Longhouse and Greenhouse: Searching for Food Security in a Community-based Research Project

by:

Adrianne Lickers

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Virginia McKendry, Thesis Faculty Supervisor
School of Communication & Culture
Royal Roads University

Jennifer Walinga, Committee Member
School of Communication & Culture
Royal Roads University

Catherine Etmanski, External Committee Member
School of Leadership
Royal Roads University

Phillip Vannini, Thesis Coordinator
School of Communication & Culture
Royal Roads University

Jennifer Walinga, Director
School of Communication & Culture
Royal Roads University
Abstract

This applied, community-based research study used an Indigenous methodology to explore food security programs at Six Nations of the Grand River Territory in Ontario. The research focuses on factors that affect food security in relation to culture and traditions and examines current community programs at Six Nations to inquire into whether they are bringing historical cultural and traditional knowledge into modern practices that work toward food availability through food production. The researcher performed a content analysis of interviews, Photovoice, participation, and observation to examine the links and gaps between food, culture, and community and the ways that connecting them can change people’s lives. The study shows that there is a growing shift in the community’s approach to food security issues due to programs such as the Our Sustenance program which offers ways gain access to food and promote cultural revitalization in the community through the planting, growing, harvesting, preparation, and sharing of food.

Keywords: food security, First Nations food security, Six Nations, Indigenous agriculture, Indigenous research methodology, traditional food practices; community-based research
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Introduction

Food security and access to healthy food options are not synonymous. Food insecurity is a progression of people having less access and ability to replenish food, such that it affects the food choices they make and eventually leads to an absence of food choices (Che & Chen, 2001). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations stated that, “Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2013). Sufficient safe and nutritious food may be a worldwide definition, but does not take into account First Nations’ (and Indigenous people generally) circumstances as people whose identity is intimately linked to the land and the food it provides. There are studies being undertaken even now to determine the relative health of Six Nations community members with the current diet available to them based in relation to traditional foods. The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1999) addresses this issue by stating: “The availability of food in a quantity and quality sufficient to satisfy the dietary needs of individuals, free from adverse substances, and acceptable within a given culture” (p.3). The key to this concept is that food can only be said to be secure if it is both accessible and culturally relevant.
Food security in my own community, the Six Nations of the Grand River (Ontario, Canada), is both a cultural and social issue. The question is, in what ways can community-based education programs contribute to increasing food security in this community? The role that culture plays is ingrained in food and how it is perceived. As a traditional food for this community, the figure above is an example of something perhaps people take for granted. These scarlet runner beans were an inspirational vision discussed in my Photo-voice interview. Knowing what beans look like, in an old wicker basket, or in a box will never be as amazing to a new gardener as opening a pod for the first time. In
the case of the Six Nations, the availability of food is only one part of the equation, given the centrality of traditional agricultural and hunting practice to our cultural identity as a people. For example, the Haudenosaunee [the Haudenosaunee, or “people of the longhouse”, commonly referred to as Iroquois or Six Nations of the Grand River, are members of a confederacy of confederacy of Aboriginal nations known as the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Ramsden, 2006)] people of this territory are a culture that has a history of growing specific foods together – corn, beans, and squash – as a staple of their diet (Cornelius, 1998). There are cultural as well as agricultural reasons for why these foods were grown together. I found that the connections between these plants and the people was still present.

Today, the cultural knowledge of growing food and hunting is no longer at the forefront of providing food for the community. A study was done within the community about the leakage of dollars spent on food and it totaled in the millions. Lack of access to food options was actually a factor in the creation of the Our Sustenance program (GREAT 2000). The indication from this study is that food is being procured from off the reserve. This shift cannot be attributed to a single cause or effect. Generations of people experiencing colonialism, residential schools, and the creation of the reservation system have served to change the living and eating habits of our whole community. The community hopes to find the knowledge and skills needed to locally grow our own food with and for the Elders. An Elder in our community is not an age marker, but also must have reached a certain status of cultural knowledge. Even though it may be easier to go to the local store and buy something in a can, it is not always affordable or desirable because it is not our way of feeding ourselves: “Traditional food is at the core of
indigenous cultures and economies. Practices regarding harvesting, preserving and preparing food reinforce indigenous culture and identity” (Socha et al., 2012, p. 6). Similarly, our food practices exist in both traditional and modern contexts: “Indigenous economies are often dual in nature, depending partly on the market and partly on subsistence production and natural resources” (Siri Dammana, 2008, p. 138). For the Haudenosaunee, the growing of food is a logical and traditional healthy approach to having food security, yet it is often either unavailable due to physical constraints (such as a lack of viable land) or due to a lack of knowledge. Our community’s economy has become so similar to the rest of the country it is difficult to teach something else. This lack of cultural food knowledge or at least the lack of applying that knowledge contributes to social dysfunction and cultural knowledge gaps for all ages. This research looked at both the spoken and unspoken aspects of food and accessibility. Where gardening is often described by older generations as something that goes along with being poor, now being poor is either not addressed or goes along with lack of food choice or coincides with consumption of junk food, rather than consuming foods grown in one’s own garden.

As well, the community also faces the concern of genetically modified foods affecting traditional crops (Garlow, 2013). If some foods are being genetically modified, community members are choosing either not to purchase or not to grow them. Traditionally grown foods, such as the white corn grown by the Haudenosaunee, become inedible if planted near modified strains of corn (Robin, 2010). This intrusion of industrial agricultural methods affects every facet of the community when food is such an integral part of not only physical health but also cultural, spiritual, and emotional health.
(Doxtater, 2001). The concept of agriculture as a form of sustainable subsistence has been going on and was part of what once made our culture and people so influential in history (Johansen, 2000).

Figure 2. Seeds of new and old knowledge.

In this study, I examined Six Nations’ people’s beliefs about food tradition and sustainability and in what ways current practice is being affected or enhanced by available programs. Thus, my research aimed to answer these two related questions:

*Where is the link between current practices and cultural teachings (if there is one), and, is it sufficiently visible and meaningful to community members so as to move them to change their own growing and eating practice?* Drawing on the literatures related to Indigenous cultural knowledge and food security and the associated documented knowledge specific to Indigenous foods and agricultural practice, this community-based applied research has focused on modern gardening and whether it is being combined with Traditional cultural knowledge within the community (Fieldhouse & Thompson, 2012). The gap between food availability and health for First Nations exists on both physical and
cultural levels (Socha et al., 2012). As such, my research aimed to achieve the goal of closing this gap through a qualitative study using data collected through interviews and conversations with community members involved in food security initiatives, one Photovoice-based discussion on the meaning of gardening, and my own observations of community participation in Six Nations’ food-related programs. By exploring the relationship between food knowledge and food availability, I hoped to identify the gap between knowledge and availability, as this is where food security becomes an issue (Quisumbing, Brown, Sims Feldstein, Haddad, & Pena, 1995).

