

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

2023

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FOOD SYSTEM, FOODSCAPE, DIETARY PATTERNS, AND ACCOLATED HEALTH OUTCOMES OF SALISH PEOPLE WITHIN THE CONFEDERATED SALISH AND KOOTENAI NATION

Joshua William Brown

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Brown, Joshua William, "AN EXAMINATION OF THE FOOD SYSTEM, FOODSCAPE, DIETARY PATTERNS, AND ACCOLATED HEALTH OUTCOMES OF SALISH PEOPLE WITHIN THE CONFEDERATED SALISH AND KOOTENAI NATION" (2023). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 12167.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/12167>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FOOD SYSTEM, FOODSCAPE, DIETARY PATTERNS, AND
ASSOCIATED HEALTH OUTCOMES OF SALISH PEOPLE WITHIN THE
CONFEDERATED SALISH AND KOOTENAI NATION

By

JOSHUA WILLIAM BROWN

Master of Public Health Community Health and Prevention Sciences Concentration,
University of Montana, Missoula, MT, 2021

Master of Public Administration, University of Montana, Missoula, MT 2003

Dissertation

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctorate of Cultural Heritage and Applied Anthropology

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

Official Graduation Date (May 2023)

Approved by:

Ashby M. Kinch,
Graduate School Dean

Dr. Gregory Campbell, Chair
Anthropology Department

Dr. Leora Bar-el
Anthropology Department

Dr. Kelly Dixon
Anthropology Department

Dr. Blakely Brown
School of Public and Community Health Department

Dr. David Beck
Native American Studies Department

© COPYRIGHT

by

Joshua William Brown

2023

All Rights Reserve

An Examination of the Food System, Foodscape, Dietary Patterns, and Accolated Health Outcomes among the Salish people within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation

Chairperson: Dr. Campbell

ABSTRACT

Often an individualistic, consumerist strategy is promoted as the solution to decrease the growing prevalence of diet-related diseases. Unfortunately, this logic is ahistorical and apolitical while privileging pathological individualism, capitalistic consumerism, and prevalent diets within the United States. This reasoning fails to recognize diet construction across time by ideologies, policies, and practices. Such an outlook misses the reality that many people cannot escape the grip of the modern, pervasive, ultra-processed food system.

Several Native American populations find themselves plagued with high rates of diet-related diseases. Standard mantra shouldered these communities with their plight, often framing the discourse as personal responsibility and failed willpower instead of focusing on policy and systems.

Alternatively, vague abstractions are often shallowly discussed while obfuscating past and present laws, policies, and practices of governments, corporations, collectives, or individuals that harmed and continue to harm people and their food systems and continue to hamper individuals and communities.

Academics frequently spotlight health outcomes and vaguely described contributions to health consequences in Indigenous communities. For example, descriptions of Salish communities repeatedly include morbidity and mortality rates but the social arrangements and mechanisms of action contributing to disease, or a more in-depth exploration of the social, political, and economic health determinants often skimmed over, not reviewed, or accounted for at all. Common glossing over and limited accounting operates as a form of erasure, leaving out essential details of communities' lived realities.

This research explores relationships between politics, economy, policy, practices, and systems to assess these components' impact on diet and health outcomes of Salish people. A mixed-methods study provided qualitative and quantitative insights into Salish people's local food system, dietary patterns, and diet-related health outcomes. This work examines the linkages between environment, food systems, foodscapes, policy, and programming to highlight the interrelated connections between ecosystem, politics, economics, individual decisions, social patterns, and health in the Salish people of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. The study contextualizes and provides detailed, nuanced understanding of factors impacting Salish communities' present food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Yepn i es lémtm łu x^wł in p^xwp^xwot, u in nk^wusm, u i snk^wéwlix^w. Čx^wmsm^xeyčn, yo lémlmtš łu q^wo olq^wšitx^w u q^wo ni?ulsmistmmtx^w. Dr. Bar-el, lémlmtš x^wł i k^w čyuyú?us. Dr. Brown, lémlmtš łu x^wł a sp^xpáxt. Dr. Beck, lmlmsnux^wmtx^w! Yepn k^w tutéwcn u k^w sisiyus sx^wmíméy?m, Dr. Dixon, lémlmtš łu x^wł a sk^wtiłxest. Dr. Campbell, lémlmtš łu x^wł a sniwalsm u q^wamq^wmt k^w es nyoyo?cin. I sc^kwul' x^wł i slsile? u Selíš Sqélix^w

**OPEN LETTER TO SALISH COMMUNITIES
OF THE CONFEDERATED SALISH AND KOOTENAI NATION**

This dissertation combines a few years of work influenced by living in the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation (CSKN) and thinking about community challenges and how to address them. I hope this dissertation provides insights into the CSKN food system, health, and possible strategies to help improve Salish people's lives and shape a better future for my grandchildren and others.

Initially, I enrolled in a Ph.D. program to continue contributing to Salish language revitalization. However, this became increasingly difficult because of the tragedies I witnessed in Salish communities. For a while, I pushed my feelings aside and marched forward. However, in the past few years, numerous people I knew died too early of health complications or killed themselves.

Watching such a devastating reality has pushed me to choose a new academic direction and overall career pathway, combining anthropology and public health. Using the tools, knowledge, and skills developed through my academic pursuits, I plan to facilitate change, positively impacting the health outcomes of Indigenous peoples and the quality of life within these communities.

I mainly live in the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation among my mother's Salish family. I similarly have strong ties to my father's Nakoda/Aaniiih family at Fort Belknap Indigenous community, where I also lived. Both places heavily influenced me, and I feel a deep connection to both. For over two decades, I deeply invested in my Salish roots and the entire Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation.

As a student at the University of Montana, I pursued an anthropology Ph.D. and graduated with a Master of Public Health in a Community Health and Prevention Sciences

Concentration. My master's final paper highlights the Salish people's quest to protect, enjoy, and perpetuate access to their traditional foods. It explores Salish concepts of food sovereignty and how Salish people enact their understandings of the idea through programming and policy. This master's work focuses on Salish people living across the Pacific Northwest, from the mountains to the sea.

My dissertation research investigates the dietary transition from a traditional Salish diet to contemporary diets and the overall health outcomes associated with these dietary patterns. My goals include:

- Understanding factors contributing to disease, health, and wellbeing.
- The connections between food systems, diet, and health.
- The role of individual agency and social structures impacting populations.

Although most of my work centered around Salish language revitalization, perpetuating food traditions is vital in my career and life. I always interwove traditional food into my work. As an extension of my food interest, I currently volunteer on the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation food sovereignty taskforce to help develop food policy and programming. We conducted a food assessment, are writing a strategic plan, and coordinating with others to help people with more immediate access to more local nutritious food. We are establishing a new CSKN food entity to oversee more food endeavors.

Simultaneously pursuing two degrees permitted me to reflect strategically on the connections between Salish peoples' health, landscape, and food. This provided time to ponder systems, scalability, and possibilities for optimizing support for transforming the local food system as a strategy to address health challenges. This research permitted me to visit Salish people from numerous communities, spanning hundreds of miles and across an international

border. Additionally, the opportunity gave me the privilege of reading documents and watching videos produced by linguistics, ethnobotanists, community members, and others about Salish history, knowledge, and practices improved my understanding of Salish communities. All this challenged me to think more deeply about connections and patterns in society and encouraged me to look for and describe the interconnectedness between policy, politics, and economics that impact Indigenous communities.

My training and experiences of visiting communities and researching them thus far have afforded me valuable skills and knowledge while assisting communities with their crucial endeavors. Completing my dissertation helped me hone my abilities and serve Salish communities because I perceive my research as a community-based learning/sharing transformative moment. The exchange provided everyone involved the chance to co-learn and co-teach. Sharing knowledge increases contributors' collective understandings and generate strategies for addressing community challenges. Ultimately, this potentially will enrich project participants and many other people's lives. Working with Salish communities challenged and enlightened me and made me a better researcher and a catalyst of change in my community and others.

Combining anthropology and public health positions me to understand social, cultural, political, and economic factors along with the crucial public health technical skills and knowledge needed to identify complex factors and develop theories for change. It also prepares me to craft and implement more informed solutions to address health and wellness issues in Indigenous communities. I am already applying my new knowledge and skills to helping Indigenous communities and want to assist other communities.

I am engaged in learning and applying anthropology and public health disciplines to improve Native American communities. I commit to deeply exploring systemic challenges and crafting solutions. I am also interested in experimentation and applying insights to transform narratives, outlooks, norms, and outcomes within Indigenous communities. Therefore, I will strive to address structural challenges. My aspirations include building bridges between existing institutions and agencies while forming stronger community partnerships to improve Indigenous peoples' quality of life. I will diligently foster synergistic transformation in years to come. Working with and learning from Salish communities undoubtedly enhanced my skills and helped facilitate my dissertation research.

I learned through research, classes, and multiple discussions. I discovered extraordinary efforts, and many people showed me incredible generosity. Working on a Public Health Master's and a Ph.D. in Anthropology simultaneously facilitated immense growth for me. I learned much about social structures' influences and interplay with individuals' decisions. I also uncovered the continued oppression of Indigenous people and the tools of empire. I have come to deeply enjoy exploring and analyzing the plethora of solutions people are implementing worldwide to help improve people's lives.

Ample myths within communities and outside persist about Indigenous communities. A These myths concern their health, wealth, and sometimes their continued existence. Other tales blame these groups for their plight, and stereotypes of poverty-stricken or casino wealth abound. A general lack of understanding of factors contributing to indigenous peoples' health persists. Furthermore, a common illusion puts too much culpability on individuals for their poor diet and health, dismisses food systems and policies, or downplays their impact on dietary decisions and patterns. The misperceptions and misinformation continue to cloud conversations about

decision-making, policy production, and the shaping of society. This misinformation permeates individual self-talk and creates distorted community narratives perpetuated by community members and outsiders alike. This dissertation research examines the historical record closely and the lived experiences of Salish people to bring to light the nuances about what Salish ate, how their diet changed, and what contributed to these changes. This inquiry documents a food system and diets while exploring diet-related health outcomes. This study examines the local food system of Salish people and the dynamics influencing what people grow, produce and who participates in this sector. Pursuing historical and current accounts centered around the Salish food system and diets can counter misinformation and help inform positive community transformation more effectively.

Thank you to everyone who shared their perspectives and experiences to help me complete this portion of my path. Moving forward, I plan to aid with facilitating more results to enhance lives. Please, contact me if you would like to collaborate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
OPEN LETTER TO SALISH COMMUNITIES	v
OF THE CONFEDRATED SALISH AND KOOTENAI NATION.....	v
CHAPTER 1	1
Introduction	1
1.1 Literature Review and Research Background	3
1.2 Research Design	8
1.3 Research Question(s)	9
1.4 Method	10
1.5 Dissertation Overview	11
1.6 Theoretical and Methodological Framework	13
1.6.1 Political Economy	14
1.6.2 Political Economy of Health	15
1.6.3 Critical Medical Anthropology	17
1.6.4 Structural Violence	19
1.6.5 Critical Ethnography	22
1.6.6 Settler Colonialization	26
1.6.7 Systems Thinking	33
1.7 Food System Transformation	37
CHAPTER 2	41
Salish Peoples and The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation	41
2.1 Defining and Situating Salish Peoples	41
2.2 Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation	52
CHAPTER 3	60
Salish Historical Diet, Continuations and Contemporary Customs	60
3.1 Salish Diet Vast from Ocean, Mountains to Plains	60
3.2 Horticulturists and Hunters	61
3.3 Food Custom Continuation	62
3.4 Food Variety	62
3.6 Animals	66
3.7 Seasonality	67

3.8 Food Procurement	68
3.9 Food Preparation and Preservation	69
3.10 Food Trading Networks.....	69
3.11 Macro and Micronutrients.....	70
3.12 Food Periodization, Restrictions, and Feasts.....	71
3.13 Dietary Overview	72
Settler Colonization and Power Dynamics Drive Salish Food System Shift.....	73
4.1 Settler Colonialization: Historical and Continued Oppression of Indigenous People for.....	73
Wealth Extraction.....	73
4.2 Settler Colonialization	74
4.3 Sovereignty Defined	76
4.4 Power.....	76
4.5 Oppression.....	80
4.6 Racism: Institutional and Systemic.....	81
4.7 Settler Colonization: Strategies and Tactics.....	86
CHAPTER 5.....	99
Factors Impacting Salish Dietary Shift.....	99
5.1 Diet Changes During Early Historical Period.....	99
5.2 Early Christian Missionaries	100
5.3 Shrinking Access to Territories and Accustomed Resources.....	101
5.4 Degradation of Fish Habitat.....	102
5.5 Resource Management Disrupted	103
5.6 Taking of Confederated Salish and Kootenai Land and Invasion of U.S. Settlers	104
5.7 Migrant Workers Outside the CSKN.....	110
5.8 Sanatoriums.....	111
5.9 Adopting Out and Fostering Native American Children	112
5.10 President Roosevelt’s New Deal Policies Impact on Native American Communities	113
5.11 World War Two and the Aftermath	114
5.12 War on Poverty and Continued Acculturation	115
5.13 Indian Self-determination Act	116
5.14 Over a Century of Erosion, Acculturation, and Continuation	117
5.15 Rise of Industrial Agriculture.....	118
5.16 The Last 25 years of the 20 th Century	119

5.17 Salish parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents lived experiences and food memories	122
CHAPTER 6	123
Present Salish People’s Dietary Patterns, Health Outcomes, Foodscape, and Food system	123
6.1 Contemporary Salish People’s Diet Overview	123
6.1.2 70-89 years old	123
6.1.3 50-70 years old	127
6.1.4 30-50 years old	130
6.1.5 20-30 years old	133
6.2 Interview Themes	134
6.2.1 Finances and Material Wealth	135
6.2.2 Health	136
6.2.3 Perceived and Real Time Constraint Challenges	137
6.2.4 Access to Food	140
6.2.5 Social Events and Foodways	143
6.2.6 Ceremonies	145
6.2.7 Arlee Celebration	146
6.2.8 Organs, Marrow, and Other foods	147
6.2.9 Visiting People's Homes	148
6.2.10 Discussion of Findings	149
6.3 Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation Foodscape and Food System	152
6.3.1 Grocery Stores	154
6.3.2 Food Venues	156
6.3.3 Schools	156
6.3.4 Women, Infants, and Children Program	158
6.3.5 United States Government Food Distribution Program	159
6.3.6 Wild and Minimally Cultivated Foods	161
6.3.7 Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation Land Management Protections	163
6.3.8 Food Processing Infrastructure	165
6.4 The 1,000-mile Hamburger and The 10,000-mile Steak	168
6.4.1 Monopolistic Consolidation, Specialization, and Food Commodities	170
6.4.2 The Local Food Market Diversified, But Not Many Salish Food Producers	172
6.4.3 Salish People Invigorating Local Foods	185

CHAPTER 7	188
Structural Violence, Resistance within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation, Conclusions and Future Directions	188
7.1 Structural Violence, Past and Present, Continues to Shape the Present and Future	188
7.2 Taking of Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation’s Lands	194
7.3 Social Structures Shaping Salish Lives: The Water Compact	197
7.4 Two Ranches Impacted by Structures	200
7.5 Accessing Capital: A Challenge and Impediment to Native American Development	205
7.6 Conclusions	208
7.7 Future Directions	215
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	221
REFERNECES	231
FIGURES	
Figure 1. Language Families of the Pacific Northwest .map.pacific.northwest.GIF (537x426) (buffalo.edu)	44
Figure 2. Sítúlix^ws Séliš u Qlispé Territories of the Salish, and Kalispel and Related Nations Map SQESI_03_Territories_11-6-2019 press.pdf - Google Drive.....	46
Figure 3. Sítúlix^ws Séliš u Qlispé Territories of the Salish, and Kalispel and Related Nations Map Selected Place Names	47
Figure 4. Sítúlix^ws Séliš u Qlispé Territories of the Salish, and Kalispel and Related Nations Map Key	48
Figure 5. The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation Map	55
Figure 6. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation Wildlife & Conservation Management Map	165
Figure 7. Confederated Salish & Kootenai Nation Wildlife & Conservation Management Areas Enlarged Map Key	165

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Often an individualistic, consumerist strategy gets promoted as the solution to decrease the growing prevalence of diet-related diseases. Unfortunately, this logic is ahistorical and apolitical while privileging pathological individualism, capitalistic consumerism, and prevalent diets within the United States. This reasoning fails to recognize diet construction across time by ideologies, policies, and practices. Such an outlook misses the reality that many people cannot escape the grip of the modern, pervasive, ultra-processed food system. Several Native American populations find themselves plagued with high rates of diet-related diseases. Standard mantra shoulders these communities with their plight, often framing the discourse as personal responsibility and failed willpower instead of focusing on policy and systems (Zamora-Kapoor et al. 2019; Indian Health Services 2022; Richards and Patterson 2006; Halpern 2007). Or vague abstractions such as “unique historical and cultural factors as well as socioeconomic ones” (Halpern 2007, 29) are shallowly discussed while obfuscating past and present laws, policies and practices of governments, corporations, collectives or individuals that harmed people and their food systems and continue to hamper individuals and communities.

Academics frequently spotlight health outcomes and vaguely described contributions to health consequences in Indigenous communities. For example, Salish community health descriptions repeatedly include morbidity and mortality rates but the mechanisms of action or a more in-depth exploration of the social, political, and economic health determinants often get skimmed over, not reviewed, or accounted for at all (Shanks et al. 2019; Groessler 2008). This common glossing over and limited accounting operate as a form of erasure, leaving out essential details of communities lived realities.

This research explores relationships between politics, economy, policy, practices, and systems to assess these components' impact on diet and health outcomes of Salish people. The available scientific literature indicates an overarching political economy approach is fitting to understanding conditions affecting health outcomes of individuals embedded in social, cultural, political, and economic structures, stretching from the local to the international level, situated in a context where these factors intersect (Harvey 2021; Wallace and McDonald 1994). This dissertation approach draws heavily from political economy, and systems thinking approaches, which shaped the literature review and the study design.

A mixed-methods study, consisting of a review of formally published and grey literature, interviews, observations, and participation, provided qualitative and quantitative insights into Salish people's local food system, dietary patterns, and diet-related health outcomes. This work examined the linkages between environment, food systems, foodscapes, policy, and programming to highlight the inter-related connections between ecosystem, politics, economics, individual decisions, social patterns, and health in Indigenous peoples. The study contextualized and provided a more detailed, nuanced understanding of factors impacting Salish communities' present food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes.

The literature review furnished theoretical foundations for exploring social structures, food-related systems, and dietary decisions while considering the impact of these components on diet and health outcomes in Indigenous populations. After a general review of theoretical foundations, policy, systems, and diet transition, a more extensive analysis of available scientific literature proceeds to focus on the connections between these areas and their relevancy to Salish communities.

The literature review considers the available, limited data about Salish people's diet-related health outcomes embedded within a complex web of historical, societal, and systemic constraints. The literature review concludes with a research study designed to gain qualitative and quantitative insights into Salish people's dietary choices, dietary patterns, and local food system. This research project utilizes a critical medical anthropology methodology to address gaps in the literature to elucidate complex conditions affecting the health outcomes of Salish individuals. This dissertation project contextualizes these constructed circumstances embedded in social, cultural, political, and economic structures, stretching from the local to the international level, situated in a context where these factors intersect.

1.1 Literature Review and Research Background

Literature Limitations While the written literature provides foundational background information about Salish foodways and dietary changes detailed, nuanced data is limited (Stubbs 1966; Byker Shanks et al. 2020.) Most often, the published scholarly literature about dietary transition seems limited to a descriptive generalization of Native Americans within the United States, with little attention paid to drivers of dietary changes (Johnson et al. 2009; O'Brien 2016) Settler colonialization and systems thinking lenses could provide granular and holistic understandings of the dietary transitions within a Salish community context.

Readers can glean insights about dietary facilitators and barriers from the other publications available and other research findings from different Indigenous communities outside the U.S. (Gaudin et al. 2015; Noreen et al. 2018; Waterworth et al. 2015; Council of Canadian Academies 2014). Further explored are a couple of theoretical foundations to systematically

document dietary changes and related health outcomes in Salish communities in a more comprehensive and contextualized manner. Research themes are explored below in more detail.

A significant theme in the literature centers around understanding what drives dietary patterns in some non-Native American communities and how these drivers can impact dietary patterns and related health outcomes. However, unfortunately, ideology often overshadows dietary transition science and needs recognition. In the pursuit of objectivity, many academics pay little attention to macro politics of conquest, oppression, and wealth extraction as foundational to diet change, at least not much in their published research (Pressler et al. 2022). Perhaps the ideology of individualism crept into research design, creating a common phenomenon in which nutrition, diet, and specifically, what a person consumes often gets framed as an individual choice. Therefore, many researchers and scholars devote less attention to revealing structures that might sway food choices. Yet, empirical evidence suggests that political-economic structural constructs shape dietary decisions and heavily influenced by powerful interest (Church et al. 2015; Colombi 2014). Furthermore, often, many academics lean towards emphasizing diet is a personal choice (Keith et al. 2018; Hood et al. 1997; Singer et al.) However, historical research, current politics, and economics of food, nutrition, and associated health issues expose the structures wielded in influencing personal dietary choice (Nestle 2013; Puddephatt et al. 2020; Halpern 2007).

Other scholars have come to recognize that undoubtedly, individual choice and structure are deeply intertwined. Fortunately, some transition dietary literature suggests that changes such as political or economic changes affect food choices and alter dietary patterns (Donders and Barriocanal 2020; Schulz et al. 2006; Ravenscroft et al. 2014). Research further shows when Indigenous groups' landscapes underwent altercation or suffered political oppression, their diets

soon changed (Feir et al. 2022; Turner and Turner 2008; Turner 2020; McFarlane and Schabus 2017).

Research also indicates that Indigenous populations continue to grapple with the legacy of colonization and the present forms of colonization that shape dietary patterns and other aspects of Indigenous populations' lives (Turner 2007; Council of Canadian Academies 2014; Groessler 2008; Johnson et al. 2009). Compelling arguments with convincing evidence contend that structures, especially legal structures, implemented in the past continue to affect social relations of the present and arguably into the future until reconstituted or terminated (Wilson 2018). Research also shows that powerful interests continue colonization in the present day, and they routinely include past strategies and tactics such as utilizing legal systems and physical violence (Fortier et al. 2019; Martin 2022). They also employ new forms to compel the Indigenous to submit to colonization with the ultimate aim of extracting wealth from Indigenous people's lands and labor (Alonzo 2010; Brown 2020; Delvin 2006; Kunze 2021). Moreover, scholars indicate that ongoing settler colonization, is firmly part of the social dynamics of the United States and Canadian governments' 21st-century subordination of the remaining Indigenous nations within the borders of these two countries (Meng 2020; Delvin 2016; Sokol 2021; Tanner 2013).

Consequently, scrutinizing settler colonization mechanisms can reveal impacts on Salish peoples' diets historically and currently (Turner 2007; Hilborn 2014). Conquest is not complete; Salish existence continuously faces contestation in state and non-state spheres; examples of challenges come from Montana state legislators and its citizens trying to undermine CSKN jurisdiction and ability to regulate hunting with its boundaries (Aadland 2021) or the hateful anti-Indigenous signage plastered across the CSKN (Observations 2022). For Salish, countering

persecution and the right to live is an everyday event. Settler colonization theory (Wolfe 2006) helps to contextualize the community dynamics in which individuals operate in and deliver richer description of actors and transformations impacting individual choices and population health in Salish communities. Change does not happen in a vacuum and people do not operate outside society.

The literature review reveals considerable research on dietary patterns in Native peoples is often narrow in scope, privileges individualism, obscures structures, and fails to center individuals in networks (Donders and Barriocanal 2020; Bersamin et al. 2007; Johnson-Down and Egeland 2013; Compher 2006). Little work documents Salish communities' diet, or contextualizes their diet in a social web, and characterizes the nuances of diet choice and blended foodways (Kuhnlein and Turner 1991; Suttles 1951; Joseph and Turner 2020). Focus on outcomes and specific diseases (heart disease, diabetes) is common (Compher 2006). Uncommon is attention to inputs or what structures inputs or social etiology of heart disease. Taking a broader series of inquiries beyond individual dietary patterns and human physiology leads a person to the connections between a literal structural input (a dam) and the social etiology, change in food procurement practices, and dietary changes to the significant increase of diabetes the O'odham population (Arizona State Museum 2022; Sevilla1999).

Similar veins of exploration of inputs in Salish communities can show social etiology connections to health outcomes. Studies reveal language and terminology like "food insecurity" is often used to describe Indigenous diet patterns while masking another perspective. This other optic posits that people experience challenges accessing food due to structural factors that significantly shape the food environment people operate within (Pindus et al. 2016; Teufel-Shone et al. 2018; O'Brien 2016). For instance, Salish people are awash in foods containing

simple carbohydrates such as sugary beverages, sweetened desserts, and white bread. Many food products contain added sugars in various forms, making it easy to over-consume more than dietitians recommend. It takes a concerted effort to understand the added sugar levels in products to ensure not overeating of them. Also, food transition literature often uses terminology like "adopted" or "abandoned" instead of "forced" or "psychologically manipulated" to describe Native American dietary changes (Caprio 2006). Research tends to focus on the biological and individual shortcomings instead of political, economic, social, or cultural influences impacting diet (Richards and Patterson 2006; Kelley and Lowe 2019; Denny et al. 2005; Blue Bird Jernigan et al. 2010; Ricky Camplain et al. 2022).

Salish food system dynamics, dietary patterns, and health-related outcomes are known to the researcher from the literature, from personal experience, and Salish people's stories about procuring and eating them. In a few years (2018-2021), he learned more about Salish food challenges through a master's research project to understand Salish food sovereignty. This project shed light on plants and animals still collected and their usages. However, specific food usage was not the focus, and information gleaned only provided anecdotal evidence of continued traditional food usage.

Published knowledge of Salish foodways within CSKN is limited. The last major publication released was in the 1960s (Stubbs 1966). This document is a useful resource but has limitations. Salish people still harvest plants and animals not mentioned in this document. Since then, other publications have documented foodways briefly (Bear Don't Walk 2019). This is also beneficial, but further research and documentation about Salish people's food system and dietary decisions are needed to historize the Salish food system and influences impacting current dietary patterns.

Researchers suggest describing the movement of food products along a supply chain and understanding nutrition and health implication or community relationships, such as between local farmers and consumers at a farmer's market (Hodgson 2019). Another approach to system analysis utilizes ethnography to gain emic views or insights from community members engaged in a local food system (Ottrey et al. 2018).

Due to gaps in the literature contextualizing Salish people's food system, food patterns and associated health outcomes a research study design in the Salish community of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation follows below.

1.2 Research Design

This dissertation sought to clarify and detail the Salish diet transition, food system, foodscape, current dietary decisions, patterns, and associated health outcomes through observations, interviews, and collections of published data during 2022-2023 to provide a nuanced characterization of the food system, foodscape, and dietary transition of Salish people living within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. Therefore, the researcher collected qualitative and quantitative data about Salish people's diet transition, past and present dietary patterns, and the local food system to:

- 1) characterize the Salish food system past, present, and dietary transition from a precontact diet to the contemporary diets of Salish people.
- 2) Analyze the associations between Salish diet patterns and health outcomes.
- 3) Identify and describe factors shaping the local food system, foodscape and dietary patterns of Salish residing within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation through observations, literature review and interviews. This entailed identifying determinants

shaping the local food system and dietary choices. It also included examining barriers and facilitators to the production, procurement, and consumption of local foods. This included creating a conceptual framework and descriptors of diet determinants while identifying and describing Salish communities perceived determinants and components of production, procurement, consumption.

- 4) Establish foods Salish people used in the past and how these people's diets changed over the years. Inventory foods usage within contexts and chronicle dietary changes and some associated health indicators of Salish adults residing within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation.

Observations, interviews and collections of published data provided a nuanced characterization of the food system of Salish people living within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation.

1.3 Research Question(s)

The primary research question focuses on clarifying and detailing Salish people's diet transition, food system, current dietary decisions, patterns, and associated health outcomes. More specifically, research questions include utilizing community observations, in-depth interviews, surveys, diet tracking, review of historical and current literature to:

- Characterize the food system of Salish people living within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation.
- Explain Salish people's dietary decision processes.
- Analyze Salish people's food eating decisions to determine influencing factors.

- Determine their typical diet patterns.
- Historize and contextualize the Salish food system, diet, and health.
- Describe the current health of the Salish population.
- Illustrate changes and impetus for the transformation of diet.
- Describe the construction of and maintenance of food system influences from local to international.

1.4 Method

I primarily focused on the period after World War Two until the present. I selected this time frame to interview people that lived through this period or with intimate knowledge of people living during this time. Based on previous interviews and research, I chose this period because Salish people's dietary patterns drastically changed during this timeframe due to numerous social, political, and economic factors that reverberate into present dietary arrangements. I predominately interviewed people self-identifying as Salish living within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. I also interviewed Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation employees with specific knowledge about history, politics, economics, health, local wildlife, and the environment that may or may not be Salish. These interviews provide political and economic level data about social dynamics shaping the local food system and the foodscape Salish people operate within. I also sought health data and other pertinent information to inform the research project and synthesize the final dissertation.

Participants were identified and recruited through snowball and stratified purposeful sampling techniques (Bernard 2006). When the researcher recruited participants, he also sought Salish people unknown to each other to diversify the sample further. Data collection tools from

published food system collections studies guided collecting data (Kuhnlein et al. 2006; Ulrichs et al. 2023). I also wrote interview guides with Salish community-specific questions to gather additional data, which are in the appendix.

The researcher used a combination of semi-structured interviews to garner Salish communities' knowledge and perception of foods. Salish Kootenai College, the University of Montana library database searches, helped establish foods the Salish used historically, those which current populations still utilize and know of, and how people's diets changed over the years by collecting information from existing literature. This literature review was elaborated and cross-checked through interviews with contemporary Salish community members about archived findings. After reviewing surveys, interviews, discussions, and known conceptual food system models, systems thinking analysis techniques help produce an initial assessment. On-going reviews and discussion of findings and other information occurred with Salish people and advisors to generate final analysis and writings.

1.5 Dissertation Overview

Chapter one introduces and frames the study by providing the theoretical and methodological framework. This research operates under the overarching umbrella of political economy. It also draws from political economy of health, critical medical anthropology, critical ethnography, settler colonization, systems thinking, and structural violence theories to deliver a nuanced understanding of the context of Salish people's lives within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. These theoretical foundations provide the lens for contextualizing a holistic and refined framing of Salish people's dietary transition, food system, dietary patterns, and health-related outcomes. It also provides chapter overviews.

Chapter two contextualizes the Salish people across the Pacific Northwest and Salish people within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation polity. It provides an overview of Salish people across the Pacific Northwest and their commonly eaten foods and offers subtlety between Salish people spread out across a varied landscape with common food staples and local variety.

Chapter three details Salish people's historical and current diet to reveal the diversity of plants, animals, and fungi eaten. It also describes a few of these foods' nutritional content to provide a sense of the nutritional quality of Salish diets. Artifacts and the archaeological record presented in this chapter indicate Salish used multiple techniques and tools to procure, preserve and manage food resources. It also explores the current general diet pattern and diet-related outcomes.

Chapter four introduces connections between settler colonization, power, and structural violence to demonstrate how these ideas frame power dynamics shaping the Salish food system and dietary choices. This section also focuses on settler colonization conception, tools, and tactics. It details what people used and still utilize to oppress people. It attempts to name, reframe, and further detail a lengthy process of taking from Indigenous people. It stresses that racism and other forms of oppression are a means to an end, a mechanism for dispossession and wealth extraction from others.

Chapter five historizes factors impacting Salish dietary shift from the early historical period into the 21st century. It documents early Christian missionaries' food influences, the shrinking access to land, and the resources Salish people utilized for their diet. It introduces the most damaging impact on the Salish peoples of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nations, which was the U.S. government taking thousands of acres of land from Salish and Kootenai

peoples and transferring them to individual settlers, businesses, counties, schools, and Montana. The chapter also documents Salish people's participation in migrant work across the western part of the United States and the subjected to sanatoriums, adopting and fostering Salish children out of their homes and often out of their communities. It also highlights the impacts of the New Deal, War on Poverty, and Indian Self-determination policies of the United States on Salish. Furthermore, it embeds the Salish food system in the rise of industrial agriculture and concludes with quotes from Salish people who experienced these policies and changes.

Chapter six presents findings from interviews and fieldwork with contemporary Salish people about their current foodways, dietary patterns and health outcomes, foodscape, and food system. It stratifies people interviewed by age categories, provides generalized patterns, and presents themes from the interviews and factors influencing dietary patterns. It also describes domains where Salish people consume food with other Salish.

Chapter seven features specific past and current structural violence imposed upon Salish people and its consequences. This chapter illustrates the legacy structures placed upon the Salish food system and continues to shape it in contemporary times. It additionally details the Salish people's deeds in invigorating their local food system. This chapter concludes with a summary of the dissertation and offers perspectives for modifying the Salish food system to improve dietary patterns and health-related outcomes.

1.6 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

This research operates under the overarching umbrella of political economy. It draws from the subfield of critical medical anthropology and others because additional theoretical

foundations shape a more refined understanding of the context of Salish people's lives within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation.

1.6.1 Political Economy

The essential inquiry of political economy is determining the impact politics have on economic outcomes. This term of art primarily reflects "the belief that economics was not really separable from politics" (Drazen 2018, 3), and it "arose from the widespread view that political factors are crucial in determining economic outcomes" (Drazen 2018, 3). According to scholar Allan Drazen, "political economy begins with the political nature of decision making and is concerned with how politics will affect economic choices in a society" (Drazen 2018, 5). To further understand this terminology is also essential to define the term 'politics,' which political science literature describes as the study of power and authority and how it gets exercised. At the same time, other literature defines 'economy' as the production, consumption, and distribution of goods and services (Drazen 2018). Therefore, political economy general inquiry demonstrates how exercising political power and authority shapes what goods and services people produce and how they are distributed within and across societies.

This dissertation applies political economy to understanding the U.S. settler colonist project past and continued exertion of political and economic power and dominance over the Salish people. It further links the political economy of U.S. settler colonialism with shaping the food system of the Salish people and influencing their dietary patterns and diet-related health outcomes.

1.6.2 Political Economy of Health

Friedrich Engel's ground-breaking book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, is one of the earliest known examples of using political economy theory to understand the working class's conditions (Engels 1845). Through his research and writings about England's people, Engels describes working conditions and environmental factors impacting health outcomes, including the crippling and early death of many British working-class people during the Industrial Revolution. In his book, Engel postulates that English working-class high morbidity and mortality rates resulted from the organizational and productive relations with the capitalist class, thus creating a physical and social environment for the working class consisting of crowded and poor housing conditions and work conditions with insufficient ventilation and other hazards. The working class also suffered food shortages and lacked medical services.

After Engel's book published in 1845, prominent physician Rudolf Virchow also started to connect health issues with social environments embedded in politics and economics. From his work and research, Virchow "developed a multifactorial theory of etiology that related disease, illness, disability and premature death to economic deprivation and political powerlessness among the masses of the rapidly growing industrial system of Europe" (Baer 1982, 6).

With anthropologist Eric Wolf and others leading the way in the twentieth century, another popular wave of research towards exploring and expanding upon political economy fueled interest to understand "the present world holistically in terms of the growth of the world-system, the penetrating effects of capitalism, and the determinant role of class, sex, and race on social behavior" (Baer 1982, 193). This expanded look brought further attention to sections of society, articulating awareness of marginalization modulated by one's classification or multiple

classifications. This work led to intersectional analysis describing the forms oppression took in greater detail (Minkler et al. 1994).

Eric Wolf asserts that until the mid-19th century, the field of political economy focused on the “production and distribution of wealth within and between political entities and the classes composing them” (Wolf 1982, 8). This discipline also overtly focused on social dynamics between political bodies, social classes, power tensions, and oppression, which produced wealth and economic stratification. Like Wolf, other scholars called for utilizing political economy and acritical lenses to examine communities (Singer 1989). Explicitly taking this position helped draw attention to the need for anthropology to examine the production and distribution of wealth once again and seriously examine Western societies and their political economy connections with the periphery.

Medical anthropologist, Hans Baer, stated, "proponents of the political, economic perspective interested in international health generally accept the basic premise of dependency theory that the development of the advanced capitalist countries is to a considerable degree at the expense of the masses of people in the underdeveloped nations. In essence, development and underdevelopment are bipolar consequences of the process of capital accumulation that was initially part of colonialism and is now associated with neo-colonialism" (Baer 1982, 15).

He further asserts that the political economy of health "can be divided into two [interrelated] major subareas (1) the political economy of illness, and (2) the political economy of health care" (Baer 1982, 5). The political economy of health is "concerned with the impact that the capitalist mode of production has on the production, distribution, and consumption of health services and how these processes reflect the class relations of the larger societies within which medical institutions are embedded" (Baer 1982, 6).

The political economy of illness concerns itself with factors contributing to health, such as lack of nutritious foods impact on health. The political economy of health care is "concerned with the impact that the capitalist mode of production has on the production, distribution, and consumption of health services and how these processes reflect the class relations of the larger societies within which medical institutions are embedded" (Baer 1982, 6). In essence, the political economy of health framework informs present health status and provides the essential linages for understanding the forces that brought about and shaped and continue to shape current conditions.

1.6.3 Critical Medical Anthropology

A benefit of anthropologists' application of the political economy of health approach fostered the development of critical medical anthropology (CMA). Those in the field began extensively theorizing biomedicine and health, from the macro to the micro level, by critically examining biomedicine and health. Anthropologists refined a few central concepts, repositioning biomedicine as another cultural system with its own bias and positionality. CMA also started looking beyond the observable "present" to understand the structural violence embedded across society. Production and maintenance of power were also further explored. These conceptions expanded to illustrate the mechanisms (social structures, power, politics, economics) utilized to oppress people and their impact on populations and individuals' health (Baer 1982; Singer and Baer 1995).

CMA seeks to understand an individual's embeddedness in an entire health ecosystem to improve health systems and outcomes for people enmeshed within them. By taking this approach, CMA addresses disease areas comprehensively and explores outcomes by looking at

social structures, power, politics, and economics. This line of reasoning, in turn, bridges the obstacles presented by established social structures, power dynamics, politics, and economics, which continue to impact societies' health negatively.

In recent years, many anthropologists have begun to pay closer attention to the bigger picture. They noticed the role of social structures and processes in current health crises worldwide. Take one example, anthropologist Maher makes a claim based on her field notes spanning "10 years and three continents" (Maher 2002, 312), which compelled her to strongly assert that "[e]pidemics are fundamentally social processes" (Maher 2002, 312). She further asserts, "[c]ontrary to claims of a value free 'science,' the politically loaded categories of epidemiological risk groups have essentialised entire populations, obscured the complex realities of risk practices and left little room for understanding how social conditions shape individual lives" (Maher 2002, 312). Maher's sentiments reflect the critical medical anthropology view that the social is equally essential as the biological in health and medicine questions.

As a result, critical medical anthropologists tend to focus more on the social aspects of health, disease, and illness while exploring related economics, politics, and belief systems. Singer points out, "[f]rom the critical perspective, in the contemporary world, such barriers include social inequality, class, gender, racial, and other discrimination, poverty, structural violence, social trauma, relative deprivation, being forced to live or work in a toxic physical environment, and related factors." Consequently, CMA defined *good health* as "access to and control over the basic material and non-material resources that sustain and promote life at a high level of satisfaction" (Singer and Baer 1995, 26).

Academics and activists took this framework as a mandate and began focusing on the social components contributing to disease. Anthropologist and medical doctor Paul Farmer

applied this lens to his work in Haiti, addressing this country's HIV/AIDS epidemic starting in the late 1980s. He wrote extensively about social structures influencing people's lives. Dr. Farmer applied critical medical anthropology to helping enlisted influential individuals and organizations to assist him with providing improved medical services to many of the most vulnerable people worldwide. He also wrote profusely detailing how social inequalities functioned in creating unequal disease distribution and outcomes. His work and writings provide ethnographical details, concepts, and language to understand how structures contribute to health outcomes and how to think about critiquing, challenging, and changing systems to improve people's lives.

Throughout history, many examples illustrate the connection between poor nutrition and political-economic conditions (Chossudovsky 1983). These environments prompted scholars to better understand the social arrangements, and critical medical anthropology framings helped to explore further and expand their knowledge of the social structures dictating the connections between political economy and diet and health. The CMA perspective also posits that social arrangements are often violent, and structured by political-economic order.

1.6.4 Structural Violence

Paul Farmer popularized critical medical anthropology and the concept of structural violence, which he defined as "one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way. The arrangements are *structural* because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are *violent* because they cause injury to people (typically, not those responsible for perpetuating such inequalities)" (Farmer et al. 2006). With this concept, he aspired to "inform the study of the social machinery of

oppression" (Farmer 2004, 307). Farmer's explanation of structural violence focused on its flexibility and how it can take various forms and enlist different forces. Dr. Farmer asserts, "[s]tructural violence is structured and *structuring*. It constructs the agency of its victims. It tightens a physical noose around their necks, and this garroting determines the way in which resources— food, medicine, even affection—are allocated and experienced" (Farmer, 2004, 315). His insights forward the notion that structural violence is dynamic and can change with society and cause changes at multiple levels that mold and constrain individuals' lives. This concept helps connect and visualize the seemingly distant linkages of policies and practices and even historical events to individuals' lives. He provides a compelling argument that helps illustrate how policy and practices contribute to shaping social environments and individual choices, which connect to many prevalent disease outcomes.

Farmer's concept bridges structures to individuals and provides a plausible mechanism of action explaining how structures shape communities and lives. Still, this concept inadequately describes the experiences of Indigenous communities in North America. His postulation does not depict the needed context to understand the transformation of Native American communities and the structuring of their lives.

For this, drawing upon settler colonization theory facilitates a better understanding of the structuring of systems, agency, and harms to Indigenous North Americans. One striking example comes from the Tohono O'odham Nation in the Sonoran Desert. They arguably had some of the highest rates of Type 2 diabetes globally, which is more surprising considering that the disease was practically nonexistent in this population not long ago (Tohono O'odham Community Action 2010). This dramatic rise in diabetes took hold after the Army Corps of Engineers completed the Painted Rock Dam on the Gila River in 1960. The dam flooded 10,000 acres of Tohono O'odham

land and drowned their 750-acre farm and several of their community sites. In the wake of the flooding, Tohono O'odham had to relocate to a 49-acre plot. This dam wreaked havoc on the Tohono O'odham Nation's agriculture. After a dam drastically altered their food system, it created poverty and dependence for many Tohono O'odham people, which led to considerable changes in their diet. They went from growing 1.8 million pounds of their traditional tepary beans to fewer than 100 pounds by 2001 (Alonzo 2010; Tohono O'odham Nation 2016; Tucson Local Media 2006).

Tohono O'odham's political economy changed dramatically and directly impacted their food system, diets, and health. Similar stories from other Indigenous communities around the globe demonstrate a similar pattern of the political economy changes disrupting local food systems, with drastic diet changes, followed by poor health outcomes. Researchers work to document this pattern and make further transparent and more robust connections, often through extensive ethnographic work (Grocke 2014).

Salish people faced similar harm to their food system brought about by dam construction. They also experienced numerous additional harms that impacted their food production. Salish elder Francis Stanger remembered when the U.S. government banned selling guns and ammunition to Salish people. He said "The government took the Indians' shells and rifles away, and a lot of them starved. They couldn't hunt anymore without their guns" (Nenemay 2013). The federal government did ban these sales and committed other structural violence against the Salish people that immediately impacted their ability to feed themselves (Bigart 2020). Particular harms also traveled forward, creating long-term challenges that shaped the Salish food system, influenced their dietary patterns, and still influence their food system and diets today.

1.6.5 Critical Ethnography

Anthropology also began to utilize the application of the political economy approach within the medical anthropology subfield in "an effort to engage and extend the broader political economy of health tradition by tying it to the micro-level understandings of on-the-ground behavior in local settings and social-cultural insights of medical anthropology" (Hahn 1995, 25). Applying this approach helped carry the ethnographic inquiry method forward to critical ethnography.

Ethnography inherently offers a vantage point for collecting quantitative and qualitative information to analyze health conditions and dynamics within a defined community (LeCompte and Schensul 1999). Through the ethnographic process, a researcher can explore numerical data and the research subjects' subjective experiences. Combining these elements forms a comprehensive product, providing a population-level view of the topic and individual perspectives, tying them together through structural channels. Specifically, a subject's morbidity status, reflected in numbers, is far more compelling when combined with a subjective narrative. A personal record offers an individual perspective on their health, health challenges, and life experiences. A mixed-methods approach facilitates broader analysis.

Many health researchers focus only on numerical data, which fails to capture the contextual conditions and processes impacting individuals. Questions about a person's health outcomes, daily practices, social determinants of health, lifestyle influences, personal and family history, and nutrition bring valuable information to the picture. These essential questions need asking, and the answers combined with numerical data will contribute to well-informed detailed research.

Critical ethnography, dubbed critical theory in practice (Thomas 1993), is considered highly appropriate for understanding social relationships, institutions, and power dynamics (Madison 2005). This lens allows researchers to focus on the workings of power relations and structures that impact the lives of underprivileged and marginalized communities. Utilizing critical ethnography takes priority in this dissertation to explore and explain the social contexts of diet and health variances found within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation population.

CMA's standard stock of inquiry is an ethnographic method, but when modified, it can also surface how the past shaped the visible present and the connections between a localized community and the other political and economic institutions and processes beyond the local community under study.

The CMA ethnography developments led to quantitative insights, and the addition of complementary qualitative methods can provide enrichment. It also became clear that combining the two offers an ideal exploration of health outcomes and individuals' social lives embedded in societal structures. Including both methods can provide varying types of data, leading to a greater comprehension of individuals, communities, historical links, and current connections. Insight into study participants' experiences often includes simple quantitative data sets showing areas of incidence, types of conditions, ages of subjects, and other similar information. However, studies become complete and richer in content when they include qualitative information that considers the subjects' choices, behaviors, values, and personal worldviews.

Scholars recognize that quantitative inquiry approaches provide value yet can have limitations, and adding qualitative approaches is synergistic. After considering both, exploring health outcomes and practices with varying data types cannot receive a thorough review with just

one approach. Gaining insight into the experiences of those in the research study contain quantitative data sets showing areas of incidence, types of conditions, ages of study participants, and other similar information. However, the analysis is more robust in content if it also has qualitative information that considers the subjects' choices, behaviors, and values they employ in traversing their social existence. Hence, this dissertation uses a mixed approach to the research, combining quantitative and qualitative inquiry elements to form a robust investigation.

A biomedical model tends to focus on morbidity and mortality outcomes of Native Americans instead of drivers of disease or health. Critical medical anthropology and related approaches position a broader exploration of outcomes, nesting them in a holistic web illustrating conditions contributing to consequences. This study contextualized Native American diet-related health challenges and described nutritional assets utilized by the community. The weary model of treating community ailments with potions and generalizations needs challenging with community-specific empirical data, structural changes, and more quality foods. Exploring place-specific determinants of health and drivers of decisions are crucial initial steps to improving Salish communities' wellbeing.

This research derived from critical medical anthropology and other critical approach derivatives to elucidate social arrangements shaping a people's food system and diet while putting them in harm's way of associated chronic diseases. In the last couple of years, the coronavirus pandemic took a tragic toll on Native American communities; this catastrophe appears partially diet related. This world health crisis is a visceral reminder that Native American populations' health challenges are due partly to the ongoing social experiences often imposed upon them (Warne and Frizzell. 2014; Colombi 2014; Empey et al. 2021; MacDonald et al. 2015).

The most distressing imposition comes from structures implemented decades ago by the United States, Canada, and other countries, shaping the political and economic lives of Native Americans. Despite these structures set in motion in the past, they still dictate Native Americans' land tenure and impact their environment and community development over the past few centuries, today, and for the near future. Indigenous communities within the United States and Canada mire in these structures embedded into the politics and economics of these countries. This settler-colonial project enacted laws and policies that directly and indirectly harmed and continue to cause detriment to Indigenous communities to extract wealth for the United States and Canada. These harms usually emerge politically and lead to economic damage that deprives Indigenous communities, causing strains that impact their food system, diet, and health patterns that critical medical ethnography aims to document.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation citizen D'Arcy McNickle, writer and activist, championed change in law and policy impacting Indigenous Nations within the United States (Purdy 1996). He and his associates described the plight of these nations as "captive nations" in the early 20th century (Sipp 1986). The phrase encapsulates the then situation of Native Americans as nations with limited political autonomy with subordination to the U.S. political machine while alienated from U.S. society and its economy. Essentially, they operated as enclaves with limited control of their resources and lives. With political maneuvering in the last two decades of the 20th century, Indigenous nations exerted more control. They garnered a larger share of the wealth from their resources and entered the U.S. economic system. Sociologist, Mathew Snipp, described these modified relations as less insular while increasingly colonial and consequently branded Indigenous nations as internal colonies usurped by national governments (Snipp 1986).

Historian and scholar Patrick Wolfe formulated a clear and compelling framework of Indigenous people's historical and ongoing oppression in nation-states as settler colonization. He posited this project as a process of eliminating Indigenous bodies and indigeneity to replace them with settlers to extract wealth from Indigenous lands (Wolfe 2006). Wolfe's concept of settler colonization dovetails well with critical medical anthropology's approach to illuminating social arrangements that molded and continue to influence Indigenous lives and their communities to reveal mechanisms of injustice factoring into creating uneven risk and harm in particular populations. This concept cleaves away superfluous perceptions to reveal details and systems reproducing unsymmetrical distribution and stifling guardrails hemming people into decisions and nondecisions affecting their health.

