The Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwitchin Food Security

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By
Tobi Jeans

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Dean
College of Graduate Studies and Research
University of Saskatchewan
107 Administration Place
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Canada

ABSTRACT

Due to a combination of factors, the Vuntut Gwitchin (Old Crow, Yukon) are facing significant challenges in accessing and securing traditional foods for household consumption. While commercial foods have become more readily available, the nutritional quality is far inferior to traditional wild foods. Maintaining access to reliable and nutritious food sources is a part of a larger social and political system in which food procurement occurs. Enforcement of the Canada and the United States border has affected the Vuntut Gwitchin's ability to access traditional food sources – including the harvesting, sharing and receiving of these traditional foods. Household interviews and surveys in Old Crow were conducted and describe the extent to which food sharing occurs between Old Crow and Gwich'in Communities in Alaska and the Northwest Territories; identifies the social and political barriers that are impeding food sharing from occurring and argues that the issue of food security relate directly to indigenous sovereignty and the rights of the Gwitchin to define their own policies and strategies for the production, distribution, and consumption of sustainable and healthy food sources.

Keywords: Food Security, Canada/USA border, aboriginal, Vuntut Gwitchin Territory, Yukon Territory

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Dedication

To my Grandmother, Laura Flood.
(1926-2010)

To my Dad (Max), Douglas Reid Stokes.
(1950-2007)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAND - Aboriginal and Northern Development Canada

AK – Alaska, USA

ANCSA - Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

ANILCA - Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, 1980

BC – British Columbia, Canada

CBP – Customs and Border Protection (USA)

CCRA - Canada Customs and Revenue Agency

CBSA - Canadian Border Services Agency

DHS - Department of Homeland Securities

HBC - Hudson's Bay Company

IFA - Inuvialuit Final Agreement

INAC - Indian Northern Affairs Canada

MLA – Member of Legislative Assembly

NTC - Northwest Trading Company

NWT - Northwest Territories

PCMB - Porcupine Caribou Management

RCMP – Royal Canadian Mounted Police

RNWMP - Royal North West Mounted Police

SARA – The Species at Risk Act, 2002

TEK - Traditional Ecological Knowledge

UFA – Umbrella Final Agreement

USDA - United States Department of Agriculture

USDF&G - Unites States Department of Fish and Game Wildlife Officers

VG – Vuntut Gwitchin

VGFN - Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation

VGFNFA - Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement

WAPPRITA - Canadian Wildlife Animal & Plant Protection & Regulations of International and Interprovincial Trade Act, 1992

YFN - Yukon First Nation

YK – Yukon Territory, Canada

YTG - Yukon Territorial Government

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Across the Canadian north, aboriginal communities are being challenged to secure the necessary foods to satisfy basic nutritional needs. Owing to complex interactions between social and ecological changes, food insecurity represents one of the most pressing issues affecting the health and well-being of Canada's aboriginal peoples. While food insecurity is undeniably tied to changes in the natural environment, maintaining access to reliable and healthy food sources is also influenced by the social and political system in which food procurement occurs. For example, food security has become increasingly challenged by the high costs associated with wildlife harvesting (i.e., purchase of gas and equipment) (Ford et al, 2008), limited wage earning opportunities in northern communities (Trainor et al., 2007), changing dietary preferences of aboriginal youth (Natcher et al., 2009) and environmental uncertainties associated with climate change (Paci et al., 2008; IASC, 2010). Together, these social and environmental conditions have resulted in an increasingly dire situation for many northern communities.

The Vuntut Gwitchin[1], whose members reside predominantly in the community of Old Crow, Yukon, find themselves among the many communities confronted by conditions of food insecurity. Depending largely on the harvest of migratory wildlife species to satisfy much of their nutritional needs (Wesche et al., 2011) – primarily caribou, salmon and waterfowl – the Vuntut Gwitchin have become increasingly concerned over declining wildlife populations. For instance the Porcupine Caribou Herd, which ranges from northeastern Alaska across the northern Yukon to the Mackenzie River in the Northwest Territories has shown an annual decline of approximately 4% of its herd size since 1994 (PCMB, 2011a). Reaching a high of 178,000 in 1989, recent estimates (2010) indicate a herd size of approximately 169,000 caribou (PCMG, 2011). While the exact cause for the decline is unknown, biologists attribute the reduced herd size to weather conditions characterized by high snow accumulations on the wintering grounds and short summers in the early 1990s (Griffith et al., 2002). This decline may also reflect natural

[1] When referring to the Vuntut Gwitchin of Old Crow, Gwitchin is used as a short form. When referring to the Gwich'in Nation as a whole or its other tribes, Gwich'in is used.

cyclical trends in caribou populations (Hummel & Ray, 2008). During this same period salmon returns to the Porcupine River have also been in decline. Because returning salmon traverse the Yukon River system through Alaska they are subject to intense harvesting pressure, both from commercial (Thiessen, 2010) and subsistence (Moncrieff, 2007) harvesters. In addition to harvesting pressure, fisheries biologists believe that ocean conditions (poor marine survival) are also responsible for the low returns of chum salmon to the Porcupine River (Gisclair, 2010). For whatever reasons the declining number of returning chum salmon have motivated the Vuntut Gwitchin to adopt a voluntary fishing closure to aid salmon conservation efforts. Last, the Vuntut Gwitchin have in the past decade noticed dramatic changes occurring in hydrology of their territory. Specifically, Old Crow residents have observed water levels of the Old Crow Flats dropping and water levels of lakes and marshes receding (Wolfe et al., 2011). This is a considerable concern given that the Old Crow Flats serves as a crucial breeding and stage ground for more than 500,000 waterfowl annually (Conant and Dau, 1990).

With the decline of primary subsistence species, the Vuntut Gwitchin may be forced to purchase commercial foods from the south to supplement their nutritional needs. However, with no road or marine access, the exorbitant costs of purchasing healthy commercial foods may be prohibitive. For example, to meet weekly nutritional needs of a family of four, the cost to purchase a healthy food basket in Old Crow is estimated to be $496 week compared to $206 week for the same food basket purchased in the Yukon's capital city of Whitehorse (AAND, 2011). Given these costs, together with the limited wage earning opportunities available to Old Crow residents, it is unlikely the purchasing of commercial foods shipped from the south can serve as a viable remedy to offset conditions of food insecurity.

While the challenges faced by the Vuntut Gwitchin are considerable, they are in many ways shared with other aboriginal communities across northern Canada. Faced with declining wildlife populations and high costs of store bought commercial foods, the Vuntut Gwitchin are among many who are dealing with food insecurity. Yet, unlike other communities, the Vuntut Gwitchin are faced with the additional challenge of having their traditional territory bisected by an international and territorial border that is enforced by territorial, state and federal government agencies that most often fail to respect the territorial rights and interests of the Gwitchin people. Due to Old Crow's close proximity to the US\Canadian border (90 km), the Vuntut Gwitchin have over the course of nearly a century been systematically excluded from accessing much of

their traditional lands. This territorial exclusion has not only limited their ability to physically access and harvest country foods found in Alaska and the Northwest Territories but has also obstructed the social networks that exist between Gwitch'in communities that have long facilitated the exchange of country foods in times of need. Although more than 30 other First Nation and Native American tribes are affected by an arbitrary border or "medicine line" that separates Canada and the United States (O'Brien, 1984), the Vuntut Gwitchin are unique in their degree of isolation and their continued reliance on traditional food sources. The cross-border dimension of food insecurity represents one of the most pressing policy concerns of the Vuntut Gwitchin and it is this dimension of food security that serves as the focus of this thesis.

1.2. Research Objectives and Research Question

This thesis explores the social and political dimensions of food security, with a particular focus on the unique challenges faced by the community of Old Crow due to its close proximity to the US\Canada border. By focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security, this thesis will:

- Describe the extent to which food sharing occurs between Old Crow and Gwich'in Communities in Alaska and the Northwest Territories;
- Identify the social and political barriers that may be impeding food sharing from occurring.

Last, this research argues that the issue of food security relate directly to indigenous sovereignty and the rights of the Gwitchin to define their own policies and strategies for the production, distribution, and consumption of sustainable and healthy food sources. In this way, food sovereignty is considered a precondition for food security (Knuth, 2009).

1.3. Thesis Organization

This thesis is in a traditional format that includes an Introduction (Chapter 1), Background and Literature Review (Chapter 2), Methodology (Chapter 3), Food Sharing Results (Chapter 4), Barriers to Food Sharing (Chapter 5), Discussion and Conclusion (Chapter 6). The first three chapters provide a review of the literature relevant to the discipline of study, lays out the thesis objectives, place the research within the discipline of Environment and Sustainability, and provides context for the remaining chapters (4 through 6). The Conclusion (Chapter 6) will

link the thesis findings back to the literature identified in the Background and Literature Review (Chapter 1-2), in addition to describing possible directions for future research.

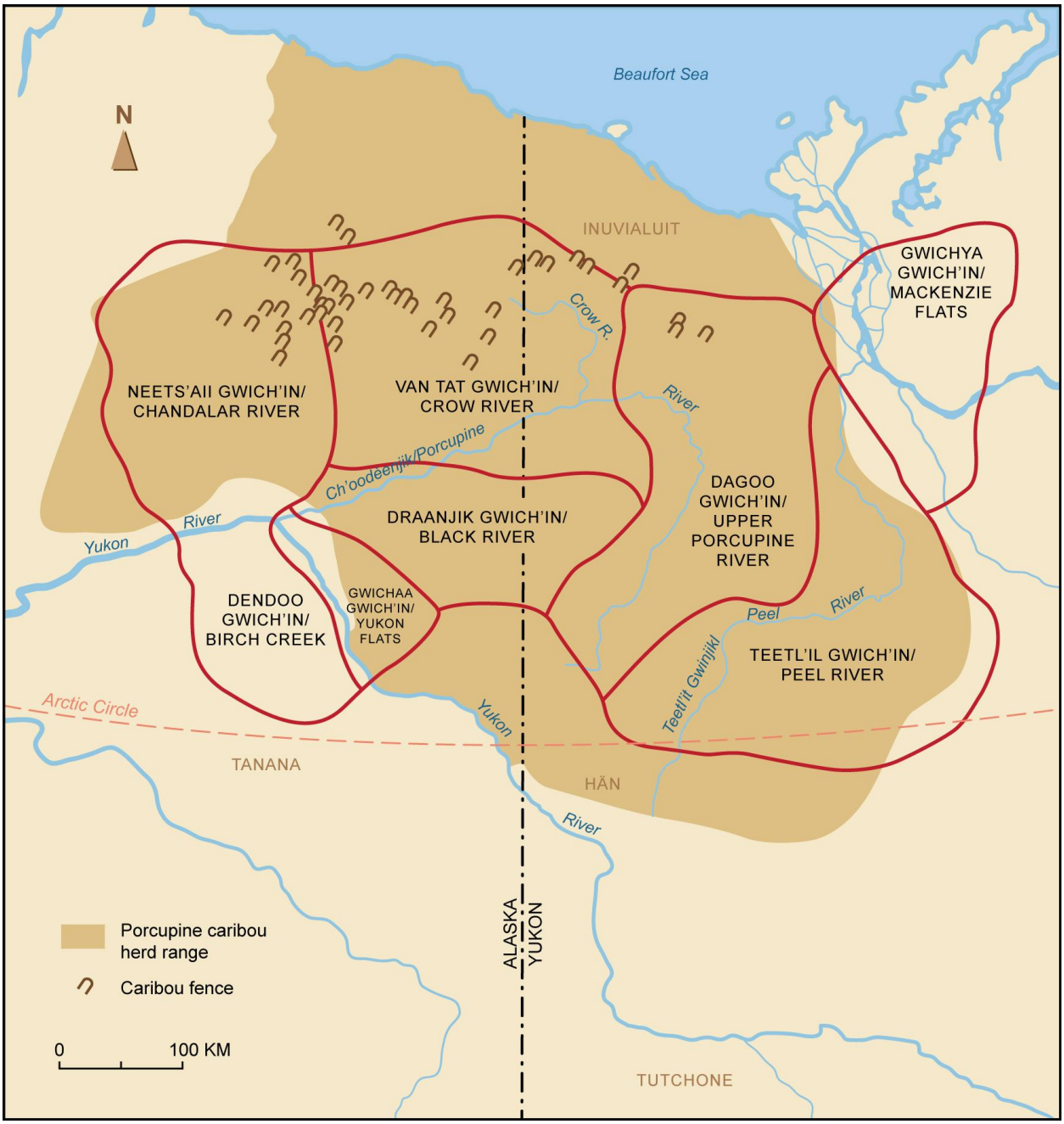
This research makes the following contributions. Academically it will advance the understanding of human ecology amongst northern indigenous peoples specifically in relation to food exchange. In terms of policy, it will identify how the imposition of the US/Canadian border and subsequent enforcement has influenced social and political relationships between Gwitch'in communities as well as nation states. More pragmatically this research will help advance the objectives of the Vuntut Gwitch'in in developing an effective food security strategy.

CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

Old Crow is the most northerly community in the Yukon Territory, and the only community in the Yukon Territory without road or marine access. Located at the confluence of the Crow and Porcupine Rivers, Old Crow is located 800 kilometers north of Whitehorse, 128 kilometers north of the Arctic Circle and 90 kilometers from the Alaska border. Today, approximately 300 people occupy Old Crow, 270 of whom are Vuntut Gwitchin. The Vuntut Gwitchin, or 'people of the lakes', are part of the Gwich'in people whose traditional territory extends across western Alaska, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories (see Map 1).

In approximately, 10 thousand BC, people are thought to have crossed the Bering Land Bridge into what is now Alaska (VanStone 1974, Le Blanc 1984). Between 1000-1500 years ago, a single closely related linguistic group of Athapaskans, the Gwich'in, migrated into east central Alaska and western portion of northern Canada (Le Blanc 1984, Morlan 1973). The Gwich'in are part of the Athapaskan speaking peoples that extends from north central Alaska to the southwest United States (Hardistry 1872, Kirby 1865). They are comprised of eight distinct groups, the: Neets'aii Gwich'in (Chandalar River), Dendoo Gwich'in (Birch Creek), Gwichaa Gwich'in (Yukon Flats), Draanjik Gwich'in (Black River), Dagoo Gwich'in (Upper Porcupine River), Teetl'it Gwich'in (Peel River), Gwichya Gwich'in (Mackenzie Flats) and the Van Tat Gwich'in (Crow River) (Osgood, 1934, 1936a, 1936b; McKennan 1935, 1965; Hardleigh-West, 1963, Kirby 1865, VGFN, 1999). The territorial distribution of the Gwich'in is based on their adjacency drainage systems that provided mobility and access to variable resources (Osgood 1934, Morlan 1973, Murray, 1910). The histories told by Gwich'in elders, as well as early traders and missionaries, tell stories of survival over the millennia by travelling across their territory, hunting, trapping, trading and sharing with others (VGFN 2009, Morlan 1973, Hardistry 1872, Kirby 1865, Murray, 1910, Leechman 1954). According to Morlan (1973) subsistence economy changed very little throughout the prehistoric period (1200-100BP).



Map 1 Gwich'in and Caribou in Northern Yukon and Alaska
Recreated from Smith et al (2009). Cultural Boundaries from Osgood (1970)(1936), Caribou fences from Jakimchuk 1974, Caribou range from North Yukon Planning Commission 2006

Among sub-arctic groups the Gwich'in are among those most well documented thanks to the accounts of early traders and missionaries such as Hardistry (1872), Kirby (1865), Richardson (1851) and McDonald (1869), Murray (1910) and to ethnographers and archeologists such as Osgood (1936), Leechman (1954), Balikci (1963), Le Blanc (1984), Morlan (1972, 1973),

Acheson (1981), VanStone (1974), in addition to what was being collected about neighboring bands by Slobidin (1962), Hadleigh-West (1963), McKennan (1965) and Farfard (2001). These archival and published accounts are not exhaustive, but provide substantial documentation of the Gwich'in cultural history.

What is prepared here is a review of that literature, highlighting those historical events that had a formative effect on the contemporary Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation. However, as noted by Greer and Le Blanc (1992), and through my own research, much of the past ethnographic and archaeological research in the region has been void of any significant attempt to incorporate Gwich'in oral histories. In response to this criticism this chapter has drawn from both the extensive literature found on the Gwich'in with oral histories recorded by the Vuntut Gwitchin themselves (Smith et al., 2009).

2.2. The Gwich'in Nation

As described by Morlan (1973) and others (Balikci, 1963; Osgood, 1934, 1936, 1936b; Leechman, 1954; Smith, 2009) the Vuntut Gwitch'in followed patterns of seasonal mobility. In the spring Vuntut Gwitch'in would concentrate their harvesting efforts hunting caribou by targeting river crossings along the Porcupine River intercepting the northbound caribou migration (Leechman, 1954, Le Blanc, 1973, Morlan, 1973). Hunting took place at several localities along the Porcupine River; between the Bell River to the east and the Coleen River to the west in Alaska (Leechman, 1954, McKennan, 1965, Morlan, 1973). In late spring muskrat and bird hunting occurred throughout the Old Crow Flats (Leechman, 1954,Morlan, 1972). In the summer, the Vuntut Gwitch'in would disperse into camps located along tributary streams of the Porcupine and Old Crow Rivers where fish traps were set for salmon and other fish (Le Blanc, 1973, Leechman, 1954). Other summer activities included egg and berry gathering, rabbit snaring, and in late summer, the capture of molting birds (Leechman, 1954, Morlan, 1973). By fall the Vuntut Gwitch'in moved to the northern edge of Old Crow Flats to construct and\or mend the caribou fences and surrounds, used to trap and kill large numbers of migrating caribou (Leechman, 1954, Morlan, 1973). Little is known about winter activities but it has been suggested that the Vuntut Gwitch'in did not split up into smaller family units, as other western sub-arctic groups did, rather they remained together throughout the winter (Osgood, 1936a, Morlan, 1973, Le Blanc, 1984). During this time excursions would have been made by some to the Firth River to fish for arctic char, while a number would have gone in search of moose along

the lower Bluefish River, while still others may have visited the winter range of the caribou near Lone Mountain (Balikci, 1963, Morlan, 1973). According to Greer and Le Blanc (1992: 4.1):

> The human presence in the Old Crow area has incredible time depth; the region has probably the longest record of human occupation found anywhere in Canada. Moreover, its original people, the Van Tat [Vuntut], have maintained strong ties with the land despite the changes they have faced in the past 150 years.

2.2.1. Early Contact – Pre 19th Century

Due primarily to geography, the Vuntut Gwitch'in saw few missionaries, traders or prospectors and remained relatively isolated from European encroachment until the beginning of the 18th century (Leechman, 1954, Morlan, 1973, VanStone, 1974). Vuntut territory, with only three possible routes of access, was said to be one of the most remote fur trade destinations in Canada: those routes being limited to travel up the Yukon River system through Alaska; south on the Mackenzie River from eastern Canada; or by ship through the Arctic Ocean and then traversing south across difficult northern terrain (Leechman, 1954, Smith, 2009). This remoteness however did not restrict Vuntut trade with neighboring peoples. In fact, the Vuntut were reported to have travelled considerable distances to trade with other aboriginal groups and were viewed as astute middlemen working between European traders and other tribal groups (Smith, 2009, Hadleigh-West, 1963, Kirby 1865, Hardistry 1872) (see appendix G). Most notable among Vuntut Gwitchin traders were Olti who would travel to Hershel Island to trade caribou skins with Inuit, Khach'oodaayu who traveled throughout the Mackenzie River system to Fort Simpson, and others who would regularly travel to Barrow Point, Alaska to trade for Russian goods (Smith, 2009, Richardson, 1851).

The earliest account of direct European contact with the Gwich'in is thought to have occurred between 1789-1801 by explorers arriving from the Mackenzie River, NWT (Richardson, 1851, Osgood, 1936a). However it was not until 1804 that the Northwest Trading Company (NTC) opened, what at the time was their most northerly post at Fort Good Hope, NWT. It was not until this time that the Gwich'in come into more or less sustained contact with European traders (Leechman, 1954). However, as Slobidin (1962) notes the 'mountain indians', as he called the Gwich'in, vehemently opposed any potential disruption to their traditional trading partnerships and tended to avoid NTC posts (Richardson, 1851, Kirby, 1865).

It was not until 1840 that John Bell established the permanent trading post in the Gwich'in territory of Fort McPherson, NWT. Seven years later (1847), Alexander Hunter Murray of the Hudson's Bay Company travelled from Fort McPherson down the Porcupine River and established a Fort Yukon post at the confluence of the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers (Hadleigh-West, 1963, Murray, 1910, Leechman, 1954, McKennan, 1965), making it the closest trading post to the Vuntut Gwitchin. In his journal, Murray noted the regular trade visits of the Vuntut Gwitchin (referred to by earlier ethnographers as Vanta Kootchin and Van Tat):

> On the 6th of July (1847) the: Letter Carrier," chief of the Vanta Kootchin" (people of the lakes) arrived with twenty men. This Indian is well known.…having visited that place annually since its establishment, he sent a message in the spring that he would meet me here [Fort Yukon] in the summer. They brought some dried meat, geese…the object of their visit was principally to receive some ammunition…and to see where we were building…[he]said this place was much more convenient for him and nearer his country (Murray, 1910, pp.56-58)

The latter half of the 19th century ushered in greater European contact and influence. Le Blanc (1973), noted that muskrat trapping became a significant spring activity as a result of contact, due to the increased demand for furs. With greater involvement in the fur trade Gwich'in settlement patterns began to change, as permanent log homes were built at trading post, and replaced, to some extent traditional trapping and fishing camps (Morlan, 1973, VanStone, 1974). However for the most part Gwich'in contact with Europeans remained infrequent (Morlan, 1973, VanStone, 1947, Leechman, 1954), and "most Indians went about their lives without encountering whites" (VanStone,1974, p.97). Morlan (1973) stated that despite the opening of Fort Yukon, it would be another 50 years before significant affects would be made to the annual subsistence cycle and residency patterns of the Vanta (later corrected to Vuntut).

Traders, in their own self-interest, sought to keep Gwich'in contact with others (particularly the church) minimal in order invoke sustained fur yields (VanStone, 1974, Balkci, 1963). With the decline in the fur trade (1740-1870), more Gwich'in began to settle near trading posts, and that settlement configurations had the most significant impact on the Gwich'in by concentrating their hunting and trapping patterns around these settlement areas (VanStone, 1974, Morlan, 1972). The large areas that were once utilized for the procurement of traditional resources were abandoned by the early twentieth century, a major modification as a result of the new business relationship between the Kutchin (later corrected to Gwitchin and Gwich'in) and

the traders (VanStone, 1974, p.105, Morlan, 1973). Gwich'in elders remember this time differently. While elders acknowledge change they recall staying very much connected to the land. For example, the spring muskrat hunt in Old Crow Flats had long been a traditional activity learned from their parents, as it was for countless generations before them, and remained so even after the decline of the fur trade. The centralization of settlement - Fort Yukon, Fort McPherson, Rampart and eventually Old Crow - was just that, a change in location, not lifestyle. Trading with neighboring Nations continued as it had for centuries before, particularly with Inuit of Hershal Island and other Gwich'in residing at Potato Hill, Arctic Village, Rampart House, Blue Fish and Old Crow Flats to name a few. Despite changes in settlement, Old Crow families would still disperse seasonally along the Porcupine River from Rampart House to LaPierre House (Sarah Abel in Smith 2009, Petitot, 1971 via Morlan, 1973). In spite of changes in the fur economy the Gwitchin maintained their independence and continued close personal contact with neighboring Nations through trade and exchange (Leechman, 1954, Smith, 2009). As Leechman described in 1954, special boats were being maintained by the Gwitchin specifically for travel to Fort Yukon.

2.2.2. US Purchase of Alaska

On March 30, 1867, the United States Senate approved the $7.2 million ($4.74/km^2) purchase of Alaska from Russia. Following the purchase of Alaska, the HBC Company, that had previously established a post in Fort Yukon, found itself operating in the United States. In 1869 the HBC abandoned its post in Fort Yukon in order to establish a new Canadian HBC post on the Porcupine River – the Howling Dog Post that was also referred to as Rampart House. However, one year later it was determined by US government land surveyors that the post at Howling Dog was still located in US territory and was subsequently moved again to the Salmon Trout River and renamed Rampart House (now referred to as Old Rampart House). Remarkably it was during these days that some Gwitchin first came into contact with non-aboriginal people as noted by Persis Kendi and Lizqa Malcolm from Old Crow who recalled this to be the first time they saw a white man along the river (Gray & Alt, 2001).

In 1889, surveyors discovered yet again that this new location was also within the US border and in 1890-91 was rebuild at New Rampart House, east of the 141st meridian and 1km east of the US border (Morlan, 1973, Smith, 2009, VanStone, 1974). HBC's newest permanent settlement of New Rampart House attracted missionaries (1900) traders (1911), and RNWMP

(1928). For Balaam Jhudi, it was not until the International Boundary Surveyors (1911-1913) arrived that he was exposed to white people (Leechman, 1954).

Like other communities, permanent settlement modified traditional land use pattern but for many Gwich'in families visits to trading posts would occur only seasonally or during holidays, with much of the remaining time spent on the land, hunting, trapping and fishing as they long had done (Morlan, 1973, VanStone, 1974, p.114). During this time Gwitch'in movements to and from Alaska were unencumbered (Frost in Smith, 2010), as noted by Clara Tizya and Charlie Thomas:

> After the boundary was set in, for a long time nobody bothered about border or boundaries, you know. So the people just continued with hunting and everything they were doing. A lot of our people used to trap across that way. …There was a lot of marten and things. My dad used to go over that way [Alaska]. [It's] really good hunting for moose but it's over the border. The men used to go [over the border] and kill moose in the fall. (Clara Tizya, Smith 2009, p.241)

> …no border [was enforced] for Indians in them days. [People] moved back and forth, no customs. A policeman was there at New Rampart [Alaska]- but they didn't bother Indians. (Charlie Thomas, in Smith 2009, p.241)

> As Elder Stephen Frost similarly explained:

> I don't think it [the border] was very strict. They try not to see things on both sides because they know darn well that the people live off the land at that time. (Stephen Frost, TGZ, 1993, p.22)

In 1894 the HBC realized that their new location was not economically viable and was abandoned (Morlan, 1973, Gray, 2000). The abandoned Rampart House post was taken over by an independent trader by the name of Daniel Cadzow in 1904. The departure however of the HBC from the area left the Vuntut without a post to trade for many supplies, and subsequently reintroduced travel and trade with middlemen in the American Territory, Fort McPherson, NWT and up to Hershel Island with the Inuit (Smith, 2009). However, with the purchase of Alaska by the US government the Territory of the Gwich'in nation had nonetheless come under the administrative authority of two governments – the US and Canada. With the 141st meridian being officially declared in 1912 as the international boundary separating Alaska and the Yukon new restrictions came into effect and for the first time the border began to be enforced.