This research is comprised of insights into participants’ awareness of Traditional cultural teachings about growing and accessing local, healthy foods and whether or not they feel capable of working toward providing for themselves in that way. There is a lot of mystery and a sense of duty attached to certain aspects of Traditional knowledge. Within the community Traditional knowledge is something perceived to be associated only with the Longhouse and the teachings from that. When speaking of traditional (vs Traditional) knowledge there is a tacit understanding that Traditional knowledge is based on cultural beliefs and practices. A tradition however is something more akin to a family tradition such as a recipe passed on for generations. All of my conversations with and questions to participants were aimed toward gaining a sense of understanding of what will enhance participation in culturally-grounded community food and gardening initiatives, and what would help or what would enhance people feeling able to make choices toward food security. As well, by observing and taking part in the local food production activities, I gained further understanding of the choices available. If, together,
we can find a link between choice and action, perhaps we can feed healthy food to more people in our community.

Thus, the goal of my research was to examine ways the Traditional knowledge of Six Nations food practices are currently integrated into formal band policies that aim to increase the level of food security and health in the community, and, if so, if community members are making the connection themselves between growing healthy food and their Haudenosaunee identity. What I found is that food security can and is being addressed at Six Nations on a cultural, social, and community level, but that it will take time for this momentum to grow sufficiently to reach the entire community.

**Background: Food on Six Nations**

My research centred on food security as it relates to available programs that are working to enhance and promote it to community members. To gain an understanding of how these ideas meet, I looked at both historical and current knowledge about food on Six Nations, including my relationship to our band’s current efforts to return to healthy food growing and eating habits. During my research I worked as an assistant to the Six Nations Farmer’s Market and Community Garden Program, and the program in which I participate is called Our Sustenance. It encompasses the Farmer’s Market, a community garden, a greenhouse that grows food and offers food growing and food preparation workshops, and the Good Food Box Program. Each facet of this program relates to feeding the community. It is not aimed at any specific income level, or education level. Our goal is to provide access and education surrounding our ability to provide for ourselves. We offer fresh produce at a reasonable low/no-cost rate through every part of the program along with education about how growing our own food helps us holistically.
The concept of food security as it relates to Indigenous communities has shown, time and again, that in fact there is a lack of sustainable options, a lack of food, and a lack of information that shows community members how to make change. When I began looking at this research idea, I understood that there was a need for more and better food options. I saw the desire in the community for access to reasonably priced, locally available, and also locally produced food. I knew through my job that there was a lack of food, and in fact there was a combination of factors affecting our community that led to the present food insecurity. What I initially saw as a food choice issue became one of food availability and, eventually, a food security concern. What I wondered was: “What is being done, by the community or by individuals to make changes to the food on the reserve?” That first question, along with countless hours of conversations with others in my community, led me to this research. What began as a desire to know more about how we could make change at Six Nations became a goal to see and help implement changes.

The Six Nations community occupies one of the largest reserves in Canada. Our registered population on the land base is over twelve thousand people, and approximately that many more live outside the community due to lack of housing and other possible reasons (Six Nations Council, 2013). The need for food security in our community is a cultural as well as a physiological need. The Haudenosaunee are known for certain staple foods and very specific gardening techniques, which Doxtater (2001) maintains are the foundation for culture and good health for the people. Historically, we once hunted and cultivated our food on a large scale. The traditional Longhouse calendar of the Six Nations actually follows the seasons and nature [Longhouse is used in this context to refer to any of the actual locations of traditional knowledge and ceremony. It does not
refer to a specific nation within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, but more a generally held Traditional belief system]. Many of the ceremonies that occur throughout that calendar are based on what plants and foods are growing at that time of year (Cyle of ceremonies, 2012). Those ceremonies still happen today, yet the cultivation of the food that is associated with the ceremonies is not often done. What I needed to find out was where the “disconnect” or difficulty was with this knowledge, which was once so central to our health and lives. I wanted to understand if this knowledge was being lost or ignored as a cultural relic, or if it really was something that could be revitalized, or perhaps at the very least expanded.

This research looked at the localized concept of food security, in a community that is a mix of urban and rural with a large number of people in a relatively large space with similar concerns to those who might be in an urban setting. When my research began, I had some preconceived notions of what I suspected would help make changes. As I talked to people, and worked in my job, I found that some of those changes are happening, but also that some things were already present. What was initially a research process of interviews, and strict questions became a series of conversations and a path through the gardens and pathways of my community. I knew a woman who was 82 years old when I conducted the research, she has been a gardener for most of her life and she raised food enough to feed her siblings first, and eventually her entire extended family. She is a seed saver, a living resource and a born teacher. Yet she continually lamented the fact that people who could sustain themselves and their families as she did rarely, if ever, are willing to learn how, or put in the work, including her own family. What I discovered
in my research is that this fact is slowly changing and our people are opening up to participating in their own food growing and food making.

To understand the basis of the research itself, I will explain my position within this research and this community. At completion of the research I had become the coordinator of the Our Sustenance program. I have been involved in this program for four years and my involvement was a part of the reason my research began. The program was a community requested initiative to provide access to reasonably priced, locally available food to Six Nations community members. There has been no grocery store on Six Nations for several years. We had one, many years ago, and it was unable to compete with nearby stores because the cost of bringing food to a locally owned and operated store was so expensive it actually became cheaper for families to travel the twenty minute drive to one of the nearest towns. The program’s goal aimed to remain true to its name by providing sufficiently abundant and healthy food to sustain our people.

We, the Haudenosaunee, once had our own kind of gardening, referred to now as “mound agriculture”, which I discuss in further detail in the literature review. There is a traditional belief in our culture that the Creator gave us “our sustenance” to feed the people by providing us with the “Three Sisters”—corn, beans and squash (Cornelius, 1999). These foods are integral to our best health were at one time the staple of the Six Nations diet. At a physiological level, it is believed these foods are also easiest for our bodies to digest and it has only been with the introduction of processed food and refined sugar that diabetes and obesity have become such challenging issues for our community (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2011). Yet we have strayed far from our Traditional form of agriculture, due to factors (discussed below) that have taken us far from the ideal
of food security for our community. These discussions addressed indirectly the concept of food sovereignty which means that as a community we define our own food system in relation to production and availability. It was a concept which is alluded to throughout the research.

