# 

᠄ᠳᢄ᠘᠊ᢎ᠋᠊᠋ᠳ᠂᠘ᡔ᠘᠘᠘᠘᠙

## **COUNTRY FOOD IN KANGIQSUJUAQ: SUBSISTENCE, SHARING, AND SECURITY**

Summary of research



ΔΔ<sup>4</sup><sup>4</sup>ΛΔ<sup>4</sup> ~ΔΩ Elspeth Ready

 $\Lambda_{a} \wedge \Lambda^{5} C D \sigma^{b} L \dot{P}_{a} D + 5b^{5} \cap C D \wedge 5^{5}$ Project funded by:

 $SSHRC \equiv CRSH$ 



T 2015-ۍ C<sup>۹</sup> May 2015

## $\Lambda \simeq r 4 C D = \delta C C C$



#### 

$$\begin{split} \mathsf{P}^{\mathsf{b}}\mathsf{b}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{c} = \mathsf{J}, 26\%^{\mathsf{b}}\mathsf{\Gamma}^{\mathsf{c}} \quad \mathbf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{f}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{L}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{c}/\mathsf{d}^{\mathsf{c}}, \quad \mathcal{D}^{\mathsf{d}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathfrak{d}} = 28\%^{\mathsf{b}}\mathsf{\Gamma}^{\mathsf{c}} \quad \mathbf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{f}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{L}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}^{\mathsf{c}}\\ \mathbf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{f}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{L}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{d}}\mathsf{d}, \quad \mathcal{D}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathfrak{d}} = 28\%^{\mathsf{b}}\mathsf{\Gamma}^{\mathsf{c}} \quad \mathbf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{f}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\\ \mathbf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{L}\mathsf{L}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{d}}\mathsf{d}, \quad \mathcal{D}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} = \mathsf{c}_{\mathsf{c}}^{\mathsf{c}} = \mathfrak{d}^{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathbf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{L}\mathsf{L}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{d}}\mathsf{d} = \mathsf{c}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\\ \mathbf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} = 2002^{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{\Gamma} \quad \mathsf{b}_{\mathsf{d}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}}\mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf{d}_{\mathsf{c}} \\ \mathsf{d}} \\ \mathsf$$



#### **Project description:**

The goal of this project was to gain a **better understanding of the mixed (cash/subsistence) economy in Kangiqsujuaq** by examining the relationships between food security, household income and employment, participation in traditional harvesting, and food sharing.

110 (75%) Inuit households in the village were interviewed between October 2013 and July 2014. Although households were not sampled randomly, the survey sample statistics do not differ greatly from the results of the 2011 census. Consequently, **the survey sample can be considered representative of the community as a whole**.

### Food security:

In summary, **26% of households are food insecure with hunger.** An additional **28% of households can be considered food insecure without hunger.** These rates are higher than those reported in a 2002 study of food insecurity in Kangiqsujuaq.<sup>1</sup> Food insecurity is closely related to the proportion of household income spent on food and housing (i.e., *income relative to the cost of living*).

Although not having access to enough country food does not mean that a household is food insecure, access to country food and to resources for harvesting was a source of concern for more than half of Kangiqsujuarmiut.

<sup>1</sup> Lawn, J. and Harvey, D. (2004). *Nutrition and food security in Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik. Baseline survey for the food mail pilot project.* Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, Ottawa.

## **4՟**ሬተLᡶᡃ 1: ჾ ᢏ ৮<sup>,</sup> ኣነሬ ተ ላ በ ር ጶ ም ነ ነ ጋ የ ተ ኣ ጶ በ ም ካ ላ ነ ት ሰ י.

Table 1: Food security screening questions.