Traditional hunting and fishing locations on the Alaskan side of Gwich'in territory became increasingly restricted. According to Myra Kaye, the unity of the Gwich'in people was affected by the "externally imposed boundary", a boundary that proved troublesome because "all the Gwich'in people were like one. They lived like one family…" and "ultimately the border became a barrier between Gwich'in communities and families" by "restricting access to Gwich'in lands" (Smith, 2009, p.153). The imposition and enforcement of the border in the heart of Gwich'in territory served as a significant impediment to the livelihood and well-being of the Gwitch'in (Smith, 2009), particularly in their ability to hunt caribou whose distribution and migrations are wide ranging thus requiring extensive and flexible travel and mobility among Gwich'in hunters:

> Well, it was good hunting here, but earlier I said, the biggest reason for moving from here was when they put the border in. This line here separates people on both sides. It spoiled all the hunting and trapping by law.

With the enforcement of the border, restrictions on travel, trade, and the enforcement of hunting laws gradually made the Gwitch'in lifestyle more difficult to maintain.

2.2.3. Gwitch'in Now

By the beginning of World War II, Alaska and Canada became focused on industrial activities to aid in the war effort. According to Hadleigh-West (1963), even though many important changes occurred, the economy was still of a subsistence nature and did not change until after WWII. The extraction of resources from the north provided little employment for the Gwitchin, with only some small exceptions; fishing, small scale lumbering and mining (VanStone, 1974). As a result of the 1950's federal social programs, many Gwitchin families received a significant portion of their income from Federal welfare programs. The impetus of these programs was the settlement of permanent First Nation communities across Canada (Acheson, 1981, Smith, 2009). From this point on, Gwich'in communities experienced an increasing influx of white government officials and service providers.

There is a recurrent theme in the Oral Histories of VGFN, particularly among the Elders. They were concerned about the difference in how their children, grandchildren and beyond would live in the future (Smith, 2009). They described in great detail how they look after the land, animals and how people treat one another, as well as how life has improved or declined

(Smith, 2009). The 1950's, federal social programs sought permanent settlement of communities, and was thought to have created the starkest contrast between the second generation of elders described above and their children and grandchildren's way of life today (Smith, 2009).

2.2.4. VGFN Land Claims

The purpose of comprehensive land claims is to resolve the unfinished business of treaty making with aboriginal peoples in Canada. Land claims define legal, political and economic relationships between the consignees (the federal and territorial governments) (INAC, 2010).

The signing of the Umbrella Final Agreement (1992) between Yukon First Nations, Yukon Territorial Government and the federal government built a framework for which each of the 14 Yukon First Nations final agreements would be based upon. The three significant outcomes of the UFA assured to YFN are the retention of their rights to self-government, jurisdiction over settlement lands and shared jurisdiction on non-settlement lands (White, 2004). Within this, First Nations would have the power to legislate the "use, management, administration and protection of natural resources under the ownership" and control of First Nations. It also conveys the right to harvest for subsistence purposes throughout their territory, and other territory with permission.

The Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement (1995) provided direction on allowable harvests for subsistence foods, as well as subsistence harvesting throughout their territory, including the basic allocation of salmon from the Porcupine River. It did however surrender all aboriginal claims to rights and title to lands and waters within Canada, and restrict their membership to those whom would be defined as "Indian" under the Indian act.

In Alaska, the Gwich'in Nations extinguished their claims to the land by transferring titles to twelve Alaska Native regional corporations and over 200 local village corporations in 1971 as part of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). Traditional territory of the Gwich'in nation, as defined by Gwich'in Council International, is now bisected by one treaty (Treaty 11), three lands claims (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971), Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement (1985), Vuntut Gwitch'in First Nation Final Agreement (1995)), two territories (Yukon, NWT), one state (Alaska) and two nation states (Canada and the US). The Gwich'in now find themselves with more territorial restrictions upon their life and livelihood than most other aboriginal group, and quite possibly any other First Peoples of Canada.

2.3. Food Sharing Among the Gwich'in

Although the arrival of the fur trade brought with it contact with European communities, trade in and of itself was not a new occurrences for the Gwich'in; they had been engaging in trade with their neighbors for over a millennia. Hadleigh-West explains that "Man does not deal with his environment directly, but rather indirectly, by means of the extra-somatic attribute which is his hallmark –culture." (1963, p3). The Gwich'in culture of food sharing is found in oral histories; stories that explained the natural world of the Gwich'in, and their social relationships within it; stories, dating back to an ancient indeterminate time. Stories like the Boy in the Moon, describing caribou fences and sharing; that in "times of plenty all (Gwich'in) people should sing, dance and feast" (Smith, 2009, p.11). The Shanaghan, or Old Woman story, where Sarah Abel described the "virtue of sharing food and the importance of" heeding the warning of elders (Smith, 2009, p41). The story of Nanaa'in' or Bushman told by Moses Tizya; essentially an ordinary man who became a Nanaa'in by "violating the social obligation to share food" (Smith, 2009, p.49).

A hunter who shares a harvest with the village is respected. Similarly, a mother who has a son return home from a successful hunt invites other mothers of single daughters to her home. "In this way, a subsistence activity is used to signal a boy's achievement of manhood…that he is now ready to take on new responsibility" (Berger, 1985, p.53). As VanStone states, "the relationship of hunting and gathering peoples to their physical environment is very direct."… "even the most casual observer can readily note the importance of subsistence activities in their way of life" (VanStone, 1974, p.3).

Sharing consistently transmits and perpetuates the values of the Gwich'in Nation. Sharing with kin is not viewed as an economic choice born out of necessity, but a value of caring for the community and its people (Mokado, 2010). This value was best described by elders Sarah Abel, Myra Kaye, Martha Tizya and Myra Moses;

> In the past, people cared for each other as if everyone were members of the same family. In particular, food was shared with everyone who lived together, even in times of scarcity…the values of generosity, sharing and caring for everyone that guided the people in those days were of paramount importance. (Smith, 2009, p.84)

Myra Moses and others also pointed out that despite the introduction of missionaries, "some early Gwich'in beliefs were maintained". This included the rules surrounding ethical

behavior, such as "the importance of sharing food" (Smith, 2009, p.137). That despite a history filled with change (extended tenure of lands by England, surveys, border enforcement) there is a continuity of values with the Gwich'in, including but not limited to sharing (Smith, 2009). Once this custom was established, rights were instilled and obligations were adhered to. A concept agreed to in Thomas Berger's report in 1985: "This relationship with the land, and ethic of sharing…the concept of the extended family, and traditional values persist in one form or another throughout village Alaska"(Berger, 1985, p11).

What has not been maintained is the quantity and quality of food available to the Gwitchin over the past century. VanStone notes that significant changes in diet have been experienced by the Gwich'in by the 20th century at the hands of imposed changes, and that the protein rich diet of the hunter was much more nutritious than what the village/community dweller relied on by that time (1970's) (VanStone, 1974). Even when there were trading posts, food was scarce, so families relied on "trading excursions and non-economic events" for subsistence (Smith, 2009, p.164). What is not defined in the literature is the quantity and frequency of food sharing as well as the households involved in this food sharing network today. Furthermore, even though we can draw comparisons between food sharing of the Blackfeet tribe and the Akwesasne Mohawk identity as a sovereign undivided nation, the Gwich'in remain unique temporally and spatially, in that they have remained more closely connected to their subsistence economy than those First Peoples to the south.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

When conducting community-based research it is essential to take some time to adapt to your surroundings. This is particularly the case when working with aboriginal communities. The idea of accomplishing concentrated pragmatic western research in the first few days of arrival will undoubtedly clash with the indigenous protocols of appropriate social behavior (Smith, 1999; Bates, 2007). Smith (1999) reminds researchers, that in order to avoid making aboriginal people objects of research rather than participants in it, the more common epistemological approach of presupposed scientific paradigms derived from imposed paternalistic linear development must not be placed above the traditional lifestyle of the community. Research must occur in the time and place best suited for the community member.

This research was therefore approached as collaborative journey where community partners worked alongside university researchers in developing the original research design, carrying out the actual research, interpreting results, and disseminating the findings. This collaborative approach, according to Heron and Reason (1997), is more meaningful to the community, in that it seeks to combat historical legacies of paternalistic research.

According to Wilson (2008), a paradigm is "a set of underlying beliefs that guide our actions" and a research paradigm is the beliefs that guide our actions as researchers. So, in preparation for this research, I returned home to my family, so that I might begin the process of re-connecting with my own ontological and epistemological view-point as an Anishnawbe woman, not only as a graduate student. An essential viewpoint, according to Heron and Reason (1997), in allowing me to reach a degree of connectedness with the research – connectedness needed for success. Although the western methodologies were important to meet the needs of the research, I would still be expected to engage and respond to them as an Anishnawbe, if I wanted to get anywhere worth going (Heron and Reason, 1997).

I arrived in Old Crow on June 22, 2010, and remained in the community until October 14, 2010, with the exception of a 3-week hiatus in August, I was in the field for 13 weeks. A wonderful family, Mary-Jane and Georgie Moses, opened their home to me from June until early August, and Elder Stephen Frost took me in for the Fall months. Stephen and his family became close friends in the months that followed.

3.1.1. Oral Histories

The review of the oral histories began with VGFN's collection housed at the John Tizya Heritage Centre, Old Crow, YK. The collection consists of over 300 interviews with community elders, leaders and youth, chronicling all aspects of Gwitchin life, past and present. These oral histories chronicled the historical roots of travel and trade amongst the Gwitchin, and their ancestors to the east and the west. Through this review process the genealogy of Old Crow residents emerged. This was later applied to survey findings in order to illustrate the importance of kinship and the long standing tradition of food sharing between the Gwich'in families across the US/Canada Border, Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory.

3.1.2. Household Surveys

Household surveys were administered to 88 of the 110 households in Old Crow (80% coverage). Of those 22 households that were not surveyed, 16 were unavailable for subsistence harvesting reasons, and 5 chose to abstain. Each participating household signed a consent form (appendix C). The survey began with collecting household demographics. This included the number of residents, sex, date of birth, place of birth, and residencies over time. Administered by community research assistants, the survey was used to record the amount and type of wild-foods foods shared between Old Crow households (intra-community sharing) and between Old Crow and other communities (inter-community sharing) during the preceding 12 months (appendix E-F). Also identified was the personal relationship between giving and receiving households, for instance friend or family member. Kin relationships were determined using an extensive list of personal relationships (appendix G).

Surveys were administered in a location, date and time of the community members choosing, and administered by our full time research assistant, Glenna Tetlichi, and the VGFN high school students who came to work with us from June to August: Daniel Frost, Sheila Kyikavichik, Briana Tetlichi. Training was provided to all research assistants during a 1-week orientation to the project. Glenna and the students surveyed houses, with Glenna and myself supervising the quality of the data upon submittal. All research assistants were VGFN members and either live in Old Crow permanently or spend considerable portions of the year there (High Schools students are sent to Whitehorse for the school year). The familiarity and the special connection Glenna and the other researchers have with Old Crow families is perhaps the single greatest reason for the success of this project.

3.1.3. Key Informant Interviews

An initial list of interviewees was developed identifying key elders, community leaders, and active land users. This initial list was then expanded by way of a snowball sampling strategy where respondents were asked to identify other individuals who might be willing to contribute their knowledge and experience to this research. Locations, date and time of interviews were chosen by the participant, in order to best fit their needs. In total 23 interviews were completed with Old Crow residents and 1 resident from Fort Yukon, Alaska. Interviews were semi-structured and open-ended thereby allowing respondents to share stories and experiences about food sharing, how the border has affected them personally, and how the enforcement of the border has affected the Gwich'in people. This open-ended format allowed the interviewee to follow their own models of life history, loosely connected at times with that of western contemporaries. The life history provided by interviews were pivotal narratives to understanding the larger impact this research would have on the complex narratives that exist between Gwich'in people and their traditional lands. Their choice of space, place and time allowed for interviews to unify fragmented memories of the border in their own way (Cruikshank, 2004).

After the project was described to the participant, a consent form was signed (appendix A). The first question in each interview began by asking how or if the establishment and subsequent enforcement of the US\Canadian border has affected the food sharing traditions of the Vuntut Gwitchin with other Gwich'in communities (friends and family) in Alaska. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject, and a fear of admitting to take part in illegal activity, perceived or not, questions at times had to be rephrased to assure the interviewees comfort. Interviews were recorded on voice recorder and transcribed by our research assistants (Sheila, Daniel, Briana) and myself. Interviews were then coded into themes to determine the concentration of responses in a given subject area.

3.1.4. Anonymity

Due to the uncertainty on the part of community members concerning the legalities of cross-border food sharing, some interviewees chose to remain anonymous by indicating this option on the consent form. All interviewees were informed that best efforts would be made to abide their wishes, however a guarantee would be impossible given the small size of the community.

Household surveys were assigned a numerical system associated with their housing list on file with the VGFN Housing Authority. Participants were concerned with their sharing information being released to the public. They were assured that all reports generated would not indicate the sharing between any two specific housing numbers, and if such an illustration was to be made, then an arbitrary moniker would be assigned to reduce possibility of identification of any specific households.

3.1.5. Participant Observation

Observation of behaviors surrounding subsistence became more apparent and community members became more relaxed around me as the months passed. Familiarity with the project, and me, let relationships and conversation flow more freely, and no longer felt structured. Community members began speaking to me of other community issues of concern. The cultural context of Gwitchin lifestyle seeped into my own understanding of what I was collecting, analyzing and observing. I not only became witness to their subsistence and food sharing lifestyle, I also became a part of it.

3.1.6. Ethics Approvals and Research Contracts

A University of Saskatchewan Behavioral Research Ethics Board approval (Appendix F) and Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Heritage branch research contract were obtained for this project. The research license was obtained from VGFN Heritage branch, a requirement when the subject of research is of a sensitive nature and being conducted in Vuntut Gwitchin (VG) traditional territory.

3.1.7. Data Analysis: Surveys

Due to the sizeable amount of data collected, a database was built in Filemaker Pro. The database required each household survey to be entered separately. Although the creation of the database took approximately 8 weeks to complete, and another 4 weeks to enter and quality check the data the results, I feel it was well worth the time invested. Once the data was entered, queries and reports could be generated to answer any number of questions. However, for the purposes of this thesis we have chosen to only present the amounts of food given and received as well as kinship ties that exist between households and communities.

By assigning a code to the kinship type (paternal or maternal) (appendix D), the sorting capabilities of our software (Filemaker Pro) were able to indicate the number of transactions that

went to each kin relation, for example: Brothers, Mothers, Grandparents etc. To ease the ability to compare sharing amongst communities, Immediate Family members were grouped together, and included Brothers, Fathers, Husbands, Mothers, Sisters, Sons and Wives. Extended Family included all other relations, maternal and paternal, while Elders, Community Gathering and Friends remained separate categories.

3.1.8. Data Analysis: Interviews

Interviews were coded into themes using NVivo 9 software. The program itself provided some setbacks early on. The transition from NVivo 8 to 9 resulted in the corruption in the first set of coding. When I returned to coding, the previous experience had permitted me the luxury of hindsight. It permitted a restructuring of coding into more representative and descriptive thematic nodes. I began with identifying the major theme areas and then worked through a second layer of coding in each major theme area.

NVivo tree map diagrams were used to illustrate the themes hierarchically in a set of nested rectangles of varying sizes. A theme with a large number of references would display as a large rectangle, those with fewer references would be indicated with a smaller rectangle. Color was also used to indicate the number of references: red for the highest, yellow the mid-range, and blue for the low reference volume. Tree maps were scaled to best fit the available space, so the sizes of the rectangles should only be considered in relation to each other, rather than size on the page.

CHAPTER 4
FOOD SHARING RESULTS

4.1. Food Sharing Results

Results of the household surveys have been arranged in two main Sections: Food Given and Food Received. Each sub-section includes details on the volume and species shared, as well the kinship and social relationships between sharing households. Reports were generated with both 'Species Specific' data and with 'Species Group', to allow for a more clear comparison between regional Giving and Receiving data sets. Of the species, some conversion was required in order to facilitate an accurate comparison. The tradition of drying caribou, salmon and whitefish by the Gwich'in has been done for centuries; aiding in the mobility of the harvest, and assuring subsistence throughout the year. Therefore, when caribou meat was recorded as dry caribou it was converted into fresh pounds (0.5 kg dry caribou = 9.07 kg fresh caribou). The same was done for salmon and whitefish, at a different conversion rate (0.5 kg dry fish = 2.27 kg fresh fish). In cases where respondents recorded 1 caribou, edible food weight conversion was based on Stanek et al. (2007) findings for Alaska (1 caribou = 68.04 kg). When respondents recorded 250 lbs (or similar), we clarified with them that they meant 1 whole caribou, and amounts were converted to 68.04 kg.

Food was given and received from as far away as Washington, DC, and included five Canadian provinces and two territories. Some of these exchanges involved only single transactions, and were for special events, gatherings, or political reasons as in the case of caribou being sent to Washington DC. These amounts made up such a small percentage of the whole (1% Given or 196.5 kg and 2% Received or 16.5 kg) and were therefore determined negligible.

Volumes were analyzed from both a species specific (i.e., caribou, chum salmon) standpoint and from a species group standpoint (i.e., fish, large mammals) in order to allow for better comparison of giving and receiving volumes between communities.

4.1.1. Food Given

A total 23,834.62 kg of food was shared by Old Crow residents over a one year period. This includes food shared within Old Crow as well as with other communities. Within Old Crow, residents shared 15,802.55 kg of food or 66% of all food given. Food given to other communities, or outside Old Crow was 8032.06 kg or 34% of all food given.

4.1.1.1. Food Given: Intra Community

Within their respective species groups, large mammals were the most frequently shared amongst Old Crow households at 14, 496 kg (or 92% of food given) (table 4.1). Of the large mammals, 13, 193 kg (84%) was caribou. Moose was the next most frequently shared food at 1, 264 kg (8%), followed by salmon, whitefish and other fish (1,037 kg, 6.6%) (figure 4.1).

Table 4.1 Food Given: Intra Community (From Old Crow to Old Crow)

	Yukon - Old Crow	
Species	kg	%
Bear	39	0.25
Black Duck	54	0.34
Caribou	13,193	83.50
Berries	49	0.31
Geese	35	0.22
Hare	18	0.11
Moose	1,264	8.00
Muskrat	91	0.57
Salmon	504	3.19
Whitefish	428	2.71
Other*	125	0.79

*sheep, cony, grayling, porcupine, lincod, muktuk, northern pike, ptarmigan, sucker

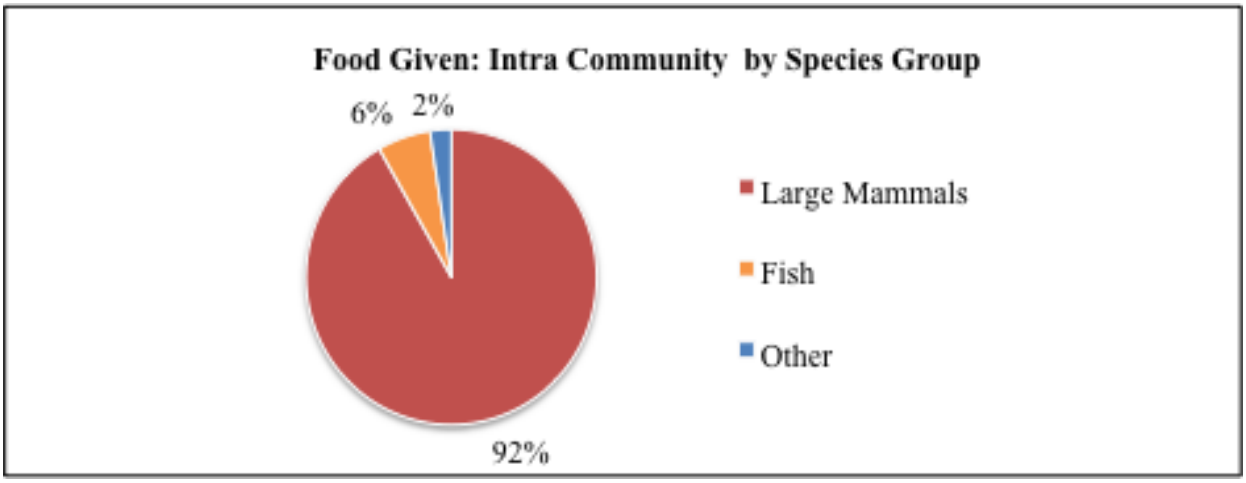


Figure 4.1 Food Given: Intra Community by Species Group

4.1.1.2. Food Given: Inter Community: Whitehorse, Yukon

Of the foods given from Old Crow to Whitehorse, 98% of the total were large mammals. More specifically, households in Whitehorse were the recipients of 3,539 kg of caribou (making up 79% of food given) and 841 kg of moose (or 19% of food given). The only other species of

note was salmon (primarily Chinook 28kg and Sockeye 5kg) at 36 kg, making up >1% of the total amount of food given to households in Whitehorse (table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Food Given: Inter Community

	Yukon								Northwest Territories						Alaska	
	Whitehorse		Pelly Crossing		Haines Jct.		Dawson City		Inuvik		Fort McPherson		Aklavik		Fort Yukon	
Species	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%
Bear	5	0.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black Duck	5	66.59	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.58	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caribou	3539	78.95	2	13.15	54.43	88.24	9	52.63	605	95.97	64	43.21	36	58.83	2166	99.69
Berries	12	71.05	0	0	2.72	4.41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0.31
Geese	9	0.20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hare	9	0.20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45	30.86	0	0	0	0
Moose	841	18.77	5	66.68	0	0	0	0	18	2.88	0	0	0	0	0	0
Muskrat	4	0.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.14	9	6.17	7	11.77	0	0
Salmon	36	5.76	0	0	0	0	8	47.37	3	0.43	29	19.75	18	29.41	0	0
Whitefish	11	7.72	0	0	4.54	7.35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other*	11	18.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*sheep, grayling

4.1.1.3. Food Given: Inter Community: Fort Yukon, Alaska

Fort Yukon, Alaska was given the second greatest quantity of food inter community, with a total amount of large mammals at 2166 kg (making up 99% of food given). The only other item given to Fort Yukon was 7 kg of berries. Of the 2166 kg of edible large mammal meat given to Fort Yukon, all was caribou (dry and fresh) (table 4.2).

4.1.1.4. Food Given: Inter Community: Northwest Territories

Food sharing with communities in the Northwest Territories occurred with Inuvik, Fort MacPherson and Aklavik. Of all foods given, 75% (630 kg) went to Inuvik, 18% (147 kg) to Fort McPherson, and the remaining 7% (62 kg) to Aklavik (figure 4.2). Of this total, households in the Northwest Territories received 722.6 kg (86%) of large mammal meat, most of which was caribou. furbearers, fish and waterfowl made up the remainder at 62.59 kg (7.4%), 49.89 kg (5.9%), and 3.6 kg (0.43%) respectively. The specific species amounts given to the Northwest Territories were caribou 704.2 kg (84%), salmon 50 kg (6%), hare 45.35 kg (5%), moose 18.14 kg (2%) and muskrat 17.23 kg (2%) (table 4.2).

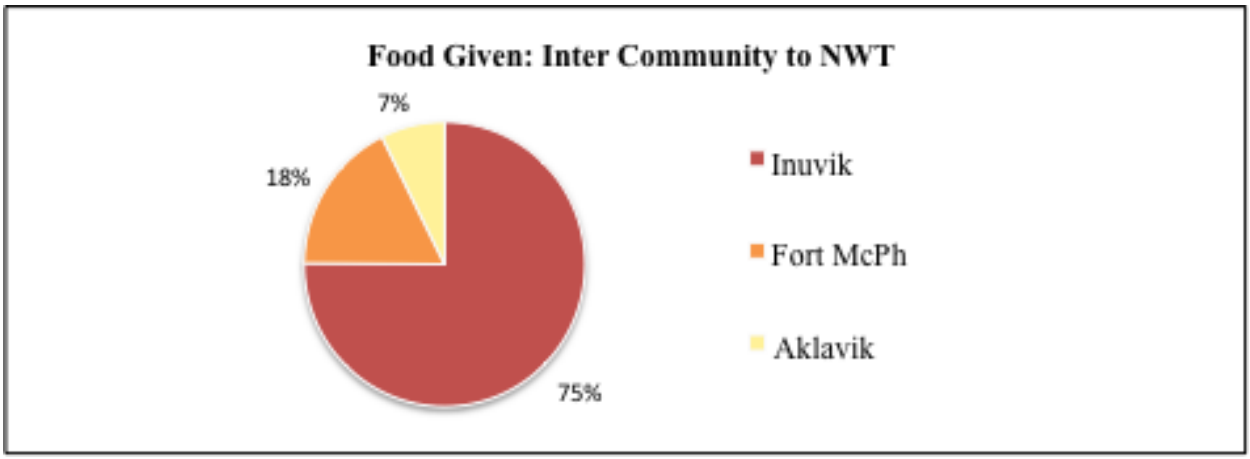


Figure 4.2 Food Given: Inter Community to NWT

4.1.1.5. Food Given: Inter Community: British Columbia, Alberta, Yukon

Inter community sharing occurred with two other Canadian provinces, British Columbia at 2.8% or 226 kg of all wild food shared (caribou 213 kg and moose 18 kg) and Alberta at 1.6% or 136.07 kg of caribou. As discussed earlier, within the Yukon 98% of food shared went to Whitehorse, however Haines Junction received the second highest amount, 62 kg of mainly caribou (88% or 54 kg) and whitefish (4.5 kg or 7%), making up 1.3% of food shared within the Yukon.