1.6.6 Settler Colonialization

Just over a hundred and thirty years ago, the U.S. military marched Bitterroot Salish people out of their ancestral homeland in the Bitterroot Valley in northwestern Montana and forced them to settle and live within the confines of their remaining lands in the north. (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation & Conservation 2021). When Salish return to this valley to visit family graves and other significant locations, they retell stories of living in the area, harassment, murders by Euro-Americans, and friendships with others. They recall going to the Catholic church, helping avert violent conflict between their Niimípuu allies/ relatives and U.S. troops, growing crops, and still unable to keep their land in the Bitterroot Valley.

Historian and settler colonial studies scholar, Patrick Wolfe stated, "[t]he question of genocide is never far from discussions of settler colonialism. Land is life—or, at least, land is

necessary for life. Thus, contests for land can be—indeed, often are—contests for life" (Wolfe 2006, 387). His statement remains relevant today because conquest is not a relic of the past. Indigenous peoples worldwide still resist ongoing incursion onto their lands and into their lives (Vickery et al. 2016). Salish people and others also still struggle for their right to exist by protecting their remaining lands.

Like the past conquest, recent subjugation is often about extracting wealth, often from Indigenous communities and their territories. In modern times this extraction morphed from historical practices, and in doing so, scholars also analyzed and sought to illuminate newer forms of subjugation. While people are familiar with colonization, well-known scholars sought to distinguish settler colonialism from the more well-known concept of colonialism.

Canadian and Australian scholars have led the way in expanding the theorization of this settler colonialism concept since the 1990s (Tuck and Yang 2013; Veracini 2010). These theorists' writings define settler colonialism as a distinct kind of colonialism involving continuous incursion into Indigenous lands and permanent settlement by people typically of European lineage, primarily through dispossessing Indigenous peoples of their land within the North American and Australian context. After settlers erected physical establishments on Indigenous grounds, colonists constructed institutions enabling the propagation of settlers and their heirs, resulting in demographic, political, and economic dominance (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis 1995; Wolfe 2006; Veracini 2010; Tuck and Yang 2013.)

Ground-breaking settler colonization scholar Patrick Wolfe contends the fundamental logic of settler colonialism is elimination of Indigenous populations for access to territory (Wolfe 2006). This logic aspires to replace Indigenous peoples with settlers instead of employing conventional colonization in which Indigenous populations serve as just cheap labor. He further

espouses settler colonization as a "force that ultimately derives from the primal drive for expansion that is generally glossed as capitalism" (Wolfe 2006, 167). Wealth extraction, in this reasoning, necessitates the elimination of Indigenous peoples, polities, and relationships from and with the land (Wolfe 2006). He also contends that "colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event" (Wolfe 2006, 388). Therefore, "elimination is an organizing principle of settler-colonial society rather than a one-off (and superceded) occurrence" (Wolfe 2006, 388) but rather "[s]ettler colonialism destroys to replace (Wolfe 2006, 388)."

Another leading scholar, Lorenzo Veracini, also contends that settler-colonialism projects merely replace Indigenous populations with a settler population (Veracini 2011). Veracini and Wolfe explain that the crucial fundamental difference between 'colonizers' and 'settler-colonizers' is that they seek two fundamentally different goals. The 'colonizer' comes to the land of the colonized to subjugate peoples, and the 'settler-colonizer' takes over the land of the colonized and replaces the Indigenous population in part or whole.

In their works, both Wolfe and Veracini indicate that settler colonialism is a structure rather than an event, social construction, and continues through time. Evidence of this ongoing settler colonization project is abundant within the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand other countries (Reid 2017; Agosto 2021; Asland 2021; McNeil 2016). Theorists Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang also describe settler colonization as an assemblage that arranges the relationships between particular peoples, lands, and the society in which settler colonizers deprive Indigenous people of most or all their land and resources (Tuck and Yang 2013).

These theorizations of settler colonization appear well-grounded in the historical and contemporary data. In Canada and the United States, the colonial settler logic appears in the annals of Indigenous peoples' physical elimination through direct and indirect killing (Madley

2016), removal to distant land tracks, or restriction to smaller parcels (Bigart 2010; Lahren 1998a). Other removal forms included destroying cultures (Carasik, Bachman, and Bachman 2019) and identities (Cameron, Kelton, and Swedlund 2015) and dismantling the Indigenous land tenure systems (Robidoux and Mason 2017), assimilation efforts (MacDonald and Steenbeek 2015), and much more. It was a literal and a figurative removal of Indigenous peoples, either by physical or cultural/social extermination.

Understanding the features of the elimination logic is a common goal of settler colonization studies. In this vein of scholarship, scholars revealed that wealth extraction relies on amassing power through several tools and tactics. They include engaging in physical force (Evans and Ørsted-Jensen 2014), coercion (Torpy 2000), acculturation (HREOC 1997, 270–275), assimilation (Jacobs 2018), mythmaking (Wunder 2000), and double-speak (Mieder 1993). In modern times, other techniques are employed, such as erasure (Fenelon and Trafzer 2014) and gaslighting (Coté 2016). Disavowal of deeds and empirical evidence (Veracini 2008) are also frequently used to push for the replacement of Indigenous people or disregard their rights.

As settler-colonizers changed with the times, scholars regarded it as an adaptive learning ecosystem (Norgaard et al. 2011; Glenn 2015). This adaptive character helps to maneuver the incoherent and sometimes conflicting interests and legal hurdles (Deloria and Lytle 1984; Fixico 1986).

Settler colonialism theory is not without critique, and contemporary scholars stake out nuanced positions. Citing, "it can deterministically flatten out the textures of on-the-ground encounters and lived experiences" (Jacobs 2018, 260). Alternatively, it may uncenter Indigenous peoples' enunciations of Indigenous people's interactions with settlers (Snelgrove et al. 2014).

Although imperfect, this theory proves helpful in framing general readings of histories and contemporary social realities spanning the globe. Comparison between Canadian, Australian, and United States histories can lead one to imagine the sharing of a settler colonist how-to manual to establish these countries because of the uncanny similarities of tactics and discourse found in these three countries' historical records and current affairs. The settler-colonial theory provides persuasive explanatory power for comprehending development in these English language-dominant countries, the U.S. indeed, particularly in Salish communities.

This theory helps describe an overarching system or network while revealing the logic and motivation that connects the stealing of children (Estes 2019) with the mass slaughtering of bison (Mamers 2020) and the 1950s U.S. Native American termination policy (Ulrich 2010) with the leasing of Indigenous lands to non-Indigenous people (VanWinkle and Friedman 2018). This theory also supports binding individual diets and food choices with governmental policies enacted over a century ago and nonstate actors' actions. The settler colonization theory also improves contextualizing how and why Salish diets changed.

The most tangible example of settler colonization impacting Salish dietary patterns in the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation is the forced opening by the U.S. government for U.S. settlers to take more land in 1910. The Bureau of Indian Affairs sold Salish and Kootenai land at a low price because "it is clearly to the benefit of the Indians to have their country settled by progressive white people" (Bigart 2020, afterward). While this event drastically reduced Salish land holdings, it also significantly reduced their gardens, herds, and access to wild animals and plants. This dramatic change contributed considerably to altering the Salish economy, politics, and food patterns (Trosper 1974; Beck 1982; Bigart 2020). These drastic changes drove people to draw from U.S. market foods and impoverished more, who became dependent on U.S.

government food assistance (Bigart 2020). This taking of land has a ripple effect that still dramatically impacts the Salish people.

Countless policies and actions against Native Americans dispossess these peoples' lands by any means necessary. The settler-colonial project is a totality, operating through political, economic, military, cultural, and social institutions, from the federal to city government to churches and social clubs. Clergy, courthouse clerks, social workers, history teachers, soldiers, Daughters of the American Revolution, and politicians all had or have a role in the ongoing settler colonization project (Tanner 2015; Roberts 2020; National Congress of American Indians 2019; Fortier and Wong 2019; Devlin 2015; Baldwin 2020; Dunbar-Ortiz 2015; Feir 2016; Klann 2020; Vannoy 2021; Wendt 2013).

This process is ongoing because Indigenous populations were not completely removed from their territory nor entirely assimilated. From this overarching understanding of settler-colonization, this dissertation seeks to comprehend the motivations and detail the tools and tactics applied to continue eliminating Indigenous people physically and culturally to expand settler-colonial states and transform Indigenous food systems. This paper focuses primarily on the North American context. It hones in on the ongoing settler-colonization efforts impacting Salish communities' food systems, food choices, dietary patterns, and health-related health outcomes.

Published literature and previous discussions with Salish people reveal that settler colonization evolved and is continuing and easily observed in government policy, political rhetoric, and public discourse (Asland 2021; Baldwin 2020; Sokol 2021; Azure 2021). In one example, Montana State Representative Joe Read proposed a bill in the Montana legislature to allow non-CSKN people to hunt on land they own within the CSKN. This proposed bill would

undermine numerous court rulings and weaken CSKN sovereignty and its ability to manage wildlife within its boundaries. Joe Read stated, "[I]andowners should have that right to harvest game on their own private property" (Asland 2021). Implying Non-CSKN citizens holding title to land within the CSKN is somehow not a part of the CSKN, which is part of a longstanding narrative that Native Americans are inferior and unfit to govern White people and should never be allowed this purview. However, this rhetoric and the language of private property rights and other double-speak and dog whistling cloak the colonial settler project thinly. Another example of double-speak and contemporary settler colonial efforts comes from Lake County in Montana, trying to collect taxes on CSKN-held land within CSKN borders. Lake County made the argument that "[f]ees are not taxes" (Sokol 2021) while trying to undo the CSKN tax exemption status for CSKN properties.

Richer exploration of these themes in this research unveils current political and economic undercurrents and surface contemporary oppression and dependency creation impacting Salish people's lives and food systems. Two recent examples of undermining the Salish politically and effects them materially are Montana State's meddling in gaming within the Confederated Salish, and Kootenai Nation, which affects the level of income CSKN can generate from this enterprise. The other example is Montana State politicians attempted to again "open" the CSKN remaining homelands within the last year by passing a state law allowing non-CSKN citizens to hunt within the CSKN. While thwarted in the previous Montana State legislative session, settler colonizers continued to express the desire to dictate terms to the Salish and Kootenai people within their boundaries. Settlers also hatched other contemporary schemes against the CSKN and are brewing more to continue attempts to dispossess the Salish and Kootenai people of their resources.

1.6.7 Systems Thinking

When my daughter was a young child, I helped her dress by laying out a few options for her to select. She would contemplate which clothes to wear, and I would reassure her it was her decision. Once she chose, my daughter would smile and prepare for the day. I would also smile because I was already okay with any of her choices of the sections I pretrimmed. Years later, she noted this pattern, and we laughed at her discovery and my guilt. Structures are everywhere, dictating our choices. Doubt the proposition, good luck finding sushi for dinner in a small town in the middle of Montana. You will most likely end up choosing beef in one form or another. Either fried, mashed, or baked potatoes are likely options presented to accompany the bovine. I recommend a nonindustrial burger if that is one of the choices offered to you.

These illustrations may seem trivial reoccurring decisions framed by the guard rails of society but structured, nonetheless. More robust structures guide decision-making in myriad ways, from the mundane to critical life decisions. For instance, the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations dictates that part of the funding the CSKN disburses to Salish and Kootenai minors must go into an individual interest-bearing account controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Office of the Federal Register National Archives and Records Administration 2011). Parents or guardians are not allowed by statutory regulation to make independent decisions about this funding remanded into these accounts controlled by the BIA, even when parents demonstrate that they could get a better interest rate for this money than the BIA. This ongoing procedure is a continuation of structural oppression, creating financial harm to Salish families and arguably impacting their diet and health.

Another example of social structure is a recent U.S. Supreme Court decision stating that "tribes have inherent authority to stop non-Indians on a right-of-way within the boundaries of an

Indian reservation who are suspected of committing a state or federal crime. Once stopped, Tribal police officers, acting with probable cause, have the authority to conduct a limited investigation and if evidence of a crime is discovered, the Tribal officer can detain the non-Indian until he or she can be transferred or transported to the custody of state or federal law enforcement" (Alther 2021). This ruling affirms Indigenous government agents' ability to perform part of their duties. However, it also undermines and limits the agents and the Indigenous government to fully administer justice hence hedging their sovereignty and ability to self-govern within Indigenous territories. This court decision maintains that Native American polities within the boundaries of the U.S. remain subject to U.S. settler colonial logic.

These social constructs impact Native American peoples within the United States. Other structures influence Indigenous nations' taxation, gaming, and resource management. Often, these regulations limit sovereignty to Indigenous nations remaining within the United States, with the U.S. retaining ultimate authority, which they sometimes allocate to these nations or states. Through policy and practice, social structures influence our choices and decisions more profoundly than anyone generally pays attention to or cares to admit. Fortunately, scholars are thinking about structures or systems and their impacts on lives; hence, their work contributes to analyzing and describing system dynamics.

Donella Meadows defines a system as "a set of things—people, cells, molecules—interconnected in such a way that they produce their own pattern of behavior over time" (Meadows 2009, 2). Other systems scholars define a system as "an entity that maintains its existence and functions as a whole through the interaction of its parts" (O'Connor and McDermott 1997, 10). The international proponent of systems thinking, Water Center for Systems Thinking, defines systems as "a group of interacting, interrelated and interdependent

components that form a complex and unified whole" (Water Center for Systems Thinking 2019). Holistic reasoning and mindfulness of the "big picture" are apt descriptions of systems thinking. Proponents of systems thinking consider it an approach to understanding, explaining, and problem-solving varying dynamics in the world.

The book, *Dynamic Modeling* elaborates on synthesizing understandings and descriptors of systems, which the authors describe as model building. The authors postulate that model building is "central to our understanding of real-world phenomena" (Hannon and Matthias 1994, 11). These authors assert that systems thinking allows one to "model the macroscopic results of microphenomena, and vice versa" (Hannon and Matthias 1994,14). Any attempt to model systems begins with basic understandings, including considering changes over time, interdependencies, circular feedback loops, unintended consequences, long- and short-term results, and leveraging points within systems (Hammond 2012; Meadows 2009).

In review, systems thinking recognizes disparate patterns and multiple intersecting connections in what might look like chaos. It makes order out of what is seemingly unrelated but indeed linked, distant or obscure. Of immense importance in this process is recognizing that multiple systems may overlap, or one system might embed within another network. Equally essential is the parsing and pulling apart of the Gordian knot of dynamics to understand and eventually model in a coherent manner how parts connect and may reinforce actions or influence actors. Admittedly, systems thinking may seem overly complicated or convoluted, but it challenges one to think more deeply about society's connections and patterns.

Scholars in medicine and public health began to apply systems thinking in research settings to make more impactful changes in populations. Because of this earlier work and numerous published studies, researchers utilized systems thinking methodology and tools in

various health-related studies. Namely, systems thinking helped to rethink obesity policy. A study used a systems thinking tool known as the intervention-level framework (ILF) adapted from Donna Meadows. The authors of this study concluded that their analysis suggests that "using the ILF to sort and examine recommendations by system level helps bring to the surface how the complexity of obesity gets addressed within policy documents" (Johnston et al. 2014, 1270). Further application of systems thinking demonstrated that results are transformative when policy includes simultaneously thinking about concerns, such as health and agriculture, coupled with stronger engagement with stakeholders from both spheres (Neff et al. 2015).

Food scientists also utilize systems thinking. One novel research study applied systems thinking to analyze a food system by tracking active compounds in foods and their levels of potency from the farm to plates, revealing discoveries about the degradation of compounds based on analyzing the entire chain and steps along the chain pathway impacting the nutritional quality of the food (Vanamal 2017).

Scholars collaborating with Indigenous communities also embrace systems thinking to help address food security in Indigenous communities by privileging a broader understanding of the complex issues such as ecosystem variation and erosion of community sovereignty as primary drivers of food and nutritional problems in communities (Kuhnlein et al. 2013).

Many working in public health argued for a shift to upstream solutions focusing on social determinants of health, which aligns with systems thinking. They rationalized that 20th-century approaches cannot solve complex 21st-century challenges. This rationalization often means that improving population health requires focusing more on the entire food and socioeconomic arrangements and multiple other structural factors. One illustration of this thinking contends that poverty needs consideration as a root cause of food insecurity; if so, economic development,

including creating living wage jobs, is a worthy pursuit to produce more impactful health outcomes. If addressing the root causes of poor health takes priority, examining multiple factors impacting population health outcomes needs more consideration to address health challenges effectively.

1.7 Food System Transformation

I live mainly in the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation among my mother's Salish family. My earliest memories include camping with my extended clan to pick berries, dig roots, hunt, fish, and dry meat. I also recall picking non-domesticated apples, slicing and drying them in our car on hot days, and tending to our strawberries and raspberries, both wild and domestic. Another memory is my great-grandmother's home, which had wire dry meat racks about thirty feet long, she also had an iron cookstove outside, and she would bake loaves of bread, which we might eat with marrow instead of butter. I recollect relatives returning with salmon from visiting Salish in the west. I remember digging pits and roasting salmon on spits with Salish that came east for the local annual community celebration to play stick games, visit and dance. This was the food system I experienced growing up. Some remain the same, and much has changed. Salish people now are often deer meat rich and camas bulb poor; why? This dissertation sought to answer this vein of questioning in detail. I explored numerous complexities to answer this question. Simply stated, change brought about by U.S. settler colonization dramatically altered Salish peoples' lives, and the U.S. continues to shape their food system, economy, politics, and health.

A broad spectrum of countries worldwide has or are experiencing a drastic nutrition transition, often described as a shift in diet and lifestyle resulting in increased obesity rates and

malnutrition-related noncommunicable diseases (Popkin 2002). Worldwide, foods high in total fat, sugar, and highly refined carbohydrates replaced foods high in polyunsaturated fatty acids, fiber, and polymeric carbohydrates (Popkin 2002). Significant contributors to diet changes increased the supply of sugar, refined cooking oil, industrial animal products, and highly processed grains (Prentice 2006) in the global food system. These simplified diets contribute to diet transition, malnutrition, and poor health outcomes (Frison et al. 2006). People around the globe continue facing challenges related to securing nutritious and healthy foods (Stephens et al. 2005; Stephens et al. 2006). Struggles to access food contribute to disparities affecting various health outcomes, including obesity and diabetes (Matei et al. 2012).

Another theme of nutritional transition research focuses on assessing past diets. Many studies concluded that several past diets were healthier than modern diets because of general macro and micro nutrition shifts (Madanat et al. 2008). This literature also focuses on diet-related noncommunicable diseases occurring with dietary transition (Bonow and Eckel 2003; Popkin 2006, Kokkinos, and Moutsatsos 2003).

Although much research in the literature focused on neutered narratives of diet transition, some researchers also began to look at how and why people select food for consumption. These studies identified mass media (Pace-Asciak et al. 2003), biological, and sociocultural factors (Rozin 1990a, 1990b; Birch and Fisher 1998; Birch 1999). They also identified combining individual and socio-environmental influences (Furst et al. 1996; Domel et al. 1996; Contento et al. 2006; Reynolds et al. 1999; Cullen et al. 2000; Cullen et al. 2003).

Within the United States, 574 federally recognized Indigenous Nation entities exist (Bureau of Indian Affairs 2022). States also recognize Indigenous nations, and perhaps a few hundred more unrecognized Indigenous groups exist across the U.S. Of these groups, only a

handful of them had any researchers specifically examine their diets (Vaughan and Benyshek 1997; Ballew et al. 1997; Smith et al. 1996; Risica et al. 2005; Nobmann et al. 2005). Fewer rigorous examinations of the associations between disease and diet in these communities also occurred (Sambo et al. 2001; Slattery et al. 2007; Blue Bird Jernigan et al. 2017). Research on Native American's diets and health associations is sparse, and socioeconomic and other systems and structural factors impacting them are less abundant.

Often framing the nutrition transition in the literature characterizes scores of populations as abandoning their traditional diets and implying this dietary change is akin to an evolutionary process devoid of agency, politics, economics, or social construction. Within the Native American diet transition literature, Indigenous diets often lack historical and political context. Moreover, plenty of people often rationalize Indigenous peoples' diet-related noncommunicable disease prevalence as faulty genetics (thrifty gene theory) or poor lifestyle choices (eating the wrong foods or the incorrect amounts). The Salish underwent a diet transition, but like most community dynamics, the transition narrative is more complicated and needs contextualizing to fully grasp the dietary transition and the mechanisms of this change. An extremely limited number of studies explored Salish diets, and a good deal of this scholarship is dated or lacks in-depth insight (Groessler 2008; Shanks et al. 2020). Take for instance, the Shanks study utilizes 24-hour dietary recall surveys, which are commonly inaccurate due to people's self-reporting. They also do not account for seasonality influence on diet or validate the dietary quality with prolonged observations or in-depth interviews. Nutritional transition research in these communities is almost nonexistent and lacks broader systems perspectives or cohesive historizing of the transition. Curiously, illuminating the diet hybridity of Salish people is a rarity in the literature as well. Scholarly literature on dietary transition seems limited to a descriptive

generalization of Native Americans within the United States, with little attention paid to drivers of dietary changes. The reviewed theoretical foundations lenses could underpin granular and holistic understandings of the dietary transitions within a Salish community context.

CHAPTER 2

Salish Peoples and The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation

“He comes in his intent and says we must pay him-pay him for our own- for the things we have from our God and our Forefathers, for things he never owned and never gave us.” “His laws never gave us a blade nor a tree, nor a duck, nor a grouse, nor a trout” (*Missoulian* Newspaper, April 26, 1876). — **Sm̓xeyčn Q̓w̓x̓w̓qeynšn (Chief Charlo)**

2.1 Defining and Situating Salish Peoples

Many simply define Salish people as descendants of speakers of the Salish language, of which numerous dialects exist. The Salish language is endangered, and some current Salish communities may not still have living fluent speakers of a few dialects of Salish. Other Salish communities possess fluent speakers and are working to revitalize their dialect of Salish. Salish peoples are referred to and go by multiple names, from endonyms to common misnomers. Often these groups of Salish people will acknowledge a slot in a Salish continuum. Diversity occurred in Salish populations in the past, and perhaps even more variety exists in present times across the kaleidoscope of Salish communities, but core elements remain. Salish communities from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains still hold traditional winter dances. They continue sharing or referencing the same traditional stories. In 2022, Salish people, six hundred miles away from the ocean, tell traditional stories that take place at the sea and recite migration stories of Salish people’s growing populations and expanding into other territories. A person knowledgeable of the Salish language can recognize familiar elements in divergent dialects and some words remained the same across the language family. Salish people intermarried across communities for generations and even more in modern times as modern transportation became

more accessible. Economic and social forces brought them into more interaction. Most coastal Salish can trace ancestry along the Salish Sea communities and visit relatives a day's drive into the interior. Salish traded with each other, as well as hunted and fished together. Across these Salish communities, they consumed traditional staple foods such as camas and huckleberries.

For all these reasons, and more, Salish are defined as a diverse but connected people ranging from the Rocky Mountains to the interior plateau and far south beyond the mouth of the Columbia River, to the North along Vancouver Island and up the Fraser River System in British Columbia. These communities live in cities and rural areas, retaining small tracks of land near or within cities, to larger land holdings in more rural areas (Manning 2011; Arnold 2012; Muckle 1998).

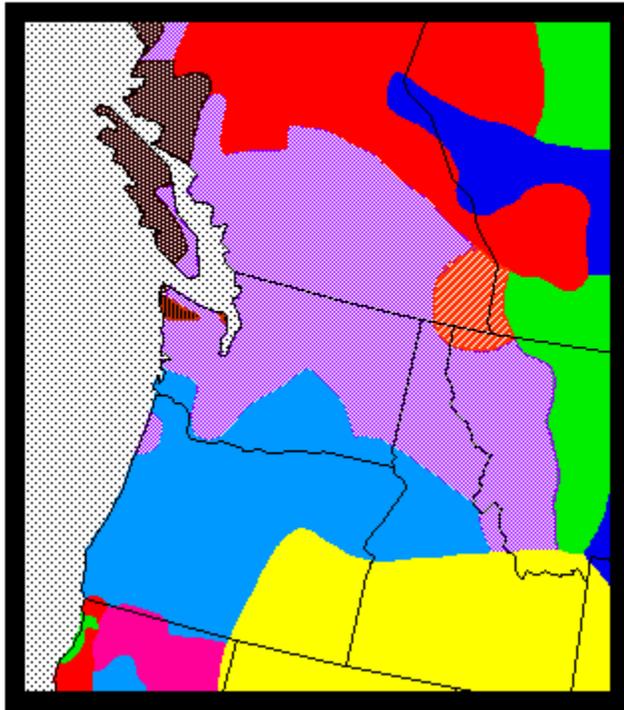
Salish people labor to retain access to their traditional territory and foods while restoring the health and well-being of the plants, animals, water, and land for a long time. Settlers deprived Salish people of access to a significant amount of their resources and territory. However, Salish partnered with each other and non-Salish people to regain land, protect resources and revitalize their foodways. This cooperation took place through alliance formation, treaties, litigation, and in recent years with memorandums of understanding and memorandums of agreement. Fighting for resources might be appropriate at times; however, various forms of past and current cooperation suggest it might be more beneficial to Salish communities today to procure the foods they ate for countless generations through partnership and collaboration. Salish people continue to explore older technologies and techniques but newer ones as well to safeguard and rejuvenate resources. The Salish, from the shores of the ocean, to deep into the interior, utilize old and novel approaches to continue to fish, hunt, clam, pick, and dig the same foods their ancestors did. They introduced non-Salish foods into their diets because they recognized the value of these

wholesome foods for their taste, nutritional value, and ways they can complement precontact “first foods” to improve health and well-being (Deur and Turner 2005; Groesbeck 2014 et al; Lyons et al. 2021).

Salish peoples spread across a large region and retained various land masses and interactions with the U.S., Canada, Washington, Oregon, Montana, British Columbia provincial government, and state governments. They have different proximity to urban centers, which impacts Salish communities in several ways. Political and social dealing vary and impact local politics and economics as well.

The map (Figure 1.) below approximates the geographical space of the Salish language family, as shown in purple (Dryer 2017). The purple also represents a rough estimate of the historical territory of the Salish peoples in what is now Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia (Bigart and Woodcock 1996; Jorgensen 1969; Jacobs 2003). However, they also ranged into southern Alberta and northern Wyoming as determined by historical accounts (Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee 2019).

Language Families of the Pacific Northwest



- Na-Dene
- Algic
- Penutian
- Hokan
- Uto-Aztecan
- Siouan
- Salishan
- Wakashan
- Chimakuan
- Kutenai

Figure 1. Language Families of the Pacific Northwest. [map.pacific.northwest.GIF \(537x426\)](http://map.pacific.northwest.GIF) (buffalo.edu)

This study focuses on the Salish people living within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation (47.59765065614386 Latitude, -114.11600975240624 Longitude). Within this Nation, two primary groups of Salish live, commonly known in English as the Bitterroot Salish and the Kalispel. They share an almost identical dialect of the Salish language and numerous other cultural similarities and, throughout this dissertation, are collectively referenced as Salish.

The upper yellow outlined area on the map (Figure 2.) below is the current location and remaining boundaries of the Confederate Salish and Kootenai Nation (Séliš-Q̓lispé Culture Committee 2019). The lower yellow outlined area is another land area that the Salish people intended to reserve for themselves, but the U.S. military marched them out in 1891 and into the current CSKN boundaries. The darker blue and lighter blue shaded areas are historically the

"approximate territories and primary use areas" of the Salish peoples of the CSKN. This map contains some of the Salish names of places with translations. The Salish occupied lands as far east as the Big Horn River in Eastern Montana. North to the Sweet Grass Hills and across the 49th parallel into Canada along the North Fork of the Flathead River, the Pend Oreille River, and the area where it joins the Upper part of the Columbia River. The southern areas extended into the Yellowstone Park area along the contemporary Montana-Idaho border and followed this general area upward along the western edge. The Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee "documented approximately 1500 Salish place-names" across this region and continues this work to historize and illustrate their connection to this landscape. This mapping effort helps them to assert their right to access resources within their historical territory.



Figure 2. Słtúlix's Séliš u Qlispé Territories of the Salish, and Kalispel and Related Nations Map [SQESI_03 Territories_11-6-2019_press.pdf - Google Drive](#)

WEST OF CONTINENTAL DIVIDE		EAST OF CONTINENTAL DIVIDE	
Sł̓x̓étk^w PLACE OF FAST-MOVING WATER Spokane	Nmesulétk^w SHIMMERING COLD WATERS Middle Clark Fork River	Sk^wumcné PLACE OF POCKET GOPHERS Big Hole Valley	Mtmótlex^w LAND THAT APPEARS SMOKY Yellowstone Park area
Nč̓m̓m̓cí RIVER DELTA ENTERING A LAKE Lake Pend Oreille	Č̓t̓q̓étk^w BROAD SURFACE OF WATER Flathead Lake	Olín Sewtk^ws WATERS OF THE DIGESTIVE TRACT Belly River	Č̓č̓at̓lalq̓n THREE SEPARATE PEAKS Sweetgrass Hills
Sq̓l̓s̓éwtk^w KOOTENAI WATERS Kootenai River	Snyel̓mn PLACE WHERE YOU SURROUND SOMETHING St. Ignatius area	Sntx^wéyč̓ñ BACKBONE Continental Divide	Č̓x^wmin̓ Sewtk^ws HIDE FLESHER'S WATERS Yellowstone River
Nč̓t̓?umnétk^w BIGHORN SHEEP WATERS Lower Clark Fork River	Nt̓?ayc̓č̓stm PLACE OF SMALL BULL TROUT Rattlesnake Creek-Clark Fork confluence / Missoula area	Q̓law̓q̓n BEAVERHEAD Beaverhead River	K^wali[?] Sewtk^ws YELLOW'S WATERS Judith River
Ep̓ Smt̓í HAS SALMON Idaho side of Lolo Pass — Lochsa / Clearwater drainage system	S̓nlaq̓i Č̓t̓q̓l̓i SWEATHOUSE LAKE Swan Lake	Č̓t̓m̓l̓š̓é COTTONWOODS- ABOVE-THE-WATER Helena area	Nk^wtnétk^w BIG WATER Missouri River
T̓msm̓t̓í NO SALMON Lolo area	Naáyč̓č̓stm Sewtk^ws BULL TROUT'S WATERS Blackfoot River	Ep̓tyu Ntx^wétk^ws PAINT'S RIVER Missouri River near Helena	Č̓el̓š̓ Sm̓x̓e GIRZZLY BEAR'S HAND Bear Paw Mountains
Ł̓q̓et̓ml̓š̓ WIDE COTTONWOODS Stevensville	Nc̓q^wel̓stétk^w FLINT-STUCK-IN-THE-GROUND WATERS Upper Clark Fork River	S̓nsu[?]k^wl ICE-PILED-UP Sun River at Fort Shaw	N̓p̓i̓q̓k^w WHITE WATER Milk River
N̓stet̓č̓cx^wétk^w WATERS OF THE RED-OSIER DOGWOOD Bitterroot River	S̓nt̓ap̓q̓ey PLACE WHERE SOMETHING IS SHOT IN THE HEAD Butte area	Nč̓tx̓s̓š̓né PLACE WHERE WATER GOES OVER A ROCKY LEDGE Great Falls	Ep̓t̓ Č̓iliya̓l̓s̓álq^w Ntx^wétk^ws RIVER OF EYES-WIDE-OPEN-WOOD Musselshell River
Ep̓t̓ X^wx^wýú HAS MOUNTAIN WHITEFISH Whitefish Lake	Q̓l̓isp̓é S̓x^wcu[?]s̓i KALISPEL PASS Manias Pass	Ep̓t̓ Msawye[?] HAS EDIBLE VALERIAN ROOT Madison River	Ł̓?umné Sewtk^ws BIGHORN SHEEP'S WATERS Bighorn River
Ntx^wetk^w RIVER North Fork Flathead River / main stem Flathead River / lower Flathead River	S̓č̓ewile[?] GARTNER SNAKE Chewelah, WA	Č̓x^wtx^wtp̓é CONFLUENCE OF MORE THAN TWO WATERWAYS Area around Three Forks, MT	S̓ni̓np̓é BEND IN THE RIVER Area of Melstone, MT
		Ep̓ St̓x^wex^we[?]enč̓é IT HAS SMALL BLACK HAWTHORNS Bozeman area	

Figure 3. Sł̓t̓úlix^ws Sél̓iš̓ u Q̓l̓isp̓é Territories of the Salish, and Kalispel and Related Nations Map Selected Place Names



Figure 4. Słtúlix's Séliš u Qlispé Territories of the Salish, and Kalispel and Related Nations Map Key

Incredible population growth in and around Salish communities left Salish people an ever-smaller minority population in the larger U.S. system. Unfortunately, this dramatically impacts Salish peoples' current food system and diet by limiting their ability to access food resources and procure severely decimated native plant and animal populations. However, despite this encroachment over the last century, Salish people continued to hunt and utilize traditional foods, eventually incorporating new foods into their diet through acculturation into U.S. food customs through numerous processes (Kuhnlien and Receveur 1996; Satia 2010). Today, many

Salish people eat highly processed foods, high in sugar with low levels of key nutrients (Shanks et al. 2019), experiencing diet transition like countless other places. Their diets typically fall along a continuum of precontact foods and contemporary industrial foods, mostly forming a hybrid of both food types.

Food insecurity is linked to existing and ongoing health disparities for many Indigenous peoples living in rural communities and surviving on low incomes (Seligman and Schillinger 2010; Blue Bird Jernigan et al. 2017). Numerous Salish face barriers securing healthier foods at the current time (Shanks et al. 2019). Currently, the Confederated Salish and Kootenai health department serves approximately 670 individual CSKN citizens diagnosed with type 2 diabetes (Interviews 2022). This figure is a sizable proportion of the Salish population within this polity and indicates the prevalence of diet-related chronic diseases. In summary, dietary research indicates a connection between diet and health status, while dietary transitions were detrimental to various populations worldwide (Haman et al. 2010).

Primarily utilizing archaeological and historical evidence along with nutritional analysis, a brief description of Salish diets follows, starting with the precontact period and moving through the historical area to the present day. This section also examines what Salish peoples ate, the macro and micronutrient levels of their foods, as well as procurement, production, and preservation techniques. Elements of a precontact diet are still a part of contemporary Salish eating patterns. However, much changed. Additionally, this next section explores the variations and the impetus for these developments and the continuation of traditional food cultivation and production, consumption, and adaptations.

Salish peoples' traditional diet during the precontact and early historical period was more diverse than today. People utilized hundreds of plants and animals (Bigart and Woodcock 1996;

Turner 2014; Séliš-Q̓lispé Culture Committee 2005; B. Beck 1978; Krohn 2017; Thomas 1989; Turner 2014; Turner et al. 1986; Whealdon 2001; Peacock 1998; Norton 1985; Turney-High 1937; Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation History/Archaeology Program 2011; Teit 1900).

Artifacts and the archaeological record indicate that Salish peoples used varied techniques and tools to procure, preserve and manage food resources (Thomas 1989; Groesbeck et al. 2014; Lyons and Ritchie 2017) With European contact, Salish food diversity began to change slowly but became severely limited over time. Changes in diet and the impetus for these changes are also plentiful. While elements of a precontact diet are still a part of contemporary Salish eating patterns, a considerable change occurred with European contact. These changes are discussed further later in the dissertation.

Copious factors account for these developments and the continuation of traditional food cultivation, production, consumption, and adaptations. Across Salish peoples' diets, slight variations in macro and micronutrients existed. Berries and camas bulbs contain complex carbohydrates, and these plants contain ample polyphenols and fiber (Peacock 1998; Juríková et al. 2013). These foods also contain vitamins and minerals such as vitamin C and magnesium (Milburn 2004). Internal organs from animals also provide vitamin A and selenium. Fish and other aquatic life contain other nutrients like omega-3s, vitamin D, and zinc (First Nations Health Council 2017). Studies show deer, moose elk, and buffalo meat contain protein, riboflavin, niacin, and iron. Vitamin C can also occur in significant amounts in the liver of many of these animals (First Nations Health Council 2017). Nutritional analysis research also revealed that wild game animals contain higher omega three levels (Bowen et al. 2016). Studies demonstrate these compounds are beneficial to optimal human health.

Due to mounting pressure and conflicts, in the mid-1850s, Isaac Stevens traveled across Salish territories making treaties with various Salish communities for the United States. These treaties established demarcated tracks of land reserved by Salish for themselves, commonly referred to as reservations. These treaties also reserved continued access to resources outside the boundaries of these reserved lands for Salish peoples (Williams 2006; Johnson 1999). Various Salish people either moved to retained lands or the U.S. government forced Salish onto these lands (Bigart and Woodcock 1981; Cutler 2016). Despite confinement, small groups of Salish people continued to hunt and collect but with restrictions.

Although Salish utilized various animals for sustenance, aquatic life forms prevailed on the menu, and they ate various fish species. Drawing from fish stocks became increasingly tricky because of habitat destruction from commercial fishing, forest clearcutting, the mining industry, and dam construction in the Columbia River watershed (Kiser et al. 2010; Weitkamp 1994; Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2011). Salish people historically consumed a wide array of fish species, but some of them presently are threatened or endangered (Bramblett 1996) and no longer eaten. At one time, the Salish harvested extensive huckleberry gardens and managed these habitats with fire for at least 4,000 years before Euro-American colonization, but settlers curtailed these management practices (Walsh et al. 2017; Tweiten 2007).

Reserved lands became the primary homes of Salish people. Some of these tracks are tiny, while others are substantial. One of the smallest is thirteen acres, while one of the largest reserved areas is 1.4 million acres (Manning 2011; Arnold 2012; Muckle 1998). A few are near major metropolitan areas like Seattle, WA, and in Vancouver, B.C. Other reserves sit in rural areas like North Central Washington State or Western Montana. They have similar histories, but variations affect each group in numerous ways. Instead of covering all Salish reservations, the

following section will primarily focus on the details of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation from the early 1900s up to the present day.

2.2 Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation

The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation comprise three primary groups of people. The two Salish groups and a set of Kootenai people known as the Standing Arrow group. This Kootenai collection is also a part of a larger group of people retaining parts of their lands in Montana, Idaho, and British Columbia. Throughout this dissertation, these three groups of people are referred to either as Salish (Bitterroot Salish and Kalispel) and Kootenai (Standing Arrow group) or Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation citizens.

The CSKN citizenship is about 8,000 people, with an estimated 5,500 living within the CSKN and the remaining population in the surrounding area and other places (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021d). An estimated 30,849 people live within the CSKN; the vast majority are Euro-Americans (19,507), other Native Americans (2,173) with different ethnicities also live in the area, a tiny group of Samoans, and others (United States Census Bureau 2020).

The current boundaries of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation (CSKN) encompass 1.3 million acres, which is roughly forty by fifty miles wide (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021d). An estimated twenty-two million acres is their original title claim. Within these boundaries is a complicated jurisdiction. Further complicated by land holdings of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation government, individual CSKN citizens, the United States Federal government, Montana State, four counties of Montana, towns, and United States citizens without dual citizenship with the CSKN. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation government and individual CSKN citizens may possess various vested interests in tracks they

"co-own ." Individual CSKN citizens may also maintain degrees of interest in "co-own[ed] sections." In addition, to classifying land by owner, governments also classify it as either trust or fee simple, which generally is shorthand for land held by an individual and not in trust (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2022).

The title holder and status of the land parcel have political and economic ramifications. The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation is a client state, made subordinate to the United States of America. For about 180 years, the U.S. tightened and loosened its grip on the CSKN. Due to these dynamics, the U.S. federal government holds CSKN government land and CSKN citizens' lands in trust, which the CSKN government and citizens have varying dominion over (Cahoon 2002; Bigart 2020; Wheel 2006) As a client state, the CSKN contracts with the U.S. government to fulfill U.S. government-promised services to the Salish and Kootenai people of the CSKN (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021). The CSKN holds controlling interests of corporations that contract fulfilling goods and services for branches of the United States government with business locations within the CSKN and parts of the United States (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021c).

Contestation of land titles, jurisdiction, and the exercising of rights is constant with each encroachment by the United States government, the State of Montana, counties, towns, and non-CSKN citizens over the last 180 years. Settlers murdered, jailed, harassed, coerced, robbed, and litigated CSKN people, infringing upon their land and liberties (Séliš-Qłispé Culture Committee 2018; Bigart 2020; M. Beck 1978). This dissertation also explores how this complicated land tenure system impacts the Salish people, their food system, and dietary patterns.

Within the 1.3 million acres of the CSKN are a few valleys surrounded by high mountains with some lower peaks in the middle. The general shape is a bowl with water flowing down from

the mountains toward the center. Half of Flathead Lake sits north, and a river flows out of it down the center to the west. Much of the human population lives in the Mission Valley on the eastern side, where most of the Salish population lives as well. In the early formation of the CSKN, Salish people tended to live in the southern and western parts. They now dispersed further north once again.

A map (Figure 5.) follows with the current boundaries of the CSKN(Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2022). The green areas are Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation lands held in trust by the United States federal government. The orange areas are CSKN citizens' individual lands held in trust by the federal government. The grey areas are lands taken by the federal government and given to the state of Montana. The pink regions are federal lands. Areas in yellow consist of land almost exclusively titled to non-CSKN people, primarily in the valleys, with much of the CSKN land held in trust in the hills and mountains.

Grey, yellow and orange squares sit in green areas. Yellow and orange squares also surround green squares. People call this arrangement "checkerboarding," which creates governing complications because the federal, state, and towns challenge and limit CSKN sovereignty, often asserting that CSKN does not extend to non-CSKN titled land despite sitting within the CSKN. The federal government further infringes CSKN sovereignty by limiting governing lands held in trust.

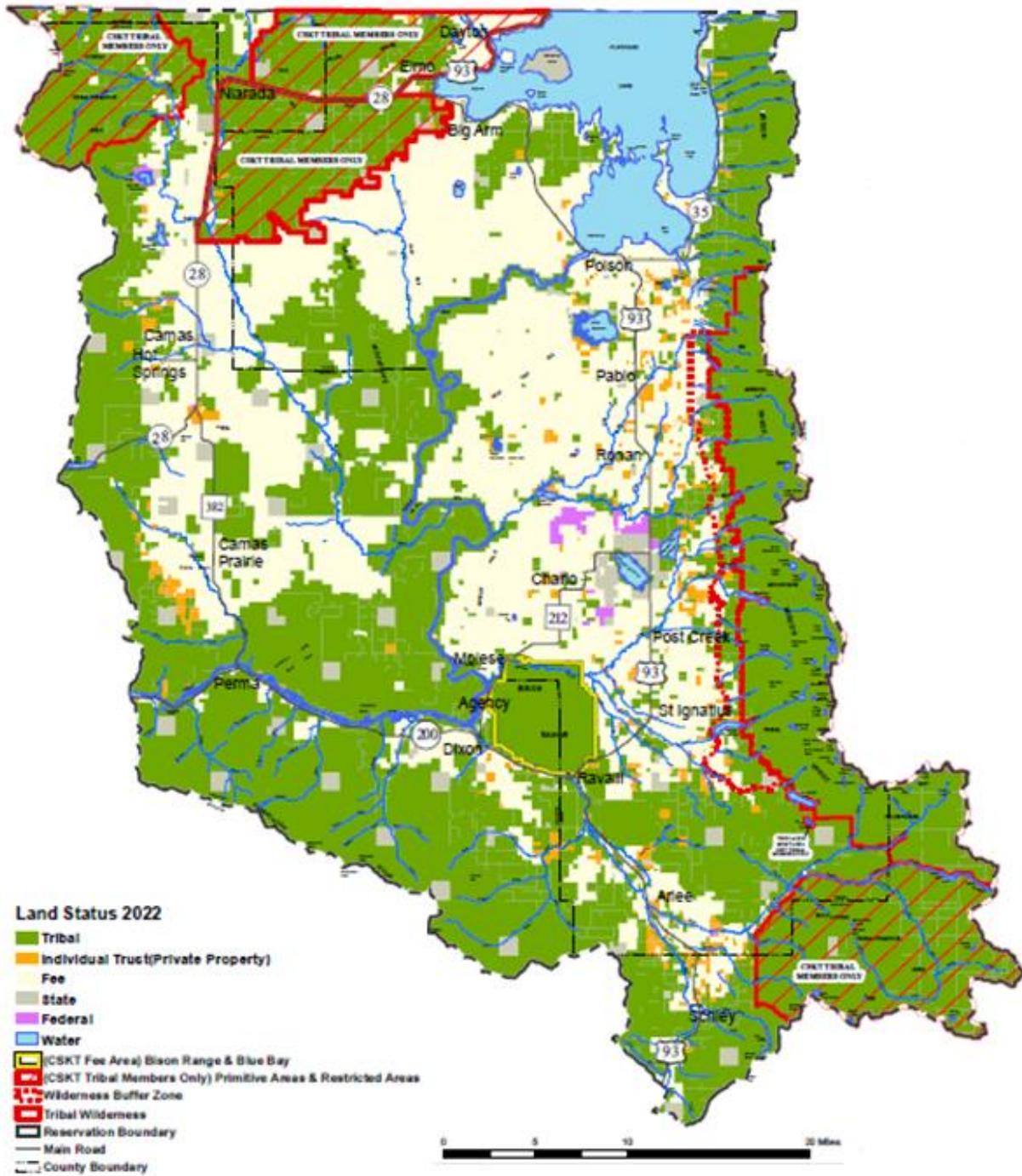


Figure 5. The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation, Map adapted.

The weather is dramatic as the landscape within the CSKN. The first part of the year is frigid and snow-covered. Springs are wet with drastic weather changes, such as blizzards followed by warm sunny days. About mid-July, the rains nearly stop, and it becomes hot and dry and remains this way often until the end of September. Falls get more moisture and cooler. This weather makes for a short growing season with a need for irrigation to support crops across the valley floors. A series of reservoirs, a few at least a mile long and half a mile wide, collect melted snow.

Water in a dry area becomes a precious resource, exacerbating conflicts between the CSKN government, with a primary concern of protecting inflow streams of creeks and rivers for aquatic life and their community usages, and U.S. settlers' anxieties for their industrial-agricultural operations within the CSKN (Sokol 2020).

Salish people within CSKN experienced pressures and confinement, but many retained much of their foodways, hunting and collecting as they had before contact and through the 1800s (Bigart and Woodcock 1981). By 1900, Salish people within CSKN planted new crops such as wheat and some gardens along creek areas. They herded cattle, bison, and horses. However, this dramatically changed in 1910 with the "opening" of the reserved lands to U.S. settlers. Suddenly Euro-Americans outnumbered Salish people 4 to 1. During this process, the Indigenous population succumbed to pressures to sell off their bison herd and substantial horse herds they collectively grazed. The change was dramatic and abrupt (Bigart 2020).

By the 1920s, the taking of Salish people's lands was extensive. The U.S. federal land dispossession significantly reduced the remaining land and their herds, gardens, and fields. By the 1950s, about one percent of the CSKN government and citizens held title to land within the CSKN (Trospen 1974). With the opening, the game quickly depleted due to numerous

newcomers also hunting. Compounding this situation, Salish people found themselves confined to their reserved lands and expected to get written passes from a U.S. government superintendent to leave (Krigbaum 1997). This ongoing issue further dampened accessing accustomed food resources beyond reserved lands and burdened many Salish people with debt.

Economists Ron Trosper and others argued that opening the reserved lands to U.S. settlement devastated and drastically changed the economy and Salish people's foodways (Trosper 1974). This opening impoverished Salish people and created dependency. Despite setbacks, Salish people continued adapting and sustained a semblance of their foodways. Various Salish people continued to farm, ranch, hunt, and gather their traditional foods. However, living as minorities within their communities and experiencing economic and political marginalization forced them to operate primarily in a cash economy linked tightly to local and national economics. Environmental degradation in and out of the CSKN also severely impacted Salish peoples' access to traditional foods. The U.S. bison extermination policy made wild bison herds nearly nonexistent in areas Salish once hunted (Hubbard 2014). Mining activities significantly harmed river systems once teeming with fish (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2011). An invasion of non-Salish people also significantly impacted wild game numbers and access in the CSKN and the surrounding area (Krigbaum 1997).

An area within the CSKN named Camas Prairie gets its name from the abundance of camas this valley once contained. Because camas were thick and widespread across the valley, Salish Elder Patrick Pierre stated, "[t]here used to be so much camas, entire hills would be purple," he said. "On a windy day, it looked like waves across the water. I saw a decline in our plants as land went under private ownership" (Kelly 2017). This change came with U.S. homesteaders plowing this land, which, to this day, remains pasture and hayfields. These

agricultural activities forced a legacy on Salish communities that compounds food system challenges and reverberates through contemporary times.

Diminished camas are especially detrimental because it was a staple crop of the Salish people. Recent generations of Salish people speak to the importance of camas and other first Salish foods in their lives. Harriet McDougal, a Salish person, stated, "I remember when we used to ride horses to go gather bitterroot, camas, huckleberries, serviceberries...[my] grandma used to bake camas and we'd have to gather moss" (Kelly 2018). Josephine Quequesah also mentioned camas and other foods' pivotal role in her family's diet. She mentioned traveling "by wagon across Flathead River with her grandparents Clarice (Paul) and Phillip Pierre and camp for several days. "I'm not sure how long but it seemed like at least a week...[a]fter digging gunnysacks full of bitterroot, Quequesah said they pack up and move to another spot where they would gather camas, then berries and tree moss...[t]he people here would gather enough native foods to last all year" (Swaney 2012).