The needs of a relatively small community seem rather daunting when one considers the reality that comes of feeding so many people, and, more importantly, how to feed them well, with healthy, affordable food. When I applied the definition of food security to Six Nations, I saw that we are not meeting that need. I needed to see where we stand in the current historical moment, as well as where we can go from here. The Our Sustenance program and other programs like it take cues from what is around us. That includes food, culture and—possibly—the integration of those things. In order for this program to succeed, grow and change, I needed more information in which to situate this study.

**Literature Review**

In order to create a conceptual framework for this research, I took what I saw and knew about my own community and started reading about other communities. I was looking for similar situations, or perhaps even the success stories from other places surrounding food security, its initiatives and food security specifically in First Nations communities. What I discovered was some of what is available does transfer to our community but many of the studies being done do not in fact relate to our geography, social situation or food needs. What was common was the need and potential for initiatives to make positive social changes, and the basic need for food in so many places. Food security is an issue in many places, but, as I found, this is especially the case for
First Nations communities in Canada. The literature reviewed below includes studies on the concept of food security, and research into food security in Northern communities and urban communities. As well, food security is a national issue, and is gaining notoriety in the news media and is the focus of social programs. Finally, the literature review concludes with an examination of Six Nations food traditions, and the relationship between food and culture. The basis of the Six Nations cultural calendar is largely based on the growing season of food and plants and illustrated the relationship well.

**The Concept of Food Security**

Food security has been gaining attention on a global scale but it is an issue I chose to research because food insecurity is something I see in my community. The lack of food security and the ways in which my community is struggling to change that shaped my research at all stages. There is information about food security as a concept, and what that means universally. What I also found was that the concept of food security takes on a different tone when it is considered within the context of a First Nations community. The combination of Indigenous food security issues with the idea of the initiatives that are happening to at the very least highlight, but hopefully to help make changes made me look critically at what was happening at Six Nations.

There are many definitions of food security. The ideal concept would see “a food-secure individual has access to enough food items, nutritionally and preferentially, to lead a healthy lifestyle” (Milner, 2013). The concept of food security is one that has the potential to become confusing and multi layered because the concepts of food security can be conceptualized socially, politically, economically, in terms of health, and culturally. Those concepts can be viewed a resting on “the four pillars of food security:
access, availability, supply and utilization” (Power, 2008). Power’s analysis demonstrates the fact that even the concept of food security does not take into account the cultural aspects of food issues.

Therefore, while I feel it is important to identify food insecurity as an issue for my research, I do not want to focus on its global impacts. Food security is the social and economic access to food to live a healthy life are meant to apply to all people (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2013); In the case of my research, these concepts of food security lacked the specifics related to culture and how that affected healthy living. In order to affect change within the community, understanding of what healthy living, food and culture were, became important to understanding food and food security in an indigenous community.

In order to delve deeper into the details of food security for my research I looked specifically at what was being written regarding indigenous food security in other First Nations communities. What I found was that, much like the growing focus on global food security, the concept of indigenous food security is a growing concern. World organizations such as the World Indigenous Network (2012), as well as news media and many health researchers (Fieldhouse & Thompson, 2012) are turning their focus to Indigenous food security. However, due to the extreme differences between Indigenous communities, the idea of food security and efforts to change the circumstances in one community is not easily transferred to another.

Where similarities do lie is in the knowledge that food security encompasses traditional cultural food practices and must reconcile with modern living (Levi, 2007). As well, the idea that food systems need to be created or revitalized is key to the community
making steps toward food security. I saw evidence that communities can integrate “many successful food system interventions, which they categorize into four areas: traditional food harvesting of wild/animal plants; agricultural activities, such as home or community gardens, livestock raising and fish harvesting; education on nutrition and food production in community and schools” (Fieldhouse & Thompson, 2012). In my community, the key to success lies in knowing the potential areas of successful food intervention but, also, how to market or promote them so they are adopted.

The key concept of food security in the Six Nations community can be related to culture, social issues and education. Due to a history that is as rich as that of the Haudenosaunee and which warrants its own research, the ability to unify and make changes to food security at Six Nations will require a larger level of organization. This is the goal in the community where food security initiatives and Our Sustenance come together.

**Food Security Initiatives**

A review of literature related to initiatives aimed at making changes regarding food security and insecurity on a large scale provides my research with indicators of the potential benefits, success and history in other places. It sets a general framework for me to see if the programs in this community are aligned with other initiatives around the world. To look at initiatives that are comparable to those being undertaken or proposes at Six Nations, I looked at First Nations-specific programs as well as Canadian programs.

Food security as it relates to food initiatives shows that combining exercise and cultural activities of some sort actually work to improve not just health, but brain function and social action (Hume, 2010, p. 18). That means that programs where people
(and children in particular) incorporate movement and physical activity in a cultural experience result in program participants being more apt to be clear minded and learn better. This linking of exercise to culture relates to the idea of both the research contained here, but also to food initiatives. Being on the land, outside, is good for physical, mental, spiritual and cultural bodies. The inclusion of programs that stimulate physical activities open the door for gardening and food-based programs, which are at the heart of the Our Sustenance program and how it combines knowledge, physical activity and a harvest of healthy foods that bring people together.

However, in the context of cultural food and security, there are issues around people’s access to actual Traditional foods. The issues relate to cost as well as availability. Food may be readily available, but cost can be prohibitive from both health and a cultural perspective. This relates to the food access and economy of communities. The influence of European contact and modern society has impacted not only how and where food is available but the type of food we eat as well (Pal, 2013).

This aspect of food security initiatives, the question of access, came up again and again in my reading, in part because much of the literature focuses on studies about Northern, or very remote, First Nations communities. Especially for these remote communities, access is a major theme of food security, on many levels (Rudolph, 2013). The ability to purchase, store, and actually get the food to your location is one type of access to be considered when considering issues of food security, but also ways in which to help create an initiative. Whether it is because hunting lands are gone, or the grocery store cannot afford any kind of cost rebate for bulk orders, or land is unusable for growing, the options are still the same: little to none. The choice for Northern First
Nations people is to pay or go hungry, regardless of the food choices (Rudolph, 2013). Access is a factor in the design of food security initiatives in terms of the way they shape the programs, and the changes they can effect.