4.1.1.6. Food Given: Analysis

As figure 4.4 shows, 66% of the total food weight that was shared occurred between Old Crow households (intra-community exchange). Family and Friends in Whitehorse received the second largest amount (19%) of all food shared, followed by Alaskan Family and Friends (9%) who received more than NWT Family and Friends (3.5% or 839 kg). It is important to note that the amount of food given to other communities (inter-community exchange) makes up 34% (or 8037 kg) of the total amount of food given. Of the food shared, the majority was large mammals (97%) (caribou and moose) (figure 4.3). Of the caribou that was shared with other communities, Fort Yukon received more than all three communities in the NWT; 2,166 kg versus 704 kg respectively.

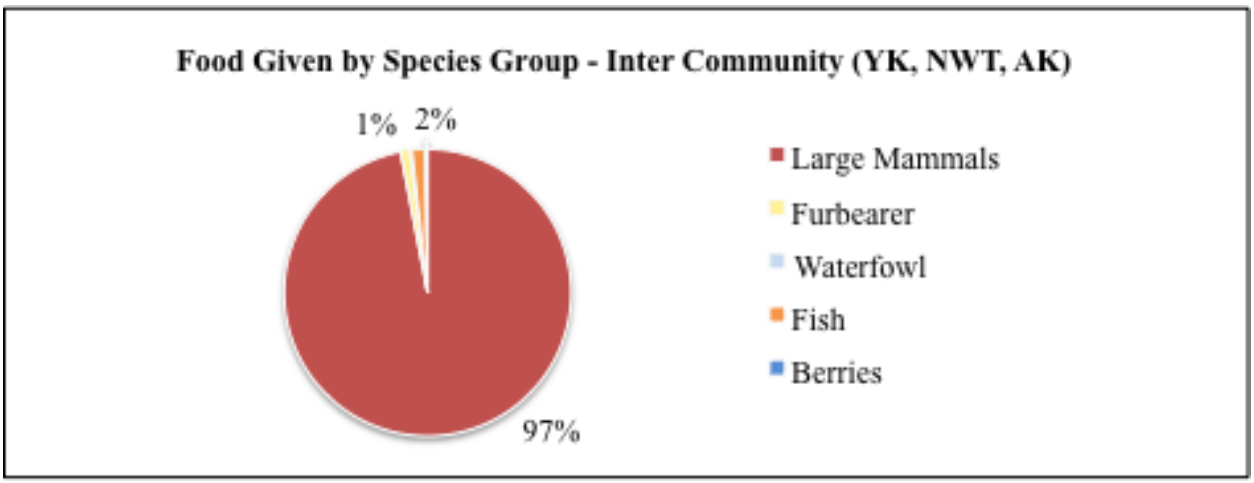


Figure 4.3 Food Given: Inter Community by Species Group (YK, NWT, AK)

Whitehorse, as stated before, is a major center for both youth and those looking or engaged in wage employment. Even with the high cost of living in Old Crow, those Family members in Whitehorse rely on foods sent from Old Crow, as a part of a healthy diet. It also serves as a connection to their traditional Gwitchin culture.

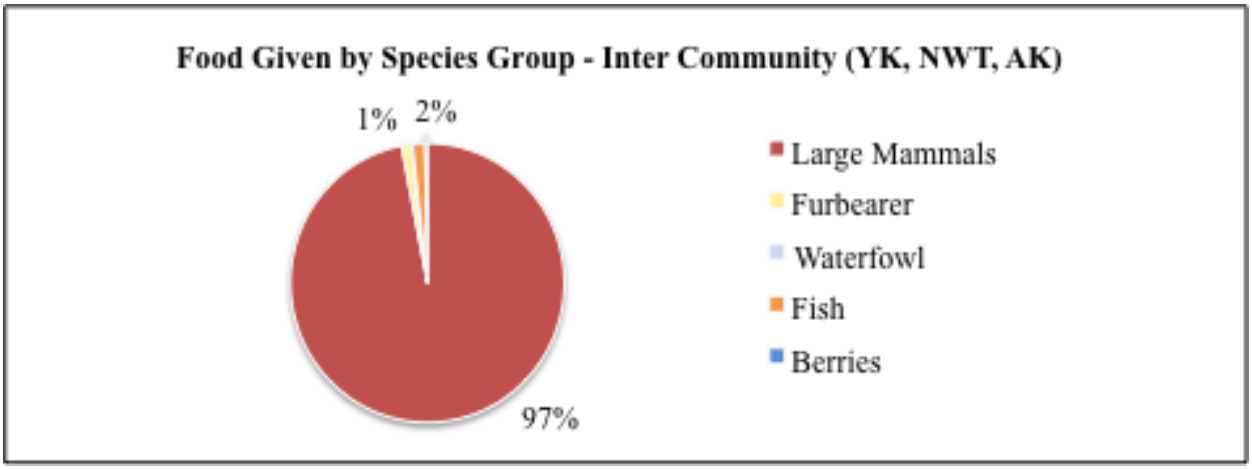


Figure 4.4 Food Given: Intra and Inter Community by kg

4.1.2. Food Received

A total 13,080 kg of food was received by Old Crow residents. This includes the receipt of food from other Old Crow households as well as from other communities. From within Old Crow, residents received 12,263 kg making up 94% of all food received. Food received from other communities was 817 kg or 6% of all food received.

4.1.2.1. Food Received: Intra Community: Old Crow

Large mammals remained predominant in food received (11,326 kg or 92%), with fish being second (811 kg or 6.6%) (figure 4.5). More specifically, households in Old Crow received 8,755 kg (71%) of caribou and 2,571 kg (21%) of moose (table 4.3). The remaining noteworthy amount was 811 kg of salmon, whitefish and other fish (making up less than 6.6% together) (figure 4.5).

Table 4.3 Food Received: Intra Community (by Old Crow from Old Crow)

	Yukon - Old Crow	
Species	kg	%
Black Duck	26	0.21
Caribou	8,755	71.40
Berries	45	0.37
Geese	5	0.04
Hare	9	0.05
Moose	2,571	20.96
Muskrat	40	0.32
Salmon	495	4.04
Whitefish	280	2.28
Other*	37	0.30

*cony, lincod, trout, grayling

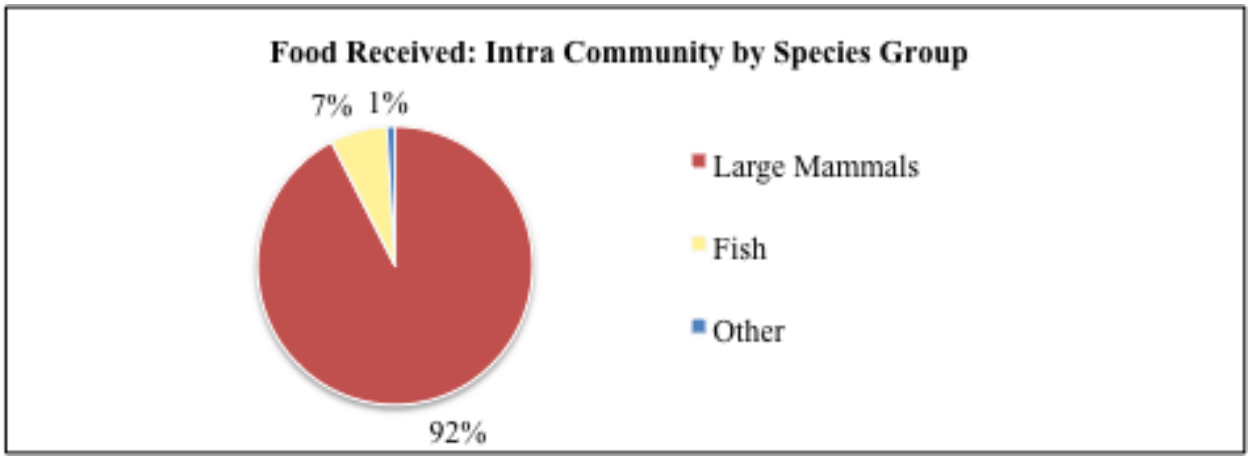


Figure 4.5 Food Received: Intra Community by Species Group

4.1.2.2. Food Received: Inter Community: Whitehorse, Yukon

Of the 817 kg (or 6%) of food received from other communities, Whitehorse provided 81.64 kg (91%) of large mammals and 8 kg (or 9%) fish. More specifically, 59 kg (or 65%) of caribou, 23 kg (25%) of bison, and 4 kg (4%) of salmon, was sent to Old Crow (table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Food Received: Inter Community

	Yukon						Northwest Territories				Alaska	
	Whitehorse		Haines		Mayo		Inuvik		Fort McPherson		Fort Yukon	
Species	Kg	%	Kg	%	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%	kg	%
Bison	23	25.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caribou	59	65.66	0	0	0	0	86	84.44	200	77.33	0	0
Berries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.70	0	0
Geese	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.78	0	0	0	0
Moose	0	0	0	0	45	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Salmon	4	4.04	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	4.39	301	100
Whitefish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45	17.57	0	0
Other*	5	5.05	5	100	0	0	14	13.78	0	0	0	0

*trout, elk, muktuk

4.1.2.3. Food Received: Inter Community: Fort Yukon, Alaska

Residents of Fort Yukon gave 301 kg of salmon (154 kg (49%) was specified as fresh Chinook, the remaining was unspecified 120 kg (38%) fresh salmon and 40 kg (13%) dry salmon) to Family and Friends in Old Crow. No other items of exchange were recorded for the survey period (table 4.4).

4.1.2.4. Food Received: Inter Community: Northwest Territories

Communities of the Northwest Territories sent their Family and Friends in Old Crow 360 kg of food. Shared foods originated in Inuvik (102 kg or 28%) and Fort McPherson (258 kg or 72%) (figure 4.6). From Fort McPherson, Family and Friends sent 200 kg (77%) of caribou, with the remaining food being 45 kg (17%) whitefish and 11 kg (4%) salmon. Inuvik sent 86 kg (or 84%), caribou to family in Old Crow, with the remaining 16 kg (or 16%), consisting of geese, muktuk, trout and elk.

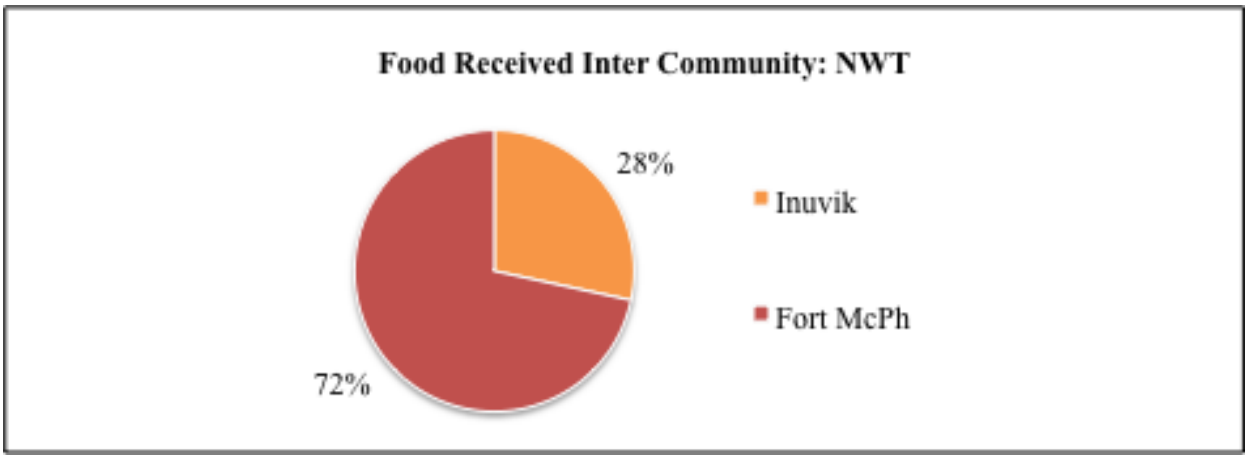


Figure 4.6 Food Received: Inter Community NWT

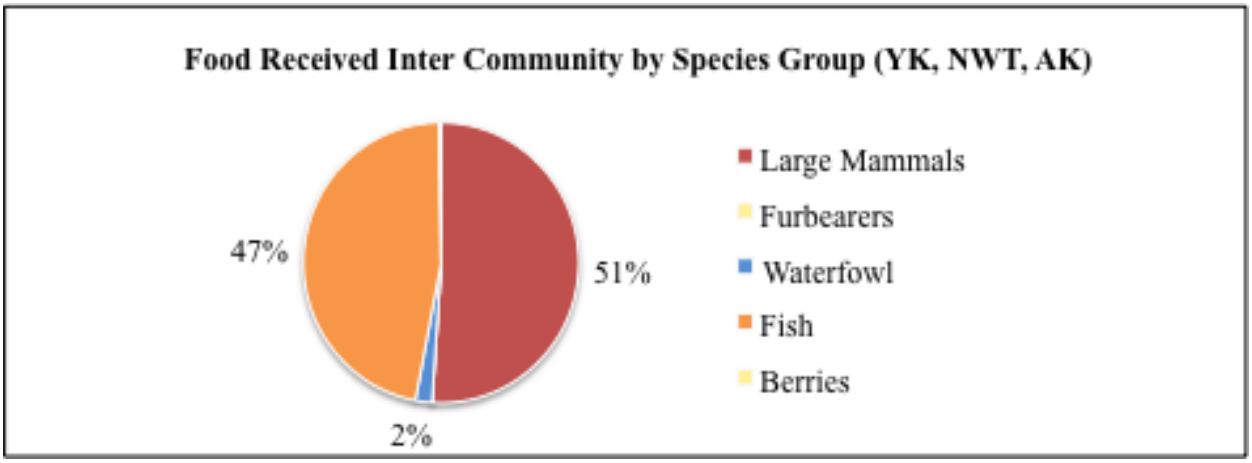


Figure 4.7 Food Received: Inter Community by Species Group (YK, NWT, AK)

4.1.2.5. Food Received: Analysis

As figure 4.8 shows, the highest volume of food received originated from within Old Crow (intra-community exchange) at 94%. The amount of food received from other communities (inter-community exchange) (6%) was greatest from NWT (2.75%) and Alaska (2.3%). The volume of food received is recorded as much less than what was given to these other communities. However, this may not necessarily reflect a lack of desire to share, as we will discuss below.

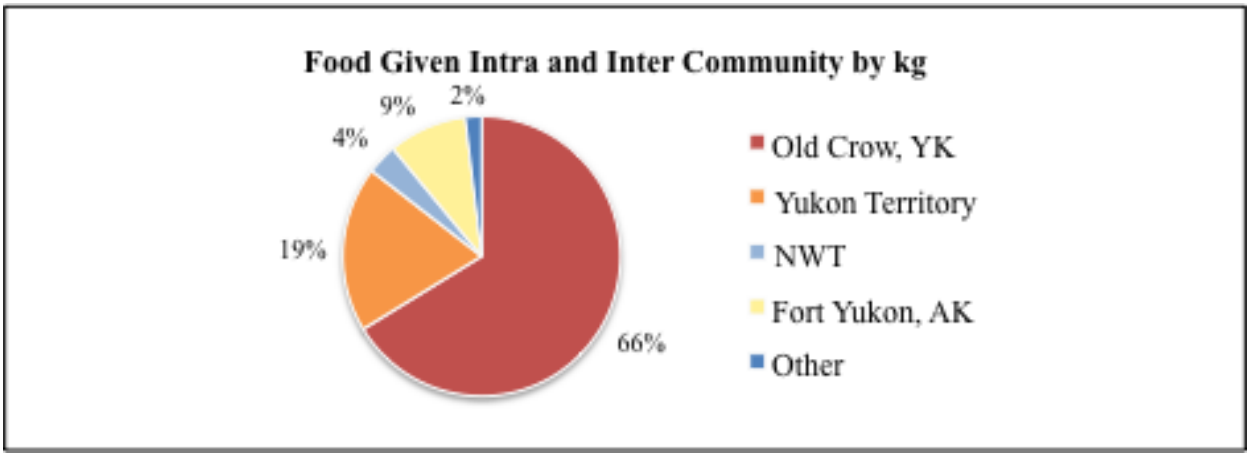


Figure 4.8 Food Received: Inter and Intra Community by kg

4.1.3. Food Given and Received: Analysis

Between residents of Old Crow, amounts Given and Received show a significant variance on what is being given and received. This tells us two things: 1) that there is either an error in memory recall in the community; and/or 2) that it is unclear if reciprocity is a factor in sharing inter or intra community.

In regards to intra community sharing, there is also a variance on what is being given and received, suggesting that there is imbalanced reciprocity (see figure 4.9 to 4.11). An explanation for inter community sharing with Whitehorse, and other locations, is that food is sent to students, Elders and wage labor employed family members away from home, unable to return home (due to cost of travel) to subsistence harvest for themselves.

It is also important to keep in mind that the Vuntut Gwitchin reside in a traditionally fertile area for subsistence harvesting, and it can be presumed that there are more community members engaging in subsistence activities given their remoteness and continued connection to the land. This lends to the importance that the Gwitchin place on looking after those who have less access to traditional food sources, such as those Gwitchin now residing in urbanized centers such as Whitehorse and Inuvik.

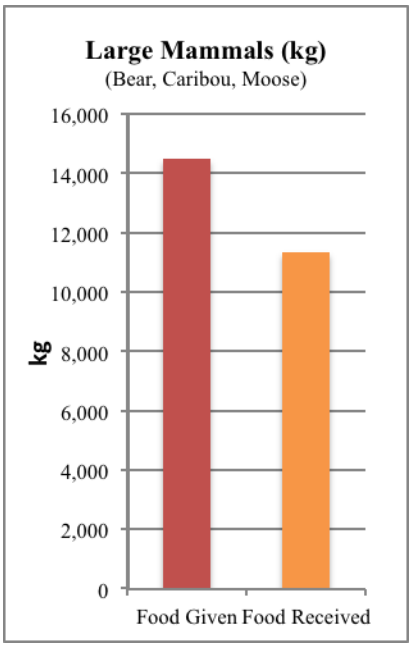


Figure 4.9 Food Shared Intra Community: Large Mammals

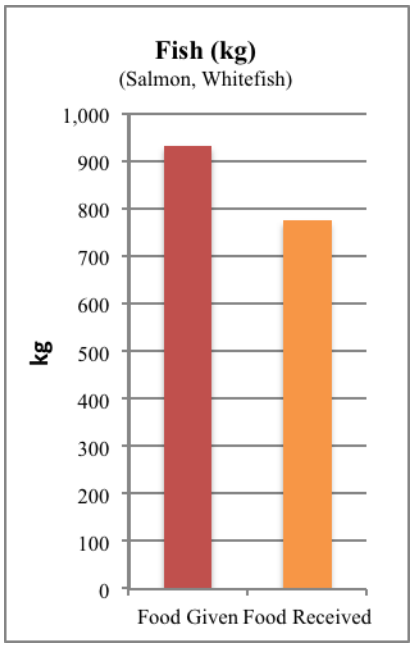


Figure 4.10 Food Shared Intra Community: Fish

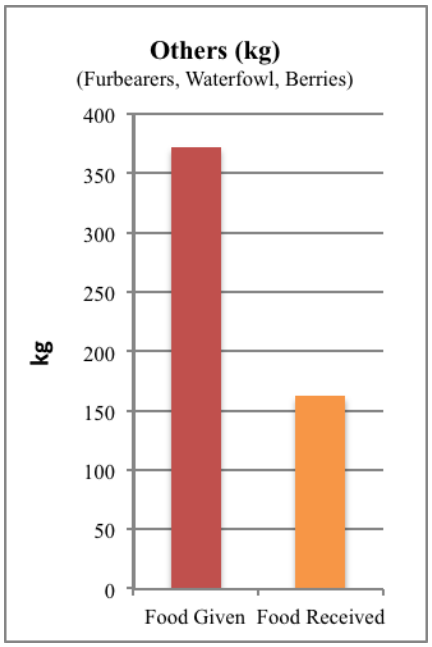


Figure 4.11 Food Shared Intra Community: Others

4.2. Kinship & Social Dimension

When each household recorded the giving or receiving of food, they were also asked to indicate their personal relationship with that household. In this section, these kin relationships results are illustrated, along with a short narrative, of some demographic data of sharing households in Old Crow, including how many households are giving and how many households are receiving. The analysis of the household demographic information collected was based on the household development stage found in Magdanz et al., (2002) (see table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Household Development Stages

Group	Description
Inactive Single Household	Inactive Single Parent or Retired Elder not actively sharing
Developing Household	Households with heads 20-39 years of age and still actively sharing
Mature Household	Households with heads 40-59 years of age and still actively sharing
Active Elder Household	Households with heads 60 years or more and still actively sharing
Active Single Person Household	Household with a single resident activley sharing
Inactive Mature Household*	Household with heads 40-59 years of age and not activley sharing
Inactive Developing Household*	Household with heads 20-39 years of age and not actively sharing
*categories added to ensure all households were accounted for	

4.2.1. Food Given: Kinship & Social Dimensions

When reviewing this section and looking at the role friends have in food sharing, it is important to take into consideration that in some cases friends, under further scrutiny of genealogy and lineage, can be in many cases also be considered extended family and elders. further to this, elders were recorded as sharing food with other Elders, however referred to each other as Friends. It is also worth mentioning that each individuals relationship with other community members is different; that despite the fact that one person may consider a person an Elder, another person may refer to them as friend. This added further complication to the results, but we chose to leave the categories as recorded in the survey. Nevertheless, the reader should keep this in mind when reading the distribution of food sharing amongst the categories.

Households were not asked if they shared food amongst members of their own household, and with most households being multi-generational dwellings with youth dependents, Immediate family sharing numbers should not be seen to reflect a lack of sharing to immediate family

When looking at the exchange of food between kin, the number of transactions as well as the volume of food shared was totaled. The volume of food in Kilograms (kg) was also represented in ratio to better demonstrate patterns of exchange. For example, the number of transactions do not necessarily represent of the distribution of kilograms of food across kinship categories. In other words, although the volume of transactions were greater in one category than another, the volume of food may be less than all other categories, due to smaller but more frequent volumes of food shared in a category.

4.2.1.1. Food Given: Intra Community

Within Old Crow, food given was primarily shared with Immediate and Extended Family (10,172 kg or 64%) (figure 4.12). Friends (2,825 kg, or 18%) received the second largest quantity of food, followed by Elders (1,735 kg or 11%) and Community Gatherings (1,075 kg or 7%). However, the greatest number of transactions was with Friends (109 transactions) and Elders (101 transactions) followed by Extended Family (80 transactions). Illustrating more frequent sharing with these groups, with smaller volumes (table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Food Given: Intra Community by Kinship

	Yukon - Old Crow	
Kinship	# of transactions	kg
Immediate Family	67	5,339
Extended Family	80	4,833
Elders	101	1,735
Community Gathering	20	1,075
Friend	109	2,825

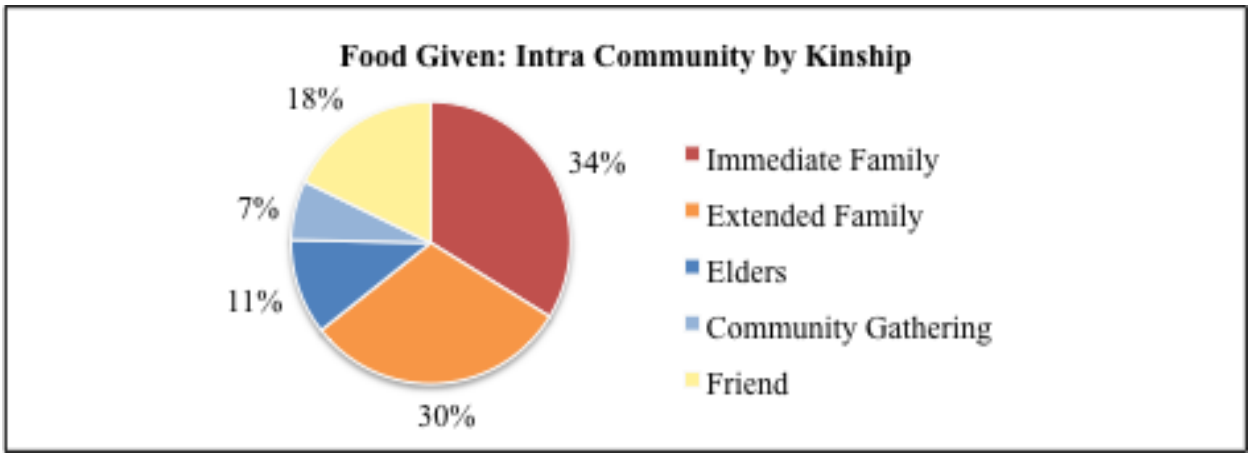


Figure 4.12 Food Given: Intra Community by Kinship

4.2.1.2. Food Given: Inter Community: Whitehorse, Yukon

Food Given by households in Old Crow to Whitehorse was primarily sent to Immediate Family (2,093 kg or 47%), both in number of transactions and volume (table 4.7). The second largest is with Extended Family (1,040 or 23%) with the third largest volume of food being sent to Whitehorse was for Community Gatherings, such as feasts and to the Vuntut student residence at Yukon College. Food is shared with the dorm kitchen staff for the Vuntut students who stay there throughout the school year. Following Community Gatherings (771 kg or 17%) is Friends (572 kg or 13%) and Elders (7 kg or 0.17). The number of transactions although similar for Immediate Family, diverge after this point. Smaller more frequent sharing occurs equally between Extended Family (31 transactions) and Friends (32 transactions).

