions). Table 2 below presents the codes that feed into each sub-theme and broader theme.

Table 2

Codes contributing to each major theme

Broad theme	Sub-theme	Codes
Settler inaction	Motivations to addressing settler colonialism Where it comes up in their work	Answers to questions: *"Why do you think it is important for food movement organizations to care about settler colonialism?"* *"Where/how does settler colonialism come up in your work?"* Connections to food, broader systems and movements, health
	Personal barriers-fear	Individual settler avoidance, hesitation, blindness
	Institutional barriers	Institutional capacity, model
	Place-specific findings	Real and perceived capacities of Indigenous communities, Comments on settler colonial terminology, Excitement without action
Problematic inclusion (Common organizational practices of including Indigenous Peoples and food systems in ways that primarily benefit settlers and fail to redistribute power)	Collective spaces for settler education	Emotional labor, Personal connections
	Institutional practices	Emotional labor, Approaches to engagement that include box checking, tokenism, lip service
	Place-specific findings	Australia's bush food industry / economic development, Government
Productive engagements (Proposed and existing ways that participants are committing to addressing settler colonialism)	Re/Unlearning history	History Staff education Supporting other settlers, Leadership Opportunities-Indigenous climate/ecological knowledge Opportunities-Bruce Pascoe
	Forging more authentic relationships with Indigenous Peoples	Relationships Approaches to engagement

	How participants are committing organizationally	Connections to food, broader systems and movements, health
	Sentiments of change and visions for the future	Future-hope, change, the time it will take
	Place-specific findings	Treaty in Australia Thunder Bay context

Ethical Considerations and Methodological Limitations

I have combined ethical considerations and methodological limitations because although the latter fall largely beyond the scope of the considerations of most university research ethics boards, they are unquestionably ethical in nature and intertwine at multiple points with the former. There are many considerations and limitations to this research that could themselves be the subject of an entire thesis.

To start, my position as a researcher during data collection may have evoked responses from participants that weren't honest or complete, due to feelings of settler fragility or fear of organizational repercussion (though I consider fragility more an impediment than ethical risk). Regarding the fear of repercussion, there is risk that the findings could hurt the reputations of, or cause further tensions within and among the organizations involved. This risk is mitigated in part by the community-based approach to the study in that I intend to draw critical but constructive reflections from participants in a way that informs organizational practices and mindsets. It is further mitigated by maintaining participant confidentiality unless they chose to be identified. If confidentiality was chosen, I've described people by their position, sector, and/or organization type in a way that cannot be traced back to them. Interestingly, anti-authoritarian settler participants in Fortier's (2017a) work unanimously waved confidentiality, asking that their names be connected to their insights on the grounds of being accountable to their respective social movements, future generations of activists, and local Indigenous communities. Maintaining the confidentiality of settlers has been questioned by Indigenous scholars as well, especially when speaking on (de)colonization; "Protecting the identities of people and places, an abstraction is created that is fundamentally inimical to Indigenous outlooks on knowledge and ethics" (Marker, 2003, as cited in Hiller, 2017). Though I unfortunately had not considered this when designing the project, it helps contextualize the findings (there was a roughly even split between settler participants who chose to remain confidential and those who chose to be identified) and highlights important tensions between settler and organizational accountability, and settler and Indigenous ethics. Disclosing settler participants' identities does not fix the larger

issue of conflicting accountabilities, however. I wonder, for instance, if and how critical insights were withheld, censored, or diluted when confidentiality was waived by certain participants, and whether some participants were motivated to remain confidential in order to be freely critical. Further**,** my position as a novice, white, settler researcher may have also dissuaded individuals, especially those identifying as Indigenous, from wanting to participate, given the problematic history and ongoing shortfalls of settler research on and/or with Indigenous Peoples. Regarding the Indigenous participants who did participate, I have a responsibility to convey and disseminate the knowledge they shared with me in an honourable way.

Next, utilizing a CBR methodology warrants four ethical considerations relevant to this project. First, the time, scope, and expertise I am able to give this research as a master's student limits the integrity of the CBR approach. These limitations are mitigated in part by the project's contribution to broader, long-term commitments Dr. Levkoe has with both the TBAFS and Sustain. Second, the project strengthens my own pre-existing relationship with the TBAFS and a more recent one with Sustain; it is my hope that this project helps foster ongoing, long-term connections for all individuals and organizations involved. Third, having far less familiarity with Sustain compared to the TBAFS made for different participant selection processes. Participant selection in Australia was heavily reliant on my primary contact, compared with Thunder Bay, where my relationships were better established and I could recruit participants more independently. Fourth, though I am an insider to this work in the sense that I identify as a food movement scholar-activist with relationships and experiences centered upon issues of settler colonialism in and around Thunder Bay, I am an outsider to the Australian context, limiting my analysis and interpretation of the data.

Finally, though I focused on *white* settler participants, I did so indiscriminately. For example, whiteness was not mentioned anywhere in recruitment, information, consent and interview materials, yet most settler participants identified as white. I was also asked a number of times to clarify what I meant by "settler-based organizations", and whether that included organizations positioned around the issues of non-Indigenous people of colour, recent migrants, and refugees. Why didn't I seek out such food movement organizations? What are the justifications, consequences, and tensions of employing this implicit and exclusive conception of settler and food movement identity that ultimately silences non-white settler voices?

Chapter 4: Findings

The findings are presented in this chapter through three emergent themes: Part I focuses on settler inaction, including settler participants' motivations and conceptualizations of settler

colonialism, and how they see settler colonialism implicated in their work. Part II centers on problematizing common organizational practices of including Indigenous Peoples and food systems in ways that primarily benefit settlers and fail to redistribute power. Part III considers proposed and existing ways participants are committing to addressing settler colonialism within their organizations, as well as hopeful sentiments of change and long-term visions. These themes are by no means mutually exclusive; respondents shared observations and personal reflections that spoke to multiple themes simultaneously. The three themes are also heuristic in that they are intended to be valuable for the purpose of understanding and drawing meaning from the data, not to make judgements or conclusions. The study's objectives are to be kept front of mind as the reader engages with the findings:

1. To explore what addressing settler colonialism entails for food movement organizations; and,
2. To explore if and how food movement organizations addressing settler colonialism are responding to the calls of Indigenous scholars and activists.

As described previously, the data sets from Australia and Thunder Bay have been combined, with each part concluding with place-specific findings. These place-specific findings are based on what participants talked about in the interviews rather than broader contextual differences between countries or places (for example, settler lip service as a place-specific finding in Australia does not mean it does not exist in Thunder Bay, but rather that it was not brought up in the interviews with Thunder Bay participants).

Part I: Settler Inaction

Participants unanimously agreed that issues of settler colonialism were prevalent, yet largely ignored in food movement work, and that addressing such issues was important. However, they also identified various challenges to becoming more deeply involved in these issues. Many of these challenges led to or maintained inaction in participants or other settlers around them. In this section, I first outline participants' motivations to address settler colonialism and where they described it coming up in their work. I then outline personal and institutional barriers identified to engaging in this work and conclude by highlighting three themes that came up specifically among participants in Australia: external barriers relating to Indigenous Peoples, settler reactions to the terminology and concepts around settler colonialism, and enthusiasm unaccompanied by action (e.g., lip service).

Motivations

Why should settler-based food movements be concerned with addressing settler colonialism? Some participants spoke of an ethical or moral obligation to resolve a shameful, unsettled, and ongoing history we have yet to learn from. "Looking back 50 years, we continue to struggle with some of the same historical issues," Silva Sawula, manager of healthy living at the Thunder Bay District Health Unit said. Another participant, an executive director of a community-based non-profit, suggested that unless we see settler colonialism as a central tenet of oppression, "…we're always going to be working downstream. We're always going to be needing a foodbank, yelling at the government to increase minimum wages. We're always going to be looking at this from a catch-up position instead of addressing the cause." Obligations at times were expressed through political commitments such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, treaties and other nation-to-nation agreements, and public health research and practice mandates. Participants were also motivated by the "façade" of national sovereignty, reputation, and identity; the growing failure of dominant, neoliberal systems of governance and their reductive approaches to health, agriculture, resource extraction and ecological conservation; the orientation of alternative food movements to be disproportionately led by and catered to white, middle class settlers; and the belief that addressing settler colonialism helps recover more sustainable and peaceful ways of living that can inform collective futures. The same non-profit director further ruminated:

> You can do workshops, but dealing with oppression, dealing with power is a personal commitment…What will motivate white people to do anti-racism work? …if you have a social conscience, that will motivate you. Not everybody does have that though, not everybody's built that way. If you love someone who experiences racism or you know someone or you know somebody's life, then that can motivate you … So maybe the key is getting to know people, getting to understand how other people live.

Participants strongly acknowledged that food systems work is steeped in settler colonialism. When asked to describe where settler colonialism comes up in their own work, most participants responded that it essentially comes up everywhere by virtue of the fact that they work around issues of food and land, identity, and relationships (and literally *on* stolen Indigenous territory). "It comes up every single day. In every program…in every interaction," said Airin Stephens, program director for Roots to Harvest, a community-based non-profit in Thunder Bay. Despite this pervasiveness, settler colonialism was seen as glaringly absent from food movement discourse and a complete blind spot in most realms of the food movement,

including within more "progressive" spaces using the banners of justice, democracy, and sovereignty. James Ward, a University of South Australia professor commented:

> There's a real disbelief that we could've been so led astray in the stories we've been telling ourselves. And I guess it's understandable because it's the only way we've been able to make palatable the fact that we essentially stole an entire continent, and that's a really hard thing to wake up to… We've been ignoring such a deep story. Such a mature story. And pretending that we know better. And we've been basically fucking everything up in the process.