Salish people became thoroughly integrated into U.S. food systems and the economy during the last 50 years. Throughout this time, U.S. agriculture also transformed, more accurately described as agribusiness with intense specialization, new crops, and highly processed food products (Nierenburg 2005). U.S. researchers introduced dwarf wheat, which is now a dominant crop. Factory farms housing single species and breeds became common, such as chickens, which operators keep in large warehouses and rarely let outdoors (Striffler 2005). Breakfast cereals, fortified with synthetic vitamins and added sugar became ubiquitous (Paul Pestano et al. 2011). These are primary examples of the last half century's food changes that impacted Salish people's food system and dietary patterns.

Extraordinary non-Native American population growth in and around Salish communities left Salish an ever-smaller minority population operating in the extensive U.S. economic and political system. This demographic change significantly impacts Salish peoples' food systems and diet in the 21st Century. Salish people continue to hunt and amass certain precontact foods, such as deer and huckleberries. They also incorporated new foods, like factory bread, potatoes, and beef, into their diet.

A popular perception is that Salish peoples are heavily acculturated and do not eat many precontact foods. This view is partly true but not accurate. Salish people still enjoy traditional foods and practices in limited amounts and diversity (Bigart and Woodcock 1996; Séliš-Qlišpé Culture Committee 2005; Stubbs 1966; Turner et al. 1990).

History shows that since contact, Euro-Americans continuously dispossessed Salish of their land and resources. Non-Salish also degraded habitat, disrupted resource management (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e), and integrated Salish forcefully further into the political and economic structures of the United States as racialized minorities with less access to their territories and accustomed food resources (Bigart, 2020). Therefore, Salish found themselves more dependent on the industrial agriculture complex, thus experiencing dietary changes with poor health outcomes.

CHAPTER 3

Salish Historical Diet, Continuations and Contemporary Customs

3.1 Salish Diet Vast from Ocean, Mountains to Plains

In the recent past, Salish peoples of the Pacific Northwest region ate almost anything that ran, swam, crawled, or flew. Their diversity of food was vast, ranging from the ocean to the mountains, the interior plateau, and the plains. They ate a vast array of berries, distinct types of greens, and fungi. In short, it was a wide-ranging diet (Peacock 1998). Despite seasonality affecting the types of plants and animals collected, they could procure foods year-round (Turner 2014). They collected in the spring, shoots, tubers, greens, and various berries during the summer as they became available. With the arrival of the fall season, other berries became accessible as Salish hunted certain animals. In the winter, Salish collected fur-bearing animals and aquatic life (Turner 2014).

Salish peoples were not just simple hunters and gatherers, blessed with bountiful bioregions. They cultivated the countryside, utilizing tools to manage resources such as selectivity, transplanting, and altering the landscape to improve food availability and quality (Turner and Kuhnlein 1986; Peacock 1998; Turner 1997 and 2014). This chapter devotes attention to Salish diets, starting with the pre-contact period and moving from the historical area to the present. It examines what these peoples ate, the macro and micronutrient levels of their foods, procurement, production, preservation techniques, and resource management. In addition, it also explores food periodization and eating practices. The emphasis is on what they ate, when, and in what context. While elements of a pre-contact diet are still part of contemporary Salish eating patterns, much has changed. The chapter also explores specifically the changes and the

impetus for these developments, along with the continuation of traditional food cultivation, production, consumption, and adaptations, which included herding, gardening, and cropping.

3.2 Horticulturists and Hunters

Salish people were and are cultivators, collected plants, fished, and hunted. Historical and archaeological evidence indicates they were horticulturists that cultivated plants and processed them throughout the year, resulting in significant amounts of food for consumption (Peacock 1998; Turner 2014).

Furthermore, although Salish people did consume ample amounts of animal protein, their dietary calories from plants were as high as 70% in multitudes of Salish groups (Kuhnlien and Turner 1991). In addition to archeological and historical evidence, Salish cultivation evidence exists in Salish peoples' historical accounts and traditional stories. These stories tell of the Salish people, along with Coyote, a prominent mythical character, and others spreading plants that either served as food or medicine (Mourning Dove 1990; Séliš-Qłispé Culture Committee 1999).

One common cultivation practice included the prescribed burning of areas to improve the environment for desired vegetation (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2005). Another testament to the complexity of ecological knowledge is the Salish people's documented use of well over three hundred uses for plants for food and medicinal purposes (Turner et al. 1990). One more example of this knowledge is their collection of plants beyond the regular seasons of spring and summer. While several plants are not available during the winter, Salish people were and are known to harvest edible and medical plants any time of the year. For example, edible tree lichen collection may occur in January, just as they collected it in June. In addition to lichen, they

historically ate tree cambium, bulbs, corms, tubers, different berries, fresh greens, and seeds (Turner 2014). More specifically, Salish people historically collect yellow bell, watercress, buffalo berries, spring beauty, cow parsnip, kinnikinic berries, wild raspberry, biscuit root, glacier lily, balsamroot, and false hellebore (Turner 2014).

3.3 Food Custom Continuation

Another popular notion is that Salish peoples are heavily acculturated and only practice limited levels of traditional food/medicine practices. Although Salish peoples' access to natural resources became limited with the ceding of land and the forced opening of reserved plots (Bigart and Woodcock 1996), Salish peoples still gather traditional foods and medicines throughout the year. Bitterroot is one of the first foods gathered in the early spring before it blooms (Séliš-Qlišpé Culture Committee 2005). Followed by camas bulbs and serviceberries in June, then huckleberries in July and August. In early fall, chokecherries gathering commences. Other plants still gathered are lamb quarter, elk thistle, bull berries, elderberries, and cottonwood cambium (Interviews 2022; Stubbs 1966; Turner et al. 1990). The historical diet's components continue to various degrees across the community in the present.

3.4 Food Variety

Salish peoples' traditional diet during the pre-contact and historical periods was more diverse than today (Turner and Turner 2008; Bigart 2020; B. Beck 1978; Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021a). Once common foods like bull trout are nonexistent in the diet of many Salish people because the U. S. government listed them as an endangered species within

the United States. Modern Salish also rarely, if ever, consume camas or bitterroot. They consumed hundreds of plants and animals (Turner 1997; Turner et al. 2006).

Salish elder Tony Incashola confirmed that when he was younger, he and other Salish people collected whitebark pine nuts, huckleberries, and other first Salish foods (Upham 2019). In addition to nuts and berries, Salish consumed lots of roots, particularly bitterroot. This root was an important crop dug in the spring and was reasonably accessible. Incashola also mentioned that when his family returned from their excursion, they had "sacks and sacks full of dried meat, and bitterroot,". Other Salish people conveyed similar stories of bitterroot. Dorothy Woodcock recalled that when she was younger, her family would harvest many bitterroots to last for a year (Swaney 2012). Josephine Quequesah remembered filling gunnysacks with bitterroot (Swaney 2012). Angelina Andrew also recalled "when she was a child learning to dig, clean, and preserve a year supply of bitterroot from her grandmother" (Kelly 2018).

A few reasons may contribute to this diverse diet. First, Salish peoples inhabited the plains of Montana, across Idaho, into British Columbia, Washington, and all along the coastline of British Columbia to Oregon (Bigart and Woodcock 1996; Turner 2014; Séliš-Q̓lispé Culture Committee 2005). Within each of these bioregions are distinct flora and fauna, ranging from higher elevations to drier regions, valleys, and the moist temperate areas along the coastline. Within this region are many major waterways, including the Columbia River. These interior waterways teemed with an incredible diversity of life, ranging from giant sturgeon to salmon to freshwater bivalves. Contributing to this diverse diet is an intimate knowledge of the landscape, flora, and fauna found in each bioregion (Turner 2014).

The dramatic change of seasons also contributes to decisions about which resources to utilize and during what times of the year. For instance, Salish collected fur-bearing animals in

the dead of winter when lots of snow was on the ground, and they ate certain types of aquatic life at this time of year (Séliš-Qlišpé Culture Committee 2005). While Salish food restrictions existed, Salish people were inclined to eat numerous types of plants and animals and a variety of parts of plants and animals (B. Beck 1978). They appeared unencumbered by monocropping or utilizing limited resources.

3.5 Dietary Misperceptions

Primarily subsisting on flesh is another popular misperception of the Salish people. Although they consumed various animals for protein, they also ate numerous plants, with consumption estimated to have ranged from 50 to 70% of their diet coming from plants, depending on their location and the productivity from year-to-year (Turner 2014).

Archaeological evidence of cooking pits, carbon dated in the interior of British Columbia and Washington state, suggest that over thousands of years, Salish procured balsamroot and camas bulbs on a massive scale, processed and dried for food consumption, which illustrates the value of plants as an essential food (Peacock 1998; Carney 2021). Early explorers also witnessed Salish people digging and cooking camas and putting up major stores of this food in the form of dried cakes in numerous Salish communities (Thomas 1989). Camas were, in fact, plentiful, and groups of women could procure sizable quantities of camas in a brief period. The proliferation of this bulb and other wild edibles during the historical period also led early European settlers to collect camas and other indigenous plants to supplement their sparse supplies (Herrin 1986). Camas and other plants were abundant and a staple of Salish people's diets.

In addition to camas, various berries and greens were plentiful in microclimates along waterways and at various elevations and times. While certain berries, such as serviceberries,

typically ripen in June, these berries became available in other locations, which could extend the collection duration from only days to several weeks. Therefore, Salish ate some fresh while they dried and stored others. Serviceberries were also plentiful and considered a key component of Salish people's diet, which they often dried in cake form. Also, water crests and other greens were gathered during the summer and typically eaten fresh. Raspberries, strawberries, salal berries, wild carrots, cow parsley, and inner cottonwood bark (B. Beck 1978; Krohn 2017) were added to the diet as they ripened.

In late summer and early fall, Salish gathered the well-known huckleberries along with foam berries. They typically gathered and baked lichen with camas and wild onions and, if needed, Salish also gathered lichen during winter if resources were low. Another source of food came from trees in the form of pitch, inner bark, and the needles themselves. Spruce tips were a popular source of food in the spring, along with the inner bark of a cottonwood tree (Turner 2017). Along the coastal territories, other varieties of plants live along with the ones just mentioned. These include seaweeds, wapato, chocolate lily, ferns, and a whole other set of berries. Coastal Salish people also collected during certain times of the year, then processed and stored the goods for later use (Turner 2017).

Undoubtedly, Salish procured and stockpiled a vast variety of plants and parts of plants. This diversity included fruits, greens, bulbs, roots, shoots, bark, needles, and fungi growing on the ground and trees (Turner et al. 1986). A few popular foods of Salish people included acorn, bearberry, wild blackberry, bitter cherry, Pacific crabapple, cranberry, golden currant, elderberry, bracken fern, lady fern, licorice fern, wild plum, hazelnut, stinging nettles, and bullwhip kelp (Turner 2014; Krohn 2017).

3.6 Animals

Megafauna was/is indeed part of the diet of Salish people, and they also had diverse diets of fish and shellfish they took from lakes, streams, and the ocean (Peacock 1998). While animals were/are highly prized by many for their meat, their internal organs and marrow also entered Salish peoples' diets (Whealdon 2001; Peacock 1998). Salish people continued to hunt a wide range of wild animals such as elk, deer, moose, bear, ram, and goats. In addition to hunting, Salish people also fought for access to fishing for salmon, trout, and other types of aquatic life found in streams, rivers, lakes, and the ocean, which they still eat.

Salish people hunted, trapped, and collected a diverse array of plants and fungi. This variety is due in part to the wide range of microclimates and a more liberal attitude toward eating various animals (Turner et al. 2006). From the ocean, halibut, whales, seals, otters, crustaceans, bivalves, and numerous types of salmon were popular. The Salish also consumed octopus, the California butter clam, pink scallop, Dungeness crab, geoduck, acorn barnacle, and Olympic oysters, to name a few. Also taken from rivers were numerous fish, eels, and bivalves (Norton 1985). Salish obtained a wide range of megafauna and fur-bearing animals on land. For example, at higher elevations, they hunted mountain sheep along with wolverines (Norton 1985). These people also secured caribou, whitetail deer, moose, and elk in mountainous regions.

Further, in the interior and on the plains, other animals such as antelope, bison, and elk were taken (Turney-High 1937). Other animals eaten on the plains were groundhogs, jackrabbits, and prairie chickens. Also, in waterways of the plains, bivalves and an assortment of fish were taken and eaten. More examples include sturgeon, paddlefish, catfish, suckerfish, western pearl shell, fat mucket, and giant floater (Turner et al. 2006; Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation History/Archaeology Program 2011).

Beyond megafauna and aquatic life, Salish ate a variety of birds. These included albatross, trumpeter swan, pigeon, Pacific loon, blue grouse, great blue heron, Canada goose, pelican, ruddy duck, surf scoter, and others (Norton 1985). They captured a range of birds along the ocean, in the interior valleys on the plains (Turney-High 1937; Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation History/Archaeology Program 2011).

Another source of protein came from reptiles, such as the western pond turtle, along with the eyes and tongues of various animals. They also ate bird eggs, fish eggs, liver, kidneys, stomach, heart, beaver tails, and in some instances, brains (Turney-High 1937; Norton 1985).

3.7 Seasonality

In modern times, many people often hunt in the fall. This practice might influence people's misperceptions of Salish hunting practices. Despite this misperception, Salish people gathered animals year-round. The collection of these animals depended on numerous considerations. For example, when specific fish runs occurred, Salish people gathered them during these migrations. Also, on the plains, the Salish tended to hunt buffalo at certain times of the year. In the historical record, Salish people in the mountains and valleys ventured out onto the plains once in the spring and then in the fall to hunt buffalo. During deep winter, they trapped fur-bearing animals, which served a dual purpose of fresh meat and furs. Fishing for certain species during the winter also occurred, such as ling fish (Turney-High 1937; Norton 1985; Turner et al. 2006).

3.8 Food Procurement

Salish people developed many tools, techniques, and management strategies to foster foods and procure them. They applied a digging tool to extract bulbs and rhizomes (Turney-High 1937; Norton 1985). They constructed fish weirs across rivers, where fish spearing occurred. (Peacock 1998). They constructed platforms and used dip nets at waterfall sites to catch fish (Kane 1858; Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation History/Archaeology Program 2011). Salish fashioned harpoons and seagoing vessels to hunt whales and large hooks to fish for halibut (Norton 1985). They invented reef netting to catch ocean fish (Easton 1981). Salish also produced smaller watercraft and hooks for fishing inland rivers and lakes (Turney-High 1937). Coastal Salish developed aquaculture by forming clam beds, also known as clam gardens. They removed beaver dams to improve the migration of salmon and enhanced these riverways by creating resting pools and clearing other parts of channels to mitigate the success of spawning fish (Deur 2000; Williams 2006). Deadfalls and other traps served Salish in procuring furbearing animals. They crafted clubs to dispatch prey quickly. They also erected drives to get deer and bison. In addition to aquaculture, the Salish people removed certain unwanted plants. They also practiced a form of pruning by breaking off branches on bushes. Evidence suggests they transplanted plants and fish in other rivers where stocks may have been low (Deur 2000; Williams 2006).

Interestingly, a traditional Salish coyote story published chronicles Coyote trying to bring salmon over a mountain on what is now called the Idaho side into what is now referred to as Montana but was unsuccessful in this endeavor (Séliš-Q̓lispé Culture Committee 1999). They also employed fire as a management tool by starting fires in forests to induce a low-intensity burn to clear out some of the underbrush, which would help desired plants proliferate. These

low-intensity fires benefit berry crops like huckleberries and balsam roots while leaving many mature trees standing. They also set fires in meadows and prairie lands to improve the grass for animals and utilized fire to drive animals to other locations (Peacock 1998; Boyd 1999; Deur 2000).

3.9 Food Preparation and Preservation

Salish ate many fresh foods, but a large amount of food was annually gathered and stored for use during the long winter months (Peacock 1998). They air-dried or smoked copious amounts of meat while drying plants and fungi. Coastal Salish people also dried or fermented seaweed, herring fish eggs, and fish heads (Deveau 2007). Salish layered stored meat layered with mint and sometimes fat. When they ate fresh food, typically, they roasted or boiled or ate it raw. For example, salmon typically was/is splayed, spread out on sticks, attached to a stake, and put near a fire to cook from the radiant heat. They also used two types of cooking vessels for boiling food. One is known as a bent box, made of wood, in which a person places hot stones along with water and food to boil (Turner et al. 2006). They also utilized a similar boiling process with fiber baskets or skin bags while other foods Salish people baked in ground ovens (Teit 1900; Turney-High 1937). These included camas, balsam root, bears, and whole animal hindquarters (Interviews 2022).

3.10 Food Trading Networks

Seemingly, some foods were plentiful and traded along networks or people would travel to other regions to partake in harvests (Turney-High 1937; Suttles 1990). Salish people within what is now the boundaries of Washington traveled east to join other Salish to venture onto the

prairie to hunt bison. Several groups of Salish people congregated along the Columbia River to partake in fish runs. Candlefish trade was prolific and found far inland from the ocean (Birchwater et al. 1993). Camas and other plants also moved along trade routes (Turner and Loewen 1998).

3.11 Macro and Micronutrients

Across Salish peoples' diets, slight variations in macro and micronutrients existed in foods consumed. However, the general diet pattern breaks down into plants and animals, with on average a range of the diet being 50 to 70% plant matter (Hunn 1981). Determining amounts of protein, fats, and carbohydrates ratios are more difficult to ascertain. Many of the berries eaten and camas bulbs contain complex carbohydrates (Peacock 1998). Many plants contain ample polyphenols and fiber (Juríková 2013). These foods also contain numerous vitamins and minerals, such as vitamin C and magnesium (Milburn 2004). Internal organs from animals also provide vitamin A and selenium. Fish and other aquatic life contain other nutrients like omega-3s, vitamin D, and zinc (First Nations Health Council 2017). Studies show deer, moose elk, and buffalo meat contain protein, riboflavin, niacin, and iron, while the liver contains significant vitamin C in many of these animals (First Nations Health Council 2017). These nutrients are essential because Salish people consumed internal organs like the liver in addition to eating meat. Bone marrow is also another nutritionally rich animal component consumed. Nutritional analysis research revealed that wild game animals contain higher omega-3 levels (Bowen, Harris, and Kris-Etherton 2016). Another important source of vitamin D comes from ample sun exposure.

3.12 Food Periodization, Restrictions, and Feasts

Winter dance ceremonies are widespread amongst Salish peoples (Amoss 1978; Mourning Dove 1990). During this dance, many Salish people fasted, as well as during other times of the year. Some Salish people fasted in association with different ceremonies before hunting or in times of solitude in the mountains in special places where people prayed (Dusenberry 1959; Mourning Dove 1990). Fasting can last from several hours or a few days to an entire week, depending on the associated event. It can include drinking water only or no consumption of anything (Interviews 2022). Evidence also suggests that hunters and fishers would refrain from eating before they began these pursuits. Individuals might also avoid certain foods at certain times in their life cycles. For example, elders advised pregnant women not to eat specific types of food because some Salish believed these foods could affect the quality or character of the child (B. Beck 1978). Another dietary pattern of Salish people included numerous feasting occasions such as ceremonies like the first fruits ceremony (Teit 1909), the first fish ceremony (Fialkowski 2011), potlatch (Norton 1985), celebrations, winter dances, funerals (Turney-High 1937) and memorials for deceased individuals. During these periods, numerous people would eat together. This practice facilitates the process of sharing food. Also, communal meals create and strengthen bonds between and within communities.

Communal eating and food sharing are everyday customs within Salish communities and homes that people now also extend beyond ceremonies and funerals. Birthdays, meetings, weddings, celebrations, and other places are also food-sharing sites. Sharing a meal and conversation is proper etiquette for many Salish people. Many Salish people often offer guests something to eat and drink, and many take it as a slight if visitors deny offerings. Just as

important to the food is the conversation. Hosts expect people to eat and share time, and many consider it proper to engage a bit in dialog while sharing food.

Food also binds many Salish through giving away food. After the last funeral meal, cooks expect any remaining food to go with attendees, and often, organizers send small sacks of dried deer or elk meat home with people. Hunters often share procured meat, and some people adhere to sharing the first animal they killed. Youth are usually taken around by their parents to share how the young person took the animal and then offer some of the meat to family and friends while recipients heap praise on the young hunter.

Food procuring, cooking, and eating are social activities that provide a space for sharing and bonding. In fact, a popular contemporary food event centers around drying and smoking meat; sometimes, people describe them as dry meat socials. While people engage in drying meat, they also engage in telling stories and conversing about their lives, thoughts, and topics of the day. Like the dry meat social, Salish people provide many vignettes while engaged in food activities ranging from the funny to the profound. One can learn much about others' perspectives, history, politics, and gossip while enjoying hearty laughs.

3.13 Dietary Overview

In summary, Salish peoples' diets in the past were vast and diverse, including numerous plants, animals, and fungi. Artifacts and the archaeological record indicate they used numerous techniques and tools to procure, preserve and manage food resources. With contact with European people, this diversity began to change slowly at first but became severely limited over time. Changes in diet and the momentum for these changes convey the next part of this narrative of Salish people and their journey.

CHAPTER 4

Settler Colonization and Power Dynamics Drive Salish Food System Shift

4.1 Settler Colonialization: Historical and Continued Oppression of Indigenous People for Wealth Extraction

Facts often look different from various vantage points. Salish people's telling of their history and lived experience speak of sharing and hospitality to unusual-looking strangers from a faraway land, only to be deceived and taken advantage of later. Their stories tell of forced assimilation, rape, murder, hunting and fishing persecution, more land taken, children stolen, English names imposed on them, and many more wrongdoings. They also mention that these transgressions continued for decades into contemporary times, with Salish remaining homelands becoming dumping grounds of toxic waste and starvation experiments on children. They also mentioned that food commodities pressed on them, and they could not gain credit to fund businesses.

While these tales contain truths, they are only part of the story of Salish communities. Like all history, conflict, and incongruencies, these themes of conflict, theft, and destruction are common throughout Salish history and contemporary lives. Great-great-great-great-great grandchildren recall how multiple Salish generations before them clashed with outsiders and continued to struggle against these outsiders' descendants' insatiable appetite for more Salish land and more wealth.

Although most Salish people do not utter the term settler colonization, many can talk at length about their interactions with settlers, continuing conflicts, and outcomes of colonization. This section focuses on illuminating the concept of settler colonialization logic and practice. This

conception helps further contextualize Indigenous people's historical and continued oppression for wealth extraction by the United States, which impacted and still impacts Salish resources, food sources, dietary patterns, and health.

4.2 Settler Colonialization

Many living within states or countries employing settler-colonial tactics might find the concept of settler-colonization jarring and inaccurate description of their beloved country and push back with slogans of "freedom," "equality," and "color blindness." Therefore, starting with a basic understanding of particular concepts and then supplying historical and contemporary evidence to support the claim that the settler-colonial concept applies to many countries is ongoing. Pointing out a few specific tools and tactics used to subjugate and take from others helps ground the settler colonialization concept.

Scholar Patrick Wolfe contends, 'the primary logic of settler colonialism can be characterized as one of elimination' (Wolfe 2006, 405). It is replacing Indigenous peoples with settlers instead of conventional colonization in which Indigenous populations serve as cheap labor. He further espouses settler colonization is a "force that ultimately derives from the primal drive for expansion that is generally glossed as capitalism" (Wolfe 2006, 402). Wealth extraction in this reasoning necessitates the "elimination of Indigenous peoples, polities and relationships from and with the land (Wolfe 2006, 406)." He also contends "colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not but an event" (Wolfe 2016, 388). Therefore, "elimination is an organizing principle of settler-colonial society rather than a one-off (and superceded) occurrence," but rather "[s]ettler colonialism destroys to replace" (Wolfe 2016, 388).

Theorists Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang also describe settler colonization as an assemblage that arranges the relationships between particular peoples, lands, and the society in which Indigenous people experience deprivation of most or all their land and resources (Tuck and Yang 2013).

These theorizations of settler colonization appear well-grounded in the historical and contemporary data. In Canada and the United States, the colonial settler logic appears in the annals of Indigenous peoples' physical elimination through direct and indirect killing or removal to distant land tracks or restriction to smaller parcels. Other removal forms included destroying cultures, and identities, dismantling Indigenous land tenure systems, confinement to reservations, assimilation efforts, and much more. It was a literal and a figurative removal of Indigenous peoples, either by physical or cultural extermination (Dunbar-Ortiz 2015; Tuck and Yang 2013; Mosby 2013).

This theory helps describe an overarching system or network while revealing the logic and motivation that connects the taking of children with the slaughter of bison and the 1950s U.S. Native American termination policy with the leasing of Indigenous lands to non-Indigenous people. The settler colonization theory also better contextualizes ongoing Salish political and economic interactions with state and non-state actors.

Countless policies and actions against Native Americans facilitated the taking of their land by any means necessary. The colonial settler project is a totality, operating through political, economic, military, cultural, and social institutions, from the federal to city government to churches and social clubs. This process is ongoing because the settlers have not wholly removed Indigenous populations from their territory nor entirely assimilated them.

4.3 Sovereignty Defined

Idealized sovereignty conception entails the right and power of a governing body over itself, without limited interference from outside entities (Cobb 2005). However, the reality is messier than theory, and many definitions of sovereignty range from state sovereignty to national sovereignty and even Indigenous sovereignty. There are legal and political understandings of sovereignty with nuances, but generally, many people think of it as the ability to self-govern within one's territory for practical purposes.

Sovereignty includes exercising power across many domains, from taxation to policing and flexing military might. Scholars and law practitioners further distinguish between *de jure* and *de facto* sovereignty, or the ability to exercise sovereignty, versus the legal right to exercise sovereignty (Kalt and Singer 2004; McNeil 2017). Exercising sovereignty is exerting power within a given territory over a population within a region. It entails controlling what occurs within a territory and how and what resources from said territories people utilize. Sovereignty is also about dictating terms influencing how people should live and conduct interactions with one another.

4.4 Power

Understanding who has power and how they obtain it is crucial. It is also essential to understand how people exercise power—flexing power through apparent decision-making, such as setting an agenda and prioritizing objectives and goals. Exercising power occurs by forging prevalent language selection, usage, ideology, crafting meaning, and shaping worldviews (Gaventa 1980; Gaventa and Cornwall 2001). Decision outcomes involve prior processes during which decisions transpire, and it is essential to understand how power dynamics influence

decisions. Showcasing the framing of concerns and guiding discussion are details worth foregrounding to shine a light on exercising power subtleties (Daniels and Schulz 2006). Attention to power dynamics benefits individuals by recognizing, identifying, and describing how power gets wielded to create, perpetuate, and maintain power differentials that produce inequities and disparities in institutions and society. An overarching understanding that power shapes society is a foundation on which specific elements of power sit.

Throughout history, influential people fully displayed brute force as a method for gaining power. However, less overtly violent, power-accumulating elements exist, which scholars further explored. The seminal work by two researchers, French and Raven (1959), details modes used to obtain power. Originally their typology included five bases of power. They are reward, coercion, legitimate, expert, and referent. Raven later added informational power. These two also noted, "[t]he processes of power are pervasive, complex, and often disguised in our society" (French and Raven 1959, 259) and they set out to demystify power dynamics. French and Raven's definition of social power includes the potential to influence a change in belief, attitude, and behavior for influence or manipulation. Specifically, they defined power "in terms of influence, and influence in terms of psychological change" (French and Raven 1959, 260). They described change as converting "behavior, opinions, attitudes, goals, needs, values and all other aspects of the person's psychological field" (French and Raven 1959, 260).

All these power dynamics likely prevail in the relationship between Indigenous communities and other entities like the United States Federal government and individual state governments, counties, and cities. However, the two most prominent forms of power utilized against Indigenous peoples were brute force (physical violence) and continued coercion. A review of Indigenous histories indicates that multitudes of coercive practices are present and

applied to removing people from areas, getting documents signed, and more. Moreover, coercion is rarely foregrounded or explicitly discussed. Hence, a closer look at coercion provides a better understanding of the application and its impact on communities.

Emerging from further exploration of a taxonomy of coercion is deterrence and compellence. Deterrence involves a threat to keep an adversary "from starting something" or "to prevent [an adversary] from action by fear of consequences" (Schelling 1966, 69). Compellence is "a threat intended to make an adversary *do* something" (Schelling 1966, 71). Examples abound in history and current times of exerting power. Sometimes exercising power involves using or threatening the usage of U.S. troops, publicly funded police, paramilitary or private security (Brown 2020; Meng 2020). Rest assured; military power always stands in the background. Other power expansions apply fewer physical means while still aiming to influence social and material concerns. An illustration of this comes from the Trump administration threatening Mexico with economic sanctions to compel the Mexican government to hinder human population flows into the United States (Gambino and Agren 2019). This evidence indicates in rhetoric and policy that the U.S. desires to maintain its current power internationally and internally. The U.S. government utilized the threat of brute force and leveraged coercion over other nations, states, cities within the U.S., and most certainly, Indigenous peoples. Scholar Tami Davis Biddle argues that a "sense of its own power, combined with a desire to use that power to solve complex problems with minimum trouble and expenditure, has inclined [U.S.] American decision-makers to look to coercion repeatedly" (Biddle 2020). Empirically, numerous accounts indicate coercive methods were and are a mainstay of U.S. dealings with Indigenous peoples.

Understanding that brute force or forcible action requires no cooperation from an opponent is straightforward; however, coercion takes many forms, and more examples are

prudent for fleshing out an understanding. Biddle asserts that coercive action often begins with economic measures, such as freezing assets or imposing sanctions. The goal is to force the target state (or actor) to choose between conceding the disputed stake or suffering future pain that making such a concession would avert. The targeted state needs convincing that if it resists, it will suffer, but if it concedes, it will not (Biddle 2020). Deterrence entails threatening to keep the opposition from taking the initiative or preventing the opponent from action by instilling fear of consequences. Compellence utilizes threats of force to motivate opposition to "take an action, or to stop taking any action it has already started" (Biddle 2020). Withholding or withdrawing funding, such as the U.S. did from World Health Organization in the past few years, are clear examples of coercion and exploitation in exerting power to influence this organization's decisions and course of action (Gostin et al. 2020).

Types of power and influence dynamics deeply intertwine in Indigenous peoples' and settler colonists' interactions. It is naive to think that no power differential exists between Indigenous people and others, and this imbalance is constantly in motion. Furthermore, it is vital to recognize these power dynamics to contextualize past choices, analyze current actions, and contemplate future decisions. Often settler-colonizers claim they purchased Indigenous land fairly but digging a little deeper reveal coercive dynamics in which imposed duress compelled Indigenous people to sell land under unfair terms if they sold at all.

Deeper contemplation of power types and the typical dynamics between Indigenous peoples and national or provincial governments reveals a commonly oppressive relationship with Indigenous people operating from a position of modest power. Additionally, understanding power dynamics helps to analyze more intelligently current decisions, such as the CSKN government agreeing to withdraw claims to water rights outside their remaining territorial

boundaries in a water compact with the Montana state government. To the novice, this may look like it is a fair trade. However, it is most likely a coerced cooperative agreement, and the CSKN government is trying to retain something based on past, present, and foreseeable actions and conditions.

The power dynamics resulting in the water compact will generationally impact the Salish people's food systems. Other forms of power assertion will continue to shape the Salish's ability to manage their local food system as well. Therefore, it remains essential to foreground power dynamics in the calculus of food system formation and modification.

4.5 Oppression

Defining oppression is warranted because Indigenous people often claim oppression, and settler-colonizers often deny oppressing anyone or offer a slight admission that Native Americans suffered oppression in the past. Like power, oppression takes many forms and ranges from overt to covert. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2022), oppression is an “unjust or cruel exercise of authority or power.” Settler colonizers exerted oppression in the past, and governments, organizations, other collectives, and individuals wield oppression today. Like power, various oppression types exist, and scholars provide evidence for different forms of oppression, like social, institutional oppression, and economic oppression (Acemoglu and Robinson 2017; Snipp 1986). More specifically, dominant groups often oppress to manipulate and control minority populations and others deemed not the ideal or part of a dominant group. This control usually involves the subjugation and marginalization of specific groups of people within a society and a country. Commonly oppressed groups include people

deemed racial or linguistic minorities, non-binary gender humans, LGBTQ people, females, religious sects, low-income individuals, and others.

Well documented are observations of oppression within numerous societal institutions such as political, legal, educational, and medicine (Middleton and Gayle 2022; Bruyneel 2006; Lerche and Shah 2018; Wilson et al. 2022; Woollorton et al. 2022). Scholars observe these various forms of oppression taking place against a wide range of groups across the globe in numerous countries to varying degrees by individuals and systemically (Mackay and Feagin 2022; McKinley and Blue Bird Jernigan 2023; Tudor et al. 2022; Morris 2022). Canada and the United States are certainly not outliers, and oppression is well-documented, extending back centuries and presently still occurring within these countries (Snipp 1986; McKinley et al.2020. Tuck and Yang 2013).

4.6 Racism: Institutional and Systemic

Williams and Rucker define racism as "an organized system, rooted in an ideology of inferiority that categorizes, ranks, and differentially allocates societal resources to human population groups" (Williams and Rucker 2000, 76). Institutional racism includes structures and processes that arrange and encourage racial inequity (Jones 1997). Research indicates racial disparities exist across society and within institutional outcomes and operations. Institutional racism is "the collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behaviors which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (MacPherson 1999, 28).

Dr. Griffith and colleagues insist that institutional racism operates at three levels within an organization. They are extra-organizational, intra-organizational, and the individual tier. The extra-organizational level focuses on the relationship between organizations and the external societal ecosystem (Griffith et al. 2007).

Institutional racism functions through an organization's internal atmosphere, policies, and procedures at the intra-organizational level. These dynamics include employee relationships, which are rooted in formal and informal hierarchies and power interactions. Individual-level racism operates through employees' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors embedded in the organization's climate. It is essential to remember that institutional racism is structural, and its dynamics collectively work by structuring processes and reinforcing, facilitating, and excusing individual behavior.

Scholars stress that "dismantling racism is a system change intervention designed to change the underlying infrastructure within an institution to be more fair, just, and equitable" (Griffith et al. 2007, 386). The emphasis is on changing the system, not individuals. They also point out that the goal is reformulating an organization to "demonstrate more equity by monitoring and addressing policies and practices, resource allocations, relational structures, organizational norms and values, and individual skills and attitudes" (Griffith et al. 2007, 386) to address disparities and change perceptions of people engaging with and seeking an organization's services. They advocate for tending to "norms and a culture where people hold each other accountable for their behavior and the impact of their actions; (b) creating a culture where decisions about the allocation and use of money and resources consider their implications for social equity; (c) fostering organizational norms where decisions about how and what work gets done consider the racial equity; and (d) prioritizing of organizational goals and objectives is

congruent with anti-racist organizational values" (Griffith et al. 2007, 387). They highlight the need to "recognize the possible incongruence between well-intentioned organizational processes, practices, and goals" (Griffith et al. 2007, 387) with disparities.

Consideration of the "complexity of systems problems" (Griffith et al. 2007, 387) they assure "highlights the need to focus change at the organizational level, not staff knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors" (Griffith et al. 2007, 387). This outlook draws attention to institutions' structures and how they operate as a system with feedback loops that might amplify racism and reproduce race-based disparities. Proponents that frame racism as structural suggest that structural framing provides more advantages and addresses racism more effectively than through individual-focused efforts such as cultural competence training.

Racism has political and economic dimensions, and racism impacts Salish people's food system. However, the main takeaway from Griffith and associates' work is not the explicit connections between racism and food systems but rather the emphasis on changing systems, not individuals. Their insights offer another perspective for viewing dietary patterns as not a product of animus but rather structures.

Sociologist and social theorist Joe R. Feagin researched racial and gender issues extensively. Feagin's book, *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression* (2006), lays out a theory of systemic racism and a glandular argument drawing on centuries of data forming a compelling claim that systemic racism is prevalent in the past and present. He supports his theory with concrete data from history and sociology studies.

In laying the foundation of his thesis, he observed that the "unjust, deeply institutionalized, ongoing intergenerational reproduction of whites' wealth, power, and privilege" (Feagin 2006, 20) is never the center of in-depth mainstream analyses, and they rarely seriously

discuss this topic. He further espouses that "mainstream analysts" often ignore or downplay the centrality and injustice of white wealth, power, and privilege. He contends a "mainstream approach tends to view persisting racial-ethnic tensions and conflicts today as being matters of prejudice and stereotyping or of individual and small-group discrimination" (Feagin 2006, 22). He further claims, "rarely are whites seen as currently the central propagators and agents in a persisting system of racial discrimination and other racial oppression" (Feagin 2006, 22). He notes that data on group differences is widely available regarding income, occupation, health, and residency.

However, intellectualization of these differences as part of a deep-rooted system of racial oppression rarely occurs. He asserts difficult conditions experienced by racialized minorities are "deep, foundational, and systemic" (Feagin 2006, 22). This racial oppression occurred historically and remains today. He insists, "[t]oday, as in the past, this oppression is not a minor addition to U.S. society's structure, but rather is systemic across all major institutions" (Feagin 2006, 19). He succinctly summarizes hundreds of years of history supporting his claim that oppressions of non-Europeans in the U.S. is part of a deep social structure, which began "with the genocidal killing off of Native Americans and the theft of their lands, and the extensive enslavement of Africans as laborers on those stolen lands" (Feagin 2006, 19) in which "European colonists and their descendants created a new society by means of active predation, exploitation, and oppression" (Feagin 2006, 19).

One could contend this has been the basic pattern of U.S. society since its inception of the United States. After critiquing racial and ethnic scholarship, he quickly moves to his specific conceptualization of systemic racism. He states, "today, as in the past, systemic racism encompasses a broad range of white-racist dimensions: the racist ideology, attitudes, emotions,

habits, actions, and institutions of whites in this society. Thus, systemic racism is far more than a matter of racial prejudice and individual bigotry. It is a material, social, and ideological reality that is well-imbedded in major U.S. institutions" (Feagin 2006, 20). In short, an "organized societal whole with many interconnected elements" (Feagin 2006, 24). He reminds readers that systemic racism exists because of important European American decision-makers critical decisions at pivotal moments in North American history. For centuries, predominantly Euro-American power brokers have actively shaped major social, economic, and political institutions to support and maintain its oppression of Americans deemed other. Feagin also points out that White people's wealth, generally, is predicated on dispossessing wealth from others. He provides resounding evidence to support his systemic racism concept and an analytical framework for researching ongoing oppressive social dynamics that pays more attention to structure than individuals. While his work primarily focuses on the oppression of Black people, this framework helps to focus on the specific systemic racism that impacted Indigenous people in the past and currently operates against them.

Significant changes alleviated the impacts of systemic racism. However, systemic racism still retains numerous features, perpetuating racial ideology, inclinations, actions, and intentions of many earlier generations. Systemic racism permeates the political and economic lives of Salish people and their governments through their interactions with federal, state, and local governments. This continued systemic racism against Salish people also modulates their food system and dietary patterns through these oppressive political and economic interactions.

4.7 Settler Colonization: Strategies and Tactics

Multiple components of settler-colonial society rationalize taking from Indigenous people, often working synergistically. Governments often employ brute force, coercion, and cooperation. Religion primarily uses a claimed higher moral authority, backed by state force. Corporations take advantage of force, and coercion, supported by government and religious leadership. Individuals draw from and are backed and blessed by all three institutions to rationalize subduing individual Indigenous people and Indigenous polities to extract wealth.

The pen may well be mightier than the sword because communication and thought preempt the sword and motivate violent action. Sometimes, people utilize articulation after violence to justify violence, downplay it, or disregard it entirely. From the beginning of European's learning of the North and South American continents, they utilized thought and speech to enslave, murder, and plunder the Americas' Indigenous peoples (Ward 2002; George-Kanentiio 2017; Duffy 2008). Pupal bulls justified these heinous actions, then the so-called doctrine of discovery was also later cited and rationalizing conquest and plundering. After that, a series of mental contortion and intellectual laziness followed quickly launched, obviously false stories suiting settler colonizer interests, such as European people discovering the Americas and land void of peoples.

Leading up to the conquest of the Americas, Pope Nicolas V released an edict in 1455 instructing King Alfonso V of Portugal. This proclamation is known as the bull *Romanus Pontifex*. English translation indicates that this document required the king and his subjects "to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed . . . to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, princi-

palities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit." (Davenport 1917). This bull proceeded with other proclamations by Europeans and became part of the cannon in justifying and shaping invasion of the Americas.

Elites issued more proclamations dictating justification and terms of conquest in the Americas. Spain and other European countries utilized these elicits conveniently to justify their warfare in the Americas, giving them "the right to use just war to convert local populations who had refused to immediately accept Christianity" (Donovan 1993, 15). Soon, other European powers utilized the concept of discovery as a foil to justify the political, legal, and moral framework for the colonial system in the Americas." An industry of justifying European discovery has since been expounded upon by numerous European scholars, theologians, jurists, and monarchs and elected officials to maintain that they had and have a "God-given" right to dispossess non-Christians of land and convert local populations they encountered.

As British colonies gained independence and formed the United States of America, the leaders of this newly established state also employed European discovery rationalizations, too often for violently taking land from Indigenous people deemed non-proper humans (Dunbar-Ortiz 2015). Subsequently, as this newly constituted country expanded its land holdings, other institutions of the U.S. also applied the European Doctrine of Discovery with their interpretations of this theory. Between 1823 and 1832, the U.S. Supreme Court released a series of decisions known as the Marshall Trilogy. These rulings drew on the doctrine of discovery but went further and declared Native American nations domestic dependent nations, and the U.S. had a trust responsibility to these dependents (Pappas 2017). Since this rationale declaration, numerous people cited it countless times to take more land, extract wealth, and commit various forms of violence against Indigenous men, women, and children, which is ongoing. One of the most well-

documented examples is the 'trust' responsibility in which the United States holds and manages billions of dollars for Native Americans.

As of the fall of 2022, the United States Bureau of Trust Funds Administration "manages the financial assets" of hundreds of thousands of Native Americans (U.S. Department of Interior 2022). This entity claims they "disburse more than \$1 billion annually and have more than \$5 billion under active day-to-day management and investment on behalf of Tribes and individuals" (U. S. Department of Interior 2022). These assets entail "55 million surface acres and 57 million acres of subsurface minerals estates across the United States" (U.S. Department of Interior 2022). These surface and subsurface are most of the remaining landholdings Indigenous have some legal title to of the original 3,805,943 square miles or 2,425,803,520 acres. According to these BIA figures, Indigenous landholdings are slightly more than two percent of the total landmass of the U.S. (Bureau of Indian Affairs 2022).

Salish peoples also hold title to a fraction of their previous lands, and their current land holdings are complicated further by the BIA and U.S. federal trust status. Significant diminishment of land ownership directly impacts Salish people's access to traditional foods and their ability to cultivate introduced foods. Also, BIA oversight and federal land trust rules inhibit Salish peoples' ability to manage their current land holdings, thus further hobbling any of their efforts to effectively shape their food system in concordance with Salish peoples' desires.

A famous lawsuit, *Cobell v. Salazar* called this fiduciary arrangement into question in a class-action case, revealing billions of dollars were unaccounted for and the U.S. government severely mismanaged assets (Göcke 2012). The result was a pittance of monetary damages but not transforming the management system or removing it entirely and letting Native Americans manage their assets (Berger 2022). An oppressive system still operates where Indigenous

people's assets are under the federal government's control. While another mismanagement scandal has not become known, rest assured management of these assets is not out of benevolence but pilfered wealth from Indigenous people through a subtle and intricate scheme. Perhaps someone else will file a lawsuit in another decade, and maybe more litigation will reveal the latest rendition of the U.S. government poaching details.

In 2005, another U.S. Supreme Court Justice rationalized continued taking by settler colonists in a case. Justice Ginsburg wrote the 8-1 majority opinion for the case, *City of Sherrill v Oneida Indian Nation*. She cited the doctrine of discovery as justification for the continued injustice against Indigenous people in this community, claiming "fee title to the lands occupied by Indians when the colonists arrived became vested in the sovereign—first the discovering European nation and later the original States and the United States" (*City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation* 544 U.S. 197 2005).

This doctrine is one example of many past pontifications utilized for continued taking or defending looting from Indigenous peoples. These throughlines from historical documents often work as a one-way street or valve in favor of European-American power brokers. Politicians and others will cite treaties and other records as the justification for taking. In the same breath, they will disregard these documents as old, outdated, and irrelevant when Indigenous cite the same papers for retaining their land. This double-speak or hypocrisy also has roots in the United States' early establishment. As Thomas Jefferson waxed about freedom in the 1700s, he and other European colonial ruling class men posited that "all men are created equal." At the same time, they continued to deliberately enslave, kill and oppress Africans, Native Americans, women, and people with limited resources (Koehler 2018).

These United States architects clearly and explicitly designed a social hierarchy based on class, gender, and race constructs to amass wealth, privilege, and status for a segment of society, with Indigenous peoples suffering the most destruction of any group to develop the United States. George Washington gained the moniker *Hanödaga:yas* or Town Destroyer (Michelson 2020), ordering his troops to commit genocide on Haudenosaunee people. Washington wrote, "[t]he immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more" (Washington 1779, 90). With orders in hand, Washington's soldiers destroyed sixty towns by burning and plundering farms, fields, orchards livestock while murdering men, women, and children indiscriminately. These soldiers destroyed people and property and ensured the surviving Haudenosaunee people would suffer and starve. Indeed, surviving people did starve, and scholar Rhiannon Koehler estimated that at least another 20 percent died afterward, and more than half of the Haudenosaunee population died, resulting from Washington's scorched earth policy (Koehler 2018).

Soon after these decisions, Manifest Destiny became the U.S. branded version of a bull or doctrine, justifying more violence and expansion across a continent (Estes 2021). In this process of accumulation, opposing views about methods of fulfilling this destiny arose. Segments of the U.S. population expressed concerns over killing Native Americans and talks of removal means arose. Captain Richard Pratt, one such Native American killer, suggested another way of inflicting genocide to expand the United States in a speech. Pratt stated, "[a] great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the

man" (Prucha 1973, 260–271). He took this concept of literally killing Native Americans to killing them figuratively by establishing Carlisle boarding school. This place housed Native American children to assimilate them into white, Christian U.S. society, certainly not with the intention of Indigenous people's becoming equals but to destroy Indigenous communities by transforming Native Americans into individuals to disappear into U.S. society. Boarding schools administered by church and state took off and continue to house Indigenous youth away from their communities (Hagenbunch 1998). The tone may be softer, but the intent is still the same, removing indigeneity.

European settlers took thousands of Native American children, including Salish children, who were often young when they entered these boarding schools (McKeehan 1981; Stout 2012). Many resided in these places for extended periods, sometimes years, with limited to no interactions with their families. School staff assimilated these youth through various means, including introducing the children to new foods and food production. Salish people recollect foods they ate at the boarding school in Saint Ignatius within the CSKN, often high-carbohydrate foods (Interviews 2022). These foods are now pervasive and problematic in many Salish people's diets because they have become habituated to foods that might harm them and contribute to chronic health conditions.

Boarding schools were the first, more palatable preemptive solution to replacing Indigenous peoples. However, less-lethal solutions followed but still had the intended outcome of removing Native Americans and replacing them with settlers. Other assimilationist policies followed, and in the 1950s, Indigenous nations were 'terminated,' meaning not recognized by the federal government as Native American polities but rather as individuals to usher into the mainstream often as cheap labor and certainly with lower social status (Kelly 2010).

In the 1960s, other remaining Native Americans received financial support from the U.S. government to relocate to urban centers for training (Kekki 2019). Perhaps the most prophylactic tactic of all was sterilizing Native American women without their consent or through coercion in the 1960s until 1976 to remove Indigenous people from the land by ensuring more were not born, indeed an upstream approach (Agosto 2021).

Since the 1970s, people have contributed to the settler colonial enterprise toolbox with more subtle applications to replace Indigenous bodies and indigeneity. These subtle forms are a result or partial response to the growing organization of Native Americans and gained sympathy for Indigenous people from a more significant segment of U.S. society. New tactics include gaslighting (Brooks 2022) and deepened erasure (Lopez 2021; Samuels 2021), including using double-speak in Thomas Jefferson's style and claiming liberty and equality (Arntzen 2021) for all while seeking to amass additional power to obtain wealth from others.

Governments and non-government collectives commonly utilize gaslighting and erasure as messaging to influence perspectives, formulate opinions and initiate action and policy. The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation also faced similar issues. A more recent example occurred in 2016 when two Montana State Senators filed a brief asking a U.S. judge to block the CSKN from taking the ownership of then Kerr Dam the Salish and Kootenai people had purchased. The court filing stated it “would appear that this setting would provide Turkey and such organizations with the opportunity to more freely promote their brand of Islam on reservations and/or to pursue other potentially more dangerous activities,” (Devlin 2016) with the chance that Turkey may try to “access to the uranium deposits and bountiful water sources surrounding the Flathead Reservation for production of yellowcake capable of later conversion to a gaseous state for eventual use in incendiary devices” (Devlin 2016).

The document asserts the transfer of the property “consummates a long interconnected series of incremental steps defendants have executed in coordinated fashion since 1985” (Devlin 2016) to take Kerr Dam, “at the expense of irrigators living on the Flathead Indian Reservation, and businesses and recreationalists living off of said reservation” (Devlin 2016). This irrational and conspiratorial attempt to impede CSKN economic development is another attempt to characterize Salish and Kootenai as incompetent and needing continued control. It also reveals a cheap ploy to incite Islamophobia and suggests Turkey is a nefarious adversarial Muslim country when in fact the country has strong diplomatic, military and economic relationships with the U.S. (Delvin 2016).