The inclusion of public policy as a means of making change was especially of interest to my research as it highlights the need for change on a larger scale. It brings up the question of who can and should support and push for local programs to make change and support and encourage these initiatives. The program at Six Nations that was being explored in this study has the potential to take on a similar form and function as other programs that are operating in larger urban centres within Ontario. For example, programs such as The Stop and the Daily Bread Food Bank in Toronto both work to incorporate education, food and knowledge about food and social issues. Food Share Toronto is a program that promotes both policy regarding food and accessibility but also the focus is based on healthy foods and local sustainable options (Fresh produce, 2014). In a large urban centre, there is the potential to create work placements, training and education programs and access to healthy food (Daily Bread Food Bank, 2014). However, not much account is taken to consider access to those foods based on cost-prohibitive realities, or the question of people’s access to the reality of growing those foods because of the lack of space and cost assistance.

This linking of exercise to culture relates to the idea of both the research contained here, but also to food initiatives. The link between exercise and culture is related to good health, yet obesity relating to fast food or lack of food due to food insecurity (due to lack of access) is rife in First Nations communities, and surely there must be a way to make changes. The fact that this study focuses specifically on the Six
Nations community is a key to its importance for the hopeful outcome of one day increasing food security—and a healthier community—through education.

**Six Nations Food Traditions**

Traditional knowledge of food and planting is integral to both health and culture. Growing food and the use of agriculture is in fact a key aspect of the history of the Six Nations community and its culture. Here, I speak specifically to studies on the role of the agricultural techniques that we are known for, and specifically, the role of corn in our diet.

Traditional Iroquois corn is something that is still present in the community, but is no longer a staple of the diet. The work involved in preparing and making the corn usable for cooking is not something many people have the knowledge to do nor the time or desire to learn. That does not mean that corn is absent in the diet; however, genetically modified, and new varieties of sweet corn are not at all the same (Garlow, 2013). The fact that sweet corn has a high sugar content also means it is a health concern for so many Six Nations residents where diabetes is such an issue (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2011). In addition, genetic modification of corn is a signifier of a mode of agriculture that runs contrary to the cultural meanings of corn in our community, and how it signifies Haudenosaunee values.

When looking at ways in which Six Nations could work toward food security initiatives, I learned that that the cultivation of corn is inextricably linked to Traditional modes of living and being. Corn, one of the Three Sisters and the teachings they signify, is at the foundation of our cultural belief system as well as the cornerstone to our physical health and wellness. Growing corn in a Traditional way is not just about growing food to
meet nutritional needs, but sets into motion the Haudenosaunee value and teaching of interdependency. When our people grow corn in this manner, it shows us how everything is interconnected and dependent on the wellbeing of others, all the way from the food we grow and eat to the way we live and work together.

This is not to say that the method is not valuable strictly from the perspective of gardening technique and nutritional excellence. The specifically Haudenosaunee approach to growing corn takes the form of mound agriculture, a way of growing that simultaneously takes advantage of the complementary growth cycles of each plant (Doxtater, 2001). Corn was grown with beans and squash, in a mound format. This is a form of growing where corn is planted, and mounded and at the base of the corn plant, and then beans and squash are planted in the mound. The beans climb the corn stalk, and the squash spreads at the base. This provides the ground with a cover to help maintain any incoming moisture and the beans do not affect the corn’s growth at all (Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, 2007).

This is the first level of the Three Sister’s teaching of interdependency, in the sense that planting the mound is a singular step that starts with one. A single person, or small group can plan the garden to produce a very high yield. This level of effectiveness mirrors the traditional Haudenosaunee longhouse. A growing mound gives three plants the best possible conditions for each to grow, in a relatively small amount of land. There is less weeding, and the soil maintains its moisture better, allowing for less watering, a significant consideration for sustainability when water is at a premium and needs to be transported to the garden. Sustainability through interdependency is mirrored in the longhouse, where a single dwelling is a building with separate spaces for each family, but
with a central area to cook and grow and live. Similar to the mounds for growing food, a longhouse allows a community to live in an interdependent community setting, in a way that makes optimal use of space and energy.

In these ways, the mound format, or what Doxtater (2001) calls “Indigenagronomy”, teaches cultural values as well as demonstrating sound locally-derived methods for growing food in a way that protects the plants, provides for a full cycle of planting/growing/harvesting/preparation and meets the nutritional needs of the people. For example, if you receive seeds from an Elder, you are continuing our culture by planting them: “Our Creator though carefully about the people and knew they would need food so he gave the people “Our Sustenance,” the Three Sisters, corn beans and squash. He gave the seeds and said, “the families” will plant “a garden and work the land.” (Cornelius, 1999, p. 76). In addition, the Three Sisters can indicate secondary levels of interdependence in the way that these foods also coincide with or help to constitute aspects of the Longhouse calendar. Traditional ceremonies are centred around the growth cycle of corn, and the care, harvest, and eating of the first corn (green corn) are something celebrated by every member of the community (Cornelius, 1999, p. 91). Not only are whole families mindful of the progress of the crops, but they are celebrating and working together at each stage of the food production.

As well, another benefit of the Three Sisters is the food security they still provide. All three foods are easily stored for long periods of time. Corn and beans can be dried for use year round; Traditional corn is lyed when it is to be used but is also stored dry. Squash and pumpkins can be stored in a cool dark place and will be safely edible for an entire winter season. This is still true of the Three Sisters, which meet human nutritional
needs for carbohydrates, proteins and fats while providing nutrition throughout the year (Doxtater, 2001). Modern food practices and modern science support the wisdom of this way of producing food and can apply this knowledge to modern food preservation methods.

The word for the Three Sisters (Tey’o’nhekwen) itself can also be interpreted as a form of interdependence. It is understood to mean “our sustenance” or “what sustains us” (Doxtater, 2001, p. 219), where the interdependencies of individual foods are representative of the Haudenosaunee value of working together in cooperation. Interdependency is connected to what Connelly has argued, which is that the Longhouse people’s “conceptual space is based on a transformation between sustainable and unsustainable aspect” (cited in Doxtater, 2001, p. 218). The idea is that food is interdependent in relation to actual land, space, time, food, and culture and that these interdependencies are what allow us to live well, to live sustainably, in this place.