Barriers – Fear[7]

Several barriers to addressing settler colonialism were personal in nature, centering on fear—of upsetting Indigenous people, upsetting other settlers, and provoking general settler discomfort. Many participants spoke of a reluctance to engage in addressing settler colonialism due to a possibility of making mistakes because of uncertainty around Indigenous protocols and teachings, or not having sufficient guidance from or relationships with Indigenous people. For example, two participants—one, a regional government worker and the other involved in research and education—said it wasn't until they formed personal relationships with Indigenous knowledge holders and received their teachings that they felt comfortable performing and customizing land acknowledgements. They both described the tension of not wanting to seem passive or tokenistic by reading the land acknowledgement word for word, but also didn't want to risk blundering such an important message by going off script. In another instance, a city councillor spoke of observing other settlers' hesitations in speaking the local Indigenous language at public events, even when it was encouraged by the local Indigenous community. Within the city council, they added, it's common for staff to off-load engagement with Indigenous people and topics onto colleagues they believe have more knowledge, experience, or willingness. Ivan Ho, a public health nutritionist at the Thunder Bay District Health Unit, disclosed his hesitancy to advocate on behalf of Indigenous communities without their active participation and perspective, likening his nervousness to the broken telephone game, where the message gets increasingly distorted as it gets passed from person to person. Additionally, participants reported self-censoring themselves around other settlers in fear of causing upset by bringing up issues around settler colonialism. For instance, one participant who sat on a food policy council expressed that, with recent member turnover and diverging views on colonialism

[7] Some participants preferred to consider this barrier *concern* rather than *fear*.

(with some members not even seeing it as an issue), the space did not feel safe enough to even broach the subject; they feared that calling people out could shut communication down at a time when team-building was crucial. Similarly, another regional government worker, speaking of their encounters with settler farmers with anti-Indigenous views, reasoned: "It can be difficult, but it's not for me to fight battles… sometimes I just back off from being involved if I think that it could go badly." A settler farmer shared their struggles to conceptualize how to meaningfully address settler colonialism:

> I don't really feel like I own the land… This land has existed long before me and it will exist long after me and so my job while I'm here and farming it is to just steward the land and take care of it the best way I think I can... It's not going to change anything that happened necessarily. It's not going to necessarily put people back to where they were pre-colonialism, it's not going to give back land that was once part of their traditional area… The word reconciliation means to make something right and I just don't know—I'm not sure that we can.

Barriers – Institutional

Nearly every participant described facing institutional barriers and expressed doubts toward institutions' capacities to address settler colonialism. Many reported facing a lack of capacity within their day job to even learn about settler colonialism, let alone act against it. Those whose portfolios did include anti-colonial work found that it sits perpetually on the side of their desk, crowded out by daily operations and larger projects. One participant in a non-profit coordinating role described being so busy sometimes that "I feel like I'm totally floundering…It's easiest for me to go to the things that I can checklist off, so sometimes these bigger conversations don't happen." Institutional barriers were especially apparent for some participants engaging in large, multi-stakeholder, community-based projects housed within larger government institutions. One participant acting as the lead in one of these projects identified that bureaucratic processes and a lack of support from settlers in power limited their ability over multiple years to build meaningful relationships with local Indigenous groups (who had not yet been engaged in the project). Sawula, Ho, and Vincent Ng, another public health nutritionist at the Thunder Bay District Health Unit, reported struggling to find the balance between ensuring accountability to reporting systems and funding parameters with the province while also ensuring communities have the autonomy and support to progress on what they need. This hurdle had become increasingly obvious in Indigenous food sovereignty projects involving public health where community interests continuously bumped up against public health policies. "I think

sometimes our policies have evolved for certain populations, and those that are the most in need are often more difficult to service…" Sawula said. For example, provincial/state funding requirements make it more challenging for public health to relinquish spending authority to Indigenous partners, which may create barriers for distributing decision-making power required for Indigenous food sovereignty. Advocating for change, however, could risk future funding opportunities, Sawula explained:

> Ultimately, at the end of the line, the health unit is responsible for that grant… But it puts us in a really sometimes awkward position… we are required to follow certain policies, which often may be different than those of other organizations and partners… and you know that the funders that grant the money will want to see evidence of how it's spent so if you don't do that, then the other worry is that we may not receive further funds for such projects.

Competing priorities have also been evident in public health's efforts to support Indigenous-led initiatives around access to wild game, where jurisdictional issues between different levels of government as well as public health directives have been a major challenge.

Participants in the non-profit sector identified similar, but unique barriers in their work to address settler colonialism. These barriers primarily centered around having no core funding and only short-term, "one size fits all" grants for staffing and programming that come with rigid guidelines. According to Stephens at Roots to Harvest, this limits institutional memory and longer-term impact in the community. Multiple other participants working for non-profits described being too busy establishing and coordinating daily operations, as well as "two-stepping" around entrenched and oppressive systems like the legal system to attend to strategic, longer-term work. While there are positive steps organizations can take, Stephens added, they remain nestled within a much larger model she doesn't see changing for decades to come: "Until that bigger structure changes, it feels as though the movement is really, really slow. I know change has to happen on both levels, but it sometimes feels really hard to do that within the structure that we live in." Participants outside the non-profit sector, too, struggled to grapple with systemic issues seemingly beyond their scope and control. "How do you think about food systems and moving forward when we know that for some [Indigenous] people, they're on land that floods several times a year—or they have other issues around the land they're on, there's no water…" Sawula questioned.

Interestingly, participants saw larger organizations, especially government, as less likely to meaningfully engage with Indigenous Peoples and not designed to give up or share power. This was in contrast to lean, community-based non-profits who were perceived as more agile, radical, familiar with working with diverse populations, open to change, and more cognizant of

power inequities. Multiple participants sitting on a food policy council observed a trend: members with long careers in institutional environments tended to face more difficulty and discomfort building relationships with Indigenous members. “I think for some people, this idea of a relationship is mysterious, that they don’t feel that they can breach that ground somehow,” one member said. The same participant questioned the transformative potential of addressing settler colonialism through institutional practices such as industrial farming, procurement, and charity, arguing that these models are inherently exploitative, despite the praise they receive among settler circles.

Place-Specific Findings

Several settler Australian participants reported challenges related to real and perceived capacities of Indigenous groups. For example, some Indigenous groups were described as inundated with engagements with settler organizations; so much so, one regional government employee said, that sometimes settler groups forego attempts to engage such groups entirely. This perceived lack of capacity was criticized by a city councillor for being infantilizing, weakness-based, and born out of a colonial mindset. Participants in multiple geographical locations also expressed great uncertainty and paralysation in navigating engagement in situations of conflict between Indigenous groups such as contested land and competition for government-granted status. The same regional government employee admitted: “There are times where you have to just step away because it’s not for us to be involved in that contested relationship…we literally just don’t get involved in any of the political side of things.” This instance of inaction is not so easily suggestive of settler fragility and bias, but of deeply systemic tensions with no simple solutions.

Next, considering the decision to use the framing and terminology of settler colonialism in this project, it is noteworthy that most settler Australian participants reacted to its use and underlying concepts in some way during their interviews. Asking about settler colonialism as a term or process was not part of the interview guide (rather, it appeared repeatedly throughout all research tools and a short definition was reviewed before each interview began). Many admitted settler colonialism was not a term they had used or were even familiar with prior to receiving the interview request; however, the term colonialism was more familiar. Additionally, several participants, upon meeting me for an interview, admitted they initially doubted their eligibility for the research upon receiving the interview request, but felt more confident after reading the information sheet more thoroughly. Some agreed that settler was an important and useful term, while others felt differently. For example, one graduate student felt it is too “academic” and isn’t

"tangible to people doing this work on the ground," while a city councillor preferred to think of their engagement with these issues as a "constantly evolving understanding of cultural heritage as it relates to Indigenous people". Another participant expressed frustration with dualistic labels such as settler/Indigenous and colonized/colonizer, arguing we have all been colonized at some point in history and need more constructive ways to relate to one another:

> Oneness isn't the right word, but there needs to be a pathway forward and sometimes I find the language is really challenging because it almost creates another division…the more labels you put on it, the more language barriers, the harder it gets to blow through all that muck to just get to the heart of it and be like actually, you're a human, you want the best, you think you're doing the best with the information that you've got whichever camp you're sitting in there. And it's more about facilitating the way through that.

Interestingly, most settler Australian participants viewed Canada as being much further ahead in addressing settler colonialism (this, again, came up in interviews despite not being part of any of the interview questions).

Finally, a certain kind of settler inaction marked by enthusiasm rather than discomfort was best described by Bruce Pascoe[8], an Aboriginal Australian writer and author of the bestselling non-fiction book *Dark Emu* that examines the history of Aboriginal agriculture:

> Excitement is a wonderful thing, but action as a result of excitement is the real crux. I can see the excitement. I'm surrounded by it. There's a whole lot of bullshit going on about *Dark Emu*. Best-selling book in Australia. And I go to festivals and people want to hold my hand. What a lot of fucking crap. People cry. Just because you're excited doesn't mean to say that's going to be enough. We have to change the way the country operates…not this gushy excitability. It's not enough. And it infuriates me. I was suspicious of it when it began and I'm more suspicious of it now because that's all that's happened.

Pascoe added that individual settlers as well as government and philanthropic organizations have been guilty of this kind of lip service: "All talk, all excitement, all want to be in on that bandwagon, to say they're supporting Aboriginal communities. Well don't say it if you haven't already done it." A city council employee spoke about how destructive this inaction can be: "We talk about valuing our history and culture and our Aboriginal people but then we give heritage

[8] Following the recent success of *Dark Emu*, Pascoe has been the target of a considerable amount of backlash, with several popular commentators accusing him of not being Indigenous. See Allam (2020), Marks (2020), and Topsfield (2020) for further reading.

listing to a 17-year-old building in Melbourne City because it's culturally significant, but we won't protect 800-year-old trees that're incredibly significant to people[9]."