Table 4.7 Food Given: Inter Community by Kinship

	YUKON											
	Whitehorse			Pelly Crossing			Haines Jct.			Dawson City		
Kinship	#	kg	%	#	kg	%	#	kg	%	#	kg	%
Immediate Family	64	2093	46.70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Extended Family	31	1040	23.19	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	17	100
Elders	3	7	0.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community Gathering	7	771	17.19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Friend	32	572	12.76	2	7	100	6	62	100	0	0	0
	NWT									ALASKA		
	Inuvik			Fort McPherson			Aklavik			Fort Yukon		
Kinship	#	kg	%	#	kg	%	#	kg	%	#	kg	%
Immediate Family	2	19	3.02	0	0	0	3	62	100	6	957	44.04
Extended Family	4	515	81.79	6	140	95.66	0	0	0	17	1098	50.53
Elders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	59	2.71
Community Gathering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Friend	7	96	15.19	1	6	4.34	0	0	0	3	59	2.71

4.2.1.3. Food Given: Inter Community: Fort Yukon, Alaska

Food Given by households in Old Crow to Fort Yukon, Alaska was shared with Extended Family (1,098 kg or 50%), Immediate Family (957 kg or 44%) Friends (59 kg or 3%) and Elders (59 kg or 3%) (table 4.7). In the case of Fort Yukon, opportunities to share food are fewer than with friends and family in another regions. This is due to the frequency of travel to and from Fort Yukon, being more difficult due as a result of a reduced flight schedule, and the high cost of fuel associated with river travel. Further analysis is available in Chapter 5.

4.2.1.4. Food Given: Inter Community: Northwest Territories, Yukon

Food Given by households in Old Crow to NWT was close in transaction frequency, but diverged in volume. Inuvik, as mentioned before received more food than Fort McPherson and Aklavik, and was sent primarily to Extended Family (515 kg or 81%) with most of the balance being sent to Friends (96 kg or 15%) (table 4.7).

4.2.1.5. Food Received: Kinship & Social Dimensions

4.2.1.6. Food Received: Intra Community

Food received within Old Crow, the largest volume of food in kilograms was received from Extended Family (5,633 kg or 46%), with much of the remaining divided between and

Immediate Family (3,426 kg or 28%) and Friends (3,051 kg or 25%) (table 4.8 and figure 4.13). Food received by Friends was received in smaller volumes with more frequent transactions than with Family.

As mentioned previous, 66% of the food shared was done so within Old Crow. In order to achieve this volume, 57 of the 88 households surveyed were sharing food within Old Crow. In other words, 57 households in Old Crow are distributing the food the 64 receiving Old Crow households are reporting. Of these giving and receiving households, the majority were Mature Households, followed by Developing Households and Active Single Elder Households.

When compared with the sharing amounts, Old Crow residents do not seem to require reciprocity to receive food, illustrated further by the fact that more residents receive than give.

Table 4.8 Food Received: Intra Community by Kinship

	Yukon - Old Crow	
Kinship	# of transactions	kg
Immediate Family	75	3,426
Extended Family	73	5,633
Elders	22	124
Community Gathering	3	29
Friend	134	3,051

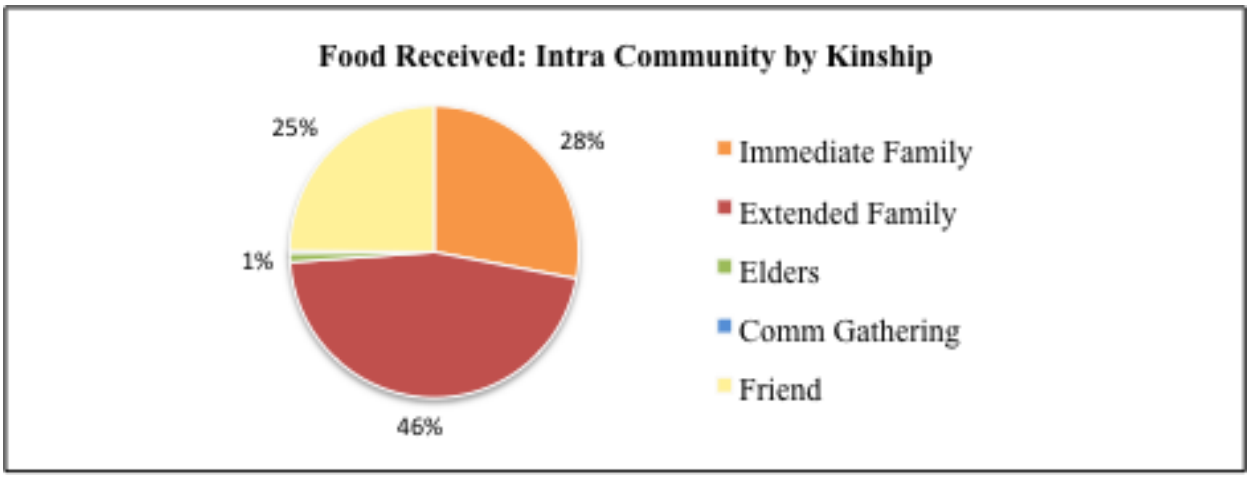


Figure 4.13 Food Received: Intra Community by Kinship

4.2.1.7. Food Received: Inter Community Whitehorse, Yukon

Food received by households in Old Crow from Whitehorse was received from immediate family (46.3 kg or 51%) and friends (40.8 kg or 45%), with more frequent transactions received from immediate family (7 transactions) (table 4.9).

Whitehorse receives the second largest amount of food, sent from 43 Old Crow households, in other words 48% of Old Crow households surveyed send food to Whitehorse, while only 4 households in Whitehorse sent food to Old Crow. Those Old Crow households that share with Whitehorse are primarily Mature Households, and Active Single Elder households, followed closely by Developing Households. As stated earlier, these households are providing primarily to Immediate Family. The four households that are sending food to Old Crow from Whitehorse are sending to Mature Households, suggesting possible reciprocity and one Active Elder Household, receiving from an Immediate Family Member.

Table 4.9 Food Received: Inter Community by Kinship

	YUKON								
	Whitehorse			Haines			Mayo		
Kinship	#	kg	%	#	kg	%	#	kg	%
Immediate Family	7	46.3	51.52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Extended Family	1	2.72	3.03	0	0	0	1	45.35	100
Elders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community Gathering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Friend	3	40.8	45.45	1	4.50	100	0	0	0
	NWT						ALASKA		
	Inuvik			Fort McPherson			Fort Yukon		
Kinship	#	kg	%	#	kg	%	#	kg	%
Immediate Family	1	68	66.66	1	22.7	8.78	1	18.1	6.03
Extended Family	2	2.27	2.22	8	224	86.83	9	106	35.13
Elders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community Gathering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Friend	3	31.8	31.11	2	11.3	4.39	15	177	58.84

4.2.1.8. Food Received: Inter Community: Fort Yukon, Alaska

Households in Fort Yukon, Alaska gave Friends in Old Crow 177 kg (or 58%) of salmon, with Extended Family receiving much of the remainder (106 kg or 35%) (table 4.9). Similar to Food Given to Fort Yukon, transactions are fewer due to opportunities to share, but the volume is substantial in relation to that received from other regions.

Food Sharing from Old Crow to Fort Yukon, Alaska was from primarily two households of highly active harvesters, both classified as Mature Households. They recorded these transactions to be with Immediate Family and Extended Family (Aunts, Uncles and Grandparents). What was received from Fort Yukon was not reciprocal to the giving households.

However, what they received was from Friends and Extended Family. Although there seem to be some sort of reciprocal sharing between 5 households, the primary giving households did not record receiving any food from their family in Fort Yukon.

4.2.1.8.1. Food Received: Inter Community: Northwest Territories, Yukon

In the Northwest Territories, more food was received from Extended Family in Fort McPherson (224 kg or 86%) compared to Inuvik where more food volume was received from Immediate Family (68 kg or 66%) (figure 4.14).

Food sharing from Old Crow to Inuvik, was primarily done so from 1 household, a Developing household, although two other households also gave to Inuvik. The Developing household shared more than the others combined. Overall, 10 Old Crow households shared with Inuvik, but only 4 households reported being recipients of food sharing from Inuvik. Two of the giving households were also the recipients of food from Inuvik. The Active Single Elder being represented as both giving and receiving to Inuvik, as an exchange with an Immediate Family member.

Food shared from households in Old Crow to Fort McPherson was done so from 5 homes, while 7 homes received food from Fort McPherson. Almost half the food shared with Fort MacPherson to Old Crow, occurred with one household, 72.14 kg (or 49%) (hare, salmon, muskrat), the remaining 6 households shared 72.86kg (or 51%) (salmon, caribou). This household also shared more than all other homes sharing with Fort McPherson combined. As stated before, food sent to and received from Fort McPherson, appeared to be reciprocal, and was sent and received from Extended Family. One Old Crow household reported sharing with Aklavik and was sharing with an Immediate Family member, with no record of reciprocity.

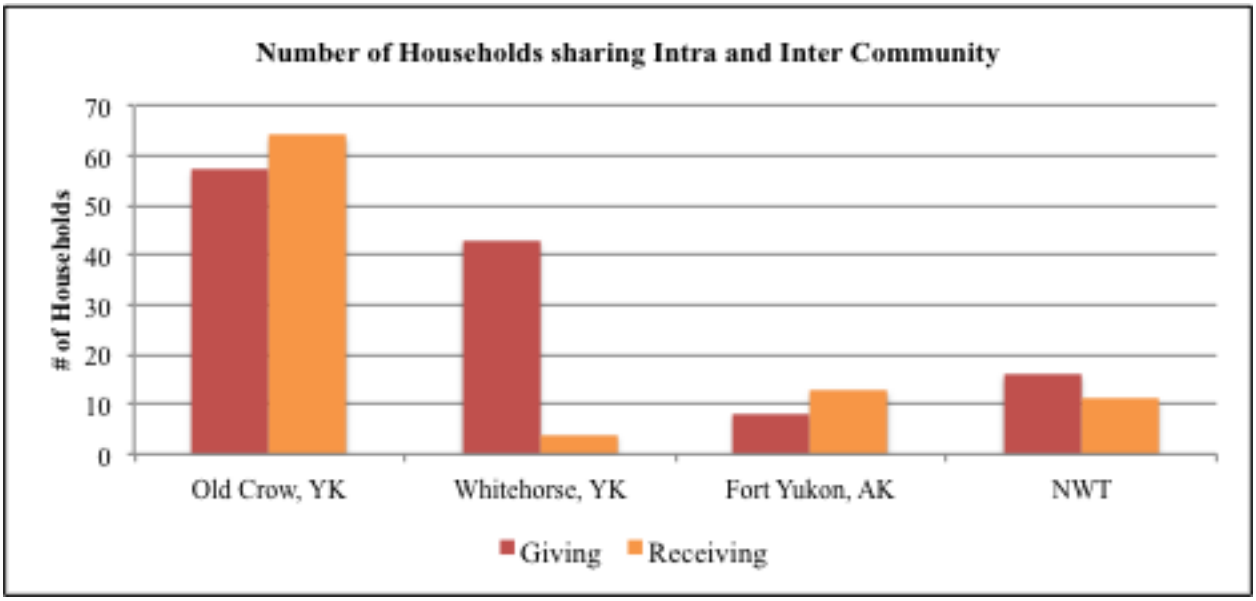


Figure 4.14 Number of Households Sharing Inter and Intra Community

4.3. Relational Sharing Analysis

Of the 65% of all food given to kin intra community (within Old Crow), 34% went to Immediate Family. Of the 19% of food given to Whitehorse from Old Crow, almost half (46%) was to Immediate Family members. While Alaskan Extended Family the 9% of food shared (given).

Of the 94% of food received by kin intra community (within Old Crow), 45% was from Extended Family. Of the 3% of food received from Whitehorse, 51% of it was from Immediate Family. Of food received from Alaska (2% of all food received), 58% was from Friends

To get a better sense of the whole picture of the strength of kinship ties to food sharing, Figures 4.15 and 4.16 show how much food was given and received by relational category.

VanStone notes that food sharing shows "a bilateral form of social organization"(1974, pviii), that through this strategy, the Gwitch'in make possible a larger variety of kinship affiliations. Affiliations, essential "in a difficult environment where assistance from kinsmen is essential for survival" (VanStone, 1974, p.53), therefore creating a greater chance of survival in a harsh subarctic landscape.

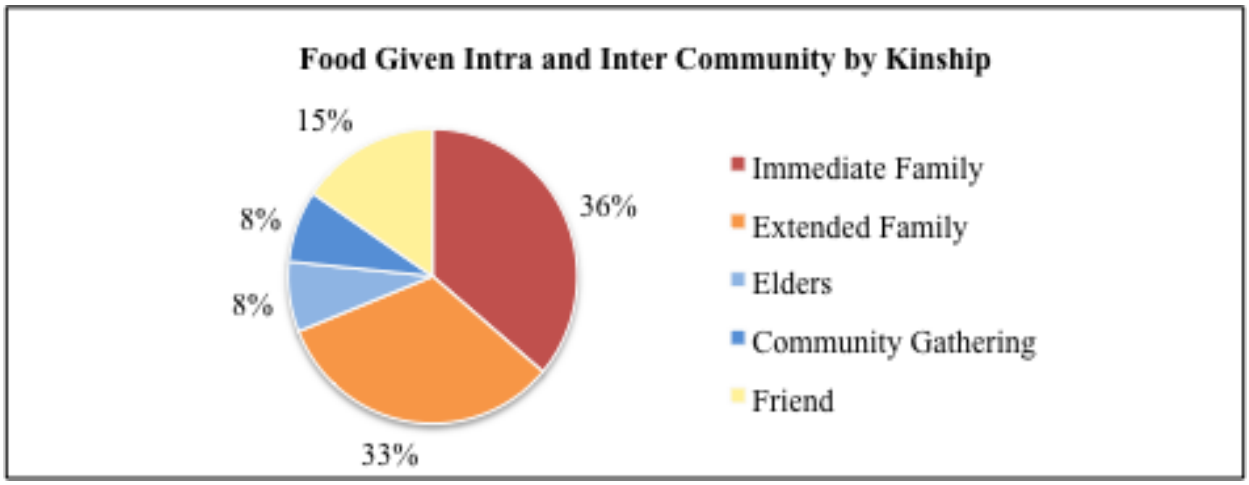


Figure 4.15 Food Given: Inter and Intra Community by Kinship

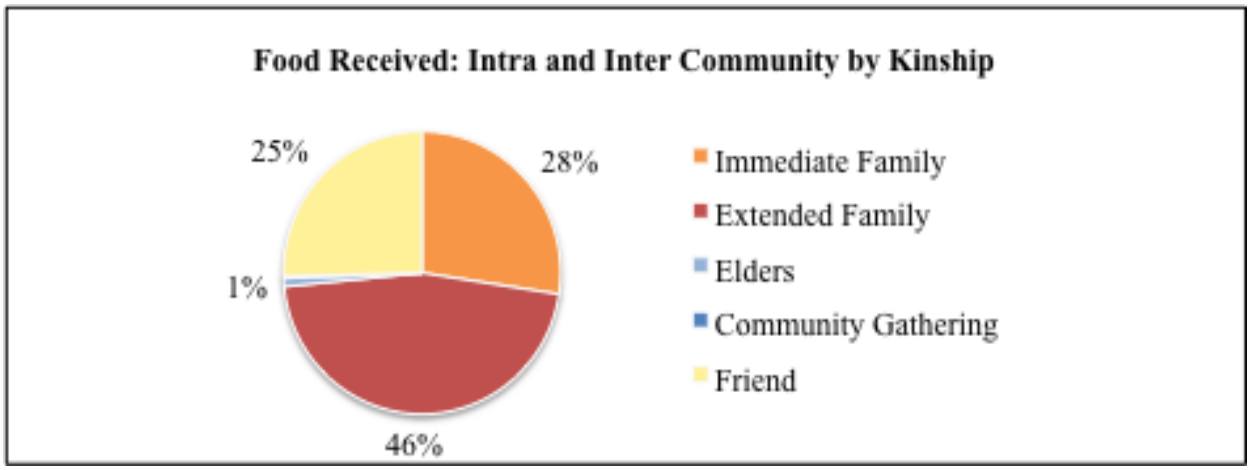


Figure 4.16 Food Received: Inter and Intra Community by Kinship

4.4. Forms of Reciprocity

Reciprocity of food exchange has been explained in a number of ways. Kaplan & Gurven (2001) describes uses of the term generalized reciprocity to explain temporary imbalance or consistent imbalance between food given and received, with imbalance occurring less often among non-kin or distant kin (Hames 1987 & Feinman 1979 in Kaplan & Gurven 2001). Plattner (1989) refers to this as delayed reciprocity, something that often occurs with young families or elders (Jorgensen, 1990). Kaplan & Gurven (2001) described how "between-family imbalances" may occur, however long-term balance in food "transfers (are) consistent with generalized reciprocity [e.g. the Kaingang & Batek nations (Henry, 1941 & Endicott, 1972 in Kaplan & Gurven 2001)].

With the definitions provided above, food sharing within Old Crow can be viewed as a form of generalized or temporarily imbalanced reciprocity. Reasons for this imbalance may be attributed to: recall failure (Usher, 1976) and (as we mentioned in the Chapter 4) the location of Old Crow being uniquely positioned geographically to exploit a range of resources which are then provider to family and friends living away, or the inability of households to provide for themselves, in which they could be cases of reciprocal altruism. In these cases, gas is sometimes exchanged for wild foods as indicated on one survey. Although the literature above is not exhaustive, as reciprocity is not the subject of this thesis, it does suggest that future research could be undertaken to determine what form of reciprocity is most prevalent in Old Crow.

4.5. Summary

To recap, subsistence food shared by Old Crow (Food Given) was done so primarily intra community, or within Old Crow (66%) and was closely split between Immediate (34%) and Extended Family (31%). Of this food shared was caribou (83.5%), their subsistence wild food for centuries. Of the food given by Old Crow inter community (34%), NWT was given 19% and Alaska 9%, with the primary species being caribou. This was sent to mainly Immediate Family (46%) in Whitehorse and Extended Family (50%) in Alaska.

Old Crow households received subsistence food (Food Received) primarily Intra Community or from other Old Crow residents (94%), with the majority of species being caribou shared with Extended Family (46%). Of the food received through inter community sharing (6%), 2.75% was received from mainly Extended Family in NWT. Although only a few kilograms less than NWT as a whole, Alaska shared primarily Salmon with their Friends (58%) and Extended Family (35%) in Old Crow.

CHAPTER 5
BARRIERS TO FOOD SHARING

5.1. Interview Results

5.1.1. Barriers to Sharing

The preceding chapter presented the extent to which wild foods are being shared between households within Old Crow as well as between Old Crow and other communities. This chapter provides necessary context for interpreting that data. Based on 23 key informants interviews this chapter examines the barriers that that impede the exchange of wild foods between communities. The following is a description of the themes that emerged from the Key informant interviews.[2]

Responses emerged around four general theme areas: Border, Sharing, Family, and Nutritional Value of Country Foods (figure 5.2). These theme areas were further coded into concentration areas. The size of the Tree Map is determined by the number of references in a particular theme or sub-category, not the number of respondents. An interviewee could respond more than one time to the same subject matter, thus illustrating its level of importance to them in relation to the questions being asked.

5.2. Barriers

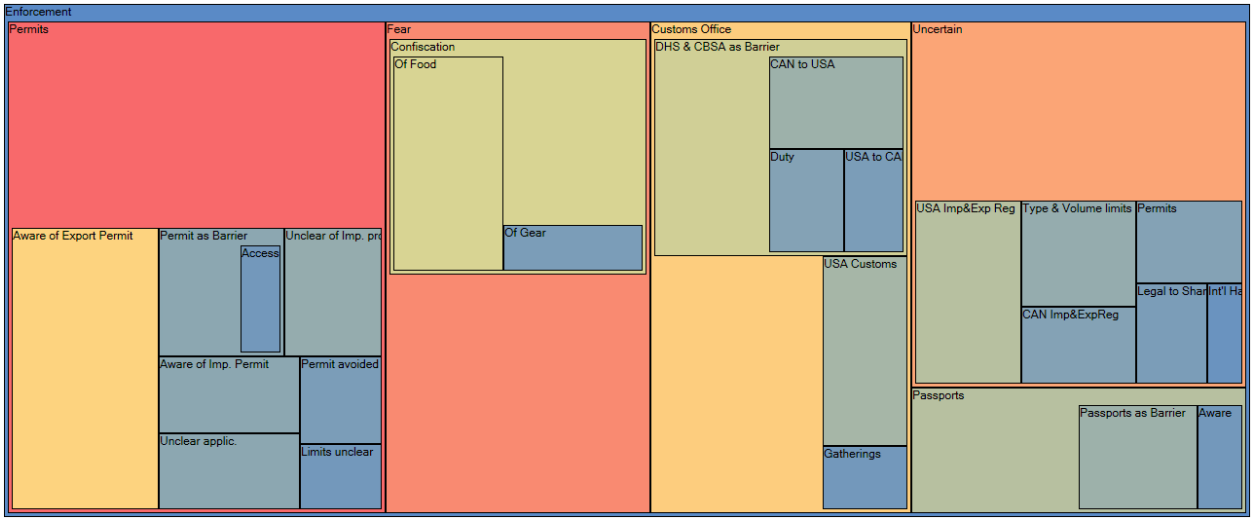


Figure 5.1 Themes – Barriers Identified

[2] As a reminder, tree maps are scaled to best fit the available space, so the sizes of the rectangles should be considered in relation to each other, rather than as an absolute number.

5.2.1.1. Themes Emerging

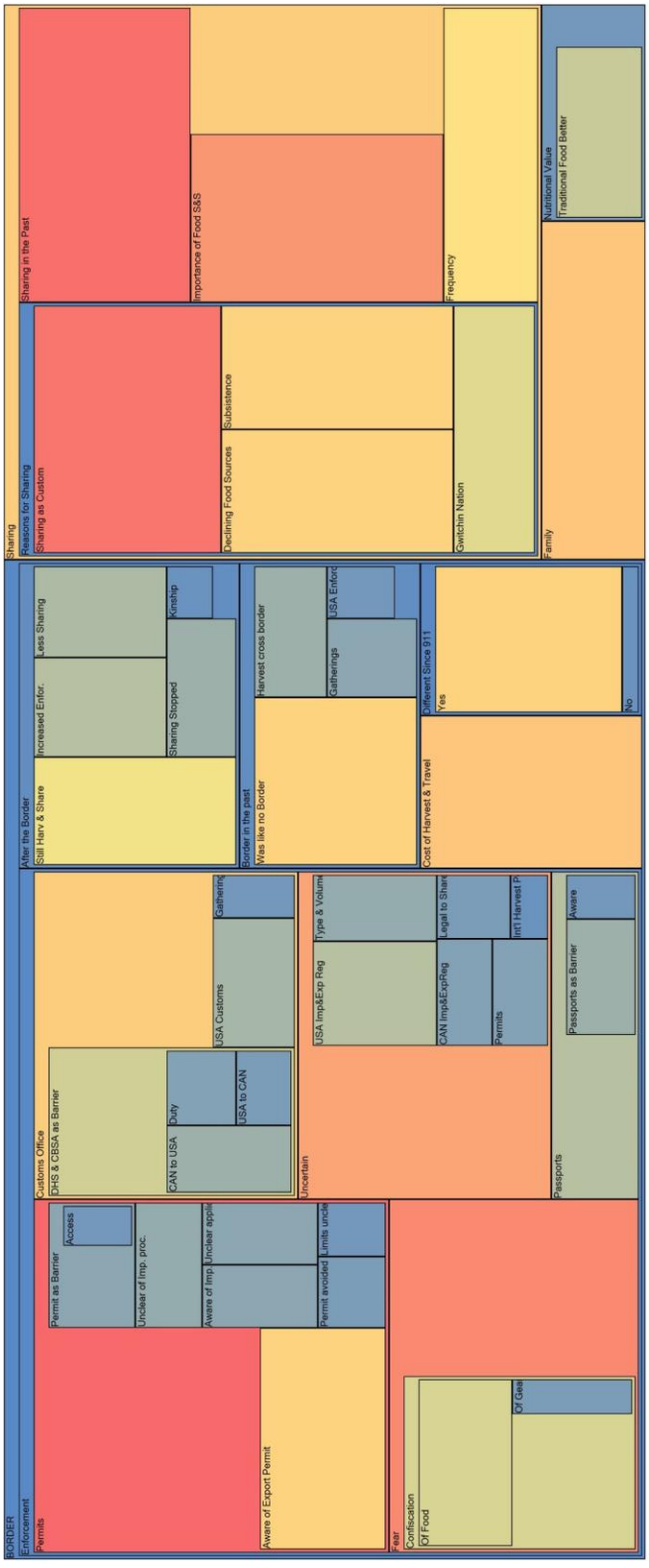


Figure 5.2 Themes – All Emerging from Interviews

5.2.2. Inconsistent Border Enforcement

Barriers to food sharing tended to focus on the border and its enforcement. Enforcement was referenced under several sub-categories including but not limited to: Permits, Fear, Customs Offices, Uncertainties regarding National and International import and export regulations, and Passport Requirements (figure 5.1). Common to all respondents was the noted inconsistencies in border enforcement and the progressive restrictions imposed on Gwitchin travel and subsistence.

