Indigenous Food Sovereignty

Literature Review

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous peoples have practiced food systems intertwined with the plants, animals, lands, and waters around them for thousands of years. These connections have frequently been severed by colonialism, producing devastating effects on Indigenous health, culture, and sovereignty. In the face of this devastation, the reflourishing of Indigenous food sovereignty constitutes a critical form of resistance. This paper provides a broad review of the academic literature on Indigenous food sovereignty, analyzing themes and case studies. This paper argues that 5 themes (health, law and the state, social perceptions of food, gender, and free trade) reflect helpful entry points for understanding this multidimensional topic. The case studies detail important aspects of food sovereignty, such as data ownership, anticolonial resistance, relationality, and seed saving. First, background on traditional food systems is given, followed by an exploration of food sovereignty, Indigenous food sovereignty, and food security in common literature. Five themes are used to ground Indigenous food sovereignty in key debates and challenges. Using the five case studies, this review aims to give the reader a sense of the inherently political nature of food systems in the experiences of Indigenous peoples by touching on a wide set of illustrative texts, examples, and cases.

Keywords: Indigenous food sovereignty, Indigenous peoples, food systems, colonialism, traditional food systems, health, law, social perceptions, free trade, data ownership, anticolonial resistance, seed saving, food security, Indigenous health, cultural sovereignty, political nature of food systems, academic literature

Introduction

Traditional foods are central to culture and self-determination for Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples have practiced food systems intertwined with the plants, animals, lands, and waters around them for thousands of years. The essential link between Indigenous cultures and the environments they are a part of is exemplified in the names of peoples such as the Tsleil-Waututh Nation, who are called the People of the Inlet, and the Anishinabe, who are called the People of the Wild Rice. These connections with Lands have frequently been severed by colonialism, producing devastating effects on Indigenous health, culture, and sovereignty. In the face of this devastation, the reflourishing of Indigenous food sovereignty constitutes a critical form of resistance to colonial violence.

This paper provides a broad review of the academic literature on Indigenous food

sovereignty, analyzing themes and case studies. I argue that 5 themes—health, law and the state, social perceptions of food, gender, and free trade—serve as valuable entry points for understanding this multifaceted issue. These were identified by first analyzing recurrent themes across 39 reviewed texts from the literature. The first theme selected was "health," both for its prominence in the literature and its importance in articulating food systems as both sites of colonial violence and anticolonial resistance. Then, "free trade" and "law and the state" were selected to bring forth issues of power across different scales (i.e., international forms of power in "free trade" and state and local forms of power in "law and the state"). Finally, "gender" and "social perceptions of food" were selected to highlight the relationship between ideational factors and material conditions of food sovereignty.

The case studies were chosen to illuminate specific practices and challenges that Indigenous peoples encounter and use around the core themes of food sovereignty. The RSAFG case was chosen for its links to health and healing and for its articulation of gathering and owning data about plants as a decolonial act. The Traditional Foods of Puget Sound Project case was included because it directly illustrates legal and practical challenges facing tribes in efforts to restore traditional foods. The Urban Indigenous Food Sovereignty in Canada case was selected because urban spaces emphasize the importance of relationality and social networks for maintaining food sovereignty in the face of displacement, particularly as approximately half of First Nations Peoples now live in cities in Canada. Braiding the Sacred shows how seeds embody the survivance of Native cultures. This is demonstrated through the role of education, traditional knowledge restoration, and inter-tribal resource-sharing. Finally, Sharaka demonstrates the centrality of "the local" and the "authentic" in Indigenous food sovereignty efforts, especially in a context where the settler-colonial occupation is going to great lengths to deny and erase the existence of Indigenous culture and population in Palestine.

Before engaging with each of these case studies, I start with a background on traditional food systems and their disruption, followed by establishing how food sovereignty, Indigenous food sovereignty, and food security differ in the literature. Then, I explore the 5 themes to place Indigenous food sovereignty in key debates and challenges and to cover different analytical approaches. Finally, I ground these themes in practice by detailing 5 case studies. This review aims to give the reader a sense of the inherently political nature of food systems in the experiences of Indigenous peoples by touching on a wide set of illustrative texts, examples, and cases that emphasize its multi-dimensionality.

Background

Traditional foods are critical to Indigenous peoples' physical and cultural survival worldwide. Research has consistently shown that Indigenous peoples who consume traditional foods are physically and mentally healthier, experience greater food security, and have more connection with their cultures (Bersamin et al., 2008; Schultz, 1999; Smith et al., 2019; Walch and Bersamin, 2019, cited in Land et al., 2021).

Traditional foodways serve as an important infrastructure for passing cultural and traditional knowledge down through generations (Drugova, Curtis, and Kim 2022, cited in Gutierrez, Kaloostian, and Redvers, 2023), making them essential to the survivance of Native cultures.

While self-determination over food systems is of particular importance for Indigenous peoples, it is a universal and vital political goal. In the face of interrelated global food crises, the climate crisis, and extractivism driven by global capitalism, asserting popular determination over food systems has never been more critical. Agricultural production and food distribution play an immense role in greenhouse gas emissions (as much as 34% globally) and land-use conversion (Ritchie, 2021). It is the colonial and capitalist model of industrial agriculture that is driving the vast majority of these emissions, demonstrating both the unsustainability of this model as well as the need to elaborate Indigenous-led solutions that are based on traditional ecological knowledge systems with a more sustainable ontology of the human-environment connection.

Indigenous knowledge systems about food production, based on a fundamentally different worldview than colonial epistemologies, which see a disconnect between humans and "nature," have been repeatedly subjugated and erased by colonial processes. Settler colonialism has devastated Indigenous food systems. As a practice, structure, and logic, settler colonialism consistently entails the weaponization of food against Native peoples as a tool of genocide and a mechanism of colonial power. Burnett, Hay, and Chambers (2016) demonstrate how North American settler governments have intentionally and systematically imposed hunger, malnutrition, and food insecurity in order "to erase and replace Indigenous peoples and cultures" (cited in McKinley and Jernigan, 2023). This form of colonial violence transcends geographic and temporal boundaries: food has been weaponized throughout Israel's occupation of Palestine (Abu Awwad, 2016; Haddad, 2024; Meneley, 2014) and by the settler colonial state of Australia (Fazzino, 2019).

A common technique colonizers use to disrupt traditional foodways is imposing bans on traditional foods. Amaranth is a staple food for Aztec people and other groups in Mesoamerica. It is a crucial source of protein and amino acids and, beyond its nutritional value, is a cultural centerpiece with immense spiritual importance (Siegal, 2022). The amaranth plant was used in celebrations of Huītzilōpōchtli, the god of the sun and war (Siegal, 2022). Seeing this spiritual importance as a threat to the spread of Christianity, Spanish colonizers banned amaranth and punished Aztecs for saving amaranth seeds (Siegal, 2022). However, through covert acts of resistance, Indigenous farmers secretly saved and cultivated amaranth seeds, allowing amaranth to remain a prominent food today (Siegal, 2022). Likewise, in Palestine, foraging for the culturally important za'atar, 'akkoub, and miramiyyeh plants was made a criminal offense by the Israeli state beginning in 1977 under the paradigm of nature conservation (Snaije, 2022). This was despite a lack of evidence that the foraging practices of Palestinians were harming the ecosystem. In 2019, Palestinian human rights

lawyer Rabea Eghbariah challenged the ban, arguing that it went deeper than "protecting nature" and instead was part of the ongoing dispossession of Palestinians from their land and cultural practices (Snaije, 2022). As a result, the ban was modified to allow a small amount of edible plants to be collected.

Colonizers have also banned ceremonial practices associated with food in order to disrupt traditional foodways. In Canada, between 1885 and 1951, Indigenous ceremonies known as the Potlatch were prohibited by a federal ban (Noakes, 2023). While the specific forms of Potlatch ceremonies vary by Nation and clan, they are usually centered around a feast alongside other cultural practices such as ceremonial dancing. The Potlatch is important for wealth redistribution, governance, reinforcing solidarity, and celebrating important events (Noakes, 2023). The ban resulted not only in disruption to these feasts and the material and social exchanges and practices that accompanied them but also in the confiscation of important cultural objects. There are also adverse social impacts, including a lingering patriarchal culture resulting from colonial influence. When the ban was imposed, the Potlatch had to be practiced in secret, so men would tell federal "Indian agents" that they were going hunting and then practice the Potlatch in secret (Monkman, 2017). Women, however, could not use this same excuse, leading to the Potlatch being celebrated with only men present (Monkman, 2017). After decades of this pattern, the Potlatch became a male-centric practice, which has marginalized the participation and role of women.

In the face of multi-pronged attacks on their food sovereignty, Indigenous peoples have used the reflourishing of traditional foodways as a site

Figure 1
Amaranth

Note. Photo by Hardyplants (2014). *Amaranthus flowering*. 30 March 2014. In the public domain.

Figure 2
Potlatch Ceremony

Note. Photo by Pillsbury, A. C. (1898) *Dancers at Klukwan Potlatch ceremony, Alaska, October 14, 1898*. In the public domain.

of resistance. Projects that restore the traditional foods and medicinal practices of Indigenous peoples embody the practice of Indigenous food sovereignty. I will define the term Indigenous food sovereignty in the next section, wherein I establish distinctions between food security, food sovereignty, and Indigenous food sovereignty.