▷ ናь ▷ ተ ና C ኈL Statement	<b>ዸ</b> ⊂ኈኈՐጋኈ Never true	イーイペ℃⊃⁵ Sometimes true	イーニ <sup>5</sup> C ኇ <sup>5</sup> \ <sup>5</sup> b Often true
حد ۲ <sup>۰</sup> می ک <sup>۰</sup> می کا می کا کو کا که کا که می کا کا که کا The food we had just did not last, and we could not get more.	55%	26%	19%
しまでも、 でそので、 マルマレ いってい いっしん いっしん いっしん いっしん いっしん いっしん いっしん いっし	<b>46</b> %	41%	13%
ム コ イ <sup>c</sup> イ 4	66%	27%	7%

## **Ϥʹ**ᡄᠠ᠘᠊᠊ᠯ᠋᠄᠊᠋ᡓᢛ᠋᠊ᡄᢣ᠋᠋᠋ᡃ᠋ᢣ᠋ᡃ᠖ᡩᢂᡴᢗ᠌᠌ᢂᠺ᠋᠄᠘ᢣ᠋᠘᠆᠂᠋ᢍ᠋᠘᠘᠂᠘᠘᠋᠋᠘᠋᠘᠋᠘᠋᠘᠁᠘᠘᠘

Table 2: Food security severity questions.

۹∧۶۵∩ Question	σ▷ኑ∿ኈጉጋኈ Never	<sup>1</sup> ک <sup>°</sup> ن <sup>2</sup> 2 C <sup>۹۶</sup> ب <sup>2</sup> Only 1 or 2 months	∆دِ <sup>ع</sup> لۍ <sup>د</sup> C⁵۶P⊃۶⊃ۍ <sup>ه</sup> Some months	C <sup>55</sup> የCLትን Almost every month
۵٫۵ ۲۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵ ۵	67%	6%	13%	14%
ሻኇኽኊ፟፟ታ <sup>5</sup> ኇ፟ ሻґ∩ິ⇒்ອ້ <sup>c</sup> ۵ዾ <sup>∟</sup> ᠘ኊጶ⁵Ხ∩∩ <sup>c</sup> <b>ምኊፇ<sup>c</sup>ኣ∩J<sup>c</sup> Γ∝₽Γ<sup>c</sup> ሃኇ<sup>s</sup><b>ኣ₽Ր</b>ሻቴ<b>ь՞ቴ<sup>c</sup> ርሃLል</b>ሃ <b>ሻሃባ<sup>c</sup> እኀጏ</b>ຼົ<sup>c</sup> ሻኇ<sup>s</sup>ኽኊን<sup>s</sup>ም ሻጋΔ<sup>°</sup> ዉር<sup>5</sup>Ե<sup>c</sup> ሃ ላሬ ኦ<sup>%</sup>ዮቢ<sup>c</sup> ժ<sup>®</sup>Lሏ<sup>s</sup>ጋም<sup>b</sup> ም<sup>s</sup>ዮም<sup>b</sup>? Did you or other adults in your household ever EAT LESS THAN YOU FELT YOU SHOULD because the household could not get the food that was needed?</b>	77%	5%	7%	12%
	81%	6%	5%	8%

## סי⊃רס∩ 1. Figure 1.



## **ハ**~~し<sup>1</sup>6<sup>1</sup>~<sup>16</sup>~~~~~~~~~

Δε<sup>δ</sup>ΫΡΟΛΤΕΚΤ<sup>6</sup> σπλούτρος Το Αναγγάλου Αλαγγάλου Αναγγάλου Α Αναγγάλου Α

### **Employment/income:**

The median annual household income (after tax) for households in the sample is \$42 036, including benefits such as family allowance. However, there is a lot of variation in income (Figure 1, left). **Low income and unemployment/underemploy-ment represents a serious challenge for the community**, especially considering of the high cost of living in Nunavik.<sup>2</sup> Households without enough income sometimes become dependent on other family members for both store and country foods, which can place a strain on family relationships.

Besides being a correlate of food insecurity, **insufficient income prevents many households from participating in traditional activities, such as hunting, as much as they would like to.** In general, households with higher income invest in hunting equipment (as shown by the red line in Figure 1, right).

Table 3: Participation in harvest activities by age and gender.

