

#### WEBINAR SERIES

#### Understanding Food Sovereignty and Policy Through a Community Lens: Food Systems in Rural and Indigenous Canada Thursday October 4, 2018 @ 12:00pm CST

To Register click: https://bit.ly/2MITnnT Questions: Munzaleen Sajjad, 204-721-0484

#### **ABSTRACT**

The concept of food sovereignty and its connections with diverse rural and Indigenous communities have, until very recently, been underappreciated and unrecognized in government policy. This webinar reviews the concept of food sovereignty and its history, central tenets and contentions. Challenges with institutionalizing food sovereignty are considered, including the challenges in and contributions by diverse rural and Indigenous communities.

The current development of *A Food Policy for Canada* and the case of Nishnawbe Aski Nations are presented as opportunities to apply rural and Indigenous lenses to questions about how principles of food sovereignty might be recognized and supported by public policy. Policy recommendations that reflect food sovereignty principles and rural and Indigenous priorities are suggested with a focus on the need for democratic engagement, attention to place and power, and value driven actions for food providers, people and nature. Finally, action-oriented, community-driven future research related to the articulation, operationalization and measurement of food sovereignty is proposed.

#### **PANELISTS**



Danielle Robinson is a PhD Candidate in the School of Environmental Design and Rural Development at the University of Guelph. She lives with her family in the Okanagan region of British Columbia where she is studying the interrelationships between food sovereignty, rural tourism development and cultural sustainability. She also teaches Wine and Food Tourism and Tourism Planning and Development at Okanagan College.



Stephen Penner was born in Montreal, he has worked and travelled across Turtle Island, he find his current home on Treaty One Land in Winnipeg. He is grateful to find himself as a Ph.D. student at the University of Guelph surrounded and supported by an incredible faculty in Rural Studies. Stephen is honoured to have shared space with many Indigenous Nations; through his work, research and his incredible good fortune, have had these experiences shape his world view. His research and passion is exploring the enormous and complex power that lies in Indigenous Food systems. Building an understanding of the nexus that exist in Indigenous Law, Food Sovereighty and Traditional Stories and how that understanding can facilitate a community recognized food *Mino-Pimatsiwin* (good life). Stephen's recent and past has seen work and travel to Eeyou Ishtee- QC, Old Crow-Yukon, Naujaat- NU, Yup'ik Communities- AK, Tuskegee- AL, and the communities of the Nishnawabe Aski Nation-ON.





### Welcome

# Acknowledgements

This presentation acknowledges that the stories we share today is possible only through the gifts of Indigenous Elders, Knowledge Keepers and community members.

This presentation is based on 2 policy briefs prepared for the RPLC by Stephen Penner and Danielle Robinson with the guidance of Dr. Kathleen Kevany: *Northern and Remote Indigenous Food Sovereignty in Canada* and its companion piece, *Rural Food Sovereignty in Canada*.



BUILDING RURAL POLICY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

CONSTRUIRE DES POLITIQUES RURALES FONDÉES SUR L'ANALYSE COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONALE

# History of food sovereignty movement

- Emerged as part of a "response to the failure of current approaches to alleviate the linked challenges of global food insecurity and environmental degradation" (Wittman, 2015, p. 174).
- Rooted in the international peasants' movement, La Via Campesina (LVC) (founded in 1993)
- Food sovereignty is defined by LVC as "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture system."
- The concept of food sovereignty has been adopted in Europe and North America by a wide cross-section of social movements and non-governmental organizations including farmer organizations, Indigenous rights organizations, and environmental groups (Fairbairn, 2012).



# Principles of food sovereignty

Principle	Application
Food for people	The right to sufficient, healthy, and culturally appropriate food for all people, including those who are hungry, under occupation, and marginalized
Value for and to food providers	Support contributions and respects rights of all the people who cultivate grow, harvest, and process food. Rejects policies that undervalue and threaten providers' livelihoods
Protect local food systems	Elevate the importance and impact of local food through providers and consumers investing in local and guarding against poor quality and unhealthy foods, including via development aid or genetically-modified foods
Local access and decision-making	Local access to and control of land, water, seeds, livestock, and aquaculture populations
Share best knowledge and skills	Build on each other's strengths and capacities. Ensure access to new research and best practices
Work with nature, support ecosystems	Utilize agroecological production and harvesting methods that maximize the contribution of ecosystems and improve resilience and adaptation

Table 1. Principles of Food Sovereignty (adapted from Chaifetz & Jagger, 2014, p. 87)

### **Contentions**

- The food sovereignty movement is not without contentious issues and internal disagreement (Chaifetz & Jagger, 2014; Edelman et al., 2014) For example, the distinction between food security and food sovereignty has been an area of intense scholarly argument and political conflict, but both concepts are useful in understanding, debating and devising food policies
- ► Early literature on food sovereignty tended not to be too critical; little attention was paid to underlying premises, policy implications or the movement's history.
- ► However, more recently there has been interest in critically examining the origins of the movement and the conceptual and practical challenges of implementing food sovereignty in diverse economic, ecological and political settings (Chaifetz & Jagger, 2014; Edelman et al., 2014; Fairbairn, 2012).