Disentangling Food Security, Food Sovereignty, and Indigenous Food Sovereignty

In the following section, I will engage with the literature that defines and distinguishes between three terms used in food politics: food security, food sovereignty, and Indigenous food sovereignty. I argue Indigenous food sovereignty is a distinct concept due to its incorporation of Indigenous knowledge about relationality and reciprocity and its expansion beyond the legal and right-based approaches that constitute the (non-Indigenous) food sovereignty approach.

Food Security

Readers have likely encountered the term "food security" before, which the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) defines as "*access* by all peoples at all times to *enough* food for an active, healthy life [emphasis added]" (Maudrie et al., 2023, p. 1076). Following this definition, food security policies tend to focus on the *quantity* and *availability* of food. However, this can come at the expense of considering the nutritious or cultural *quality* of food. Ultimately, it is not enough to have access to sufficient quantities of food; that food must also be culturally appropriate and healthy.

Food security's narrow focus on access eludes how communities might control the wider social and political conditions that shape that access. After all, one can be "food secure in a prison[,] where one might continually *access* safe and nutritious food, yet remain fundamentally disempowered over the process and politics of the food's production, consumption, and distribution" (Patel, 2012, p. 1). This is the key limitation of food security: its compatibility with dependency and, therefore, its incompatibility with self-determination. It is thus an inadequate framework for addressing the food system concerns of Indigenous peoples, for whom, like any population, self-determination is paramount.

Food Sovereignty

The limitations of food security contributed to the rise of alternative frameworks like food sovereignty. As its name suggests, food sovereignty differs from food security in its emphasis on a peoples' expanded parameters of control and determination over food systems. Food sovereignty was popularized by the international grassroots peasant movement La Vía Campesina (LVC) at the 1996 World Food Summit in Rome, Italy. The most popular definition of the term comes from the Nyéléni Declaration, which asserts that "food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (*Declaration of Nyéléni, 2007*). This illustrates food sovereignty's expanded focus, as compared with food security, which is evident

in its inclusion of concerns such as ecological sustainability, the cultural nature of food, and the importance of self-definition. However, while it is a more expansive category, food sovereignty is not necessarily incompatible with food security. As Edelman (2014, cited in Trauger, 2014) shows, the food sovereignty approach is sometimes positioned purely *against* food security, but elsewhere, it is positioned as a means of *achieving* it.

In either case, what makes food sovereignty unique is its radical challenge to neoliberalism's impact on the global food system. Beginning in the early 1990s, the global food system came to be dominated by the notion that food should be determined as a market relation (rather than an inherent right). Under this neoliberal logic, the "corporate food regime shifted the locus of control for food security away from the nation-state to the world market" (Kaur Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnamperuma, 2013, p. 309). This shift was supported by the United States, which used its hegemonic position in the 1993 Uruguay Round of World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations to promote the power of US agribusiness firms in the global food system (Kaur Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnamperuma, 2013, p. 309). This was part of the broader era of neoliberalism, which drove the retreat of states and the expanded power of multinational corporations as actors in trade and development. Food sovereignty movements like LVC partly emerged as a response to this global shift, aiming to resecure the support of nation-states for small, Indigenous, and peasant producers who were being displaced by multinationals. Food sovereignty movements reframed being self-determined, small food producers as a right that could be protected by the laws of states. Since its popularization in the 1990s, food sovereignty has become a widespread movement and term, leading some to argue that it has become too all-encompassing, while others point to how its broadness means a variety of actors can contribute to the movement (Portman, 2018; Bellinger and Fakhri, 2013).

Indigenous Food Sovereignty

Food sovereignty resonates with Indigenous peoples by emphasizing self-determination over food systems (Huambachano, 2019, p. 1). Despite this resonance, Indigenous scholars have demonstrated that *Indigenous* food sovereignty takes the concept in a new direction, expanding it beyond legal and rights-based approaches. Indigenous food sovereignty does this by incorporating relationality, reciprocity, and place. Hoover and Mihesuah (2019, p. 11) argue that "Indigenous food sovereignty places primacy on [...] sacred responsibilities and connections to land, culture, relationships, spirituality, and ancestral peoples." Indigenous food sovereignty can, therefore, be understood as a separate concept from food sovereignty due to its embeddedness in worldviews articulated by Indigenous peoples, which understand the place of humans in their food systems differently than other non-Indigenous food sovereignty discourses. As Maudrie et al. (2023, p. 1075) have shown in their research, Indigenous food sovereignty (IFS):

> is a holistic approach to food that incorporates values of relationality,

> reciprocity, and relationships. Fundamental differences exist between food security and food sovereignty, yet dominant society often reduces IFS as a solution to food security, rather than an entirely different food system that is predicated on values that contrast with that of dominant society" (2023, p. 1075).

The distinctions between food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignty and between food security and these concepts are essential to understand because they reveal the unique nature of Indigenous food sovereignty. In the following section, I explore the literature on Indigenous food sovereignty through 5 thematic entry points, selected for their prominence in the literature and their capacity to highlight important elements of these concepts.

Core Themes in the Literature

Theme 1: Health

The necessity of food sovereignty for Indigenous peoples' health is an omnipresent theme in the literature. The essence of the link between harvesting, preparing, and consuming traditional foods and being able to live healthy lives is encapsulated in the dictum "nature cures" (Korn, 2023); this phrase refers to the longstanding practice of using products from one's natural environment to ward off illnesses, eat a healthy diet, and cure ailments.

Traditional foods are critical to Indigenous peoples' health in several ways. Firstly, they are important in maintaining physical health and avoiding the diet-related illnesses that have become prevalent among Indigenous communities as a result of colonial disruption to their foodways (such as bans on amaranth or the Potlatch, detailed above). Burnett, Hay, and Chambers (2016) suggest that imposing malnutrition on Indigenous peoples is a core settler colonial strategy to eradicate Native people. In North America, many Indigenous populations, after being forced onto reservations, were made dependent on commodity foods and government food aid programs. Research has consistently demonstrated that Indigenous families who are more reliant on commodity foods (as opposed to those with greater access to traditional foods) experience higher rates of diseases like diabetes (McKinley and Jernigan, 2023; Krohn and Segrest, 2008, p. 0). This has been partly due to the impacts on the body of the rapid diet transitions that followed assimilation policies (such as the abduction of Native American youth to 'boarding schools').

The rapid diet transition from traditional to introduced foods has been characterized as "nutrition trauma," which is defined as "the disruption in access to endemic, natural food resources due to overwhelming forces that make inaccessible foods that are bio-culturally and biochemically suited to healthy digestion and nutrient utilization" (Korn, 2023). It is important to understand the causes of nutrition trauma as political rather than natural. Dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands results in loss of access to their food systems, which in turn harms their nutritional well-being. The external forces of market expansion of commodity foods into Indigenous communities

"overwhelm the capacity of the local Indigenous peoples to digest and metabolize these new foods, which often cause conditions that were unknown or rare before the colonial process" (Korn, 2023). By harming the physical health of Indigenous peoples, the erosion of traditional foodways harms their self-determination. Some argue this represents cultural genocide (Ryser, Marchand, and Parker, 2020) due to food and water constituting the "second pillar" of culture, following language. The reciprocity between the Land, the food, and the survival of cultures is evident in the base word *túm* in *nsexlcin*, a Salish language, which means 'mother,' being part of the word *túmx(w)lax(w)*, meaning 'the land in all its diversity' (Ryser, Marchand, and Parker, 2020). Thus, the Land is the mother, which supplies the sustenance that kee ps culture alive. When the land is taken away or polluted, the culture will struggle to survive.

Traditional foods are central to the cultural health of Indigenous peoples. In many Indigenous cultures, such as those of the Puget Sound region of the northwest United States and southwest Canada, food is "a living part of the culture" (Krohn and Segrest, 2006, p. 0). The plants, animals, Land, water, and skies of a nation's territory are integral not only to its food systems but also to its knowledge systems, ceremonial and cultural practices, and broader understandings of the world. In Māori understandings of the world, Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, is a sacred space where "all human and non-human kin…flourish within a symbiotic and nurturing environment" (Huambachano, 2019, p. 3). By harming traditional foods, whether through contamination, dispossession, deforestation, legal prohibition, or other methods, the overarching network and personhood of Papatūānuku is damaged, and along with it, the culture for whom its survival is integral. Additionally, harvesting, preparing, and consuming traditional foods are vital to culture and provide a forum for elders to transfer cultural knowledge to younger generations. Impeding these harvesting practices stops this intergenerational cultural knowledge transfer as well.

Traditional foods are also critical for the mental health of Indigenous peoples. The mental health of Indigenous peoples is a vital area of concern, given the high rates of suicide and substance abuse experienced by Indigenous peoples in the United States (Polcano, 2022) and elsewhere. The activities associated with the practice of Indigenous food sovereignty, such as gardening, communal cooking, food preparation, foraging, hunting, and connecting with Land, are all helpful in building relationships that facilitate positive mental health (Jernigan et al., 2023; Jonasson et al., 2019). Indigenous people may also be displaced, which occurs as a result of dislocation from ancestral Lands. Minkoff-Zern et al. (2023) demonstrate the many positive impacts of gardening and food-growing programs on the mental health of displaced peoples, including creating a sense of self-sufficiency and providing a forum for socializing.