Unscrupulous people actively cultivate false narratives about Native Americans, businesses, and governments. Often non-Indigenous people with economic interests within or near remaining Native American homelands utilize the internet and other platforms to describe Native American peoples as tyrannical and oppressive (Vendiola, Vendiola, and Tanner 2017; Azure 2021). Or they claim that Indigenous people need help freeing them from the shackles of reservations. They raise billboards (Observations 2022) and print books (Wilman 2020) utilizing dog whistle language, signaling their potential sympathetic supporters about the evils of Native American governments and the need for all Americans to be equal. One bold example is a fake letter with a forged signature. Opposition to Salish and Kootenai people forged a CSKN council person's signature on a letter and circulated it in the 1970s to create a false connection between CSKN and the militant American Indian Movement. The fake letter indicated that the CSKN would "deal with the white people" within the CSKN (Interviews 2022). In the fall of 2022, another large sign placed on a billboard within the CSKN reads “Christian Nationalism A Biblical Guide for Taking Dominion and Disciplining Nations” which is a title of self-published

book authored by two people openly anti-Semitic and anti-Indigenous. The book serves as another signal to people within the CSKN the hostility towards Salish and Kootenai people and their government.

Abundant evidence spanning a century indicates governments and individuals oppressed Salish people economically and politically through institutions and across society (Bigart 2020; Wheeler 2006). However, mythmaking, erasure, ignorance, and deeply held nationalist, racist, and capitalist views blind many to the obvious. Presently, the Salish people cannot exercise complete self-governance of their remaining territory (Martin 2022; Akee et al. 2015; Devlin 2006) and settler colonizers are still extracting wealth (Fehrs 2014b). While domination might look apparent, oppression now is a matter of degrees. A more apt framing of the present dynamics might be viewing it as slow-motion genocide and a modern continuation of the United States' settler-colonization project to replace the Indigenous to extract wealth. Hence settlers use various methods and new techniques facilitate continued taking. As a part of the removal process, they use oppression in subtler forms to suit modern tastes of genocide. This subtly offends the sensibilities of few people within the U.S. and shields propagators from accountability, often in any substantial manner, or halting the ongoing taking from Salish people. This process seems more like a gradual creeping that goes almost unnoticed.

Settler colonization entails replacing Indigenous populations to extract wealth, which settlers did to various degrees in the Americas and elsewhere but only partially successful because large social projects are chaotic. Replacement in modern times took new forms. Instead of completely removing Indigenous peoples' physical bodies, the U.S. settler colonial project tends to focus more on eliminating Indigenous people's culture. Settler colonization is about exploiting a new region's land, resources, and people to extract wealth. Similarly, others took

land, exploited labor, and removed wealth from Salish, but they never wholly replaced them because U.S. settler colonization remains messy and never complete in Salish territories.

Conflicting opinions among the masses of settlers and settler elite about dealing with the Indigenous populations lead to contradictory policies. This strife hampered components of the overall settler-colonial project and left space and opportunity for Salish to maneuver to remain physically and still retain some of their culture, land, and wealth. While an overt contemporary consensus to completely remove Salish seems politically less feasible, there is still a logic operating to extract wealth from Salish by exploiting their land, resources, and labor through schemes. In the past, these schemes were easily recognizable with such tactics as killing, overtly taking land, and resources, store credit traps, illegal taxation and permitting, and leasing of land at below-market rates. Today exploitation is more obscured by opaque policy, laws, government agreements, business contracts, mythmaking, gaslighting, and erasure, all done by utilizing centuries of amassed wealth and power. Maintenance of these dynamics comes from a legal system skewed towards colonizer interests and the ongoing subtle threat of state force if all else fails to make the natives step back in line.

The U.S. settlers moved from using physical violence to take land for wealth extraction to using structural violence, where the taking of wealth is less obvious. Now they use gaming compacts, managing the proceeds from the leasing of land and other funding and simultaneously frame Native Americans as the oppressors and victims in need of liberation from the reservation system. Oppression has morphed, but the extraction of wealth remains.

A contemporary example of oppression and wealth extraction is Montana state's proposed gaming agreement with the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. This compact undermines the Salish people's potential economic benefit from this enterprise by siphoning funds into

Montana state coffers facilitated by U.S. federal law. Furthermore, Montana will take more from Indigenous people through an approved water compact between the state and the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation government.

Settler colonists deploy politically and monetarily less expensive means now to take wealth from Indigenous communities. Instead of systematic impoverishment, they often frame the taking in newer ways, such as underdevelopment. Politicians and average citizens argue treaties are irrelevant relics of the past while touting a few generations of settler-colonists on the land as a justification for the right to place where countless generations of Native Americans lived.

Opponents of Native Americans claim freeing them from poverty should consist of freeing Native Americans from the reservation system, which means releasing them from their land and usurping them into the U.S. or Canadian system, often in the lower rungs of society (Puisto 2000; Kelly 2010; Tanner 2021). Countless U.S. and Canadian citizens use the term 'freedom' dogmatically to justify almost anything they conduct or are about to commit (Morin 2022; Anker 2022). It means freedom for U.S. and Canadian citizens to have carte blanche to do whatever they want and, in this case, the freedom to take wealth from Indigenous people by taking their land and exploiting their labor (Stovall 2022). The co-opted concept of equality is about appropriating Indigenous people into the U.S. political system by terminating Indigenous polities. Those clamoring the loudest for equality by termination are certainly not calling for equality within broader U.S. society. Ironically, some push back against substantive U.S. equality measures by conjuring their fictional stories of a socialist boogie man coming to take 'their' wealth (Langer 2022; Mitchell 2021). Due to these less obvious modern takings, attention

must focus on the ongoing settler colonization project and detailing the machinery used to raise consciousness about the overarching process in the current time.

Like contestation of land tenure and access to resources, concepts and word meanings also face contestation and need rumination and defining. This refinement would provide a clearer understanding of well-established meanings and, more importantly, the dynamics between Indigenous peoples, settler colonial state actors, and individuals. It also helps to contextualize Indigenous communities' outcomes and the linkage with the state's actions and policy. The Settler-colonizer manual needs further scrutiny by Indigenous people to explicitly splay the multiple tools, tactics, and strategies to counter them in the short and long term. This dissertation is a starting point to elucidate the guidebook and the logic behind the manual. Indigenous scholars can lead the way in updating and expanding the settler colonist manual to assist their communities with outmaneuvering termination, reasserting their claim to exist, and, more importantly, flourishing.

This subsection focused on settler colonization conception, tools, and tactics. It details what people used and implemented today to oppress people. It names, reframes, and further inventories a prolonged process of taking from Indigenous people. It stresses that racism and other forms of oppression are a means to an end. The goal is the material reality of owning and controlling land and resources. The dynamics between Indigenous and other people will continue to unfold. Settler colonization helps frame a perspective, but it is not the whole story. Not all Indigenous people are gone, but they still live and retain many of their Indigenous cultures' core components. Better yet, these people's numbers and their cultures are also rebounding and reinvigorated. Settler colonization does not account well for the entire story of Indigenous interactions and ongoing presences. However, it illuminates a long and ongoing process while

revealing more accurate motivations grounded not in pure malice or bloodlust but a reality to acquire more material wealth.

Studying the settler colonization process and tactics support rediagnosing the etiology of Salish's current political and economic situation to think about addressing underlying causes producing poverty, unhealthy dietary patterns, and poor health outcomes in novel ways.

Reimagining and retelling an ongoing storyline and challenging prevalent narratives that blame Salish people for their plight without any or extraordinarily little U.S culpability in the past and even less in the present.

CHAPTER 5

Factors Impacting Salish Dietary Shift

5.1 Diet Changes During Early Historical Period

Coastal Salish people had earlier contact with European explorers than Interior Salish peoples (Barnett 2008). Trading of goods ensued. Salish people adopted potatoes early because they were easy to grow and appeared similar to the tubers Salish people already consumed. They incorporated a few other European foods into their diet but in limited quantities. Interior Salish peoples' first meeting with Euro-Americans appears to be with the Lewis and Clark expedition (Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee 2005). Later, Jesuits would come to live with the interior Salish, bringing wheat, potatoes, peas, and other foods (Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee 2005). Salish people incorporated these new foods into their diet.

As more Europeans arrived within the territories of the Salish, these Indigenous populations continued to rely on their usual foods. However, with encroachment, and competition with other Indigenous groups, accessing resources such as bison became more difficult. This access also created difficulty in procuring other resources from prairie areas west of the Continental Divide (Bigart and Woodcock 1996). The discovery of precious metals brought more of an influx of Europeans flooding the Pacific Northwest (Burlingame and Toole 1957). This further pressured Salish people and limited their ability to access food resources in certain areas. More Europeans in the region made it difficult to manage resources with fire (Seifried 1968).

5.2 Early Christian Missionaries

Besides traders, the Salish people had sustained interactions with Christian missionaries in the mid-1800s. As a part of this interaction, the Jesuits established an early mission in the Bitterroot Valley of what is now known as Western Montana. Within a year of launching this mission, Jesuits planted crops for their use and introduced Salish people to these foods. These new crops intrigued Salish, and some of them decided to participate in the planting.

By the late 1880s, Salish people had established farms of their own in the Bitterroot Valley. They grew crops such as potatoes and wheat to supply one of the first mills erected in Montana (Palladino 1922). In addition to producing these crops, Salish people continued to travel across the mountains to the prairies to hunt bison while they fished and hunted in other areas they knew well.

In the reserved lands of the CSKN, the Jesuits had also established a mission, encouraging Salish people to plant wheat and other crops and constructing another mill to process grain (Fahey 1974). While some Salish people planted larger acreages with wheat, many planted gardens to supplement their diet. Starting in the 1864, the Catholics expanded their mission and established and operated a school in the town of Saint Ignatius (Bigart and Woodcock 1981). They planted pear and apple orchards near the campus and taught students to cultivate wheat and other crops.

In the early 1970s, the school folded, and former students shared stories of what they ate at this place and how these food experiences impacted their lives. In the interviews conducted for this dissertation, some individuals recall negative experiences, while others share that this was formative to their dietary patterns. Ultimately, Christian missionaries echo through Salish people's lives, leaving a complicated legacy filled with stories of sexual abuse and habit-setting

experiences. Some remnants of their orchard remain, and children occasionally eat one of the fruits from these trees.

5.3 Shrinking Access to Territories and Accustomed Resources

Across the Salish territory, in areas becoming more populated with Europeans, it became increasingly more difficult to access resources. Conflicts ensued; one example comes from the coast, where early Europeans closed off a Salish group's access to their clam beds (Williams 2006). During this time, newcomers to the land also accessed food resources the Salish utilized. Due to mounting pressure and conflicts, in the mid-1850s, Isaac Stevens traveled across Salish territories making treaties with various Salish groups for the United States. These treaties established numerous reserved lands for Salish and reserved continued access to resources outside the boundaries of reserved lands for Salish peoples (Johnson 1999). As more pressures mounted, Salish groups either went to live within reserved land boundaries or the U.S. government forced them onto these lands (Bigart and Woodcock 1981; Cutler 2016).

Despite confinement, small groups of Salish people continued to hunt and collect. Procuring food became increasingly dangerous, and numerous Salish people were threatened or killed by other Native American groups or Europeans. In the Swan Valley of Western Montana, in the early 1900s, a Montana state game warden attacked and murdered a small Salish group (Séliš-Qlišpé Culture Committee 2018). These killings and others, along with the threat of more violence, had a chilling effect on Salish people leaving their remaining homelands. Alternatively, they took other precautions. For example, Louie Adams stated, “although they didn’t have to, his family as well as many...[Salish] families would buy state hunting licenses just to be safe. The early 20th century Swan Valley Massacre, where an intoxicated game warden and locals, killed

several members of a Salish hunting party at their traditional hunting camp, was never far from their minds and hearts” (Azure 2011).

Less access to resources outside of the CSKN contributed to Salish people fostering more resources on their reserved lands. Within the CSKN, Salish people began to plant gardens and dug small irrigation channels in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Bigart and Woodcock 1981). In the late 1800s, massive bison herds had also seriously dwindled during this time, and a Salish man, named Walking Coyote, caught bison calves and returned to the home to the CSKN with them. Within a brief time, CSKN people managed a herd (Whealdon 2001).

Diminished access to land and resources still reverberates through Salish communities. Salish people note in published documents and interviews conducted as a part of this dissertation that these changes and struggles impact their dietary patterns. They experience difficulties accessing Salish first foods. Furthermore, the amounts of these foods are often in low abundance due to the destruction of these resources, often by the U.S. and Canadian colonial settler projects expansions. Salish people can no longer access stable crops, like camas bulbs or other plants, and now few know the taste of these or only occasionally eat them.

5.4 Degradation of Fish Habitat

With mining in Salish territory in the latter half of the 1800s came significant environmental degradation; miners disrupted many streams and filled them with poison that denigrated fish habitat. An instance is when the mining industry exploded in the Butte, Montana, area. This industry had a significant impact on the habitat of bull trout in the watershed below Butte. This mining industry and others contributed significantly to decimating bull trout populations within Montana, which now is an endangered species (Kiser, Hansen, and Kennedy

2010). Enterprises also constructed numerous dams in the Columbia River watershed. These also proved devastating to fish populations by making it difficult for them to migrate to spawning areas (Weitkamp 1994). In addition to dams, settlers straightened waterways, further destroying fish habitat.

An example is the lower part of the Jocko River within the CSKN. According to Salish people, straightening this river and dams appeared to almost decimate the bull trout population within it (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2011b). With the booming population of immigrants along the coastal waters, they took massive amounts of salmon and clearcut swaths of forests. These two factors also put pressure on fish stocks and believed to have contributed to the dwindling number of salmon (Weitkamp 1994). These numerous disruptions to waterways dwindled fish stocks, and species of fish that Salish people historically consumed are now considered threatened or endangered, like sturgeon on both sides of the Continental Divide (Bramblett 1996).

5.5 Resource Management Disrupted

Assorted species of plants are fire-dependent, and fire is a significant component of the ecology of many habitats (Pederson et al. 2010), which helps to promulgate some species better than others. According to the archaeology and the ethnographic record, Salish people harvested extensive huckleberry gardens and managed these habitats with fire for at least 4,000 years before Euro-American colonization (Walsh et al. 2017). Additionally, Salish people in the coastal areas of Puget Sound used fire to continue to improve other plant species for crafting food procurement tools. Before the Indian Claims Commission in the late 1920s, Salish people testified about traditional burning practices used to augment nettle patches to produce excellent material for twine production and removing underbrush in densely forested areas to improve the

quality of cedar trees for watercraft (Duwamish et al. Tribes of Indians v. the United States 1934).

As more Europeans arrived, they suppressed the use of fire by either restricting Native Americans' access to areas or putting out fires started by them (Deur 2000). Furthermore, in the 1930s, when Salish people were almost exclusively living on their reserved lands, government officials recruited them and paid them through the Civilian Conservation Corps to suppress fires (Parman 1971). When Salish people could not manage landscapes with fire, areas became overgrown, and they did not produce berry crops or grasses in numerous places. Without prescribed burns, sites overgrew and became unproductive as a food resource. Without these food resources, many Salish people became unfamiliar with them, and generations of Salish ate less of these foods.

5.6 Taking of Confederated Salish and Kootenai Land and Invasion of U.S. Settlers

Salish reserved lands have similar histories, but variations affect each group in numerous ways. Instead of covering all Salish reserved lands, this section will primarily focus on the details of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation from the early 1900s up to the present day.

In the early 1900s, Salish people experienced pressure, and the U.S. government confined them to reserved lands. However, Salish within the CSKN retained much of their pre-contact food. They hunted and collected as they had before contact and through the 1800s (Bigart and Woodcock 1981). By 1900, Salish people living in the CSKN also planted new crops such as wheat and some gardens along creek areas. They were herding cattle, bison, and horse. However, this dramatically changed in 1910 with the “opening” of the CSKN. Suddenly Euro-Americans

outnumbered 4 to 1 Salish people (Bigart 2020). In addition to becoming a minority within the CSKN boundaries, drastic economic changes ensued.

Despite protests from Salish and Kootenai leaders, after the “opening” in 1910, 2,390 Salish and Kootenai people received allotments for only 245,000 acres of land, which was only about one-fifth of the reserved lands (Bigart 2020). Tony Incashola asserted, “The Allotment Act and the opening of the reservation to non-Indians was the result of government greed”...[e]ven though the Tribes resisted, the surplus lands were opened to the settlers. The land that was once ours exclusively began breaking up” (Azure 2011). Plenty of Salish allotments sat on range and timberland totaling 124,795 acres (B. Smith 1979). The U.S. government allotted Salish people individual plots, sold the remaining land to Euro-Americans, and created a national federally-owned bison range. During this process, the U.S. government forced CSKN citizens to sell off their bison herd and substantial horse herds they collectively grazed. The change was dramatic, and one CSKN citizen recalled riding across the CSKN to visit folks, and on the way back, U.S. homesteaders fenced off the property, forcing him to go around (T. Smith 1990). This account speaks to the sudden change brought with the massive taking of land. After allotment, Salish people experienced tremendous economic pressures. Recognizing an opportunity, local U.S. merchants extended credit to Salish people allowing them to pay with cattle, which the merchants gave them low prices for, and then, the merchants quickly turned around and sold them for higher profit. Salish people also deeded land to mercantile owners to cover debts incurred. Untold numbers of Salish people lost their land to illegal tax schemes and other dubious measures (Trosper 1974). Compounding this situation, the U.S. government confined Salish people to their reserved lands and expected them to get written passes from a U.S. government superintendent to leave (Kringbaum 1997). Flooding of settlers, significant taking of

lands, major economic upheaval, and restricted travel created material hardship and precarity. It also harmed the Salish people's food system, and they found themselves contorting to navigate these drastic changes.

By the 1920s, the U.S. government displaced Salish people from much of their land within the CSKN borders, significantly reducing their herds, gardens, and fields. Allotting land to settlers forced many CSKN ranchers to reduce their livestock herds as enclosure encroached on their pastures. Almost immediately, large CSKN agriculture operators dismantled their enterprises, and the U.S. oversaw land redistribution (Bigart 2020). Jurisdictional confusion and jockeying also became prevalent during this period. Montana state game wardens roamed CSKN land seeking violations, while Salish and settlers objected to the state wardens in the area. Although the fragmented jurisdictional landscape and the vague and conflicting interests led to CSKN people hunting cautiously, they still experienced harassment and faced imprisonment for hunting (Wheeler 2006). With the creation of allotted land to individual CSKN came further complications and more constrictions. Leasing regulations from the Federal government dictated terms, and one stipulation allowed for the leasing of specific parcels for only one year at a time. This regulation created another barrier to CSKN citizens farming. At the time, a U.S. superintendent wrote, "[t]he period is too short of the small farmer to handle the land, but practically all who asked for information stated that they would take the land on a two year or three year proposition" (Wood 1981, 255).

During this period, CSKN people also experienced difficulties with the vast irrigation system constructed because they received little benefit. CSKN representatives voiced to the U.S. Congressional Subcommittee that before the construction of the irrigation project, many CSKN people had already constructed ditches, which the federal irrigation project destroyed.

Furthermore, federal government officials took funding from CSKN coffers to pay for the construction of the federal project. In a hearing with the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee, Martin Charlo, one of the prominent Salish leaders at the time, testified, hoping to rectify the situation. He stated, "[t]he Reclamation Service cut into my ditch and diverted my stream of water into the canal and is charging me for that same water. Mr. Charlo also shared that several "members of the tribe have had their money taken away from them for supposed water charges." He went on "I have no water for my crops and am being charged for water I do not get on the crops, and the pro rata share of my money has been taken to pay for the supposed water charges" (United States Congress House of Representatives Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs 1920, 1277-1284).

Another CSKN citizen conveyed to the subcommittee, "[w]e want to be cleared of this lien against our land for the water" and CSKN "have no way to farm when they have money held back and issued a little at a time; I do not see how they can farm." During Mr. Finley's testimony a subcommittee member stated that out of "80,000 acres, that there are only 2,500 acres actually being farmed" by CSKN people allotted land. Mr. Finley responded "how could they operate when they have not got the means of operating? When we have got money, we cannot get the employment of our own money to buy anything like that to operate the ranch" (United States Congress House of Representatives Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs 1920, 1292-1294).

Leading into the 1920s, the U.S. federal and Montana state government imposed as much control as possible on the CSKN, especially the federal government. They controlled land allotment, leasing, lawyers' selection, and key components of fiscal management of the CSKN.

Due to these oppressive policies and actions, the CSKN's council chairperson spent time advocating for the CSKN in Washington D.C., and her words summarize the domineering period well:

"[W]e want our own money and property prorated among the individuals now, not in the dim distant years of the future. We feel that we are perfectly capable of handling our own property in our own way, and that we do not need a governmental bureaucrat in Washington to kindergarten us as though we were a lot of kids." She went on "Much of our property is comprised of timber land, which is unbelievably valuable. The government has been cutting timber, off and on, from our lands since 1855. At the present time sixteen sawmills are busily engaged in sawing up our beautiful white pine, spruce and tamarack trees, and they are doing this at a terrific rate. But up to this good hour not a single Flathead Indian — man, woman or child — has received a five cent piece of the proceeds of the sale of this timber. Fifteen million dollars of our money is tied up through the Indians Bureau in timber lands...[w]e feel that the time is about ripe for us to have an opportunity to get a look at our own funds...[m]uch of our other property is just as badly tangled up in seemingly endless skeins of Indian Bureau red tape and idiotic paternalism on the part of officials who know as little about our needs and desires as King George of England or the Duke of Iceland, and who foolishly insist that we are still an aggregation of irresponsible children who must be nursed and coddled."

(Independent Newspaper July 17, 1920, 14)

While many CSKN people advocated for more governance of their affairs and accounts, dispossession of their land and resources continued through various schemes. Limited change came through the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 for Salish and Kootenai people, and they gained some more control. Still, jurisdictional confusion continued, and a growing settler population exacerbated it. Increased uncertainty came when many settlers insisted the land they gained title to within the CSKN did not come under the jurisdiction of the CSKN. Furthermore, government officials pressed more of CSKN's land into leasing for a private company to build Kerr Dam in the 1930s (Congressional Documents and Publications 2014). Salish land dispossession and co-optation led to the proletarianization of Salish people, driving them to perform more wage labor within and outside the CSKN.

By the 1950s, about one percent of CSKN citizens held title to land within the CSKN (Trosper 1974). Influx of U.S. settlers also depleted animals due to numerous newcomers hunting. Euro-Americans tried to tax Native American people, requiring them to pay hunting fees (Kringbaum 1997). However, Salish people challenged all this and continued to hunt in their territory beyond the CSKN boundaries with and without written permission. A few Salish people did pay the hunting fees, but others did not (Wheeler 2006). This ongoing illegal taxation further dampened accessing accustomed food resources and burdened many with debt.

Public schools opened with the inundation of Euro-Americans to the CSKN (Wegner 2010, 2013). Some Salish people preferred to enroll their children in public day schools rather than having them attend the Catholic boarding school in St. Ignatius. These schools brought more Salish children into close contact with Euro-Americans and their foodways. Although students did not reside at these schools, they functioned similarly to the boarding schools and acculturated Salish children influencing their dietary choices during school attendance. As

satellites of U.S. culture, these institutions also strengthened the local CSKN communities' ties to the U.S. food system and reinforced new dietary patterns in Salish communities.

5.7 Migrant Workers Outside the CSKN

With the dispossession of lands and hindered access to resources, Salish peoples took migrant work in farming and timbering (Parham 2014). In Montana, Salish people returned to the Bitterroot Valley to work on farms and orchards as laborers on land they had previously owned (Interviews 2022; Narrative Report 1930). In Washington, Salish people worked in the hop-picking industry and in other parts of the agricultural sector (Parham 2012).

This migrant work allowed them to leave their reserved lands, increased their participation in the cash economy, and allowed interaction with the broader world. With this increased interaction, Salish people also took the opportunity to sell traditional crafts and interact with other bands of Salish and other ethnic Native Americans along with urban European populations. For decades, more Salish people traveled across the Pacific Northwest to participate in the cash economy. Sometimes Salish would leave CSKN for months to pick apples in Washington as late as the 1980s. While this work was low wage, it was an opportunity Salish people chose because other opportunities within the CSKN were limited. Returning adults and children from these jobs recall stories of interacting with other laborers from other Native American communities and others of Mexican ethnicity. These interactions created connections between the two groups of people and subsequently influenced foodways. Some Salish people now have Mexican relatives, and Mexican cuisine is prevalent in many Salish communities. (Observations 2022 and Interviews 2022).

Salish people traveling as migrant workers strengthened connections to other Salish groups, and many Salish within the CSKN have relatives and friends within other Salish communities across the Pacific Northwest. These connections also influenced foodways within the CSKN as people from the coast shared and traded food with inland Salish from the CSKN. Historically Salish traded with each other, and with the ability to travel more freely, quicker, and easier, this increased interactions between Salish. Also, many coastal Salish people live closer to urban centers, which exposes them to various other cuisines and industrially manufactured foods. Their exposure appears to have affected Salish people's diets within the CSKN as these communities engage in sustained interactions (Observations 2022 and Interviews 2022).

5.8 Sanatoriums

Native American communities suffered from tuberculosis. As a result, the U.S. opened sanatoriums to serve Native Americans throughout the United States and Canada (Whalen 2013). However, evidence surfaced indicating authorities took Native American people and placed them in sanatoriums under the pretext of having tuberculosis to acculturate them and conduct experiments (Randall 2010; Moore 2017) .

In recent years, researchers uncovered the stark history of sanatoriums in Canada. In 2018 complainants filed a class action lawsuit in Canada exposing the mistreatment of Native Americans within sanatoriums (Moore 2018; Pelly 2018). Similar goals, tactics, and abuse occurred in the United States, but documentation is limited about similar history in the U.S. (Lerner 1996).

However, ample documentation indicates numerous sanatoriums existed within the United States and operated similarly to boarding schools in which the U.S. government often

housed Salish people, sometimes for years. The U.S. federal government sent Salish people to at least four sanatoriums in Idaho, Washington, South Dakota, and Arizona. One documented case strongly suggests authorities took a Salish person as a young man and placed him in the sanatorium despite not having tuberculosis (Jones 2010). A person recalls stories from her maternal grandmother sent to Cushman sanatorium in Washington and spending a few years in the hospital while her young children were sent to the Catholic boarding school in Saint Ignatius within the CSKN (Interviews 2022). U.S. government officials sent other Salish from the CSKN to similar facilities (Interviews 2022).

Native American people alleged that these institutions performed unauthorized experiments, committed sexual violence, and other abuses in these facilities, which is also surfacing. Survivors expressed the psychological damage and alienation caused by being away from their families, sometimes for years (Moffatt, Mayan, and Long 2013). These sanatoriums, like boarding schools, further eroded Salish communities and indoctrinated individuals into Euro-American culture and foodways. Taking young children also created intergenerational trauma that created strife in families. This tension ripples into the living offspring of people sent to sanatoriums.

5.9 Adopting Out and Fostering Native American Children

In North America, governments adopted thousands of Native American children or put them in long-term foster care with Euro-Americans for decades. Native American women challenged this, and in 1978, U.S. Congress enacted the Native American Indian Child Welfare Act to protect Native American children from authorities unduly taking from their families (Groves 1981).

Despite this law, complaints arose, and people asserted that authorities still take children unlawfully (Perez 2010). Through these processes, Native Americans contend that government agents separated thousands of children from their families. Salish people from the CSKN shared similar stories. A person shared how government and church authorities threatened them with legal retribution if the person did not consent to the adoption of their child. Therefore, they acquiesced to the adoption of the child. Another person recalls how their Salish family agreed to take a Salish child, but state authorities took the child and gave the young person to a Euro-American family (Interviews 2022).

Many adopted children are now adults and reconnected with their biological families. Documentation of the difficulties of many of these individuals' unification with their biological family reveals that they feel alienated from their birth communities (Sindelar 2004). Adoption and foster care have also strained Salish families and further acculturated those adopted or in long-term foster care into Euro-American culture and foodways.

5.10 President Roosevelt's New Deal Policies Impact on Native American Communities

Several changes occurred in the 1930s. The United States was in the grips of an economic depression. U.S. Congress passed legislation to help bring the country out of this economic depression through a series of measures and creating the Civilian Conservation Corps to employ people was one of them. The U.S. federal government formed a Native American Civilian Conservation Corps, and this program hired Salish men to work on various projects (Parman 1967). In 1934, U.S. Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, allowing Native American communities to form new governments within their reserved land and begin pursuing economic interests. Also, in the 1930s, in the CSKN, Salish laborers help construct a significant dam to

produce electricity (Arnold 2002). During this time, the U.S. government expanded and made changes to the Flathead Irrigation Project to create a vast network of reservoirs, canals, and ditches to expand farming within the CSKN. These developments produced mixed results for Salish people (Cahoon 2006). They became further drawn into a cash economy through laboring (Bigcrane and Thompson 1990).

The expanded irrigation project led to further dispossession of land, providing little use to Salish people because of disputes about whether they should pay fees to access water supplied by this irrigation system (Voggesser 2001). With the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, the CSKN "gradually began reasserting their sovereignty" (B. Smith 1979, 310). The IRA also helped Indigenous nations reduce their dependency on forms of government welfare (Puisto 2000). Still, many Salish people continued to suffer economic hardships because of the increased dependence on participation in the cash economy while increasing dispossession from their resources, land, and other recent forms of income generation, such as substantial stock herds and crops.

5.11 World War Two and the Aftermath

In the 1940s, the United States entered wars on multiple fronts, and they needed a vast amount of weaponry, food, and other products to support these campaigns. By this time, most Salish people within U.S. boundaries became U.S. citizens and could travel more freely. Some continued as migrant workers, and others moved into urban centers like Portland, Oregon, to labor in the factories supporting the U.S. war effort (Gouveia 1994). Typically, Salish women went to work in factories and shipyards while several Salish men joined the military (Heffernan 2016; Platt 1994.). During this time, these people gained exposure to vastly different realities

than the reservations they left. A few Salish stayed in urban areas for years after the war, and many married non-Salish people. Those not returning to home communities often had an expanded, perhaps different view, impacting their lives and choices (Rosenthal 2012). Many Salish people became uninterested in historical Salish foods and more acculturated into the U.S. food system and diet (Malan 1948; Interviews 2022).

After the war, the food industries sought civilian markets for the products they developed for the war. In the 1950s, companies marketed T.V. dinners and other canned products as convenient foods (Levenstein 2003; Tanc and Babic 2017). The U.S. government also supported U.S. agricultural businesses by buying up surplus foods and distributing them to economically strained people. Soon, Salish people received commodities (Lin et al. 2019). These products included heavy amounts of highly processed grains, meats, and dairy. All these food products began to modify Salish people's diets (Observations 2022 and Interviews 2022).

5.12 War on Poverty and Continued Acculturation

In the 1960s, the U.S. government declared war on poverty, eventually providing various forms of welfare to Salish people. However, the underlying factors contributing to poverty on reserved land mostly stayed the same. With more access to food commodities (USDA and food stamp programs), Salish people gained increased access to mainstream U.S. food supplies (Chino, Haff, and Francis 2009). On reserved lands, Salish people's access to welfare programs and U.S. commodity surpluses continued to rise as Salish people pushed for economic change that produced limited success.

Like other Native Americans, Salish people during this time were encouraged through U.S.-funded relocation programs to leave their home communities and live in urban areas to

work (Walls and Whitbeck 2012). Food aid and government-supported relocation to urban areas further changed Salish diets by acculturating them to different tastes and food sensibilities. Salish people relayed eating almost entirely other than they previously had at home (Interviews 2022). Receiving government aid also supplanted the community's diet and food-sharing dynamics (Interviews 2022). Government food aid became a more prominent component of Salish people's diet; many gathered less pre-contact foods and less locally produced agricultural foods. One person shared that government welfare was one of the worst things that happened to Salish people because it transformed their foodways and community. They ate less healthy foods, and this aid eroded bonds within and between families, which led to Salish people sharing less food than previous generations (Interviews 2022).

5.13 Indian Self-determination Act

In 1975, the Indian Self-determination Act passed, allowing Native American governments to contract with the U.S. government to manage U.S. services provided to Indigenous nations, allowing them more political and economic control within their reserved lands (Warne and Frizzell 2014). Soon after, the CSKN began operating a U.S. Job Corps program within its borders (Cahoon 2005). CSKN government also formed business enterprises, began asserting environmental management policies, and enacted water and air quality standards within its boundaries. It also created a wilderness area and elk preserve (Bruggers 1987). Through political and legal wrangling, the CSKN government ensured the instream flows of rivers to protect fish species (Diver 2018). In recent years, they also began to repair damaged waterways to restore fish habitat (Kelly 2019).

These political changes and more self-governance increased the ability of Salish people to earn a wage within their remaining homelands. With less precarity, people had more purchasing power and could buy more food from stores and restaurants. It also allowed them better access to food resources on the land within the CSKN.

5.14 Over a Century of Erosion, Acculturation, and Continuation

Salish people's limited access to land and food resources greatly hindered the collecting of their traditional foods. Early adoptions did include new foods such as potatoes and new food production techniques such as farming, gardening, and ranching (Bigart 2020). They also engaged in the cash economy through laboring, selling crafts, and their farm products (Parham 2014). In the early 1900s, Salish people within the CSKN adjusted and would have fared okay. However, economists Ron Trosper and others argued that the U.S. taking CSKN land within its borders devastated and drastically changed the Salish people's economy and food system (Trosper 1974). This opening impoverished Salish people and created dependency.

Despite setbacks, Salish people continued adapting and sustained a semblance of their foodways. They continued to farm, ranch, hunt, and gather their traditional foods. However, living as minorities within their borders and becoming economically and politically marginalized forced them to operate primarily in a cash economy linked tightly to local and national economics. This participation in the cash economy contributed to Salish people leaving CSKN as migrant laborers or living more permanently in urban centers to work in industries (Interviews 2022).

Further erosion of Salish communities came from education and medical institutions housing children away from their homes (Jones 2010; Feir 2016). Furthermore, children taken often under the pretext of neglect and abandonment, put into foster care and adopted outside their communities were detrimental (Sindelar 2004). Environmental degradation in and near the CSKN also severely impacted Salish peoples' access to their traditional foods (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e). All these changes created a legacy, compounding the Salish community's food system challenges and reverberating through contemporary times.

5.15 Rise of Industrial Agriculture

Salish people became thoroughly integrated into U.S. food systems and economy during the last 50 years (Interviews 2022). Throughout this time, U.S. agriculture has also transformed and accurately described as an agribusiness with intense specialization, new crops, and highly processed food products. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the U.S. and other industrialized nations began factory farming beef, dairy cows, and pigs. Agriculturalists housed these animals in extremely confined spaces and fed them on a corn-based diet (Hauter 2012).

These practices continued to expand worldwide (Nierenburg 2005), and one of the outcomes is meat high in omega sixes (Daley et al. 2010). Industrially raised corn also gained prominence in the last fifty years, with a wide range of foods containing corn byproducts or high fructose corn syrup (Cordain et al. 2005). A geneticist introduced dwarf wheat in the latter half of the 20th Century, which is different from other previous types of wheat (Fan et al. 2008). Also on the rise were food-like products that are highly processed containing enormous amounts of chemicals and fillers (Lenenstein 2003). Industrial seed oil also significantly increased and companies pushed it into the market. These industrial seed oils also contain higher levels of

omega sixes (Taylor et al. 2000), which researchers are now linking to health issues. Trans fats also became popular. These products are now in almost every packaged food in supermarkets and fast food chains (Food and Drug Administration 2013).

While industrial agriculture impacts everyone, the negative impacts of these changes impact poorer populations more because they often purchase less expensive food products that are also often less healthy. Salish people with low incomes are more prone to purchasing these ultra-processed, low-quality foods primarily out of necessity due to budgetary constraints. This economic constraint creates a vicious cycle of forming and reinforcing poor dietary patterns by limiting food choices and increasing diet-related poor health outcomes.

5.16 The Last 25 years of the 20th Century

In the last 25 years of the 20th Century, Salish people made economic strides (S & K Technologies 2022). However, incredible population growth in and around the CSKN left Salish an ever smaller minority population operating in the more extensive U.S. system. This demographic change dramatically impacts Salish peoples' food systems and diet in the 21st Century. While Salish people continued to hunt and amass their traditional foods, they incorporated new foods into their diet through enculturation and acculturation (Interviews 2022; Byker Shanks et al. 2020). The U.S. government, the Catholic church, and others acculturated Salish people into U.S. foodways through numerous processes. Salish also adapted through exposure to new foods and adopting new dietary patterns (Interviews 2022; Byker Shanks et al. 2020). As a result, numerous Salish people consume highly processed, hyper-packaged foods like many others within the United States. Today many Salish people eat highly processed foods high in sugar with low levels of key nutrients (Observations 2022 and Interviews 2022).

Despite the CSKN government asserting more authority and buying up land within the CSKN, few Salish people participate in the annual hundred-million-dollar agricultural business within the CSKN (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2015a). Currently, in the CSKN, non-CSKN people own most fast food shops and many other businesses (Observations 2022). Salish people have many economic strides to make to lift more Salish people out of poverty.

Continued challenges by Salish peoples to change the underlying structures impacting their economic conditions and participation in food production are constant (Wheeler 2006; Delvin 2016). Through participation in two major lawsuits, known as the Cobell class-action lawsuit (Gingold and Pearl 2012) and the Keepseagle class-action lawsuit, Salish people gained financial damages and reforms, which will help address the economic concerns of Salish people (Keepseagle Claims Administrator 2018).

As part of these land and agricultural reforms, Salish people are also considering smaller-scale food production, planted community gardens, and established new greenhouses. (Observations 2022 and Interviews 2022) They also began to manage their lands with fire again and applied prescribed burns within the CSKN, improving the habitat for animals and plant species. Salish people are interested in harvesting. Salish peoples have always maintained the right to access resources within their original territory. In recent decades, they have done this more. They now hunt and gather in historical Salish territory and began to hunt bison again near Yellowstone Park in the last few years (Lundquist 2014; Upham 2016). Salish people are trending toward incorporating more of their traditional foods into their diet while continuing to incorporate new foods and food production techniques while asserting more political and economic control within their remaining homelands and beyond (Observations 2022; Interviews 2022; Upham 2011).

Numerous Salish communities across the Pacific Northwest continue to discuss the connections between diet and health and implement projects to improve habitat, access, and food production (Turner et al. 2006; Groessler 2008; Hilborn 2014; Azure 2019c). A consensus is that the loss of land, limited access to historical foods, and other dietary changes created diet-related health consequences leaving Salish people suffering. Therefore, many implemented activities and policies to protect and produce more local food (Turner 2007; Hilborn 2014; Kelly 2019; Hernandez 2018; Neumeyer 2017; Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife 2016). Tom McDonald, CSKN Chairperson and former CSKN Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation and Conservation Manager, offered tangible examples of CSKN government food protection strategies, including a CSKN policy to halt "all fishing in the high mountain lakes because of over harvesting" and daily fish catch limits in other areas (Azure 2017).

Within the CSKN, many activities are underway to improve access to and production of more local foods. The CSKN formed a food sovereignty committee in 2020, which has implemented food distribution, and improved food storage and production infrastructure. They are also considering forming a department or another permanent entity to oversee local food expansion within the CSKN communities. Other CSKN departments also play roles in improving local habitats, plants, and animals. CSKN government and citizens alike are also promoting traditional food by providing more bison to the community and holding dry meat socials, camas bakes, and camps to pick berries and hunt. All these activities intertwine with understanding how Salish people once procured food and the health costs of eating a poor diet. Former Chairwoman Shelly Fyant repeatedly shared a mantra that a community is genuinely not sovereign if it cannot feed its people (Observations 2022). She initiated the CSKN food sovereignty project, which the CSKN Council continues to support and nurture. Many Salish people continue to stress the

importance of the interconnectedness of self-governance, healthier local food access, and the health of their community.

5.17 Salish parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents lived experiences and food memories

Readers might get the impression that the earlier sections of this chapter reference a long time ago and a time far removed from the present Salish people's consciousness. However, many Salish parents, grandparents and great-grandparents are still alive and talking about their diet and the dramatic changes they have witnessed and experienced in a brief period. Salish people are living with the consequences of these changes. People still literally enjoy the fruits of their labor in orchards they planted, on lands they burned, and on locations, they protected from destruction. They recall when police arrested their relatives for hunting and the names of great-grandparents murdered while trying to hunt. They also suffer other losses they witnessed and experience ongoing challenges due to becoming a marginalized minority population.

Legacy is not simply good or bad but a combination, a gradient. A flux exists, with steady tension between Salish communities and outsiders. Salish people are constantly butting up against the limitations imposed by past actions, which hedges the present and creates challenges to shaping the desired future. For Salish, flexing agency was and is constrained by the federal, state, and county governments. Actors continue to try to appropriate Salish resources as they have since first contact. It is a multigenerational war of attrition in which much was taken from Salish through military, legalese, political and economic maneuvering by government and individual actors.

CHAPTER 6

Present Salish People's Dietary Patterns, Health Outcomes, Foodscape, and Food system

6.1 Contemporary Salish People's Diet Overview

The researcher reached out to over one hundred people via Facebook, phone calls, text, emails, and in person. Forty-two people provided interviews. Ages ranged from 21 to 89, and at least one person was in every decade between 20 and 90. Most were women (31), and (11) men participated. They also hailed from multiple communities. A diverse group of Salish people with a wide range of life experiences participated in the interviews; reflected in this diversity is their dietary patterns. A few CSKN non-Salish employees also provided a couple of interviews to give more information about government projects and economic and political dynamics impacting the local food system, demographics, and dietary patterns.

6.1.2 70-89 years old

The oldest people interviewed (70-89) were born in the 1930s-40s. This time is before a bridge period with an influx of change within CSKN and the Salish communities after the 1940s. This older group had ties to a group of Salish that lived more like Salish had lived before contact but also incorporated technology and foods from Europeans, Euro-Americans, and others. One person interviewed shared “ we were gathering all the time; we gathered our berries and roots and other stuff.” Therefore, these generations still heavily participated in seasonal rounds of hunting, trapping, and gathering traditional Salish foods while also putting in extensive gardens and tending to domestic animals for meat and money. Stephan Small Salmon recalls, "there were lots of large gardens then, people knew what they were eating" (Azure 2019b). Tony Incashola remembered "the huge gardens his grandfather grew...[w]e used to grow potatoes, corn, strawberries, radish, and we even had a ditch to irrigate everything" (Fehrs 2012a).

They also traveled to trade with other Salish groups, such as bitterroot for Salmon in the east because the bitterroot was still plentiful and considered "stronger" in the CSKN and surrounding areas. Based on interviews, it is apparent that fish-eating declined, but fish is still sought by some. An interviewee stated, "We never fish much, though, unless we were way up at the South Fork, you know, just getting a little fishing in, which was extra in our diet." They went on to say, "We really did not depend on that too much we would sometimes trade Spokane (people) bitterroot for salmon or something like that."

They also did wage labor of various types within the CSKN, or they traveled for migrant farm labor in places like the Bitterroot Valley, where the U.S. military marched out their parents or grandparents.

A few of the Salish people of this generation recall taking blocks of ice from rivers and storing them in sawdust in cellars to use during the summer. A person stated "[w]e cut big cubes, big chunks, and drag them out of the creek and bring them up to the cellar. We covered them with sawdust and when we wanted ice during the summer, we would wash off the sawdust."

They also used horse-drawn plows and other equipment to put in crops and put up hay. They dried many foods, canned some, or stored meat in town in a meat locker. They had a milk cow or two, egg-laying chickens, and a few pigs. While they might hunt and gather near home, they also made annual trips like Salish before them to the Swan, Missoula, and Bitterroot Valleys. They also traveled further to the Hungry Horse, Thompson Falls, and the Yak areas and then special trips to see relatives further west or north. These areas are outside the current CSKN but within the traditional Salish territory and a few hours from where many Salish interviewed live. Deer and elk were staples, while moose and black bears hunted less frequently. One person talked at length about traveling beyond the CSKN borders and mentioned a favorite camping

area. “Wilbur Bond was a friend to quite a few families from the reservation. We always camp there, and his whole meadow would be just in bloom with camas. We would just stay there and after it was ready to dig, my mom, my grandma, my auntie, and different families camped there. Of course, the huckleberries and the serviceberries were important around the area. My dad and my brothers, my uncles and others would also hunt, and we would slice the meat and dry it.”

They took other animals, such as beavers and porcupines but less regularly. Big horn sheep, mountain goats, and others might also end up on the menu depending on a chance opportunity or need for something specific. Specifically, Salish hunted black bears for the intended purpose of not just meat but for the highly prized rendered fat, which served various purposes. When interviewing, a person revealed that “once in a while my family would get a bear, they would roast part of it and dry some of it, they would also render the bear grease, bear oil, and a little but would go a long way.”

Also, beavers served multiple purposes of muscle meat, fur, and tail for food consumption. They removed the tail and grilled it until it puffed up like a tortilla, chopped, and mixed into other dishes. A research participant fondly recalled “I remember my mom cutting it up into little pieces and throw pieces of it into a dish, like people put in ham in beans.” Porcupines also served a similar function as food and raw supplies, in which quills and hair provided materials to decorate clothes and body adornment. One interviewee described this animal as rich and having the flavor of fresh olive oil when cooked.

Fish, freshwater mussels, and other aquatic life also served as food. Fishing includes more than the typical cutthroat trout. Suckers, pike, mountain whitefish, and bull trout were standard fare, along with the introduced rainbow trout. However, bull trout began to come off the menu due to declines in areas they remained. Depending on the community where Salish people

lived, they tended to fish near their homes or when out camping. As shown in the interviews and literature, people in the Jocko Valley fished and, for that matter, hunted in this valley, Seeley Swan, Missoula, and lower parts of the Flathead River. This pattern is notable because Mission valley is closer than the Swan Valley and is easier to travel to from the Jocko Valley. Also gleaned from interviews is that Salish living in the Mission Valley tended to hunt in this valley, the upper Flathead River, and Swan Valley. However, Salish in this area also ventured beyond the CSKN into other parts of their traditional territory. Tony Incashola stated his family would go to "West Fisher to pick huckleberries and hunt" (Fehrs 2014a).

In contrast, people on the east side of CSKN tended to frequent that side and the even lower part of Flathead River. When Salish people ventured further from home, they often traveled with relatives and friends to camp, hunt, fish, and gather. Two interviewees spoke fondly of traveling to the Swan Valley and camping out with 20-30 other Salish people to hunt, fish, and gather. When asked about the reason for going to the Swan Valley, they shared that it was heavily wooded, had lower temperatures in the summer, was less populated, and seemed abundant with game, especially tree moss, which they gathered and cooked in a pit with camas. They also mentioned a non-Salish man that was friendly to Salish people and would allow them to camp out on his land. Louie Adams said his family camped near the Placid Lake area within the Swan Valley and would return to the Bitterroot Valley (Azure 2011).

People born of this generation also recall gardens filled with peas, carrots, beans, corn, potatoes, raspberries, strawberries, cabbage, and other vegetables. Collective work and sharing were the social arrangements of the day, and as one participant put it. "Our garden was fairly big. Me, my siblings, parents and other relatives that lived near us would all weed the garden and split the harvest, and we had corn, potatoes, onions, carrots, basically, you name it, we grew it."

They also might have a small orchard with apples, cherries, pears, and plums. Old photos and other documents corroborate these stories (Bigart 2020). One person recalls that her parents, aunts, and uncles lived near each other, and they worked a garden plot together and would share the proceeds. One person also shared that near the town of Arlee, an enterprising person planted strawberries that he then sold or traded.

This homegrown food became fresh meals, while people stored ample amounts by drying or canning and much later frozen as electricity and freezers became accessible. In this generation's early youth, they bought a few staples such as coffee, flour, oats, sugar, and other dried goods. One person recalled eating sourdough pancakes, oatmeal, bacon from home-raised pigs, and fresh eggs. One person stated they ate lots of soups, mainly meat and vegetables. An interviewee recalled that the soup often included pounded dry meat stored in old coffee cans because they had lids to cover them. Their bread was usually home-baked, or they might have made Bannock bread or fried bread. They also shared that they might have a hamburger, fried chicken, a soda, or ice cream as a treat when they went into town or the city of Missoula.

6.1.3 50-70 years old

Most of the people interviewed in this age range recall eating wild game, primarily deer and elk, while some also hunted bears, moose, and big horn sheep. They tended to only fish for rainbow trout, which was less frequent, and two collected freshwater mussels. Location and access influenced food choices. A person shared “[w]e ate a lot of fish. We would go up in the mountains and other places near our house and sometimes catch thirty-five at a time and split them between three houses and not every day, of course. Fish was always a main part of our diet along with potatoes cause we'd always have a hundred pound bag.”

Many of these people gathered huckleberries. Some gathered serviceberries. A few gathered more, such as chokecherries, elderberries, foam berries, and plums. A few also recall having small gardens when they were young, where their family grew carrots, strawberries, raspberries, mint, and other foods. A couple remembered picking wild apples and pears from old orchards. Many from this group also recall eating more fried bread than Bannock bread; they also ate more store-bought bread than home-baked bread. Some dried meat, a couple still butchered, and all had muscle meat frozen in a home freezer. A few interviewees recall using a local meat locker when they were younger to store meat. An individual also recalled taking a container to a dairy on the edge of town to buy fresh milk in their early teens. Several ate tripe, tongue, heart, and marrow, but consumption appeared more limited than in previous generations. This generation mentioned the coming of commodities, USDA surplus foods distributed to poor people, food stamps, and other food help programs for low-income families and individuals.