# Rural Communities and Food Sovereignty

Although rural communities in Canada represent diverse local growing environments and cultural, political and economic conditions, agriculture remains the social and economic foundation of many rural communities. Rural agricultural communities make significant contributions to Canadian food sovereignty and face numerous distinct challenges (CFA, 2016; FSC, 2015; Levkoe, 2013). My focus in this presentation is rural (but not remote) agricultural communities.

Food Secure Canada - Food Sovereignty in Rural and Remote Communities



# Rural communities contribute to Canadian food sovereignty through:

- Producing nutritious and affordable food for Canadians, stewarding the natural environment upon which sustainable food systems depend, and making significant contributions to Canada's economy
- ▶ Organizing and educating Canadians about local and sustainable food systems through organizations like the National Farmers Union of Canada (NFU) and strategies like the hundred mile diet, farmers' markets, slow food, alternative food networks and agri-food tourism which connect rural and urban communities interested in alternative sources, varieties and cultures of food (FSC, 2015; Wiebe, Nettie & Wipf, 2011).

# At the same time, rural communities striving for food sovereignty face many challenges:

- Policies and market forces which undermine the ability of smaller local growers to sustainably produce food for local consumers by favouring industrial, large-scale food production businesses: prohibitive land costs and land planning that prioritizes commercial, residential and industrial uses, highly centralized infrastructure for food production (e.g., abattoirs, grain storage) since local infrastructure and equipment are lacking.
- ► High poverty, expensive food, increased distances to stores and lack of public transportation make it more difficult for residents to afford nutritious storebought food (CFA, 2016, FSC, 2015, Lauzon, 2017).

# Challenges with institutionalizing food sovereignty...sovereignties

- Wittman (2015) identifies two main challenges to institutionalizing food sovereignty since in many ways the concept of sovereignty as peoples' right to govern themselves runs counter to the concept of institutionalization.
- 1. How to ensure food sovereignty principles are supported by policy at different scales without compromising the foundational values of food sovereignty like "democratic engagement and connection to place" (p. 178).
- 2. How to create international trade systems that recognize and respect food sovereignty in the face of "an international trade regime that is systematically trying to remove support for domestic food and agriculture programs" (p. 178).

If these challenges are not met successfully, radical grassroots demands for food sovereignty can transition to institutionalized policy compromises which serve local and corporate elites (Mayer, 2000; Mertens, 2008; Moragues-Faus & Marsden, 2017).

# Policy context

- Explicit consideration of food sovereignty and its implications for the market and state is absent from most Canadian policy.
- In particular, the significant contributions rural, remote, Northern, Indigenous Canadians make to Canadian food sovereignty and the numerous distinct challenges rural, remote, Northern, Indigenous Canadian's face is not prioritized.
- The engagement of civil society in program evaluation and policy change is not sufficiently leveraged; evaluations are largely top-down, driven by a technocratic approach and urban focus; and policies often operate in isolation. 8
- ► There are, however, positive provincial, regional and international policy initiatives. Key policy approaches to strengthening local sustainable food systems include: promoting local food to consumers by stimulating demand and increasing local food presence and local food literacy; localizing public procurement; opening up access to regional markets by diversifying market opportunities for small and mid-sized businesses and emphasizing sustainable, plant-rich diets. (Du Plessis, 2001; FSC, 2017; Martorell, 2017; Mason & Land, 2017; Raworth, 2017; Tallman & Ruscigno, 2015; Trauger, 2014).



- ► Canada is currently in the process of developing a national food policy that will determine a long-term vision for food-related health, environmental, social, and economic goals, while also identifying immediate actions. A food policy is a means to resolve issues related to the production, processing, distribution and consumption of food (Government of Canada, 2017).
- ▶ A Food Policy for Canada may include numerous considerations related to food sustainability, food sovereignty, food security and food safety, such as: land protection, water supply, consumer access, citizen health, climate change and trade policies.