ᠻ᠌ᡅ <sup>ᢑ</sup> ᠍᠍ᢖᠳ <sup>ᢐ</sup> ᡗ <sup>ᡕ</sup> Group	∆ <sup>۱</sup> لء∠ر⊃د Fishing	د ۲۲۵۶۵ Seal hunting	<sup>6</sup> 9ء۔ ۴۲۰ Beluga hunting	ጋ <sup>c</sup> ጋσ ላ <sup>c</sup> ጋc Caribou hunting	∩ <sup>ኈ</sup> Γ ላ  σ	ے حر <sup>2</sup> کے ح Plant/berry collecting	∩∩° ד ר ל ל י⊃ <sup>c</sup> Shellfish collecting
<b>4</b> ∿Jሰ° 18+ Men 18+	68%	55%	47%	63%	61%	35%	55%
<b>4<sup>5</sup></b>	63%	21%	13%	27%	21%	56%	67%
5-17 ن <sup>ر</sup> 5 -17 Boys 5-17	63%	32%	24%	38%	31%	32%	46%
σልባ፣ረባና 5-17 Girls 5-17	57%	17%	7%	17%	14%	59%	62%

Table 4: Harvest and sharing rates for four important food species.

DL√&균⁵ Animal	% -ኈՐና	ປኇ⁵ና⊾▷ᠯ <sup>ና</sup> ປ°σጋປልσ°Ր <sup>ና</sup> Median household harvest	σ °Ր¹ርልσ°Ր° ∢Γ⁵⁵Խ̀₽∩σ⁵? Received through sharing?	ም℃ናበረፈኈ? Shared to others?
『Pこっしるす <sup>い</sup> Beluga	29%	0	91%	58%
<b>ݐ</b> ﺩሐልቍ Ringed seal	45%	0	70%	59%
ጋ <sup>ь</sup> ጋል ም <sup>5ь</sup> Caribou	57%	1	85%	71%
Ե <sup>ኈ</sup> Јልσ <sup>ᢑ</sup> /σ <sup>ᡪ</sup> ᡄልσ <sup>ᢑ</sup> Kanguq/Nirliq	54%	2	74%	64%



### **₫°J⊆⁄°**σ<sup>%</sup>:

 $b^{1}$ 

**Ϥ·ϧϽϤϨϷͺ;ͺϤϧͿͼʹϧͺͿͼʹϧͺͿϲ·ͺ;ͺ;ϲ;;ϲʹϲʹ;;ϲʹϲʹϧϧϧϥϢ;ͺϹϥ;ϥϓʹ** ຼຼິ∠ິປັງໂຄ້ኇ<sup>ພ</sup>ົ້ວງໂጋና ຝໂຖ້ປໂΓ ຝອປໂጋຝອ<sup>ເ</sup>Γ ໂຄົຍໄປໂອຍ<sup>ເ</sup>ປຽອ<sup>ເ</sup>ພີບັນ ເມືອງໃນປີ ເພື່ອງໂວຟອຍິດອີນອີນອີນອີນອີນອີນອີນອີນ Lda የትርም የትር በምም የትር በ 

### Harvesting:

Although most Kangiqsujuarmiut participate in subsistence activities, there is a large proportion of individuals who do not. Only 55% of adult men participated in seal hunting in the year prior to the survey. The most common harvesting activity for men and boys is fishing. Shellfish (mussel and clam) collecting is the most common activity among women and girls.

The amount of food harvested varies enormously between households. For example, more than 50% of households did not harvest ringed seal at all in the year prior to the survey, while 7 households harvested more than 20 ringed seal each. In fact, **30% of households in the sample harvested 80% of food calories** represented by beluga, ringed seal, caribou and geese. Households that harvest the most tend to have high incomes. 5

## Food sharing:

All except two households in the survey sample are connected in a single sharing network (Figure 2, left). **However, participation in the sharing network is not equal.** Many households have only one or two sharing ties, while others have dozens.