The mental health impacts of traditional foodways disruption on Indigenous peoples is a form of traumatic stress. Just as "nutrition trauma" describes the bodily trauma a population can experience from a rapid diet transition, traumatic psychological stress can result from

the impacts of development on a community's life and foodways. Development projects have impacted the Cowlitz Tribal territory by damming rivers, cutting forests, and damaging topsoil through road construction (Korn, 1997), inflicting trauma on the Cowlitz Tribe, who face overwhelming external forces they cannot control. When stress responses are induced constantly, Indigenous peoples can experience chemical changes such as lactic acid build-up, as well as weakened immune systems, worsened digestion, and other impacts of stress (including substance abuse, self-medication, and other dissociative responses that aim to restore control) (Korn, 1997). Southern Ute Tribe member Shereena Baker describes how her struggles with mental health were linked to her use of alcohol, as well as her poor diet consisting of pasta, bread, rice, and fast food (Polanco, 2022). But, after turning to a diet of traditional foods, she experienced profound benefits in alleviating her anxiety and boosting her general mental health. Baker's new diet, including Southern Ute traditional foods like elk, deer, pumpkin seeds, and dried cherries, also helped her to regain cultural knowledge about the foods and practices of her ancestors (Polcano, 2022).

The principles of Indigenous food sovereignty can provide an alternative path to some of the ways that harm is being inflicted on Indigenous health. In Canada, the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion represents a health threat to the Tsleil-Waututh Nation, as it contaminates the culturally and nutritiously important shellfish harvest (Jonasson et al., 2019). The pipeline also risks the health of the Orca whale communities that are co-residents of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation's territory (Jonasson et al., 2019, p. 511). However, through the integration of Indigenous food sovereignty principles of relationality and reciprocity with lands, waters, plants, and animals—principles that recognize the needs of humans, as well as those of the seas, shellfish, and Orcas, and their complex, codependent interrelations—an alternative path for development and cohabitation emerges as possible.

Theme 2: Law and the State

The relationship between the laws of states and food sovereignty is nuanced: these laws sometimes facilitate and other times obstruct the practice of sovereign foodways. As I have argued above, Indigenous food sovereignty is distinct from other food sovereignty movements in its expansion beyond legal approaches. This sometimes means pursuing traditional foods harvesting, even when doing so is illegal, through acts of civil disobedience. The White Earth Tribe of Anishinabe provides one example of this practice. In 1837, the Chippewa/Ojibwe Tribes of the Upper Midwest ceded 3 million acres of land to the United States in a Treaty, retaining rights to hunting, fishing, and ricing. Ricing is essential for Ojibwe groups, such as the Anishinabe, as rice has been a staple crop for centuries (Trauger, 2014). However, when White Earth Tribe members try to assert their Treaty rights by seeding rice or fishing in lakes off-reservation, they are harassed by state conservation officials and issued citations (because seeding lakes is illegal in Minnesota unless practiced by state conservation officials) (Trauger, 2014). This highlights how, in asserting its governance rights to protect commercial ricing

and fishing, the state's (colonial) sovereignty can impede Indigenous peoples' attempts to access traditional foods under their original sovereignty. Despite this, Trauger (2014) shows that in practicing traditional foodways illicitly, food sovereignty can "[reconfigure] notions of power (through [civil] disobedience), economy (through acting on rights to subsistence and non-commodified food exchanges) and shared access to property through overlapping zones of authority (tribal, state, federal) over territory."

State conservation laws also inhibit the food sovereignty of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nations of Vancouver Island, Canada. Before settler contact, the Nuu-chah-nulth Nations managed local sea otter populations by selectively hunting individual otters from a demarcated area to ward off otters from harvesting shellfish in that area. This enabled both Nuu-chah-nulth peoples and sea otters to flourish in mutual conditions of food security (Salomon et al. 2015, 2020), and sea otter hunts were carefully regulated by the principle of *ʔiisaak*, meaning respect for all things (Popken et al., 2023). However, reflecting how settler-led conservation projects often disrupt Indigenous lifeways, economies, and food sovereignty (Sandlos, 2001; Binnema and Niemi, 2006; Coté, 2010, 2022; Purdy, 2015; Schmidt and Peterson, 2009; Herriman, 2017), Canada's sea otter management program made the hunt of sea otters illegal (Plummer, 2018), harming the ability of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples to carry out the culturally and nutritiously important shellfish harvest. This is despite the fact that Nuu-chah-nulth otter hunting was not, and is not, a threat to the health of the sea otter population. This reflects the broader importance of using Indigenous knowledge when designing conservation programs to ensure they do not harm human subsistence while protecting animal populations. However, it is not enough to simply integrate/incorporate Indigenous knowledge performatively into management, which remains led by settlers. "Indigenous knowledge" must not be co-opted by settler initiatives; instead, its application to practices like sea otter stewardship must be achieved through self-governance by Indigenous peoples themselves. This necessarily implies the state ceding sovereignty to Indigenous peoples and allowing their original sovereignty to be the basis for environmental self-governance. Following this logic, Popken (et al., 2023) thus suggest that sea otter conservation governance be restructured around Nuu-chah-nulth principles of *hišukʔiš cʔawaak* (everything is one), *ʔiisaak* (respect with caring), and *ʔuʔaaɬuk* (taking care of) via environmental self-governance by Nuu-chah-nulth Nations.

The state's role as a sovereign law-maker is not always contradictory to Indigenous food sovereignty, as the experiences of Indigenous activists in Ecuador demonstrate. While I have defined Indigenous food sovereignty as a distinct concept in part due to its expansion *beyond* legal approaches, this does not mean that Indigenous peoples are not using legal forums as a method to pursue food sovereignty where opportunities arise. Rather, when the state and its laws provide openings through which to pursue food sovereignty, Indigenous peoples have engaged with legal approaches. In Ecuador, the new constitution in 2008 provided an entry

point through which Indigenous activists could incorporate food sovereignty into the structures of the state, including by securing legal guarantees. A central component of the success of this strategy was the choice to frame food sovereignty as a necessary part of achieving the right to *sumak kawsay*, a Kichwa term often translated as "living well" (Peña, 2016, p. 221). This enabled the Red Agraria coalition (the main actor pushing for food sovereignty to be in the constitution) to build a broad support base across different groups in the country. While the choice to integrate a grassroots social movement into the institutions of the state may seem to risk its co-optation away from its more radical aims, Peña (2016) points out that it provided an opportunity for the food sovereignty movement in Ecuador to channel underrepresented voices and claims directly into policy-making processes (p. 230) which would not have been possible without this integration.

Legal approaches have also led to some significant victories for Indigenous peoples in pursuing food sovereignty. In Brazil, the *Marco Temporal* (time marker) is a restrictive legal mechanism promoted by the agribusiness sector that seeks to refute Indigenous land claims by arguing that Indigenous peoples who did not occupy lands in 1988, when the constitution was adopted, have no right to make claims to those lands. In 2023, following years of pressure from Indigenous activists, the Brazilian Supreme Court ruled against the right of agribusiness companies to use *Marco Temporal* to ignore Indigenous land rights (Phillips, 2023). Marco Temporal created legal legitimacy for the theft of Indigenous land, particularly by food companies. The rejection of *Marco Temporal* has been called "the most

Figure 3
Performance outside Brazilian Supreme Court Against Marco Temporal

Note. Photo by Mídia Ninja (2017) *Indígenas fazem ato em frente ao STF contra marco temporal* [Indigenous people perform in front of the STF against the marco temporal], Brazil, 3 August 2017. CC-BY-NC

significant victory of the Indigenous movement in the 21st century" (Alfinito and Oliveira, 2024). However, despite this major victory, the struggle for Indigenous land rights in Brazil is ongoing, as new, anti-Indigenous laws such as Bill 2903 have been passed in response to *Marco Temporal's* nullification (Alfinito and Oliveira, 2024).

The contrast between Ecuadorian, Brazilian, and White Earth Tribe & Nuu-chah-nulth experiences with the state and law *vis-a-vis* food sovereignty reveals a nuanced relationship between law and food sovereignty. Law is neither *necessarily* a barrier nor a tool for achieving food sovereignty for Indigenous peoples. However, both where it obstructs and enables citizens to develop and practice sovereign foodways, analyzing, challenging, and/or using law has an important role to play in the movement for food sovereignty. Bellinger and Fakhri (2013) note the

variety of legal approaches being used to pursue food sovereignty globally: from a community ordinance in Maine to the national constitution in Ecuador, to legislation like Nicaragua's food sovereignty law, to regional trade agreements like the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas. While it is outside the scope of this paper to examine, comparing the cases of bottom-up approaches (like community food sovereignty ordinances or the civil disobedience of the White Earth Tribe members in Minnesota) with top-down approaches (like the constitutional provision in Ecuador or the Supreme Court ruling in Brazil) raises questions about which approach can more effectively guarantee food sovereignty (Bellinger and Fakhri, 2013). Ultimately, a core reason it is important to analyze law's impacts on food sovereignty lies in how many legal frameworks currently serve as major barriers to its realization, from international trade laws to federal and state laws preempting local ordinances (Bellinger and Fakhri, 2013), as well as in how critical national-level legal victories can be in protecting Indigenous food and Land rights.

Theme 3: Social perceptions of food

Food sovereignty discourse tends to assume that the barriers to food sovereignty are primarily political and economic. Furthermore, there is a common assumption that consumers will prefer local and traditional foods over imported and market ones and that the root causes of "poor" food choices are financial and time poverty (Steckley, 2016, p. 26). While these material barriers are indeed critical, these assumptions are challenged by analyzing the role of social perceptions of food in food/food system choices. Understanding how social perceptions complicate these assumptions is important for Indigenous food sovereignty movements because it draws attention to often overlooked, ideological (rather than material) barriers to achieving food sovereignty.