See <a href="https://www.canada.ca/en/campaign/food-policy.html">https://www.canada.ca/en/campaign/food-policy.html</a>

# A Food Policy for Canada Timeline

Food Policy mandate - 2015 Consultation Period on key themes: Increasing access to affordable, nutritious, and safe food, Improving health and food safety, Conserving our soil, water and air, Growing more high-quality food (economic growth) - 2017 Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agrifood's Parliamentary Report - late 2017 Government Response - spring 2018 Food Secure Canada response - spring 2018 What We Heard report - summer 2018 A Food Policy for Canada - expected later this year



Ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Agroalimentaire

tawa, Canada K1A 0C5

MAR 2 9 2018

Quote: 238542

Mr. Patrice (Pat) Finnigan, MP Chair Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food House of Commons Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6

#### Dear Mr. Finnigan,

Pursuant to House of Commons Standing Order 109, I am pleased to provide you with a copy, in both official languages, of the Government Response to the recommendations of the Tenth Report of the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food entitled A Food Policy for Canada, which was presented in the House of Commons on December 11, 2017.

The Government would like to thank the members of the Committee, and the witnesses who appeared before it, for their insight and commitment toward supporting the development of Canada's first federal food policy.

Addressing food-related issues is of particular importance to Canada in the face of climate change and a growing world population. Our agriculture and agri-food sector is vitally important to helping Canada address some of the issues identified in the Report.

A Food Policy for Canada will set a long-term vision for the social, health, environmental, and conomic goals related to food, while identifying actions Canada can take in the short-term. It will address issues related to the production, processing, distribution and consumption of food. By working together and taking into account the many actors involved in Canada's food system, including farmers, processors, retailers, consumers, caademia, non-governmental organizations, and all orders of government, we will create a food policy that helps grow the Canadian conomy, improve Canadians' access to nutritious and safe food, improve health and food safety and protect our environment.

The Government of Canada is making great strides toward addressing issues identified in the Committee Report through the initiatives identified in the Response. On behalf of the Government, I would like to express my appreciation for the efforts of the members of the

.../2

#### Canada



# A FOOD POLICY FOR CANADA Report of the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food Pat Finnigan, Chair

42nd PARLIAMENT, 1st SESSION

# Today's focus:

Policy development requires collaborative efforts and transparent processes driven by rural communities with acute insights of their unique contributions and challenges.

The "democratization of decisions about agricultural policy and market integration" (Wittman, 2015, p. 175) is a condition of food sovereignty.

# A Food Policy for Canada:

What We Heard Report



#### **ONLINE SURVEY**

May 29 - August 31, 2017

Almost 45,000 responses

BRIEFS TO THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

STANDING COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND

AGRI-FOOD

September - October 2017

14

briefs



#### NATIONAL FOOD **POLICY SUMMIT**

Ottawa

June 22 - 23, 2017

291 participants



#### WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS

Over 100 written submissions



#### REGIONAL ENGAGEMENT SESSIONS

Charlottetown, PEI | August 9, 2017 St. Hyacinthe, QC | August 16, 2017 Vancouver, BC | September 5, 2017 Yellowknife, NWT | September 8, 2017 Guelph, ON | September 12, 2017 Winnipeg, MB | September 29, 2017

> 352 participants



#### **TOWN HALLS HOSTED BY** MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

29 events



52

witnesses

#### COMMUNITY-LED ENGAGEMENT

BY CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

July - September 2017

28 events

25 in-person 3 webinars



#### SELF-LED ENGAGEMENT

BY NATIONAL INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATIONS

The Assembly of First Nations, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and the Native Women's Association of Canada A Food Policy for Canada: What we heard - Online Survey

Community Size	% of total online survey respondents (there were close to 45,000 responses)
Large urban population (100,000 and over)	52.3%
Medium population (30,000-99,999)	18.2%
Small population (1,000-29,999)	25.2%
Remote or isolated community (under 1,000)	4.2%

(Canadian population living in areas with under 1,000 = 18.9% in 2011 census; 16.8% living outside CMA or CA in 2016 census)

# Some questions about process:

- What barriers to participation exist in rural, remote, Indigenous communities and how were they addressed?
- Who chose the process? Who implemented the process? How did the process drive the outcomes?

# Other Types of Engagement and Input Received

- "Some Members of Parliament held "town hall" meetings within their constituencies. These meetings were facilitated through the use of engagement tool kits provided by the Government, which outlined proposed questions for discussion. Members of Parliament were encouraged to submit reports and, in total, 29 events were held across Canada, representing views from both urban and rural Canadians.
- A general consultation tool kit was also provided on the food policy website for organizations who wished to host their own consultation sessions. The kit included: a Consultation Script and Questions; a Sample Agenda; Frequently Asked Questions; A Food Policy for Canada Consulting with Canadians; a Reporting Back Form; and a document presenting the four policy themes. The guidelines suggested that the script be tailored for each session to fit the community or organization's specific needs and that questions could be added. Twelve submissions were received from associations and organizations that held their own engagement sessions using this tool kit.
- In an effort to connect with local community members who are generally difficult to reach through traditional government consultation methods, the Government provided funding to Food Secure Canada (FSC) to directly engage with civil society. FSC has an extensive network throughout all of Canada and facilitated 28 consultation sessions, including 25 in-person sessions and three online sessions, to feed into the development of the food policy. A report of the findings was issued in March of 2018.
  - In addition to face-to-face engagement, organizations and individuals were encouraged to submit their views on A Food Policy for Canada through email or regular mail. More than 100 submissions were received. Some provided views on a particular issue, such as governance of a food policy or food labelling issues, while others offered more holistic input on food or food policy in general."
- From <a href="https://www.canada.ca/en/campaign/food-policy/what-we-heard/fullreport.html#e">https://www.canada.ca/en/campaign/food-policy/what-we-heard/fullreport.html#e</a>