Part II: Problematic Inclusion

While participants shared many barriers to engaging with settler colonialism, they also shared instances where they felt these barriers were being overcome. Many of these instances involved organizations better embracing the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and food systems into their work. However, some participants were quick to problematize approaches to inclusion that primarily benefit settlers and fail to redistribute power, all the while insisting these moves were founded in settlers' naive, but good-willed intentions, desires for relationship and connection (to Indigenous Peoples, land, culture), and an excitement to support Indigenous struggles. In this section, I outline the instances in which inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and food systems was problematized: collective spaces where settlers seek education from Indigenous people, institutional positions and partnerships, other institutional practices involving policy, working groups, and staff training, and finally, organizational events and programming. I conclude by highlighting a salient example of problematic inclusion, Australia's bush food industry[10], and associated critiques around government support and protection from setter exploitation.

Collective Spaces

First, collective spaces that allow settlers to gain a personal connection with and learn from Indigenous Peoples were described as powerful sites of settler education and transformation (much like personal relationships with Indigenous people gave settlers confidence in delivering and customizing land acknowledgments). For example, multiple participants spoke favourably to the practice of inviting government representatives to gatherings related to multi-stakeholder Indigenous food sovereignty projects. In their opinions, providing opportunities for government representatives to see and learn first-hand the work they fund or oversee creates a sense of connection and thus greater personal value. However, participants argued that this practice is

[9] In March 2019, protests began to protect hundreds of 800-year-old trees sacred to the Djap Wurrung Peoples were set to be bulldozed for a highway expansion project in the state of Victoria that would cut travel by three minutes. As of March 2020, protest camps were still active. See Martin (2019) and https://dwembassy.com for further reading.

[10] Bush foods, also known as bush tucker, refers to plant foods native to Australia. Ongoing research suggests that only 1% of the industry is owned or controlled by Indigenous Australians (Mitchell & Becker, 2019).

also extractive, as it places unfair emotional demands on Indigenous partners and limits the capacity for productive alliance-building. This is precisely what Jessica McLaughlin, coordinator of Thunder Bay's Indigenous Food Circle experienced. As the Circle gained settler membership (i.e. representatives from settler-led, Indigenous-serving organizations), gaps in settler understanding of colonialism and readiness became increasingly apparent in meetings, causing many Indigenous members to get frustrated and stop showing up. These gaps would manifest as, for example, settlers showing ignorance or fragility, or becoming emotional, thus diverting attention and energy away from the collective agenda. "You can listen to me spew and sound like an angry Indian, but at the end of the day it's up to you to unpack that word yourself," she said.

Institutional Practices

Participants also voiced concerns over the emotional labour demanded from Indigenous partnerships, relations, and board positions in terms of the offloading effect they can have on settler accountability, and their often siloed, tokenistic, and precarious natures. McLaughlin described her own experience in these positions as isolating, awkward, and painful—especially without settler allies. She added that it has taken her time to build up the resilience required to call things out in predominantly settler spaces and jump through the bureaucratic hoops of settler-led projects, though it still carries consequences for her own health. A settler member of the Indigenous Food Circle felt their organization could learn a lot from the Circle's approach to relationships, consensus building, and intergenerational representation, but fears it is seen merely as a "cute side project" that doesn't implicate the settler organization's roles and responsibilities. It's important to note that other settler participants applauded the same practices of creating institutional space for Indigenous representation. For instance, one government employee spoke about the many benefits of having an Indigenous facilitator on staff (hired through a federal grant): "It's been key…We could ask all sorts of dumb questions, or ignorant questions and he would be willing to answer them knowing that in the process, he's educating us on the right and wrong way to go about things."

Other institutional practices of inclusion including supportive policy, community partnerships, working groups, and staff training were similarly applauded by some participants while criticized by others for serving to fill institutional checkboxes and failing to change power relations between Indigenous and Settler Peoples, or even promote awareness among staff of such inequitable power relations. For example, in one institutional partnership between an Indigenous community and a city council, a bid for special heritage status for the region was

submitted with a strong emphasis on Indigenous food systems. The hope was that this inclusion—which did involve the council's consultation with the Indigenous community—would strengthen Indigenous-settler relationships, promote a truer history of the region, and create a coordinating mechanism across various food efforts. However, a council employee involved in the bid expressed concerns that the council was tokenistic in its Indigenous inclusion and that its "renewed" approach to relationship would not only fail to redistribute ownership and authority, but promote further exploitation of the region's "untapped" market for bush foods: "It's always 'Come to our offices, on our terms, on our turf, with our meeting structures and our timelines'... Our whole structure has a kind of covert racism to it," they said. In another instance, a member of an Indigenous group who had been partnering with local public health authorities on several projects noticed that work related to Indigenous food systems was sometimes being assigned within the department rather than outsourced to the Indigenous group. The participant felt this partial commitment was disingenuous and indicative of a lack of trust: "That's them thinking 'we can do it better in-house'…but why would you go about that way of work when you know there's someone who's getting this shit done already?" Other participants pointed to glaring disconnects between organizations' guiding documents and structures, and their organizational practices. Just because these documents and structures exist, one city council employee cautioned, doesn't mean there aren't issues that remain deeply embedded across the organization, maintained by settlers in leadership positions with no understandings of colonialism. Another participant insisted that more personal, face-to-face engagements are needed to translate such documents and structures more effectively into practice.

Lastly, participants reported including Indigenous voices and knowledges into food systems work through organizational events and programming. Examples comprise weaving elements of Indigenous food systems into annual farming events over multiple years; featuring prominent Indigenous people as keynote speakers at conferences; designing an urban farm with the guidance of a local Elder and having them speak at the initial gathering; redistributing planning authority of multi-day gatherings to Indigenous people and groups; revising or abandoning specific meeting agendas to allow better inclusivity of Indigenous community members; and holding meetings with Indigenous partners on their terms. Some participants also identified opportunities to promote Indigenous food systems and the history and impacts of settlement through educational initiatives involving seasonal calendars, gardens, urban farms, and land and waterway restoration projects. While some of these processes and outcomes were informed by meaningful relationships and seen as yielding positive long-term results, others were criticized for being exploitative. For example, reflecting on hosting groups of Indigenous youth on their property, a farmer said that this type of programming carries uncomfortable

undertones of present-day assimilation strategies. This individual saw these efforts as primarily settler-driven and was apprehensive of whether they make a meaningful difference for the Indigenous youth. "…Is this just us trying to put on a good show? … Who are we doing this for? Are we doing it for them or are we doing it for ourselves so we feel better about what's happened in the past?"

Place-Specific Findings

Many Australian participants mentioned Australia's bush food industry as a salient and specific example of ongoing exploitation of Indigenous Peoples and food systems, marked by a recent surge of settler enterprises appropriating and capitalizing on the nutritional, culinary, pharmaceutical, naturopathic, horticultural, and tourism opportunities of bush foods. Nadia, co-owner of Indigenous bush food company Red Centre Enterprises, added that some of these settler enterprises even attempt to claim Indigeneity through tokenizing Indigenous language, spokespeople, and models (what she called "black face, white company"). This is not only an issue of a constant influx of appropriative settler competitors but involves extensive structural discrimination against Indigenous economic development, land ownership and access. Despite the optimism of some settler participants that federal funding for bush foods was increasing, all three Indigenous Australian participants had equally damning words regarding the lack of meaningful government support. Bruce Pascoe talked about his own experience starting a bush food enterprise:

> What aboriginal people don't have is land, so if we really wanted to close the gap in this country between black and white, if we really wanted to increase the work opportunities of aboriginal people, the education opportunities and the health of aboriginal people, government would be busting their guts to help us out and they're not. They talk about it, they invite me to send submissions, they invite me to go to meetings. Not one dollar has the government given me to support this. Not a cracker. They keep saying they're going to, they're going to, they're going to. But it's Spring. I've got to plant.

Even when government does design a program for Indigenous people, Pascoe added, it usually fails due to a lack of consultation. Yuandamarra, Nadia's partner, agreed: "The money's not being used to impact our communities and I'll be honest with you—when something's successful, the funding's normally pulled three years later so it doesn't have longevity in the community." Yuandamarra and Nadia also reported having to deal with many fraudulent proposals to partner with settler parties: "We create doorways for people and they'll be creative and climb through the window…Don't go climb through the window, knock on the door.

There're doors all around. We get a national award for what we do, is that not a big enough door?"

The Australian bush food industry is also a salient example of how settler excitement over Indigenous food systems can incite acts of dispossession (rather than inaction, as discussed in the previous section). Referring to the ways non-Indigenous researchers have been involved in extractive processes, Ward (University of South Australia) explained, "The risk going forward is that people like me will get really excited by Bruce Pascoe's work, pick it up, and just kind of run off and do the white thing with it." Yuandamarra elaborated on the risk of sharing Indigenous food systems like Pascoe has done: "That's great now you've made everyone aware of this. But what are you doing to protect that information for our communities, because you've just released Pandora's box… If we highlight this, we have a responsibility then to make sure we are protecting it."

Part III: Productive Engagements, Organizational Commitments, and Long-Term Visions

This third and final theme begins with existing and proposed ways settlers can more productively engage with the issue of settler colonialism: (re/un)learning history, supporting other settlers, and forging more authentic relationships with Indigenous Peoples—all processes participants described as critical, life-long, mutually reinforcing, messy, and deeply unsettling. I then outline how participants are articulating, enacting and envisioning organizational commitments to addressing settler colonialism, as well as sentiments of change and visions for the future. I conclude with place-specific findings related to Australian treaty-making and the Thunder Bay context.