Many recall their families or themselves accessing these programs at various times in their life. After interviews, a theme emerged that many Salish people that no longer had land or a tiny amount of land (think small yard) tended to be poorer and struggled more than Salish people with more extensive land holdings. This land-poor group struggled more and had many strategies for getting money or food. A person revealed that “[m]ost of the Natives (Salish) in town were poor, and we grew up on commodities. I remember walking to the lake to swim and my brothers and we would make a cold pork sandwich from the commodities to take with us.”

One interviewee recalled “A dairy on the edge of town stored milk in stainless steel contained and they would sell milk to some people. They would put the milk jug below that, and they turn the handle and fill up the jug” Another stated, “we ate a lot of sláq (serviceberry) because there's a lot of sláq (serviceberry) trees around” and “we got outdated food from the

stores" or "we'd go pick cherries once in a while up along Flathead Lake." Earning money included many activities; more than one person shared that they and other Salish people went to dumps to salvage.

A person remembered, "my grampa recycled anything he could. He would go to the dump and take us kids to help look for things to recycle and household things that probably were reusable." Every year my grandpa would take all this scrap stuff and sell it." Some food or money strategies were dubious, and a person shared that the "Ursulines (local Catholic boarding school) had a big orchard, and kids would sneak in there and get apples." A known practice was selling USDA commodities, and people shared. One admitted, "I know people sold their commodities to some local ranchers, and they would use this food to feed their day workers." While people sold commodities, people shared them. One person stated, "I remember people sharing food; if you needed something, they would give it to you, they might have an extra block of cheese or flour, and they would say, here, take it. If there was something you had extra, you then you shared it another time when another person did not have much."

One individual talked about how they worked "basically as slaves" all summer for the nuns and priests of the local catholic boarding school. Bluntly put, "We had to clean in the summer, strip the floors, rewax them. We had to work during the school week after school, and on the weekends, they made us clean the chapel and sweep the floors and all that kind of stuff in the school part. We also helped with canning food, and they would give us some of the canned food." They canned food at this facility and often paid them with the products they helped produce.

Like some previous Salish, they did migrant farm labor, collected scrap metal, rummaged through city dumps, and picked much wild fruit near towns. As the CSKN government and its

associate company holdings expanded in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, many of these people found more steady employment and could live less precarious lives. Several recall that later in their adult life, they had more money, and they might still hunt and collect a few special wild plants, like huckleberries, but they also tended to eat out more and buy more food from grocery stores such as canned foods, bread, vegetables, and milk.

6.1.4 30-50 years old

This age group had a more significant divergence in diets and lived experiences from previous generations. Many were poor, some accessed government food assistance programs, and all bought lots more food from grocery stores earlier in their lives. Most tended to eat wild game like deer and elk, and only a couple ate bears. A few ate tripe or at least tasted it and other organs. A couple had small gardens when they were younger, and a few have small gardens now with less food variety. All had huckleberries, some serviceberries, and a few tried chokeberries or foam berries.

One person was unusual in this group because they grew up tending a large garden, picking many wild fruits, drinking lots of fresh goat and cow's milk, and eating several wild animals and local cattle. This person also reported not eating in restaurants often, and the typical meal eaten out of the home was lunch at a public school when they were young. They also talked about their food-gathering practices. "[w]hen I was kid, my family would go to different parts of Post creek. We would catch some fish with our poles and then wade into the water in sandy areas and collect some mussels. Then we would head home, and my mom would cook them all up together; those mussels were delicious with the fish."

As older adults, many spoke of shopping at Costco and other places in Missoula for food. They also commonly ate in restaurants and from fast-food chains. They ordered more take-out and ate at more diverse restaurants ranging from Thai, Korean, Chinese, Italian and more. Many buy meat in the store but still might have hunted deer, bison, and elk in the freezer. Most also still enjoyed dried meat. Most in this group also talked about either their parents struggling, or they struggled financially early in their adult life, with a few still experiencing financial difficulties.

“I had all kinds of jobs growing up, and almost all paid crap. I picked rock, changed pipe, pulled weeds, mowed lawns, worked at a trap shooting range, gardened, and did all kinds of work. One time, my brothers and I knocked on doors looking for work and decided to knock on the door of this fancy-looking house. Some old Suyápi (U.S. White person) guy answered the door; we asked him if he had any work, and he said yes, I own two large city lots, and they both need attention. We worked for hours for that guy, and at the end of the day, he gave us each a dollar. I also recall working at a trap shooting range when I was about twenty. Lots of rich white people came there, and I would walk them around the course, loading and pulling clay disks for them to shoot. I got paid two dollars an hour when I was with a customer but not when I was waiting for someone to show up to the course. When I asked for more money, the owner said he could not afford to pay me more, and my tips should be plenty. After a couple of paychecks, I crunched the numbers and figured out I was making about a buck twenty-five an hour while my boss drove a big expensive truck. I quit this job because I could not afford to pay rent or eat. Many people still pay shitty wages around here, giving the same excuse about how they can't afford to pay more while some of us do the actual work and cope with higher living expenses. I hear people say, save and spend your money more wisely, and I think, do some basic math, low

salaries plus high rent, plus more expensive everything equals always struggling, no matter how well you manage your money.”

They also had various food acquisition strategies that changed at times in their life depending on their income level. A person shared, “ when I was in my late teens and early twenties I would go to the local convenient store and play what I called ‘let’s make a deal.’ They had a hot case with fried chicken, burritos, JoJo’s, and other stuff. Certain nights it was slow, and I would go there later at night and make a deal with the person working cause they might throw it out or bag it up to sell cheap. I would often score a large bag of food for five bucks. This helped me get by because lots of jobs I worked did not pay much.”

Another person shared a similar experience, but they were employed making food. “ I worked in a tiny place that mainly made pizzas; we premade pizzas and took orders. Sometimes some were leftovers, and we were told not to sell them after a certain amount of time under the heat lamp. A few times I brought home four or five pizzas home to share with my roommates. Then we would eat leftover pizzas for breakfast and lunch. This was one tiny perk of that shitty paying job.”

Another person said that when they were in their teens, they would go into a store “ with a spoon or a fork and open something that was easy to eat. I would quickly eat something and then hide the container behind the shelf. I did this once in a while when we did not have much food at home. Another thing I did was kind of shameful but filled our bellies dumpster diving. Me and my brother would go behind this store that had a spot where they threw away older food. I recall getting some rough-looking carrots, potatoes, and cabbage. We would cut off the rot or rough-looking spots and cook the rest.” Another person shared picking lots of wild green apples near their house. “We would pick all these tart apples and take them home, slice them up, lay

them out on dishes, and put them in our family car to dry. We often added cinnamon to them, and the car would smell good for days. We ate lots of dried apples.”

6.1.5 20-30 years old

This group might eat wild game, but only one hunted. They are familiar with eating at fast-food chains, convenience stores, and take-out. They may have tried a few traditionally eaten wild plants but typically only ate huckleberries. They drank copious amounts of energy drinks and other sugary beverages and ate lots of pre-packaged meals. One person noted her parents' diet-related health struggles, then changed her diet dramatically and cooked more when she became an adult. However, old eating patterns plague this person, which they site "goes back to comfort, and at some point, when I was younger, we didn't either have access to food where there wasn't a lot in the house, or I when was at different caregivers' houses and there wasn't access to food there either. And so, whenever food came to me, and I had it, it, I always made sure I had a lot of it to sustain myself. I have more access to healthy foods now, but the thing is, when I have more income, I'm also catching myself being like, treat yourself; that is comfort.

Also, interviewees from this generation shared strategies for acquiring food ranging from legal to illegal. An individual shared that" the government has an income threshold to be considered below the poverty line. Exceptionally low income gets people access to those government foods. My mom and dad, both worked, but we were just above the poverty line but still poor. So, they didn't have access to that food (government food aid). And so, we're in that weird limbo of having not a lot of money to buy food that we needed from the store, but then we made too much money to get the stuff that was given by a program. So, we're in that weird space and so what my mom would do is, she would save, say, fifty bucks from a paycheck, and then

either give \$50 to a person to get some of their food when they get a lot of (government aid) food coming in. Or she would do the same with the EBT card where she would give a person \$100 in cash, and then let her spend \$200 on their card, because it was that transaction of trying to get food for us. This happened a lot when I was growing up. I know that's honestly that's kind of common around here."

A different person shared that a couple of local food growers also have discounted sales at various times of the year. They mentioned "watching websites to find deals, like one place near Arlee usually has a hundred-pound sale where they sell extra food for basically a dollar a pound" and "going to U-picks."

Most only cooked basic things like noodles with various toppings or hamburgers. Although all may eat out, they talked about eating at home most days because they either struggled financially or their family did when they grew up.

6.2 Interview Themes

A variety of themes and subthemes emerged from the interviews. Through the methodological process of comparing concepts and data, themes were reviewed and honed. From the information gathered, the themes identified kept rising to the top of the analysis of the interviews. Eventually, nine specific themes were settled on after saturation reached, in which numerous interviews kept illuminating the themes. These nine themes are Finances and Material Wealth, Health; Perceived and Real Time Constraint Challenges; Access to Food; Social Events and Foodways, Ceremonies; Arlee Celebration, Organs, Marrow, and Other foods; and Visiting People's Homes. Further explanation of each theme follows.

6. 2.1 Finances and Material Wealth

The generations 60 years old and older, experienced extreme poverty and often lacked material wealth. A person stated, "I remember being a little kid, and they didn't have running water, and we had to pump water or pack water yeah for a long time. We used water to irrigate our land, and we also used that same water for drinking until they had a well put in. When I was a young adult, my parents got electricity and water put in their house. "

Many in this generation had early experiences that included not having electricity, indoor plumbing, or water. If their family owned land, they grew, collected, raised, or hunted much of their food. If they were land poor, they often did numerous jobs, often precarious work, and collected and hunted some but also bought or traded food for more food. Older Salish people traveled to the Bitterroot Valley in Western Montana and Washington State to work as laborers on farms and in orchards. Some would access government food programs, which became staples of their diets. Many older generations tell stories of camping out lots and recalling when electricity and water came into the house. At some homes, the old hand pumps might be visible. Others relay stories of packing water from creeks, ditches, and lakes. After electricity, some acquired basic fridge/freezer machines, and many people (40-60 years old) now might have deep freezer chests of assorted sizes.

Most of the people younger than 60 years old had access to indoor plumbing, water, electricity, and modern household equipment. However, several still face precarious work situations and are often paid less than a living wage, underemployed (working less than full-time), or working seasonal jobs. One person made a poignant connection between income and food patterns. They stated, "I love the idea of those programs like they have on T.V. that send you healthy food that's really easy to prepare every week. But those are cost prohibitive. I have

to think economically, and how far is this gonna stretch for the four of us in this house and all the other bills that I have to pay. So, you, we're not going hungry, but we're not eating healthy either. I'm supporting a family, and income taxes were due, and property taxes are due, and I had to pay a plumber the week before; adulting is no joke. I'm making the best money that I have so far. I'm finally making some good money; we aren't living paycheck to paycheck like before."

Some attend college and graduate, which increased their earnings, but many still only possess limited cooking skills and are awash in convenient, highly processed foods. While this study has a limited number of participants, a theme emerged that all the people that had struggled or continued to struggle financially were typically from single-parent homes, often with the other parent not contributing to the upbringing of a child. To better understand this observed dynamic, scholars should conduct more research to establish a stronger association or validity of this initial observation.

6.2.2 Health

Of the oldest generation, most were slightly obese, and one had diabetes. The person with diabetes attributes this affliction to a dramatic change in diet when they left home and lived in an urban area for a while. They shared, "when I was in my early twenties, I moved to a large city, and my diet drastically changed. I went from eating basic kinds of things like meat, homemade bread, and vegetables to trying new foods. I was excited and really liked tasting new foods but later, looking back realized lots of it was fried, starchy, and sweeter than I grew up eating. I think this contributed to me becoming diabetic. I had to really cut back the sweets and other starchy stuff to manage my diabetes."

Since returning home and wanting to manage their health condition, they stated they are eating more like when they grew up, which included lots of home-cooked meals with ample amounts of vegetables and meat instead of high carbohydrate-containing foods. The slimmest of those interviewed noted that they ate more like they did when they grew up. They said they now typically ate twice a day, which is lunch and dinner, and tended to eat heavy vegetables and meat soups reminiscent of the dried meat soup they ate as a child. Many people between 30 to 50 years old experience high blood pressure, obesity, and diabetes and often report taking several medications.

The 20-30 year old interview participants had some health concerns, such as obesity, and two individuals were already experiencing higher blood sugar levels. Some also noted mental health challenges such as depression and anxiety. One younger person mentioned a connection they noticed between their diet and bodily functions. "I've noticed I've had a lot of stomach issues when I eat grab-in-go at the store, which is fried food, or, if I'm not eating fried food, then it's chips or something else like that. I switched back to eating healthier foods and feel better."

6.2.3 Perceived and Real Time Constraint Challenges

Several of the people interviewed mentioned time constraints impacting their food selection. When asked to elaborate on time constraints, it became clear that a few worked more than forty hours a week. Either because the individual felt pressure from their job to work more or they were responsible for more and expected to complete tasks and goals that required working beyond the forty hours.

A person interviewed shared, "I'm almost always exhausted by 5:30 when I get done. By the time I get done with work, and then I go pick up my kid from the Boys and Girls Club, and

we get home. It's 6, 6:30. Then I got to cook dinner, and we go to bed at 8. We're early to bed, early to rise people because of my job. There's just not enough time in the day. I have eighteen different projects right now at work. There's so much that you have to do for contracts and budgets, and you know we just got done with quarterly reports, and other reports were due this week, and you know it's almost always something."

A few also worked beyond forty hours a week at more than one job because they had low-paying jobs and felt they needed the extra job to pay their bills. A person talked about their multiple jobs. "I have one job where I work three times a week, three to four hours in the evening, then I work another job about thirty-five to forty hours a week, and then I work some weekends sometimes like sixteen hours and often don't get home until one or two in the morning. None of these jobs pay a living wage, but it is what it is around here. I keep trying to get a better job, but too many still pay low wages. I also keep working many jobs because the costs of food, gas, rent, and other stuff are also higher than before." While most had imposed time constraints, some possessed perceptions of time constraints. However, upon further inquiry, they did not work beyond forty hours. Instead, they were devoting their time to other activities that left the person feeling like they had little time for cooking and shopping. Therefore, they either ate at restaurants and fast-food chains frequently or shopped for quick and easy foods to prepare.

Some also mentioned that the time constraint of an employer policy of working 10-hour days for four days a week also put pressure on them because if they had children, this ten-hour day impacted preparing meals for them. Their typical work schedule is from 7 a.m. until 5:30 p.m. One person described their work week as a four-day rush and recovery on the weekend. They shared that their work schedule affected taking children to school, and their kids often felt exhausted in the morning because the parent(s) had to report to work earlier because of the 4-10

work policy. And most times, they rushed at the end of the workday and often ordered takeaway food such as pizza because they also felt exhausted, and it was typically getting late to get home and cook dinner for their children. One person shared, "We're up in the morning early; we don't even ride in the same car because we have different schedules, I'm going from here this way for work, and she's going this way that way for work. Then we meet late, and I might say, I don't want to cook, and she says, alright, pizza then, or talk we talk about fast food, or we go to a restaurant."

A common sentiment was they felt constantly rushed and lacked time to provide better quality meals. They felt caught in a vicious cycle of working too much, hours not conducive to raising children and making poor food decisions to manage their situation. One research participant talked about the daily struggles of working, parenting, and mealtimes. "We're just both bombarded most of the time. I'm at work early. Stay late. My partner is at work all day, gets our kids, and goes home. We're just real busy, plus tired, and just put in long days, so it is easy to get those easy foods. And It's not only just easy but also what you know how to cook and what you know how to make. When we first got together, it was like we were like exactly how we both grew up. A lot of American middle-class foods. We slowly, over the years, tried to be more conscious. But we're still eating what's familiar even though we might change the recipe a little, but we're still eating tacos, chicken tacos, and then beef tacos, and then we might try cauliflower pizza. But then the majority of the time is like, just get some pizza, something easy. It was like that last night; I was like, I'm burned and out, and everyone else was tired and just got back from Billings. So, we ordered takeout. Another person mentioned, " I have a full-time job, but I work side hustles all the time now because we haven't had a pay increase in several years, and my rent has climbed a lot in the last year, and gas jumped up."

Many lamented that they were aware they should make better food choices but felt obligated and trapped by their jobs, work times, and doing what they needed to do to provide for their family.

6.2.4 Access to Food

Another theme that emerged was the ease of access to food. Many were aware of healthier food options, but they often cited how easy it was to get unhealthy food options.

A person shared, "We've noticed that it's a little more expensive to eat healthily; you know you can if you have the time, you can search and find good deals, but if you're here in Mission (Saint Ignatius), their organic food is way more expensive and most of the time we'll try to buy the organic, but we don't eat a lot of it."

They noted the abundance of fast-food chains operating within the CSKN, with early morning to late-night hours. Interviewees also mentioned healthy food access difficulties. While perception is important, and most perceptions shared did align with realities in the community, a few stated that they lived in a food desert, meaning there are few supermarkets with healthy food options. The Economic Research Service at the United States Department of Agriculture Food Access Research Atlas does not classify the CSKN as a food desert. Moreover, an investigation of the local foodscape as a part of this dissertation indicates it is not appropriate to classify CSKN as a food desert (Observations 2022). Plenty of healthy food options are available, especially during summer/ fall. However, the researcher concedes the CSKN might characterize more aptly as a food dessert haven because a person can find sugary drinks and foods containing elevated levels of sweeteners any time of day, seven days a week, across the CSKN. Food prices

colored their perception of access difficulties with the reality that healthier foods were more expensive than other types of food.

Participants also mentioned that accessing traditional Salish foods is tricky. Accessing wild plants and animals takes effort because huckleberries are the only traditional Salish food typically sold. However, conversations with local professional wildlife managers, hunters, and gathers, along with observations, suggest that several plants and animals increased while some declined. Also, driving on the outskirts of Saint Ignatius within the CSKN for the past few years revealed that the deer are numerous and look like they are increasing in number (Observations 2022). While barriers exist to accessing these foods, increased availability of some of them is trending upwards.

Nuances and shared experiences indicate that while some species populations increased in specific areas, conflicts in some areas hampered access to wild plants and animals. Interviewees shared stories of conflicts with non-Salish people that have taken place for multiple generations. One older person revealed that when they were a child, they recall county police arrested their adult caretaker, and they jailed the person, and then endured a lengthy legal battle despite being within the law and their rights to hunt. The person recalls being a young child and crying while the caregiver consoled the child behind bars and said they would get out soon. Another mentioned digging for camas, and a man came marching toward them, hollering and cursing while grilling them about what they were doing. "I was digging camas just on the edge of the Southern border (of CSKN), and off in the distance, I saw this guy coming towards me fast; I couldn't quite hear him, but I could see he was mad, and he had something in his hand. Then as he got close, I noticed he had a gun and was cussing and demanding to know what I was doing in his field. I told him I was digging camas for old Salish ladies, and I also told him I spoke with

him earlier the day before asking for permission to go into his field. He then kind of grumbled around, seemed to remember the phone call, and complained about people not asking, but he was okay with Indians digging the camas in his field. He asked me my name and where I was from. I asked him if it was okay to take what I dug and left quickly before he changed his mind. I never did go there again and think about that guy coming at me with a gun every time I drive by there.”

Another person interviewed mentioned fishing near Missoula and experiencing trouble. "One time, I decided to try fishing near Missoula and came near lots of new houses. I stuck to the trail along the bank and came to a spot where the trail was kind of messed up and the water deep, so I decided to walk up on a little bank to cut back to the trail. I took about five steps, and suddenly a guy came out of his house pointing a pistol at me. He asked me what I was doing, and I told him I was fishing and I just needed to get to the side where I could get down next to the creek. He hollered to his wife to call the police, and she came out. I said, "I am sorry" and turned around and started to walk away. The man hollered at me to stay still, or he would shoot me, and I heard him cock the gun. I froze and told him he was acting ridiculous, and then he and his wife were both hollering insults. I recall she said, "this is our land, and you people need to understand that." They were hollering other shitty things, and then the police showed up, and I tried to explain myself, but they took me to jail, and I had to spend the night in the can. As they cuffed me, these people were still hollering insults." Another person stated it is more common to go into the woods with a gun because of threats of violence from others, especially when picking huckleberries or morel mushrooms.

Two interview participants that also hunted mentioned they had asked non-Salish people to hunt on the property owner's land, but they refused access. This denial of land access to hunters conflicts with many non-Salish landholders complaining about deer and other wildlife

damaging their crops and wanting the wildlife populations lowered. Other hunters also shared that they tried to hunt on the land of property owners participating in the CSKN's degradation program, only to face challenges and complications from the property owners. The degradation program intends to identify CSKN citizens that would volunteer to hunt on non-Salish property owners' lands within the CSKN that agree to participate in the program to reduce the number of wild game animals on the property. While some animal populations might have increased, wild plants that once served as staples for Salish people are now challenging to locate.

People mentioned the places they visited for decades with their families to dig bitterroot, and camas that fell under farmers' plows, or developers paved over these places. Steven Small Salmon testified to the once abundant bitterroot and its decline. "There used to be bitterroot all over...[m]y dad used to load up all the kids and we'd camp out in Big Draw and dig bitterroot for a few days. We'd dig enough to last the winter...[p]retty soon, it was disappearing in the places we used to dig. Farmers tilled up all the land and the bitterroot never grew back" (Keely 2017). Allen Pierre also spoke of the abundance and decline of bitterroot in the Salish " Missoula Homeland area before it was developed by the dominant society".... "[w]hen I would come to Missoula with my dad (the late-Pat Pierre) he would show me the places he'd come to pick bitterroot here"... "[t]he best area back in his youth was where the Shopko store was located" (Kelly 2017). Massive development in a few of these areas leaves these once dependable places unproductive.

6.2.5 Social Events and Foodways

Funerals are primary social functions in Salish communities in which Salish people participate either through attendance, cooking, hunting for, or helping the family with other

functions of the funeral. The 70-89 generation of people shared that funerals were often at people's homes in the past. People would come with their bundle of dishes and seating cushions. The family of the deceased person would ask people close to them to prepare food for guests. Cooks often prepared a dead person's favorite foods and shared these foods at funerals. An older photo taken in the early 1900's shows an extended canvas lodge with people sitting inside and around it for a funeral of a well-known community member. As Salish people began living in houses, they moved funerals into individuals' homes. Monique McDonald recalled, "Back then we went to people's houses and did the work right there. We'd clear out a room and lay cheesecloth or meat wrap down and just start pitching in wherever there was a need it didn't matter if it was cooking or cleaning or baking" (Strahan 2006). In the last forty years or a while longer, funerals have taken place in CSKN government facilities, such as the Séliš-Q̓lispé Culture Committee, the gym of the Saint Ignatius Fitness Center, or Arlee Community Center. A few folks still hold funerals at home. Now at these modern facilities, kitchens exist, and the CSKN provides a fund that pays for partial funeral expenses, such as food.

Families might ask someone to lead the kitchen, and others volunteer. Often women and teenagers, and younger children work in the kitchens, while men tend to hunt and dry meat outside. Most funeral food is frequently bought from local grocery stores or even as far away as Costco outside CSKN. Funeral organizers provide disposable dishware at an expense to the family from the Property and Supply department of the CSKN. Salish funerals tend to be a 3-4 day affair in which cooks provide breakfast, snacks, and dinner.

After the burial, people return for a feast, at which community members set up long foldable tables for eating. Then people go through buffet-style to select what they want. Common foods are wild game roasted or boiled, meatloaf, ham, mashed potatoes, potato salad,

macaroni salad, fruit salad, a green salad, fried bread, store-bought bread, coffee, tea, water, and desserts. Cooks often give people dried meat to take with them. Several people interviewed noted that the number of offerings of desserts has dramatically increased in the last 5-10 years. There are more options and often store-bought cakes, pies, cupcakes, and other sweets. People usually donate these desserts rather than purchased by the head cook. Another notable change is the meat donated by hunters. Some commented that younger people tend to show up with a dead animal at the back of the door instead of taking the time to gut, skin, and process the meat into basic cuts for the kitchen.

6.2.6 Ceremonies

Salish ceremonies often have more pre-contact foods, such as serviceberries, huckleberries, deer, Salish teas, and other foods. These pre-contact foods are highly associated with some ceremonies, such as the medicine dance, in which people offer prayers to ensure an abundant collection of these other foods. Ceremonial organizers now distribute other foods, such as store-bought fruit, candy, and potatoes. One person that had a long life associated with helping with medicine dances and funerals shared, "people bring in all the food and whatever else is to be preyed on for the year. We pray for a good new year and that all these foods help us throughout the year. We ask that they are plentiful for the people and dance, work, and sacrifice during the medicine dance to make sure that we start our year right." During funerals, people would often say, well, this is this person's favorite food here; this is why we have it out today. They would offer some of these foods along with other foods and share stories about the person's life."

6.2.7 Arlee Celebration

Arlee celebration is an annual multiday event during the first part of July organized over the past 122 years. Salish people and others come together to dance, play stick game (traditional gambling), visit, and buy goods and foods from vendors. Interviewees conveyed in the past that celebration community members took assignments of various responsibilities to prepare for the celebration. Some people cared for cattle they later butchered during the celebration and shared with people in attendance. Hunters might also disperse fresh meat to distribute to all in the camp. An older person shared, "long time ago, when I was young, people donated a cow or something, and they selected a caretaker to take care of that cow. When it came time to butcher, they would do it right before the celebration to feed the people. They would also get other donations, like one time we had a truck full of potatoes. They would also send out some hunters to get meat and provide rations every day of celebration."

A person shared a customary practice in which his grandmother would ask him to find visitors and invite them back to the family camp to share a meal. Also mentioned was the stoppage of sharing food. A person said that in the 1970s, the celebration organizers stopped distributing food because some of it ended up in the trash, and this wastefulness upset people.

A few interviewees recalled that a couple of food stands sold basic items as far back as they remember. In the 1970s, celebration organizers constructed industrial metal structures onsite, and multiple food stalls started offering an expanded menu. In addition, others paid to set up additional stands offering other fare. As one person put it, "we now have a carnival of stands," and indeed, it looks that way. In addition to the food vendors operating out of the permanent structures, food trucks and pop-up stands sell Jamaican-style bar-b-queued chicken, snow cones, cotton candy, ice cream, lemonade, string fries, and hot dogs. In addition to these items, people

hawk menudo, stews, tacos, hamburgers, and breakfast of potatoes, eggs, toast, and tortillas. Major soda companies appear throughout the event to replenish fountain machines on loan. At the same time, coffee, tea, hot chocolate, and other pre-bottled sugary beverages sit displayed in glass fridges (Interviews 2022 and Observations 2022).

These stands offer the public food twenty-four hours a day during the celebration. Often the same local families operate out of each permanent structure while roving trucks and stands work the celebration into their circuit of events. People still have their family camps and cook there, but they might also part-take in the food vendors' offerings and sit next to visitors and tourists while they enjoy something to eat or drink.

6.2.8 Organs, Marrow, and Other foods

Salish people, older than 60 years old mentioned that when they were younger, they tended to eat more parts of the animals they butchered and ate more diverse animals. One woman recalls her aunt always saying, "save the book," meaning a specific part of a cow's stomach that they would consume. People often roasted bones and cracked them to remove the marrow for consumption. They also consumed the heart, liver, stomach, kidneys, tongue, skin, and other parts of the animals. Some fried cracklings and roasted tongue, heart, and kidneys often, while the stomach was boiled and added to soups. Muscle meat was often dried or later frozen. Much of the meat was roasted or boiled in the past. Now various cuts, like steak, are more common. Numerous animals were pursued or taken when presented with the opportunity. Deer and elk were the most common in the past and remained a mainstay. People also ate black bears, beavers, geese, ducks, porcupines, moose, and other local fauna. Salish also adopted domestic

animal consumption, with cows being the most dominant. They also regularly consumed chickens, domestic geese, eggs, and pigs.

Many Salish interviewed, and others observed, often consume store-bought bovine, eggs, pork, and chicken. They also eat wild game to various degrees. Outliers chose never to eat cows because they thought it tasted strange, and a couple did not eat wild game because they also did not like the taste, or it reminded them of being poor when they were younger. Therefore, they did not want to eat it. Two interviewees also made a concerted effort to eat locally raised beef, chickens, eggs, and pork and opted to purchase them directly from the producers or in small local shops. Organ and marrow consumption also trended downward, especially among younger people, and overall Salish people currently consume less of these parts of the animals. Those that mentioned making cracklings stated it had been decades since they or someone in their family made them.

6.2.9 Visiting People's Homes

Older people recall that when they visited other Salish people's homes, they ate similar foods to what they ate at home. Offering a little food or a beverage was standard, as was not rejecting offers. Many Salish people thought it was appropriate to partake in food, stay for a while, and visit when going to someone's house. People now may make offers, and visitors may accept food, but it appears people are less stringent about these practices. A person about 50 years old shared, "when I visit Salish people, I am normally offered food or drink, but this is usually older people. I don't think that people are aware of or practice that sense of welcoming and custom much anymore. I grew up with my grandparents; when somebody came to your house, you always offered them coffee or tea, or a cookie, or something. You wouldn't ever go to

their house and not have them say, hey, there's food in the kitchen, and it wasn't an ask, it was a tell, and so I think that that's very generational like if I go to younger people's houses that I know there, it's not their custom to offer food or drinks too often."

In contemporary times, people offer soda much more than water. An interviewee mentioned that when he was a kid, they went to fetch water for guests, and these guests would always have a dipper full of water and overly praise and thank him for the water. They would offer him a blessing and wish him a good life as he grew. Providing water to visitors is a practice that has primordial roots in Salish communities when receiving people.

6.2.10 Discussion of Findings

From the interviews, general themes and patterns emerged. The elderly Salish people experienced childhoods growing, collecting, hunting, raising, and processing more of the food in their diet. As they aged, they began to eat out more and buy more food from stores. The middle-aged adults may have also experienced growing, collecting, hunting, raising, and processing as older generations but generally not to the same extent. As older adults, many perform few of these activities, except for hunting, which remains the most frequent.

The youngest adults generally did not grow up undertaking many of the food activities their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents did when they were young. They may pick huckleberries and hunt, but they tend to buy food from a wide range of places like grocery stores, convenience stores, fast food chains, restaurants with numerous types of cuisine, and food trucks. They tend to eat more highly processed foods and consume more sugary beverages, energy drinks, and coffee drinks from stands and shops with extra flavorings and sweeteners.

Across all these ages, they currently consume more muscle meat and less internal organs or marrow. Many also eat more bison they hunted, bought, or someone gave to them.

Material wealth has considerably changed overall, but some people are still experiencing economic difficulties. Younger people and single-parent households tend to experience financial challenges the most. Increased employment is available through the CSKN government and their company holdings. Other jobs exist, but too many are low paying, part-time or seasonal.

Within the Salish community, people enjoyed food at other people's homes when visiting, on trips to town, during funerals, the annual Arlee Celebration, and ceremonies. Through interviews with people of various ages about these events and observations, patterns and changes across time became apparent. Typical patterns prescribed by Salish norms, context, and meaning dictated these common social practices.

Changes in the diet appear to follow patterns of access and abundance. Deer seems to have always been plentiful and relatively easy to access, and Salish continue to eat deer. Even when Salish did not have much land to grow food on, they could still hunt deer. A few people revealed that when they experienced overabundance and ease of access to serviceberries, they tired of eating them and stopped eating them. Some did not start eating them again until late into adulthood.

Trends in diet changes between generations of Salish appear to correlate well with changes in the broader system, with slight nuances influenced by Salish food traditions and poverty. Meaning each generation incorporated what foods were widely available in markets and some received government assistance. Middle-aged folks tended to grow up eating lots of food available in markets in the 1970s and 80s. Their diets shifted as companies introduced more products and dining establishments with various cuisines opened. Younger generations tend to

eat multiple cuisines, fast food, and foods already prepared, and consume lots of sugary beverages. All of which are cheap, easy to access, and ubiquitous.

Taste changes tied to access may be responsible for diet changes as well. Many Salish people choose not eat choke cherries, serviceberries, foam berries, or hawthorn berries. These berries are less sweet than huckleberries, which many Salish still tend to eat but are more challenging to access than the other berries.

A surprising addition to the contemporary diet of many of the Salish interviewed and observed is an ancient Salish ingredient, bison. These animals were once a ubiquitous part of the Western Salish diet. Still, the animal came off the menu in the late 1800s because Euro-Americans put incredible pressure on these animals and slaughtered millions. Conflicts with other Indigenous groups, sparse numbers, and general tensions with Euro-Americans led many Salish to opt out of traveling to the plains to hunt these once vast herds of animals. However, the Salish people did bring bison to the confines of the CSKN. These animals eventually grew into a substantial herd. However, the owners experienced pressure and sold many of them off with the taking of Salish and Kootenai land within the CSKN by the United States for settler colonizers' homesteads and the formation of a Nation Bison Range.

People shared that they are now exercising their rights guaranteed by a treaty with the U.S. and hunting bison on the external boundaries of Yellowstone Park. The CSKN government also has a program that acquires bison meat from Yellowstone animals. Their citizens pay a fee to receive a bulk amount of the meat. Hunting bison near Yellowstone is an expensive and time-consuming feat. Still, several CSKN citizens said they felt connected with their heritage and ancestors by hunting and eating these animals. With such a connection to this animal, Salish people suggested establishing a CSKN government herd to benefit the community.

6.3 Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation Foodscape and Food System

Driving the gauntlet of Highway 93 splits the CSKN in half running from south to north. In the heart of the CSKN are three towns with larger Salish populations. Along this highway are numerous fast food chains, drive-through beverage stands, convenience stores, supermarkets, burrito hawkers, pizzas, hamburgers, caffeinated drinks, sweet rolls, fried chicken, and pasta for sale.

In the center lies a town with a population of about 2,000 people. Within a 1.2-mile stretch lies at least four national fast-food chains and one regional chain, with three of these places selling pizza. Six local places also sell food. Just off the highway in this town are also eight other places to buy food and a pantry to get free food. Five locations in the town specialize in selling sweets. Four convenience stores, with one with a walk-in cooler with alcoholic beverages. This town also has one modern grocery store, like most supermarkets in North America. This store has rows of prepacked dry and frozen goods, dairy case, and fresh fruits and vegetables. They also have a deli counter selling fried food and other premade items. All these businesses serve approximately two thousand residents and people passing through.

There are twenty-eight places in this town to get food. If one counts the hardware stores, movie theaters, bowling alley, and a few other places, one can also purchase additional food and beverage products. Eight sites offer corndogs, ten offer hamburgers, eleven offer fries, and eleven offer fried chicken, either breaded or not. Twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, a business is open and offering something to eat or drink. Twenty-eight offer sweets. Twenty-four places offer sugary sweet beverages. One brewery offers local beer. Three have popped corn for sale. Five offer salads. One location offers minimally processed fruits and vegetables. Another

offers canned and precooked foods. A summer farmer's market provides fresh fruits and vegetables once a week. Two mobile food stations a block away offer Chinese, bar-b-que, and Mexican dishes. Young children through high school can eat breakfast and lunch when school is in session. An afterschool organization provides snacks to students attending their programming.

This town has several food offerings, and driving north six miles from here is another grocery store and other food options. A larger town with about 5,000 sits just fourteen miles away and has more food options. South of this town is another small town about fifteen miles away with a population of nine hundred, which has two grocery stores, a summer farmers' market, and a few other food options. Driving further south is another small town with a grocery store. All along highway 93 through CSKN, every 15-20 minutes, a person could purchase something to eat or drink whenever they want.

A couple of people interviewed tried to assert that the CSKN is a food desert. However, according to the Economic Research Service at the United States Department of Agriculture, their Food Access Research Atlas does not indicate the CSKN as a food desert, and observations support their assessment. The CSKN may not be a food desert. However, it is awash in highly processed food products, globalized and industrialized food commodities, and during the summer season, local vegetables and fruits. Ronan is a typical food scene within CSKN with nuances. Polson has three larger supermarkets, one a Wal-Mart Supercenter. Through observations, the dissertation researcher found ample places to purchase food either in-person, online for pick-up, or delivery. Numerous places exist to access food. Eleven grocery stores are within the CSKN in seven towns. Five communities with only a couple hundred or fewer residents lack grocery stores. However, numerous other food venues sell food. There are sixteen convenience stores and sixty-one restaurants. Within the CSKN are farmers markets, specialty

shops such as a popped corn store, hardware stores, tire shops, gas stations, schools, food banks, community dinners, elderly meal programs, funerals, fast food chains, mobile trucks, community food giveaways, CSAs, U-picks, community gardens, CSKN bison meat program, traditional foods, Salish and Kootenai celebrations, fairs, traditional Salish ceremonies, rodeos, theaters, school sporting events, USDA food distribution program, public schools, private schools, vending machines in government buildings, annual Salish hunting camp, annual Séliš-Q̓lispé Culture Committee camp, bitterroot feast, family giveaways, and memorials.

Backed by observations and data collection, the CSKN is awash in highly processed food products and globalized industrialized food commodities. This situation is apparent by a visit to any of the ten grocery stores in seven towns. These highly processed and globalized industrial food commodities are also prevalent in other settings and institutions. For instance, the local public school lunch programs get a sizable portion of their food from the USDA food program and companies specializing in highly processed foods.

6.3.1 Grocery Stores

Grocery stores within the CSKN appear almost identical to each other and stores in the surrounding cities in Montana. Nearly all are part of the United States-based chain of stores. Two of these stores are independent, but they carry national brands, which often are niche varieties purported to be more health conscience or ethically sourced. The upper central part of CSKN has a Wal-Mart Supercenter that combines groceries, clothes, home items, and much more. A Safeway is also two miles away; a mile from here is Super 1 Foods. Two Harvest Foods are in two other towns. All of these are large modern supermarkets with ample foods strongly connected to the globalized food chain of the United States. Food is shipped continuously by

truck. Products from around the world and outside of the local growing season are available almost year-round.

All these stores' physical layout is almost the same, with a fresh produce section on an external wall with more highly processed foods in the center aisles with rows of jarred, canned, bagged, and boxed products produced in food factories elsewhere. These stores also contain deli cases selling premade salads, sandwiches, and an assortment of fried chicken and potatoes. They have dairy sections with cheeses, yogurts, milk, and butter. They also have eggs, prepackaged lunch meats, and a large area, sometimes a quarter of the stores' spaces is dedicated to beer, wine, and sugary beverages, from sodas to energy drinks. They sell chips made from potatoes and corn and factories' bread sections with buns, loaves, and tortillas. Grocers sell most major food brands in these stores, along with a few international products, like cheeses, wine, and beer. Also found in these stores are baking supplies, flours, pickled cucumbers, condiments of ketchup, mayonnaise, mustard, and salsa.

Almost all fresh produce comes from somewhere else, typically California, Mexico, and Washington. However, much of the signage is vague about the origin of products. For example, signage for apples reads "product of USA," or the stores list the company making the product. Sometimes they might have local produce, but this is rare. The two found in local stores are local cherries and musk melons. The only other local product commonly found is milk. All these stores have upright freezers with vegetables, fruits, dinners, pizzas, ice cream, potatoes cut into numerous shapes and sizes, chicken breaded and not, beef hamburgers, seafood, popsicles, fruit pops, and more. If a person stood in one of these stores, they could not tell if they were in a Seattle supermarket or elsewhere. That is how similar these stores are to most other grocery stores in the region and North America.

6.3.2 Food Venues

One hundred twenty-three places to buy food, either in a restaurant, convenience store, grocery store, mobile food truck, bakery, or bar, are within the CSKN. Of these numbers, most operate within the Highway 93 corridor and the middle section near the base of Flathead Lake. In Saint Ignatius are twelve, Arlee 5, Polson 46, Pablo 4, Ronan 28, Charlo 3, Dixon 1, Hot Springs 14, Big Arm 1, Finley Point 2, Ravalli 3, Moise 1, Lone Pine 1, Grey Wolf Peak Casino 1, Dayton 1, and few more scattered across the land. Polson, Pablo Ronan, and Saint Ignatius consistently have one or two Food Trucks. Polson has a cheese and noodle factory. Saint Ignatius has a jam factory, but these are all micro-enterprises. Hardware stores, tire shops, and pharmacies also offer candy, popcorn, sodas, and snack items. Four meat processors in Ronan, Saint Ignatius, Dixon, Pablo, and Polson. Two small bakeries in Ravalli and Polson supply sweets. In the Flathead Lake area are 3 U-picks primarily offering apples, cherries, and berries. Arlee has a place to pick raspberries. A few seasonal fruit stands operate in the Polson area, one in Ronan and one in Ravalli. Accounting for all the sites selling food reveals a wide array of locations to purchase products. While most offered products arrive through the industrial food system, businesses also provide locally grown and produced products in person or online.

6.3.3 Schools

After reviewing multiple local public school menus over months, they revealed institutional offerings entailing numerous premade, heat-and-serve foods instead of cooking onsite with ingredients. These lunchroom offerings are typically high in carbohydrates, grains,

highly processed fruits and vegetables, and milk, often sweetened milk offered as "chocolate" milk. These public schools are also offering breakfast.

Typical items on these menus include French toast sticks, oatmeal, yogurt, cheese stick, canned fruit, super nachos with canned "cheese" product, garlic bread, rolls, muffins, chicken fried steak, chips, strawberry crème cheese bagels, peanut butter and jelly sandwich, egg rolls, fortune cookie, brown rice, mashed potatoes, gravy, cherry strudel, pizza, pancake on a stick, beef fingers, juice, raisins, chicken strips, maple bar, canned peaches, Nutri Grain Bars, cinnamon rolls, Craisins, biscuits, Tri Taters, canned mixed fruit, Cinnamon Toast Crunch, Ultimate Oatmeal Round, Pancake wrap, Orange Smiles, Mandarin oranges, Fruit Loops, Chex Mix Cereal, Maple Burtin' Pancakes, Chez-its, Mango Chunks, cookie, pineapple, corn dogs, Rice Krispy Treat, Fiesta Sun Chips, grapes, Chicken nuggets, applesauce, Chex mix, Mott's fruit Chews, Pretzels, Banana chips, Whole Grain Chez-its, potato wedges, Pepperoni Rippers, Donuts, chicken patty sandwich. These schools also provided hamburgers, salad, apple slices, chicken fajitas, string cheese, and other items in rotation. Most of the food is ultra-processed food, originating from the industrial food system and shipped into the CSKN from beyond its borders.

Public schools are the primary education institutions operating within the CSKN, and most Salish children likely attend these institutions. They attend these from late August to early June, generally starting at 5 years old and exiting around 18 years old. During these children's formative years, they are inundated most of each year with highly processed foods that establish eating patterns that many carry into adulthood. One interviewee in their early twenties lamented that when they became an adult, they experienced difficulty changing their diet because they

became accustomed to highly processed foods they had learned to eat much of their early life at school.

6.3.4 Women, Infants, and Children Program

The "Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) provides federal grants to states for supplemental foods, health care referrals, and nutrition education for low-income pregnant, breastfeeding, and non-breastfeeding postpartum women, and to infants and children up to age 5 who are found to be at nutritional risk" (United States Department of Agriculture 2022a). This program has operated for over thirty years within the CSKN, and many Salish people utilized this program. At this point, considering the food people can get through this program, it helps strengthen the habituation of the types of foods incorporated into Salish people's diets with children.

The Montana WIC program-approved foods list (Montana Department of Public Health and Human Services 2022) contains notable language indicating appropriate food selections. First, the top of the first page states, "No organic unless specified." It also reads "no grass-fed milk" and "only domestic cheeses ." Noticeable in another section of the document are approved flavored yogurts and overwhelming amounts of breakfast cereals, such as Frosted Shredded Wheat, Toasted Oats, Corn Flakes, Rice Krispies, and Cream of Rice and Wheat. Another section states approved canned meats, fruits, and vegetables for infants, along with whole wheat bread, pasta, and other whole grain bread. Peanut butter is the only approved nut butter, and canned tuna is the only fish approved for selection. Frozen concentrate juice and bottled juice are also allowable. Fruit and vegetables may be organic. Applesauce and fruit blends of applesauce

and shredded cheese are accepted selections. Cows, sheep, and soy milk are the only approved milk products, while soy-based infant formula is also approved.

All this approved food might seem like benign products meant to meet the nutritional needs of vulnerable people." at nutritional risk." However, it is questionable because this WIC-approved food promotes the consumption of highly processed foods, pushing considerable amounts of highly processed grains and food with higher concentrations of sugars. Furthermore, the juices are problematic because most concentrated and bottled juices often contain higher amounts of sugar. Typical frozen apple juice contains twenty-seven grams of sugar, while a 12-ounce can of Coke cola soda contains thirty-nine grams of sugar. Juices, paired with highly refined breakfast cereals, bread, pasta, applesauce, and many jarred baby foods, contain higher levels of carbohydrates and sugar that have the potential to set up mothers and children for obesity and diabetes. Tuna is also problematic due to higher than average levels of mercury than other fish and raises the question of why no approval of diverse types of canned fish with lesser levels of this toxin do not appear on the document.

6.3.5 United States Government Food Distribution Program

U.S. government food distribution has operated in Salish communities for at least 40 years (Fox et al. 2004). Most Salish people have shared stories of either getting them directly or eating these foods at a relative's home or in the local school. The Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations provides USDA Foods to low-income households living within Native American Nations and households near these areas (United States Department of Agriculture 2022). The United States Department of Agriculture agency, Food and Nutrition Service agency administers the FDPIR at the federal level, and Native American nation governments administer

the program locally. Monthly, participants "receive a food package to help them maintain a nutritionally balanced diet" (United States Department of Agriculture 2020). Which they may select from over one hundred products. The FDPIR program's national website touts that participants in most areas serving Native Americans, "can choose fresh produce instead of canned or frozen fruits and vegetables" This website also states, "[f]resh shell eggs are also available in some areas, and "participants are offered a selection of traditional food choices such as bison, blue cornmeal, wild salmon, catfish, and traditionally-harvested wild rice."

The CSKN operates the local food distribution program. This local program does not offer any traditional foods listed on the national website nor any precontact food eaten by Salish people. Participants can receive two units of cereal, two units of baking flour, five units of pasta, four units of beans, eight units of milk, three units of meat, one unit of peanuts, three units of soup, one unit of cheese, and a unit of fats/oils and twenty units of vegetables. Substitutions may occur within each category, and specific selections by participants or limits exist. In the pasta category, a person can only select a maximum of three boxes of macaroni and cheese. Five vegetable units may substitute for five fruit units. Most of the food provided is canned or dried. The oil offered is vegetable oil, and on offer are multiple flavors of juice in the fruits and vegetables category. Crackers, tortillas, canned beef, dried milk, applesauce, dehydrated potatoes, canned peaches, and ground beef are other notable items.

The local offering mainly stayed the same in the last 30 years. In short, the program supplies highly processed foods with a higher level of grain and carbohydrate-rich foods that continue to make it into Salish people's homes.

6.3.6 Wild and Minimally Cultivated Foods

Based on historical accounts, deer and elk populations ebbed and flowed in the last hundred years, while other species drastically trended downward, such as bull trout within the CSKN. Since the early 1970s, the CSKN has implemented projects and policies to restore habitats and manage wildlife (Rockwell 1983). They created a large elk reserve and persuaded planners that new road construction includes tunnels for animals to cross under the busy highway and restore creeks (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021c). The CSKN designated the lower part of the Flathead River as a cultural area to protect it (Azure 2021). CSKN wildlife biologists survey and monitor animals and spend hours in the field making observations and collecting data. One of these wildlife biologists and Salish hunters, anglers, and plant gathers provided interviews, and the researcher read government reports, newspaper articles, and newsletters. These documents and discussions result in characterizations of the current stock of wild and minimally cultivated foods.

In the last decade, elk and deer numbers overall increased, but with caveats to this assertion. Depending on the area within the 1.3 million acres are valleys, with various topography and various amounts of human settlements. All these factors impact the number of animals. Therefore, in some areas, deer and elk may have increased while they declined in other areas. In the last couple of years, the number of deer grew drastically in the Saint Ignatius area. One person remarked that they saw several does with triplets in the spring of 2022, which is usually a sign of suitable habitat and more effortless living for deer. Elk in the Ferry Basin management area has increased due to a CSKN permitting system for their citizens. Trying to ascertain the numbers of bears or trends was difficult, but hunters said they think current bear

numbers were less than 30 years ago, and some stopped hunting them. Bull trout are improving in a few creeks, but overall numbers are low, and the trout remain protected. Salish people mentioned that places they once dug for bitterroot are gone. However, people still find the root and mentioned that the CSKN government rehabilitated some areas with prescribed burns. In these burned areas, camas proliferated. One research participant shared that they took seed from one place and tossed it around an area near their mother's home in a space conducive to growing camas. This person said the camas took hold after a couple of years and spread in the area.

Driving on the roads crisscrossing across the CSKN for hours during the spring of 2022 one could see numerous blooms of serviceberries, chokecherries, elderberries, blueberries, and other plants eaten by Salish. They appear near canals, in thickets, on hills at the base of the mountains, and near streams. Almost all these berry crops appear to continue to flourish. Still, some patches might be inedible due to concerns about chemical use by people to control unwanted plant and animal populations. Huckleberries seem plentiful as usual but might fluctuate yearly depending on weather conditions. Later in the summer of 2022 and early fall, a few folks shared that the berries in many areas failed to ripen fully. They attribute this to the long hot, dry season this year. Barely any precipitation came after the beginning of July and has remained this way until mid-October. The landscape is parched, and several wildfires have raged within the CSKN for several months. Fisherfolk shared that the many rivers became extremely low, and they stopped fishing for an extended period.