# Some more questions about process...

- Should consultation demographics reflect demographic reality?
- ► Should consultation over-emphasize rural, remote, Indigenous communities given the great contributions and challenges?
- Given that "input was wide-ranging, broad-based, and not always consistent" how are decisions made about what input gets valued?

# Key points:

- Policy development processes need to genuinely afford needed opportunities to value rural participation in holistic, inclusive and transparent processes which bring together government and communities in openly and critically considering the roles of the state and the market in food sovereignty.
- ▶ Rural communities are uniquely positioned to contribute to conversations about the "profound structural changes needed in the capitalist economy and the liberal state for food sovereignty to feasibly exist" (Edelman et al., 2014, p. 927). There is a need for action-oriented, community-driven future research related to the articulation, operationalization and measurement of food sovereignty.
- Northern and Remote Indigenous Food Sovereignty is at the heart of rural food sovereignty, so over to Stephen Penner.

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# UNDERSTANDING FOOD SOVEREIGNTY AND POLICY THROUGH A COMMUNITY LENS: FOOD SYSTEMS IN RURAL AND INDIGENOUS CANADA



Rural Policy Learning Commons September 2018

Presented by: Stephen Robert Penner, Ph.D. student at the University of Guelph School of Environment and



### Acknowledgement:

This presentation acknowledges the information shared within has existed

since time in memorial and has emerged from an Indigenous Knowledge

system. This knowledge transfer is possible only through the gifts of

Indigenous Elders, Knowledge Keepers and community members.



1) Understanding the importance of the role of

Mino-Pimatiswin<sup>d policy.</sup>

- 2) Indigenous Health Markers in Canada- Data driven. Making the Case for Community based response within Indigenous Food Systems.
- 3) Understanding the of the role of food systems in the stories from Indigenous Communities: Naujaat- NU, Eeyou Istchee-QC, O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation- MB and Nishinawbe Aski Nation.
- 4) Policy recommendations

Strengthening Voices and Facilitating the "unforgetting" of Indigenous Food Practices-

from the community's perspectives

# MINO-PIMATISWIN | THE GOOD LIFE

"In Anishinaabemowin the word for living the good- life is minobimaadiziwiin... mino-bimaadiziwiin emphasizes an individual's 'power control" within a broader network of relationships as a physical and social fact " 1 (Borrows, 2016) "Humanity and creation are interrelated but creation can live without humanity, we cannot live without creation balance and equilibrium are required Mino-bimaadiziwin is a life model based on the prevention of illness, suffering, and the maintaining of good relationships" 2

(Morning Star Raven, 2016)

Inuit Quajimajatuqangit (IQ) or Inuit Traditional knowledge underpins the Inuit guide to living the good life.

"These beliefs apply to every aspect of life and Inuktitut are called maligait." maligat includes wellness as harmony both in societal and personal terms and is the way that the "Inuit looked after each other and they practices caring for each other." 6 (Tagalit, 2016)