(Re/Un)Learning

To begin, (re/un)learning a local history in a way that exposes, rather than conceals, denies, or minimizes settler colonialism was identified by many participants as an important starting place. This process was not only seen as an opportunity to learn from incredible harms committed by settlers to Indigenous Peoples, but glean insights into more productive and sustainable Indigenous ways of life prior to settler invasion, practiced for tens of thousands of years. In nearly every interview in Australia, Pascoe's *Dark Emu* was described as seminal in settler participants' understandings of Indigenous food systems and settler colonization. However, as Yuandamarra reminded, spending too much time looking backward means "you're going to bump into the wall or the fence." Creating new food systems requires more from settlers

than passively learning history, but interrogating their own positions in past, present, and future realities, including their own ancestries, identities, and relationships with Indigenous Peoples and the land. Engaging with history, interrogating the present, and re-envisioning the future can be mutually reinforcing activities; for example, multiple participants pointed out that Pascoe's work has helped open doors to broader conversations around reconciliation and decolonization. In another instance, Thunder Bay's Roots to Harvest collectively read and discussed Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, identified opportunities to support the report's calls to action, and later prioritized anti-colonial action within the organization's strategic plan.

Participants also insisted that settlers engaging in anti-colonial learning and action have a dual responsibility to bring other settlers into this process by providing spaces to collectively learn and reflect, and by sharing appropriate Indigenous protocols and approaches to relationship. Stephens (Roots to Harvest) admitted struggling with articulating meaningful relational work between Indigenous and Settler Peoples: "People often approach us [Roots to Harvest] to say 'Tell us how you do the things you do'... It's about that human to human connection. And that's a hard thing to teach. How do you teach people to have relationships?" Disinterest and fragility were also identified as challenges participants faced when trying to engage peers in uncomfortable topics (as discussed in Part I). Settler colonialism was described as especially difficult for settlers to grasp because of its deep entrenchment in settler life and its numerous and complex ties to food, ecology, land, and sovereignty. The director of a community-based non-profit talked about what they see as their role in engaging other settlers:

> I've sat at a lot of tables where people… think that if they don't spit at an Indigenous person that they're not a part of colonialism, and so I think my role is to do that knowledge translation… What a lot of people don't understand about this, is a commitment of sharing power is difficult. It doesn't come without pain. But we need to be prepared.

Supportive leadership and peers were also seen as extremely important in providing settlers the necessary capacity to learn about and challenge settler colonialism within their organizations—though few felt they had such support. Interestingly, a member of a food policy council said that, although divisive views exist among the membership, settler colonialism is being challenged through "quiet leadership" among a small group of Indigenous and settler members taking an "act now, apologize later" approach, leading by example and through relationship with external individuals and groups.

Relationships

Participants stressed that having an understanding of settler colonialism and its history allows for (and is bolstered by) more productive, place-based relationships with Indigenous Peoples. Pascoe insisted this understanding is a prerequisite to any collective work between Indigenous and Settler Peoples:

> Before we even have a conversation about food or employment or education, Australia has to have the conversation with itself and with us, hopefully, about how Europeans came here and why. What they did subsequent to that. The fact that the whole of Australia and parliament is racist from day one and that there have been absolute atrocities on this land. If we can't talk about that, if we don't admit to that, we cannot have a conversation.

Similarly, a director of a community-based non-profit stressed that until the connections between ongoing colonialism, land, and sovereignty are parts of settlers' common lexicon, "we're going to have trouble talking, being able to see eye to eye." For one regional government employee, their learning imparted insights into the pain and distrust Indigenous Peoples feel toward entering into relationships with settlers. This made them approach their work with newfound respect and gratitude that Indigenous partners, especially Elders, were still willing to work with their department. It also made them more mindful that, despite their eagerness to work with and learn from Indigenous partners and share those teachings with the broader settler public, Indigenous language and knowledge revitalization is first and foremost for Indigenous Peoples, not settlers; settlers must respect the time and space Indigenous Peoples need to decide which parts they want to share, and which parts they wish to protect.

However, the process of forging authentic relationships between Indigenous and Settler Peoples was described as uncomfortable, uncertain, slow, and messy, but absolutely central to challenging settler colonialism and often catalytic to many additional opportunities for solidarity. Pascoe commented, "We have to have that truth and reconciliation or whatever they call it. Where we call spades spades. It'll be deeply bruising… Being hurt and wounded and sore is part of the process." Another participant talked about the importance of readiness on the part of settler participants and facilitation on the part of the "space holder" in having challenging conversations between Indigenous and settler people:

> People need to be willing to come and sit and actually just listen and let go of their ego…and not be in control and I think a lot of the time we want to just get in there and fix things and that's not the process that I'm witnessing that works…it's all about that container. If you can't create containers of trust and integrity and respect and love, it's going to be really hard to connect.

Multiple participants recognized that authentic relationship building is still in early stages where there should be more questions than answers. “We have a really still quite a long way to go before the conversations are even starting from the right place,” Ward said.

The Thunder Bay Indigenous Food Circle is an important example of a space where Indigenous-settler relationships are being forged. Though many challenges persist (some of which are outlined throughout this chapter), coordinator Jessica McLaughlin stressed the importance of settler-led organizations recognizing their power and using it to support Indigenous struggles. One settler member of the Circle echoed this sentiment, adding that supporting Indigenous struggles isn’t just about going to meetings but bringing demands back to respective organizations and networks, and prioritizing those demands in long-term agendas. Importantly, they went on to say that no matter how ready settler members may be to engage productively in collective spaces with Indigenous people, their access to those spaces should never be assumed:

> You need a place where there is autonomy among [Indigenous] members of that group, you need a table where there is interaction and accountability [with settlers], and you need people from the group with power to take responsibility to change things where they have the ability to do it … [Indigenous] People have to get together and decide what they want and make their own mistakes and forge their own movement. And sometimes that means excluding [settlers].

Organizational Commitments and Looking Forward

How are organizations articulating, enacting, and envisioning commitments to address settler colonialism? Although all participants had already begun learning about settler colonialism in some way and provided various examples of what addressing settler colonialism is *not* (described in Parts I and II), many admitted to struggling with where and how to start acting against it through their work. Nick Rose, Executive Director of the non-profit Sustain: The Australian Food Network, felt it was important that, because the issues extend far beyond food systems, food movement organizations find ways to connect their actions to broader struggles for Indigenous sovereignty, rights, and treaty. This echoes Pascoe’s insistence that settler organizations join Indigenous Australians’ demands for enhanced government support, market inclusion, and recognition of Indigenous rights, and a settler Canadian participant’s calls for organizations to advocate for sweeping changes to oppressive national legislation such as Canada’s Indian Act.

Organizational approaches envisioned by participants include undergoing a structured, formalized process of articulating a commitment to Indigenous struggles that is part of a shared effort across many organizations. They also include scaffolding supportive structures and values across the entire organization rather than keeping them siloed within one workshop, project, department, or position. A city employee noted that pushing new values across a larger organization is a slow and uphill battle as it is, but becomes far more likely with supportive structures already in place. An example of a structured, formalized process is Roots to Harvest establishing a strategic priority focused on challenging colonialism. Stephens admitted it had taken years of growth to start thinking about their role as a settler organization working with Indigenous groups. The work now, she explained, is figuring out what it means to operationalize the priority—a perpetually uncertain, but necessary process where they'll never know if they're doing the right thing, one that may require rethinking every part of the organization: "I think it's messy. Like it's really messy. But I think it's being comfortable in the messiness and being comfortable in the chaotic-ness of it and being comfortable in the discomfort." She expects that embracing this priority will challenge staff to gain a deeper understanding of the organization's role in colonialism and challenge everyone, staff and community, to examine personal biases.

A director of another community-based non-profit argued for an approach that structures people and processes as horizontally as possible. In other words, running the organization with social power:

> That to me is the great leveler, is that if people can be engaged in a way that recognizes their own skills and their own strengths and engaged toward a greater effort, then that's the key… I think that's something we've known for a long time; it's been the basis of a lot of grassroots movements. How you scale that up, I'm not sure. Maybe it's not meant to be scaled up.

Other suggestions involve unwavering commitment to Indigenous-led partners best positioned to do this work, such as the Indigenous Food Circle; harnessing the power of story, face-to-face listening, and presence through community events that feature Indigenous voices; seeking and honouring guidance from Indigenous knowledge holders and always remunerating them for their time; and prioritizing Indigenous voices. More broadly, participants argued for approaches informed by other countries' reconciliation processes; applying participatory democracy models to existing civil society networks that are informed and led by Indigenous Peoples; working to instill change from both directions—top-down and bottom-up—while creating a mass of people that can straddle scales, disciplines and sectors; and ensuring Indigenous people are part of settlers' everyday lives through media, personal relationships, and organizational structures. One participant stressed that interconnectedness and love must be the absolute foundation of this

work. Approaching their work in this way has made them realize "that it's okay…to allow spirit to do its work" and to surrender control over the process and its outcomes.

Many shared concerns around whether local food movements will evoke change fast enough, feeling a sense of urgency around the resurgence of xenophobia, racism, and nationalism, as well as the rapid erasure of historical sites due to urban development and the threatening extinction of traditional plants, languages, and knowledges. With capitalism on its last legs, Pascoe said, societies need to find new ways of conducting themselves. But even then, it will take more than a single generation of people to heal from what happened over four or five generations—and it will take a lot more than a five-year government-funded program. He added:

> A lot of my friends are really despondent about the future of the world. And that sort of stuff scares the hell out of me, but I can't afford to be despondent. I've got four grandkids. They all want to have a go… I've got to stay hopeful for their sakes so that they don't see me throw in the towel. They have to have the opportunity which my generation refused. There are things we can do. We won't save everything.

Other participants agreed that significant change will take multiple generations. McLaughlin, paraphrasing prominent Anishinaabe activist Winona LaDuke, said "If you're planning to see [change] in your lifetime, you're not planning well enough." She added that if it took 500 years to get to where we are, it could take 500 years to get out.