Sociologists have extensively analyzed how consumption choices are part of how people form their identities and senses of social distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). These processes extend to food; it is well documented that people's ideas about food, not just its actual nutritional or economic value, will influence their choice to consume it. Higgs and Thomas (2016) illustrate how eating behaviors are strongly shaped by social context through the influence of "social eating norms." These social norms can prove harmful to public health and food sovereignty by stigmatizing foods that are healthy and accessible while valorizing foods that are not.

Different eating patterns among different socio-economic groups are often attributed to differences in food access based on price and geography. Fielding-Singh (2017) shows that these differences are also due to disparate *meanings* attached to foods. In contexts of material deprivation, Fielding-Singh (2017, p. 424-425) found that parents of low socio-economic status use food as a "symbolic antidote" to this deprivation, and thus "can often oblige adolescents' inexpensive food requests," which can bolster their worth as caregivers, but also undermine healthy nutrition. This insight is pertinent to the experiences of Alaska Native and Native American families, who experience starkly higher rates of poverty than other groups in the

United States (*American Indians and Alaska Natives - by the numbers*, 2012).

Classed ideas about food also intersect with race, particularly in colonial contexts. In Haiti, Steckley (2016, p. 27) shows that foods considered "prestigious" are those associated with lighter-skinned urban elites, while those foods associated with the Black peasantry are deemed inferior and rejected. Foods like pitimi, despite having nutritious, economical, and caloric value, are considered shameful due to their association with "the poor" (Steckley, 2016, p. 28). The role of race in these preferences is present in subtler ways as well, such as in preferences for white sugar, considered more "prestigious," over brown sugar, or preferences for imported white crackers over traditional (brown) molasses bread (Steckley, 2016, p. 28). An area that requires further investigation is how perceptions of race, color, and class may shape food preferences among Native peoples in settler colonial contexts like Canada and the United States.

Racism and classism shape food systems in broader ways as well. Barry et al. (2020) have shown how the influence of race, color, class, and gender in 500 years of the Caribbean food system has led to a societal dynamic where "perceived social status and economic mobility…matter more than social welfare and economic justice" (Scott, 2002). This influences consumption choices against the interests of food sovereignty, e.g., through preferences for plastic-wrapped, imported vegetables over local or home garden produce (Barry et al., 2020). But the issue goes deeper than consumption choices and reflects how ideas about what it means to be "developed" have become "deeply, psycho-socially, engrained" (Barry et al., 2020). Looking at race and class in postcolonial Caribbean agriculture, Giovinnetti (2006, cited in Barry et al., 2020) shows how local food and farm work, which was not particularly stigmatized by Indigenous, Black, or South Asian groups before colonial plantation economies taking hold, has become a badge of being "lowly" and "pitiable." This has undermined local production in favor of neoliberal structural adjustment policies that erode community self-determination over food.

Racialized perceptions of food also permeate how people frame the causes of diet-related illnesses and the erosion of the food sovereignty of Indigenous peoples. Examining the experiences of the Marind people in West Papua, Chao (2021) shows how palm oil plantations and the expansion of agribusiness "obliterates the very environments from which Marind derive their culturally valued forms of subsistence." Despite this reality, racist rhetoric blames the experience of Marind people with diet-related illnesses not on attacks on their traditional foods but instead on their own 'ignorance' or 'backwardness.' Development projects that harm Marind's lifeways are made legitimate, and therefore politically possible, through racist rhetorics of "gastrocolonialism," which infantilize and animalize Papuan bodies, foods, and traditional subsistence practices (Chao, 2021). Gastrocolonialism describes imposed food regimes that perpetuate the racist violence of imperialism and capitalism through the racialization of food (Chao, 2021). Gastrocolonialism is a useful overarching

framework for understanding the link between discursive and material obstacles to Indigenous food sovereignty, as it connects ideas about food, race, and Indigeneity to their influence on material processes like accessing traditional foods, healthcare, and one's ancestral Land.

While social perceptions of food undergirded by colonialism, racism, and classism are barriers to food sovereignty, Indigenous food education programs have played an important role in changing these perceptions. In the Garden Hill First Nations community in Canada, food systems education among Native youth has promoted positive perceptions of their culture through traditional food knowledge. The Garden Hill education program encourages First Nations youth to seek knowledge from the Creator about their foods and to understand food systems as a way to relate to and live in the world from an Anishiniwuk perspective (Michnik, Thompson, and Beardy, 2021, p. 120). Education programs like these are critical in resisting Canada's cultural genocide, which aims to "'take the Indian out of the child'" (Michnik, Thompson, and Beardy, 2021, p. 121) by emphasizing the restoration of cultural knowledge and ancestral perceptions of foodways. Participants in the Michnik, Thompson, and Beardy (2021) study described how Land-based education was crucial to changing social perceptions imbued in Anishiniwuk people by dominant society: "Learning from the land provides cultural meaning to youth and counters the dominant society's negative influences. A feeling of mastery and pride is developed from harvesting and sharing land food that enriches Indigenous youth" (p. 122). The Garden Hill program is just one example that shows how social perceptions of food, beyond being merely a barrier to Indigenous food sovereignty, are also a site of contestation and how education programs, in particular, have been core to these perceptions as one element of promoting Indigenous sovereign foodways.

From individual consumption choices to the broader economic and political regimes that shape food systems, perceptions of food are highly social and influential. Research in Haiti, the Caribbean, and West Papua demonstrates that ideas about race and class are particularly impactful. However, as the Garden Hill Indigenous food education program shows, these ideas are being contested and changed by Indigenous education initiatives. To realize food sovereignty across contexts permeated by racism and classism, Indigenous food sovereignty movements must continue to account for the importance of education in changing harmful social perceptions.

Theme 4: Gender

The link between gender and food sovereignty is important and under-explored in the literature. Since the earliest articulations of the concept, food sovereignty has included commitments to gender equality (Portman, 2018). The most common argument as to why food sovereignty movements must explicitly address gender injustice is that, as women constitute the majority of the world's food producers (including up to 80% of food production in developing countries), then the policies that govern food systems are a women's issue; and, that changing agriculture

policies will require a focus on gender injustice because it influences relations like access to credit, Land, and inputs (Davies, 2023; Portman, 2018).

Patriarchal social norms can harm women's equitable access to Land and agricultural inputs in a variety of ways, depending on the specific context. However, when applying "patriarchy" or "gender" as analytical categories, it is important to consider decolonial feminist critiques which show the tendency of Western feminisms to reproduce racist and other prejudices (like Islamaphobia) in the name of women's liberation (Bechiche, 2021); e.g, for Indigenous peoples, the striking reality that "'native sovereignty, land rights and reparations[...] for massive dispossessions; displacements; and acts of violence, abuse, and ethnocide' have been missing on the feminist agenda" (Grey, 2004, p. 16, cited in Lemke and Delormier, 2017, p. 4).

With this in mind, some cases rooted in local/particular contexts demonstrate how gender can limit access to land critical for food production. Giovarelli, Wamalwa, and Hannay (2018) show that, in India and Pakistan, low rates of women's Land ownership are due in part to the practice of dowries, in which a woman's inheritance of Land can be given to her husband's family. While women do not need to own Land individually to produce food on it, the lack of ownership can mean greater vulnerability to seizure in Land grabs or expropriation, less determination about the inputs that can be used on the Land, as well as generally having less self-determination over the process of food production which takes place on that Land. Another barrier to women's equitable access to Land is postcolonial Land distributions, transactions, and laws, which frequently displaced traditional rules that were more gender-egalitarian (Giovarelli, Wamalwa, and Hannay, 2018). For example, in southern Ethiopia, the traditional rules of the Borana pastoral communities provided strong protections for women's primary and secondary rights to Land (Flintan, 2010). However, the weakening of customary institutions and the lack of effective provisions from the state to protect women's property rights has meant an increasing set of challenges for Borana women's Land access in pastoral areas (Flintan, 2010).

While the argument that food sovereignty must include gender justice in its framework is bolstered by the global pattern wherein gender discrimination limits the opportunities, security, and self-determination of female food producers, critics have questioned whether food sovereignty is being made too expansive of a concept (Portman, 2018) by trying to incorporate gender justice. This critique raises the question of whether food sovereignty risks becoming "all-encompassing to the point of incoherence" by trying also to be a feminist framework (Portman, 2018). Yet, as Portman (2018) argues, an ecofeminist perspective allows one to see gender justice as a natural part of food sovereignty as a coherent and counter-hegemonic worldview, which grounds the concept's main claims around "the interplay between ecological health, economic and political self-determination, and social justice" (Portman, 2018, p. 465). From an ecofeminist perspective, all three of these aims can be linked to the

logic of masculine, rationalist, and economistic domination that undermines gender justice and the realization of self-determined, equitable, and ecologically sustainable food systems. That is, food sovereignty is a feminist issue because the same ideologies and logic that subjugate women globally also underpin corporate-controlled, environmentally damaging, and anti-poor food systems. This argument can be linked with Calvário and Desmarais' (2023) identification of the "nuanced" school of thought on the feminist potential of food sovereignty, which identifies the framework as "potentially feminist," depending on the specific context it is embedded in.