Before and soon after the border was established, interviewees recalled more frequent gatherings, and that harvesting across their territory was less restrictive (See Figure 5.3). Relatives travelled frequently from Arctic Village and Fort Yukon to the traditional hunting grounds of Potato Hill and Rampart House

After the establishment of the border in 1905, crossing the border for Gwich'in was largely unaffected. Donald Frost, son of Harold "Jack" Frost a former Royal North West Mounted Police (RNWMP) constable, recalls an evening while living at the Rampart House detachment next to the border:

> So we were there one year because the game warden came up from Alaska. Coming up and coming around the bend and all these caribou snares set there on the Alaska side… My mother fed him heart, …caribou heart. Well, he was said while he was eating that "I don't blame them for going down to Rampart House, Alaska to set snares." Well Dad, he tell him that uh, they got to do it, that's there food, and the caribou cross there at night so you cant hunt them.…came up and what for come all the way from Fort Yukon to Rampart House. Why I don't know. He's game warden that is what I remember. (Donald Frost, 2010)

> There was no border that time. At least for the people like us, Gwich'in people could go wherever you want. And they had a meeting saying one time … not to long ago, they were saying it should have been still like that. … But I am talking about Fort Yukon and Crow Flat people is like there should have been no border for them, should have been still like it used to be. (Donald Frost, 2010)

Over time, however, border enforcement gradually increased:

> Border stopped people. Around here they stayed together, no law. Border line established, every thing stop. (Dick Nukon, 2010)

> They used to declare their fur at the border, they would do what they want on this side then they go back, but after 1905 that all changed. If they came across the border and if they were caught trapping on this side they would have to pay a large sum of money for that. (John Joe Kyikavichik, 2010)

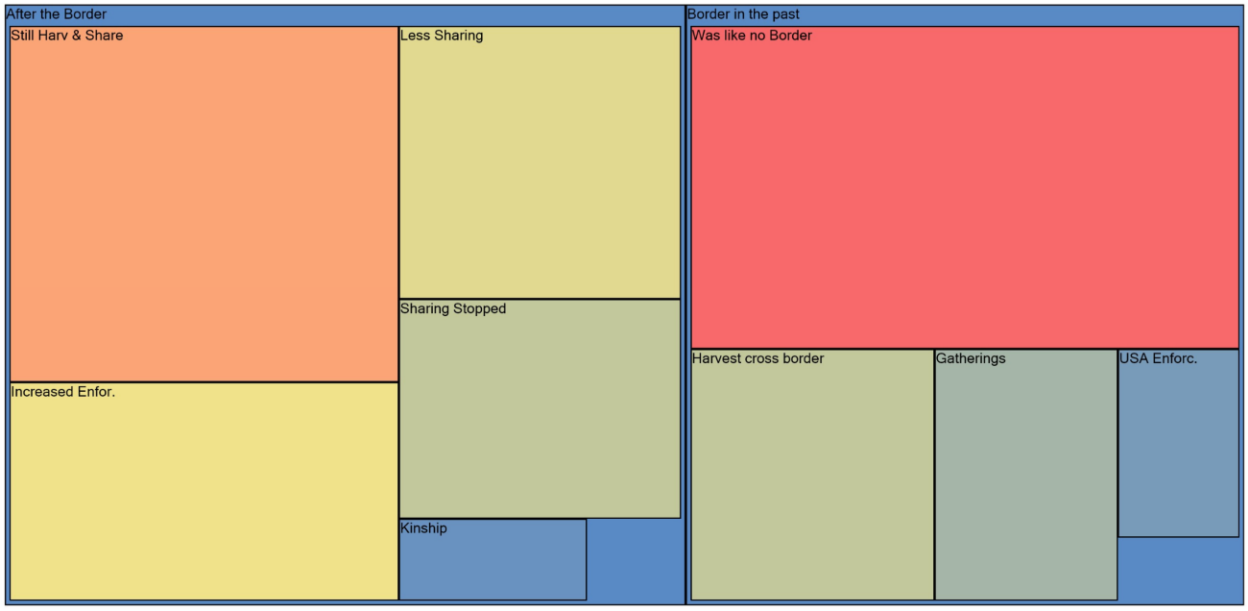


Figure 5.2 Themes – Border Past and Present

Respondents all agreed that the border, if not enforcement itself, has affected kinship ties by disrupting mobility and food sharing. As noted by Paul Herbert of Fort Yukon, Alaska:

> Oh ya, they didn't know the border was there. And people from like Fort Yukon around where I come from, come up here for ratting[3] on the Crow Flat, they used to. So you know, I always wanted to check out the Crow Flat, get up there when they are trapping rats, see how they do it and all that but I can't, because the law says you can't. (Paul Herbert, 2010)

For 14 respondents, the events of 9/11, exasperated an already serious problem. As Dennis Frost makes clear, travel across the border, however gradual and inconsistent, has changed:

> You know, one set of laws for the United States border crossing applied to everybody, it never used to be like that. Even getting on a plane from here…border officers at the airport, they look at you and you're First Nation they just let you go sometimes. They hardly ever bother with asking too serious business about your passports and stuff. But now, they treat everybody the same. It's not like it used to be, things are different. (Dennis Frost, 2010)

[3] Ratting refers to Muskrat trapping

Despite these changes, 11 respondents mentioned that they were still sharing across International and territorial borders, that the needs of their family outweigh any actual or perceived risks.

The subsistence harvesting rights defined in their land claim of the Vuntut Gwitchin apply only to registered beneficiaries. Similarly, the subsistence rights of the Gwich'in in Alaska apply only to Alaska Native and US residents. Therefore, when the Vuntut Gwitchin and other Gwich'in nations travel across their traditional territory, not only their subsistence right change, but so does their legal identity. They can be classified as: beneficiary, citizen, non-resident, permanent resident, First Nation, American Indian, and so on, as they paddle from Old Crow to Fort Yukon to exchange caribou for fish, or to Potato Hill in search of caribou. However, the Vuntut Gwitchin continue to identify with the eight traditional territories of the Gwich'in, as do their patterns of travel and trade.

Elder John Joe Kyikavichik spoke of how the Gwich'in continue to identify with the 'Gwich'in' territory and not a territory demarcated by imposed borders. The Vuntut Gwitchin right to hunt and trap in a large portion of their traditional territory in Alaska is now labeled a criminal offense.

> We discuss, a meeting in Whitehorse, we talked about this in 1985, between Fort Yukon and Old Crow, the sharing. They [Government] made a law for everything, caribou, fish, rabbit, porcupine, even if you had relatives on other side and this side, you still could not hunt on either side. People at that time they ask how come we...they needed that. (John Jo Kyikavichik, 2010)

5.2.3. Excessive Paperwork Requirements

During interviews it became clear that the Vuntut Gwitchin were both uncertain and fearful of the regulations surrounding the sharing of food with relatives in Alaska and NWT, and in some cases, even with other Old Crow households. Permits were referenced 39 times by 16 of the respondents (figure 5.1), and included reference to: being aware of the YTG permit (23 references by 14 respondents), followed closely by 7 references by 4 respondents that they were unclear of Import procedures on both sides of the border. Respondents who identified the Import Permit required for the USA, remained unclear of the procedure. Four respondents specifically mentioned the USA Import Permit as a barrier to food sharing, in relation to accessibility of the permit. Those comments came from the most active harvesters and largest sharing households

with NWT and the USA. The remaining comments centered around being unclear on limits, application procedures and avoiding the permit due to a lack of understanding of its importance.

Fear, worry or concern with any activities legal or otherwise with the border were referenced 34 times by 18 respondents. Within the same theme of Fear, 10 respondents made 15 references to the fear of the confiscation of Food or Gear by both Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).

> I make few trips down to Fort Yukon with boat, but I was scared to take meat from here down over the border I was scared to take it down for my relatives. (Billy Bruce, 2010)

Fear was closely related to the uncertainty felt by the respondents surrounding the border. Uncertainty became a barrier and a theme with over half of the respondents (13), making 30 references to being uncertain about Import and Export Regulations, Species and Volume Limits and the Legalities of Sharing in both the United States and Canada. Themes also emerged around Customs Offices. Again, CBSA and DHS were identified specifically as being barriers to food sharing (8 respondents, 14 references). Some respondents made direct reference to particular Enforcement mechanisms as a barrier. This included (in order) Permits as a barrier, which is closely tied to the DHS & CBSA as a barrier, followed by Passport requirements.

> I don't see any problems but it's just here taking it into Alaska there is a problem there, I think you can only take so much from what I heard or none at all and it would actually take if you fly down they will actually take it away from you that's what I heard too so. (Danny Kassi, 2010)

It should also be noted that uncertainty over cross-border travel also includes fear of having hunting equipment confiscated by border authorities if there is suspicion of illegal hunting in Alaska. For most of the people spoken to in Old Crow this is a risk that simply can't be taken.

5.2.4. The Social Life of Stories

The social life of the confiscation stories have also contributed to the reduction of sharing by Old Crow households, with the fear of food confiscation or even being put into jail serving as a significant deterrent to cross-border food sharing. The confiscation stories that circulate are the result of past incidents involving the RCMP and US Customs and Border Services. For example, stories of US enforcement of the border at Moosehide, Alaska from over 70 years ago are still

told today. Dick Nukon, a member of the Han Nation, was born in 1905 around Eagle, Alaska. Mr. Nukon grew up in various places along the Yukon River, and while travelling with his father he witnessed the Game warden's conversations with his father:

> He (Father) went to Eagle brought food and goods. Come up with paddle. We are going to stay in Dawson. July went to Dawson, no border line. Moosehide, lots of caribou. Game warden bother there. My Dad talked about game warden, it was bad…Didn't let people bring food into Alaska. Sam White game warden Alaska side very strict. (Dick Nukon, 2010)

The most prevalent story told is of Trimble Gilbert, of Arctic Village. Mr. Gilbert is a fiddler who came to Old Crow for a fiddle festival in 2005 or 2006. As a part of a raffle, he won a pair of beaded slippers, made of moose or caribou hide (the hide type was unknown). Upon arrival at the customs office in Fairbanks, Alaska he declared his gift and Customs officials promptly confiscated the slippers. Three interviewees recalled the confiscation with detail, while several others acknowledged the incident. From this event fear of taking any of their traditional items across the border has been created. It was unclear to the interviewees if the slippers were ever returned, but the rumor is that they were sent to Anchorage (Kyckavichik, 2010; Bruce, 2010).

Paul Herbert of Fort Yukon, told of a story of a hunter who shot a duck on the Alaska side of the border while travelling to Old Crow.

> The RCMP stopped him and he had a duck in the boat and he got cited for it. Ya. He killed it in America, but he had the duck lying in the boat and he got cited for it just on the other side of the border. (Paul Herbert, 2010)

Stories were also told of Custom Agents at Fort Yukon, who would burn food and other personal items on the airport runway when the plane would arrive. Although there has not been a border agent in Fort Yukon since the 1990's, the stories are still told today and act as a deterrent to those considering bringing food to Fort Yukon, Alaska.

Similarly two other respondents noted that concerns over the legalities of sharing have served as a significant deterrent.

> For First Nations to get caught breaking the law or harvesting a moose well they really get charged. What we try to do here is prepare the moose a little bit because ya know the game officers in Alaska can't get a hold of some meat that is not properly processed,

> might think it's harvested in Alaska. That little stuff like that we have to watch out for. (Dennis Frost, 2010)

> There could be the wrong person there that don't understand ya know. The policy of traditional food, if you get pulled over you could get canned, evicted for bringing wildlife over because of misunderstanding. And that is pretty embarrassing, that is why it is so good to check ahead of time and let them know what is coming, but the people that don't follow that process it could fall into that trap and cause problems. (Esau Nukon, 2010)

As indicated by Mr. Nukon, acquiring the necessary permit is however noted to be a barrier by some community members. The issuing agency of the YTG permit is the RCMP detachment in Old Crow. Although the relationship between the RCMP and the community is generally positive, there remains reluctance among some Vuntut Gwitchin to approach RCMP staff about acquiring permits. The fear of being questioned about other perhaps unrelated activities is enough to dissuade some from completing the necessary paperwork.

Despite concerns over confiscations or even being charged criminally, some Vuntut Gwitchin remain steadfast about the need and right to share food with friends and family in Alaska.

> Whether or not we dot all the 'i' and cross the 't"s on the forms is another matter. We do manage to get some of those trade and barter goods to our friends and families across the Gwich'in Nation. (Harvest A, 2010)

> If you open the doors to the police today they come check your boat, or the border patrol to come check your boat, then they have to apply the restrictions and the laws. So just go about it and do your business and to heck with all this, this is the way we have always done it. (Harvester B, 2010)

Over the course of writing, I had a chance to meet two of the subjects of the confiscation stories above at various gatherings in Fort Yukon. Despite the time and distance between the incidents and people, the telling of these stories are as expected, accurate.

5.2.5. Costs Associated with Harvest and Travel

Although the overall enforcement of the border was the focus of many interviews, the highs cost of subsistence harvesting and related travel were referenced by 16 interviewees, 25 times, indicating a significant level of importance for more than half of them. With rising fuel prices, food sharing between communities has been affected. Stories arose during interviews about flights being charted from Arctic Village, Alaska to give caribou to relatives in Old Crow

in times of need. The same was done by Old Crow when caribou would be taken to Fort Yukon, Arctic Village and other communities when they were in need.

> When a village or community wasn't able to harvest ... Some planes would land here with caribou, and sometimes we would ship planes of caribou meat other places. That is pretty tough to do nowadays. (Darius Ellias, 2010)

Given the high costs today this option no longer exists. According too MLA Darius Ellias, rising fuel costs have made charter flights unaffordable:

> Years ago we used to transport plane loads of caribou. When a village or community wasn't able to harvest and it went both ways too. Some planes would land here with caribou, and sometimes we would ship planes of caribou meat other places. That is pretty tough to do nowadays. (Darius Elias, 2010)

During the caribou migration, Gwich'in in Alaska will often call friends and family in Old Crow to see if the caribou have come:

> My wife would phone her Mom and the first question in the fall is "Any caribou yet?"… She really wanted it [caribou] but there is no way we can put it on the plane You know for me, it doesn't sit well. So, there is a lot of barriers just to try to share you know. And those barriers are very painful. (Roger Kyikavichik, 2010)

For some, sharing has either been impeded or stopped completely due to the high cost of fuel and travel:

> You can only take so much with you, a little box, and then transport and they have to look though it and it is not like you can charter right to Fort Yukon, you can't. You have to go to Fairbanks then to Fort Yukon. So still it's more expensive. (Teresa Frost, 2010)

> So you know, we are at the mercy of things these days. In the old days we were not at the mercy of anything, we just, had our own bodies and that's all we needed … and our bodies could take us a million miles if we wanted to around the earth. Now we are at the mercy of gas and money, machines and things like that, so we can't do what we used to do long ago. (Brandon Kyikavichik, 2010)

Relatives who come to Old Crow from Fort Yukon, were said to have forgone those trips due to the chance they would not be able to bring food home. If a trip to Old Crow had the potential to yield no food, then gas money is better spent on excursions closer to home with the resulting harvested shared with family and friends from within their community. While a trip to Fort Yukon or Arctic Village is as much about maintaining kinship ties as it is about harvesting

and exchanging wild foods, the financial costs involved have nonetheless limited those visiting opportunities.

5.2.6. Declining Food Sources

The declining food available to the community was also noted as a concern by 10 of the interviewees, referenced 23 times. Respondents mentioned concern for their kin in Fort Yukon and how the decline of salmon returns has created a greater need for food sharing.

> Cause they got certain time to hunt moose and that fishing closure is affecting them lots, cause that's the only source of food they get, moose, and they don't get caribou. (Billy Bruce, 2010)

Within the Yukon, MLA Darius Elias expressed the concerns of his constituents over country food populations and spoke of his personal experience with the decline in food resources:

> I have talked to many of those Yukoner's about how important it is to harvest country foods. Concerns about salmon, concerns about our charismatic mega fauna I call them, moose, elk, sheep, bison, and deer population. Being able to feed their family healthy nutritious foods off the land. (Darius Ellias, 2010)

> I had the opportunity to fish in the Stikine River for sockeye salmon, this year was a terrible year. I got 10 fish, and usually I bring home 30 to share with people. But I am still going to share those 10 fish, even if it is a half, just so they can taste it. (Darius Ellias, 2010)

Declining food sources was also linked to the continued need to fly wild foods to communities during hard times, and for Old Crow to be able to receive wild foods when they experience hardships.

> Sometimes its hard to get caribou…people come up from Fort Yukon …anyway, cause we always get caribou for them… But not all the time, some years it get late in the fall and they go back without caribou because it's late and the ice start running and … don't get anything. (Donald Frost, 2010)

> One year I remember when I was younger, we had no caribou in Old Crow. Caribou didn't come and no one had meat, so they sent a whole bunch of reindeer meat from Inuvik, ya, oh just big plane load. The whole town got one reindeer. It was good... then later … they sent meat over. (Florence Netro, 2010)

Respondents often spoke of hard times that were coming, describing what the land was telling them, and the need to maintain or increase access to traditionally harvested wild food. In addition, some spoke of the need to keep access open to alternative species when others were in decline. According to respondents an important part of preparing for hard times is the ability to share food:

> The hard time is coming and we gotta learn to share more of what we have. … That's the way they used to do it long ago when and I don't see anything wrong with it. You gotta let the government know that this is our way of life. And hope they understand it. (David Lord, 2010)

> Today we face the hardship on global warming and climate change and how do we secure and prevent our young generation for the future hardship, how do we do that and how do we share with our neighbors, and how do you get rid of that cross border issue. It's a big topic ….hard ship is coming. (Esau Nukon, 2010)

With the decline in food resources, the barriers to food sharing across the border "carries with it a lot of pain" (Roger Kyikavichik, 2010).

5.2.7. Vuntut Gwitchin Rights to Share

In some Land Claims areas, for example the Tetlit Gwich'in land claim agreement (known as Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement 1992), permits are not required for sharing food. In the case of the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement (VGFNFA)1993:

> The necessary legislation has not yet been amended to match the UFA/Vuntut Gwitchin Agreement, and those agreements state that the legislative amendments must be made before export can occur without a permit. (Meister, 2011).

For example, a beneficiary of the *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Settlement Act*, 1992 (Tetlit Gwich'in, Northwest Territories) or *The Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Settlement Act* (IFA), 1984, allows for the transportation of wild foods for the purposes of sharing without an export permit. In addition, the Porcupine Caribou Management Agreement, which "supersede the other Land Claim Agreements, also allows for export, with respect of Caribou, without the permit." (Meister, 2011, PCMB, 2011b). However, a beneficiary of the *Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement (VGFNFA)*, 1993, carrying the exact same meat from Old Crow, Yukon to Fort MacPherson, Northwest Territories is required to get a *Yukon Territory Wildlife Act*, 2002,

Export Permit. In order to amend this, the VGFNFA, 1993, would have to be amended. Officer Meister adds, that :

> This is not a really simple thing to understand. As a result, we have adopted the practice of issuing export permits to everyone who asks for it. The reason [for the confusion] is that the RCMP are doing them for us; they are seldom familiar with wildlife laws or the harvesting chapters of the Land Claim Agreements [and] they are seldom stationed there long enough to get familiar with it, and we are in a position where we don't want them trying to determine, each time, whether or not they should issue a permit. The permits are free, and we have chosen to err on the side of caution. So everybody gets a permit, whether they need it or not." (Meister, 2011)

When posed the question as to what would happen to a Vuntut Gwitchin land claim beneficiary who does not obtain a permit, Officer Meister stated that the person would be in violation of subsection 6(2) of the *Yukon Act*, S.C. 2002, and possibly 6(3) or 7(1) of *Wild Animal and Plant Protection and Regulation of International and Interprovincial Trade Act (WAPPRIITA)*, 1992, as well as a violation of subsection 105(1) of the *Yukon Territory Wildlife Act*, 2002. However, in the case of the residents of Old Crow, if a Vuntut Gwitchin land claim beneficiary was discovered to be sending meat to family and friends:

> We would likely either do nothing (considering that the UFA[4] says we are supposed to be changing the law!), other than talking to the persons and explaining the rules and the reasons for them to get the permit. Maybe a written warning…we would not lay a charge until we had first presented the case to our headquarters [YTG Conservation] and to the Crown Prosecutor for consideration. We try hard to honor these traditional uses of wildlife, and apply big doses of discretion when these things pop up. (Meister, 2011)

To clarify, bringing the case to Yukon Territorial Government (YTG) Conservation Headquarters and the Crown is done so when the sharing of meat is deemed to not be for subsistence purposes. This is due to the confusion that YTG Conservation sees in VG beneficiaries to "distinguish between subsistence and other harvest." For example, YTG has confiscated bear hides over the years, harvested for their hides not for subsistence. If a bear, marten or wolf is harvested not for subsistence without a license to shoot, sell or export it, YTG Conservation will prosecute. Officer Meister admits that the variation of how species are handled is confusing for people: "some wildlife they can freely have, give away, send away, just like they

[4] Umbrella Final Agreement, 1993

always have, and in other situations, they can't" (Meister, 2011). In an effort to simplify these variations, YTG adopted a statement:

> If you harvested it to eat it, in your Traditional Territory, then it is subsistence, and everything is ok. If you harvested the animal for any reason other than to eat it, all rules apply, and you should check with us before you do anything, because likely permits, license, etc are required. (Meister, 2011)

Unlike the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), YTG Conservation has low staff turnover, according to Officer Meister, which makes it easier to stay "fairly consistent" with these issues.

When Alaska adopted hunting, fishing and trapping regulations in 1959, the sale of fish and wildlife was generally prohibited, with the exception of trapping and commercial fishing. Very few, if any, provisions were made for customary and traditional trade. Between 1972 and 1981, a series of acts and laws were passed allowing "limited, noncommercial exchanges of subsistence food and by-products". The current legal definition of customary trade comes from the *Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act* (ANILCA) 1980[5], where customary trade is considered subsistence use. The Federal Subsistence Board and the State of Alaska define customary trade, as the exchange of small quantities of fish and wildlife for cash or species "not otherwise prohibited by the state or federal law and does not constitute a commercial enterprise"[6](Magdanz et al., 2007). Similar exchanges for items other than cash are considered barter. All exchanges must be for supporting personal and family needs. Despite the legal status at various times in the state, Alaska natives, like the VG, persisted to trade amongst each other throughout the "booms and bust" years of Europe, Asian and American commercial enterprise (Magdanz et al., 2007).

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) does acknowledge that a Yukon Environment Wildlife Export Permit or documentation from the country of origin is required when bringing items into Alaska, and that the Yukon Environment Wildlife Export Permit would do the trick. However, as Officer Meister pointed out:

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[5] Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, Pub. L. No. 96-487, 94 Stat. 2371 (1980) (codified as amended at 16 U.S.C. §§ 3101 et seq. (2000)).

[6] ANILCA, 1980, CFR 50 § 100.4

> If we amended our legislation to meet the spirit of the UFA and Final Agreements, and stopped issuing Wildlife Export Permits, USDA might then not let that product into the US, because now there would be no documentation as to it's origin. Who knows, maybe that is why WAPPRIITA was not amended in 1996. (Meister, 2011)

When the USDA Investigator was asked to confirm whether a Yukon Environment Wildlife Export Permit, VGFN permit (if created) or if an Aboriginal and Northern Affairs Status Card substituted for a Hunting License would suffice, the response was that yes it would, but the transporter had to be the hunter. The USDA Rubric provides the following instruction, "if you can confirm the product is of caribou, deer, elk, moose, or reindeer origin and you can confirm the product is of Canadian origin, then RELEASE". They do however consider the strongest confirmation being some documentation (Labeling, receipt from processing facility and their own expertise). They are not required to take individuals word for the origin of the product. It is important to mention this, as high turnover plays a part in confusion over species identification at the border. The *Species at Risk Act (SARA)*, 2002[7], has the Woodland & Peary Caribou of the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut as endangered. Without proof of origin, this leaves interpretation to the expertise of the USDA Investigators, or in most cases the Customs and Border Protection (CBP) (USA) Border Agent. When we spoke of the unique nature of the aboriginal sharing kin relationship, the response by the USDA Inspector was essentially that aboriginals have a special relationship with the border; that as long as the volume was reasonable all variations of caribou would be released into the US. The only disclaimer was when it is in excess, which they consider to be (over 8 animals). In this case they require a customs declaration and export permit from the country of origin (and suggested a phone call to their office would help expedite this) and the items would be released for entry into the US. Of course this is left to the discretion of the CBP Border Agent and in the case of boat travel, of Canadian citizens to Fort Yukon, they are required to call in to the Fairbanks CBP office and voluntarily declare. The Inspector did recommend bringing the USDA importation rubric with you to the CBP Border Agent. There was no penalty according to the investigator for non-compliance, apparently just a stern talking to by Unites States Department of Fish and Game Wildlife Officers (USDF&G).

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[7] Species at Risk Act (SARA), R.S.C. 2002, c.24-29

Conversations with Officer Meister and the USDA were surrounding the transport of the primary species shared, caribou and salmon. However, the *Migratory Birds Convention Act* (1994)[8] protects the harvesting of migratory birds of Canada's north during the months of May to September. Although it makes mention of permission for subsistence harvesting, it fails to define who can claim subsistence rights and does not define subsistence. Proposed amendments of the Convention surround questions of habitat protection and the relationship between the Convention and aboriginal People. If the articles as written in the Convention were enforced, subsistence harvesting of migratory birds for the Vuntut Gwitchin would be intolerable and increase and already dramatic affect on their ability to harvest (Banks, 1990, White, 2004). For example, in Chapter five, Paul Herbert shared a story of an Alaska Native who harvested a migratory bird in Alaska on his way to Old Crow, a legal harvest under subsistence for an Alaska Native. Once the person crossed into Canada, he was no longer considered an aboriginal person subsistence harvesting, so rules of general application applied[9]. Alaska natives are not considered status-Indian in Canada, unless they are registered with a band in Canada. In other words, subsistence hunting for the Alaska Native does not apply while in Canada, and those who do, would be subject to the rules of general application and a fine and/or citation[10].

In a study conducted in the Seward Peninsula area of Alaska, it was found that customary trade regulations were not well understood amongst participants, and their study was "probably limited" by the fear of being cited by state enforcement for the sale of subsistence caught fish (Magdanz et al, 2007, p10).