Despite these concerns, participants shared many observations of positive change in their areas of work. For example, many noted generational change in government, farming, and the general settler population, and described it as a source of hope. It was also felt that settlers are beginning to seek more meaningful ways of approaching land acknowledgements and institutional partnerships; consumers are opting for more sustainably and authentically produced products in the bush food industry; and in health and academic sectors, more Indigenous scholars and practitioners are emerging. "I feel like there is a desire… to tell an entirely different story about food in Australia and what it means. But I think it's a story that we're just learning how to tell, and it's also one that I think has to be led by Indigenous people" a participant involved in research and education shared. Multiple participants spoke of the powerful ripple effect that sustained, community-level work between Indigenous and Settler Peoples has on broader systems over time.

Place-Specific Findings

Many participants in Australia noted the absence of treaty as unassailable proof that Australia is still in a colonial reality. Treaty making has been gaining momentum as a national

discourse and as a necessary next step (after truth telling) in moving forward as a nation. At the time of interviews, the Government of Victoria was in the initial stages of the country's first treaty process. Through the process, participants hoped, food and food systems projects would be recognized as low-hanging fruit to make Indigenous voices more routine and prioritized in settler-led work. For Pascoe, the feelings toward current treaty efforts are more mixed: "I'm hopeful for the treaty process but what we see is that a lot of current Aboriginal organizations are based on white principles—and so they behave accordingly." Participants unanimously agreed that if positive outcomes are to come out of the process, it will take a very long time.

With Thunder Bay being a more geographically contained research site, participants had many intertwined thoughts about the ways the region's unique context impacts the relevance of settler colonialism in their work. For Stephens, the smaller size and relative isolation of Thunder Bay compared to somewhere like Toronto meant there is less competition between organizations and more "unlikely friendships"—often between groups providing different services to the same populations. These unlikely friendships, she said, are what makes the work more impactful. However, she noted that despite this, the area struggles to take a progressive approach to local issues. A city councillor lamented over the challenge of having "pale, male, and stale" majorities in the area's small, regional centres. Ho of the Thunder Bay District Health Unit added that the high urban Indigenous population only intensifies such issues, as well as the need for service providers such as the public health unit to continue exploring ways to appropriately and respectfully engage with Indigenous partners in a collaborative manner. Multiple participants noted that the recent local and national coverage of racism in Thunder Bay has helped highlight the issues and mobilize support through various local movements. This is not without issue; the recent media coverage has also simultaneously spread and endorsed hate, the city councillor said. "We're seeing with our city and the police—it's an attempt to have a dialogue, it's an attempt to change things, but they keep screwing it up because they don't understand what they're doing," the non-profit director said; they added that people in power are failing to recognize the power they have and feel just as disenfranchised and unable to make decisions as those who don't have that same power.

Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the findings from the 27 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with participants in Thunder Bay and Australia. Findings fell within three overlapping, interconnected, emergent, and heuristic themes. Settler motivations and conceptualizations around addressing settler colonialism, as well as barriers to / justifications for inaction are

outlined in Part I. Common settler attempts at engagement, mainly through the approach of inclusion, are then problematized in Part II. The chapter concludes with more promising approaches, real and envisioned, to addressing settler colonialism within food movement organizations in Part III. The next chapter reflects on these findings based on the literature presented in Chapter 2 and in consideration of the methodology outlined in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This research seeks to answer the overarching research question: How are food movement organizations addressing settler colonialism? To answer this, I explore what addressing settler colonialism entails for food movement organizations, as well as if and how this work responds to the calls of Indigenous scholars and activists. The previous chapter presented findings through three themes and demonstrated that: there are many reasons and pathways for settler inaction on challenging settler colonialism; there are common missteps to engaging with Indigenous Peoples and food systems meaningfully; and there is a diversity of proposed and existing ways to do better. Considering the research question, perhaps the most significant finding is that most participants were not *addressing* settler colonialism per se, but rather in the process of *confronting* it; fewer were actively articulating and embodying such commitments. I use the term "confronting" to encompass the process of acknowledging, learning more deeply about, and reckoning with settler colonialism and one's own positionality (including complicity and responsibility) within it, as well as conceptualizing ways to personally and collectively dismantle it. I understand this process of confronting as ongoing, overlapping, and preliminary to the longer-term, collective process of decolonization.

In this chapter, I put the findings into conversation with the literature presented in Chapter 2. I begin by outlining what confronting settler colonialism entails: situating our(settler)selves within the process of settler colonialism. I also outline how it makes space for (re)negotiating relationships—relationships among people and organizations and with land, history, and oneself. I then discuss ways in which both of these processes can inform organizational commitments. These three categories—situating our(settler)selves, (re)negotiating relationships, and making organizational commitments—represent three areas where food movement organizations can more deeply confront and challenge settler colonialism. While these processes are mutually reinforcing, I suggest that they also must build upon each other in order to avoid putting undue emotional labour on Indigenous people. In other words, authentic relationships cannot be forged if settlers do not do the work of understanding settler colonialism, just as organizations cannot make meaningful commitments without being in productive relationships with the Indigenous Peoples whose lands they occupy. Because of the co-learning opportunities yielded by the community-based approach to this research, I am in many ways navigating these issues alongside the participants. Thus, as an active participant in this research, I have made the choice not to separate their analyses from my own. In this way, this chapter is a personal attempt to weave my own reflections on the research question and objectives in with

those of the participants. I conclude with a discussion of some broader methodological limitations.

Situating Our(settler)selves

As Jessica McLaughlin asserted, unpacking settler colonialism is the responsibility of settlers, not that of Indigenous Peoples. Yet, a lack of understanding of settler colonialism within settler-based food movements was identified as a key challenge (much as it was a key impetus of this research). And, while participants demonstrated a keen understanding of the issues in many ways, in other ways they also demonstrated gaps in understanding and readiness. Other key challenges include intimidation and fear of upsetting others (both Indigenous and settler people), the need for guidance from Indigenous people, weakness-based perceptions of the capacities of Indigenous groups, and the sheer complexity and enormity of settler colonialism. All are factors that contribute to inaction and immobilization of settlers.

While such feelings of discomfort, fear, intimidation, and fragility are common in the process of learning and unlearning about settler colonialism (Davis et al., 2017; Hiller, 2017; Lowman & Barker, 2015; Regan, 2010), without evolving into more productive forms of engagement, they negate settler responsibilities and ultimately become moves to innocence (Tuck & Yang, 2012). In this way, we see "colonizers who refuse" (Memmi, 1991) reflected in several instances, including settler participants who agreed that settler colonialism is unacceptable, yet framed settler colonialism historically and without mention of their own roles in its being perpetuated, or struggled to conceptualize how true reconciliation could be achieved, disbelieving that farmland could be given back to the Indigenous Peoples who had lived in relation with it for tens of thousands of years. Additionally, Bruce Pascoe spoke of the "gushy excitability" in settler supporters, government, and philanthropic organizations that too often goes unaccompanied by action. These examples show that some settlers claim to be engaging with the process and lived experiences of settler colonialism without being attentive to its ongoingness and intersectionality, and recognizing their responsibility and complicity within it. As Pascoe, McLaughlin, and some settler participants urged, settlers must take part in proper processes of truth-telling before collective conversations can be had between Indigenous and Settler Peoples.

Other paralyzing factors included institutional and systemic challenges of bureaucracy, competing priorities between governments, funders, and community partners, and land contestations between Indigenous groups competing for government-granted status. Settler participants described feeling very much "stuck" in larger systems that provide little

infrastructure to address settler colonialism. While some of these challenges may be grounded in fragility, many are far more complex. I am reminded here of the literature that speaks to the separation between settler epistemology and ontology and the subsequent theory-practice divide (Watts, 2013; Carlson, 2017). Settler colonialism is a process that requires nuanced understanding of the complex, insidious connections and feedback mechanisms between personal choice and structural change (Alfred, 2005; Flowers, 2015; Lowman & Barker, 2015; Rifkin, 2013), yet settler epistemological and ontological foundations work at every turn to reduce, separate, and invisibilize such connections. Situating our(settler)selves then also involves changing the way we learn in order to better understand connections between the personal and the structural and to get "unstuck" both conceptually and in daily action.

We also see that unpacking settler colonialism within settler circles offloads some of the emotional labour often demanded of Indigenous people in educating settlers. Further, many motivations such as being accountable to moral, social, political, environmental, and professional obligations become realized while learning about settler colonialism, propelling settlers to approach their work with new understandings or to engage more intentionally in anti-colonial work. Indeed, until ongoing settler colonialism and its implications for land, food, and sovereignty are "common parts of our lexicon", as one participant described, settlers are going to have difficulty addressing the many challenges identified in this research.

(Re)Negotiating Relationships

For many food movement organizations, the very nature of the work means that they rarely work alone, making relationships a central site for examining and actively challenging settler colonialism. While settlers have unique and important roles, addressing settler colonialism is a relational, collective process that cannot be done in isolation from Indigenous Peoples and the land (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Snelgrove et al., 2014). However, findings show that increasingly common ways of centering and collaborating with Indigenous people can easily fall into the problematic approach of inclusion that Kepkiewicz et al. (2015) and Grey & Newman (2018) outline in the context of food movements; this inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and food systems may be founded in good intentions but is often predicated on the assumption that settlers have unrestricted access to and control of how said Indigenous Peoples and food systems are included. In the end, these efforts of inclusion fail to facilitate transfers of power and ownership. We see this problematic inclusion in instances where settlers engage in relationship building activities with Indigenous people for the primary purpose of self-education. Here, listening to and learning from Indigenous people is assumed to be redemptive in and of itself and distracts

settlers from turning our gaze inward (Jones & Jenkins, 2008). We also see problematic inclusion in the allowance of Indigenous representation within organizational structures to indigenize the workplace. These moves to include Indigenous representation are often isolating, awkward, and painful for individuals in those positions (as McLaughlin described and as I have heard echoed by others through my own experiences) and rarely happen alongside efforts to offload emotional labour from those individuals onto settlers throughout the organization. Without leading to meaningful shifts in power, these moves of inclusion become moves to innocence (Tuck & Yang, 2012). These approaches to settler education and inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and food systems also fail to consider or respect the possibility of Indigenous refusal, withholding, or protection, as Yuandamarra alluded to in the context of Pascoe's work. The consequences of this are playing out in Australia's exploitative bush food industry, very much taking the form of "culinary colonialism" (Grey & Newman, 2018).