A broad and general summation is that most pre-contact foods are still plentiful, but this characterization contains caveats. Due to the checkerboard condition within the CSKN, complicated laws and agreements regulating land, accessing these foods in certain areas might

have posted restrictions, or it is potentially dangerous due to violence from people or chemical exposure. The patchwork of land ownership also complicates hunting. If the land is CSKN-owned, Salish people can hunt and gather on it. If a non-CSKN holds property, they may not be able to hunt on it, depending on the person's disposition. This condition also holds for land owned by CSKN citizens. Federal and state government land holdings further complicate this, and complications are growing with increased development, fractionation of land parcels, and increasing numbers of settlers moving to the CSKN, often ignorant and sometimes hostile to CSKN citizens' rights and CSKN sovereignty.

While some animal populations might have increased, a few wild plants that once served as staples for Salish people are now challenging to locate. People shared that they visited places they went to with their families for decades to dig bitterroot and camas but only found plowed or paved-over areas. Massive development in some of these areas leaves these once dependable places unproductive.

6.3.7 Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation Land Management Protections

The following map displays CSKN conservation areas to ensure animals such as elk and big sheep populations increase and can provide food for Salish and Kootenai people. They also restrict another area part of the year to protect the grizzly bear population. In the 2022, CSKN has increased the recreation and fishing fees for non-CSKN people and wholly restricted them from a few new areas to lessen the pressure on the landscape (McLaughlin 2022). The CSKN government ensured that when highway crews reconstructed sections of highway 93, new tunnels, bridges, and fencing also installed to protect wildlife crossing the busy roadway. The map demonstrates CSKN government's commitment to protecting local flora and fauna.

Confederated Salish & Kootenai Nation Wildlife & Conservation Management Areas

Map modified from CSKN Division of Fire Recreation & Conservation Department

for readability. The map key is enlarged and on the next page.

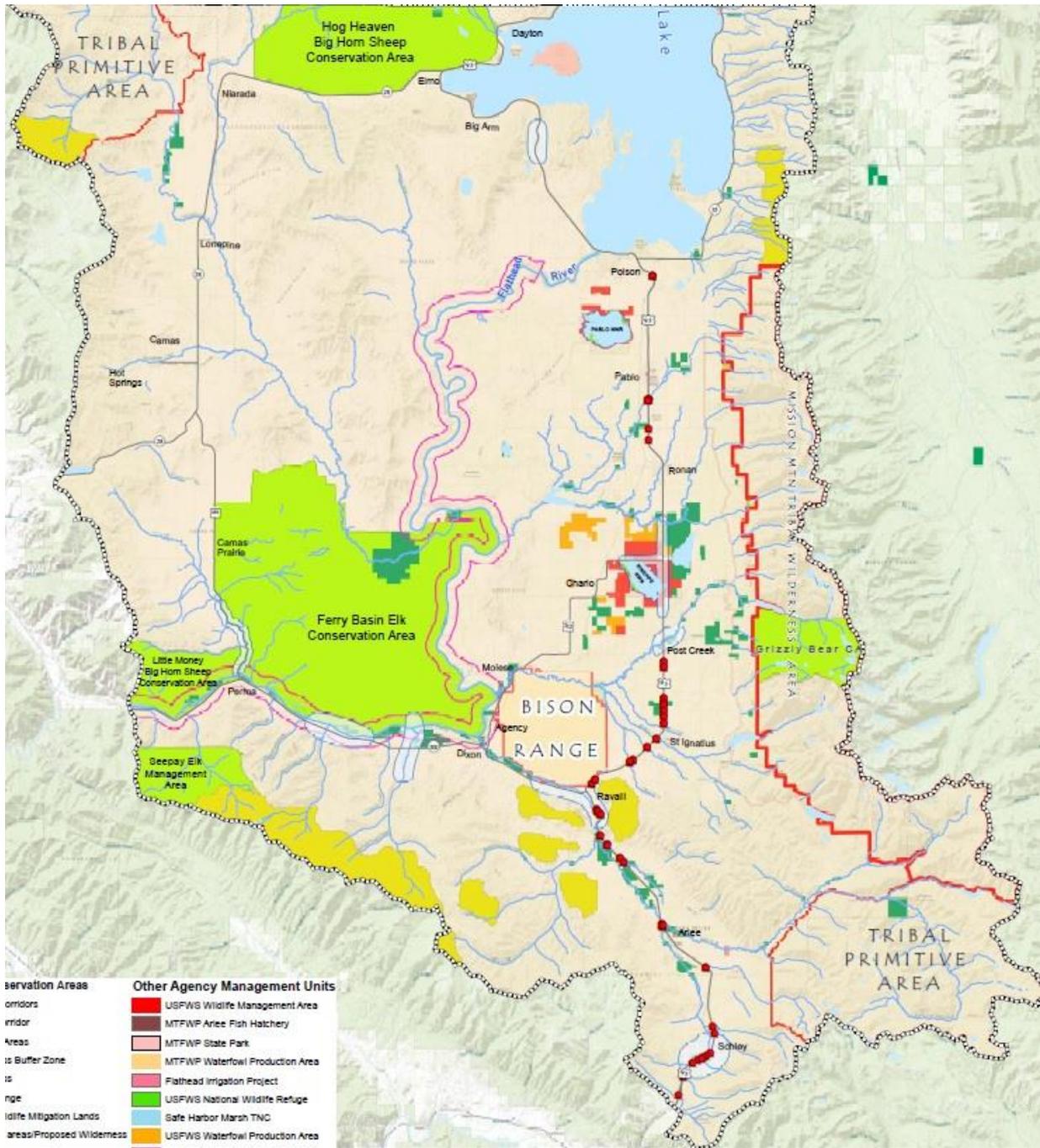


Figure 6. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation Wildlife and Conservation Management, Map adapted.

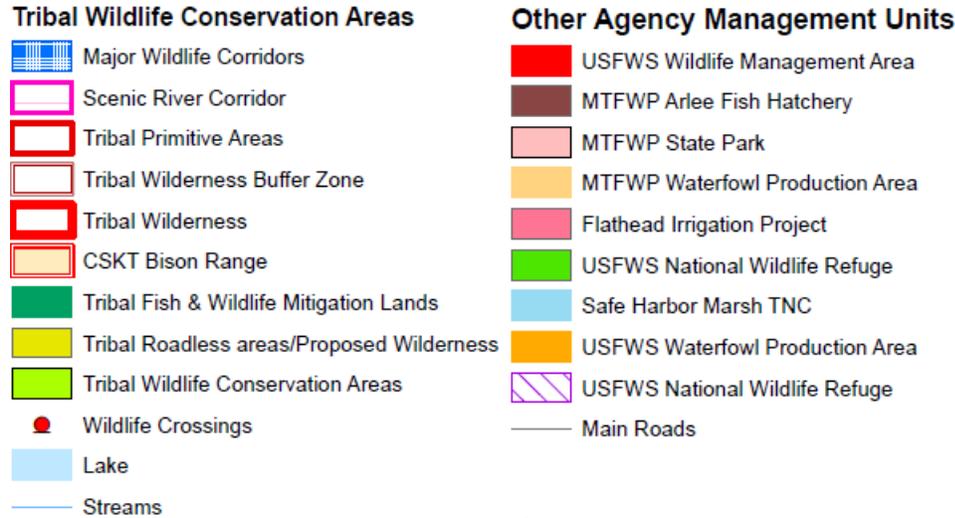


Figure 7. Confederated Salish & Kootenai Nation Wildlife and Conservation Management Areas Enlarged Map Key

6.3.8 Food Processing Infrastructure

News headlines mentioned meat shortage, sighting covid outbreaks in massive meat processing centers, and people turning to local small-scale meat processing shops. Within the CSKN, local shops hummed along, butchering domestic and wild animals for customers. One cattle producer mentioned that to get his cattle processed; he waited longer than usual due to an apparent uptick in demand for more local butchery. Despite an uptick within CSKN, five dedicated meat processing shops in five communities processed much local meat.

Another commercial-grade facility in the central town is capable of processing meat. This facility is 13,000 square feet, FDA registered, USDA inspected, certified organic, and licensed for retail and wholesale food production and storage (Mission Mountain Food Enterprise Center 2022). It contains meat processing equipment, including two smokers and a Vemag stuffer. Other machines include dry fill and mixing equipment for dry mixes, spices, and flour products, automated labeling and packaging equipment, harvest and wash stations that chop, dice, and pit fresh vegetables and fruits. This facility also provides small-batch cooking and large baking capacity with kettles and a convection oven. They have large steam kettles and a large commercial and retail kitchen. This place is also helping innovate and grow food and agriculture businesses through economic development and value-added agriculture in the region.

The Mission Mountain Food Enterprise Center helps "innovate and grow businesses that produce and commercialize food"(Mission Mountain Food Enterprise Center 2022). This center offers food product, market testing and development, food safety and regulatory compliance training, food labeling, packaging development, sourcing, processing for Farm-to-Cafeteria markets, food business assistance and co-op development, guidance on organic Certification, food science technical assistance, and grant writing assistance. While this facility sits within the CSKN, it is one of eight Montana Food and Agriculture Development Network centers. Having this much food processing space, equipment, and expertise in a small rural town is a significant asset that could serve to process much more local food.

Less than six miles away is another food processing facility, a development project the CSKN undertook in 2021 and expects to open in 2022. On the recently decommissioned Kicking Horse Job Corps Center Campus, the CSKN food sovereignty team contracted to upgrade the old

cafeteria to provide a commercial kitchen and expanded cold/dry storage (Observations 2022). This facility will serve as a place to prepare food, teach culinary skills, operate as a food storage hub, and distribution for the CSKN newly developing food program.

In addition to the new Job Corps food facility, the CSKN made upgrades to other facilities they own. These include smaller dining facilities that serve meals to older adults or for community feasts and funerals. In Arlee, a community center with a kitchen and another building provides older people with meals. Saint Ignatius has a community center, the Séliš-Qłispé Culture Committee, and a gym, all equipped to prep and serve meals. In Ronan, there is a small community center. In Pablo on Salish Kootenai College is the Joe McDonald Gym with a commercial kitchen and dining hall and another commercial kitchen in another part of this small college. In Polson is a CSKN owned small community center with food service capabilities. In Elmo sits the Kootenai Culture Committee, with a kitchen to serve large meals in the large hall. This town of about 150 has a CSKN community center and a kitchen. In Hot Springs is another small CSKN community center able to serve food. A few other community centers exist, but they primarily serve non-Salish and Kootenai people.

Another major food preparation infrastructure within the CSKN is the Head Start Program facilities. These preschools include kitchens, food storage, and dining spaces in Arlee, Saint Ignatius, Ronan, Pablo, Polson, Elmo, and Turtle Lake. The CSKN administers this federal program along with Two Eagle River middle and high school. Non-Salish and Kootenai people, primarily other public schools. Arlee, Saint Ignatius, Ronan, Polson, Charlo, and Hot Springs have K-12 programs. Pablo and Dixon have elementary schools. All these schools possess

kitchens and potentially can serve the community during times when schools are not in session. In Arlee, a CSKN-funded small Salish immersion school also has a kitchen.

The food processing and storage infrastructure within the CSKN could improve Salish people's diets by providing minimally processed, nutritionally rich food. Local food processing could also engage more people in producing their food and increase their culinary skills and nutritional awareness, leading to more healthful food patterns.

6.4 The 1,000-mile Hamburger and The 10,000-mile Steak

A sizable portion of the CSKN is grazing lands, where ranchers raise thousands of animals, which are primarily cattle. CSKN citizens raise about 4,971 cattle, and non-CSKN people raise about another 53,756 cattle within the CSKN (United States Department of Agriculture National Agricultural Statistics Service 2019). Most of these animals are sold at a stockyard just south of CSKN, then shipped to feedlots hundreds of miles away to fatten on grain, and sent to a meat processing plant. When a person living within the CSKN gets a hankering for a hamburger, this ground flesh makes at least a 1,000-mile trip.

In Polson, steaks labeled beef from Australia and other countries are ordinary at a supermarket chain. Some of this steak traveled approximately 10,000 miles for weeks on a ship before landing and making its way inland (Dan Charles 2013). More beef comes from South America, mainly from Brazil, where loggers and others destroy massive swaths of rainforest to eventually pasture cattle (McCoy and Ledur 2022). Chicken and pigs' meat also often comes from thousands of miles away. Agricultural producers grow these animals on an industrial scale, usually enclosed in warehouses in the midwestern and southern United States. Butchers kill and dismantle these animals in massive facilities, often with thousands of employees. Once fashioned

into various cuts and products, they are frozen and shipped to distribution centers, where they may sit briefly to make it into local stores (Hauter 2012).

While the CSKN nation sits five hundred miles from the nearest ocean, like beef, seafood travels thousands of miles from various places across the pacific. This seafood traces to Thailand, Alaska, and other regions where it is caught and processed, sometimes by enslaved people working on an industrial scale or family-owned and operated small boats (Fischman 2017). Much of it travels to the CSKN via ship and truck, while some fly smaller amounts to the inland markets.

Buying locally raised animals that did not travel incredible miles and make a round-trip or cross oceans is challenging to purchase and typically not found in local supermarkets. However, within the last couple of years, a butcher shop opened on the edge of Polson within the CSKN. This shop advertises it sells local "Montana" beef, but it is unclear if ranchers produced it within the CSKN or elsewhere. The upbringing of the animal is also opaque at this shop. A few small producers also sell directly to customers and share their animal-rearing practices. One local beef producer created aid programs that offer their customers a discount on meat if they agree to donate a portion of their purchase to a local food bank. While many cattle are born and raised locally, most leave the area, making a long journey for processing in a faraway plant. A highly globalized food system brings meat from all over the world to stores in the CSKN, and people are less likely to be able to buy locally-raised animals outside this industrial meat production system. This system has economic, environmental, and health costs, which impact many Salish people's livelihoods and well-being.

6.4.1 Monopolistic Consolidation, Specialization, and Food Commodities

A person may wonder how food products from all over the world get to the CSKN, and they would be surprised to learn that only a handful of companies ship supplies to grocery stores and restaurants in this region. The significant companies shipping most of the food are Sysco, Walmart, Spokane Produce, and Safeway (Observation 2022). Produce also tends to travel from a few places in the United States to the local area. The Salinas Valley in California produces the bulk of these goods during the warmer months. During the winter, the location of Yuma, Arizona, grows many crops, with upwards of 90% of all lettuce eaten in the U.S. originating from this small city that sits at the Arizona, California, and Mexico borders (Satran 2017; Mexico Cross Border Freight 2019).

Potatoes are another food sold in CSKN, with the bulk coming from Idaho and Washington (National Potato Council 2022). This staple arrangement is strange, considering much of the seed potatoes originate within the CSKN, and large trucks from Idaho and Washington frequent the CSKN in the spring to pick up seed potatoes. Despite cherries growing within CSKN around Flathead Lake, many fresh and frozen cherries arrive from California and Washington. In July, retailers sell cherries in stores and at stands around Flathead Lake and along the highways. Some are also flown via Calgary in Canada to markets in Europe and Asia. Agricultural producers within the CSKN export other goods, such as beef and wheat, into the U.S. national and global markets (Devlin 2010; United States Trade Representative 2021).

Companies consolidated growing, processing, shipping, and food selling in the past few decades (Hauter 2012; Lakhani et al. 2021.) Specialization and commodification of food also increased—all of this in the name of efficiency and maximizing profits. Large corporations integrated many sections of the food industry into their business models, such as trucking and

processing foods. Many foods are also commoditized, and monocropping massive amounts of land in one area is a common sight. The food industry has also greatly globalized. Seafood comes from Alaska and Thailand (Observations 2022; Fischman 2017). Beef from Brazil and Australia (Organization for Competitive Markets 2020; Observations 2022). Blueberries, cherries, and grapes from Chile. Avocados, tomatoes, cucumbers, and numerous other products from Mexico (Observations 2022). Products like wheat leave the CSKN with Montana's wheat for China (Sonora and Miranda-Freer 2019). Regions of the United States and the CSKN specialize in crops (Satran 2017). Seed potatoes from the CSKN travel to Washington and Idaho (Observations 2022), while cherries fly to Europe and Asian markets (Devlin 2010). Salish ranchers' beef trek more miles than many people travel to massive feedlots for finishing by eating copious amounts of grain to fatten before entering a meat processing plant (Interviews 2022).

Consolidation did create efficiency and maximize profits, but this has come at a cost, often to food workers and growers. In the CSKN, Salish ranchers experience consolidation with decreased cattle buyers and companies supplying agricultural inputs such as seed and fertilizer at higher prices (Interviews 2022; Azure 2019a). Meat packing plant consolidation garnered them more power, and they could pressure ranchers into selling their cattle for less. In return, these packing companies sell the meat at significantly higher prices. As one Salish rancher put it, "when I walk in the store, and I see the high price of hamburger, I know I got screwed when I sold my cattle. I can't even afford to buy the hamburger" (Interviews 2022). Becoming aware of the increasingly powerful meat-packing companies, the Montana Attorney General and several other state attorney generals requested the U.S. Department of Justice to initiate an antitrust investigation of these powerful companies (Schmitt 2020).

Increased monopoly and monopsony power squeeze Salish ranchers and simultaneously allow them to buy lettuce, tomatoes, and other produce in the local stores during the frigid winter months. Consolidation offers increased variety, but food travels further than ever. In a just-in-time supply system, shocks to the design created food shortages as blocked bottleneck conditions transpired in consolidated sectors of the food system. When a mega food plant must shut down or burns to the ground, as has occurred, this impacts millions of people. Numerous vegetables and fruit are widely available throughout the year. However, the most prevalent foods are highly processed, grain-based, sugar, and seed oil laden, which creates a less diverse diet when much fresh produce and meat are too expensive for many Salish people to eat.

6.4.2 The Local Food Market Diversified, But Not Many Salish Food Producers

On a March morning, the sun broke over the mountains and began to thaw the frozen valley floor. I filled my insulated cup with coffee, loaded my canine companion, drove about three miles north on Highway 93, turned left, and headed west a few miles more to meet a Salish person raising highland beef. I heard the rancher sold local beef directly to customers. When I arrived, the livestock person told me we had to wait a while longer for a local butcher with a mobile unit and a U.S. meat inspector to arrive. In the meantime, we chatted and sipped coffee. After a few minutes, the rancher decided to roll out hay for his cows, and I walked with the dog around the pasture, taking in the valley view to the south of me.

Once the butchers and the inspector arrived, the rancher had corralled an old cow and bull. As these two animals still chewed, the rancher shot both animals in the head, picked one up with his tractor bucket, and presented it to the bystanders for inspection and disassembly. The butchers hoisted the bull first with an electric pully on the back of their small pull trailer unit.

They then laid the bull's legs on a metal stand and held the animal off the ground. One prepped tool, and another gave the animal a hot shower with a power washing gun. Soon the animals laid open, organs removed with smells of innards and thawing cow manure filling the air. In addition to buying a hamburger made from these animals, the rancher gifted offal, a liver, a couple of hearts, kidneys, and tripe, quickly filled a 30-gallon orange bucket. The rancher asked me if I wanted more, but I declined, sighting I had limited space in my freezer. The rancher said, "Okay," and the butchers started loading the rest of the entrails into their mobile unit.

I loaded up my prizes, headed home to process them, and shared fresh liver with my four-legged friend. When I opened the stomach, I noticed the fresh grass and reflected on how quickly the animal died from one shot. Well-fed, oblivious, and quick, that is how I want my life to end, is what I pondered.

A few weeks later, I received a text message stating the rancher would deliver my purchase to my residents, and we set a time. Boxes of grass-fed local beef came to my front door; I paid via Venmo. Once I cooked the meat, I decided to buy more, but I drove to the rancher's house this time. I watched him open the lid of a white freezer about 8 or 10 feet long in his garage. Inside were just a few cuts of meat, and I noticed stacked chubs of frozen hamburgers. As the rancher loaded my cooler, the person mentioned this meat was from the two animals I watched him kill. As he loaded the boxes, he reminded me of the qualities of highland beef and raising them on pasture and hay only. He assured me this is good as local beef gets, and as I ate tacos that night, I concurred.

Purchasing locally grown and produced food is regaining traction in the CSKN. A diverse range of food and various ways to purchase them allow people to buy fruits, vegetables, meat, honey, eggs, seed, and more. In Polson, a cheese "factory" opened in 2009. This bright yellow,

two-story, copper-roofed, solar thermal crowned structure is a block off highway 93, sitting in a residential area. The owners converted an old house into cheese processing, storage, and storefront while the two owners and operators reside above their business. This business collects milk from pastured cows a few miles outside Polson and produces gouda, feta, mozzarella, and curds. They have a sliding window on the side of the building where customers retrieve orders. They also have a website displaying their products and offering to ship orders. This is one of the few locally produced, directly-to-customers in-person and online shopping experiences provided within the CSKN.

Numerous farmer markets also arose in the last decade selling local raw foods and baked. Five of the ten towns within the CSKN have farmers' markets operating on different days throughout the warmer seasons. One of these markets operates under a roofed structure with a concrete floor about 60 X 40 feet wide in a park area near a creek. Here people sell freshly baked bread, jams, fruit, and vegetables. One vendor brings corn for sale from his small plot about eight miles away. He offers potential customers the opportunity to help grind their corn meal purchase by jumping onto an old bicycle, fixed like a stationary bike with chains and other parts that make a grinder spin when a person pedals the bike.

Another option for buying is through the three local community-supported agriculture (CSA) operations within the southern half of CSKN. Individuals pay the agricultural producer before the growing season begins, and at various times (typically once a week), the customer picks up their share of the prepaid produce. One CSA has a storefront attached to the building where customers pick up their claims. When they get their share, they have options to select items on offer. Customers can also purchase additional items in the storefront. This CSA operation is the smallest of the three and only grows on a couple of acres peppers, herbs, and

other vegetables. The southernmost CSA grows vegetables on thirty acres, while the third one grows vegetables on a few acres and a small herd of cattle on its pasture. Three direct ranchers-to-customers locations are also operating. One is a Salish man selling by word of mouth, the other two have an online presence, where whole, half, or different quantities of beef sales occur, and the other sells packaged bison jerky in various flavors. The bison jerky company can process orders online and ship to a customer's door, with orders arriving within a day or two within CSKN.

Many local producers choose not to sell directly to customers but sell food to a cooperative consisting of food producers across the CSKN and some in the Bitterroot and Flathead Valleys in Western Montana. This cooperative provisions food for a CSA, regional restaurants, supermarkets, and local institutions. A small-scale egg producer within CSKN generally sells only in Missoula. However, two small independent stores within the CSKN carry their eggs.

Half a mile outside Saint Ignatius, one small, diversified farm sells products online. They offer honey, pork, beef, poultry, limited fruit, and vegetables. This few-acre operation is reminiscent of the image of the family farm with plants and animals raised together. Others within CSKN offer a few other items, such as one beef producer offering raspberries. More food producers also specialize and only offer vegetables, melons, or a few varieties of crops. Most are small operations ranging from one acre to no more than forty.

There is no doubt that plenty of locally grown foods are available during summer and fall. One can buy Rainer, Lamberts, Sweet Ruby, Kootenay Special, Sweethearts, and Lapin Amarelle cherries. They can purchase, Wealthy and Macintosh apples, raspberries, plums, blueberries, corn, Shishito pepper, lettuce, garlic, tomatoes, squash, lavender, dried wheat pasta,

carrots, herbs, goats, goat milk, lamb, dried herbs, grapes, preserves, locally roasted coffee, jerky, sausage, radishes, spaghetti squash, kale, green onions, potatoes, cabbage, leeks, cauliflower, beets, shallots, green peppers, bok choy, snap peas, strawberries, asparagus, pumpkins, basil, mint, peaches, blackberries, and blue honeysuckle berry. Value-added products include cheese, beer, preserves, jerky, wine, pies, sausages, organic tofu, Cherry wine vinegar, cherry and apple reductions, jams, jellies, dried and freeze-dried cherries, cherry chutney, apple butter, and cherry bar-b-que sauce.

While many local food producers source their seeds from two growers in the CSKN and others in the region, one small business in Ronan sells seeds from various sources from stocks of plants that grew well in the region and other northern latitudes. Their "coop members are committed to improving and adapting open-pollinated, locally resilient seeds crops using organic practices" (Triple Divide Organic Seeds Cooperative 2022) part because they "believe that in order to build a secure local and regional food and farm system, we need to return ownership of seed to our farmers and gardeners" (Triple Divide Organic Seeds Cooperative 2022). This business sources its seeds from local growers in the CSKN and others in the region, creating a cycle with local growers to produce seeds suited for the local area.

This company's seed catalog is expansive. It includes herbs, vegetables, and flower seeds. Specific herbs are Culinary Yellow-White mustard, Epazote herb, Giant of Italy purslane, Slo-bolt cilantro, Stridolo sculpit/bladder campion, chives, dill, Moss Curled parsley, Tulsi basil. Vegetables are three types of arugula, six types of dry beans, two fava beans, a soybean, three types of beets, a broccoli variety, six types of carrots, six varieties of corn, four cucumbers, two eggplants, one gourd, three types of Asian greens, five mustard greens, six specialty greens, three

kales, one leek, three melons, six onions, one parsnip, one pea, six hot peppers, five sweet peppers, six radishes, three shallots, two spinach, two zucchini, one summer squash, five swiss chard, two tomatillos, six determinate and six indeterminate tomatoes, three watermelons, and six winter squashes. They also have opopepo amaranth, nigella, two sunflowers, lavender, and Blue Bachelor Button edible cornflower.

Recent assessments and observations of the CSKN food system demonstrate a diverse number of crops and operations, from small one-acre plots to several thousand-acre operations making millions of dollars. The diversity of local food grown and produced is distinct from the commodity crops of seed oil, grain crops, and livestock leaving the area. Much of this local food are small-scale operations.

Despite all this locally produced food in the CSKN, Salish people and Kootenai people, for that matter, are little less than 9 percent involved in the agriculture business (Agriculture National Agricultural Statistics Service 2019). In comparison, Salish and Kootenai are about 25 percent of the population, while the CSKN is the majority landowner. At first glance, these numbers may not seem that troubling given the notion that Salish people are not known as agriculturists. However, from another vantage point, it is peculiar that Salish people find themselves underrepresented in agriculture within the CSKN.

Just over a hundred years ago, Salish people were ranching, putting up crops, and tending gardens as strategies in their changing political and economic landscape (Bigart 2020). Historical accounts suggest that by 1904 CSKN people cultivated approximately twenty-eight thousand acres" (Trospen 1974). These people also maintained large cattle, bison, and horse herds, totaling thousands (Bigart 2020). They shipped these animals to market in Chicago and sold bison meat

in Missoula during the winter holiday season (Bigart 2020). Governments across oceans also purchased their horses for wars (Bigart 2020). Furthermore, almost all Salish people involved themselves in food procurement before much contact with Europeans and the United States. What are the dynamics shaping the current underrepresentation? Some tried arguing that Salish did not take to agriculture, but history and archeology clearly show deep involvement in food production for eons.

Beyond the apparent taking of Salish land, other forces shaped their underrepresentation in participating in their local food system. These additional forces are U.S. past and current policies, political, economic, and social dynamics between U.S. people that Salish people in numerous spheres from the international to the local level. About a hundred years ago, local CSKN people dismantled their vast bison enterprise under pressure due to the U.S. land allotment policy intended to take Salish and Kootenai lands (Bigart 2020). Also, through illegal taxation, forced land sales, and removal of animals, CSKN people's livestock tallied to "less than one third" in little over a decade after the U.S. taking of CSKN land (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 1992). A substantial influx of settlers flooded into the CSKN with the U.S. government land seizures from the CSKN people. When settlers moved in, they pressed once common grazing lands into crop production, further alienating CSKN from utilizing their land for agriculture at the same time running their large herds across CSKN lands (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 1992). By the 1930s, colonists roamed large herds within the CSKN (Bigart 2020).

Others argued that Salish people need more expertise to participate in the food system. While a few Salish may lack some knowledge and information, other studies suggest politics and social connection are prevalent factors in Salish underrepresentation in agriculture, especially as

owners rather than workers (United States Government Accountability Office 2019; Singletary et al. 2016). The Keepseagle settlement is one tangible example, which is the result of the United States Department of Agriculture blocking Native American farmers from receiving farm loans and other assistance through the USDA. Several articles about the Keepseagle case ran in the local CSKN newsletter explaining how to file a claim. Some Salish ranchers expressed difficulty accessing capital to maintain or expand their business and did apply for relief through the settlement. Others working within the CSKN government also mentioned that accessing capital for business operations and expansion is a common challenge for many CSKN citizens.

Educational attainment is not enough, and discrimination against Native Americans is still rampant, impacting employment and income levels (Robertson 2013 and 2015). The National Public Radio, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health conducted research and released a series of reports. One focused on Native American discrimination, and some focused on the workplace. This report (2017) indicated that potential employers often discriminate against Native Americans when they seek employment, paid equality, or promotion consideration. Furthermore, researchers note "[e]ven with higher education, we see lower wages for AI/AN workers than for many peers entering the job market with similar levels of training/education (Empy et al. 2021, 136).

Morgan Stanley led in-group research and "went directly to the gatekeepers of capital to learn their perspectives" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 3). Their survey showed an apparent disconnect between how investors perceive their investments in the business owned by women and people of color and how much they "actually invest." They stated, "[o]ur data highlighted other key behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs that persist among investors and bank loan officers. Importantly, it's not academics or politicians talking about these issues — investors are saying this about

themselves" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 9). The report detailed that "investors are nearly three times more likely to review male-led business opportunities "very frequently," even though male-led businesses are only 1.5 times as common as women-owned businesses" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 4). While "investors are twice as likely to review non-minority businesses than minority businesses" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 4). A few of the reasons included "[i]nvestors judge women and multicultural entrepreneurs by different standards" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 5) and "[i]nvestors perceive businesses owned by women and people of color as riskier" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 5). The report also revealed that "[m]ost investors not only rely on, but sometimes require, referrals from their networks — which tend to be people just like them. This leaves many women and minorities on the outside looking in" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 10). This research suggests a "missed opportunity of up to \$4.4. trillion" (Morgan Stanley 2018, 6) in 2012 to invest in women and minority-owned businesses.

Similar social dynamics are at play with Salish in which many do not have social ties to bankers, seed companies, and other businesses connected to agriculture. The local Euro-American populations are highly interlinked, producing and reproducing the social economics shaping local agriculture within the CSKN. Also, many Euro-Americans expressively resent the CSKN for asserting control over resources belonging to the Salish and Kootenai peoples that subsidized Euro-American farmers and ranchers for decades (Knox 1993). The Keepseagle settlement occurred in 2010, and 12 years later, Native Americans still face social and structural barriers impeding their fuller participation in agriculture in their remaining homelands.

In 1964, U.S. government data listed 167 "nonwhite" people as farm operators within Lake County, which lies almost entirely within the CSKN (United States Department of Agriculture National Agricultural Statistics Service 1964). Fifty-five years later, the agricultural

data census shows 171 farms with “American Indian/ Alaska Native” people listed as producers (United States Department of Agriculture National Agricultural Statistics Service 2019).

Although the classifications differ, they reflect the same population, which is almost entirely Salish and Kootenai agriculturalists. When observing the burgeoning local food market, only a handful of people out of the several dozen businesses are CSKN-connected. One of these individuals just opened a small meat processing center with government assistance that employs less than ten people. Change is coming but extremely slow and on a tiny scale.

Despite the federal government providing seed stock to CSKN people in the 1940s to enter the livestock business (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021c), the reproduction of a social order continues in which Salish and Kootenai people are a small number of food producers. Current CSKN range units allow for about seven thousand head of cattle (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021c). The CSKN manages approximately 400,000 acres for livestock or cultivation. According to figures from the 1980s, one hundred thirty-four CSKN citizens and sixty-six non-CSKN operators leased this land. Tracts range from less than ten to more than three thousand acres, with about 80 percent for grazing and 20 percent for crops. Based on a CSKN report chart, non-CSKN people leased roughly 40,000 acres for agriculture.

In addition to utilizing CSKN land leases, settlers also draw water originating, stored, and flowing in channels on CSKN lands through the Flathead Agency Irrigation Division (Voggesser 2001). A system built mainly in the 1930s promulgated by outsiders as economic development for the CSKN and individual CSKN citizens. Not by accident, it now serves non-CSKN people primarily. Non-CSKN people still lease thousands of CSKN land, while the BIA-managed

Flathead Agency Irrigation Division provides water to these people at subsidized rates.

Currently, CSKN agricultural people are more likely to be farm workers than farm owners.

These social arrangements combine a continued lack of access to capital, the legacy of land dispossession, and the continued exploitation of CSKN resources. Personal inclination to produce food may be an element impacting Salish people's participation in food production, but long-standing factors alienating Salish appear to dog participating in this production today.

When looking at census data about agricultural characteristics of the CSKN, selection consisted of U.S. census data on Lake County within Montana because, with the continued political subjugation of the CSKN, much of Lake County overlaps the CSKN. Although ascertaining Salish-specific data proved unsuccessful, it is safe to assume that the "nonwhites" and the latter "Native Americans" categories in this data are likely Salish or Kootenai people. Furthermore, since Salish people are roughly 90 percent of the Native American population of the CSKN, a person can extrapolate characterizations about Salish in the agricultural realm within the CSKN.

Based on the census data, for approximately the last half century, not many Native Americans engaged in the agricultural sector as farm owners. They may have been laborers, but they reportedly did not own many agricultural operations (United States Department of Agriculture National Agricultural Statistics Service 1964 and 2019). A numeric increase of eleven is minuscule growth for Native Americans in agriculture and a tiny percentage of the CSKN population living within its boundaries. Native Americans in this county are underrepresented agriculture operators. Similarly, it is safe to assert that Salish and Kootenai endure underrepresentation in this sector.

On a summer day, I rounded up one of my nephews and two of my cousins, who were about 12 years old. I promised them to swim in Flathead Lake, and I wanted to start our journey with a trip to a local U-pick near the lake for cherries. I turned my newer, well-maintained Honda accord into a parking area, and an older woman came down from the immaculate porch of her large home. She opened the gate to her yard and met us where a small sign read "U-pick this way" with an arrow pointing toward the 60ish woman. I greeted her and asked, "How much to pick a couple of gallons with my young relatives here? She replied, "We are not hiring today." Confused, I asked her if she had a U-pick orchard. She said, "Yes, but we are not hiring today." Thinking maybe I did not understand the U-pick protocol and vernacular, I asked, "I pay you to pick cherries, is that correct?" she repeated, "We are not hiring today." Confused and increasingly frustrated, I began to explain overly. "I thought the signage indicated a U-pick is located here, and I am willing to pay to pick some cherries with my young relatives before we go swimming at the lake." She again states, "We are not hiring today." Exasperated and starting to become angry, I told my young relatives we would buy cherries at the store. As we drove away, I stewed and realized this woman probably thought we were migrant workers looking for a job instead of the local Salish people.

Later, I decided to take my daughter and three grandchildren to a different U-pick on Flathead Lake with the CSKN. This one sat out on Finley Point, an area with multimillion-dollar homes, many of them empty most of the year, with orchards intermixed. The all-organic orchard we visited had arched rod iron and wooden gates taller than most humans. They were about fifteen feet across and attached to square columns with flat stonework. Even next to the massive pine trees, this entrance was grand. The owner/operator graciously explained the process, and we

went to work picking and sampling the varieties. Soon we had pounds, stained fingers, and dark red lips. This experience contrasted with my previous U-pick, but a constant existed.

While this younger person had a great attitude and treated us respectfully, this experience reminded me of the local social and economic arrangements. This non-Salish woman had acquired costly land within the CSKN, and many Salish people are still not part of the local food production business. About fifteen miles from this spot, about a thousand migrant laborers live in camps and pick local fruit instead of Salish and Kootenai people. Only a couple of generations ago, many Salish people continued working on their land for someone else. But this changed, driven partly by economic arrangements, in which cheaper, less demanding labor travel to the CSKN. Migrant workers also started working on local ranches, again lands where Salish once tended their own cattle. Today, many Salish and Kootenai are alienated from large tracks of their land and no longer work on them for themselves or settlers.

Given the historical context, almost all Salish people participated in food procurement and adapted new food sources as political arrangements changed. They took to planting gardens, growing grains, and raising cows, bison, and other animals. Although much food is grown and produced within the CSKN, only a few Salish people work in food production, and few own many food businesses either growing, manufacturing, or cooking food. One might think this is due to personal work disposition. However, it is the dispossession of land and alienation from growing food challenges entering and maintaining a position in the local food system businesses. Running parallel to these local market dynamics are the Salish people's efforts to invigorate their traditional foods and some non-market food growing activities.

6.4.3 Salish People Invigorating Local Foods

In the early morning brisk air, Salish people of all ages began to prepare for the tasks ahead. Some with a dip in the nearby 200-foot-wide river and words of good intentions, others with preparing food. By midday, some groups returned with dispatched deer or elk. The next part of this process entailed transforming these animals into food for the community. Later that evening, around a fire, young hunters stand and recount their early deeds, receiving praise for their work. This affair became a familiar scene at the annual Salish hunting camp along the lower Flathead River within the CSKN.

The Salish Institute organized this annual gathering about a decade ago to help bring generations together to share hunting knowledge to ensure hunters honed their skills while learning Salish hunting and food ethics. Organizers of this camp believed too many younger Salish people felt alienated from the long-standing Salish hunting tradition. The camp also provided a venue to connect a wider swath of Salish people to foster community and Salish foodways. The Salish Institute "believes that through education both traditional and contemporary, that people can learn the skills, history and values that are needed to survive in a modern world" (Salish Institute 2022).

Like this camp, most Salish events are a mixture of traditional and contemporary. Therefore, traditional foods, like elk and deer meat, are undoubtedly enjoyed fresh, and some of it dried over a fire. Other foods acquired at a grocery store also pair with the hunted animals. Salish people also store plenty of local wild meat in modern freezers.

The annual Salish bitterroot feast is similar, but instead, bitterroot is collectively dug by community members and then concludes with a feast at the Salish longhouse. Like years before, organizers serve the bitterroot soup with serviceberries, but other foods, such as roasted deer,

also grace the table. Other items include potatoes, coffee, desserts, lettuce salad, ketchup, store-bought salad dressings, macaroni salad, fried bread, and butter. Cooks prepare a similar spread for the Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee annual camp, elder meetings, and Jump dances.

However, bitterroot is usually less prominent at the organization's other events.

In the last decade, Salish people planted community gardens in four communities with pumpkins, squashes, tomatoes, and other vegetables. Growers give the produce to older people first and use it at community dinners. Salish people plan to expand these gardens in size, variety, and plant local berries like serviceberries. Soon one of the local schools with higher numbers of Salish youth may also participate in these garden efforts (Interviews 2022 and Observations 2022).

The CSKN government launched an initiative in January 2020 to improve local food storage and production capacity. A food committee provided food to people in need in the last couple of years. They are looking to form a food-focused department to continue expanding and coordinating local food production, storage, and distribution for the Salish and Kootenai communities. The CSKN government also supported the increase of local animals and plants by creating an Elk reserve, permitted hunting of certain species with limits, made a wilderness area, set prescribed burns in areas, restored streams, transplanted plant and animal species, grew local plants in greenhouses, and much more. A prominent function of the CSKN government is restoring and protecting the local landscape and wildlife.

A few individuals and small groups of Salish people planted small gardens in backyards and organized small hunting and gathering events to procure food while sharing this knowledge with younger people. A few avid gardeners invite other people to gather bumper crops of food from their space. A couple of Salish people shared that they make a concerted effort to teach

their younger family members about picking, digging, and hunting because they also realized that some young people seemed disconnected from the land and Salish food traditions. Other individuals also planted serviceberry bushes near their homes to make collecting more accessible, and some people have spread wild camas seeds in areas where they thought they would grow. These mavericks surprisingly produced small patches closer to people's homes. These are a few non-market food activities Salish engage in, and Salish people continue to collect and hunt traditional foods. However, the variety and the amounts are less than what the Salish people of the past procured. They also gather introduced foods from old orchards but are less inclined to hunt and fish introduced animals, such as wild turkeys and lake trout.

CHAPTER 7

Structural Violence, Resistance within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation, Conclusions and Future Directions

7.1 Structural Violence, Past and Present, Continues to Shape the Present and Future

Structural violence, past and present, continues to shape the present and the future of Salish peoples. Dispossessing Salish people of their lands through U.S. homesteading laws in the early 1900s created checkerboarded landownership creating a significant divide between Salish and settlers. United States laws and their relationship with the CSKN create a jurisdictional nightmare, limiting CSKN sovereignty. The state of Montana, city, and county infringements and legal challenges further erode Salish sovereignty. This political quagmire is grounded in white supremacy ideology, U.S. colonization, and economic hegemony. The white supremacy ideology originates with edicts from popes and contorted U.S. court decisions, namely, the Marshall trilogy and numerous other cases. U.S. body of laws asserts that when a non-Native American person owns land within the CSKN, the CSKN has little to no jurisdiction over the person. This political construct is unusual when looking at other nations, but the widespread practice of ongoing settler colonizer dynamics in the CSKN factor into local political and economic arrangements. Settlers take these constructs as normal and continuously defend them. However, the State of Montana does not concede jurisdiction to Washington State when people from Washington visit Montana. U.S. authorities would laugh at Canadian citizens if they claimed that the U.S. had no jurisdiction over them when they were within the U.S. Yet many Montana and U.S. citizens continuously claim that CSKN should not have any jurisdiction over them, and U.S. federal law or Montana law should follow them into the CSKN. Granted, the CSKN is small, but several European sovereign states have smaller land masses than the CSKN.

Currently, the CSKN cannot criminally prosecute U.S. settlers that commit crimes within the CSKN. The CSKN has limited regulatory authority and cannot implement essential government functions such as taxing property owners or businesses. The U.S. Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which forces the CSKN to confer with Montana State about gambling within CSKN borders (Akee, Spilde, and Tayler 2015). When Montana tried to extort CSKN for a more sizable portion of the gaming profits from within the CSKN, a gaming compact failed and now hampers the CSKN gaming industry. The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs operates the vast Flathead Irrigation project, which is almost entirely on CSKN-owned lands (Bureau of Indian Affairs 2022; Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2022). CSKN money held by the federal government helped pay for the construction of this project (Bigart 2020). This same project also ensures that non-Salish irrigators receive subsidies through reduced user fees. Some of these same agriculturists can also lease cheaply CSKN agriculture tracks, estimated to be about 10 percent of roughly 400,000 acres currently (Interviews 2022). The BIA also oversees CSKN citizens' land title transfers and holds their CSKN citizens' money in trust accounts (United States Department of the Interior 2022). Due to these constraints, many Salish people had land purchases stalled because the paperwork is sitting in a BIA office elsewhere (Interviews 2022). One Salish person shared that they struck a land purchase with another Salish person. They are still waiting over two years for paperwork to come back from the BIA, allowing the purchaser to take ownership and begin growing food on this land. The U.S. government holds CSKN land in trust (United States Department of the Interior 2022), which means the CSKN has a restrained input in managing their land. The State of Montana still retains tracks of land (36,808 acres) within the CSKN taken from the Salish and Kootenai people through the 1889 Montana Enabling Act, the 1904 Flathead Allotment Act, and the 1920 Mineral

Leasing Act (Montana Department of Natural Resources & Conservation 2022). The state of Montana also receives taxes collected in the CSKN (Fehrs 2014b). If Montana state representatives have their way, they will expand this taxation on Salish and Kootenai people and the CSKN government. In the last Montana State legislative session, a local state representative introduced a bill to take more revenue from the CSKN (Kunze 2021). However, the bill did not become state law, but it is similar to another bill introduced in 2019, and policy analysts suspect an attempt by Montana State to extract more wealth out of the CSKN will continue.

Montana attempts to continue to tax the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation is an extra perplexing example of structural violence inflicted upon the CSKN. The bill introduced in 2021 in the Montana State legislature intended to repeal a 2011 Montana law that allows a five-year tax grace period on land CSKN purchased and is waiting for transfer into U.S. federal trust status. The U.S. government's process of putting CSKN land into trust compounds the problem because it is prolonged and takes more than five years. Jordan Thompson, CSKN attorney, stated that this process is "often prolonged" due to "one county...object[ing] to every application" the CSKN submits to the U.S. federal government (Kunze 2021). Therefore, Montana legislators want to continue to collect taxes from the CSKN, which the state may also seek back taxes. CSKN Chairwoman Shelly Fyant testified to the Montana State Legislator on the matter and asserted Indigenous nations "shouldn't pay taxes on land they had to buy back from the federal government after it violated treaties" and later "sold off parcels" of remaining reserved land to "non-Native American settlers" (Kunze 2021). Proposing one government tax another government is highly unusual and oppressive. This tax matter is some of the evident collusion between a state legislator (that resides in the CSKN) and county elected officials (residing within

the CSKN), along with the apathy of the federal government that continues to undermine the CSKN.

Another local state representative also proposed taking CSKN people's big game animals, allowing Non-Salish and Kootenai people to hunt within the CSKN. In a Montana state hearing with not a hint of irony, the state legislator claimed, "[i]t's truly just a private property ownership bill, and in no way, shape or form was it meant to infringe on tribal property, to usurp the rules and regulations that the tribe has over their lands" (Azure 2021). He also stated "[I]andowners should have that right to harvest game on their own private property" (Azure 2021). This proposed bill is one of the latest attempts to impede CSKN management of the game within its boundaries. Other tactics to deprive Salish and Kootenai people of game have been numerous lawsuits resulting in a litany of court decisions and currently an agreement between CSKN and Montana State retaining big hunting for CSKN. At the same time, non-CSKN citizens are allowed to hunt game birds within the CSKN (Wheeler 2006). These proposals would expand upon existing encroachments that currently ensure non-CSKN people can hunt birds and fish within the CSKN while some taxes are collected. Other "non-taxes" make their way into non-CSKN coffers by employing payment in lieu of tax agreements. These so-called "agreements" are deals between the CSKN and other political entities in which the CSKN agrees to pay specific amounts of money for certain periods.

The USDA Food Distribution program also promulgates violence by dumping highly processed foods with elevated sugar levels, carbohydrates, and industrial seed oil onto economically precarious populations. Salish people cannot access standard home loans because banks will not mortgage homes on land held in trust. Therefore, they must seek particular loans. They also cannot get standard home insurance, creating more harm.

Another form of structural violence harming Salish people is the numerous jobs offered within the CSKN nation that are below a living wage (Glasmier 2022). A survey of jobs posted in the spring/summer months of 2022 revealed that entities continue to post positions with salaries below a living wage threshold for the area. One resort's job posts overwhelmingly fell below this level (Observations 2022). A position offered only cents over nine dollars per hour in a town where the least expensive rental identified was a tiny, unfurnished studio, about twenty feet from a busy highway, for \$850 monthly, with mandatory renter's insurance. All other places available are \$1,200 or more (Observations 2022). Using a Massachusetts Institute of Technology online living wage calculator, the living wage for this area at the time was \$16.32 an hour for a single person with no children (Glasmier 2022). In addition to many non-living wage jobs, many entities offered part-time and seasonal jobs, contributing to underemployment (Observations 2022).

Literal structures in the form of dams devastated fisheries that Salish people accessed for countless generations. In the 1950s, in only eight years, four dams drastically altered the fish habitat and flow of fish in the watershed in and adjacent to the CSKN (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e, chap. 5). Engineers placed Hungry Horse Dam on the South Fork of the Flathead River that feeds into Flathead Lake. The waters of this tall dam submerged fifty miles of stream where bull trout and other fish lived, and Salish people frequently fished. Another dam, Cabinet Gorge Dam, east of the Idaho-Montana border on the lower Clark Fork River, also blocked fish flows. This harm is not speculative but rather based on observations by biologists witnessing migrating bull trout collecting at the dam's base, trying to return to spawning sites. Albeni Falls Dam on the Pend Oreille River went in 1951 and "manipulates water levels for the entire 111-mile shoreline of Lake Pend Oreille, the largest lake in northern Idaho. Over the

course of a year, the dam raises and lowers the lake by eleven feet, with the same harmful consequences for fish, spawning beds, and the aquatic environment that Kerr Dam has had on Flathead Lake" (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e, chap. 5). Workers completed the fourth dam, Noxon Dam, in 1950 on the Clark Fork River near Noxon, Montana.

In addition to creating another obstruction for migrating fish, this dam formed an inhospitable environment for fish species needing cool water. Temperature readings of the water at this site have recordings of "summertime surface temperatures [that] averaged 72 degrees Fahrenheit" and "occasionally rising to over 75 degrees Fahrenheit" (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e, chap. 5) .

Five other dams built before the 1950s also harmed fish populations and left a legacy. These dams are the Bonner Dam (1884), Bigfork Dam (1902), Milltown Dam (1905), the Thompson Falls Dam (1915), and Kerr Dam, completed in 1938. The Thompson Falls Dam is thirty-seven miles downriver from the western edge of the CSKN, and Salish "elders who were old enough to have witnessed its impact" (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e, chap. 5) relayed extensively about the detriment to bull trout. Sq̓eyłk̓m is the Salish name of the site where settlers placed this dam. The 32-foot tall dam blocked bull trout access to "the Flathead River system and the many spawning tributaries" (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e, chap. 5) within CSKN. Salish people took notice of this drastic change, and as Salish person, Joe Eneas observed, "[t]he trout can't come any more on account of Thompson Falls dam." CSKN citizen Charlie McDonald also recalled "great numbers of bull trout in Post Creek and in the Jocko near Ravalli," both streams in the CSKN, and when they "stopped being so plentiful after the Thompson Falls dam was put in" (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2021e, chap. 5).