These values of interdependency and sustainability are communicated through our stories. As well as being an actual food source, the Three Sisters, and especially corn, are integral to oral histories and myths, including the Creation Story (Cornelius, 1999). The growth of the Three Sisters out of the body of Sky Woman’s daughter in the traditional creation story shows the first transformation that brought corn, beans, and squash into the lives of the Haudenosaunee. The growth of one body into three separate plants in turn becomes an interdependent single unit of nutrition or sustenance (Doxtater, 2001). As a cultural life lesson, corn beans and squash take on a role of vital importance for the people. That same cultural note becomes not just a social guide but also a guide to good health. By connecting these two levels of interdependency, the nutritional and the social,
growing, harvesting and preserving food through the Our Sustenance program can become a catalyst to move away from unsustainable food issues and, in doing so, move our community toward cultural revitalization in a way that does not require us to reject modernity.

The concept of having a garden and growing food represent the central Haudenosaunee teaching of interdependence on all levels, and, in the context of this research, of food, culture, and community. The way in which a Traditional community sustained itself by growing foods that met their nutritional needs while communicating the value of interdependence is a lesson that our current community could certainly do well to revisit. There is a Longhouse belief in our culture’s history that states that, if a member of the tribe plants a garden, then they should plant enough for themselves and their neighbours, in case their neighbours’ crops fail (Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, 2007). In my community, the issue around food security is not quite the same as planning ahead in case of a crop failure, but perhaps more the case that helping a neighbour means planting a large garden in case one’s neighbour isn’t working, has financial trouble, or needs help. In other words, perhaps we need to return to a true community garden—a garden that is for everyone, and with everyone’s help, feeds them also.

Food insecurity is an issue that is global, local, and spreading. The initiatives I looked at in this research will serve me as a point of reference for exploring the potential for the initiative present at Six Nations to move our community closer to food security. Food in our community is a cultural reality, a social activity, a spiritual connection and a physical need. Food security is a concept that shapes this research because the
community initiatives, and their creation, is based on not just a desire for health and change, but for a community reality where food is available. The need for a community to create a program with food and its production is what draws these ideas together and forms the basis of this research. In order to understand what Our Sustenance is doing, and to perhaps see its shortcomings and victories, I needed to understand what it is facing and how that can work.

**Methods**

**Research Framework**

This research is a qualitative, community-based research study situated within the applied paradigm and an Indigenous research methodology. Applied research is focused on the search for information that can evaluate and assess a situation and offer recommendations or solutions and be applied to the research subject (Creswell, 2013). In this case, it is the exploration of a community, and the ability to apply the knowledge found to make suggestions to the community involved. This relates to Indigenous research because it is important to take into account the cultural reality of the community. It is important to place value on the cultural knowledge. My ability to research from within the community as a fellow community member, suited itself to doing applied research. By conducting participant observation and researching from within the community, this method of research allows me to interact with the community members as well as being able to observe and beliefs, rituals, and social behaviours. The use of community-based research as it relates to this study is the ability to join a social science with a potential social shift in the community (Cochrane, 2008). Community-based research, and specifically Indigenous community-based research, supports the
development of a relationship between the community and the researcher that is open, transparent, and mutually beneficial with the potential for recommendations or ideas that come from within the community. Through a combination of multi-generational participant observation and interviews, I explored how cultural knowledge and attitudes about food/agriculture affect the food security of Haudenosaunee people at Six Nations, using interviews, conversations, observation, and Photovoice as a way to draw out participant’s perspectives on issues of food availability and traditional food practices.

Working within the Indigenous methodology makes sense for research that is by and for Six Nations people. Keeping in mind that this research covers both Traditional cultural knowledge and Western knowledge, I needed to make sure my position is clear as someone from within the community (Chilisa, 2012). Wilson’s (2008) work on conducting Indigenous research shows how creating a shared relationship with participants allows the researcher to work with others to shape and create the knowledge being examined. What this shared and created knowledge becomes is a conversation. The conversation shapes the actions of the food initiative by the benefit of my position within the organization and also allows for a reflexive open research model. The understanding and experience of living within a community with shared cultural history and modern lifestyles definitely served to enhance the research relationship with participants, though it did present its own difficulties, discussed further below.

As noted above, I am a member of this community, and this community-based research began, at my place of work, where I am employed as an assistant to the Six Nations Farmer’s Market and Community Garden Program. In the course of my daily duties, I meet and interact with people on a daily basis who deal with food in some
fashion. As well, the greenhouse component of our program has turned into a sort of hub of community sharing. In choosing this setting, I was aware of the dynamic I was creating by being seen as a researcher but also a community member (Crang & Cook, 2007). I also know that the use of Photovoice, particularly in a community like this one, empowers the participant and allows for an ownership and involvement on multiple levels for the community members (Castleden, Garvin, & Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 2008). In an effort to take into account the reality of research in a culture known for being based in alternative learning and sharing, I used research methods that accommodate that cultural predilection. The use of photographs in this research serve to enhance the interviews as they allow for the use of the visual to explain without words and add the element of sensory emotion (Nakamura, 2013).

**Data Collection**

Having been in the midst of my research location prior to the research’s formal beginning, I made a concerted effort to create a clear starting point. I made copious notes about how the Our Sustenance program began, where it fit in the community, and where it appeared to be heading. My intent was to interview five or six key stakeholders. I wanted to find people who were participating in gardening and food production in some way. I aimed to interview them with a series of questions regarding their involvement in food production, and determine the presence of Traditional knowledge and their reasons for entering into it.

What I found was that an interview proved to provide almost no specific information, but rather generated very closed responses and little to no discussion. However, in the course of various workshops and community events run by Our
Sustenance, and just being present in the community, I was able to get people to open up about food, what it means to them, and more. By being a part of the community and sharing my sense of concern and curiosity about food availability, and participating in a program that promotes healthy and sustainable living through gardening, I found more people willing to communicate.