In contrast, some participants insisted that building authentic relationships between Indigenous and Settler Peoples is uncomfortable, slow, uncertain, and messy work that requires unconditional commitment at the personal and institutional levels, with settlers asserting influence both in their own spaces and on settler governments to support Indigenous demands. In other words, as opposed to inclusive practices that make settlers feel good, productive work often necessarily feels incommensurable, contentious, and unfriendly (Tuck & Yang, 2012). We see settlers engaged in this hard work make strides toward more respectful relationships with Indigenous people and the land through (re/un)learning a more local history. Here I am reminded of Kimmerer's (2013) writings on becoming "naturalized to place": immigrants (through one's own life experience or ancestry) upholding Indigenous laws in the places they now settle, giving their gifts and meeting their responsibilities for past and future generations and for human and non-human relatives (214). In a similar way, we see that confronting truths around settler colonialism is not only a passive historical exercise but should facilitate self-interrogation within the present as well as alternative imaginings of the future. Both McLaughlin and Pascoe asserted that Indigenous and Settler Peoples cannot engage in productive conversations until this work is underway. The transformative potential of this work is also demonstrated in the instance of the government employee approaching their Indigenous relationships with newfound respect for Indigenous protection and resilience; this need for settlers to accept Indigenous refusal, withholding, and conditional access is echoed by the settler member of the Indigenous Food Circle. If situating our(settler)selves enables more authentic relationships between Indigenous and Settler Peoples, I now consider how these processes can and do contribute to long-term commitments of food movement organizations to address settler colonialism.

Making Organizational Commitment

Recognizing that settler colonialism is an issue that extends throughout and beyond food movement work, some participants have begun exploring how to institutionally commit to Indigenous struggles within their organizations. However, the findings demonstrate that there are few instances where this is actively being done, confirming that more work is required by organizations to envision, articulate, embody, and propagate such commitments across scales, disciplines, and sectors. The findings also speak to the need to better understand the complexity and intersectionality of settler colonialism in order to best support broader Indigenous struggles through food movement or food sovereignty praxis (Levkoe et al., 2019a).

Building on the discussion of problematic institutional inclusion above, we see what one municipal employee describes as covert racism disguised as standard consultation processes with the local Indigenous community in the bid for special heritage status, as well as the partial commitments of public health officials to a local Indigenous group in doing Indigenous food sovereignty work. These instances bear close resemblance, albeit on an organizational level, to the aforementioned example of settlers thinking "that if they don't spit at an Indigenous person that they're not a part of colonialism." We also see glaring disconnects between what organizations say they support, write through policy, or enact through staff training or working groups, and what is actually done in practice and reflected in values throughout the organization. Pascoe condemned this action-less excitement—and sometimes outright dispossession—from government and non-government organizations, as well as individual settler "supporters". Settler participants also seemed to doubt large bureaucratic organizations—especially government—more so than smaller, non-profit organizations. This could speak at least in part to the non-profit director's belief that horizontal power relations within and between groups (i.e. using social power to run the organization) is a valuable approach to begin addressing oppression at the organizational level. Interestingly, the most promising examples of organizational commitment in the findings is demonstrated by smaller, non-profit groups integrating anti-colonial learning and action into strategic planning, and, by extension, all programs and operations. Yet, these are the organizations that felt they had very little infrastructure to do this work, with many participants demanding sweeping changes to imposing, higher-level structures such as national legislation, governance, and funding models.

Considering the challenges and doubts nearly every participant expressed regarding organizational capacities to address settler colonialism, and that many attempts of institutional inclusion have failed to produce meaningful shifts in power, food movements face difficult questions around how settler colonialism can be addressed through settler-imposed and settler-

controlled systems and what they are willing to sacrifice in order to dismantle them. Such questions are persistent in the literature within and beyond food studies, and in my own community-based work. As participants expressed, organizational commitment, including unpacking settler colonialism and forging new relationships with Indigenous Peoples is a process that is critical, ongoing, mutually reinforcing, deeply uncomfortable, uncertain, slow, and messy.

Finally, there remain two broader limitations to this research, the first being that I am a white settler in a colonial academic institution applying a largely non-Indigenous research methodology to a project on (challenging) settler colonialism. Not only is this ironic, but it is problematic and contributes to broader discourses regarding how Indigenous and non-Indigenous approaches can and should be combined to collectively rethink academic and non-academic institutions. For example, in discussing the threats to Native Studies within the academy, Smith (2014) challenges claims of decolonizing the academy, as that would mean it would cease to exist. There are two important pieces to this idea that I will attempt to briefly unpack. First, the decision to interview primarily settlers is an attempt to take ownership of our end of the work, but it does so at the cost of excluding Indigenous voices that could lend key insights and critiques on the work of settler-based food movements. Many settler participants asked if I was also interviewing Indigenous people; they, too, were thinking about the importance of countering settler perspectives. Here, I lean on Fortier's (2017a) reflections around the self-actualizing power of settler self-reflection and the risk of (re)centering settlers as main actors in decolonization, ultimately obscuring settler complicity and serving as a move to innocence. I have tried to counter this by informing my analysis with the perspectives of four Indigenous participants, Indigenous scholars and activists, as well as my own past experiences and relationships. However, there are no Indigenous committee members, examiners, or informal advisors involved in this research. Both primary contacts were white settlers, yet Dr. Rose was expected to provide a culturally nuanced lens throughout my time in Australia. Second, collecting a relatively small amount of data across such a wide range of geographies and from primarily settler perspectives makes it difficult to justify that I have done this research in relationship. Though my past relationships in Thunder Bay played a significant role in shaping the research questions and objectives, the decisions I ultimately made around the research design isolated me from continuing my relational work (or beginning it in Australia, where I fear I employed the fly-in, fly-out approach more so than one that is community-based). This is where imposter syndrome has set in. And so I must ask myself: Are the relationships I hold to guide this work place-based and reciprocal, and did they have continued presence and shared authority throughout the project? Relation to place and its Indigenous Peoples is an important part of anti-

colonial and decolonizing scholarship (Carlson, 2017; Fortier, 2017b; Kovach, 2009; Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Snelgrove et al., 2014) that I did not adequately fulfill.

The second limitation pertains to settler colonialism as a framework. Building off the critiques laid out in Chapter 2, settler colonial terminology can further promote or enable the "gushy excitability" Pascoe criticized, where an overemphasis or performance of terms is used to distract from real action (*Accomplices not allies*, 2014). One need not embrace settler colonial terminology to recognize their role in maintaining oppressive systems and structures and to engage in anti-colonial action and decolonization. Further, the limitations around the Indigenous-settler binary were particularly apparent in my interviews with Australians. For example, participants shared sentiments against binary labels, calling instead to focus on oneness, as well as general unfamiliarity and uncertainty of the framework's usefulness in Australia. This is not a gap in understanding or fragility as I was so quick to conclude, but more likely a rejection of the binary that does not account for the nuances of national history and identity. This is a key difference between Canada and Australia—and, convict history aside, the binary still fails to capture the complexity of non-Indigenous people in both places. Ostler and Shoemaker (2019) argue for greater precision in using the settler colonial framework, including specifying who it does and does not apply to, and where it is and is not relevant. The field of settler colonial studies is incredibly diverse and continues to be revised in ways that better center its roots in Indigenous and Black scholarship and activism, as well as in contemporary Indigenous realities, all of which serve to displace settlers and reject narrow uses (Carey & Silverstein, 2020). These moves could very well mean moving away from the framework altogether, toward frameworks not predicated or centered on settler colonialism (Konishi, 2019).

Conclusion

The research findings demonstrate that confronting, rather than addressing settler colonialism is a more appropriate expression of where most participants are finding themselves within food movement work. I see the process of confronting settler colonialism as ongoing, overlapping, and preliminary to decolonization. In this chapter, I have outlined that this process of confronting entails settlers putting the time and effort into unpacking the process amongst themselves in order to find more productive positions of solidarity and ways of relating with Indigenous Peoples (where the collective work of decolonization is possible). I have also outlined how doing this work and forging new/different relationships informs organizations that wish to make formal commitments to Indigenous struggles, including Indigenous food sovereignties. These three categories—situating our(settler)selves, (re)negotiating relationships,

and organizational commitments—are non-exhaustive, inconclusive, and mutually reinforcing, meaning that one stage is never complete or achieved. However, I also contend that they must build on each to avoid extracting further emotional labour from Indigenous people. Finally, there are several broad methodological limitations of this research that require interrogation and unsettling. I now turn to the final chapter for concluding thoughts.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As I wrote the final drafts of this thesis, mobilization erupted around the world in movements for Black lives, reignited by a string of publicized acts of police brutality, including the video-captured murder of George Floyd. This unfolded amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, through which racial and class disparities are being increasingly featured in both media and public discourse. The surge of allyship in response to these events (and many others) is being met with demands to rethink how allyship may be embodied within an anti-capitalist and anti-colonial approach. These systems, structures, and processes of oppression come with logics of extraction and elimination that are "sewn into the fabric" (Haiven, 2019) of community mindsets and social movements just as much as they are the state. If food is an important entry point to understand and address these issues, then organizations whose mandates and missions centre on food have a responsibility to take bold action.