7.2 Taking of Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation's Lands

The taking of Salish land within and outside the boundaries of the CSKN occurred well over a hundred years, multiple times, and through numerous schemes. The 1855 treaty effectively reduced Salish and Kootenai land holdings and established a demarcated area reserved for Salish and Kootenai people. In 1889, the United States Congress charged General Henry B. Carrington with removing Salish people from their lands in the Bitterroot Valley in Western Montana and had the U.S. military march them North (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2022). In 1904, U.S. Congress passed another act to transfer Salish and Kootenai's reserved lands to settlers "for less than its fair market value, which "reduced the assets and future income of Salish and Kootenai people within the CSKN. According to the U.S. Court of Claims, they "received only 24 percent of the value of the land" (Bigart 2020, afterward). Using the 1904 Act, the U.S. government gave settlers another 1,757.09 acres of CSKN land for "various public, charitable, and other purposes" (Bigart 2020, afterward). The U.S. government also granted 60,843.04 acres to Montana for schools "at a statutory price of \$1.25 per acre" (Bigart 2020, afterward) and grabbed another 18,523.85 acres for a "permanent national bison range" (Bigart 2020, afterward). Soon after giving land to settlers, the U.S. government forced land patents on CSKN citizens, and through a series of schemes, many settlers seized these lands (Bigart 2020, chap. 6). When Salish people retained title to lands, the U.S. government agents overseeing the Salish and Kootenai peoples "conducted sales of inherited land, which discouraged families from keeping land within the family" (Bigart 2020, afterward).

In addition to taking land for individual settlers, the U.S. government transferred land to private U.S.-based companies. The U.S. federal government transferred to a private railroad

company a swath of land for putting in railways (Bigart 2020, chap 2). When the U.S. government sent Joseph McCammon, United States assistant attorney general, to broker a right-of-way, he met stiff opposition from both Kootenai and Salish leaders and delegates. When conversing with McCammon, Salish leader Arlee argued, "You seem to like your money, and we like our country; it is like our parents" (Bigart 2020, chap. 2). Kootenai leader Eneas also rebuffed that reserved lands were "a small country; it is valuable to us; we support ourselves by it; there is no end to these lands supporting us; they will do it for generations" (Bigart 2020, chap. 2). Despite Salish and Kootenai protests, U.S. congress granted Northern Pacific Railway Company the land in 1865 with full right and title to 1,500 acres with a 200-foot wide swath on each side of the line. Protests continued through construction because the company destroyed many Salish people's gardens, grazing, and sometimes homes. Complaints persisted after the railway completion because the Salish people also lost animals to the trains (Bigart 2020, chap. 2).

While the Hellgate Treaty described the Southwestern boundary of lands reserved by Salish and Kootenai people for themselves, when the U.S. surveyed the line, they stopped miles short of the place the document described (Knowles 1973). The CSKN aired a grievance about this miscalculation because an estimated 12,000 to 93,000 acres entered limbo. While the Salish people tried to resolve this issue, U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt placed 10,586 acres of this land into the Lolo National Forest. In the late 1940s, the CSKN people had their day and court in 1965, a U.S. court acknowledged that the early survey excluded lands and offered the plaintiffs a cash settlement for only 11,900 acres. The CSKN refused this payment because they wanted the land back, but in 1971, "the court ordered" the CSKN to accept a cash settlement of \$550,000 for the land (Knowles 1973, 7).

Another border dispute on the northern boundary of the reserved lands ensued. The CSKN community presented concerns to U.S. government officials about the understanding that the northern border should have extended to the Canadian line another eighty miles north. They pleaded and sent letters, but this complaint never resolved in favor of the CSKN. Another northern boundary dispute ensued after the first rejection, but this time about a second northern boundary line.

In this second case, the U.S. Court of Claims decided the official boundary was further north but did not restore it. This new second line "made it harder to keep white-owned cattle off the reservation and also cut off hay and pasture lands used for years" (Bigart 2020, appendix A) by CSKN citizens. Resolving the second northern boundary issue was supposed to solve land disputes, but they continued due to aggressive settlers. For example, Eugene McCarthy, "who had worked on the erroneous boundary survey" (Bigart 2020, appendix A) tried to claim the land of Jean Graw, a CSKN citizen. Jean lived on his land for twelve years prior and had a house, barn, and fenced field. In another case, Clarence Proctor built a fence around a CSKN person's farm and asserted a claim to the land by enclosing it. CSKN people made pleas to the U.S. government officials explaining that the CSKN citizen had ownership due to years of occupation and U.S. government-issued land allotments to CSKN citizens. No help came from the U.S. government. Encroachment by settlers continued for years, and eventually, the federal government pressured the CSKN citizens "to relinquish their claims in return for small payment from the white trespassers" (Bigart 2020, appendix A).

The U.S. government took much more land from CSKN citizens and transferred it to the Missoula school district, the towns of Ronan, Polson, and Lake County, a prominent Missoula mercantile owner, Beckwith, the catholic church, and an irrigation project (United States

Congress 1904; B. Smith 1979). The University of Montana gained Flathead Lake property known as Yellow Bay (University of Montana 1964). Along with these takings, the U.S. government confiscated a couple of thousand other allotments and gave them to individual settlers. All these takings amounted to thousands of acres, with the State of Montana possessing the most, which is at least nearly 37,000 acres (Montana Department of Natural Resources & Conservation 2022)

This land taking created harm by depriving CSKN people of the means to provide materially for themselves. These takings are the result of structures of U.S. law and domination. These various landholdings literally structure the built environment and confine CSKN economic development. This current social arrangement creates a CSKN sovereignty entanglement that constantly needs careful consideration when making decisions about managing wildlife, water, and land. While these takings of land occurred over 180 years, some land disputes were within the lives of CSKN people still alive today. As Eneas and Arlee articulated and knew the value of land, as do many other CSKN leaders. The CSKN government continues to prioritize land by paying for lands taken from them. They purchase this land, knowing the constraints of not reacquiring these lands as they constantly confront challenges to governing and fostering economic development. Taking of CSKN people's land and limited sovereignty stymies their economic potential, which is why settlers' multimillion-dollar homes and agriculture operations are adjacent to CSKN government-assisted housing developments.

7.3 Social Structures Shaping Salish Lives: The Water Compact

A self-described "independent" progressive-leaning, well-established investigative reporting media company proclaims, "A Montana Tribe Finalizes a Historic \$1.9 Billion

Settlement. It's the largest sum ever awarded in an Indigenous water rights case" (Mark Armao 2021). If this liberal publication is using its magazine to misrepresent the water compact between the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation, the United States Federal Government, and the State of Montana, how much other information is omitted or misrepresented in lesser left-leaning media? The answer is plenty; in this water compact, the language and details matter because they stack constraints on top of existing restrictions governing Salish people.

Nearly two billion is historical, but the CSKN certainly does not belong to Montana. However, this continued authoritarian language contributes to the mindset that formed the final compact. The details will continue to structure the economics and foodways of the Salish people's lives for generations. First, the arrangement is more notably known as the Montana Water Rights Protection Act. This act codifies permanently surrendering 97% of all CSKN water rights claims, spending a considerable portion of the settlement on the BIA's irrigation project that primarily serves non-CSKN people (White 2020). The U.S. Department of Interior will hold the 1.9 billion in trust, and the CSKN government must submit a spending plan to withdraw any funding. Upon receiving "receipt and deposit of the funds into the Trust Fund, the [DOI] Secretary shall manage, invest, and distribute the amounts" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 25). The U.S. DOI Secretary "shall offer to negotiate with the State [of Montana] for the purpose of exchanging public land within the State for State trust land" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 48) with the approval of Montana's Board of Land Commissioners, the CSKN will also be able to commit some of the funding to pay for privately held land within the CSKN to swap up to 36,808 Montana trust lands, taken from the CSKN through the Enabling Montana Act, and grounds often surrounded by CSKN remaining lands. Another stipulation of this compact transferred The

National Bison Range in 2022 to be held by the U.S. government in trust for the CSKN. The compact document established a water adjudication board with five members; by law, two are CSKN citizens. Irrigators will continue to get subsidized water and released from their federal liens for irrigation debts. While Lake and Sanders counties, two of the four counties that overlap the CSKN, get five million dollars each "to reduce the financial impact on the counties" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 54).

Potential benefits might come to the CSKN if the U.S. Department of Interior approves the proposed budget plans. The CSKN could get some of the funding allocated to "plan, design, and construct irrigation facilities on Indian land" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 28) to connect to the existing BIA irrigation system. They might see the "rehabilitation and improvement of agricultural Indian land" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 28) and possibly "construct and rehabilitate livestock fencing on Indian land" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 28) and "install screens, barriers, passages, or ladders to prevent fish entrainment in irrigation ditches and canals" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 29).

This settlement also mandates using the funding to "ensure that culverts, bridges, and roads that intersect with, or are otherwise located within, the supply and distribution network of the Flathead Indian irrigation project comply with Federal environmental requirements, to ensure public safety, and to enhance Tribal fisheries" (S.3019 - Montana Water Rights Protection Act 116th Congress 2020, 54).

A detailed reading of the compact indicates that perhaps most of it will not benefit the CSKN directly or maybe not at all if a large chunk of it must pay for updating an irrigation system that primarily serves non-CSKN people. This historic settlement is the latest document

facilitating taking more from Salish and Kootenai people and binding them to actions that will cost them materially and potentially harm their ability to feed themselves. These latest structures and others, such as the National Indian Gaming Act, the CSKN-Montana alcohol beverage tax agreement, CSKN land, and financial assets held in federal trust, continue to compound the constraints on Salish people. They exacerbate difficulties accessing capital and credit to operate businesses. They limit the possibilities of more Salish agriculturists utilizing their land and water resources. This population will continue to endure a heavier burden of uncertainty with the certainty the language of the water compact spells out. It contributes to the canon of documents determining limiting terms that Salish people must contend with when deciding how or if they will push on to participate in the multimillion-dollar agriculture business within the CSKN. Ranching is already difficult for Salish people; the prospects just worsened due to this water compact.

7.4 Two Ranches Impacted by Structures

In 2014, a son of a U.S. military officer completed his service as a commander in the Air Force. He bought a little over 140 acres and eight Bison and decided to watch YouTube videos to wade into the bison ranching business. In 2022, the operation is now 16,000 acres of a few hundred bison in the west-central part of the CSKN. This ranch sells value-added products of dried meat snacks online and another product at Costco (USDA 2022; Under the Big Sky 2022; Weber 2020).

Further sleuthing of the company website reveals a story of the enduring American Bison, more sustainable ranching practices, arduous work, and a love story. The website is complete with Facebook and Instagram attached accounts. Amazingly well-composed color and

black-and-white photos of the owners, workers, visitors, land, and animals grace these pages. Some are portraits and landscape shots. Others include fishing off the back of a horse standing in a stream to riding horses in tandem in nouveau western garb. The founders' photos are plentiful. The two sandy blond thirty-somethings look like models in a glossy magazine spread advertising fashionable expensive ranch wear. Any advertisement agency would be proud of this online presence, complete with photos of a legendary sports icon hanging out on the ranch, a well-known Silicon Valley mogul turned health hacker, and a bison ranch owner billionaire sharing space with the founders. Coming from Seattle, the co-founder's time working for Boeing marketing has fingerprints all over this Western Americana-soaked trope media perpetuating the enduring narrative that working hard is still the key to success.

Knowing when they got something good, the United States Department of Agriculture also features this handsome pair on their website as a success story they helped elevate and assisted with bringing their products to market. Establishing a ranch of this magnitude in eight years with over one hundred miles of fencing is impressive but was it simply arduous work that created this massive enterprise? Did great timing or social and financial capital factor into their short-term success?

Another bison rancher awoke early one summer morning before the 100-degree weather forecast dictated terms for the day. He noticed something odd with a few of the animals on the ranch and proceeded to a position on the land to get a better assessment. This rancher found 11 of 100 bison bloating from gunshot wounds sustained the night before. The rancher immediately called the police to report this grim site. No one showed. The rancher then rushed to salvage parts of these animals as flies swarmed around and the stink started to increase. The person followed up with the police, but no investigator from the county or the CSKN ever arrested

anyone (Interview 2022). It seems this CSKN citizen, ranching on their land held in trust by the U.S. government, straddled too many jurisdictions and politics to warrant any justice.

Other CSKN ranchers have comparable stories of not getting assistance and experiencing obstacles that make ranching more difficult. One rancher shared that for years they applied for assistance from the local USDA office and never received any help. This person also said other CSKN ranchers had similar experiences. They applied when they learned about the Keeps Eagle class action settlement because of USDA discrimination against Native American agriculturists (Interviews 2022). Others CSKN ag producers conveyed the hardships of getting water for their crops from the local irrigation project managed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is chronically underfunded and understaffed. In fact, at the local level, staff shortage appears to be part of the challenges of getting water. They also shared places to sell cattle dwindled to a couple of stockyards and one stock buyer. One rancher stated at a meeting, "[t]here is only one individual who buys cattle on the reservation" and "we have to take what he offers" (Bernie Azure 2019a).

Ranchers shared that not long ago, the CSKN government often leased land to non-CSKN ranchers because these people outbid CSKN citizens due to a lack of access to operating capital. Data shows that from 1980-1988 on average, non-CSKN people leased just over 40,000 acres of CSKN land (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2015b). Leasing changed slightly, but non-CSKN people can still lease lands allotted to individuals in which the CSKN government has a fractionated interest (Interviews 2022). Other challenges include regulations stating that ranchers should incur sustainable costs of replacing fences and managing weeds on land they rent. One person likened this to renting a house and having to replace the doors, windows, and other fixtures to continue renting. Another rancher summed up ranching

challenges by stating that all the costs have increased, and cattle prices have not. Prices are not keeping up with the costs. Like many struggling CSKN ranchers, agriculturalists across the United States face similar challenges due to expenses often outpacing income (Hauter 2012). Large companies captured the market and created monopsony and monopoly conditions where they pay little for crops and cattle and sell value-added products at exorbitant rates. These conditions are the direct results of decades of U.S. politics and policies (Hauter 2012). CSKN citizens know the consequences of these structures. At a CSKN Council representative and rancher stated at a meeting, "The middleman makes all the profits; we need to become the middleman" (Azure 2019a).

A Salish rancher shared a unique challenge about ranching and selling meat directly to consumers and specialized breeding stock across a geographical area well beyond the CSKN utilizing the internet. When they started selling in other areas, people challenged the quality of his stock based on their reading of his appearance. They raised concerns about the ability of an "Indian" to produce superior stock on a "reservation." He quickly shifted, now his white-presenting wife managed the sales, and he only delivers animals. One time, their light-skinned daughter delivered instead. When she was unloading the animals, the customer asked the daughter if Mary still had "that Indian boy working for her." The daughter responded, "You mean my dad? That is married to my mom, Mary?" (Interviews 2022). This story illustrates that bigotry is still a challenge many CSKN citizens face.

Racism is an underlying factor shaping policy impacting Salish and their interactions, decisions, and livelihoods. Salish shared stories of people within the CSKN unwilling to rent or sell property to Salish and numerous other examples of racism and discrimination. The intention is not to air a list of individual racist acts, of which plenty of examples exist. However, this

pathology needs acknowledgment as a foundational factor to the challenges Salish people endure trying to create a livelihood. Racism seems especially engrained in the agricultural sector, and reams of articles testify to its veracity against CSKN citizens. People will openly share their disdain for "Indians" in writing, in video, and person. Many of them contended that no "Indians" should be able to tell them what to do, either with their titled land and they often act entitled to CSKN land, water, and other resources based on white supremacy logic (Knox 1993).

The Keepseagle settlement and a slew of other litigation against the USDA revealed systemic discriminatory practices against Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and others (Gingold and Pearl 2012; Daniel 2007; Jett 2020). Now the USDA advertises special funding for underserved people and other classes of people. As a result, a Euro-American recent transplant to CSKN leveraged his status as a new rancher, military veteran, and his partner's gender, allowing them to buy a 16,000-acre ranching enterprise within the CSKN with USDA aid. Their property is near CSKN land and Montana State trust land taken from the CSKN under the Montana Enabling Act. These ranch owners can lease thousands of acres and employ their social capital to raise operating capital. They undoubtedly worked hard but also benefited from structures that privileged them and provided them with opportunities. If success were just about working hard, many CSKN ranchers would be wealthy and run similar operations.

When asking a Salish rancher about the USDA settlements, their newfound outreach to underserved populations, and why he does not apply for USDA funding again, he retorted, "[t]hey could say they are willing to help, but what are their unspoken policies? This one change will not overcome all the other challenges of getting water, leasing land, and better cattle prices or allow us access to more capital" (Interviews 2022).

7.5 Accessing Capital: A Challenge and Impediment to Native American Development

Salish people confront a common challenge in accessing affordable, competitively priced capital and credit for buying homes and starting and operating businesses. Salish ranchers experience difficulties accessing capital and credit and shared that almost all local lending institutions generally choose not to lend to CSKN people ranching on trust land (Interview 2022). However, currently focused agricultural loans, like the 184 loans, are offered to CSKN people through the CSKN credit office for agriculture, but these rates are often higher than other loans offered by other lenders.

Sentiments of difficulties in accessing capital and credit shared by Salish ranchers parallel findings in other Indigenous Communities within the United States. Researchers at the University of Arizona, Native Nations Institute, released a study looking at access to capital and credit in Native American communities. The Native Nations Institute report affirms that the lack of capital in Native American, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian communities significantly constrains their economic development (Native Nations Institute 2016). The Native Nations Institute reports significant findings indicate creditors typically will not accept trust land as collateral and "lenders' and investors' failure to understand...[Indigenous] government or legal systems" (Native Nations Institute 2016, 6). Unwillingness to lend is often present with "discrimination against and stereotyping of Native [American] Community members" (Native Nations Institute 2016, 6).

The U.S. Department of the Treasury Community Development Financial Institutions Fund (CDFI Fund) first national report also details Native Communities' minimal access to

capital and credit, corroborating the Native Nations Institute's claim. The CDFI Fund found that a lack "of coordination on land and leasing makes it difficult to access USDA programming" (USDA 2021, 40). More specifically, they discovered that the "Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) leasing timelines do not correlate with USDA program timelines and cause producers to be ineligible for some programs" (USDA 2021, 40). These researchers' analysis indicates the "BIA currently compares apples to oranges in determining" valuation.

This had the effect of "artificially inflating the rental rate [of trust lands] beyond the reach of cash-strapped" Native American agriculturalists and "putting [Native American] land in the hands of [settlers], who seek to take as much forage as possible every single year without regard for soil health" (USDA 2021, 43). These obstacles ultimately make it difficult for Indigenous peoples within the U.S. to access any of the stated help offered by the USDA.

The Native Nations Institute's publication posits that "research suggests that the real drivers of recent economic change in Native Communities are self-determination and self-governance, or Indigenous control over Native Community resources, programs, government infrastructure, and plans for the future" (Native Nations Institute 2016, 6). Their report further explains that "factors such as high educational attainment, access to markets, and natural resource endowments also can contribute to development, they tend to pay off after a Native nation has been able to bring decisions with local impact under local control and to structure capable, culturally legitimate institutions of self-government that can make and manage those decisions" (Native Nations Institute 2016, 6).

This observation is an important distinction that needs emphasis because others contend that Native Americans experience poverty at higher rates within the United States, either because

of a deficit of the people themselves or a lack of resources (Adamsen et al. 2018). Low levels of educational attainment or geographical remoteness of many Native American populations were and, to some extent, still offered as explanations for poverty. Prevailing narratives rarely cite historical oppression or existing structures that restrain Native Americans' self-governance and siphon off their wealth or hinder them from maximizing their resources for their community's full benefit. However, a shift in literature is occurring, and political and economic structures have begun to enter the fore (Davis et al. 2016; Empy et al. 2021).

Much was taken in the past from Salish communities, and governments and businesses still hobbled them. This dispossession continues to create precarity and poverty. This assertion is not an abstraction but the reality of many Salish people. These imposed conditions of insecurity and depravity impact people's daily decisions and drive them to choose what types of food to buy, when, and where to eat. People tend to take the apparent path. If they encounter stores, restaurants, convenience stores, and fast-food chains stocked with overwhelming amounts of cheap, highly processed foods, they will choose these foods and, indeed, are often the most consumed staples of low-income people (Puddephat et al. 2020; Teufel-Shone 2018). Many people who moved out of poverty still contend with habituated patterns learned when they experienced poverty that is often difficult to change (Fust 1996). When cheap, highly processed foods are everywhere, any time of day, no one is immune from succumbing to them. Therefore, deciding not to eat them becomes more difficult for those constrained by fraught political and economic conditions, personal finance challenges, cultivated habits, and internalized food narratives.

7.6 Conclusions

Structural violence is a tool or mechanism used to make and maintain the U.S. settler colonist project that continues to attempt to eliminate the Indigenous population and any indigeneity conflicting with U.S. hegemony. This project takes on political tones imbued with racist constructs. For years settlers opposed and continue to oppose CSKN sovereignty within CSKN boundaries. This opposition is evident in policy, practice, and discourse. Salish and Kootenai people exercised sovereignty for eons before the United States organized. Furthermore, the political entity of Montana formed after the Salish and Kootenai polity. However, the U.S. Supreme Court decisions, known as the Marshall decisions in the early 1800s, created a twisted narrative that codified the false concept that the Cherokee Nation was like a "ward to its guardian," which promulgated the idea that all nations with high Indigenous populations were domestic dependent nations beholden to the U.S. At the time of the court edict, this could not be further from reality. By all accounts, the Cherokee Nation was just as much a nation as others during that time. They had higher literacy rates than the U.S., exported goods to Europe, and sent diplomats to other countries. The only thing they may not have had was the military might to resist the U.S. invasion of their land. The Cherokee Nation certainly transformed into a domestic dependent nation because of the U.S., and the U.S. molded the CSKN into a nation with limited sovereignty.

The Marshall court decisions structured relations between the U.S., the Cherokee Nation, and all other nations west of the United States. This legal doctrine also determined U.S. relations with the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. This convoluted legalese combined fanciful thinking, racism, and the U.S. desire to keep taking more led to depriving the Salish and Kootenai people of their land within and outside their current borders. This combination props

up the almost taken-for-granted social structure in which the U.S. blocks the CSKN from exercising full sovereignty within the CSKN borders. This oppression is evident by looking at maps of the CSKN, the numerous laws and agreements in place continuously propounding that "Indians" are incapable of managing their affairs and they certainly should not be allowed to govern "White people" possessing title to land within the CSKN.

The U.S. condemns China for a similar oppressive relationship with Tibet (Nebehay 2021). World leaders critique Israel for similar treatment of Palestinians (Aljazeera 2021; Shakil 2023). It is bizarre that one government (Montana) will tax another government (CSKN). It is ridiculous that a government (CSKN) gets blocked from governing all the people and the land within its boundaries. However, many people never raise these wrongdoings. Others make contorted speeches and write pieces that read like the novel *1984*, with vocabulary meant to subvert and narrow optics to rationalize and normalize the oppression of Salish and Kootenai people. Today, various jurisdictions apply to two different classes of people within the CSKN. Also, different sets of rules apply. If a person is racialized and deemed "Indian," extra race-based rules extend to them from the U.S. government and Montana. If a person is deemed "White" and a U.S. citizen, U.S. and Montana laws extend extra privileges to them in the CSKN.

Therefore, the CSKN map looks like a chaotic checkerboard and operates in a checkered fashion. The CSKN's limited sovereignty applies in some squares and not others. This mired political arrangement leaves the CSKN handicapped and complicates CSKN government affairs and its citizens' lives. This arrangement also harmed and continues to impede CSKN people's development and economics. Specifically, if a CSKN citizen wants to mortgage a home, they almost certainly cannot get a standard loan because the United States government holds their land in trust. Due to bizarre political and legal arrangements, this person can only sign a specific

type of mortgage known as a 184 loan, which typically has higher interest rates and less favorable terms than a standard mortgage (Observations 2022). Political and legal constructs also dictate that CSKN water resources subsidize non-CSKN agriculturists within the CSKN. Payment in lieu of tax agreements coerce the CSKN into paying other governments. The U.S. federal law, National Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, forces the CSKN to negotiate with Montana regarding terms of gaming within the CSKN. The terms of the CSKN water compact with the U.S. federal ensure that non-CSKN people must serve on a board to help adjudicate water matters within the CSKN.

A CSKN former council (legislator) person shared a story of when they went with other Native American leaders as a delegation to a country outside the U.S. The person said U.S. government official boarded their plane at the last minute and made a speech reminding all these leaders they did not represent the United States of America but rather their nations. The person relaying this story quipped back to the U.S. official, "We have known that all along; Can we get that in writing from you?" (Interviews 2022). This story illustrates that the CSKN is still apart but within the U.S. purview as a subjugated nation. Although U.S. officials rarely state this fact aloud, history, documents, and discourse reveal this reality. U.S. policy and practice shape daily reality within the CSKN and will continue to undermine the political, economic, and well-being of the CSKN people.

This subjugation also shapes Salish people's food system, dietary patterns, and health-related outcomes. The globalized U.S. industrial food system captured the current CSKN food system. This system pressures Salish people into producing a limited amount of commodity crops, often for lower prices, which leave their lands and come back often as highly processed prepackaged food. Due to the poverty inflicted upon Salish people, they find themselves placated

by the United States Department of Agriculture food distribution program and the Women, Infant, and Children program with highly processed commodities that are also sugar and carbohydrate-laden. These commodities make their way into local public schools, from the Head Start program to high schools. Time constraints also create another form of precarity that pressures people to hustle harder at the expense of their diet and their health. Salish people find themselves outside the reemerging local food cultivation and sales because of difficulties accessing capital, needing more suitable land, or not being able to utilize their water resources fully. Many Salish precontact foods suffered from the plow, or settlers destroyed them by other means. Accessing what remains is complicated by limited sovereignty and a checkerboarded and harmed landscape.

A theme emerged from inquiry centered around distribution, specifically about unequal distribution. A wealth gap exists between CSKN citizens and non-CSKN people; a gap also exists between CSKN citizens. The earlier Salish community value of an equitable wealth distribution system is giving way to a pattern of fewer people having more; it is starting to operate like a microcosm of the United States economic system. As mentioned, CSKN enterprises posted jobs with compensation well below a living wage, while others working in these enterprises are taking home six-digit salaries. Workload distribution is also a challenge raised. Some people work too much because they need to make more and work more than one job, or they work well beyond 40 hours because their department is understaffed and pressured to work more.

Healthy food distribution also beleaguers people. Accessing more nutritious food on the land or in the market is often difficult because of cost and complications. Highly processed food is commonly cheaper than healthier food, and research has shown that people with lower

incomes frequently buy these less nutritious foods (Evans et al. 2015; Leung et al. 2014).

Farmers' markets provide a place to purchase local healthier foods, but often hours of operation at these markets are limited and sometimes not conducive to most working people's schedules.

Substantial upfront costs hindered farmers' market shopping for some. As people interviewed expressed, most need to learn about local farmer's markets, community-supported agriculture programs, or directly buying food from local producers. One person shared that they knew a community-supported agriculture operation was next to their home but knew nothing about it. Another person expressed frustration with a CSA that only has pick-up one day a week during this person's working hours, so they asked their supervisor for permission to leave work earlier or had their partner go earlier to pick up their food.

The checkerboarded social arrangement complicates where one can access wild foods. A person shared that they drove by a large field daily and noticed a greater than the usual number of deer in this field. They went to a house nearby several times to seek permission to hunt the deer. A person never answered the door, and they never took any of the deer in the field. Another Salish agriculturist mentioned spreading the word that people could hunt on their CSKN lease, where they grew alfalfa. This farmer said the deer were too plentiful and eating their way through the growing crop. The previous leaseholder padlocked the gates, discouraging hunting on this land. Another person shared that behind their home, they hunt but with trepidation because of land ownership. They displayed a map and pointed to a section next to them owned by the CSKN. If one follows the dirt roads, it crosses fee simple land (private property, most likely non-Salish), CSKN government land, federal land, and a spot where the road crosses a corner of private property about 30-50 feet long. To better understand what they explained, driving on the roads disclosed how complicated hunting could get in this area. No clear boundary

markers indicated where one property began and another ended. The scenery is wooded, with open meadows scattered throughout. Many other locations across the CSKN present a similar checked pattern that could make hunting more complex and potentially dangerous.

Numerous factors shaped and continue to influence the form and function of the local food system and dietary patterns, but another set of considerations also molded them and helped to restructure the system. The CSKN government and people have been able to maneuver and create space to contribute to forming the local food system. The government brokered deals to exercise sovereignty to ensure better instream water flows, rehabilitated riparian habitats, and curtailed the unlawful taking of fish and game. They created an elk reserve and managed other wildlife populations, increasing food resources like elk and deer. The CSKN government also strengthened Salish and Kootenai people's right to hunt and collect food outside their current boundaries on other lands their older relatives utilized. After a few generations, their people can once again pursue bison and access bison meat for community distribution. The government also recognized another opportunity and created a company to commercially fish an invasive species in Flathead Lake, which they also process and sell. All these efforts are like rock climbing. When unskilled climbers eye a rock face, they see a nearly impossible wall. However, like a skilled climber, the CSKN sees small openings that can serve as hand and footholds to find a path up and over. Salish people also find small openings and train their gaze to see possibilities. Like one rancher selling his beef directly to local customers and the Salish Institute recognizing they can help skill younger generations in procuring meat through hunting. Others are also drawing on Salish foodways and learning and sharing how to garden and collect precontact foods.

The CSKN nation confronted a stark reality, which looks like a long century-old war of attrition, curtailed sovereignty, land dispossession, and the continued onslaught of a settler

colonial project. Because the Salish and Kootenai people astutely asserted themselves more in the last 40 years, they helped increase possibilities. They will continue improving their lives through politics and economics, subsequently impacting their local food system, dietary patterns, and health-related outcomes. Excitement comes to mind when thinking about how the CSKN government and people helped shape the local foods system in small but significant ways and will continue to do so as they work to expand their sovereignty, reacquire their land, rehabilitate their lands, and increase the local flora and fauna. At the same time, utilizing introduced plants, animals, crops, and new and old techniques and technology.

Politics, economics, and environmental changes influence diet. Poverty hedges dietary choices. Salish people still grapple with continued settler colonization and political and economic oppression. Salish people once had diverse diets, were adaptive in the past, and still are adapting. They can continue to adjust but hopefully through expanded sovereignty. More CSKN independence allowed them to improve the local environment and some traditional food stocks. It took an intentional and extended period to change Salish diets, it will take another thoughtful and sustained effort to improve diets. Societal structures and norms strongly influence individual choices. Therefore, pursuing more structural changes could significantly improve diets, which can have broad demographic health consequences.

Salish people were not passive; they possessed and still have agency. They did not succumb to tragedy, only relegated to history. Yes, much pain and suffering came to Salish people, but they still exist and strive for positive change. Future work should continue to focus on the other side of the coin of settler colonization and look at the tools and tactics Salish, and other Indigenous people engage in resisting settler colonization. Forewarning: this might be a complex undertaking because detailing resistance is less documented or not so easily accessible.

Just as the U.S. forced the Bitterroot Salish to leave their homes and go to reserved land, another group of Salish living in Northeastern Washington resisted pressure to move to the same lands as their Bitterroot relatives. However, they rebelled, retained a portion of their homeland, and did not move. Was this luck, happenstance, or shrewd maneuvering? Most likely, all three.

After Salish moved to reserved lands, they were on the shortlist of places slated for U.S. federal termination. However, they avoided the termination of the CSKN as a political entity. How? They did send CSKN government representatives to D.C. to testify against the termination policy and removal from the list. A review of the hearing transcript record reveals the intelligent and eloquent maneuvering of the CSKN government representatives in the congressional hearings. This document certainly demonstrates leaders' agency and tactics. Building a typology of resistance to settler colonization is possible; it will require more time and intensive scouring of records. Also, it may take good old fashion fieldwork and interviewing numerous Indigenous people. From his youth and still living in Indigenous communities, the author knows that a need exists to record more of their resistance stories in audio, video, or written format.

7.7 Future Directions

My significant contribution through this dissertation is looking at the past and exploring its connection to the present with a theoretical lens that few explicitly utilize to analyze Salish community dynamics. Naming Salish community social arrangement influences as structural violence and settler colonization helps frame these dynamics and enunciates political-economic structures rather than pathological individual choice significantly shape community challenges. This framing is crucial because social arraignments have biological implications in the community, and often structural influences are diminished or disregarded. Although I detailed

many historical and contemporary factors impacting Salish people's food system and dietary patterns, my research contends that historical and ongoing settler colonization is the overarching social structure driving processes of dispossession and exploitation. Shifting framing to focus more on structures could facilitate viewing community challenges differently and contemplating alternative strategies to address rooted obstacles.

When I began this research journey, I had inclinations that individuals' choices contributed more to molding dietary patterns and health outcomes. As I explored the research, I increasingly appreciated the implications of structures, systems, and one's environment on their choices. My research became a dialog between individual choice and structures and trying to determine which influenced people more. Now I understand that individual choice is nested in structures, and they are mediating human decisions. I also realized that structures are too often naturalized and better viewed as social constructions. This perspective should give anyone hope because it helps to begin the processes of deconstructing and reconstructing social constructs to improve people's lives by exercising creative imagining and generating possible real-world solutions.

This dissertation sought to draw attention to Salish people's historical and contemporary food system and dietary patterns through the published literature, observations, and Salish people's own words. In doing so, the dissertation demonstrates that Salish diets were once more diverse and nutritiously rich, and Salish people were healthier than contemporary Salish populations. This research also details many wrongdoings that contributed to the Salish food system and dietary changes, contextualizing them as embedded in settler colonization. My dissertation contributions are significant because for too long and too loud, Salish reserved lands and other Indigenous enclaves are described as open-air prisons or failed socialist experiments.

Often these narratives are used to justify the continued exploitation of Indigenous people and their lands. Creating a coherent empirically-grounded narrative offers an alternative view of community challenges that assists Salish people's ability to access more nutritious food and produce better health outcomes.

Through observations and interviews, this dissertation also illustrates a snapshot of contemporary Salish food system and dietary patterns. This documentation also helps to historicize the Salish peoples' food system and diet. It also contributes to narrating the linkages between the past and present, which support reflecting on forging a future.

Indigenous people need contextualized detailed documentation and reframing narration in a time when ahistorical thinking and rhetoric prevail, forming perspectives uncoupled from realities and empirical evidence. Pattern recognition and description of past power and oppression help to leverage understandings of these arrangements in compiling the rootedness of current dynamics and, more importantly, thinking about alternative futures. Thus, producing informed reflections could help Salish people recognize and perhaps overcome similar patterns in present times.

I investigated Salish food activism while earning a public health master's in community health and prevention sciences. Through my dissertation research, I explored the interplay of structures and individual choice within the historical and contemporary context of Salish people within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. During both projects, I noted Indigenous people's narratives and settler colonist narratives and their subsequent contributions to actualizing political and economic realities. Positive self-talk is essential, but for Indigenous people to succeed, broadcasting effective messaging might be paramount to Indigenous communities changing their lives for the better. Therefore, future research should also include

naming and analyzing narratives' effectiveness in contributing to propping up and justifying settler colonization. This research should also identify and evaluate chronicles challenging colonization and amplifying Indigenous political and economic sovereignty.

What distinguishes humans from other animals is our propensity for stories. Consequently, exploring framing narrations typology and effectiveness could improve food systems, diet, health, and well-being. Narrative analysis is a pathway to contemplating resistance, emerging creativity, possible futures, and envisioning unconventional communities and individual lives. Too many Indigenous people devote ample time to crises de jour and create limited success in transforming harmful social arrangements. This should prompt communities to ponder possibilities and think more systemically and strategically as they investigate stories told by and about their community.

Unfortunately, poverty is expensive. Research indicates that this aphorism may possess more truthfulness than previously thought. Exploring more prevention measures' potential to improve community health within Salish people's social context could provide insights into health consequences. This research could include delving into monetary expenses and social costs, looking at the quality of life factors associated with reactionary, often downstream, poverty policies and practices, and comparing them to more preventive policies and practices. For example, researchers studied the taxation of sugary beverages' impacts on health. Exploring the role of more healthful food associations as further upstream, preventive care within a Salish context could also inform new policies and practices in other Indigenous communities facing similar dietary-related health challenges, of which there are many.

While this dissertation trained on the food systems' physical manifestations in people, another future research direction is studying the connections between diet and mental well-being

in Salish people. Researchers began articulating these connections and strengthening the interplay between diet and mental well-being in other populations. This line of inquiry in Salish communities could reveal more helpful information about sociogenic diet-inducing physiological and psychological ties. Describing problems more frequently and in greater detail will not lessen their impact. A future inquiry should devote less time to describing poor mental health and seriously inquire about the drivers of and connections between diets, nutrition, and mental health.

During my research, I faced an inquisitive misunderstanding that perhaps I was suggesting Salish people try to return to a pre-contact diet. I disabused people of these thoughts because returning to a prior time is impossible, and I am intrigued by and drawn to the idea of hybridity. Therefore, Salish people should look back to move forward into a future combining previous elements with current possibilities. They should draw on their food traditions to strengthen relocalizing their food system, this could include introduced foods. Salish were early adopters of introduced real foods, and they seem to have benefited from these foods nutritionally, and these foods enriched their lives. The proverbial pendulum swung too far in the direction of an overly commodified colonial food system consisting of highly overprocessed foods harming Salish people. Combining food traditions with introduced real foods can offer Salish people a better life and health. The hybridity of Salish foodways is certainly understudied. Research could provide a more complex and complete picture of how Salish lives were and are not a binary between a mythical past and an incongruent present. A hybridity framing would aid in telling a more accurate narrative and inspire divergent solution-oriented thinking.

Plenty of research dedicated energy to documenting community dynamics shaped by oppression and power differentials. Indeed, more research should focus on Indigenous people's struggles and the social structures producing these conditions. Additionally, future research

should include exploring these themes, but research emphasizing Indigenous people's creative strategies and tactics in implementing food system changes needs attention as much as diagnosing social ills, if not more. Looking beyond the detriments of communities to amplify how they are achieving can provide awareness that others could also garner acumens for addressing their community challenges.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Contact Message and Interview Guides

Message for contacting people via email, Facebook or in-person to request an interview

My name is Joshua Brown. I am incredibly interested in learning from you about your experiences and more about Salish communities' foodways. I am Salish on my mom's side; her name is Lynn Hendrickson. I was raised primarily in Saint Ignatius, where I live now.

I am a graduate student at the University of Montana; I am working on a Ph.D. in anthropology and graduated with a master's in public health in the spring of 2021.

I am interested in better understanding Salish people's food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes. I want to better understand the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet.

I want to ask you questions about your foodways to learn firsthand from other Salish people about what you eat and what influences your food choice decisions. Please feel free to contact me for more details or schedule a time to visit me via Zoom or in-person. My phone number is 406-529-4755. Or you may reach me at my email address spelqwa@gmail.com or on Facebook.

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interested in better understanding Salish people's food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes. Further understandings of the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet. Elucidate what Salish people eat and what influences their food choice decisions

INTERVIEWER:

Joshua W. Brown

MODERATOR GUIDE - INTERVIEWS

Interested in better understanding Salish people's food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes. Further understandings of the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet. Elucidate what Salish people eat and what influences their food choice decisions.

LOCATION:

Various Communities within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. To remain sensitive to the dynamics of covid in Salish communities, the researcher will also offer to meet people via Zoom for an interview. If a person prefers to meet via telecommunication, the researcher will

administer verbal consent by reading the consent form to them and then asking the if they understand and agree to participate. If a person prefers to an interview via Zoom, the researcher will also ask for permission to record the Zoom meeting and indicate this is only for the researcher to review and more accurately take notes and it will be kept confidential and destroyed later.

SCHEDULE:

25-50 individuals interviewed to get theme saturation. Each interview is allotted 60 minutes for interviews with adult Salish people within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. However, it is understood that each interview may take less or more time.

CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION:

Introduction and signing consent form: 5 minutes

- Participant arrives at pre-determined mutually agreed upon location, is welcomed, thanked for participation and offered something to drink.
 - Explain the purpose of the study and how information gets collected, stored and shared with the community.
 - Explain that the written questions will be followed throughout the interview to ensure all topics are covered but follow-up questions maybe asked based on what information is shared by individuals during interview.
 - Provide copy of consent form, explain in detail and request a signature.
- Ask if person has questions regarding informed consent. Address any concerns about consenting or concerns about the study.
- General orientation to facility and allotted time for interview schedule shared.

WELCOME: 5 minutes

Welcome. Thanks again for agreeing to this speaking with me. I am greatly interested in learning from you about your experiences and more about our community. I am incredibly interested in learning from you about your experiences and more about our community. My name is Joshua Brown; I am Salish on my mom's side; her name is Lynn Hendrickson. I was raised primarily in Saint Ignatius, where I live now.

I am a graduate student at the University of Montana; I am working on a Ph.D. in anthropology and graduated with a master's in public health in the spring of 2021.

I am interested in better understanding Salish people's food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes. I want to better understand the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet.

I want to ask you questions about your foodways to learn firsthand from other Salish people about what you eat and what influences your food choice decisions. Please feel free to contact me for more details or schedule a time to visit me via Zoom or in-person. My phone number is 406-529-4755. Or you may reach me at my email address spelqwa@gmail.com or on Facebook.

Honesty/insights /no wrong answers:

I am not here to judge your foodways or personal dietary patterns. I am already familiar with some changes in our community and what led to these changes. It is critical that I get your honest opinions about the issues and topics during the session. It is also important to collect your valuable insight as accurately as possible. No answers to my questions are wrong. I am interested in YOUR experiences and insights about this topic.

Audio Recording:

To make sure I am recording what you share with me and better understand your perspective, I am audio taping this interview. A transcription of the recording will allow me to fully comprehend and accurately share any insights you provide. Attaching this wireless lapel microphone to your collar will help me understand the recording of your voice clearly. I will do a sound test to see if I am recording your voice well. After this, I might make an adjustment and we can proceed.

Zoom Meeting:

Since you agreed to an interview via Zoom, I need to administer verbal consent by reading the consent form to you and then ask you if you understand and agree to participate. I am requesting permission to record the Zoom meeting to make sure I better understand your perspective. I will be the only person reviewing the Zoom meeting. A transcription of the recording will allow me to fully comprehend and accurately share any insights you provide. I will do a sound test to see if I am recording your voice well. After this, I might make an adjustment and we can proceed.

Informed Consent

Thank you for taking part in the interview. Before we get started, please tell me if you are 18 or older.

If the subject answers *18 or over*, they'll then read this information:

18 and Older Consent Form

You are invited to participate in an interview for a research project to better understand Salish people's food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes. This includes better understanding the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet. I want to ask you questions about your foodways to learn firsthand from other Salish people about what you eat and what influences your food choice decisions. I will report anonymous, responses from everyone who takes part in the interview. Here are some things to know about confidentiality in this study:

- Your individual responses to each interview question are confidential.
- All comments you make during the interview will be reported anonymously.
- There are no right or wrong answers.
- You have the option not to respond to any questions that you choose.
- Your honest feedback is essential for me to accurately describe the Salish food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and diet related health outcomes. This information can also

assist with developing the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation food system policy and programming.

-Your responses will be interpreted as your informed consent to participate and that you affirm that you are at least 18 years of age and living within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact the Dr. Gregory Campbell, (dissertation chair) via email at gregory.campbell@mso.umt.edu or 406-243-2693. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Salish Kootenai College Institutional Review Board Chair, Dr. Stacey Sherwin at stacey_sherwin@skc.edu or 406-275-4931. I will copy Dr. Campbell's and Dr. Sherwin's contact information into the chat.

Confidentiality:

Again, since this is recorded either by Zoom, audio or in writing, I want to stress to you, this is protected research and everything you say here will be kept private. Meaning, I will not use your name in publications to protect your identity. If we come across each other outside of this interview I will acknowledge you but not disclose to people near us that we had this discussion. If you are uncomfortable with Zoom or audio recording, I can just take handwritten notes as we proceed through our discussion.

Interview breaks:

Please feel free to take a break at any time during the interview. Shall we begin?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Access to Nutritious Foods and Eating Habits 50 minutes

I must also stress that if you feel any of these questions are not appropriate or feel uncomfortable responding, please let me know and feel free not to answer. Also, if the questions do not make sense or you do not fully understand them, please tell me and I will explain them better.

General Background (5-10 minutes)

Could you tell me a little more about yourself, who is your family? Maybe we are related. Also, feel free to ask me more questions about myself. Where did you grow up? Where do you live now?

Dietary Patterns (15-20 minutes)

1. What foods did you grow-up eating? What foods do you eat now? Has your diet changed? What influenced your dietary pattern changes? Is it a lack of time, money, access to certain types of food, personal preferences? Or other factors? How does time, money, access and personal preferences impact your dietary patterns?

2. Do you know what your older relatives, like your grandparents or great grandparents ate when they were growing up or younger? Can you describe their dietary patterns for me? What influenced these patterns?
3. What or who influences your dietary patterns now?
4. When you go to Salish gatherings, what are the most common foods you see served at these events? Why do you think these are common foods served at these events?
5. Are certain foods only served during certain occasions? What is served typically at events? Why are specific foods served at these events?
6. When you visit Salish people, what are common foods and drinks offered to you? Why do you think these are the common food and drinks served?

Food Access Challenges (5-10 minutes)

7. What are current challenges to eating local whole foods such as contemporary vegetables and fruits?

Health Challenges (5 minutes)

8. Do you have any health challenges like diabetes? Any other health issues impacted by what you eat? Can you describe how your health challenge is impacted by your diet? For example, some people have a difficult time avoiding consuming certain products because one of their family members typically stocks their house with these products.

Ending Questions (5 minutes)

9. Comparing what your grandparents, parents and you ate when you were younger with your diet now, what are dietary changes that come to your mind? What do you think influenced these changes?
10. Is there anything else you would like to share regarding this topic?
11. I plan to have group discussions to gather additional information about our food system and get input about what information I have already collected. Can I contact you again to see if you are interested in participating in these group discussions?

Lémlmtš. I greatly appreciate you sharing your time and insights with me today.

Moderator Guide Individuals for Policy, Politics and Economics

Overall interested in better understanding Salish people's food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes through a political economy lens. Further understandings of the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet that tends to be a mixture of traditional and contemporary foods. Elucidate what Salish people eat and what influences their food choice decisions.

INTERVIEWER:

Joshua W. Brown

MODERATOR GUIDE - INTERVIEWS

Interested in better understanding Salish people's food system, foodscape, dietary patterns, and related health outcomes shaped by policy, politics and economics across time. Further understandings of the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet. Elucidate what Salish people eat and what influences their food choice decisions.

LOCATION:

Various Communities within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation.

SCHEDULE:

5-10 individuals will be interviewed. Each interview is allotted 60 minutes for interviews with an adult Salish person within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation. However, it is understood that each interview may take less or more time.

CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION:

Introduction and signing consent form: 5 minutes

-Participant arrives at pre-determined mutually agreed upon location, is welcomed, thanked for participation and offered something to drink.

-Explain the purpose of the study and how information collected, stored and shared with the community.

-Explain the written questions will be followed throughout the interview to ensure all topics are covered but follow-up questions maybe asked based on what information is shared by individuals during interview.

-Provide copy of consent form, explain in detail and request a signature.

Ask if person has questions regarding informed consent. Address any concerns about consenting or concerns about the study.

-General orientation to facility and allotted time for interview schedule shared.

WELCOME: 5 minutes

Welcome. Thanks again for agreeing to this speaking with me. I am greatly interested in learning from you about policy, politics, and economics shaping and influencing the Salish community's food system, dietary patterns, food choice decisions and diet related health outcomes. My name

is Joshua Brown; I am Salish on my mom's side; her name is Lynn Hendrickson. I was raised primarily in Saint Ignatius, where I live now.

As I mentioned before, I am a graduate student at the University of Montana; I am working on a Ph.D. in anthropology and graduated with a master's in public health in the spring of 2021.

I also want to better understand the history of the transition from a Salish exclusive traditional diet to a contemporary diet that tends to be a mixture of traditional and contemporary foods.

I want to ask you some questions about policies, politics and economic pertaining the confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation that I feel impact Salish people's food ways

Insights /no wrong answers:

I am already familiar with some of the changes in our community and what led to these changes. However, it is critical that I get your understandings about the issues and topics during the session. It is also important to collect your valuable insight as accurately as possible. No answers to my questions are wrong. I am interested in YOUR experiences and insights about this topic.

Audio Recording:

To make sure I am recording what you share with me and better understand your perspective, I am audio taping this interview. A transcription of the recording will allow me to fully comprehend and accurately share any insights you provide. Attaching this wireless lapel microphone to your collar will help me understand the recording of your voice clearly. I will do a sound test to see if I am recording your voice well. After this, I might make an adjustment and we can proceed. If you are uncomfortable with Zoom or audio recording, I can just take handwritten notes as we proceed through our discussion.

Confidentiality:

If you agree to recording in either audio or written format, I want to stress to you, this is protected research and everything you say here is kept private. Meaning, I will not use your name in publications to protect your identity. If we come across each other outside of this interview I will acknowledge you but not disclose to people near us that we had this discussion.

Interview breaks:

Please feel free to take a break at any time during the interview. Shall we begin?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Policy, Politics and Economic Questions 60 Minutes

General Background (5-10 minutes)

Could you tell me a little more about yourself, who is your family? Maybe we are related. Also, feel free to ask me more questions about myself. Where did you grow up? Where do you live now?

Hunting and Gathering (5-10 minutes)

1. What is the current hunting and gathering agreements and understandings between the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation and Montana State?
2. Do agreements differ for hunting and gathering within CSKN and outside in historical Territory?
3. What is the current hunting and gathering agreements and understandings between the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Nation and the counties?
4. Do agreements for hunting and gathering differ within CSKN and outside in historical Territory?