In the end, the data for this study was collected through five interviews with community stakeholders interested in Six Nations food practices; including a Photovoice interview with a key program staff member and extensive participation observation and community member conversations. In the case here, Photovoice was the way in which I was able to interview a participant using images she had taken from the greenhouse. It provides a visual component to create a deeper understanding of her position. I conducted interviews with key stakeholders of the Our Sustenance program, including: the lead greenhouse grower (also my mother); two community members from a community-run horticulture program; an Elder who is traditionally trained as a seed-keeper; and, an employee who now works at the greenhouse after a successful student placement phase. These people were chosen to ensure there was a selection of people with traditional knowledge, both cultural and agricultural, and that the participants held knowledge of different aspects of the program. These interviews allowed me to understand how the program operates from the perspectives of different stakeholders. Every person that I interacted with regarding this program is in some way a stakeholder, but in the case of the interviews, I chose people who were both culturally and personally aware. In some cases, program participants are only interested in the health and gardening aspects not taking into account the cultural aspects.
The major interviews were open-ended, starting with the basic questions of cultural knowledge and food literacy. The goal was to determine the involvement in the Our Sustenance programming and how they became interested. Kovach (2009) addressed the use of an Indigenous method of research and the importance of using culturally applicable methods aligned well with my study and the communication norms of my community. To seek knowledge within a primarily oral cultural system, I needed to allow the rhetorical codes of that culture (such as visiting and sharing stories in a relaxed manner) to be present in the research as well as the content of the research (Kovach, 2009). Research within Indigenous communities like mine is a process of reciprocal trust and using open-ended interview questions gave the research the transparency to build and share the knowledge being gathered. The benefit of using this method of open-ended inquiry is that it gives credence to the method, which is culturally relevant with the use of oral history, and also gives the community a way to see their own knowledge made useful in a new way (Cochrane, 2008).

My initial plan was to do a community based research project that was based on quite structured interviews and use Photovoice with a group of students. As I actually began to read and talk to people about my research, I found that it was not going to be quite as cut and dried as I had imagined. I had to see myself as a participant in my community, as well as a researcher in a community based study. The idea of separating myself from my culture and tradition while also placing myself in the role of researcher did not quite fit. The barrier between professional or student and community member is one that only served to make it harder for myself to see what I was studying (Deloria Jr., 1999). The reality of my research question did grow and change. Through a series of
events not in anyone’s control, my desire to work with the group of students who had taken part in the greenhouse program was put on the back burner and eventually removed from my research completely. In the end, I can see the benefit of that change. Working with children and youth is a fulfilling prospect, but getting a group of pre-teens and teenagers to speak out in a group and be self aware about what they learned can prove difficult in reality. What I was looking for were people who could see patterns and changes, and tell me what they thought would change things. This meant I could continue with data collection in much the same way, but in a less formal manner. Rather than choose a specific sample group, I chose my community, and anyone who I spoke with that could contribute became part of my research.

My choice to use Photovoice with just one participant was due to the nature of the participant. I could have chosen a simple recorded interview, which I also did with her. However, having seen her photos and hearing her discuss them with other program staff, I knew I had found a perfect candidate. She is self-aware, proud of herself and, through discussion, I also discovered she is quite passionate about this program for the sake of it. She is not working at the greenhouse for food, or community specifically. She loves to grow things and thinks that, if she enjoys it, she may in fact be a good model to her friends and family to make those same good choices, choices that she sees as logical but also as being in alignment with the Longhouse teachings she has been hearing her whole life.
Data Analysis

I used qualitative content analysis to analyze the individual interviews and the recorded conversations with students. The analysis took the larger context and give me the ability to see the themes of cultural knowledge, gardening, food experience (or lack thereof) and make a pattern or theme with the interview contents (Hsieh, 2005). The interviews and conversations were sorted according to who learned as children how to grow their own food and who did not, with attention to what impact that has had on their actions as they grew. Interviews were coded according to the themes of past, present, and future food security and participant understanding of food availability. Data related to Indigenous knowledge were assessed as evidence of either current or Traditional perspectives and were analyzed in order to find similar processes or actions (Kovach, 2009).
The first step in analyzing the data was to review and transcribe all interviews and interpret photographs in order to highlight any physical notation of traditional and modern food knowledge. Together, the interview and photographic data were analyzed for the presence of traditional food discourse, and if it was present at all. As mentioned above, I coded the interviews and photographs for themes of food, social contexts (such as the word “poor”), traditional knowledge, and other food security concepts, such as gardening.

As well, the photos from the interview were coded to include insights into modern gardening and the role the program is playing in food production. The photographs were viewed in relation to the words and ideas that the one Photovoice participant found important; in particular, I was seeking data that spoke to the themes of new food, presence or absence of food options and what is being learned at the greenhouse program and its application. The use of photo media also allowed me to assess the sensory aspects of the participant’s memories and dealings with food (Pink, 2009).

Community based research and conversation work together in this research to create a picture of food security initiatives and how the Indigenous/Haudenosaunee way of knowing about food can be shared. In my role within the Our Sustenance program, I not only got to see but also work to guide the program to answer the growing need in the Six Nations community to increase and expand food security. To say that I found myself an unbiased observer in my own community would be impossible. That does not mean I do not see that there is room for improvement and change. There is not only room, but a desperate need for it.

Findings and Discussion
The content analysis of the collected data produced the following themes: health, resurgence in cultural knowledge, and community. The themes are present within the Our Sustenance programs, as well as the conversations. There have been changes in community programs recently that have been done with the idea that culture and health need to be integrated. The goal of finding a link between current community activities and cultural teachings seemed more like an ideal than a reality. What was a bit of a shock to me was that these themes and changes came to fruition during the course of this research. The concept of cultural knowledge as something that can be shared and learned in social spaces is opening doors to an inclusive, sustainable community. When I did my interviews and conversations I was able to see community members making conscious food choices, generating cultural changes, and sharing their experience.

The first interview was with a twenty-year-old young woman I met when she was a student in a local horticulture-training program. She has lived in the community her entire life. She had her training placement at the Our Sustenance greenhouse. Since that placement, she successfully graduated and has since found funding to have a sixteen-week placement and this year a one-year contract. I chose to do this interview using Photovoice. The participant is very quiet but well spoken and she documents her experiences regularly at the greenhouse. Her photographs are posted throughout this paper and they are impactful, particularly if you consider the reasoning behind them, which is described below. I asked her to choose some of her favourite photographs of the dozens she brought to the interview and then tell me what it was about them that made them stick with her.
Her first pick, chosen with no hesitation at all, was the image of her hand holding scarlet runner beans over a bed of bright green leaf lettuce. She said the image was pretty, first and foremost, but also represented something that she had impressed herself over. On sight, she knew what a scarlet runner bean was and what it looked like, and it was miraculous to her that it was food. Two of her other images are of plants in various stages of growth or death. In one photo, a sunflower head that has gone by is lovely to look at, but, to this young woman, its purpose had been an unknown. Other than in a bag, salted and roasted, she had no idea that this was the way that sunflower seeds came, packed together so tightly they appear to be a solid part of the plant.