My research sought to answer the question: How are food movement organizations addressing settler colonialism? As the findings have demonstrated, food movement organizations overall are not addressing settler colonialism per se, but are somewhere in the process of confronting it—reckoning with the enormity and pervasiveness of settler colonialism and interrogating their positionalities, investments, and responsibilities within it. I position "confronting" as an ongoing, overlapping, and preliminary process to the longer-term, collective process of decolonization.

As it stands, many of us settlers are approaching food movement work with partial but nevertheless evolving understandings of settler colonialism. Using settler colonialism as a methodological framework in this research had its merits and limitations. For example, I felt I was rarely speaking the same language as my participants, yet they unanimously agreed that the issues captured within settler colonialism are intimately tied to and deeply embedded in their work, as well as necessary to address. A host of critiques, including those drawing from people of colour and Australian convict history, complicate and weaken the usefulness of the settler-Indigenous binary. How can this work be approached using frameworks that honour place-based history and identity while mobilizing across scales and communities?

With guidance from the literature and the research participants, I proposed three non-exhaustive, inconclusive, and mutually reinforcing areas in which food movement organizations can invest: situating our(settler)selves within settler colonialism, (re)negotiating place-based relationships with Indigenous Peoples and the land, and enacting organizational commitments that respond to and support Indigenous struggles. Important groundwork has been laid by centuries of struggle, decades of scholarship and activism, and ongoing lived experiences that

have informed critiques of food movements across the global north around consumerism, individualism, patriarchy, classism, and white supremacy, pushing movements closer to their aspirational goals of social and ecological justice. The same must be done for settler colonialism. While settler colonialism and anti-Indigenous racism are different from other forms of oppression, they are an underlying and compounding force in the various power inequities existing food movements seek to challenge. Food sovereignty—particularly one informed by the specific Indigenous food sovereignties enacted on settler-occupied, Indigenous homelands—remains an important framework through which to approach food movement praxis. A small but rapidly growing body of literature by Indigenous and settler scholar-activists captures, critiques, and politicizes some of these frameworks. Despite this growing scholarship, there remain few studies that examine practical examples of how settler colonialism is being addressed by food movement organizations. My research sought to address this gap.

In addition to the methodological limitations identified throughout this paper (in particular, Chapters 3 and 5, which themselves could make up an entire thesis) there are many aspects of this work that trouble me. I wonder:

- How can settlers take responsibility for our end of the work without negating the ongoing relational process needed to inform it?
- How do we do the urgent work of decolonization without skipping the work of learning about settler colonialism?
- How do we engage certain actors in this work whose accountabilities to state and community are pitted against one another?
- If we recognize how harmful settler colonialism is to our settler selves, how do we ensure our motivations are not rooted in the hope of saving/redeeming ourselves?
- If the methods (e.g. in-depth, semi-structured interviews) and subject matter I chose to focus on are at the mercy of my skills and understandings as a researcher (e.g. in settler colonialism, intersectionality, two-eyed seeing approaches), as well as the time limitations of a master's degree, is it reckless for people like me to take on projects like this?

As per the social change-oriented goal of community-based research, as well as the accountability demanded of anti-colonial and decolonizing food movement praxis, data has been and will be used to write and present material for several audiences in addition to this thesis. At the time of submitting this thesis, several outputs have already come from this project. These include:

- Panel presentation on *Reconciliation and Sovereignty: Land Food, & Energy* at the William Angliss Institute in Melbourne, Australia (September 2019)
- Presentation at the 9th Annual Critical Dietetics Conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia (November 2019)
- Blog piece for FLEdGE – Food: Locally Embedded, Globally Engaged (December 2019)
- *3 Minute Thesis* presentation at Lakehead University (March 2020)
- Virtual presentation for the FLEdGE network (May 2019)
- Blog piece for Sustain: The Australian Food Network (August 2020)
- Summary report for all research participants and interested parties (October 2020)
- Scholarly article (submitted for peer review) co-authored with Dr. Levkoe and Dr. Rose
- Continued engagement with the Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy and Thunder Bay Indigenous Food Circle

Further, this research, including the connections, partnerships, and relationships around it, will be absorbed by the broader research project between Dr. Levkoe, Dr. Rose, and others. This research so far has been incredibly well-received—settlers are eager to learn more and do better, and it has spurred critical reflection and conversation among food movement actors. My hope is that this work continues to strike nerves of relatability and discomfort in those who engage with it and that it provides impetus to commit to interrogating these issues within individuals and their respective workplaces. More place-based work is needed that traces these processes within food movements and holds them up to the dreams and demands of specific Indigenous communities whose lands they occupy—only then will our visions and efforts for just and sustainable food systems be truly so.

Appendix A: Recruitment text

To be used in emails or verbally.
Text will be adapted to address individual participants.

Email subject line: Request for participation in research study on settler colonialism and food movement organizations

Dear [name of participant],

I am contacting you about participating in a research study titled **Confronting settler colonialism in food systems: Exploring food movement organizations in Canada and Australia**. This research seeks to examine how food movement organizations are addressing settler colonialism through discourse and practice. The broader goal of this research is to explore how food movement organizations can be more impactful in achieving healthy, just and sustainable food systems through confronting issues of settler colonialism in their own work. Results from the study are intended to inform food movement organizations and scholars doing work in these areas.

In [country], we are working with [name of primary contact] from [network organization] to identify organizations within the network that are engaging, or at least interested in this work. As an individual doing this work with [name of network organization], we would like to invite you to participate in an in-person or phone interview approximately 45-75 minutes long. Your identity would remain confidential in any results and your participation is completely voluntary.

If you are interested in participating, please respond to this email or contact me by phone to receive more information about the project and to set up an interview time (should you choose to proceed).
Sincerely,

Michaela Bohunicky
Department of Health Sciences
Lakehead University
[Canada]
mbohunic@lakeheadu.ca
+1 807 ***-****

Appendix B: Information letter

Confronting settler colonialism in food systems: Exploring food movement organizations in Canada and Australia

Dear potential participant,

Thank you for your interest in this research project. Your time and help are truly appreciated. This information sheet provides a brief overview of the research and outlines what you can expect including benefits and risks, and how the data will be handled and used. Please feel free to ask any questions at any point; contact details are at the end of the document.

What is this research about?
This research examines how food movement organizations in Canada and Australia are addressing settler colonialism through discourse and practice. Settler colonialism is referred to as an ongoing structure of oppression that aims to systematically eliminate and replace Indigenous peoples with a settler society. This settler society develops its own identity and sovereignty over time primarily through occupying Indigenous land and appropriating history and other narratives to legitimize settler invasion. In Canada, we are working with organizations and community leaders within the Thunder Bay and Area Food Strategy network. In Australia, we are working with organizations and community leaders within Sustain: The Australian Food Network. The broader goal of this research is to explore how food movement organizations can be more impactful in achieving healthy, just and sustainable food systems through confronting issues of settler colonialism in their own work. Results from the study are intended to inform food movement organizations and scholars doing work in these areas. This research is part of a graduate requirement and is conducted by Master's student Michaela Bohunicky and her supervisor, Dr. Charles Levkoe. It is partially funded by a Mitacs Globalink Research Award.

What is being requested of me?
You are being invited to participate in this research because you are interested in or are actively addressing settler colonialism as an organizational representative and/or community leader within one of these two networks. As an individual engaging in these issues, we would like to invite you to participate in an in-person or phone interview approximately 45-75 minutes long. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded. Your identity would remain confidential and participation is completely voluntary unless otherwise indicated on the consent form. You may refuse to answer any question and can withdraw from the study at any time without facing any negative consequences.

What are the benefits and risks?
We hope this research will inform researchers, communities and organizations in both countries in developing more inclusive and impactful food movements. This research builds on previous work on settler colonialism in food movements and addresses the gap of examining what meaningful action by food movement organizations looks like in both discourse and practice. Involving two food movement networks from countries that have similar settler colonial histories and legacies presents an opportunity to learn from and with each other, thereby strengthening relationships within and among the organizations involved. We realize that some questions may be perceived as sensitive and certain information may not wish to be made available to others. Talking about settler colonialism can be uncomfortable and upsetting. Information shared could also hurt reputations or cause further tensions within/among the organizations involved. We will keep your contributions confidential to the best of our ability unless you choose to give up your anonymity. For this research, we are interested in identifying gaps and opportunities in

organizations' work in a critical but constructive way that meets the needs and interests of those organizations.

What will you do with what I tell you?
Your identity and that of the organization you represent will remain anonymous unless you indicate otherwise on the consent form. In other words, nothing you say will be attributed to you or the organization you represent. Every effort will be made to remove identifying characteristics. Your position and organization will be described in generic terms. Only members of the research team will have access to the data, including the audio-recording, consent form, supplemental notes and any other identifiable materials related to you and your organization. During the study, all data will be stored in an encrypted file on a password-protected computer. Once the study has concluded, all data will be stored in a secure office space in Lakehead University's Department of Health Sciences and destroyed a minimum of five years after the completion of the research. Findings will be published as part of Michaela Bohunicky's Master of Health Sciences thesis as well as in a summary report shared with participants, popular articles and a peer-reviewed publication tailored to food movement organizations. They will also be shared at both academic and community-based conferences and gatherings. You are free to withdraw any information you have shared at any point by contacting us and indicating your wish to do so. If you choose to withdraw after your data has been included in a publication, only the data that has not yet been published will be removed from any further publications.

How can I learn about the findings?
You are welcome to receive articles and any other publications arising from this research. A summary report of the results will be sent to the email you provide in the consent form in August, 2020.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact **Michaela Bohunicky at mbohunic@lakeheadu.ca.**

This study has been approved by Lakehead University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact Dr. Charles Z Levkoe (clevkoe@lakeheadu.ca; 807-346-7954). If you have questions related to the ethics of the research and would like to speak to someone outside of the research team, please contact Sue Wright at the Research Ethics Board at 807-343-8283 or research@lakeheadu.ca.