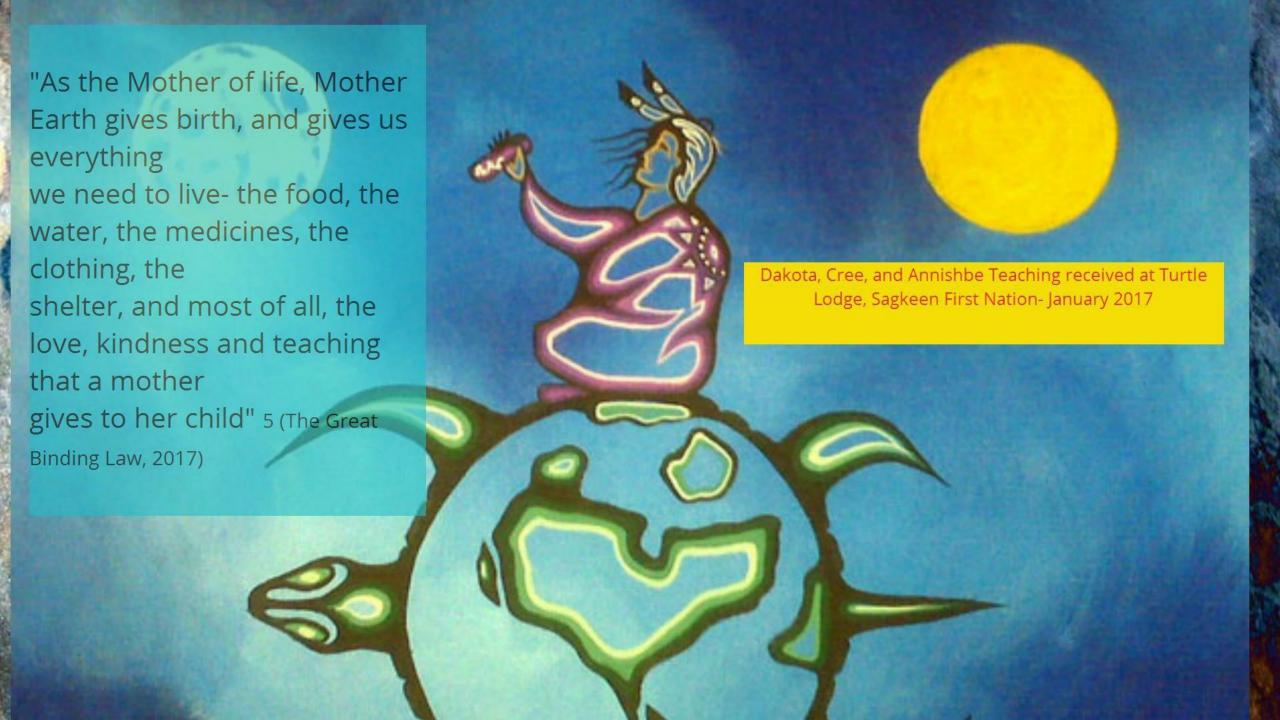
Indigenous Nations in Canada have and continue to deal with a colonial food system that leaves these nations in what can be best described as food wastelands, and at worst, imposes a lifetime sentence to a food prison

3 (Penner, 2018)

# THE CONCEPT OF FOOD PRISONS

### How should we explore Indigenous Food Systems?

Using the lens of Indigenous Perspective and World Viewstories "stories are data with soul"4 (Brown, 2010)



# ITK PERSPECTIVE OF FOOD

-TRADITIONAL FOOD IS A CULTURAL ANCHOR AND ITS USE IS OFTEN IMPORTANT TO THE IDENTITY OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES.

-THE SHARING OF TRADITIONAL FOODS HAS A ROLE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF SOCIAL NORMS AND EXPECTATIONS.

-THERE ARE IMPORTANT SPIRITUAL ASPECTS ASSOCIATED WITH TRADITIONAL FOOD USE.