38% of sharing ties between households in the sample were reciprocal, meaning that sharing between the households goes both ways. **Highly productive hunters are more likely to have reciprocal sharing ties** (Figure 2, right). Most sharing occurs between close family members (parents/children, brothers/sisters).

Elders and single women are preferred targets of country food giving, but needy (low-harvest or food insecure) households are not. Consequently, young men and their families are disadvantaged in the sharing network if they do not hunt. This is because young men are expected to provide for themselves and others, but many do not have the resources and knowledge to meet this expectation.



. ዾ<sup>·</sup>ጋናϷበ 2. Δ៰៹ <sup>·</sup>ርኇ<sup>៲</sup> ኇ<sup>·</sup>የኇ<sup>៲</sup> ላΓ<sup>·</sup><sup>·</sup>ቬ<sup>·</sup>ዜበሶ<sup>·</sup>Ͻ<sup>·</sup>.

Figure 2. The country food sharing network

**Total network** 





## *ᠳ᠋ᡃ*ᡗᠣᢛᡃ᠂ᡏᡗ᠋᠋᠋᠋ᠮ᠖᠋ᢆᢓ᠋᠓ᠮ᠖᠋᠋ᡃᠳ᠋ᡃ᠅᠄

Ϥσ·ϚϫϧϷϞϲͺϳϧϞ;ͺͺϗ·ϟ;ͺϪϲϿͶ΅ϫϹϗͺ;ϧ;;ϹϿϞϪϭ·ϫͻ;ͺϤϹϷϟ;ϲϫͱϹ;ͺϤ;ͽϤͶ;ͽ;ϤϹϷϟ; (Ϸ·ϽϚϷͶͺ2, ϚϷϹϤϭ). ϹϹ΅ϫϷϲϫϤ;ͶϫͿϫ, **ϤϹʹϧʹϧͶϹ·Ͻϫ;ͺϪϲϷϚ΅ϭ·;ͺϤ;ϟ;ϲϚʹͽ·ͽϹϲϞ·** Ϥϭ·ϚϫϧϷϞ;ͺϤϹϷϲϤϒͱϹͺϹ;ͻϤϔ;ϫ;ϫ;;ͺϤϹ;;ϧ;ϷͶ;ϒ;ϧϟ;ϿͿϲϹ, ϤϲͽϹʹϫͺϤϲϪϛϫͽ;

## ᢄ᠈᠖ᡅ᠊᠋ᡘ᠙ᡱ᠋᠈ᠰ᠋᠋ᢧ᠄





#### Summary:

This research shows high levels of food insecurity and poverty in Kangiqsujuaq, but there is substantial variation in economic status within the community. Low income, food insecurity, and other factors prevent many households from fully participating in hunting and sharing, which has a negative impact on their social and cultural well-being. However, households that can afford to do so invest heavily in hunting and sharing, an indication of the continued social and economic importance of traditional activities for Kangiqsujuarmiut.

ϷͿϤͺϤ΅ϧ·ͺϷʹϧϧͼϲϯͿͺϷͼϗϽ;ͺ;ϷϒϞϽϲϷϲͳ;ͺϹϹϽͿͽϾ·ͺͺϥϲϥϞͼϷ;͵ͽϾͻͺϷͼϗϒ;ϒ·ϲϲϲϲϲͺ ;ϷϿϧϞ;Ϲϧ;ͼϲϞΓ;ͺϒ϶ϔ;ϲͿ;ͺϥϲͼ;<Ϲ·

This document is a very brief summary of this research. I would be happy to share other research products once they are completed.



**۵۹<sup>-</sup>٬۸۹<sup>c</sup> م۹** ک<sup>-</sup><sup>°</sup> م<sup>-</sup><sup>°</sup> ۵<sup>-</sup><sup>°</sup> ۵<sup>-</sup><sup>°</sup> ۵<sup>-</sup><sup>°</sup> **Elspeth Ready** PhD candidate, Stanford University eready@stanford.edu

> All photos and figures © E. Ready 2015 Inuktitut translation: Paul O. Okituk