When examining the link between gender and Indigenous food sovereignty, and in particular how food sovereignty can be a 'feminist' framework, it is important to look at how Indigenous women are using food system politics as sites of resistance and reclaiming roles of leadership. Turner et al. (2020) study of Afro-Colombian women shows how everyday food provisioning practices embody "women's expressions of resistance and the under-recognized work rooted in specific cultural contexts, places, and ecosystems around which food systems are built, adapted and sustained." Examining "provisioning," a concept centering on the social and cultural ideals that economic activities are always embedded in (Polyani, 1977, cited in Turner et al., 2020), is key to recognizing Indigenous women's agency in food sovereignty movements. This is because a "provisioning" lens enables one to see how the "traditional" economies of Indigenous food systems are constituted by an interplay between productive/distributive economic activities and religious/social/cultural practices (Turner et al., 2020) and how this interplay is mediated by the everyday practices of women like those in Colombia.

Among the Zapatista movement in Mexico, Indigenous women have played a particularly central role in the reclamation of food sovereignty and restoring Indigenous autonomy amidst the harms of neoliberalism (Gahman, 2017b). The core of the Zapatista's moves to gender justice has been through the Women's Revolutionary Law (WRL). The WRL mandates women's rights to self-determination, bodily autonomy, and reproductive agency; it inscribes a number of gender-equity provisions, including that women must be able to hold important positions in the EZLN (the Zapatista's army) and the 'Councils of Good Government,' that they take part in Land-based agroecology projects (and other work outside domestic labor), and that they can develop their own cooperatives (Klein, 2015, cited in Gahman, 2017b). The WRL also demonstrates the potential for Indigenous food sovereignty movements to change harmful gender norms, especially regarding labor. The WRL has up-ended ideas that women are less capable of Land-based food cultivation work, thus increasing the level of decision-making power for Zapatista women (Marcos, 2014, cited in Gahman, 2017b). It has also helped to change ideals and practices around masculinity by "obliterating regressive ideals" that men are less able to perform emotional and socially reproductive labor (Gahman, 2017b). Through the WRL, Zapatista autonomous Indigenous governance shows how creating alternatives to the mainstream,

Figure 4
Zapatista International Summit for Women in the Struggle

Note. Photo by Global Justice Now (2018). [Banner from the International Summit for Women in the Struggle called by the Zapatistas], 10 March 2018. CC-BY-NC.

neoliberal food regime is interlaced with efforts towards gender equity.

Given this potential, food sovereignty movements must look at how their aims and practices are embedded in the 'gender order' of a given society (Zinn and Hofmeister, 2022), defined as the invisible expectations around gender that underlie visible interactions. In other words, food sovereignty must be attentive to how, in seeking self-determination for a community over its food system, this self-determination is only legitimate to the extent that it is accessible to all genders.

Theme 5: Free Trade

One of the greatest obstacles to Indigenous food sovereignty globally is the doctrine of free trade. Associated with the ideology of neoliberalism, free trade describes the notion that states should minimize barriers and impediments to the movement of goods across their borders. It is based on the principles of a capitalist global market, which dictate that states import goods they cannot produce as efficiently and specialize in the export of goods they can produce efficiently. This pattern was produced by colonialism and remains structured by colonial practices today. Many states were forced by their colonizers to develop specialized, export-oriented economies without being allowed to retain the wealth they produced for the global core, leading to underdevelopment (Wallerstein, 2019; Rodney, 1972), often through the labor of enslaved Indigenous and Black people. This was a formative process, for example, in the economies of many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Free trade is institutionalized primarily through free trade agreements (FTAs), which are agreements between 2 or more states to lower barriers to exchange. Free trade principles have also been institutionalized in many global South countries through aid conditionality and structural adjustments tied to loans from organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Free trade agreements can harm Indigenous peoples' food sovereignty in several ways.

Firstly, free trade agreements can hurt Indigenous peoples' agricultural livelihoods. In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect, eliminating policies like tariffs designed to protect small domestic producers. On the same day that NAFTA went into force, January 1, 1994, the largely Mayan

Figure 5
Zapatista March

Note. Photo by Tlacaelel, L. (2012) *EZLN March 2012.* (The EZLN, Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, is the Zapatista's Liberation Army). CC-BY-NC

Zapatista movement led an uprising against the Mexican government in Chiapas, southern Mexico; the Zapatistas called NAFTA a "death certificate" for the country's Indigenous peoples (Gahman, 2017a). By 'opening up' Mexico's economy to cheap imported corn from the United States, NAFTA meant that corn produced by Indigenous peasants would not be competitive, leading them to be unable to support themselves and their families through sales to local and national markets (Gahman, 2017a). The result of free trade agreements like NAFTA has been a widespread worsening of food insecurity and poverty for Indigenous peoples (Gahman, 2017a).

The negative impacts of free trade policies on the livelihoods of Indigenous farmers have led movements like the Zapatistas and La Vía Campesina to propose local and sustainable food systems as an alternative to the neoliberal model of industrial, non-sustainable, export-oriented farming. However, not all Indigenous and smallholder farmers desire or follow a local and sustainable model. Despite this, food sovereignty discourses can problematically and incorrectly essentialize Indigenous peasant farmers as 'inherently' supportive of local and agroecological food systems. Soper (2019) highlights that some Indigenous peasant communities in Ecuador are practicing chemically-intensive, monocrop, and export-oriented farming. This example emphasizes that, as Bernstein (2014) argues, Indigenous peasants are not "capitalism's other" but a social group that has experienced class differentiation, wherein some peasants pursue livelihoods through models that follow neoliberal and free trade ideals. Indigenous peasants like those in the Quiloa quinoa cooperative in Ecuador "gladly engage with global industrial agriculture… [seeing] modern industrial production methods and global markets as necessary in order to maintain viable agrarian livelihoods" (Soper, 2019). Additionally, Soper (2015) notes that many Indigenous Andean peasant producers, counter to mainstream assumptions of the food sovereignty movement, view export markets as fairer than local markets because they provide more stable and viable livelihoods. This highlights the importance of movements intending to support Indigenous and peasant producers in considering the multitude of diverse and often conflicting perspectives within these groups.

Engagement with global and export markets has been assisted by the Ecuadorian government, which has pursued policies that help to facilitate

the integration of peasant producers into global industrial agricultural commodity chains (including through price support and technical assistance) (Soper, 2019). Thus, while some communities *are* pursuing global markets, they are doing so with the help of the state and, therefore, against the neoliberal model. Thus, the relationship between free trade and Indigenous farmer's livelihoods is evidently a complex one. The principle remains, though, that without intervention (such as by the state), neoliberal free trade policies harm the ability of Indigenous peasant producers to maintain their livelihoods, leading to issues like food insecurity and poverty.

Among Pacific Island countries, WTO free trade policies have harmed Indigenous peoples' ability to pursue local food systems and have increased dependency on imported foods, leading to public health crises for Native communities. In Fiji, policies like the Fijian Farm Assistance Scheme were designed to help Indigenous Fijians grow food for local markets with assistance through inputs like outboard motors, chainsaws, and planting material (Kaur Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnamperuma, 2013, p. 323). However, these policies are discouraged under WTO pressure, which opposes the state from supporting less-efficient local farmers over more efficient food imports from industrial countries. The prioritization of efficiency, and therefore profit, over healthy and local food harms Indigenous food sovereignty by decreasing support mechanisms for Native farmers who grow (generally healthier) foods for their communities. When countries are made dependent on imported foods, populations are highly vulnerable to price fluctuations and may not be able to grow food themselves if they cannot afford to purchase staple crops at market prices, leading to malnutrition (Kaur Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnamperuma, 2013, p. 324). Additionally, states may not be able to ban unhealthy imported foods for fear of these policies harming their ability to join the WTO. This was the case in Tonga, where unhealthy meat imports were contributing to health issues among the Indigenous population. However, in hopes of joining the WTO, the Health Ministry of Tonga overturned the ban on these meat imports. The outside pressures faced by states like Tonga from the WTO illuminate one of the limitations of using the state as a guarantor of food sovereignty for Indigenous peoples. While it is beyond the scope of this review to explore, it is also worth noting that the influence of supranational organizations like the WTO and the IMF on postcolonial states' domestic policies highlights the colonial nature of state sovereignty itself. The coloniality of sovereignty, including its conditionality based on Eurocentric notions of economics and "progress," has implications for Indigenous peoples in several areas, including in violent 'humanitarian' interventions and neocolonialism (see Pourmokhtari, 2013; Glanville, 2013).

As in other areas that harm their sovereignty, Indigenous peoples globally are actively pursuing alternatives to free trade economies. One such alternative is the co-operative (co-op) model. The co-op structure entails ownership of an enterprise by its members instead of ownership by shareholders or managers who employ laborers. The British Columbia-based New

Relationship Trust's (NRT) Indigenous Co-operative Initiative assists First Nations and Indigenous organizations to create co-operatives. The NRT emphasizes that the idea of co-ops is not new to Indigenous peoples, who have long practiced "co-operative development and communal approaches to…sustain livelihoods, distribute resources, and develop communities" (New Relationship Trust, n.d.). This model centers on the importance of meeting the needs of First Nations community members, as opposed to corporate models that are designed to meet shareholder objectives. The NRT co-ops intersect with Indigenous food sovereignty through initiatives like a cooperative for communal gardening and for sustainable commercial fishing (New Relationship Trust, n.d.). However, these co-ops remain embedded in larger contexts of supply chains, regulations, and other elements that are shaped by neoliberal and free trade policies. This shows the difficulty of engaging with alternative economic models for Indigenous communities' livelihoods amidst the broader conditions of neoliberal economic governance.