Within Old Crow, there seemed to be trouble in distinction between where the export permit falls in jurisdiction due to the issuing of the permit occurring at the RCMP detachment. Although YTG Conservation is known for giving citation, and confiscating gear, with few criminal charges laid in the community of Old Crow, I would suggest that the placement of the Yukon Environment Wildlife Export Permit in the supervisory hands of the RCMP gives it the illusion of more severe repercussions if the permit is usurped. A thought, if aided by warnings of post 911 border enforcement and "bad game wardens" would solidify the seriousness of not

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[8] Migratory Birds Convention Act, R.S.C 1985, c.M-7
[9] Yukon Territory Wildlife Act, 2002, S.Y. 2001, c.25.
[10] Yukon Territory Wildlife Act, 2002, S.Y. 2001, c.25, s.123

getting a permit and feed into the fear associated with the tradition of food sharing. In addition, fearful of finding out that food sharing, now or in the past, is a criminal offense has serious stigma attached. Although not the intent, in could be suggested that the threat of enforcement has extended beyond its initial intent of "preserve[ing] the peace, [and] uphold[ing] the law", and seeped into the very fabric of cultural and personal freedoms enjoyed by the Gwitchin:

> [B]ut we should not feel threatened, in our traditional trades and life, you know, we should not be afraid to go across that border and shake hand with a Gwich'in person you know for along time and then cross border without fear. That is all we should have that freedom. We had that freedom long time ago… but as soon as that border came, there was restriction and people, some people paid penalty for it because of regulations, but if we can work towards our young generation to secure them and not loose their identity, not loose their family tree, who they are related to, you want to see that continue.

5.3. Food Sharing Law and Regulation

Although traditional food exchange has not been restricted officially, our results illustrate how barriers have been put up through excessive bureaucracy. However, by the letter of the law or letter of the (land) claim in this case, nothing is stopping food sharing from occurring between Gwich'in communities.

Several pieces of legislation and regulation within regional, national and international governments were referenced to determine where the paperwork for cross border food sharing is administered. Canada Customs and Revenue Agency (CCRA) and the *Canadian Wildlife Animal & Plant Protection & Regulations of International and Interprovincial Trade Act*, 1992 *(WAPPRITA)*, are responsible for policing the import and export of species subject to provincial or territorial controls. Although Clause 3 of the Act states: "nothing in the bill could abrogate or derogate from aboriginal or treaty rights already protected by section 35(1) of the *Constitution Act*, 1982" this only applies to those aboriginal people defined in the *Indian Act*, 1876, not those from United States.

Prior to *WAPPRITA*, 1992, the Games Export Act regulated the transportation of wildlife products, across borders with Alaska, British Columbia and Northwest Territory. With the signing of the *Umbrella Final Agreement*, 1993, the Government agreed to make best efforts to ensure that the Games Export Act was modified to ensure the transport of goods for traditional, and non-commercial purposes across these borders was upheld as to not infringe upon *Constitution Act*, 1982 section 35 rights. Unfortunately, this agreement was not adopted when

WAPPRITA replaced the Games Export Act, so today, "federal legislation states that export permits are required in all cases" (Meister, 2011), where subsistence animals are harvested.

In the case of the US Customs and Border Protection service (CBP), the staff member I spoke with also admitted to high staff turnover, making the possibility for different answers to emerge with each incident. Important to mention is, that United States Fish &Wildlife Service (USF&WS) have put a ceiling on the transport of caribou for subsistence and personal use at 8 animals, where Yukon Territorial Government (YTG) has none – and only applies in both cases if it is harvested and exchanged for non-commercial purposes. In addition, *WARRIPITA* does not speak to export internationally, neither does the *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Settlement Act*, 1992, *The Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Settlement Act*, 1984 or *Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement*, 1993, so laws of general application apply[11], which means you need an Yukon Environment Wildlife Export Permit (Meister, 2011). The exception is the traditional sharing of fish, which falls under Fisheries Legislation where neither the USDA or YTG require export permits across international borders for fish, and within the Canadian context interprovincial either.

The *Vuntut Gwich'in Final Land Claim Agreement*, 1993 provided for rights to "give, trade, barter or sell among themselves" or other Yukon First Nations and beneficiaries of transboundary agreements.

> 16.4.4 Yukon Indian People shall have the right to give, trade, barter or sell among themselves and with beneficiaries of adjacent Transboundary Agreements in Canada all Edible Fish or Wildlife Products harvested by them pursuant to 16.4.2, or limited pursuant to a Basic Needs Level allocation or pursuant to a basic needs allocation of Salmon, in order to maintain traditional sharing among Yukon Indian People and with beneficiaries of adjacent Transboundary Agreements for domestic purposes but not for commercial purposes. (*Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement*, 1993)

These transboundary agreements were developed to clarify subsistence activities and harvesting rights in areas where the Vuntut Gwich'in traditional territory overlapped into land claim or traditional territory of another Government of Canada federally recognized First Nation. As sec. 25.3.1 of the VGFNFA, 1993[12], adds that nothing laid out in the VGFNFA, 1993,

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[11] Yukon Territory Wildlife Act, 2002, S.Y. 2001, c.25
[12] Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement, 1993

relating to Transboundary Agreements shall preclude VGFN from developing their own agreements with other transboundary claimants where the sharing of lands, resources and benefits is concerned.

The only mention of permits, in the VGFN Final Agreement are Section 16.5.1 and 22.3.6. Where the First Nation has the power to establish and administer Basic Needs level and Commercial harvesting licenses and permits for VGFN beneficiaries. Therefore, because the Final Agreement does not specify that import and export permits are not required for VG beneficiaries; the rules of general application apply.

5.4. Summary

Within the interviews, four theme areas emerged in areas of the Border, Sharing, Family and Nutritional Value of Country Foods. Within thematic area of Border, barriers facing the Vuntut Gwitchin were identified as inconsistent border enforcement, excessive paperwork requirements, the social life confiscation stories can take, costs associated with harvest and travel, declining food sources.

Inconsistent Border Enforcement was further defined into five sub-categories: Permits, Fear, Customs Offices, Uncertainties surrounding national and international import and export regulations and passport requirements. Respondents all agreed that the border, if not enforcement itself, affected kinship ties by disrupting Gwitchin travel, subsistence and food sharing and the effects of 9/11 exasperated an already serious problem. The foundations of the Gwitchin identity can be found in their traditional territory, however their legal identity changes as they travel and harvest across it, adding complexity to the issue.

During the interviews it became clear the excessive paperwork requirements were a source of fear and uncertainty. Although respondents were aware of local permits, they were unclear of limits and application domestically, and only four respondents mentioned the USA Import permit. Specific enforcement mechanisms were identified as barriers: Permits, DHS & CBSA, and passports. Over half of respondents expressed fear of confiscation and uncertainty surrounding the legalities of food sharing between the United States and Canada, and therefore refrain from sharing.

Confiscation stories that surfaced during the interviews date back as far as the 1940's and as recent as 2005/6, and act as a deterrent to cross-border food sharing. The social life of these stories were told to me several times by different people on both sides of the border.

With the rising cost of fuel prices the costs associated with harvest and travel between communities has affected food sharing. The chance of being turned back due to improper paper work or having food confiscated deters family and friends from making the long trip to Fort Yukon or Old Crow. For some people this has only impeded food sharing, for others it has stopped it all together.

Declining food sources has created a greater need for food sharing amongst the Gwich'in. Solutions used in the past are no longer viable with the cost of fuel. In addition, respondents spoke of hard times that were coming, and how food sharing was essential in overcoming them.

The Vuntut right to share food nationally and internationally has a solid foundation in several documents and legislation, nevertheless the need for an export permit is required under the current VGFNFA (1993) and USDA regulations. An amendment to the agreement would be required to remove the need for a permit; however, the removal of the permit requirement may add complication to the Vuntut Gwitchin's ability to share with Alaska.

CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This thesis explored the social and political dimensions of food security, with a particular focus on the unique challenges faced by the community of Old Crow due to its close proximity to the US\Canada border. By focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security, this thesis set out to: 1) describe the extent to which food sharing occurs between Old Crow and Gwich'in Communities in Alaska and the Northwest Territories; and 2) identify the social and political barriers that may impede food sharing from occurring.

By quantifying the amount and type of food shared between communities over one year, we successfully illustrated the extent to which food sharing is occurring between Old Crow and Gwich'in Communities in Alaska and the Northwest Territories. The interviews provided us with the social and political barriers impeding food sharing for the Vuntut Gwitchin and provided essential context to these cross-border kin relationships.

6.1.1. Food Sharing Results

During the 2010 survey period a total of 36,917 kg of wild food was shared (given and received). Of this total 28,063 kg was shared intra community, between Old Crow households. These exchanges represent 76% of all food shared. Foods were exchanged between Extended (13,656 kg or 37%) and Immediate Family (12,051 kg or 33%) as well as Friends (6,942 kg or 19%). Of the food exchanged between Old Crow households the majority was caribou (73% or 21,948 kg) followed by moose (14% or 3835 kg), salmon (4% or 999 kg) and whitefish (3% or 708 kg).

Inter communities food sharing represented 24% (or 8,854 kg) of all food shared and was sent to other communities in the Yukon Territory (4,709 kg or 13%), Alaska (2,474 kg or 7%), and Northwest Territories (1,199 kg or 3%). Of the 13% of food shared within the Yukon 2,139 kg (or 45%) was given to Immediate Family. While in Alaska, Extended Family shared 1,204 kg (or 47% of food shared within Alaska). Within the Northwest Territories, Immediate Family shared 881 kg (or 74% of all food shared within NWT). Of food shared inter community; the majority was caribou (6,821 kg or 82%), supplemented by moose (909 kg or 11%) and salmon (410 kg or 5%).

6.1.2. Barriers to Food Sharing

Inconsistent Border Enforcement was identified as a barrier due to the number of contradictions and varying knowledge surrounding enforcement in these areas, such as: Permits, Customs Offices, Uncertainties regarding import/export and passports. Within these themes, some respondents expressed fear in areas such as: the lawful or unlawful nature of food sharing as well as the species and volume limits allowed for food sharing. This inconsistency, in a sense, was a blessing and a curse. The lack of enforcement in the early days of the border allowed for a delay of impacts from the subsequent legislation imposed upon the Vuntut Gwitchin's way of life. However, the lack of uniform enforcement of subsistence laws led to variable confusion amongst the VG on sharing across the border. This inconsistent enforcement fed the stories of confiscation spoken of by participants.

Discussions regarding excessive paperwork requirements focus on Yukon Territorial Government Permits and USDA Permits; the accessibility of the permit itself and accurate information on the types and quantity of food permitted to share. The traditional trade of wild food to families is no longer possible without great expense. With the added possibility of confiscation, initiated by the social life confiscation stories have taken, any thoughts or attempts are quickly thwarted.

The costs associated with harvest and travel has increased steadily, as steadily as the laws and regulation have increased over the traditional subsistence lifestyle of the Vuntut Gwitchin. As the traditional lands of the Vuntut are increasingly affected by climate change so too is the declining traditional wild food resources. The Vuntut over a century ago, would have compensated by travelling further into their traditional areas to harvest and share with kin, today this is not possible. Elders and respondents spoke frequently of hard times that were coming, times they feel ill prepared for given land use and sharing barriers.

Moreover, respondents agreed that enforcement of the border is a barrier, has led to a reduction in ties to kin, reduced sharing and for some families a stop to sharing all together. Despite this, some respondents felt the needs of family outweighed the potential risk, and therefore food sharing continues.

6.1.3. Discussion

Natcher (2009) describes the various scholars that define subsistence. According to Thornton (1998) it is the collective activity of harvest, processing, distribution and consumption

of wild foods. Lonner (1980), Sahlins (1971) and Marks (1977) all include the distribution, or sharing of food as a part of subsistence. With this reasoning, to hinder food sharing is in part, to hinder subsistence – a land claim right of the Vuntut Gwitchin. In the past, traditional subsistence activities across the breadth of their traditional territory made food security possible.

6.1.3.1. Food Security

The concept of food security was developed in response to post World War II political and economic crisis. Over the years the definition has grown and is currently defined as the "capacity of every individual to access sufficient, safe, and nutritious foods corresponding to their preferences" (Thériault, 2005, p.33). Studies indicate that the cost of living in the arctic is higher, and food is no exemption (Campbell, 1997, Usher, 1976). Due to the high cost of food, subsistence and sharing networks play an important role in a community's ability to maintain access to wild foods.

Social and political systems have been created without a full understanding of the relationship northern residents have with traditional wild food. This slow and inconsistent enforcement of barriers to traditional food sharing of the Gwitchin, has made them more vulnerable to the affects of climate change, by removing their means of adaptation, and has created food insecurity. The high costs of commercial foods from the south sent to compensate for the decreased access to wild foods is neither sufficient or affordable considering the limited wage earning capacity of residents of Old Crow. The southern approach to food security (the shipping on non-traditional commercial foods to the north) also fails to recognize the intrinsic connection between local wild food and the identity of the consumer, as well as their overall sense of well-being.

Subsistence and customary food sharing networks "provide healthy and culturally-meaningful foods at a lower cost for most consumers than market food" (Thériault, 2005,p41). When market foods identified as causing health issues (Ford et al. 2008, Loring et al. 2012), are combined with the barriers described in this paper and others (Ford et al. 2008, Thériault et. al, 2005, Duhaime et. al, 2008) Canada's arctic aboriginal populations vulnerability to food insecurity increases (Furgal 2006). The sharing of nutrient rich country foods is suggested to reduce the risk of disease and health issues prominent among aboriginal people (Blanchet, 2002), increase cultural vitality (Thériault et al., 2005), contribute to social cohesion and cultural identity (Ford et al. 2008, Duhaime et al. 2008). As shown in this thesis, food exchange has not

been subsumed by "outdated theories of modernization" in the form of national and global policy development and "remain[s] integral to the health and well-being of northern aboriginal communities" (Natcher, 2009, p85-86).

Food sovereignty, an intellectual offspring of food security, has been broadly defined as the "right of nations and people to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments" (Wittman, 2010, p10). However in order for food sovereignty to be successful and sustainable, "access to and secure tenure on land" is needed. Weather intentionally or not, the inconsistent and progressive increase of enforcement mechanisms of two nations states, two territories and three land claim settlements, upon Vuntut Gwitchin traditional lands all play a part in the reduction of food sharing, albeit some more than others.

6.2. Conclusion

Food exchange amongst Gwich'in communities is occurring and has not been restricted officially, however barriers have been put up in the form of excessive bureaucracy, but by the letter of the law or letter of the claim, nothing is stopping food sharing between Gwich'in communities of traditional wild foods harvested for subsistence purposes (caribou, salmon, etc.). The only exception are those waterfowl listed in the *Migratory Bird Convention Act*, 1994, and the impending definitions being developed by the Federal Subsistence Board that will limit traditional and customary trade of salmon in Alaska.

The Vuntut Gwitchin maintain a unique connection to the land through the continued harvest and exchange of wild foods from their traditional territory. However, their continued reliance on wild food, has made them one of the many First Nations susceptible to the adverse affects of climate change, including but not limited to, the decline of the very wild foods they have harvested for centuries. Although varying yields of harvest are chronicled through Gwitchin oral histories, they are often responded to with increased food sharing. The barriers to food sharing mentioned have impacted the Gwitchin's ability to mitigate the affects of climate change and increased their susceptibility to food insecurity.

Food sovereignty is a precursor to food security for the Vuntut Gwitchin. By relinquishing control of policies, distribution and conservation (inclusive of the ability to engage in traditional food exchanges across the multiple borders that bisect their territory), the Gwitchin might be in a better position to secure healthy sustainable food for themselves and their kin.

Traditional knowledge, sharing networks and flexibility of institutions (Ford et al. 2008), are needed if the way of life of the 'People of the Lakes' is to survive the uncertainties associated with climate change.

6.3. Contributions of Thesis

USA and Canada are independent countries with their own national interests. The events of 9/11 have exasperated preexisting issues of borderlands by adding new restrictions that have further impacted the rights of North American indigenous people (Butts, 2003, Luna-Firebaugh, 2002). Traditional trade and subsistence harvesting are often labeled as smuggling and poaching, activities made illegal by border enforcement. Although corruption and illegal activities are present in some cases, rudimentary conclusions do not build cultural equity within policy (Singleton, 2009). Although change is inevitable, those states involved need to "adopt carefully tailored policies" (Tonra, 2006, p256) as to minimize further impact.

Although policy in both countries is "fraught with inconsistencies, double standards, and radical policy shifts through the years" (Tonra, 2006, p256) it is not a hot button issue, and therefore receives little attention. Border rights of Native American tribes and First Peoples vary, and are greatly hampered under the current system. Substantial policy change is needed before affects on the health and well-being of aboriginal People further deteriorate (Tonra, 2006, Berger, 1990, Butts, 2004, Singleton, 2009).

6.4. Future Research

This study was conducted in a year of resource boom, there fore the most useful place to go from here for the VG is to repeat the study in a year of resource decline. Determine if the same type of networks were maintained: by volume, kinship, or were they reduced. If the extent of the network was reduced or maintained, what species were used to supplement, and was sharing confined to immediate family? What happens in comparison with other communities that do not have a border bisecting it? Like other Gwich'in communities in Alaska, is the border the only significant factor?

With the uncertainty associated with climate change, will these networks continue to be viable in times of change? Research conducted when there is a decline in wild food resources would show more clearly what affect climate change is having on caribou populations as well as what needs to be done to maintain or strengthen these networks in time of resource decline.

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APPENDIX A

OLD CROW INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

David C. Natcher, PhD
Associate Professor
Aboriginal Land and Resource Management
Department of Bioresource Policy, Business & Economics
College of Agriculture and Bioresources
Room 2D08, Agriculture Building
51 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A8
Phone: 306-966-4045
FAX: 306-966-8413
E-mail: david.natcher@usask.ca

Interview Consent Form
Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security

You are being asked to participate in a research study from June 2010 till July 2010 on determining how social, cultural and political dimensions of food security in the community of Old Crow,YK are being affected by the US/Canada border. The results of this research will provide insight for us to develop a better understanding of the concerns and experiences of community members regarding food security within the region.

INFORMATION ABOUT THIS RESEARCH STUDY

Title of study: Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security

Researcher(s):
David C. Natcher, PhD
Associate Professor Aboriginal Land and Resource Management, Economic Anthropology, Political Ecology Department of Bioresource Policy, Business & Economics College of Agriculture and Bioresources
Room 2D08, Agriculture Building
51 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A8
Phone: 306-966-4045
Fax: 306-966-8413
E-mail: david.natcher@usask.ca

Purpose of this study:

This project represents a component of a larger project being conducted by the Vuntut Gwich'in (VG) (Old Crow, Yukon) on food security (What do our Changing Homelands Mean for our Health?). At the request of the Vuntut Gwich'in Dr. David Natcher has been asked to assist in examining the social and political dimensions of community food security, with particular focus on the unique challenges faced by Old Crow due to its close proximity to the US border (100 km). By focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security, this research will examine: 1) How political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected the Vuntut Gwich'in's access to traditional lands; and 2) How political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected traditional\contemporary food sharing networks among the Vuntut Gwich'in and Gwich'in communities in Alaska. The results of this research will lend to the development of a Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security Strategy.

CONSENT FORM INFORMATION:

Benefits of the study:

The results of this research will benefit the VG by helping them to define their own policies and strategies for the production, distribution, and consumption of sustainable and healthy food sources. In this way, food sovereignty is considered a precondition for food security. This research will also strengthen Old Crow's social infrastructure by connecting food systems to local capacity, partnerships and socio-economic networks that exist locally and throughout the region. By positioning food security within the broader social economy of Old Crow we will arrive at community-based solutions that improve the health and nutrition of the Vuntut Gwich'in.

Research procedures to be followed:

Through key informant interviews we will identify how the enforcement of the US\Canada border has affected access to Gwich'in traditional lands, and the subsequent harvest of traditional foods. Interviews will explore the barriers that may be limiting Gwich'in access to traditionally used lands and obstacles keeping food sharing between the Vuntut Gwich'in and Gwich'in communities in Alaska from occurring. Barriers may include the costs associated with travel, policy restrictions limiting cross-border travel, travel risks associated with environmental and climate change, and changes in border security following the events of 9\11 (possible barriers noted by the VG Steering Committee).

Interviews will be conducted by the Principle Investigator (Dr. David Natcher) or graduate students and accompanied by a VG Research Assistant (as assigned by the VG Steering Committee). Interview analysis will take place at the University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute Research Lab.

Through a food sharing survey we will identify household, multi-household, community, and regional food sharing networks that exist within the Gwich'in Nation communities (social network analysis). This will include information relating to the types and amount of foods being

shared, seasons in which sharing occurs, and the social relationships that are maintained through food sharing and exchange (friends, family). Household surveys (53) will be administered by the graduate student and a VG Research Assistant. Survey analysis will take place at the University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute Research Lab.

Risks and right to withdraw:

We do not anticipate any risks or discomforts with this research; however, if any discomfort should arise you may withdraw at any time. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and the researcher interviewing you can provide you contact information of counseling services.

Confidentiality:

Your anonymity and identity will be protected, and steps will be taken to ensure that your name, address, and any other identifying information will be removed from the survey. Prior to your participation in the survey, after an initial agreement to partake in the study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After the consent form is signed participants and households will be referenced only by random household number and community code.

Only the information you provide, and consent to, within the study will be written within the final content that will be published. Data collected (surveys and transcribed interviews) will be stored in electronic form after being encoded from paper copies of surveys and from transcribed interviews and paper copies of data will be stored in a locked office file cabinet of the Principal Investigator until the study has been completed and then all paper materials will be destroyed after five years after the completion of the study. All information with names will be deleted with numbers or pseudonyms being replaced in the electronic copies. Every effort has and will be made to protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants, however no absolute guarantees can be assured.

Please be reminded that you can withdraw from any section of the study at any time.

Use of information provided:

Upon signing the consent form participants agree to allow the information gathered in the study to be reported in journal articles, conference presentations, or funding reports. The information will be then communicated broadly and effectively (as approved by the VG Steering Committee) including but not limited to briefing the VG Chief and Council, presentations to Vuntut Gwich'in Annual General Assembly and the Gwich'in International Gathering in Ft. Yukon, Alaska. In addition, project posters (24x36) will be printed and distributed throughout Old Crow (Administrative Office, schools, Health Centre, airport). 'Plain-Speak Reports' will be written using accessible language, including a 1-page translated summery (Gwich'in). Interviews and broadcasts will be aired through local media outlets (CBC North). All written material deemed appropriate for public dissemination will be made available through the VG website http://www.oldcrow.ca/

Contact:

If you have any further inquiries about your participation within this study, please contact the Ethics Office at the University of Saskatchewan (306) 966-2084. Participants who are calling from outside of Saskatoon can also call collect.

Ethics approval:

This research study was reviewed and approved by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board on April 21, 2010.

Consent:

I have read the information regarding this study focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security. I have been given the opportunity to inquire for more information about the research study, and acknowledge that I may withdraw my participation in this research study at any time. I am providing my consent to partake in this study and a copy of this consent form has been provided for me for my own records.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

Other Points:

A) The researcher/interviewer would like to use an electronic recording device during the interview, and with your consent would like to create an audiotape of the session. Please be aware that you may shut off the audiotape at any time by indicating to the interviewer you would like the tape to be off or to erase any portion of the interview you do not feel comfortable with.

Do you agree to the use of an electronic recording device during the interview?

____ Yes

____ No

B) Please mark below how you would like your information to be identified within the research study?

____ The researchers may use my first name in their study from the interview information.

____ The researchers may NOT use my first name in their study from the interview information.

____ I would prefer the use of a fictitious name of _____

C) Do you want to review the transcript of the interview prior to analysis of the findings?

____ Yes

____ No

Thank you

_____ _____

(Signature of Participant) (Date)

_____ _____

(Signature of Researcher) (Date)

APPENDIX B

OLD CROW TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM

I, _____, who was interviewed for Dr. David Natcher's research project, *Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security*, have reviewed the transcription of my interview and have been given the opportunity to change, add, or delete any information in the document to better reflect my understandings and experiences. Any changes I felt were necessary to better reflect my interpretation of the program, I feel, will be handled correctly by the researchers.

I hereby authorize the use of this transcript to be used by Dr. David Natcher to be used within the analysis of the research project, in the form I specified on my consent form. I have retained a copy of this transcript for my own records, and have received an envelope, pre-stamped, that will enable me to return a signed copy of this release form to Dr. David Natcher.

If I have any further questions or concerns about any area of the study, I am aware that I can contact Dr. David Natcher at the University of Saskatchewan through the number (306) 966-4045; or the Research Ethics Office at the University of Saskatchewan (can call collect) at (306) 966-2084.

_____ _____

Participant Signature Date

_____ _____

Researchers Date
(Dr. David Natcher)

APPENDIX C

OLD CROW SURVEY CONSENT FORM

David C. Natcher, PhD
Associate Professor
Aboriginal Land and Resource Management
Department of Bioresource Policy, Business & Economics
College of Agriculture and Bioresources
Room 2D08, Agriculture Building
51 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A8
Phone: 306-966-4045
FAX: 306-966-8413
E-mail: david.natcher@usask.ca

Survey Consent Form
Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security

You are being asked to participate in a research study from June 2010 till July 2010 on determining how social, cultural and political dimensions of food security in the community of Old Crow,YK are being affected by the US/Canada border. The results of this research will provide insight for us to develop a better understanding of the concerns and experiences of community members regarding food security within the region.

INFORMATION ABOUT THIS RESEARCH STUDY

Title of study: Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security

Researcher(s):
David C. Natcher, PhD
Associate Professor Aboriginal Land and Resource Management, Economic Anthropology, Political Ecology Department of Bioresource Policy, Business & Economics College of Agriculture and Bioresources
Room 2D08, Agriculture Building
51 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A8
Phone: 306-966-4045
Fax: 306-966-8413
E-mail: david.natcher@usask.ca

Purpose of this study:

This project represents a component of a larger project being conducted by the Vuntut Gwich'in (VG) (Old Crow, Yukon) on food security (What do our Changing Homelands Mean for our Health?). At the request of the Vuntut Gwich'in Dr. David Natcher has been asked to assist in examining the social and political dimensions of community food security, with particular focus on the unique challenges faced by Old Crow due to its close proximity to the US border (100 km). By focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security, this research will examine: 1) How political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected the Vuntut Gwich'in's access to traditional lands; and 2) How political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected traditional\contemporary food sharing networks among the Vuntut Gwich'in and Gwich'in communities in Alaska. The results of this research will lend to the development of a Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security Strategy.