The conversation led me to ask what it was that had started her in the horticulture program and from there to the greenhouse. Was it an interest in where food comes from, or how it grows, or something totally different? She said it was in fact the knowledge she was seeking. She had taken an interest in growing things, because at Longhouse the traditional calendar is based on the cycle of seasons and the growth of the world around us. There is a ceremony for strawberries in springtime, but so often, people who attend Longhouse do not actually live by that calendar. If she knew how to grow the food she heard being talked about, she felt as if she could live in a way that is true to herself and to her Longhouse teachings, as well. In general, her comments about food were about the wisdom of following tradition, so that, if we followed the calendar of what is local or based on our Traditional calendar, we might be healthier with less illness. Since starting the program, she now feels equipped to grow plants and foods for herself, something that she had not done before. Her photographs were chosen partly for pride. As part of her training, she planted tulip bulbs in soil she had mixed herself and watched them grow,
blossom, wither and die—a full cycle of “life” for a tulip season. She was proud and by turns amazed at what nature was capable of providing. Beans were another thing that provided a way into her growing knowledge. She had previously had no idea where exactly a seed came from on a bean plant. My interview with this young woman was charming and quiet. Through my observations, I was able to see she aims to live a life of example—not to be a leader, but to be true to herself. In her quest, she is learning to sustain her family with food she produces herself, and eat things that are good for her body.

I did an interview with another participant of the horticulture program. She is in her forties, and lives with her partner. She took the program after leaving a long-term job because she was interested in growing her own food and potentially offsetting the costs of food. She was also a student on placement at the Our Sustenance greenhouse. However, after her program completion she was scheduled for a medical procedure and due to that actually ended up not continuing in the field or being able to garden at home. However through our discussion, I saw one of the main themes of gardens and food production of this community. It is tradition, a family historical guide, rather than a cultural Tradition. Like this interviewee, so many community members recalled during conversations that even if they do not currently garden, or can their own food, they recall their parents or grandparents doing so.

On another day, a different woman surprised me, not just because of her thoughts about the Our Sustenance program, but because I saw and smelled the power of food. The smell of the steamy greenhouse kitchen table laden with ripe tomatoes and canning jars brought tears to the eyes of a woman in the community. She had come to the greenhouse
kitchen to learn to can tomatoes for the first time in her 35 years. Tears welled in her eyes as she wiped them away and laughed, explaining that our modest kitchen reminds her painfully of her dad’s and mom’s house in the summer. The same eating habits carrying on to her generation are what move her as she recalls her grandmother canning tomatoes for her favorite meal, macaroni and tomatoes. As a low-income staple, an inexpensive bag of pasta and some canned tomatoes is the “go-to” food for many families. In fact, those two things are still the main component of the offering you will find at our food bank and many other food banks across the region.

The idea of staple foods leads me to the very first interview I did for this research. It was a quickly pieced together interview mainly because the is an eighty-two-year-old woman and was less likely to have a set schedule for her days. She was the oldest of twelve children and her family worked in food production, picking food for canneries and processing. However, they did not get to keep much of what they picked, so she started at an early age gardening. What was practical at the time turned out to be her lifelong passion for gardening. She still has a small kitchen garden, which the Our Sustenance program helped her to work up and prepare this year, but officially retired from gardening two years ago. Prior to that, she has been a seed saver for the Six Nations community. She has spent decades growing, promoting, teaching and living a life surrounded by fresh grown healthy foods. She is the epitome of Our Sustenance.

Our initial interview was the only formal one, although we have had further interaction and still do. That single interview was a telling example, however, of food in this community. What she did say was that she spent the better part of eighty years growing food, and hoping her family would step in and take part, or perhaps one day take
up where she had left off. It used to be out of necessity that people gardened. They subsisted by growing their own food. This is not unusual to our people, and we are known for growing the Three Sisters—corn, beans and squash, as noted above (Mt. Pleasant, 2011). What did change were attitudes. Her siblings, and even her own children, had no desire to take part in her garden. Yet every year, they faithfully showed up to reap the harvest; after it was canned and preserved of course and preferably at low or no cost to them. She does not comment on these things as if they are bad, or unfavourable to her family. They are a statement about the community as a whole. Her hope is to see that attitude change in her lifetime. Or at the very least, to know that someone out there is taking up the role of seed saver where she left off. Gardening, which was once seen as subsistence living, due to being poor, is now being seen as sustainable, sovereign action (Doxtater, 2001).

Today, to garden is not just a growing trend, but rather is starting to be seen as a status or wealth symbol as well as a cultural reclamation. On more than just this territory, First Nations communities are recreating community gardens, and providing culturally relevant knowledge about plant and food production (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2014). The goal is to teach or perhaps remind people what we once knew as our culture. What we put in our bodies can help keep us healthy.

The notion of gardening as an act of cultural reclamation is in line with the interview I did with the Our Sustenance greenhouse grower. She is 54 years old. She is my mother. Her role in this program has blossomed from being a greenhouse grower—who would hopefully produce some seedlings and help us promote food production in our homes—and the focal resource for and a driving force of the program. The first thing
that happened was that she inherited the Our Sustenance program and enhanced it beyond expectation. When she began, there was a group of students from the local Cayuga and Mohawk Immersion School who were planning to attend the greenhouse as part of their classroom time. What started out as a couple of classrooms coming once a week turned into classrooms of each and every grade from Grade One through Grade Eight attending for at least an hour per week, so that there were often two classrooms per day learning about gardening in the greenhouse. They learned the value of planting and growing our own food. They learned what a seed needs to survive, but also what it needs to flourish. My mother, the greenhouse grower, used a mix of physical activity, hands on training, and storytelling to pique the interest of the children, and really “get things growing”.