Other alternative practices, including unions and co-ops in South America, have centered Indigenous worldviews such as *sumak kawsay* in order to refuse the epistemologies underpinning free trade. Researchers such as Bhatia (2024) have examined how *sumak kawsay* has been consciously articulated and practiced as an alternative to hegemonic capitalist models through organizations in Ecuador, such as UNORCAC. UNORCAC (the Union of Indigenous Peasant Organizations of Cotachachi) is composed of 48 communities and pursues development projects around core needs like enhancing access to water, food, land, education, and agricultural production (Bhatia, 2024). UNORCAC, by promoting solidarity, parity, and complementarity (Bhatia, 2024), demonstrates how basing economies of development on holistic and relational worldviews (i.e., *sumak kawsay*) rather than individualistic, extractive worldviews, bolsters alternative practices that support the needs of small and Indigenous producers and communities.

Free trade agreements have the potential to seriously harm Indigenous food sovereignty when state protections for Indigenous producers are removed, enabling actors with a competitive advantage (such as large-scale industrial corn farming in the United States or imported white flour in Fiji) to displace livelihoods. Markets are flooded with imported foods, which are often less healthy than locally produced, traditional foods and issues like poverty and resultant malnutrition follow. However, global markets, export-orientation, and non-agroecological (e.g., with chemical inputs and monocropping) farming are all pursued by some Indigenous peasant producers. Thus, food sovereignty discourses should not essentialize Indigenous farmers as inherently local and sustainable producers; rather, they must recognize that, while free trade policies can harm Indigenous peoples, these producers may still use the state to secure their access to capitalist global markets.

Case Studies of IFS Initiatives

In the final section, I examine 5 case studies of Indigenous food sovereignty initiatives

revitalizing traditional foodways and Indigenous self-determination. I highlight their intersection with the key themes established above and provide a more detailed picture of what Indigenous food sovereignty looks like in practice.

Case 1: The Restoring Shoshone Ancestral Food Gathering (RSAFG) Community Group (The Great Plains)

In the Wind River Reservation of the Eastern Shoshone people, located in what is now the US state of Wyoming, the Restoring Shoshone Ancestral Food Gathering (RSAFG) project is the leading grassroots effort restoring Eastern Shoshone Indigenous food Sovereignty (Land et al., 2021). In this case study, the reader will see information about the RSAFG cited with the author's name, "Land." This is because the Shoshone Ancestral Land is the lead author of the article detailing the RSAFG, as it is the "primary source of knowledge" embodied in the paper, representing a practice of "decenter[ing] colonial frames of knowledge" (Land et al., 2021) by recognizing the personhood of the land and its reciprocal relationship with the Eastern Shoshone people. The RSAFG emerged from a fall 2016 meeting of tribal elders who, working with the Tohono O'odham Nation, Eastern Shoshone tribal members, and a non-Indigenous ethnobotanist and nutrition researcher, came up with the name of the Restoring Shoshone Ancestral Food Gathering project to name what they were doing (Land et al., 2021).

At its core, the story of the RSAFG is one of Indigenous food sovereignty as a decolonial practice. Its members articulate it as promoting community empowerment through three "acts of decolonization: 1) enacting treaty rights through gathering traditional plants, 2) demanding equitable partnerships in community-based research, and 3) sharing the story through radical authorship via layered narrative" (Land et al., 2021). By enacting the Treaty rights, which constitute external recognition of the Eastern Shoshone's sovereignty, and engaging in a reciprocal relationship with Land (negating the colonial, capitalist logic of an extractive, property relationship with land), the community plant gathering program of the RSAFG is a "radical act of decolonization, self-determination, and sovereignty" (RSAFG member 'L.O.' cited in Land et al., 2021).

The RSAFG is situated in the context of the ongoing colonial occupation of Shoshone Lands, where, for thousands of years, the Eastern Shoshone people survived and thrived through their traditional foodways (Land et al., 2021). But as Land et al. (2021) show, over a couple of hundred years, "imperialism, settler-colonization, war and massacres, bison slaughter, boarding schools, and conscription to reservations have decimated traditional foodways and, today, have yielded enormous health disparities between Indigenous and white communities in the US." The RSAFG directly intervenes against these disparities by redressing their root causes in the decimation of traditional foods. This redress of health disparities is articulated by RSAFG members like 'L.O' as a broader process of healing (Land et al., 2021):

> Although reclaiming ancestral foods is hard work, much easier to go to the store, it's not

> just about feeding the body it's also physical exercise. It's about healing the past so we can go on in a good way. Because when you think about the way food has been used to genocide us--weaponized to destroy our health, our connection to the land, each other, our culture and the way we lived--regenerating food knowledge and food practices becomes a way to heal from these multiple harms. –LO

The RSAFG is also decolonial in the realm of knowledge, intellectual property, and research. Reflecting the second "act of decolonization," "demanding equitable partnerships in community-based research," the RSAFG places primacy on Eastern Shoshone data sovereignty by controlling the data sharing agreement with researchers. RSAFG member "J.L" describes the importance of data ownership for the IFS project: the "study of our native plants belong to us, the Eastern Shoshone Tribe. This aspect of hunting our native plants makes our treaty stronger. If our data is controlled by colleges or Euro-Americans, it gets exploited", but if the Eastern Shoshone own it, "the knowledge cannot be co-opted, commodified and sold for the benefit of others outside the community" (Land et al., 2021). The process of co-optation, commodification, and ultimately, theft of the intellectual knowledge and plant resources which the Eastern Shoshone are trying to fight is what Efferth et al. (2019) call "biopiracy," a "term used to blame the use of biological resources and knowledge of Indigenous communities without sharing the venues generated by the economic exploitation of these resources and knowledge, respectively." The RSAFG rejects the principle of biopiracy, wherein, by failing to acknowledge the ownership of Indigenous knowledge as their intellectual property, contemporary sciences view Indigenous peoples "simply as raw material" in a knowledge-extraction procedure that mirrors colonial processes (Efferth et al., 2016 cited in Efferth et al., 2019). Therefore, RSAFG is assertive of Eastern Shoshone self-determination on two fronts: in its revitalization of traditional foodways to restore health and culture and in its assertion of ownership over data and intellectual property in research partnerships. These elements, together, provide an example of Indigenous food sovereignty as an explicitly decolonial project.

Case 2: The Traditional Foods of Puget Sound Project (The Pacific Northwest)

The Traditional Foods of Puget Sound Project, launched through the Northwest Indian College, aims to "improve individual, family, and community wellness" among Coastal Salish people in western Washington through a revival of traditional foods. The wellness benefits derived from traditional foods are both nutritional and in the connections they cultivate with place and culture (Krohn and Segrest, 2008, p. 1). As in the first core theme highlighted above and in the RSAFG program, health and nutrition are core aims of the Traditional Foods of Puget Sound Project.

Members of the Squaxin Island Tribe of the Medicine Creek Nation confirm that it used to be common for their people to live beyond 100 years of age; however, with the loss of traditional foodways engendered by colonization, new diet

patterns emerged which produced increased incidences of diseases like diabetes which were unheard of before the colonial process (Krohn and Segrest, 2008, p. 0). In efforts to combat these disparities, the Project mirrors the RSAFG's conscious approach to ensuring that research is non-extractive and generates genuine benefits from within the community. The Project included discussions that revealed participants' perspectives on present access to traditional foods, barriers to access, and ways to increase this access.

These discussions emphasized the importance of a Land base. Members of the Cowlitz and Snoqualmie tribes have said that their lack of a Land base impedes their ability to harvest traditional foods (Krohn and Segrest, 2008, p. 7). The experiences of the Cowlitz and Snoqualmie peoples intersect with the problem of state sovereignty for Indigenous foods, as they describe the need to form difficult-to-create partnerships with actors like the US Forest Service (USFS), who control many of the Lands from which they harvest. Conversely, members of tribes like the Lummi, which have larger Land bases, expressed that harvesting traditional foods was easier (Krohn and Segrest, 2008, p. 7).

Fishing laws and marine toxins further hinder Puget Sound area tribes' food sovereignty. As in Minnesota, where the struggles of the White Earth Tribe of Anishinabe to enact sovereign ricing and fishing rights are blocked by state conservation officials, "tension among sports and commercial fishers, the State of Washington, tribes and tribal fishers has persisted to the present" (Krohn and Segrest, 2008, p. 9). Even where Washington state tribal members can access waters to harvest traditional foods, they must navigate the dangers of environmental toxins, which every group in the Project identified as "one of the most powerful barriers to accessing traditional foods" (Krohn and Segrest, p. 7-8).

In the face of these and other barriers, participants in the Project provided their perspectives on some ways Indigenous food sovereignty can be realized. Tribal members named food restoration programs such as community food gardens, food education programs, small family gardens, restoration projects for native plants, fish, and shellfish, community food banks where hunters, fishermen, and gatherers can donate extra food, partnerships with the USFS and private landowners, and partnering with local farmers to access produce as important routes to traditional food restoration (Krohn and Segrest, 2008, p. 16).

This myriad of programs illustrates that Indigenous food sovereignty movements, even when concentrated in a specific region, need not take a single form or approach. Instead, a plurality of strategies can be deployed to realize greater access to traditional foods and cultural continuance of long-standing foodways against the barriers that may arise from multiple directions.