CONSENT FORM INFORMATION:

Benefits of the study:

The results of this research will benefit the VG by helping them to define their own policies and strategies for the production, distribution, and consumption of sustainable and healthy food sources. In this way, food sovereignty is considered a precondition for food security. This research will also strengthen Old Crow's social infrastructure by connecting food systems to local capacity, partnerships and socio-economic networks that exist locally and throughout the region. By positioning food security within the broader social economy of Old Crow we will arrive at community-based solutions that improve the health and nutrition of the Vuntut Gwich'in.

Research procedures to be followed:

Through a resident and food sharing survey we will identify how the enforcement of the US\Canada border has affected access to Gwich'in traditional lands, and the subsequent harvest of traditional foods. Surveys will explore the barriers that may be limiting Gwich'in access to traditionally used lands and obstacles keeping food sharing between the Vuntut Gwich'in and Gwich'in communities in Alaska from occurring. Barriers may include the costs associated with travel, policy restrictions limiting cross-border travel, travel risks associated with environmental and climate change, and changes in border security following the events of 9\11 (possible barriers noted by the VG Steering Committee).

Surveys will be conducted by the Principle Investigator (Dr. David Natcher) or graduate students and accompanied by a VG Research Assistant (as assigned by the VG Steering Committee). Survey analysis will take place at the University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute Research Lab.

Through a food sharing survey we will identify household, multi-household, community, and regional food sharing networks that exist within the Gwich'in Nation communities (social network analysis). This will include information relating to the types and amount of foods being

shared, seasons in which sharing occurs, and the social relationships that are maintained through food sharing and exchange (friends, family). Household surveys (53) will be administered by the graduate student and a VG Research Assistant. Survey analysis will take place at the University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute Research Lab.

Risks and right to withdraw:

We do not anticipate any risks or discomforts with this research; however, if any discomfort should arise you may withdraw at any time. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and the researcher interviewing you can provide you contact information of counseling services.

Confidentiality:

Your anonymity and identity will be protected, and steps will be taken to ensure that your name, address, and any other identifying information will be removed from the survey. Prior to your participation in the survey, after an initial agreement to partake in the study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After the consent form is signed participants and households will be referenced only by random household number and community code.

Only the information you provide, and consent to, within the study will be written within the final content that will be published. Data collected (surveys and transcribed interviews) will be stored in electronic form after being encoded from paper copies of surveys and from transcribed interviews and paper copies of data will be stored in a locked office file cabinet of the Principal Investigator until the study has been completed and then all paper materials will be destroyed after five years after the completion of the study. All information with names will be deleted with numbers or pseudonyms being replaced in the electronic copies. Every effort has and will be made to protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants, however no absolute guarantees can be assured.

Please be reminded that you can withdraw from any section of the study at any time.

Use of information provided:

Upon signing the consent form participants agree to allow the information gathered in the study to be reported in journal articles, conference presentations, or funding reports. The information will be then communicated broadly and effectively (as approved by the VG Steering Committee) including but not limited to briefing the VG Chief and Council, presentations to Vuntut Gwich'in Annual General Assembly and the Gwich'in International Gathering in Ft. Yukon, Alaska. In addition, project posters (24x36) will be printed and distributed throughout Old Crow (Administrative Office, schools, Health Centre, airport). 'Plain-Speak Reports' will be written using accessible language, including a 1-page translated summery (Gwich'in). Interviews and broadcasts will be aired through local media outlets (CBC North). All written material deemed appropriate for public dissemination will be made available through the VG website http://www.oldcrow.ca/

Contact:

If you have any further inquiries about your participation within this study, please contact the Ethics Office at the University of Saskatchewan (306) 966-2084. Participants who are calling from outside of Saskatoon can also call collect.

Ethics approval:

This research study was reviewed and approved by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board on April 22, 2010.

Consent:

I have read the information regarding this study focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security. I have been given the opportunity to inquire for more information about the research study, and acknowledge that I may withdraw my participation in this research study at any time. I am providing my consent to partake in this study and a copy of this consent form has been provided for me for my own records.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D

OLD CROW HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Please indicate the Place of Birth and Permanent Residence of household members (e.g. Old Crow, Arctic Village, Fort McPherson)

Date: _____ Old Crow HH#: _____

#	**Description** (e.g. Man 51, Woman 45, Child 4, Child 11)	**DOB** dd/mm/yyyy
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		

#	**Place of Birth**		**Residency Over Time**	
1	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____
2	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____
3	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____
4	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____
5	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____

#	Place of Birth		Residency Over Time	
6	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____
7	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____
8	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____	❑ Old Crow ❑ Fairbanks ❑ Arctic Village ❑ Ft McPherson ❑ Inuvik ❑ Whitehorse	❑ Dawson City ❑ Yellowknife ❑ Anchorage ❑ Ft Yukon ❑ LaPierre House ❑ Other:_____

OLD CROW FOOD SHARING SURVEY (GAVE)

Between June 2010 and July 2009 (preceding year), to which communities did your household give traditional foods? Please list the most important gifts first and include Old Crow when you gave traditional foods to another household here. Last, please identify your relationship with the person\household you gave traditional foods to (i.e., mother, brother, friend).

Date: ______________ Old Crow HH#: _________

Species		OLD CROW							
	Amount								
	Relation								
	HH #								
	Amount								
	Relation								
	HH #								
	Amount								
	Relation								
	HH #								
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	HH #								

OLD CROW FOOD SHARING SURVEY (RECEIVED)

Between June 2010 and July 2009 (preceding year), to which communities did your household receive traditional foods? Please list the most important gifts first and include Old Crow when you received traditional foods to another household here. Last, please identify your relationship with the person\household you received traditional foods to (i.e., mother, brother, friend).

Date: _______________ Old Crow HH#: __________

Species		OLD CROW							
	Amount								
	Relation								
	HH #								
	Amount								
	Relation								
	HH #								
	Amount								
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	HH #								

OLD CROW CODE TABLE

RELATIONSHIP	CODE	IN OTHER WORDS
YOUR		
FATHER	FA	
MOTHER	MO	
BROTHER	BR	
SISTER	SI	
HUSBAND	HU	
WIFE	WI	
SON	SO	
DAUGHTER	DA	
SON'S CHILD	SOSO, SODA	YOUR GRANDCHILD
DAUGHTER'S CHILD	DASO, DADA	YOUR GRANDCHILD
YOUR FATHER'S		
FATHER	FAFA	YOUR GRANDFATHER
MOTHER	FAMO	YOUR GRANDMOTHER
BROTHER	FABR	YOUR UNCLE
SISTER	FASI	YOUR AUNT
SIBLING'S CHILD	FACO	YOUR COUSIN
YOUR MOTHER'S		
FATHER	MOFA	YOUR GRANDFATHER
MOTHER	MOMO	YOUR GRANDMOTHER
BOTHER	MOBR	YOUR UNCLE
SISTER	MOSI	YOUR AUNT
SIBLING'S CHILD	MOCO	YOUR COUSIN
YOUR SPOUSE'S		
FATHER	HUFA, WIFA	YOUR FATHER IN-LAW
MOTHER	HUMO, WIMO	YOUR MOTHER IN-LAW
BROTHER	HUBR, WIBR	YOUR BROTHER IN-LAW
SISTER	HUSI, WISI	YOUR SISTER IN-LAW
YOUR BROTHER OR SISTER'S		
SPOUSE	SISP	
SON	SISO	YOUR NEPHEW
DAUGHTER	SIDA	YOUR NIECE
OTHER		
FRIEND	FRND	

APPENDIX E

VUNTUT GWICH'IN RESEARCHERS APPLICATION

Name of Organization: **University of Saskatchewan**
Arctic Health Research Network - Yukon

Address: 51 Camus Drive, Room 2D08, Saskatoon, SK. S7N 5A8
#209-100 Main Street, Whitehorse, Yukon Y1A 2A7

E-mail: david.natcher@usask.ca Phone: 306-966-4045 Fax: 306-966-8413
nkassi@whtvcable.ca Phone: 867-668-4442 Fax: 867-668-5543

Contact Person, Title: **David Natcher, PhD**
Norma Kassi, Associate Director

Address: Same as Above

E-mail: Phone: Fax:

Contact number and location in Old Crow: **To be Determined**

Crew Members, titles (attach list if necessary)
David Natcher (U of S), Tobi Jeans (U of S), Norma Kassi (AHRN-Y), Jody Butler-Walker (AHRN-Y)

Title of Project:
Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwitchin Food Security

Please completely answer all of the following questions. The application must be submitted to the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Heritage Department 30 days prior to starting the project.

PROJECT PLAN AND SCHEDULE

1. **What are the purpose and objectives of the project? Please include a thesis statement.**

This research reflects the recommendations stemming from the January, 2009 workshop held in Old Crow, Yukon - *Vuntut Gwitchin Climate Change and Health Research in Northern Yukon: What do our Changing Homelands Mean for our Health? Phase 2: Knowledge into Action*. This workshop brought together university researchers, Vuntut Gwitchin elders, youth and citizens to discuss the ways in which climate change is affecting the ability of the Vuntut

Gwitchin to secure a healthy diet of traditional foods and to develop food security strategies to maintain their health in the face of declining traditional food species[13] (Walker and Kassi, 2009). By the conclusion of the workshop it was agreed that a community-based research program would be initiated to explore:

1. The interest among Old Crow families to build and maintain a green house, community gardens and a small-scale agricultural farm to grow local produce.
2. How many households have caches for preservation of traditional foods.
3. What kinds of long-term food storage facilities/structures does the community need?
4. Where small fish and game migrate to in time of ecosystem change and the traditional means used by Vuntut Gwitchin elders to locate and harvest traditional foods during times of change.
5. *How the US\Canadian border has affected food sharing systems and ways in which sharing networks can be strengthened in times of need*.

It is with respect to point 5 above that this research will examine the cross-border dimensions of the Old Crow food system. Specifically, this research will examine: 1) how political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected the ability of the Vuntut Gwitchin to access traditional lands located in Alaska; and 2) how political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected traditional\contemporary food sharing networks among the Vuntut Gwitchin and Gwich'in communities in Alaska.

2. Describe the research plan and methodology.

To understand the cross-border dimensions of the Old Crow food system the research team (Natcher, Kassi, Jeans and Butler-Walker) will work with Old Crow residents to learn how they themselves perceive the border to be affecting the social, cultural, and political dimensions of food security. Methods will include key informant interviews, household surveys, and genealogical\residency mapping.

Specific objectives include:

a. Through key **informant interviews** we will identify the barriers that may be limiting cross-border territorial access and food sharing between the Vuntut Gwitchin and related Gwich'in communities in Alaska (families and relatives). Barriers may include the costs associated with travel, legal restrictions limiting cross-border travel, travel risks associated with environmental and climate change, and changes in border policy following the events of 9\11. Initial participants will be identified by Kassi after which a snowball methodology will be employed – i.e., participants recommend others to interview who may have been affected or have opinions about how the enforcement of the border is affecting the Vuntut Gwitchin food system.

[13] Jody Butler Walker and Norma Kassi, 2009. *Vuntut Gwitchin Climate Change and Health Research in Northern Yukon: What do our Changing Homelands Mean for our Health? Phase 2: Knowledge into Action. Arctic Health Research Network – Yukon, Whitehorse, Yukon Territory.*

b. Through the use of a **Household Food Sharing Survey** (attached) we will identify and map family, community and regional food sharing networks that exists within the Gwich'in Nation (social network analysis of households giving\receiving traditional foods). This will include information relating to the types and amount of foods being shared, the communities and household in which food exchanges occur, and the social relationships that are maintained through food sharing and exchange (friends, family).

c. Using **genealogical information** already recorded by the VG, we will identify and map places of birth and subsequent places of residence of Vuntut Gwitchin family members. This method will be employed in order to demonstrate that despite the establishment of the US\Canadian border in 1912 – a border that essentially bisected the Gwitchin territory - the Gwitchin Nation remain connected through kinship ties that span territorial and federal borders.

d. By working with community members and VG leadership we will **design a set of policy recommendations** to help ensure that the imposition of the US\Canadian border does not infringe upon the food sovereignty rights of the Vuntut Gwitchin.

3. What is unique or significant about this project? (how will this project advance the field of knowledge?)

Academically, this project will make an important contribution to the field of indigenous studies, border studies, food security and indigenous-state relations. More pragmatically this research will lend to the development of a Vuntut Gwitchin Food Security Strategy and will be used to inform government policies in relation to border enforcement and Gwitchin rights.

4. What is the schedule for the project (ie. planning, deadlines, expected date of completion, expected date of report completion)

Schedule of Research Activities: Cross-Border Research

Activity	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	April
Feast\Project Launch	X										
Key Informant Interviews	XXXXXXXXXXXXX			(VG student involvement)							
[14]Genealogical Mapping Research	XXXXXXXXXXXXX			(VG student involvement)							
[15]Food Sharing Survey	XXXXXXXXXXXXX			(VG student involvement)							
[16]Archival	XXX				XXXX						

[14] We will link place of birth and current residence to the genealogical research already done by the VG.

[15] Food Sharing Survey will be conducted at the household level to identify how much and what kinds of food are being shared and between who (relationship and communities)

Research			
[17]Gwitchin Gathering	XX		
[18]Reporting Back		XX	XX
Thesis Completion and Final Report			XX

5. Please list funding agencies and other partners.

Funding has been secured from the Social Economy Research Network of Northern Canada (SSHRC) ($60,000)

6. What kind of products will result from the project? (ie. reports, publications)

Products resulting from this research will include: 1) VG Food Security Strategy; a Graduate Thesis (T. Jeans); and Co-Authored academic publications.

It is important to note that in the production of written materials:

- a) All data generated from the proposed research will remain the 'Intellectual Property' of the Vuntut Gwitchin.

  b) Intellectual Property is defined as information, ideas, or other intangibles in their expressed form.

- c) Activities carried out under this project or other contributions towards the project may be used by the PI and graduate student with the consult of the Vuntut Gwitchin Chief and Counsel or other appropriate VG departments, for the production of theses, reports, public presentations, and scholarly publications arising out of this research.

- d) In the event that public dissemination has been agreed upon, joint authorship between the PI and representatives of the Vuntut Gwitchin will be assigned.

A number of additional strategies are planned for dissemination, reporting and providing project feedback. The project team will make concerted efforts to ensure the rationale and results of the research are communicated broadly and effectively (as approved by the VG). These

[16] Archival research will be conducted to identify accounts and records pertaining to the closure of the HBC in Rampart House.

[17] In addition to the presentation we will take advantage of the opportunity to be in FY by interviewing key informants and leadership about the border. If possible an informal group meeting could be held.

[18] Research team will report preliminary results in the fall and the final summary in the spring.

strategies include briefing the VG Chief and Council, presentations will be made at the Vuntut Gwich'in Annual General Assembly and the Gwich'in International Gathering in Ft. Yukon, Alaska. In addition, project posters (24x36) will be printed and distributed throughout Old Crow (Administrative Office, schools, Health Centre, airport). 'Plain-Speak Reports' will be written using accessible language, including a 1-page translated summery (Gwitchin). Interviews and broadcasts will be aired through local media outlets (CBC North). All written material deemed appropriate for public dissemination will be made available through the VG website http://www.oldcrow.ca/

7. **What kinds of information will you be collecting? (ie. interviews, notes, artefacts, samples, etc.)**

Information that will be gathered during the course of this research include: 1) Interview notes and where appropriate recorded transcripts; household survey forms\data and VG Genealogical and Residency Maps.

8. **Where and in what medium will the information be stored?**

The storage of project data, including tapes, photos, interview notes, original interview responses, and all other supporting documentation will be housed in three separate locations. All originals will be housed with the VG in the Old Crow. Here the VG will have unfettered access to all original project data. Copies of all project data will be stored at the University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute's Research Lab and the AHR-N office in Whitehorse. Here copies of data will be stored fire-safe and secured cabinets. The safe keeping of all data housed at the University of Saskatchewan will be the responsibility of Natcher while data stored at the AHRN-Y will be the responsibility of Kassi. At the conclusion of the project all data will be returned to the VG unless otherwise decided.

9. **Is this project part of a degree or diploma program (ie. Masters, PhD, etc.)?**

This project will result in the awarding of Master's Degree in Environmental Science (School of Environment and Sustainability, University of Saskatchewan) – Tobi Jeans

LOGISTICS

10. **Where will the research take place? (i.e. in Old Crow, in the traditional territory, in another centre)**

Research will take place primarily in Old Crow. As opportunities arise research may be carried-out in other locations (i.e., on the land, Old Rampart House, Ft. Yukon).

11. **If you would like to make additional contact with people in Old Crow, please provide information on how you propose to make contact with people. How does your organization deal with gaining informed consent? (attach sample consent form).**

Contact with Old Crow residents will be facilitated by Norma Kassi (interview strategy noted above). Project Information Sheets and other consent forms are attached to the application. This project will benefit from being a part of an ongoing project being carried out by Norma Kassi and the AHRN-Y.

12. Describe any economic or other benefits of the project to VGFN.

Economic benefits derived from this research include the hiring a Community Research Assistant (July and August). In addition we will be awarding to gift certificates for those who participate in the House Food Sharing Survey (2 @$250 each for gas or groceries).

13. What logistical support will you be anticipating to require? (i.e. accommodation, assistants, research facilities, information, boat operators, translators, etc.)

Accommodations have been arranged by Norma Kassi. No other logistical requirements are anticipated at this time.

PAST PROJECTS

14. Please list previous relevant projects completed. Have you worked in the Old Crow area in the past?

Until this point Natcher has not collaborated with the VG or worked in the Old Crow area. However, beginning in 1994 Natcher has worked with the Dendu Gwich'in (Birch Creek Village, Alaska) and the Koyukon of Huslia and Steven's Village Alaska, both as agraduate student and as a while a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alaska Anchorage. A list of projects, publications and other professional details can be found at http://ilmi.usask.ca/people/david-natcher/index.php

Norma Kassi is a VG citizen who has long been carrying out research with the VG..

15. Please provide contact information for at least two contacts outside of your organization that know your work. May VGFN contact these people regarding your work?

1) Dr. Valoree Walker
Northern Research Institute
Yukon College
Box 2799
Whitehorse, YT Y1A 5K4 Val Walker
Tel: 867-668-8857
Fax: 867-456-8672
email: sernnoca@yukoncollege.yk.ca

2) Dr. Larry Felt
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Department of Sociology
St. John's Newfoundland A1C 5S7
709-737-8270
lfelt@mun.ca

APPENDIX F

ETHICS APPLICATION

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROTOCOL

1. Name of Researcher:	David C. Natcher, PhD Associate Professor Department of BPBE (formally Agricultural Economics) College of Agriculture and Bioresources Office: 966-4045 Fax: 966-8413 david.natcher@usask.ca
1a. Name of Student:	Tobi Jeans MES Candidate, SENS
1b. Anticipated Start Date:	May 1, 2010 to April, 30 2011
2. Title of Study:	Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwitchin Food Security
3. Abstract:	This project represents a component of a larger project being conducted by the Vuntut Gwitchin (VG) (Old Crow, Yukon) on food security (What do our Changing Homelands Mean for our Health?). At the request of the Vuntut Gwitchin I have been asked to assist them in examining the social and political dimensions of community food security, with a particular focus on the unique challenges faced by Old Crow due to its close proximity to the US border (80 km). By focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security, this research will examine: 1) how political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected the Vuntut Gwitchin's access to traditional lands in Alaska; and 2) how political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected traditional\contemporary food sharing networks among the Vuntut Gwitchin and Gwich'in communities in Alaska. The results of this research will lend to the development of a Vuntut Gwitchin Food Security Strategy.
4. Funding:	Social Economy Research Network of Northern Canada (SSHRC) ($60,000 Awarded)
5. Expertise:	Trained as an applied cultural anthropologist, I have worked in Alaska and northern Canada since 1994. I hold graduate degrees from the University of Alaska Fairbanks (M.A. 1996) and the University of Alberta (1999) and have held faculty appointments at the University of Alaska Anchorage (Anthropology) and Memorial University of Newfoundland. While at Memorial University I held

a Tier II Canada Research Chair in Aboriginal Studies (2004-2007). I am currently an Associate Professor in the Department of Bioresource Policy, Business and Economics where I also serve as Academic Chair of the Indigenous Peoples Resource Management Program and Director of the Indigenous Land Management Institute. In addition to serving on numerous boards and professional committees, I am currently a Co-Director for the Social Economy Research Network of Northern Canada (SSHRC supported). In this role I promote and review academic research relating to indigenous communities and the Canadian north. In 2005 I served on the SSHRC Aboriginal Initiatives Granting Committee and I am currently serving as Chair of the University of Saskatchewan's SSHRC Presidential Awards Committee.

6. Conflict of Interest: There are no known conflicts of interest with this research.

7. Participants: Based on recommendations from the Vuntut Gwitchin (VG) Research Steering Committee, active land users and Elders will be identified and recruited to take part in interviews. The Vuntut Gwitchin, as the project lead, will identify and contact an initial list of participants from which a snowball methodology will be followed where participants recommend others in the community who might be able and willing to contribute. It is anticipated at approximately 20-25 semi-structured interviews will be conducted (community population of 240 residents).

7a. Recruitment Material NA.

Give the characteristics of Old Crow (small, relatively isolated and closely knit), the VG Steering Committee is well aware of those community members who can contribute most directly to this project. My role, as well as the role of the graduate student, is to follow the direction set by the VG Steering Committee.

8. Consent: It is our full intention to ensure that all research participants agree to participate voluntarily and are fully aware of the research objectives, methodology and anticipated outcomes. Free and informed competence requires sensitivity to the **competence** of participants. Competence may be influenced by cultural and language differences, educational or authority inequalities. The research team will attempt to ensure competence through **five initiatives**: i) ensuring information sheets and consent forms are available in both English and Gwitchin; ii) utilizing local residents as research assistants to explain and help collect information; iii) holding public meetings and attempting to meet as many residents as possible to discuss the research, its purposes, and objectives; iv)

	seeking the assistance of both the VG leadership and local advisory committee to assist in ensuring the research purpose is widely understood by residents; and v) doing interviews in Gwitchin when necessary through the assistants of VG Research Assistants. Since children/minors will not be interviewed and third party consent will not be necessary, these issues do not appear to be salient. **Agreeing to participate in the research will be completely voluntary.** The voluntary nature of this research will be stressed by the PI, graduate student, and VG research assistant. NO records of those not participating will be retained. Participants will be informed that, should they participate, they may refuse to answer any questions or cancel the interview at any point. Should they change their mind following the interview session, and wish to cancel their participation, their record will be removed and destroyed. This will be made clear in the consent form as well. One copy of the consent form will be left with the participant and one copy retained by the research team. These will be kept secure with access restricted to the PI at the University of Saskatchewan and destroyed at the end of five-years.
8a. Alternative Consent	Our VG Steering Committee has suggested that literacy should not be a major obstacle to participation. As a result, signed consent forms will be the preferred means of obtaining consent. Where this is not possible, two alternative means will be used depending upon the preference of the participant. Researchers will have access to a tape recorder where a statement of oral informed and voluntary consent can be recorded and the individual is clearly identifiable. No other taping is planned. Alternatively, the research assistant will note that verbal approval has been provided and initial his/her name on the consent form. Meetings with our Steering Committee suggest the latter is preferable but we plan to offer both options to participants.
8b. Recruitment from Organization	NA
8c. Under 18 Years of Age	Individuals under the age of 18 will **NOT** be involved in this research.
8d. Depended Relationship w\ the Researcher	NA

8e. Participants are unable to provide either consent or assent	Individuals with impaired ability to participate will **NOT** be be involved in this research.
8f. Participant Observation	Our methods will involve PO to the extent that observations will be made while residing in Old Crow, during public meetings, and Annual General Assemblies. However, PO will not serve as a principal research strategy.
8g. Research involving Small Groups	NA
9. Methods\Procedures	To understand the cross-border dimensions of the Old Crow food system the research team will work with Old Crow community members to learn how they themselves perceive the border to be affecting the social, cultural, and political dimensions of food security. Methods will include key informant interviews (as identified by the VG Project Steering Committee). Specific objectives include: **Through key informant interviews** we will identify how the enforcement of the US\Canada border has affected access to Gwitchin traditional lands, and the subsequent harvest of traditional foods. Interviews will explore the barriers that may be limiting Gwitchin access to traditionally used lands and obstacles keeping food sharing between the Vuntut Gwitchin and Gwitchin communities in Alaska from occurring. Barriers that have been suggested include the costs associated with travel, policy restrictions limiting cross-border travel, travel risks associated with environmental and climate change, and changes in border security following the events of 9\11 (possible barriers noted by the VG Steering Committee). Interviews will be conducted by the PI or graduate student and accompanied by a VG Research Assistant (as assigned by the Steering Committee). Interview analysis will take place at the University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute Research Lab.
10. Storage of Data	The storage of project data, including tapes, photos, interview notes, original interview responses, and all other supporting documentation will be housed in two separate locations. All originals will be housed in the Old Crow Research Centre. Here the Old Crow Research Team will have unfettered access to all project data. Copies of all project data will be stored at the

University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute's Research Lab. Here copies of data will be stored fire-safe and secured cabinets (minimum of 5 years). The safe keeping of all data housed at the University of Saskatchewan will be the responsibility of Natcher (PI).