Thank you again for your time and help,

Michaela Bohunicky
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Appendix C: Consent form

Confronting settler colonialism in food systems: Exploring food movement organizations in Canada and Australia

Your signature below indicates the following:

- You have read and understood the information letter
- You agree to participate
- You understand the potential risks and benefits
- You understand that your participation in this study is voluntary, that you can withdraw from the study at any time, and can refuse to answer any question without any negative consequences
- The data you provide will be securely stored at Lakehead University for a minimum of 5 years following completion of this project
- You understand that a summary report of the research findings will be made available to you in August 2020 through the email you provide below
- You will remain anonymous in any publications and presentations of research findings and all potential identifying information will be kept confidential unless indicated below
- You have had the opportunity to ask questions and have received satisfactory responses
- You have received a copy of the information letter for your own records
- You understand that the results of this study may be distributed in academic journals, conference presentations and other publications

I wish to remain anonymous in all aspects of this research ☐ Yes ☐ No
Do you consent to the interview session being audio-recorded? ☐ Yes ☐ No
Would you like to receive a summary report of the research findings? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Email: _____

I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in this project as stated above

_____ _____ _____
Participant name (printed) Participant signature Date

This study has been approved by Lakehead University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact Dr. Charles Z Levkoe (clevkoe@lakeheadu.ca; 807-346-7954). If you have questions related to the ethics of the research and would like to speak to someone outside of the research team, please contact Sue Wright at the Research Ethics Board at 807-343-8283 or research@lakeheadu.ca.

Appendix D: Interview guide

- □ Information letter and consent form reviewed
- □ Consent obtained for interview (All blank fields filled)
- □ Participant asked if they have any questions
- □ Consent obtained to begin recording

*For the purposes of this research, settler colonialism is referred to as an ongoing structure of oppression that aims to systematically eliminate and replace Indigenous peoples with a settler society. This settler society develops its own identity and sovereignty over time primarily through occupying Indigenous land and appropriating history and other narratives to legitimize settler invasion. Canada and Australia are examples of settler colonial societies.

In this interview, when I ask questions about settler colonialism, I am primarily referring to the myriad of ways that settler colonialism is often unintentionally or subconsciously maintained and reproduced by settlers in day to day thoughts, conversations and actions. This can be through our approaches to relationships with Indigenous people, land and resources, national identity, national history, sovereignty, different worldviews and ways of knowing, privilege, and access.

Theme	Question	Probe (f/u or key points)
Introduction (situating the participant)	Can you confirm your name, position and organization/group you represent?	What is your relationship to the network?
	Can you briefly describe what your roles and responsibilities are in this position?	(Explain role if not obvious)
	Why do you think it is important for food movement organizations to address settler colonialism in their work?	Why/why not? How do you think addressing settler colonialism plays into achieving (social-ecological) health?
Organizational position on settler colonialism	What does settler colonialism mean to your organization?	How does addressing settler colonialism relate to your organization's mandate? (social-ecological health)
	Does your organization have a position on settler colonialism, or a relationship with Indigenous people/communities?	If so: Is it formal or informal? Do you know where it came from or why it was developed? Is it documented anywhere in policy/procedure? How does it get operationalized/what does it look like in practice? If not: Why not?
Organizational engagement with settler colonialism	Can you describe past and current engagements with Indigenous people or issues of settler colonialism in your organization?	(e.g. training, education, acknowledgement, programs, partnerships, leadership, staff

		members/positions, engagements)
	How is settler colonialism relevant to your organization?	Why does it matter for the work you do? How has it or might it change the work you do?
	What are the guiding motivations or aspirations to addressing settler colonialism for your organization?	(social-ecological health)
How settler colonialism is being addressed through discourse	How has your organization addressed settler colonialism through discussion?	When? Where? Formal or informal? Why/what led to it? Who was involved? What was the response from people inside the organization? What was the response from people outside the organization? Can you give examples of specific discussions? How, if at all, are these discussions being documented?
	How has your organization addressed settler colonialism through written communication?	When? Where? Formal or informal? Why/what led to it? Who was involved? What was the response from people inside the organization? What was the response from people outside the organization? Can you give examples of specific materials? (e.g. social media, reports, newsletters, policy)
How settler colonialism is being addressed through practice	How has your organization addressed settler colonialism through action? "Action" could be events, programming, campaigns, protocols, or otherwise.	When? Where? Formal or informal? Why/what led to it? Who was involved? What was the response from people inside the organization? What was the response from people outside the organization? Can you give specific examples? How, if at all, are these practices being documented?
Impacts	What have the impacts been of [repeat specific discussion(s), writing(s), and/or practice(s)]?	(e.g. positive, negative, valuable, harmful)
	Have any new tensions or challenges arisen out of [repeat	Can you describe them to me?

	specific discussion(s), writing(s), and/or practice(s)]?	
	What factors help or hinder progress?	(e.g. organizational capacity, government policy, advisory groups)
Future possibilities	What are the opportunities for your organization to address settler-colonialism in the future?	Can you give me some examples? What do you need to make this happen?
	What are the opportunities for food movements to address settler-colonialism in the future?	Examples? What do they need to make this happen?
Conclusion	Is there anything else you'd like to add before we finish?	

Appendix E: Timeline

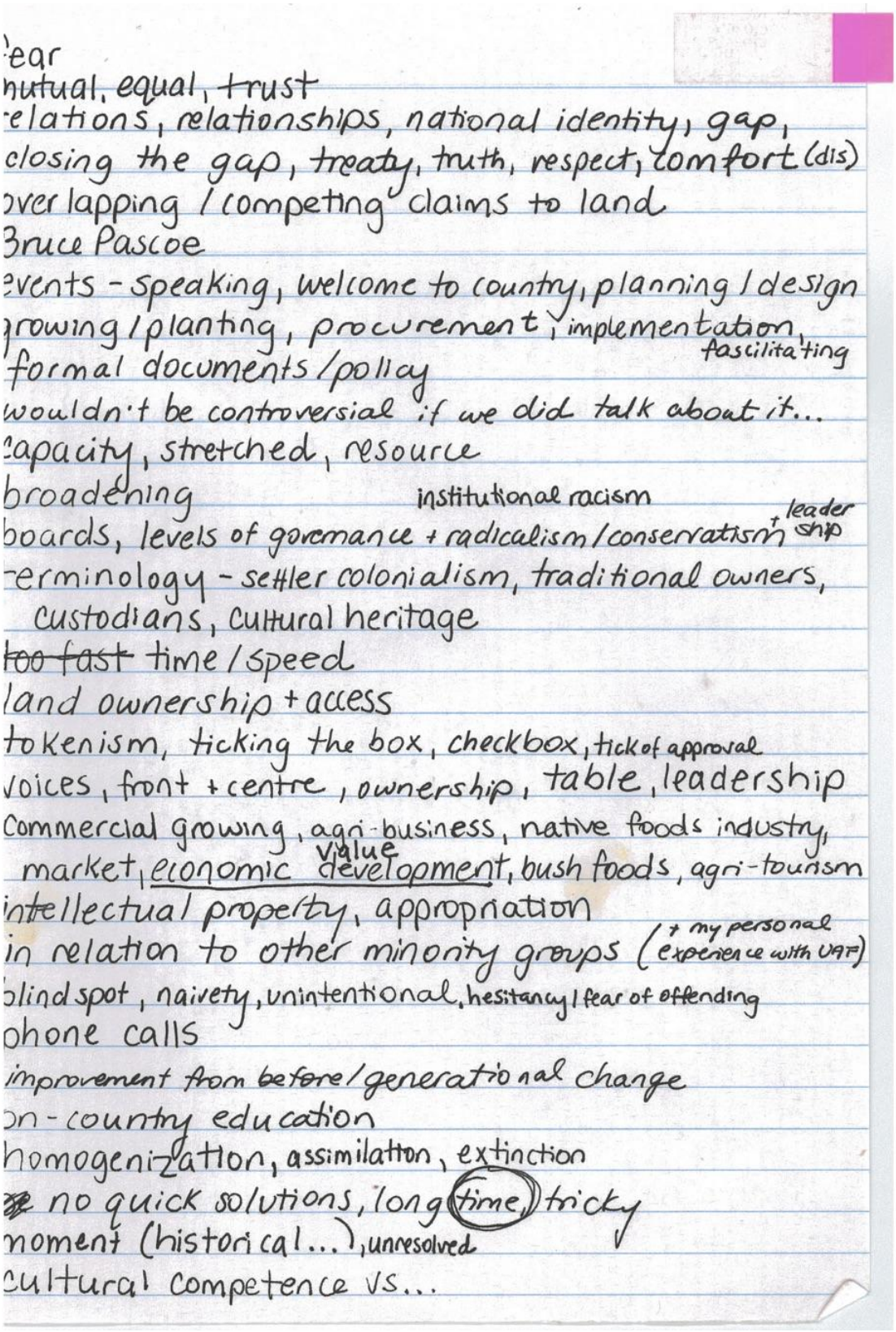
By the time I graduate, this research will have been conducted over approximately 18 months within a full-time, two-year masters degree. Research activities took place primarily in Thunder Bay, with 78 days (approximately 2.5 months) in Australia to collect data. For more details, refer to Table 2 below.

Table 2

Timeline

Year	Month	Activity
2019	May	Proposal development Supervisor reading proposal draft
	June	Committee reading proposal draft Oral proposal defense
	June-July	Ethics submission and approval
	July - September	Data collection and transcription (Australia)
	September - November	Data collection and transcription (Canada)
	November - December	Data cleaning and coding
2020	January - May	Analysis and writing
	June	Supervisor, then committee reading draft
	July	External/internal examiner review
	August	Oral thesis defense
	September	Submit final thesis and distribute summary report
	October	Graduation

Appendix F: Initial codes and themes



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