Case 3: Urban Indigenous Food Sovereignty in Canada (Winnipeg and Grand River Territory, southern Ontario)

The third case study delves into the Canadian context to examine the unique but frequently

overlooked experiences of Indigenous peoples in urban centers. There is an oversimplified perception that First Nations, Inuit, and Metis people who migrate from rural communities to cities leave their cultures "behind" (Cidro et al., 2015, p. 31). This notion is based on the faulty premise that Indigenous cultures are spatially bound to particular territories and, therefore, cannot be made mobile through the practices of migrant communities. While connections to Land are critical for many First Nations cultures, these connections can be maintained and adapted in urban environments through a variety of innovative strategies. Indigenous peoples in urban areas are actively challenging the idea that urban migration means leaving their cultures "behind" through the practice of Indigenous food sovereignty. In Canadian cities, Indigenous food sovereignty has become a site through which "urban communities…become centers of cultural identity and resurgence" (Cidro et al., 2015, p. 31). Studies in Winnipeg and southern Ontario demonstrate that relationships with people in the food industry, people visiting from rural areas, community gardens, and education programs are important vessels for maintaining food sovereignty off of traditional territories.

In Winnipeg, Indigenous food sovereignty is articulated as a ceremonial, reciprocal, and educational practice. Urban Indigenous people are able to maintain cultural ceremonies through growing, harvesting, preparing, and eating traditional foods (Cidro et al., 2015, p. 33). The notion of "ceremony" emphasizes the community and relationship-building aspects of food sovereignty while also centering cultural continuance in the face of dislocation from ancestral Lands. This cultural continuance is also reflected in the reciprocal connection to Land that is embodied in the consumption of cultural foods. These connections are enabled through strategies such as using relationships and networks with people outside cities with access to Land, who can provide city-dwellers with traditional foods through gifts and exchanges such as bison, moose, and fish (Cidro et al., 2015, p. 36).

The provision of traditional foods to urban residents has a sacred element. As Cidro et al. (2015) suggest and other studies confirm (Miltenburg, Neufeld, and Anderson, 2022), relationships are the core facet of urban Indigenous food sovereignty. These relationships are imbued with sacredness due to their reciprocity. This is because cultural foods are a sacred gift that embodies a connection between urban Indigenous peoples, Land, and their communities (Miltenburg, Neufeld, and Anderson, 2022). This sacredness is partly derived from the fact that traditional food is understood as a gift from the Land to the people. Even where Indigenous peoples are restricted physical access to Land, they are able to maintain sacred connections via the practice of consuming the gifts that the Land provides to them.

Connections with Land are also part of place-making practices in urban settings. The types of connections with Land that Indigenous food sovereignty facilitates (kin, spiritual, relational) differ from colonial understandings (legal, property, ownership). Despite this, legally owning Land can be a necessary precondition in

contexts like Canada in order to relate with it in a relational, reciprocal way (Miltenburg et al., 2023). This ownership creates practices of place-making through the fulfillment of responsibilities to the Land. One participant, Beth, from Miltenburg et al. (2023) study, summed up how connections to Land are embodied in the notion of responsibilities to the Land of the backyard of her urban home: "It's the land I'm responsible for. I don't see it as mine…where the Creator has my feet, there I will be responsible". This statement casts light on how place and relationality can be understood in contexts of urban Indigenous food sovereignty. It is not that a person must be within the bounds of a particular territory in order to connect with Land. Rather, relationships with the Creator and the Land can be cultivated wherever a person finds themselves through practices of reciprocity with and responsibility to the Earth. The idea that "where the Creator has my feet, there I will be responsible" suggests that an Indigenous relationality with Land is a mobile phenomenon that can be adapted to urban settings.

Some elements of urban environments pose unique challenges to Indigenous food sovereignty, such as reduced access to a Land base for activities like hunting and fishing. Additionally, in urban settings, income is a more significant barrier to cultural food access (Richmond et al., 2020), whereas in reserve settings where time is a greater barrier. However, the centrality of relationships (with communities and with Land) is a throughline between urban and rural food sovereignty. The experiences of urban Indigenous peoples pursuing food sovereignty demonstrate the mobility, adaptability, and resilience of Aboriginal (food) cultures and how community connections and networks can be leveraged to maintain traditional food access without a Land base.

Case 4: Braiding the Sacred Indigenous Corn Growers Network and the Onondaga Nation Farm crew (Turtle Island & Onondaga Lands)

Braiding the Sacred is a network of Indigenous corn keepers aiming to help Indigenous nations across Turtle Island recover sacred seeds and food sources (Bleir, 2020). The organization, founded by Onondaga Nation member Angela Ferguson, works with the Onondaga Nation Farm crew to cultivate and return seeds to their people and to help restore ancestral methods of hunting, fishing, agriculture, and food preparation (Bleir, 2020). The story of Braiding the Sacred is ultimately a story of the importance of seeds–culturally, historically, and for the future.

Seeds are vital across many different Indigenous food sovereignty initiatives (such as the Palestine Heirloom Seed Library and the White Earth Seed Library) because seeds are the key to the continuance of traditional crop cultivation and consumption. Seeds embody longstanding cultures and carry the memories of the peoples who cultivated them, even when those peoples no longer exist–some of the seed varieties in Braiding the Sacred's seed bank have no people left, but through this organization, they can continue to be cultivated (Bleir, 2020). The living legacies of past peoples in their seed varieties demonstrate the close connection between foods

and the cultures and peoples that consume them.

As many of the seeds in the collection are the last of their kind on the planet and are no longer actively cultivated by their people, Braiding the Sacred's intervention is vital in growing and returning these seeds to the communities they originate from (Bleir, 2020). While restoring the culinary and cultural heritage embodied in the corn plant, this project also resists the colonial erasure of Indigeneity–both in plants and people.

The process of propagating and sharing seeds builds connections within and between nations, reinforcing community and solidarity. After propagating seeds at home in the Onondaga Nation, Ferguson takes the seeds to the Mohawk Nation so they can propagate them. The Mohawk can then pass on these seeds to other Native communities, representing a journey that incrementally restores Indigenous seed sovereignty and forms relationships along the way. Within the Onondaga community, coming together to harvest, prepare, and eat traditional foods is healing: as Ferguson describes, "It's not just the food that's the medicine, it's also the coming together, the exchange, the laughter, the conversation, food energy, and then the food at the end is the gift" (Bleir, 2020).

Beyond its seed initiative, the broader work of the Onondaga Nation Farm crew toward restoring the Onondaga traditional food system shows the importance of traditional knowledge in sustainably acquiring food and restoring ancestral skills in community members. The Farm crew's hunts provide access to fresh and local turkey, deer, rabbit, and fish meat, which reduces dependence on packaged meats and is governed according to traditional hunting cycles to prevent over-harvesting (Bleir, 2020). These hunts reinstill skills in people that their ancestors have known and practiced for centuries: e.g., how to clean, skin, and distribute the meat of the deer in a respectful and effective manner to nourish oneself and one's community directly from the Land. Having skills from one's ancestors empowers community members to become educators themselves. Thomas Benedict, who is part of the Onondaga hunting and fishing crews, describes how, following hands-on learning during the hunting season, he "could confidently go out and get a deer…and what I've been taught I can pass on to the next group that comes in" (Bleir, 2020). Additionally, reflecting the importance of connections to the Land in Indigenous agriculture, the crew's farming uses traditional methods where all labor is done by hand. This promotes sustainable production, in contrast to mainstream agriculture in the US, which relies heavily on non-renewable energy while also making the garden a Sacred Space (Bleir, 2020). Through hands-on experiences with agroecological farming directly on the Land, people are able to resist the disconnection with the earth promoted by industrial, market-based food systems. Food preparation and cooking in the initiative have also helped to challenge harmful colonial legacies like patriarchy. While today, some people believe that cooking is 'women's work,' the work of this food sovereignty initiative reconnects Onondaga men with the practice of meat and soup preparation (a common male task prior to colonialism) (Bleir, 2020).

Braiding the Sacred and the Onondaga Nation Farm crew are the driving force behind the restoration and continuation of Onondaga food sovereignty. But, their work highlights universal elements of Indigenous food sovereignty. By connecting people with the Land through the act of preparing and eating traditional foods, this initiative mirrors the experiences of urban Indigenous peoples in Canada, even where the methods of acquiring these foods differ. Additionally, the focus on educating community members about traditional practices is reflected in other Indigenous food sovereignty initiatives like those of Zapatistas (Gahman, 2017a) in Chiapas, Mexico, who use a Land-based and hands-on approach to agroecological pedagogy.

Case 5: Sharaka (Palestine)

Sharaka is a volunteer-run food sovereignty initiative operating in Ramallah, Palestine. It runs a weekly farmers market, provides produce baskets to subscribers, operates a seed exchange, volunteers with farmers, and runs a mobile restaurant 2-4 times per year with dishes made from local crops (Isma'il and Dajani, 2021; Meneley, 2014, p. 73). The core of the Sharaka initiative is the concept of *baladi*, an Arabic word that translates to the English word "local" but has a deeper connotation: *baladi* is authenticity, the connection of the Palestinian people to their Land and country, and to the agricultural products that sustain them (Meneley, 2014, p. 73). While *baladi* is a concept specific to Sharaka's context, it reflects the universality of connections with Land and place in Indigenous food sovereignty initiatives. Sharaka's vision is a food-sovereign Palestine where Palestinians have a sufficient food supply of traditional and sustainably farmed foods (Meneley, 2014, p. 73).