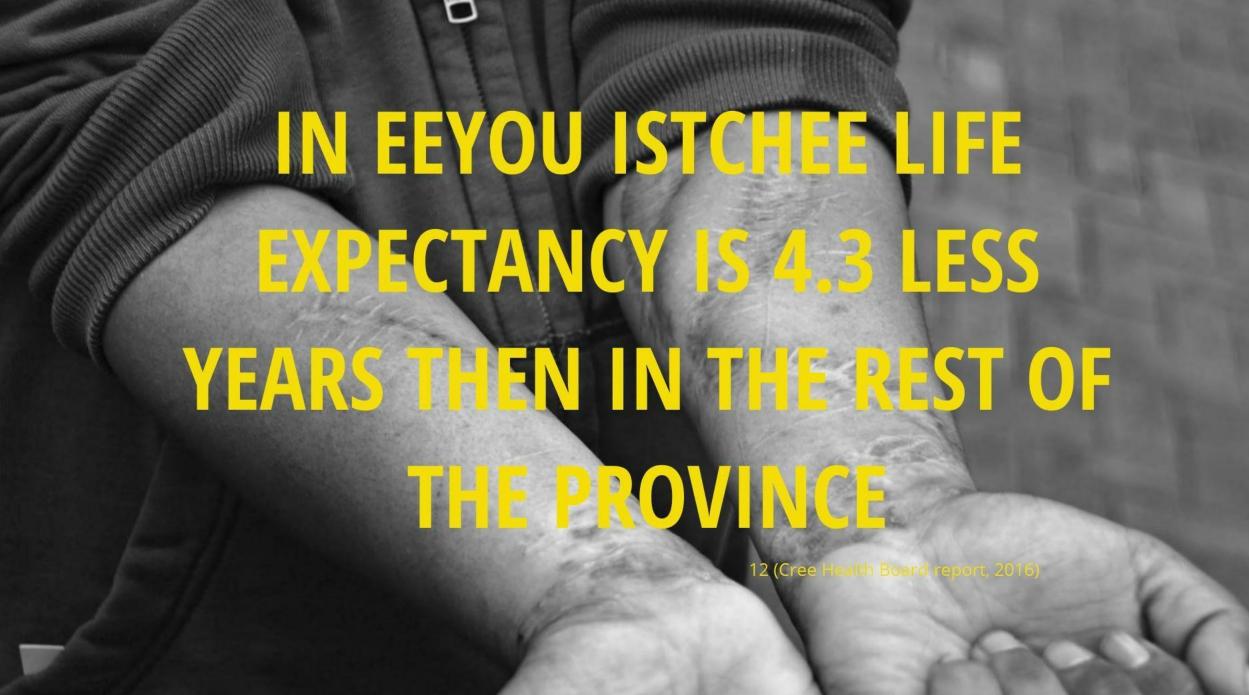
7 FOX LAKE CREE NATION REPORT



"IT IS ESTIMATED THAT EIGHT IN 10 FIRST NATIONS YOUNG ADULTS WILL DEVELOP TYPE 2 DIABETES, COMPARED WITH FIVE IN 10 IN THE GENERAL POPULATION. SOMETHING IS OBVIOUSLY VERY WRONG."8



- 1. "First Nations youth are five to six times more likely to die by suicide than their non-indigenous counterparts; at 11 times the national average" 10 (Centre for Suicide Prevention, 2017)
- 2. "Claims that epigenetic changes might be linked to health disparities among Native Americans including endocrine and immune disorders" "The persistence of stress associated with discrimination and historical trauma converges to add immeasurably to these challenges" 14 (Papple, D., 2017)
- 3. Epidemic rates of Opiod addiction and substance abuse
- 4. Chronic PTSD
- 5 "Rooted in colonialism, racism and social exclusion. First Nations, Inuit and Métis populations have a higher prevalence of several cancer risk factors, higher cancer mortality rates, rising rates of cancer incidence and poorer cancer survival than non-Aboriginal Ontarians" 12 ( Cancer Care Ontario, 2018)



### FOOD MINO PIMATISWIN FROM ACROSS TURTLE ISLAND

### Every Part of the Buffalo Was Used Hump Hair Hide special headbands, clothing, teepee delicacy lariats, covers, blankets, belts Ribs moccasins Horns sled spoons, cups, runners clubs Blood & Intestines food Brain to tan Tail hides fly swatter Skull religious Fat ceremonies to make pemmican Teeth necklaces Liver Bones to tan hides Bladder Hooves Dried scrapers, waterproof glue Stomach Dung hoes, bag knives fuel cooking pots

## FOOD PRACTICES O-PIPON-NA-PIWIN CREE NATION-MB





\* A Recipe for Change: Reclamation of Indigenous Food Sovereignty in O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation for Decolonization, Resource Sharing, and Cultural Restoration (Kamal et Al. 2015)

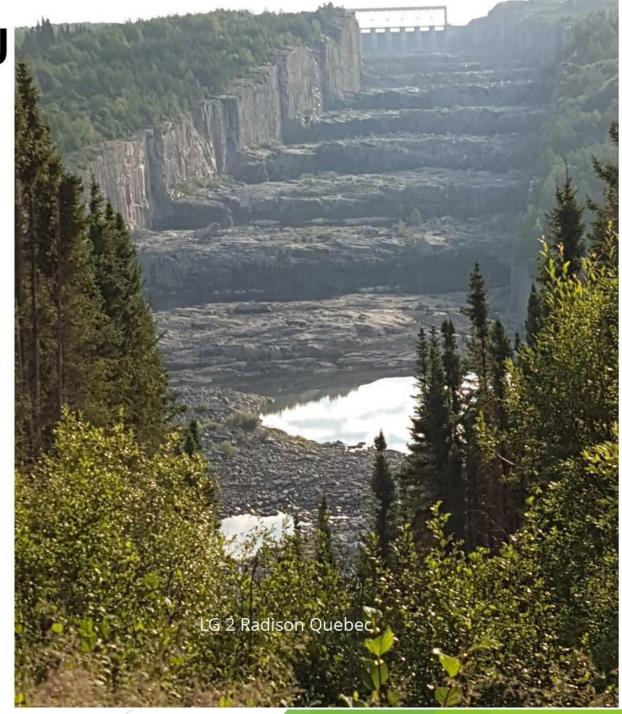


"This a picture of my nephews learning how to skin a moose. These kids could probably survive in the bush. They have the knowledge of the land."