11. Dissemination of Data

Intellectual Property:

a) All data generated from the proposed research will remain the 'Intellectual Property' of the Vuntut Gwitchin.

b) Intellectual Property is defined as information, ideas, or other intangibles in their expressed form.

c) Activities carried out under this project or other contributions towards the project may be used by the PI and graduate student with the consult of the Vuntut Gwitchin Chief and Counsel and Project Steering Committee, for the production of theses, reports, public presentations, and scholarly publications arising out of this research.

d) In the event that public dissemination has been agreed upon, joint authorship between the PI and representatives of the Vuntut Gwitchin will be assigned.

12. Risk, Benefits, Deception

No risks are anticipated to arise from this research.

The results of this research **will benefit** the VG by helping them to define their own policies and strategies for the production, distribution, and consumption of sustainable and healthy food sources. In this way, food sovereignty is considered a precondition for food security. This research will also strengthen Old Crow's social infrastructure by connecting food systems to local capacity, partnerships and socio-economic networks that exist locally and throughout the region. By positioning food security within the broader social economy of Old Crow we will arrive at community-based solutions that improve the health and nutrition of the Vuntut Gwitchin.

As the PI (Natcher) was invited by the VG to collaborate with them in this research, there will be **No Form of Deception** used during the conduct of this research.

13. Confidentiality

Privacy and confidentiality is a paramount consideration in this research research. Following advice from the VG Steering Committee, the following are proposed to minimize this.

As part of a two-day training session all research assistants will be thoroughly informed of the private and confidential nature of information provided by participants under the **Guiding Consortium for the Development of TCPS Guidelines Involving Aboriginal People** and their professional obligations as research assistants under those guidelines.

In transferring interview responses to the data set, ONLY the random household number will be recorded. Upon completion of the research collection, approximately fifteen weeks, the initial list linking individual names with household numbers will be destroyed.

Only the Principal Investigators, graduate student and Steering Committee members will have access to the original list for the data collection period to facilitate issues such as return visits, ambiguities in some responses, etc.

Research assistants will be provided with contact information for Natcher. It is anticipated that both Natcher and the graduate student will be present in Old Crow during the data collection period.

In addition to these efforts, the information sheet will make it clear that while every effort will be made to protect the privacy and confidentiality of all participants, there can be no absolute guarantees that this will be ensured.

Closely associated with privacy and confidentiality in TCPS guidelines on anonymity. As noted in the Guidelines, complete anonymity is difficult, if not impossible, to ensure to participants. Given the characteristics of the small communities and the likelihood that community identification will be possible, even desirable, for much of the analysis, participants will be informed verbally as well as in the Information sheet and consent forms of the efforts that will be undertaken to ensure that specific responses cannot be traced to individuals without providing any guarantee to that effect.

The PI and the VG may disclose confidential information to the other to facilitate work under this Project. Such information shall be safeguarded and not disclosed to anyone without a "need to know" within their respective organizations. Each party shall also strictly protect such information from disclosure to third parties.

Documents containing confidential information will be clearly designated as such by the word **CONFIDENTIAL** on the covering page.

The obligation to keep confidential shall, however, not apply to information which:

a) is already known to the party to which it is disclosed;

b) is part of the public domain;

c) is obtained from third parties who have no obligations to keep the information confidential to the contracting parties.

14. Data Transcript Release

(Option 'a') Participants will review the final transcripts and sign a transcript release form wherein they acknowledge by the transcript accurately reflects what they said or intended to say (see Appendix C).

15. Debriefing and Feedback

A number of strategies are planned for reporting and providing project feedback. While the VG Steering Committee will serve as a primary local point of contact for project information, the PI (Natcher) will make concerted efforts to ensure the results of the research are communicated broadly and effectively (as approved by the VG Steering Committee). These strategies include briefing the VG Chief and Council, presentations will be made at the Vuntut Gwich'in Annual General Assembly and the Gwich'in International Gathering in Ft. Yukon, Alaska. In addition, project posters (24x36) will be printed and distributed throughout Old Crow (Administrative Office, schools, Health Centre, airport). 'Plain-Speak Reports' will be written using accessible language, including a 1-page translated summery (Gwitchin). Interviews and broadcasts will be aired through local media outlets (CBC North). All written material deemed appropriate for public dissemination will be made available through the VG website http://www.oldcrow.ca/

16. Required Signatures

Applicant: _____ Date:_____

David C. Natcher, PhD
Department of BPBE

Department Head:_____ Date:_____

Jill Hobbs, PhD
Department of BPBE

17. Required Contact Information

David Natcher, Ph.D.
College of Agriculture and Bioresources
University of Saskatchewan
51 Campus Drive - Saskatoon, SK. S7N 5A8
Office: 306-966-4045 Fax: 306-966-8413
david.natcher@usask.ca

Jill Hobbs, PhD
Head, Department of BPBE
University of Saskatchewan
51 Campus Drive - Saskatoon, SK. S7N 5A8
Office: 306-966-245 Fax: 306-966-8413
jill.hobbs@usask.ca

ETHICS APPLICATION INFORMATION LETTER TO COMMUNITY

David C. Natcher, PhD
Associate Professor
Department of Bioresource Policy, Business & Economics
College of Agriculture and Bioresources
Room 2D08, Agriculture Building - 51 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A8
Phone: 306-966-4045 Fax: 306-966-8413
E-mail: david.natcher@usask.ca

Dear _____:

The Vuntut Gwitchin Nation, together with Dr. David Natcher from the University of Saskatchewan, have initiated research to determine how the enforcement of the US/Canada border is affecting the access of the Vuntut Gwitchin to traditional lands located in Alaska and how border enforcement is affecting the sharing of country foods between Gwitchin communities. This research is being directed by the Vuntut Gwitchin and with the assistance of Dr. Natcher. The results will lend to the development of a Vuntut Gwitchin Food Security Strategy. The Food Security Strategy will enable the VG to define their own policies and strategies for the production, distribution, and consumption of sustainable and healthy food sources. In this way, food sovereignty is considered a precondition for food security. Last, this research will strengthen Old Crow's social infrastructure by connecting food systems to local capacity, partnerships and socio-economic networks that exist locally and throughout Gwitchin traditional territory. By participating in this research you will help the Vuntut Gwitchin develop community-based solutions that improve the health and nutrition of Old Crow residents.

During this research we are hoping to interview a wide range of active land users and Elders within Old Crow, all of whom have diverse characteristics, such as: male or female; number of years of experience as land users; diverse experiences with access to traditional land; and other member of the community. Although the Vuntut Gwitch'in Research Steering Committee has identified several initial contacts, we welcome your assistance in identifying key persons who exemplify any of these characteristics who would be willing to participate in this research.

The anonymity and identity of all participants will be protected, and steps will be taken to ensure that names, addresses, and any other identifying information will be removed from the study. Only the information provided, and consented to, will be written within the final report and published materials.

This research will contribute to the writing of a graduate thesis (Tobi Jeans) and may be published in academic journals for any interested party to read. Funding for this project has been provided by the Social Science Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

If you would like to receive additional information on the project, or would like to speak directly to one of the primary researchers, please contact Norma Kassi (Project Coordinator in Old Crow) or Dr. David Natcher at (306) 966-4045 at the University of Saskatchewan. We thank you for reading this invitation and we look forward to your support.

Sincerely,

Norma Kassi
Vuntut Gwitchin

Dr. David C. Natcher
University of Saskatchewan

ETHICS APPLICATION CONSENT FORM

Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security

You, as a resident of Old Crow and a citizen of the Vuntut Gwitchin Nation, are being asked to participate in a research study to determine how the enforcement of the US/Canada border is affecting the access of the Vuntut Gwitchin to traditional lands located in Alaska and how border enforcement is affecting the sharing of country foods between Gwitchin communities. The results of this research will contribute to the development of a Vuntut Gwitchin Food Security Strategy.

INFORMATION ABOUT THIS RESEARCH STUDY

Title of study: Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security

Researcher(s):
David C. Natcher, PhD
Associate Professor College of Agriculture and Bioresources
Room 2D08, Agriculture Building - 51 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A8
Phone: 306-966-4045 Fax: 306-966-8413
E-mail: david.natcher@usask.ca

Purpose of this study:

This project represents a component of a larger ongoing project being conducted by the Vuntut Gwich'in (VG) (Old Crow, Yukon) on food security (*What do our Changing Homelands Mean for our Health?).* At the request of the Vuntut Gwich'in, Dr. David Natcher has been asked to assist in examining the social and political dimensions of Old Crow food security, with particular focus on the unique challenges faced by Old Crow due to its close proximity to the US border (100 km). By focusing on the social and political dimensions of food security, this research will examine: 1) How political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected the Vuntut Gwich'in's access to traditional lands; and 2) How political and legal restrictions relating to cross-border travel have affected traditional\contemporary food sharing networks among the Vuntut Gwich'in and Gwich'in communities in Alaska. The results of this research will lend to the development of a Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security Strategy.

CONSENT FORM INFORMATION:

Benefits of the study:

The results of this research will benefit the VG by helping them to define their own policies and strategies for the production, distribution, and consumption of sustainable and healthy food sources. In this way, food sovereignty is considered a precondition for food security. This research will also strengthen Old Crow's social infrastructure by connecting food systems to local capacity, partnerships and socio-economic networks that exist locally and throughout the

region. By positioning food security within the broader social economy of Old Crow, the Vuntut Gwitchin will arrive at community-based solutions that improve the health and nutrition of its citizens.

Research procedures to be followed:

Through key informant interviews we will identify how the enforcement of the US\Canada border has affected access to Gwitchin traditional lands, and the subsequent harvest of traditional foods. Interviews will explore the barriers that may be limiting Gwitchin access to traditionally used lands and obstacles keeping food sharing between the Vuntut Gwich'in and Gwich'in communities in Alaska from occurring.

Interviews will be conducted by the Principle Investigator (Dr. David Natcher) or graduate students and accompanied by a VG Research Assistant (as assigned by the VG Steering Committee). Interview analysis will take place at the University of Saskatchewan's Indigenous Land Management Institute Research Lab.

Risks and right to withdraw:

We do not anticipate any risks or discomforts with this research; however, if any discomfort should arise you may withdraw at any time. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary.

Confidentiality:

Your anonymity and identity will be protected, and steps will be taken to ensure that your name, address, and any other identifying information will remain confidential. Prior to your participation, and following an initial agreement to partake in the study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After the consent form is signed, your identity, and that of your household, will only be referenced by random household number. Only the information you provide, and consent to, will be made publicly available.

Data collected, in the form of transcribed interviews, will be stored in electronic form after being encoded from paper copies of surveys and from transcribed interviews and paper copies of data will be stored in a locked office file cabinet located in the Old Crow Research Centre and a secured office of the Principal Investigator at the University of Saskatchewan. All paper materials will be destroyed after five years after the completion of the study. All information with names will be deleted with numbers or pseudonyms being replaced in the electronic copies. Every effort has and will be made to protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants, however no absolute guarantees can be assured.

Please be reminded that you can withdraw from any section of the study at any time.

Use of information provided:

Upon signing the consent form participants agree to allow the information gathered in the study to be reported in journal articles, conference presentations, or funding reports. The information will be then communicated broadly and effectively (as approved by the VG Steering Committee) including but not limited to briefing the VG Chief and Council, presentations to Vuntut Gwich'in Annual General Assembly and the Gwich'in International Gathering in Ft. Yukon, Alaska. In addition, project posters (24x36) will be printed and distributed throughout Old Crow (Administrative Office, schools, Health Centre, airport). 'Plain-Speak Reports' will be written using accessible language, including a 1-page translated summery (Gwich'in). Interviews and broadcasts will be aired through local media outlets (CBC North). All written material deemed appropriate for public dissemination will be made available through the VG website http://www.oldcrow.ca/

Contact:

If you have any questions or future concerns about your participation within this study, please contact the Ethics Office at the University of Saskatchewan (306) 966-2084. Participants who are calling from outside of Saskatoon can also call collect.

Ethics approval:

This research study was reviewed and approved by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board on _____[insert approval date].

Consent:

I have read the information regarding this study focusing on the social and political dimensions of Old Crow food security. I have been given the opportunity to inquire for more information about the research, and acknowledge that I may withdraw my participation in this research study at any time. I am providing my consent to partake in this study and a copy of this consent form has been provided to me for my own records.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

Other Points:

The researcher/interviewer would like to use an electronic recording device during the interview, and with your consent would like to create an audiotape of the session. Please be aware that you may shut off the audiotape at any time by indicating to the interviewer you would like the tape to be off or to erase any portion of the interview you do not feel comfortable with.

Do you agree to the use of an electronic recording device during the interview?

____ Yes

____ No

Please mark below how you would like your information to be identified within the research study?

____ The researchers may use my first name in their study from the interview information.

____ The researchers may NOT use my first name in their study from the interview information.

____ I would prefer the use of a fictitious name of _____

Do you want to review the transcript of the interview prior to analysis of the findings?

____ Yes

____ No

Thank you,

_____ _____

(Signature of Participant) (Date)

_____ _____

(Signature of Researcher) (Date)

ETHICS APPLICATION TRANSCRIPTION RELEASE FORM

I, _____, who was interviewed during Dr. David Natcher's research project, *Cross-Border Dimensions of Vuntut Gwich'in Food Security*, have reviewed the transcription of my interview and have been given the opportunity to change, add, or delete any information in the document to better reflect my understandings and experiences. Any changes I felt were necessary to better reflect my interpretation of the program, I feel, will be handled correctly by the researchers.

I hereby authorize the use of this transcript to be used by Dr. David Natcher to be used within the analysis of the research project, in the form I specified on my consent form. I have retained a copy of this transcript for my own records, and have received an envelope, pre-stamped, that will enable me to return a signed copy of this release form to Dr. David Natcher.

If I have any further questions or concerns about any area of the study, I am aware that I can contact Dr. David Natcher at the University of Saskatchewan through the number (306) 966-4045; or the Research Ethics Office at the University of Saskatchewan (can call collect) at (306) 966-2084.

_____ _____

Participant Signature Date

_____ _____

Researchers Date
(Dr. David Natcher)

ETHICS APPLICATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Participants who agree to participate in this project will be contacted by the Vuntut Gwitchin Research Steering Committee to schedule an interview. Interviews will occur in the homes of participants, the VG Administration Office, or a location convenient to the participant. Interviews will be semi-structured and open ended to allow for elaboration and a free-flow of discussion. The interview will focus on how the enforcement of the US\Canada border is affecting Vuntut Gwitchin access to traditional lands in Alaska and how border enforcement is affecting food-sharing networks between Gwitchin communities (Please note that these questions were co-developed with the Vuntut Gwitchin Steering Committee and therefore reflect their interests and priorities for this project).

Preliminary Survey:

Your participation in this interview is voluntary, and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. There is no guarantee that you will personally benefit from your involvement. The information that is shared will be held in strict confidence and discussed only with the research team. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort and your the decision to withdraw will not affect your personal well being. If you withdraw from the research project at any time, any data that you have contributed will be destroyed at your request.

If you have any questions concerning the research project, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided if you have other questions. This research project has been approved by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board on (insert date) and endorsed by the Vuntut Gwitchin Nation. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Ethics Office (306-966-2084). Out of town participants may call collect.

Household Number: _____
(Household number will be chosen at random by the interviewer, every effort will be made to protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants, however no absolute guarantees can be assured)

Preliminary Questions:

1. Which category best fits your age group?
    a. 20-29
    b. 30-39
    c. 40-49
    d. 50-59
    e. 60+

2. Male \ Female (not asked)

3. How long have you lived in Old Crow?

4. Have you lived in any other Gwitchin communities (Yukon, NWT, Alaska)?

5. If so, which other communities did you reside?

6. If so, for how long did you live there?

7. When was you last time you visited Alaska?

8. How often in the past year have you traveled to Alaska?

9. How often in the past 5 years have you traveled to Alaska?

10. What community(ies) in Alaska did you visit?

11. Who did you visit (relationship)?

12. What was the reason for your visit(s)?

13. How, if at all, has the enforcement of the border affected your ability to access traditional lands located in Alaska?

14. How, if at all, has the enforcement of the border changed since the events of 9/11?

15. How, if at all, has the enforcement of the border affected your ability to give or receive country foods to friends and relatives in Alaska?

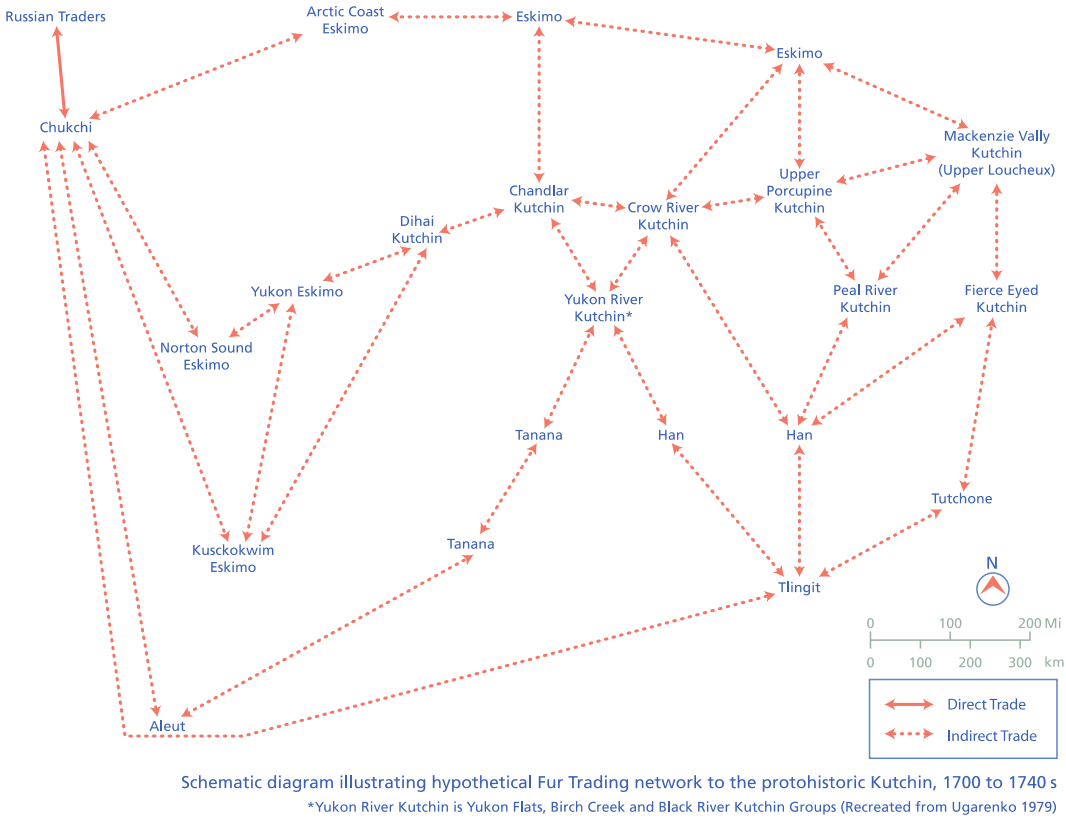
16. How, if at all, has the enforcement of the US\Canada border affected your relationship with friends and family living in Alaska?

17. When crossing the border, which direction have you encountered difficulties?
    a. Canada to the United States
    b. United States to Canada
    c. Both directions
    d. No difficulties were encountered

18. Would you be willing to participate in a secondary interview if necessary:
    a. Yes
    b. No

APPENDIX G

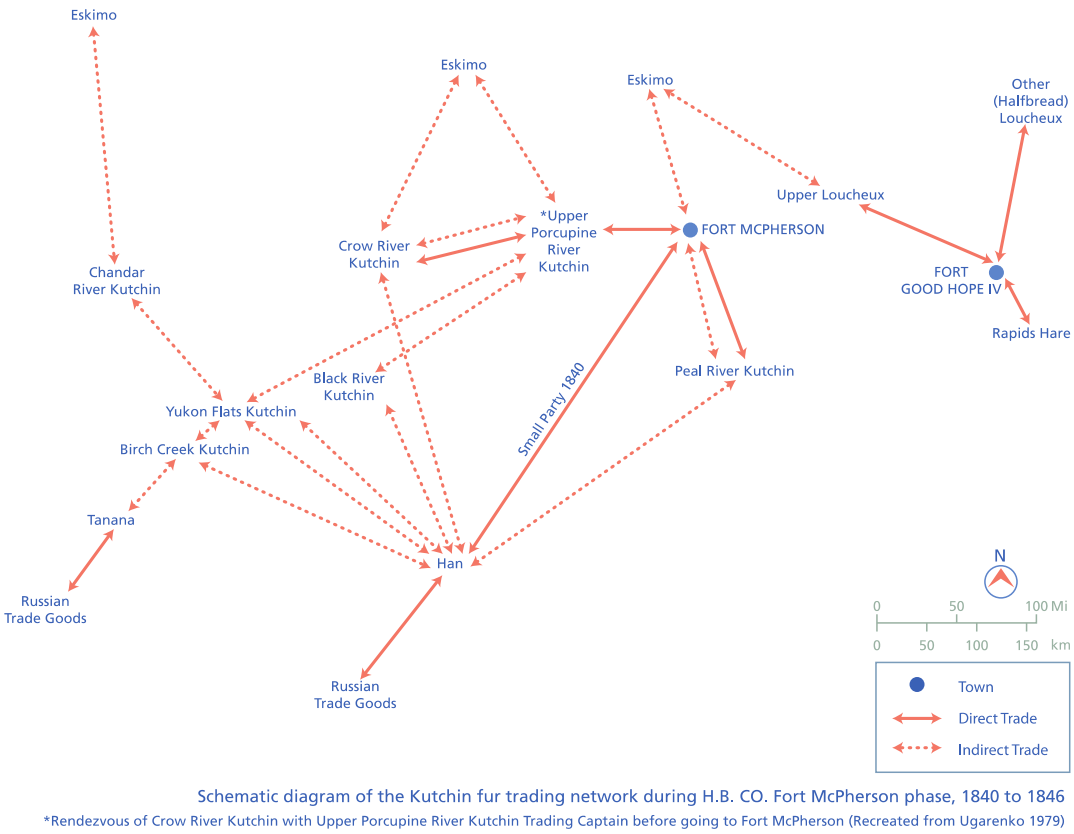
SCHEMATIC KUTCHIN DIAGRAM



Schematic diagram illustrating hypothetical Fur Trading network to the protohistoric Kutchin, 1700 to 1740 s

*Yukon River Kutchin is Yukon Flats, Birch Creek and Black River Kutchin Groups (Recreated from Ugarenko 1979)

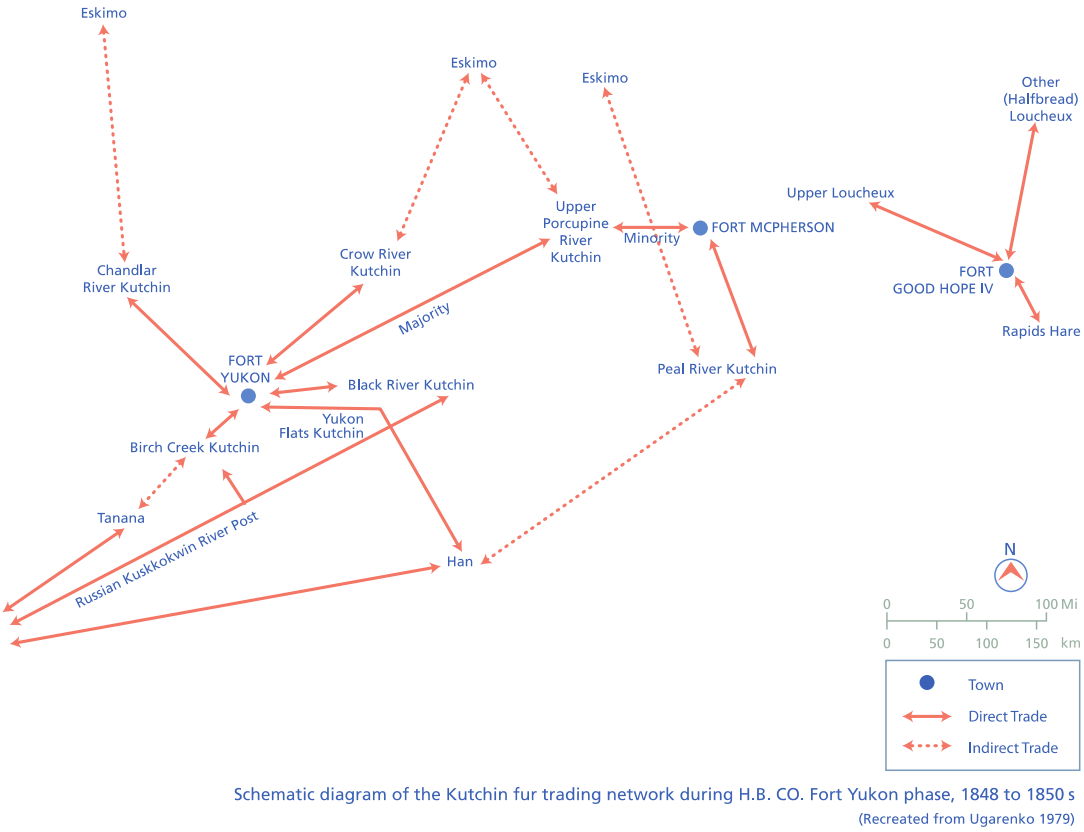
Schematic diagram illustrating hypothetical Fur trading network to the protohistoric Kutchin, 1700 to 1740's



Schematic diagram of the Kutchin fur trading network during H.B. CO. Fort McPherson phase, 1840 to 1846

*Rendezvous of Crow River Kutchin with Upper Porcupine River Kutchin Trading Captain before going to Fort McPherson (Recreated from Ugarenko 1979)

Schematic diagram of the Kutchin fur trading network during H.B. CO. Fort McPherson phase, 1840 to 1846



Schematic diagram of the Kutchin fur trading network during H.B. CO. Fort Yukon phase, 1848 to 1850 s
(Recreated from Ugarenko 1979)

Schematic diagram of the Kutchin fur trading network during H.B. CO. Fort Yukon, 1848 to 1850's