The principle of self-determination and cultivating self-sufficiency is central to the work of Sharaka. The initiative achieves this by rejecting foreign aid money, which produces dependency and comes with conditions (Isma'il and Dajani, 2021). Like Braiding the Sacred, Sharaka views seed saving and exchange as crucial to Indigenous food sovereignty and holds a local seed exchange at the beginning of farming seasons so that people can grow their own foods. One of the founders of Sharaka, Aisha Mansour, described the importance of seeds to the concept of *baladi*: "When we refer to *baladi*, we are referring to our heirloom seeds that have been saved by our *falaheen* [peasant farmers] year after year" (Meneley, 2014, p. 73). The resilience of heirloom seed cultivation takes on a special significance in the Palestinian context, where a core aim of the occupying power has been the denial of Palestinian sovereignty in all aspects of daily life.

All Indigenous food sovereignty initiatives are political, but Sharaka pursues political strategies and faces political challenges that are unique to the context of the occupation it operates under. One of these strategies is supporting the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement. Sharaka's support for BDS entails the general rejection of consuming Israeli goods (and therefore rejecting supporting the economy of the occupying power), as well as encouraging

people to grow and prepare their own foods in order to reduce/eliminate dependence on Israeli produce and foods. For example, by pickling and preserving foods, Sharaka envisions a revival of Palestinian preservation practices that, in providing people with food throughout the winter, enables them to boycott Israeli imports (Meneley, 2014, p. 74). Growing foods is made particularly difficult, though, by the occupation's control over water, as well as Land and farming inputs. One of Mansour's tomato crops, for example, died out because Israel withheld water, and the plants could not be bathed (Meneley, 2014, p. 73). Fertilizers, seeds, and other planting materials can be held up at military checkpoints for long periods, making farming difficult, precarious, and unpredictable.

Like many Indigenous food sovereignty initiatives, Sharaka shows that people can pursue food sovereignty in the absence of political sovereignty as one component of reclaiming their overall self-determination. Sharaka shares an emphasis on connections with Land, ancestral practices, traditional foods, and relationship-building with other initiatives. It also practices political strategies unique to its context, such as boycotting goods from the occupier. Ultimately, it highlights the political nature of food and farming and articulates agriculture as a site of resistance to colonialism.

Conclusion

Food systems, as this paper has explored, are inherently political. They are intimately tied with self-determination and are a key site at which colonial power is exercised and contested. Decolonial resistance is the essence of Indigenous food sovereignty. It has been through food systems that settler occupations, government policies, and development projects have attacked the health and culture of Native communities, and, as the case studies presented demonstrate, it has been through the resurgence of ancestral food systems that Indigenous peoples have resisted these attacks. Indigenous food sovereignty movements represent Indigenous innovations that, in addressing the limitations of food security and food sovereignty paradigms, present a valuable approach to pursuing food justice. The realization of Indigenous food sovereignty continues to be impeded by a range of factors, including, as this review has explored, laws, introduced foods and diet changes, racism, classism, gender injustice, free trade, and illegal occupation. However, Indigenous

Figure 6
Woman at Sharaka Initiative

Note. Photo by Vieira, M. (2015). [Woman at Sharaka initiative]. CC-BY-NC

food sovereignty initiatives are in resurgence across North America, South America, and Southwest Asia, and though it has been mostly beyond the scope of this paper to investigate, worldwide. These initiatives have produced outstanding results for Indigenous health and self-determination and represent great promise, despite remaining severe challenges, to a decolonial and self-determined future for food systems across geographies.

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Appendix A: List of Organizations and Initiatives working on Indigenous Food Sovereignty Worldwide (by Region)

• Turtle Island (North America)
• Braiding the Sacred https://braidingthesacred.org/
• The Restoring Shoshone Ancestral Food Gathering Program https://restoring-shoshone-ancestral-food.org/
• Lakota Food Sovereignty Coalition https://lakotafoodscoalition.wixsite.com/website
• Cheyenne River Youth Project https://lakotayouth.org/
• Indigenous Food and Agriculture Initiative https://www.indigenousfoodandag.com/
• Intertribal Agriculture Council https://www.indianag.org/
• Inuit Circumpolar Council–Alaska https://iccalaska.org/
• Thunder Valley Community Development Corporation https://thundervalley.org/
• Native American Food Sovereignty Alliance https://nativefoodalliance.org/
• Montana Indigenous Food Sovereignty Initiative https://www.montana.edu/smallfarms/mifsi/
• Na-ah Illahee food sovereignty fund https://naahillahee.org/food-sovereignty-fund/
• The Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe Community Gardens https://www.elwha.org/
• The Muckleshoot tribal food school program https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/pnw-history-culture/muckleshoot

• The Nooksack Indian Tribe Diabetes Program and Traditional Plants Grant https://nooksacktribe.org/departments/health/community-health-fund-program/
• The Suquamish Tribe Community Health Program https://suquamish.nsn.us/health-division/community-health/
• Zuni Youth Enrichment Project https://www.zyep.org/
• Sierra Seeds https://sierraseeds.org/
• North American Traditional Indigenous Food Systems https://natifs.org/#:~:text=our%20ancestors'%20prayers-,North%20American%20Traditional%20Indigenous%20Food%20Systems%20(N%C4%80TIFS)%2C%20founded%20by,by%20re%2Destablishing%20Native%20foodways.
• Native Seed Search https://www.nativeseeds.org/
• US Food Sovereignty Alliance https://usfoodsovereigntyalliance.org/

Asia & Oceania
• The Palestine Heirloom Seed Library https://viviensansour.com/Palestine-Heirloom
• Sharaka https://www.facebook.com/SlowFoodPalestineAklyBldy
• Café Melanesia https://pawankafund.org/blog-news/cafemelanesia/
• Tebtebba https://www.tebtebba.org/
• Pakistan Kissan Rabita Committee https://www.facebook.com/p/Pakistan-Kissan-Rabita-Committee-100063802850639/

Africa
• South African Food Sovereignty Campaign https://www.safsc.org.za/
• Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania (MVIWATA) https://www.mviwata.or.tz/
• Eastern and Southern Africa Small Scale Farmers Forum https://esaff.org/index-php/
• Kenyan Peasants League https://kenyanpeasantsleague.org/

• Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa https://afsafrica.org/
• Food Sovereignty Ghana https://www.fian.org/en/news/article/food-sovereignty-ghana-fights-for-right-to-seeds-3005

South & Central America
• Tirakam Association https://www.forestpeoples.org/en/node/50346
• Wangki Tangni https://www.facebook.com/WangkiTangni/
• Trabajadores Unidos por la Tierra https://www.facebook.com/TrabajadoresUnidosporlaTierra/?locale=es_LA
• Movimiento Nacional Campesinas e Indígena https://proyectoballena.cck.gob.ar/movimiento-nacional-campesino-e-indigena-mnci/
• Movimento de Pescadores e Pescadoras Artesanais https://mpppeloterritorio.blogspot.com/
• Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Cooperativas Agropecuarias https://www.confras.org/fenacoa/
• Confederación Nacional Agraria (CNA) https://www.cna.org.pe/
• Confederación de Pueblos, Organizaciones indígenas Campesinas del Ecuador (FEI) https://confederacionfei.org/
• La Red de Semillas https://www.redsemillas.info/presentacion/
• National Association of Rural and Indigenous Women (Chile) https://www.anamuri.cl/

Global
• La Vía Campesina https://viacampesina.org/en/
• International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty https://www.foodsovereignty.org/

Appendix B: Glossary

Food security: defined by the USDA as "access by all peoples at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life," food security is an access-based paradigm for understanding food politics.

Food sovereignty: the most widely used definition in the academic literature is from the Nyéléni Declaration, where food sovereignty is defined 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 systems."

Food systems: the network of processes and relationships that shape how food makes it from production to distribution to consumption, including the economic, cultural, political, and social aspects of these processes.

Foodways: the traditional practices and beliefs of a society governing how food is produced, collected, and consumed.

Hegemon(ic): the dominant political actor or discourse in an area or network.

Indigenous Food Sovereignty: The principle wherein Indigenous peoples define, control, and practice their own traditional, place-based foodways, including notions of relationality and reciprocity with the territories from which they derive their food systems.

Patriarchy: a social system wherein men and masculinity are privileged, and women and femininity are subjugated.

Relationality: the concept of connectedness and existing in relationships.

Settler colonialism: a form of colonialism where a group invades a region and displaces, eradicates, or subjugates the Indigenous population with the intention of permanently occupying and resettling in the new territory; it entails gradual or immediate attempts to eliminate the Native population and their cultures and histories and their replacement with a settler population, culture, and history.

Self-Determination: The ability of an individual or group to make decisions and pursue actions about itself free from external influence, based solely on its own desires and intentions.

Sovereignty: the supreme power or authority of a state or government, often linked with the power to make laws and use force and to govern free from outside influence or interference.

Survivance: a term originating in Native American studies that combines survival and resistance to describe the continued, active practice and presence of Indigeneity and Indigenous culture in the face of erasure and genocide; used to counter the static nature of the word "survival" and highlight the active nature of resistance by Indigenous peoples.

Traditional foods: The foods that a society has historically chosen to sustain itself from its environment, often associated with culture, rituals, knowledge systems, and values.

The Uruguay Round: a series of international trade negotiations that covered wide-ranging issues governing the global exchange of goods and services, leading to the founding of the World Trade Organization in Marrakesh, Morocco, at its conclusion.

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