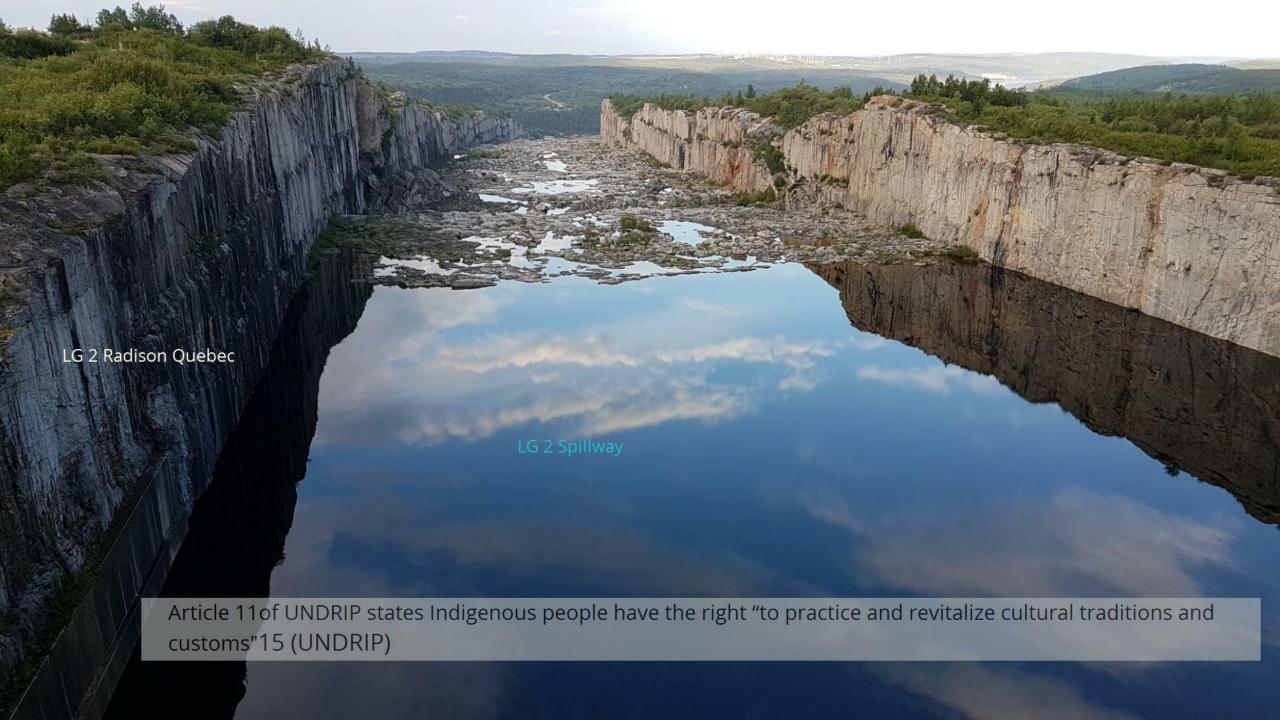
13 (TAIT- Member of the O-PIPON-NA-PIWIN CREE NATION, 2017)

### EEYOU PERSEPECTVIE: EEYOU ISTCHEE- QC

"We have been dispossessed, displaced and environmentally, culturally, economically and socially devastated by large hydrodevelopment projects, initiated and built in our traditional lands by the state-owned electricity corporations Hydro-Quebec" 14 Joint Cree Statement on Dams

















"While nutrient density of, Arctic traditional food systems is superior to that of the composite of market food consumed in the North, the percentage of men's daily energy derived from market food is more than double that from traditional food in some communities." 17 (Bordinsky, M and Johnson, 2008)

"Native culture has always been viewed as a romantic culture, like this lost thing where everything is comic and cute," 18 Freddy Bitsoe- (Bits, NYT, November 25, 2016)

### FOOD AS RECOGNITION OF **SOVEREIGNTY**

"From a social perspective, being out on the land strengthens our relation- ship to our extended families and deepens our spiritual understanding of life and our place in it. Consuming traditional foods revitalizes our cultures, our languages and our ceremonies and it reinforces our sovereignty within our families, communities and Nations." 18 (Simpson, L, 2016, p 2)

### A FOOD POLICY FOR CANADA: WHAT WE HEARD -

Community Size	% of total online survey respondents (there were close to 45,000 responses)
Large urban population (100,000 and over)	52.3%
Medium population (30,000-99,999)	18.2%
Small population (1,000-29,999)	25.2%
Remote or isolated community (under 1,000)	4.2%

(CANADIAN POPULATION LIVING IN AREAS WITH UNDER 1,000 = 18.9% IN 2011 CENSUS; 16.8% LIVING OUTSIDE CMA OR CA IN 2016 CENSUS)

### **SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT PROCESS:**

- SHOULD CONSULTATION DEMOGRAPHICS REFLECT REALITY?
- SHOULD CONSULTATION OVER-EMPHASIZE RURAL, REMOTE, INDIGENOUS GIVEN THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS AND CHALLENGES?
- WHAT BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION EXIST IN RURAL, REMOTE, INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND HOW WERE THEY ADDRESSED?