When we sat down to discuss this research, the topic turned quickly from gardening, to culture, food and social beliefs. There is a divide in this community between what is seen as affiliation to Traditional Longhouse and/or more Western Church beliefs, a divide that is still present today. There is also, a divide between community members who have an allegiance to either Traditional or Elected government, where Traditional government is fully aligned with our culture and community-sustaining traditions, and the other is more aligned with Western culture and approaches to community governance and development. Interestingly, although the Our Sustenance program is administered by an elected government charged with the task of changing obesity and other declining health trends, this program is taking a distinctly cultural approach to gardening. At the Farmer’s Market, some of the trends coming to our community are ones around organic or chemical free food, local food, and the associated health benefits of growing your own foods. We aim to further those trends at the
greenhouse. The greenhouse grows food, it grows plants to harvest seeds so we can be sustainable, and it grows Traditional medicine plants. While the goal of the program was feeding the community, what has grown in the greenhouse was an atmosphere that feeds the body, mind, spirit, and culture, if someone is looking for it. This has meant growing Traditional medicine plants as well as being a safe open, welcome space for learning and growing. Growing socially and personally were themes which emerged through workshops requested by various community programs.

To gather the data for this study, I needed the right tools and resources. Gathering tools for this research became much like gathering together the items needed for a garden. With trowel in hand, and soil under my feet, I walked the path of the community I was trying so hard to understand as I conducted interviews and did one Photovoice interview with the newest Our Sustenance program staff member. In seeking the goals for the community in relation to the ideals of food security, I saw both the joys and pitfalls of a community-based program being the guiding force to alter food security. I spent many days and weeks in conversation with funders, community members, media outlets, non-community members and those who are generally interested in food security and the social change that comes with it. I found that doing Indigenous research, as an imbedded community member, was both beneficial and also difficult. Attempting to identify my methodology felt more like a guessing game than a true choice, but I forged ahead knowing that Indigenous methodologies allow for qualitative study to be one that is not statistics-based and affords a certain level of movement to work and create from within the community (Kovach, 2009). Thus, what my greatest tool for gathering data, and in turn reflexively analyzing it, became myself. Smile and ask questions, listen and be still
when someone is sharing. Those are the greatest tools. When I took the time to stop and consider what I was seeing every day at work, and hearing with every social media post, and shared idea, I realized I was seeing the data I was seeking.

What I found through conversations and interviews while conducting this research is that people are interested in growing food for their own reasons. Some people want to attain a Traditional sense of cultural living, others want to know what goes into their body, and where it came from rather than something that is likely genetically modified, sprayed with pesticides, and otherwise mistreated and some people want to know more about gardening because it makes them feel good and even happy.

I have also been struck by the fact that the concept of food security or availability in this community was not something people liked to talk about directly. To garden is to grow food, and there is no associated shame with it; however, there was a time when only poor kids or families had to eat only fresh fruits and vegetables because the cost of a pack of seeds was worth every penny, literally. Now, children at schools at Six Nations are told not to bring processed food for snacks in their lunch boxes, so parents, whether they can afford it or not, are being pushed in the direction of whole fresh foods or home cooked food. The close partnership between education based health programs and schools have created a heightened awareness of the dangers of processed foods, high sugar content snacks and the schools are adjusting their practices as well. As much as this is a good thing for the health of these children, for some children it also eliminates and limits their food options. When a family survives on a single income and the food they get comes from a food bank, or donation program, what they receive is inevitably not going
to be ideal. If you cannot take those foods to school, the kids are not eating during the day.

If food security is an issue, how can we find a compromise to ensure children are eating? One of the ways is through some of the programs that Our Sustenance offers. The bridge between food access and the community can be summed up in Our Sustenance—literally. When our culture was given the gifts of knowledge and food, we knew we could provide for ourselves. The Our Sustenance program is doing something that connects to those original teachings and that would be beneficial on a large scale. We receive support, socially, monetarily, and conceptually from Chief and Council. There is still more that could be done however. Each primary school on the reserve has a greenhouse built into it. If it could be utilized to grow some basic simple ingredients such as lettuce, cucumbers, spinach, and kale, a school could easily create a program that uses those foods and helps feed those who don’t have enough. Since whole foods are what school policies are promoting, this offers an ideal approach. If we can teach children at an early age that the ideal is also possible, then we can instill culture, health and wellness in an entire generation. As well, the creation of community awareness of our programs is still lagging, but, as much as that is true, the program has grown more and more this past year and the momentum is there for greater numbers of community members to find us and start to participate.

Conclusion

Sharing knowledge is often considered something that happens in prescribed locations, at certain times. Children gain knowledge and learn at school. Classrooms, training facilities, and lecture halls all have an affiliation with knowledge. Six Nations,
and many other cultures believe that knowledge is passed on within its beliefs, and its very culture. Through this research I have seen that knowledge can and is shared, on every level, in every place in this community. What is needed for Six Nations is the ability and willingness of the community members to heed the food and cultural knowledge that is there for the taking. Our Sustenance is creating waves in our community and is gaining momentum. I am hopeful it is enough to create the change that is needed to reduce the food insecurity. In order to discuss my research as a subject of food security and the knowledge needed to change it, I had to be aware of the definition of traditional knowledge versus Traditional cultural knowledge. I am not saying the two are in competition, or that they are even different, but when discussing knowledge of planting and gardening, there is a traditional aspect, and a Traditional cultural aspect. The literature I read to prepare me for the research showed the ways in which the Six Nations as a culture grew, preserved, and celebrated food and how those methods acculturated us to be sustainable as a community. The way in which food is grown or the way we teach how to grow it does not necessarily make the knowledge Traditional, but in planting, growing, harvesting, and eating our own food together, we are living the teaching of interdependency with one another and the land. Programs in the community, including ours are teaching and sharing information that we feel is important to assisting people to make healthy choices. The Our Sustenance program is a movement for food security on every level.

In the time since my research was formally conducted, many changes have come about—some of them small, some seemingly insignificant have been quite literally, life changing. The Our Sustenance Program is currently working on an application to become
the next Community Food Centre funded by Community Food Centres Canada and the
Ontario Trillium Foundation (dedicated to funding initiatives that support healthy
communities). This partnership offers a model for fundraising to make the program more
sustainable and works with individual communities to find what works best for them.
This is hopeful for the program, and the community. This summer,(2014) seven families
grew a garden as a result of the children’s programs that Our Sustenance ran. Those
children brought their parents back, determined to grow a garden and even if they had to
show their parents how, they were ready for it.

A bittersweet note is the passing of time. The eighty-two-year-old seed keeper I
spoke with has been referring people to my mother, the Our Sustenance greenhouse
grower, and has started giving her what is left of her prodigious seed collection. On one
hand, it means she is preparing to not be the perpetual teacher and seed keeper. On the
other hand, it means she finally sees hope in a generation and someone who just might be
willing and able to step into her role.
References


GREAT(2000) Grand river employment and training; Leakage study.