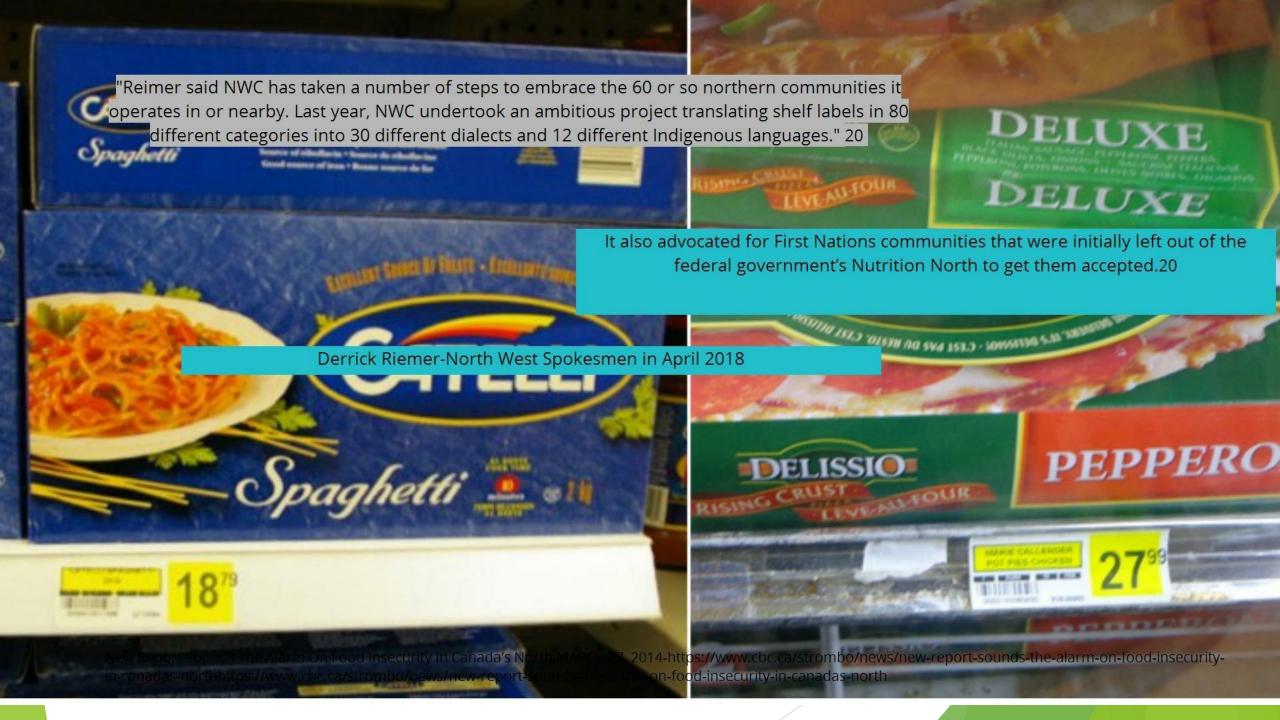
### PROMOTE LOCAL COMMUNITY HEALTHY EATING GUIDES

1

Based on a holistic blending of community, Elder and Health Canada guidelines 19 (Nishnawbe Aski Nation, 2018).

### ADDRESS FOOD RELATED DEFICITS IN THE CURRENT FOOD POLICY

As addressed in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). Establish tri-level government agreement that support Indigenous systems; and create policies that address the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action (2015).







1. Food sovereignty must be locally defined and based in Indigenous ways of knowing, doing and being.

In order to create long term health in a recognized Indigenous way, food sovereignty and self-determination must recognize solutions that are based in community practices, knowledge and beliefs.



2. Reinforce and protect the sacred relationships that Indigenous food systems hold within Indigenous communities

Respect the spiritual dimensions of the systems, including food, that enable human life and ensure the three pillars: food as medicine, food as a teacher and food as a relative: allowing recognition to inform policy development in holistic ways.



3. Food mino-pimatiswin recognizes and reinforces Indigenous sovereignty and recognizes Indigenous laws.

A fully de-colonized food system will become evident through real food sovereignty. Canada has arrived at its current Indigenous food system crisis through a series of half measures, false paternalistic narratives and decades of a colonial agenda.



"After all the proclamations, apologies, and policies from the government to address reconciliation with Indigenous people in Canada ... what does reconciliation look and feel like on the ground? Is it just another form of assimilation? How do we ensure it is honourable?"22

# MIIGWETCH EKOSANI MASI CHO KOYENEME

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