Economics (5-10 minutes)

5. Are there recent or current examples of Montana State, the counties, or towns trying to impose political power on the CSKN or its citizens that impact the economics of the CSKN or its citizens? Why do you think these entities try to exert political power over the CSKN or its citizens?
6. Why did the last gaming compact between CSKN and Montana State fail?
7. What CSKN resources do the towns, counties, or Montana State utilize? Such as gravel pits, lease lands, forest plots?
8. Is Lake County still trying to collect taxes from CSKN for CSKN's hydroelectric dam on CSKN's land? Is Lake County trying to collect any fees or taxes from CSKN or CSKN citizens? Are any other counties also trying to collect fee or taxes?
9. Is the CSKN paying any Federal, State, or County taxes or fees for properties they own or any business they operate, such as Kwataqnuk?
10. Is the CSKN assessing any fees or taxes on properties and businesses within the CSKN? If not, why not? How are CSKN and CSKN citizens' food system and food choices impacted by these economic dynamics?

Sovereignty (5-10 minutes)

11. What is the extent of CSKN sovereignty within its boundaries? Meaning- are they able to fully regulate such matters as air, water, and land standards and practices? If not, why are they unable to fully regulate?
12. Do they collect taxes and fees? If not, why not?
13. Do they enforce environmental standards to protect water, air, land, plants, and animals? Can you describe the policy and political dynamics influencing CSKN environmental standard regulation?

14. Do they regulate all hunting and gathering practices within the CSKN? Can you describe the subtleties of hunting and gathering practices regulation? If there are any challenges in regulating these practices, can you describe them and why these are challenges?

15. Do they enforce agricultural practices within the CSKN? Can you describe the policy and political dynamics influencing CSKN environmental standard regulation?

17. How do towns, counties, and Montana State undermine CSKN sovereignty? If so, why do you think these other entities undermine CSKN sovereignty? Is it for economic reasons? If so, can you offer or describe examples?

18. How do towns, counties, and Montana State uphold CSKN sovereignty? If so, why do you think these other entities uphold CSKN sovereignty? Is it for economic reasons or some other reason? If so, can you offer or describe examples? How are CSKN and CSKN citizens' food system and food choices impacted by these CSKN sovereignty dynamics?

Challenges to hunt and gather within and outside CSKN (5-10 minutes)

16. What challenges do Salish people face in hunting and gathering within and outside CSKN? How are CSKN and CSKN citizens' food system and food choices impacted by these hunting and gathering dynamics?

Lémlmtš. I greatly appreciate you sharing your time and insights with me today.

Questions for CSKN Natural Resources Department

Environmental changes and Food Production Questions 60 Minutes

CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION:

Introduction and signing consent form: 5 minutes

WELCOME: 5 minutes

Honesty/Insights /no wrong answers:

Audio Recording:

Confidentiality:

Interview breaks:

General Background (5-10 minutes)

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Environmental changes (25-35 minutes)

1. Did the environment of the CSKN change much in the last one hundred years and how did it impact the Salish food system? What influenced or caused these changes?
2. Did the environment of the CSKN change much in the last 50 years and how did it impact the Salish food system? What influenced or caused these changes?
3. Have the environment of the CSKN change much in the last 20 years and how did it impact the Salish food system? What influenced or caused these changes?
4. What are the environmental changes and what are the causes of these changes?
5. Have fishery stocks changed? How and why have they changed?
6. Have traditional edible plants availability or access changed? How and why have they changed?
7. Have animal stocks changed? Such as elk, moose, bison, deer? How and why have they changed?

Food Production (10-15 minutes)

8. How many pounds or amount of dollars sold of food is produced currently in the CSKN?
9. What is the breakdown of Salish and Kootenai people producing this food? If Salish and Kootenai people are low percentage of food producers, why is this the case?
10. I realize this is a complex matter but how much land and what type of land is needed to support CSKN food sovereignty? I am trying to get a sense of what is already available and what are other needs.
11. Again I realize this complex matter but how many animals and plants and types are needed to support CSKN food sovereignty? I am trying to get a sense of what is already available and what else what are other needs.

Lémlmtš. I greatly appreciate you sharing your time and insights with me today.

REFERNECES

- Acemođlu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2017. "The Economic Impact of Colonialism". In *The Long Economic and Political Shadow of History: A global view*, edited by Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaioanno, 81-89. London, England: Vox.EU.
[The Long economic and political shadow of history 1: A global view | CEPR](#)
- Agosto, Gensis M. 2021. "Involuntary Sterilization of Native American Women: A Legal Approach." *Nebraska Law Review* 100. <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/nlr/vol100/iss4/8>
- Akee, R. K., K.A. Spilde, and J.B. Taylor. 2015. "The Indian gaming regulatory act and its effects on American Indian economic development." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 29 (3): 185-208.
- Aljazeera. 2021. "Congress members slam US support for Israel." *Aljazeera*, May 14, 2021.
[Congress members slam US support for Israel | Gaza News | Al Jazeera](#)
- Amoss, Pamela. 1978. *Coast Salish Spirit Dancing: The Survival of an Ancestral Religion*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Anker, Elisabeth R. 2022. *Ugly Freedoms*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Evans, Alexandra, Karen Banks , Rose Jennings , Eileen Nehme , Cori Nemec, Shreela Sharma , Aliya Hussaini, and Amy Yaroch. 2015 "Increasing access to healthful foods: a qualitative study with residents of low-income communities." *International Journal of Behavior Nutrition and Physical Activity* 12 (Suppl 1): S5. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1479-5868-12-s1-s5>
- Evans, Raymond, and Robert Ørsted-Jensen. 2014. " I cannot say the numbers that were killed.": assessing violent mortality on the Queensland frontier." *Social Science Research Network* 2467836: 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2467836>
- Leug, Cindy W., Elissa S. Epel, Lorrene D. Ritchie, Patricia B. Crawford, Barbara A. Laraia. 2014. "Food insecurity is inversely associated with diet quality of lower-income adults." *Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics* 114(12): 1943-1953
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jand.2014.06.353>
- Alonzo, Monica. 2010. "Wanna Bet? The Tohono O'odham Want to Build a Casino in the West Valley -- Now It's Up to the Feds to Make It Happen or Break Another Promise to the Tribe." *Phoenix New Times*, April 29, 2010. [Wanna Bet? The Tohono O'odham Want to Build a Casino in the West Valley -- Now It's Up to the Feds to Make It Happen or Break Another Promise to the Tribe | News | Phoenix | Phoenix New Times | The Leading Independent News Source in Phoenix, Arizona](#)
- Alther, Dorothy. 2021. "Supreme Court Ruling Confirms Tribal Inherent Authority and Makes Tribal Communities Safer." California Indian Legal Services website. Accessed July 5th, 2022.

[Supreme Court Ruling Confirms Tribal Inherent Authority and Makes Tribal Communities Safer – Cal Indian Legal Services](#)

Arnold, Laurie. 2012. *Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination*. Seattle, WA: The University of Washington Press Seattle.

Arnold, William F. 2002. "As Long as Water Falls: An Ethnohistorical Study in the Socioeconomic Underdevelopment and Cultural Identity of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. Using the Events Leading up to and Surrounding the Construction and Future control of the Kerr Dam." MA thesis. Missoula, MT. University of Montana.

Armao, Mark. 2021. "A Montana Tribe Finalizes a Historic \$1.9 Billion Settlement It's the largest sum ever awarded in an Indigenous water rights case." *Mother Jones* September 29, 2021. [A Montana Tribe Finalizes a Historic \\$1.9 Billion Settlement – Mother Jones](#)

Arntzen, Elsie. 2021. "Civics Education For Montana Students Must Reject Fringe Thinking." *Medium* May 12, 2021. [Civics Education For Montana Students Must Reject Fringe Thinking | by Superintendent Elsie Arntzen | Medium](#)

Asland, Chris. 2021. "Tribal Leaders, Landowners clash over private-land hunting Legislation." *Missoula Current* February 11, 2021. [Tribal leaders, landowners clash over private-land hunting legislation \(missoulacurrent.com\)](#)

Azure, Bernie. 2008. "People's Center camas feed keeps traditions alive." *Char Koosta News* July 31, 2008. [People's Center camas feed keeps traditions alive | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Azure, Bernie. 2011. "Little Prairie hunting camp harkens back to times past but not forgotten." *Char Koosta News* September 22, 2011. [Little Prairie hunting camp harkens back to times past but not forgotten | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Azure, Bernie. 2011. "Salish Pend d'Oreille Elders air differences with Amish Elders." *Char Kootsa News* October 20, 2011. [Salish Pend d'Oreille Elders air differences with Amish Elders | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Azure, Bernie. 2012. "Linking the past with the present for the future." *Char Koosta News* June 28, 2012. [Linking the past with the present for the future | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Azure, Bernie. 2019a. "Dixon District meeting discusses tribal cattle and logging operations." *Char Koosta News* February 7, 2019. [Dixon District meeting discusses tribal cattle and logging operations | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Azure, Bernie. 2019b. "The answers to a healthy future for tribal people lie in the old ways." *Char Koosta News* April 18, 2019. [The answers to a healthy future for tribal people lie in the old ways | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Azure, Bernie. 2019c. "Tribal Council passes Cultural Waterways Ordinance." *Char Koosta News* August 19, 2019. [Tribal Council passes Cultural Waterways Ordinance | News | charkoosta.com](https://www.charkoosta.com/news/tribal-council-passes-cultural-waterways-ordinance)

Azure, Bernie. 2021. "House bill to change hunting regulations on tribal lands fails" *Char-Koosta News* February 18, 2021. [House bill to change hunting regulations on tribal lands fails | News | charkoosta.com](https://www.charkoosta.com/news/house-bill-to-change-hunting-regulations-on-tribal-lands-fails)

Baer, Hans A. 1982. "On the Political Economy of Health." *Medical Anthropology Newsletter* 14:1-2.

Baldwin, Matt. 2020. "Ruling favors Tribes in lawsuit with county, developer." *Lake County Leader* April 23, 2020. [Ruling favors Tribes in lawsuit with county, developer | Lake County Leader \(leaderadvertiser.com\)](https://www.leaderadvertiser.com/news/ruling-favors-tribes-in-lawsuit-with-county-developer)

Prucha, Francis Paul. 1973. *Americanizing The American Indians* Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA.

Pratt, Richard H.. "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites". In *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900*, edited by Francis Paul Prucha, 260-271. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
<https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674435056.c39>

Bear Don't Walk, M. R. 2019. *Recovering our Roots: The Importance of Salish Ethnobotanical Knowledge and Traditional Food Systems to Community Wellbeing on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana*. MA thesis. Missoula, MT. University of Montana.

Beck, Barbara Springer. 1978. "Agnes Vanderburg: A Woman's Life in the Flathead Culture" MA thesis. University of Montana.

Beck, Monte. 1978. "State v. Stasso: Off-Reservation Hunting Rights" *Montana Law Review* 39(2): 323-330.

Berger, R. Bethany. 2022. "Elouise Cobell." Cobell Scholarship website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [cobell_chapter1.pdf \(cobellscholar.org\)](https://www.cobellscholar.org/cobell_chapter1.pdf)

Bersamin, Andrea, Sheri Zidenberg-Cherr, Judith S. Stern, and Bret R. Luick. 2007. "Nutrient intakes are associated with adherence to a traditional diet among Yup'ik Eskimos living in remote Alaska Native communities: the CANHR Study." *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 66 (1): 62-70. <https://doi.org/10.3402/ijch.v66i1.18228>

Bigart, Robert and Clarence Woodcock. 1981. "St. Ignatius Mission, Montana: Reports from Two Jesuit Missionaries, 1885 & 1900-1901(Part I)." *Journal of the Southwest*, 23(2): 149-172.

Bigart, Robert and Clarence Woodcock. 1981. "St. Ignatius Mission, Montana: Reports from Two Jesuit Missionaries, 1885 & 1900-1901(Part II)." *Journal of the Southwest*, 23(3): 267-278.

Bigart, Robert, and C. Woodcock. 1996. *In the Name of the Salish & Kootenai Nation: The 1855 Hell Gate Treaty and the Origin of the Flathead Indian Reservation*. Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press.

Bigart, Robert. 2010. "Charlot loves his people!: The Defeat of Bitterroot Salish Aspirations for an Independent Bitterroot Valley Community." *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 60 (1): 24-44, 92-94.

Bigart 2020. *Providing for the People*. Norman, OK. University of Oklahoma Press.

Bigart, Robert and Woodcock, Clarence. 1996. *In the Name of the Salish & Kootenai Nation: The 1855 Hellgate Treaty and the Origin of the Flathead Indian Reservation*. Salish Kootenai College Press.

Bigcrane, Roy and Thompson Smith, dir.1990. *The Place of Falling Waters*. Pablo, CSKN. Salish Kootenai College and The Native Voices Public Television Workshop. YouTube. [The Place of the Falling Waters \(Pt 1\) - YouTube](#)

Birch, Leann L. 1999. "Development and food preferences." *Annual Review of Nutrition* 19: 41-62. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.nutr.19.1.41>

Birch, Leann L. and Jennifer O. Fisher. 1998. "Development of eating behaviours among children and adolescents." *Pediatrics* 101 (Supplement_2): 539-549 <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.101.S2.539>

Blue Bird Jernigan, Valarie, Bonnie Duran, David Ahn, and Marilyn Winkleby. 2010. "Changing Patterns in Health Behaviors and Risk Factors Related to Cardiovascular Disease Among American Indians and Alaska Natives." *American Journal of Public Health* 100: 677-683. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2009.164285>

Blue Bird Jernigan, Valarie, Kimberly R. Huyser, Jimmy Valdes & Vanessa Watts Simonds. 2017. "Food Insecurity Among American Indians and Alaska Natives: A National Profile Using the Current Population Survey–Food Security Supplement." *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition* 12(1): 1-10, DOI: [10.1080/19320248.2016.1227750](https://doi.org/10.1080/19320248.2016.1227750)

Boyd, Robert. 1999. *Indians, Fire, and the Land in the Pacific Northwest*. Corvallis, OR. Oregon State University Press.

Bramblett, Robert Glenn. 1996. "Habitats and Movements of Pallid and Shovelnose Sturgeon in the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, Montana and North Dakota." Dissertation. Montana State University

Brooks, Brad. 2022. "Native American Survivors of Alleged School Abuse Want Justice." *Routers*, July 26, 2022. [Native American survivors of alleged school sex abuse want justice \(reuters.com\)](https://www.reuters.com)

Brown, Alleen. 2020. "In the Mercenaries' Own Words: Documents Detail TigerSwan Infiltration of Standing Rock. The Intercept November 15, 2020. [Documents Detail TigerSwan Infiltration of Standing Rock \(theintercept.com\)](https://www.theintercept.com)

Bruggers, James David. 1987. *Natural Resources, Economic Development and Self-determination on Montana's Indian Reservations: The Salish and Kootenai Example*. MS thesis, University of Montana.

Bruyneel, Kevin. 2006. "The colonizer demands its "fair share," and more: Contemporary American anti-tribalism from Arnold Schwarzenegger to the extreme right." *New Political Science* 28 (3): 297-321.

Bureau of Indian Affairs. 2022. "Bureau of Indian Affairs" Bureau of Indian Affairs website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Bureau of Indian Affairs \(BIA\) | Indian Affairs](https://www.bia.gov)

Burlingame, Merrill G. and Kenneth Ross Toole. 1957. *A history of Montana. I*. New York City, NY: Lewis Historical Publishing.

Byker Shanks, Cramen, Selena Ahmed, Virgil Dupuis, Baily Houghtaling, Mary Ann Running Crane, Mike Tryon, Mike Pierre. 2020 "Perceptions of food environments and nutrition among residents of the Flathead Indian Reservation". *BMC Public Health*. 2020 20(1):1536. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-020-09584-7>

Cahoon, Heather M. 2005. "For Better or For Worse: Flathead Indian Reservation Governance and Sovereignty." Ph.D. diss. Missoula, MT The University of Montana.

Cameron, Catherine M. Cameron, Paul Kelton, Alan C. Swedlund. 2015. *Beyond Germs: Native Depopulation in North America*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Camplain Ricky, Nicolette I. Teufel-Shone, Luohua Jiang, Jennifer Chang, Spero M Manson. 2022. "American Indians and Alaska Natives with type 2 diabetes." *Preventive Medicine Reports* 29 101945.

Caprio, Sonia, Stephen R. Daniels, Adam Drewnowski, Francine R. Kaufman, Lawrence A. Palinkas, Arlan L. Rosenbloom, and Jeffrey B. Schwimmer. 2006. "Influence of race, ethnicity, and culture on childhood obesity: implications for prevention and treatment." *Obesity* 16 (12): 2566–2577. <https://doi.org/10.1038/oby.2008.398>

Carasik, Lauren, Bachman, and Jeffrey S. Bachman, Jeffrey S. 2019. "Destroying Indigenous Cultures in the United States." In *Cultural Genocide*, edited by Jeffery S. Bacham, 97-117. London, England: Routledge. <http://doi.org/10.4324/9781351214100>

Carney, M. R. 2021. *Fleshing out scales of precontact bulb stewardship and consumption in the Pend Oreille valley, Washington state* (Order No. 28413046). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (2571010308).

Charles, Dan. 2013. "Why Lots Of Grass-Fed Beef Sold In U.S. Comes From Down Under." National Public Radio website. October 3, 2013. Accessed July 15th, 2022.

[Why Lots Of Grass-Fed Beef Sold In U.S. Comes From Down Under : The Salt : NPR](#)

Chino, Michelle, Darlene R. Haff, and Carolee Dodge Francis. 2009. "Patterns of Commodity Food Use among American Indians." *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 7(2): 279-289. [Patterns of Commodity Food Use among American Indians – Te Mauri – Pimatisiwin \(journalindigenousandwellbeing.co.nz\)](#)

Chossudovsky, Michel. 1983. "Underdevelopment and the political economy of malnutrition and ill health." *International Journal of Health Services : Planning, Administration, Evaluation* 13 (1): 69–87. <https://doi.org/10.2190/K31G-5ACT-BAWB-F7PN>

Church, Jerilyn, Chinyere O. Ekechi, Aila Hoss, and Anika Jade Larson. 2015. "Tribal Water Rights: Exploring Dam Construction in Indian Country." *Journal of American Society of Law Medicine & Ethics* 43 (1): 60-3. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jlme.12218>

City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation of N. Y., 544 U.S. 197. 2005.

Clark H. Denny, Deborah Holtzman, R. Turner Goins, and Janet B. Croft. 2005. "Disparities in Chronic Disease Risk Factors and Health Status Between American Indian/Alaska Native and White Elders: Findings From a Telephone Survey, 2001 and 2002." *American Journal of Public Health* 95: 825-827, <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2004.043489>

Cobb, Amanda J. 2006. "Understanding Tribal Sovereignty: Definitions, Conceptualizations, and Interpretations." *American Studies* 46 (3/4): 115-132. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40643893>

Collette Adamsen, Shawnda Schroeder, Steven LeMire, and Paula Carter. 2018. "Education, Income, and Employment and Prevalence of Chronic Disease Among American Indian/Alaska Native Elders." *Prevention of Chronic Disease* 15 (E37). <https://doi.org/10.5888/pcd15.170387>

Colombi, Benedict J. 2014. "Here and There: The Effects of Upriver Dams on Indigenous Peoples," *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 12 (2): 99-104. <https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti/vol12/iss2/3>

Compher, Charlene. 2006. "The nutrition transition in American Indians." *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 17 (3): 217–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659606288376>

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2011. *Aáy u Sqélix^w a history of bull trout and the Salish and Pend d'Oreille people*. Pablo, CSKN. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2015a. *Sustainable, Comprehensive Economic Development Plan/Strategy* Pablo, CSKN. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2015b. *Comprehensive Resources Plan Volume 1 Existing Conditions* Pablo, CSKN. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2021a. “Fire on the Land Native People and Fire in the Northern Rockies.” Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation, & Conservation website. Accessed July 5, 2022.

[Fire on the Land | CSKT | Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation, & Conservation \(csktnrd.org\)](#)

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2021b. “Fire and the Forced Removal of the Salish from The Bitterroot.” Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation, & Conservation website. Accessed July 5, 2022.

[Bitterroot Removal | CSKT | Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation, & Conservation \(csktnrd.org\)](#)

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2021c. *CSKT Comprehensive Economic Development Plan/Strategy 2021*. Pablo, CSKN. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2021d. *Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes Annual Report 2020- 2021*. Pablo, CSKN. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2021e. “Aáy u Sqélix^w: a history of bull trout and the Salish and Pend d’Oreille people.” Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation, & Conservation website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [History of Bull Trout and the Salish and Pend d'Oreille People | CSKT | Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation, & Conservation \(csktnrd.org\)](#)

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. 2022. “Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Nation Map.” Pablo, CSKN. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation History/Archaeology Program 2011. “Native American Place Names Along the Columbia River Above Grand Coulee Dam, North Central Washington And Traditional Cultural Property Overview Report For the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation.” Place Name Document. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Place Name Document — CCT.HSY \(cct-hsy.com\)](#)

Contento, Isobel R., Sunyna Williams, John L. Michela, J.L., Amie B. Franklin,. 2006. “Food choice in adolescents in the context of family and friends.” *Journal of Adolescent Health* 38 (5): 575-582. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2005.05.025>

Cordain, Loren, Boyd Eaton, Anthony Sebastian, Neil Mann, Staffan Lindeberg, Bruce A Watkins, James H O’Keefe, and Janette Brand-Miller. 2005. “Origins and evolution of the Western diet: health implications for the 21st Century.” *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 81: 341–54. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajcn.81.2.341>

Coté, Charlotte. 2016. ““Indigenizing” Food Sovereignty. Revitalizing Indigenous Food Practices and Ecological Knowledges in Canada and the United States” *Humanities* 5 (3): 57. <https://doi.org/10.3390/h5030057>

Council of Canadian Academies. 2014. *Aboriginal Food Security in Northern Canada: An Assessment of the State of Knowledge*, Ottawa, ON. The Expert Panel on the State of Knowledge of Food Security in Northern Canada, Council of Canadian Academies.

[foodsecurity_fullreporten.pdf \(cca-reports.ca\)](#)

Cross Border Freight. 2019. "Shipping Vegetables from Mexico to USA" *Cross Border Freight* August 16, 2019. [Shipping Vegetables From Mexico To USA | Mexico Cross Border Freight](#)

Daley, Cynthia, Amber Abbott, Patrick Doyle, Glenn A. Nader, and Stephanie Larson. 2010. "A Review of Fatty Acid Profiles and Antioxidant Content in Grass-fed and Grain-fed beef." *Nutrition Journal* 9:10. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-2891-9-10>

Daniel, Pete. 2007. "African American Farmers and Civil Rights." *The Journal of Southern History* 73 (1): 3- 38. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/27649315>

Davenport, Frances Gardiner. ed. 2017. *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* Washington, D.C., Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Davis, James J., Vincent J. Roscigno, and George Wilson. 2016. "American Indian Poverty in the Contemporary United States." *Sociological Forum* 31 (1): 5-28. <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12226>

Derr, Kelly Marie. 2012. "Intensifying with Fire: Floral Resource Use and Landscape Management by the Precontract Coast Salish of Southwestern British Columbia." Ph.D. diss. Pullman, WA. Washington State University.

Delvin, Vince. 2016. "Late lawsuit seeks to stop tribes from acquiring Kerr Dam." *Independent Record* March 29, 2016. [Late lawsuit seeks to stop tribes from acquiring Kerr Dam \(helenair.com\)](#)

Devlin, Vince. 2006. "Tribes reject gaming compact." *Missoulian* November 29, 2006. [Tribes reject gaming compact \(missoulian.com\)](#)

Devlin, Vince. 2010. "Glacier Fresh Orchards sends Flathead cherries around the world." *Missoulian* August 4, 2010. [Glacier Fresh Orchards sends Flathead cherries around the world \(missoulian.com\)](#)

Deur, Douglas. 2000. "A Domesticated Landscape: Native American Plant Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America." Ph.D. diss. Baton Rouge, LA. Louisiana State University.

Deur, Douglas and Nancy J. Turner, ed. 2005. *Keeping It Living Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America*. Seattle, WA. University of Washington Press.

Diver, Sibyl. 2018. "Native Water Protection Flows Through Self- Determination: Understanding Tribal Water Quality Standards and "Treatment as a State." *Universities Council on Water Resources Journal of Contemporary Water Research & Education* 163: 6-30

Domel, S.B., Thompson, W.O., Davis, H.C., Baranowski, T., Leonard, S.B. & Baranowski, J. 1996. "Psychosocial predictors of fruit and vegetable consumption among elementary

school children.” *Health Education Research* 11 (3): 299-308.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/her/11.3.299>

Donders, Isabella, and Carles Barriocanal. 2020. “The Influence of Markets on the Nutrition Transition of Hunter-Gatherers: Lessons from the Western Amazon.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17 (17): 6307.
<https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17176307>

Donovan, Bill M. 1993. *Bartolomé de la Casas, The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*. Baltimore, MA. John Hopkins University Press.

Drazen, Allen. 2018. *Political Economy in Macroeconomics*. Princeton, NJ. Princeton University Press.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2017. “Map of Language Families of Pacific Northwest.” University at Buffalo [map.pacific.northwest.GIF \(537x426\) \(buffalo.edu\)](http://map.pacific.northwest.GIF(537x426)(buffalo.edu))

Duffy, Aoife. 2008. “Indigenous peoples' land rights: developing sui generis approach to ownership and restitution.” *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 15 (4), 505-538. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/157181108X374789>

Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. 2015 “U.S. Settler-Colonialism and Genocide Policies,” was delivered at the Organization of American Historians 2015 Annual Meeting in St. Louis, MO on April 18, 2015. *History News Network* May 12, 2016.
[Yes, Native Americans Were the Victims of Genocide | History News Network](http://www.historynewsnetwork.com/2015/04/18/yes-native-americans-were-the-victims-of-genocide/)

Dusenberry, Verne. 1959. “Visions among the Pend d'Oreille Indians” *Ethnos* 24 (1-2): 52-57.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.1959.9980860>

Duwamish, et al. Tribes of Indians v. the United States. 1934. U.S. Court of Claims 79 Ct. Cl. 530, No. F- 275

Easton, Norman Alexander. 1981. “The Underwater Archaeology of Straits Salish Reef-netting.” MA thesis. Burnaby, BC. Simon Fraser University.

Empey, Allison, Andrea Garcia, and Shaquita Bell. 2021. “American Indian/Alaska Native Child Health and Poverty.” *Academic Pediatrics* 21(8): S134-S139.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2021.07.026>

Engels, Friedrich. 1845. *The Condition of the Working Class in England* c2001.
<https://ebookcentral-proquest.com.weblib.lib.umt.edu:2443/lib/umontana/detail.action?docID=3008590>

Estes, Nick. 2019. “The U.S. stole generations of Indigenous children to open the West.” *High Country News* October 19, 2019 [The U.S. stole generations of Indigenous children to open the West \(Severed Ties\) — High Country News – Know the West \(hcn.org\)](https://www.hcn.org/stories/2019/10/19/the-u-s-stole-generations-of-indigenous-children-to-open-the-west-severed-ties/)

Estes, Nick 2021. *Our history Is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. London, NY. Verso.

Fahey, John. 1974. *The Flathead Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Farmer, Paul. 2004. "An Anthropology of Structural Violence." *Current Anthropology* 45 (3): 305-32. <https://doi.org/10.1086/382250>

Farmer, Paul, Nizeye B., Stulac S., and Keshavjee, S. 2006. "Structural Violence and Clinical Medicine." *PLOS Medicine* 3 (10): e499. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.0030449>

Fehrs, Adriana 2014a. "The good life of Tony Incashola." *Char Kootsa News* May 1, 2014.

Fehrs, Adriana. 2014b. "CSKT and State Of Montana hold meeting to discuss Alcoholic Beverage Tax Agreement." *Char Koosta News* October 2, 2014.

Feir, Donna L. 2016 "The long-term effects of forcible assimilation policy: The case of Indian boarding schools." *The Canadian Journal of Economics* 49 (2): 433-480. <https://doi.org/10.1111/caje.12203>

Feir, Donna L., Rob Gillezeau, and Maggie E.C. Jones. 2022. "The Slaughter of the Bison and Reversal of Fortunes on the Great Plains." *National Bureau of Economic Research* w30368. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w30368>

Fialkowski, Marie Kainoa. 2011. "Dietary Patterns of the Pacific Northwest Tribal Nations." Ph.D. diss. West Lafayette, IN. Purdue University.

First Nations Health Council. 2017. "Traditional Foods Fact Sheets." First Nations Health Council website. Accessed July 5, 2022.

Fischman, Katharine. 2017. "Adrift in the Sea: The Impact of the Business Supply Chain Transparency on Trafficking and Slavery Act of 2015 on Forced Labor in the Thai Fishing Industry." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 24 (1): 227-252. <https://doi.org/10.2979/INDJGLOLEGSTU.24.1.0227>

Fortier, Craig, and Edward Hon-Sing Wong. 2019. "The settler colonialism of social work and the social work of settler colonialism." *Settler Colonial Studies* 9 (4) 437-456 <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2018.1519962>

Fox, Mary Kay, William Hamilton, and Biing-Hwan Lin, ed. 2004. *Effects of Food Assistance and Nutrition Programs on Nutrition and Health: Volume 3, Literature Review*. Food and Rural Economics Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. *Food Assistance and Nutrition Research Report No. 19-3*. [USDA ERS - Effects of Food Assistance and Nutrition Programs on Nutrition and Health: Volume 3, Literature Review](https://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/food-assistance-and-nutrition-research-report-no-19-3)

French, John R . P., and Bertam Raven. 1959. "The Bases of Social Power." *In Studies in Social Power* 20: 150-167.

Frison, Emile A., Ifeyironwa Francisca Smith, Timothy Johns, Jeremy Cherfas, Pablo B. Eyzaguirre. 2006. "Agricultural Biodiversity, Nutrition, and Health: Making a Difference to Hunger and Nutrition in the Developing World." *Food and Nutrition Bulletin* 27 (2): 167-179. doi:[10.1177/156482650602700208](https://doi.org/10.1177/156482650602700208)

Furst, Tanis, Margaret Connors, Carole A. Bisogni, Jeffery Sobal, Laura Winter Falk. 1996. "Food choice: a conceptual model of the process." *Appetite* 26 (3): 247-65. <https://doi.org/10.1006/appe.1996.0019>

Gambino, Lauren and David Agren. 2019. "Trump announces tariffs on Mexico until 'immigration remedied'." *The Guardian* May 21, 2019. [Trump announces tariffs on Mexico until 'immigration remedied' | Trump administration | The Guardian](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/21/trump-tariffs-mexico-immigration)

Gaudin, Véronique Laberge, Olivier Receveur, Félix Girard, and Louise Potvin. 2015. "Facilitators and Barriers to Traditional Food Consumption in the Cree Community of Mistissini, Northern Quebec." *Ecology of Food and Nutrition* 54 (6): 663-692. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03670244.2015.1072815>

George-Kanentiio, D. 2017. "The doctrines of discovery - there are many." *News from Indian Country* <http://weblib.lib.umt.edu:8080/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.weblib.lib.umt.edu:2443/newspapers/doctrines-discovery-there-are-many/docview/1929673774/se-2>

Gingold, Dennis and M. Alexander Pearl. 2012 "In Memoriam Eloise Cobell." *Public Land and Resources Law Review* 33: 1-4.

Glasmier, Amy K. 2022. "Massachusetts Institute of Technology online living wage calculator." Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. [Living Wage Calculator \(mit.edu\)](https://livingwage.mit.edu/)

Göcke, Katja. 2012. "The us class action settlement agreement in Cobell v. Salazar an adequate redress for 120 years of mismanagement of Indian lands and funds. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 19 (3): 267-290. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718115-01903001>

Gostin, Lawrence O., Harold Hongju Koh, Michelle Williams, Margaret A. Hamburg, Georges Benjamin, William H. Foege, Patricia Davidson, Elizabeth H. Bradley, Michele Barry, Jeffrey P. Koplan, Mirta Flia Roses Periago, Wafaa El Sadr, Ann Kurth, Sten H. Vermund, and M. Mathew. 2020. "US withdrawal from WHO is unlawful and threatens global and US health and security." *The Lancet* August 1, 2020. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)31527-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)31527-0)

Gouveia, Grace Mary. 1994. "We also Serve': American Indian Women's Role in World War II." *Michigan Historical Review* 20 (2): 153. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20173463>

Griffith, Derek M., Mondri Mason, Michael Yonas, Eugenia Eng, Vanessa Jeffries, Suzanne Plihck and Barton Parks. 2007. "Dismantling institutional racism: theory and action." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 39: 381–392. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-007-9117-0>

Groesbeck, Amy S., Kirsten Rowell, Dana Lepofsky, and Anne K. Salomon. 2014. "Ancient clam gardens increased shellfish production: adaptive strategies from the past can inform food security today." *PLOS ONE* 9 (3): e91235. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0091235>

Groessler, Margit Elisabeth. 2008. "Traditional diet of the Salish, Kootenai, and Pend D'Oreille Indians in North West Montana and contemporary diet recommendations, a comparison." MA thesis. Montana State University.

Groves, Joanne. 1981. "Implementation of the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978." MA thesis. The University of Southern California.

Halpern, Peggy. 2007. "Obesity and American Indians/Alaska Natives." [Obesity and American Indians/Alaska Natives | ASPE \(hhs.gov\)](https://www.aspe.hhs.gov/obesity-and-american-indians-alaska-natives)

Harvey, Michael. 2021. "The Political Economy of Health: Revisiting Its Marxian Origins to Address 21st-Century Health Inequalities." *American Journal of Public Health* 111 (2): 293-300. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2020.305996>

Hauter, Wenonah. 2012 *Foodoplogy*. New York, NY: The New Press.

Heffernan, Trova. 2016. "The Atomic Veteran." Olympia, WA. Washington Secretary of State Legacy Washington website Accessed July 5, 2022. [World War II book.indd](#)

Hernandez, S. (2018, September 11). *Nooksack Tribe's Garden Helps Feed Elders and Youth*. *First Nations Development Institute*. <http://indianguiver.firstnations.org/nl180910-04/>

Hilborn, Alexander Michael. 2014. The Kalispel Tribe of Indian's Contemporary Usage of Traditional Foodways Oregon State University. BA [Honors College Thesis | The Kalispel Tribe of Indian's Contemporary Usage of Traditional Foodways | ID: vt150m001 | ScholarsArchive@OSU \(oregonstate.edu\)](#)

Hood, Virginia .L., Benson Kelly, Charlene Martinez, Shavonne Shuman, and Roger Secker-Walker. 1997. A Native American Community Initiative to Prevent Diabetes. *Ethnicity and Health* 2 (4): 277-285. DOI: [10.1080/13557858.1997.9961836](https://doi.org/10.1080/13557858.1997.9961836)

Hubbard, Tasha. 2014. "Buffalo Genocide in Nineteenth Century North America: "Kill, Skin, and Sell" In *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, edited by. Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander Laban Hinton, 292-305. Durham: Duke University Press.

Hunn, Eugene S. 1981. "On the Relative Contribution of Men and women to Subsistence among Hunter-gathers on the Columbia Plateau: A comparison with Ethnographic Atlas Summaries." *Journal of Ethnobiology* 1 (1): 124-134. [Volume 1, Number 1 • Spring/Summer 1981 | Society of Ethnobiology](#)

Jacobs, Elizabeth. 2003. *The Nehalem Tillamook : an ethnography*. Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press.

Jett, Terri R. 2020. *Fighting for Farm Justice* London, England: Routledge.

Johnson, James T. 1999. "Treaty Fishing Rights and Indian Participation in International Fisheries Management." *Denver University Law Review* 77: 403-424. "[Treaty Fishing Rights and Indian Participation in International Fisher](#)" by James T. Johnson (du.edu)

Johnson, Jennifer S., Elizabeth D. Nobmann, Elvin Asay, and Anne P. Lanier. 2009. "Dietary intake of Alaska Native people in two regions and implications for health: the Alaska Native Dietary and Subsistence Food Assessment Project." *Int J Circumpolar Health* 68 (2):109-22. <https://doi.org/10.3402/ijch.v68i2.18320>

Johnson-Down, Louise M., and Grace M. Egeland. 2013. "How is nutrition transition affecting dietary adequacy in Eeyouch (Cree) adults of Northern Quebec, Canada?" *Applied Physiology, Nutrition, and Metabolism* 38: 300–305. <https://doi.org/10.1139/apnm-2012-0167>

Jones, Stanley G. 2010. "Our Way" *Hoy Yud Dud*. Self -published.

Jorgensen, Joseph G. 1969. *Salish Language and Culture ; a Statistical Analysis of Internal Relationships, History, and Evolution*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University.

Joseph, Leigh, and Turner Nancy J. 2020. "The Old Foods Are the New Foods!": Erosion and Revitalization of Indigenous Food Systems in Northwestern North America. *Frontier in Sustainable Food Systems* 4: 596237. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2020.596237>

Juríková, Tunde, Stefan Balla, Jiri Sochor, Miroslav Pohanka, Jiri Mlcek, and Mojmir Baron. 2013. "Flavonoid Profile of Saskatoon Berries (*Amelanchier alnifolia* Nutt.) and Their Health Promoting Effects." *Molecules* 18: 12571-12686. <https://doi.org/10.3390/molecules181012571>

Kalt, Joseph P., and Joseph William Singer. 2004. "Myths and Realities of Tribal Sovereignty: The Law and Economics of Indian Self-Rule." KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP04-016. [Myths and Realities of Tribal Sovereignty: The Law and Economics of Indian Self-Rule. | Harvard Kennedy School](#)

Keepseagle Claims Administrator. 2018. Keepseagle Claims Administrator website. Accessed July 5, 2022. . <http://www.indianfarmclass.com/>

Keith, Jill F., Sherri Stastny, Ardith Brunt, and Wanda Agnew. 2018. "Barriers and Strategies for Healthy Food Choices among American Indian Tribal College Students: A Qualitative Analysis." *Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics* 118 (6): 1017-1026. doi:[10.1016/j.jand.2017.10.003](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jand.2017.10.003)

Kekki, Saara. 2019. Entangled Histories of Assimilation: Dillon S. Myer and the Relocation of Japanese Americans and Native Americans (1942–1953). *American Studies in Scandinavia* 51 (2): 25-48. <https://doi.org/10.22439/asca.v51i2.5973>

Kelley, N. Kelly, and John R. Lowe. 2019. "The Impact of an Obesity Risk Prevention Study among Native American Youth." *The ABNF Journal* 30 (1): 12-15.

Kelly, Alyssa. 2017. "Annual bitterroot dig brings tribal people together." *Char-Koosta News* May 18, 2017. [Annual bitterroot dig brings tribal people together | News | charkoosta.com](https://www.charkoosta.com/news/annual-bitterroot-dig-brings-tribal-people-together)

Kelly, Alyssa. 2018. "Youth dig into bitterroot harvest." *Char Koosta News* May 24, 2018. [Youth dig into bitterroot harvest | News | charkoosta.com](https://www.charkoosta.com/news/youth-dig-into-bitterroot-harvest)

Kelly, Alyssa. 2019. "CSKT Habitat Restoration and Fisheries Programs help fish thrive in Jocko River." *Char Koosta News* August 29, 2019. [CSKT Habitat Restoration and Fisheries Programs help fish thrive in Jocko River | News | charkoosta.com](https://www.charkoosta.com/news/cskt-habitat-restoration-and-fisheries-programs-help-fish-thrive-in-jocko-river)

Kelly, Casey Ryan. 2010. "Orwellian Language and the Politics of Tribal Termination (1953–1960)." *Western Journal of Communication* 74 (40): 351-371. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2010.492821>

Kiser, Tim, James Hansen, and Brian Kennedy. 2010. "Impacts and Pathways of Mine Contaminants to Bull Trout (*Salvelinus confluentus*) in an Idaho Watershed." *Archives of Environmental Contamination and Toxicology* 59 (2): 301-11. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00244-009-9457-x>

Klann, Mary. 2020. "To Make Native Votes Count, Janine Windy Boy Sued the Government" *Smithsonian Magazine*, October 29, 2020. [Articles by Mary Klann | Smithsonian Magazine](https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/to-make-native-votes-count-janine-windy-boy-sued-the-government-180972222/)

Knowles. 1973. "How Did The Southwest Boundary Get Left Out of the Flathead Reservation?" *Char Koosta News*, April 1, 1973.

Knox, Margaret L. 1993. "The New Indian Wars: A Growing National Movement Is Gunning for Tribal Treaties, Reservations and Rights. *Los Angeles Times* November 7th, 1993. 1993. [The New Indian Wars : A Growing National Movement Is Gunning for Tribal Treaties, Reservations and Rights. - Los Angeles Times \(latimes.com\)](https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-11-07ca-11931indian-story.html)

Koehler, Rhiannon. 2018. "Hostile Nations: Quantifying the Destruction of the Sullivan-Clinton Genocide of 1779." *The American Indian Quarterly* 42 (4): 427-453. <https://doi.org/10.5250/AMERINDIQUAR.42.4.0427>

Kringbaum, Dagny. 1997. "The impact of allotment on contemporary hunting conflicts: the Confederated Salish-Kootenai as example. M.A. thesis, University of Montana. Missoula, MT.

Krohn, Elsie. 2017. "Traditional Coastal Salish Foods." Accessed July 5, 2022. [Traditional Coast Salish foods list | Burke Museum](https://www.burkemuseum.org/traditional-coastal-salish-foods)

Kuhnlein, Harriet V. and Turner, Nancy J. 1991. *Traditional Plant Foods of Canadian Indigenous Peoples: Nutrition, Botany and Use*. Philadelphia, PA: Gordon and Breach. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781003054689>

Kuhnlein, Harriet V., and Olivier Receveur. 1996. "Dietary change and traditional food systems of indigenous peoples." *Annual Review of Nutrition* 16 (1): 417-442.

Kuhnlein, Harriet V., Suttillak Smitasiri, Salome Yesudas, Lalita Bhattacharjee, Li Dan, and Salek Ahmed. 2006. *Documenting traditional food systems of indigenous peoples : international case studies; guidelines for procedures*. Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment, McGill University, Quebec Canada.

Kunze, Jenna. 2021. "Montana bill would impose property taxes on fee lands waiting to be taken into trust." *Tribal Business News*, February 12, 2021.

[Montana bill would impose property taxes on fee lands waiting to be taken into trust \(tribalbusinessnews.com\)](https://tribalbusinessnews.com)

Lahren, Sylvester L. 1998a *Reservations and Treaties. Handbook of North American Indians. Plateau* 12:484-98. Deward E. Walker, Jr., ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Langer, Armin 2022. "Dog-Whistle Politics as a Strategy of American Nationalists and Populists: George Soros, the Rothschilds, and Other Conspiracy Theories." *In Nationalism and Populism: Expressions of Fear or Political Strategies?*, edited by Carsten Schapkow and Frank Jacob, 157-187. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter.

Lerche, Jens, and Alpa Shah. 2018. "Conjugated oppression within contemporary capitalism: Class, caste, tribe and agrarian change in India." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 45 (5-6): 927-949. <https://doi-org.colorado.idm.oclc.org/10.1080/03066150.2018.1463217>

Lerner, Baron H. 1996. "On What Authority Is This Being Done?" *Tuberculosis Control, Poverty and Coercion in Seattle, 1909-1973*. Dissertation. University of Washington.

Lopez, Brian. 2021. Republican bill that limits how race, slavery and history are taught in Texas schools becomes law." *The Texas Tribune* December 2, 2021. [Texas social studies bill targeting critical race theory becomes law | The Texas Tribune](https://www.texastribune.org/2021/12/02/texas-social-studies-bill-targeting-critical-race-theory/)

Lundquist, Laura. 2014. "Tribal bison hunt picks up near Gardiner." *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* January 29, 2014. https://www.bozemandailychronicle.com/news/wildlife/tribal-bison-hunt-picks-up-near-gardiner/article_7e49e5d0-894a-11e3-954b-001a4bcf887a.html

Lyons, Natasha, and Morgan Ritchie. 2017. "The Archaeology of Camas Production and Exchange on the Northwest Coast: With Evidence from a Sts'ailes (Chehalis) Village on the Harrison River." *Journal of Ethnobiology* 37 (2): 346-367. <https://doi.org/10.2993/0278-0771-37.2.346>

MacDonald, Cathy and Audrey Steenbeek .2015. "The Impact of Colonization and Western Assimilation on Health and Wellbeing of Canadian Aboriginal People." *International Journal of Regional and Local History* 10 (1): 32-46. <https://doi.org/10.1179/2051453015Z.00000000023>

- Mackay, Ried E. and Joe Feagin. 2022. "Merciless Indian Savages": Deconstructing Anti-Indigenous Framing." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 8 (4): 518-533. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23326492221112040>
- Madley, Benjamin. 2016. *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* New Haven, CT. Yale University Press .
- Maher, Lisa. 2002. "Don't leave us this way: ethnography and injection drug use in the age of AIDS." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 13 (4): 311-325. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0955-3959\(02\)00118-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0955-3959(02)00118-4)
- Malan, Vernon D. 1948. "Language and Social Change Among the Flathead Indians." MA thesis. Montana State University.
- Matei, Josiemer, Vasanti Malik, Nicole M. Wedick, Hannia Campos, Donna Spiegelman, Walter Willett and Frank B. Hu. 2012. "A symposium and workshop report from the Global Nutrition and Epidemiologic Transition Initiative: nutrition transition and the global burden of type 2 diabetes." *British Journal of Nutrition* 108 (7): 1325-1335. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007114512003200>
- Mamers, Danielle Taschereau. 2020. "'Last of the buffalo': bison extermination, early conservation, and visual records of settler colonization in the North American west." *Settler Colonial Studies* 10:1 126-14 <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2019.1677134>
- Nestle, Marion. 2013. *Food Politics* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Martin, Nick. 2022 The Supreme Court's attack on tribal sovereignty, explain." *High Country News* July 1, 2022. [The Supreme Court's attack on tribal sovereignty, explained — High Country News – Know the West \(hcn.org\)](https://www.hcn.org/stories/the-supreme-court-s-attack-on-tribal-sovereignty-explained/)
- McCoy, Terrence and Ledur, Júlia. 2022. "How Americans' love of beef is helping destroy the Amazon rainforest." *The Washington Post* Apr 29, 2022. [How Americans' love of beef is helping destroy the Amazon rainforest - Washington Post](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2022/04/29/how-americans-love-of-beef-is-helping-destroy-the-amazon-rainforest/)
- McFarlane, Peter, and Nicole Schabus. eds. 2017. *Whose Land Is It Anyway? A Manual for Decolonization*. Vancouver, BC: Federation of Post-Secondary Educators of BC.
- McKeehan, Patrick Michael. 1981. "The History of Chemawa Indian School." Dissertation. University of Washington.
- McKinley, Catherine E. and Valarie Blue Bird Jernigan. 2023. "I don't remember any of us ... having diabetes or cancer": How historical oppression undermines Indigenous foodways, health, and wellness. *Food and Foodways* 31 (1): 43-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2023.2172795>
- McLaughlin, John. 2022. "CSKT increased recreation fees, closes areas for tribal use only." *Daily Interlake* February 23, 2022. [CSKT increases recreation fees, closes areas for tribal use only | Daily Inter Lake](https://www.dailyinterlake.com/news/cskt-increases-recreation-fees-closes-areas-for-tribal-use-only/)

- McNeil, Kent. 2016. “La Relativité de la Souveraineté de Jure au Canada, 1600-2016 (The Relativity of de Jure Sovereignty in Canada, 1600-2016).” *Ospode Legal Studies Research Paper Series* 12(8). <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2791207>
- Meng, Melinda 2020. Bloody Blockades: The Legacy of the Oka Crisis. *Harvard International Review* 41 (3): 38-41. [Bloody Blockades: The Legacy of the Oka Crisis \(harvard.edu\)](https://www.harvard.edu/bloody-blockades-the-legacy-of-the-oka-crisis)
- Michelson, Alan. 2020. “George Washington, Town Destroyer It’s time to reckon with a US founding father who waged genocidal warfare against Indigenous nations.” *Frieze* July 24, 2020. [George Washington, Town Destroyer | Frieze](https://www.frieze.com/article/george-washington-town-destroyer)
- Middleton, Beth Rose Manning., and Steven Gayle 2022. “Enslaved in a Free Country: Legalized Exploitation of Native Americans and African Americans in Early California and the Post-Emancipation South.” *Journal of Law and Political Economy* 3 (2).
- Milburn, Michael P. 2004. “Indigenous Nutrition: Using Traditional Food Knowledge to Solve Contemporary Health Problems.” *American Indian Quarterly* 28 (3-4): 412-433. <https://doi.org/10.1353/aiq.2004.0104>
- Minkler Meredith, Steven P. Wallace, Marian McDonald. 1994. “The political economy of health: a useful theoretical tool for health education practice.” *International Quarterly of Community Health Education* 15 (2): 111-26. <https://doi.org/10.2190/T1Y0-8ARU-RL96-LPDU>
- Mission Mountain Food Enterprise Center. 2022. Mission Mountain Food Enterprise Center website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Mission Mountain Food Enterprise Center - Mission West Community Development Partners \(missionwestcdp.org\)](https://missionwestcdp.org)
- Mitchell, J. 2021. *The devil you know: Dog-whistle politics, state coercion, & the construction of the BLM folk devil* (Order No. 29274313). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (2700377273).
- Moffatt, Jessica, Maria Mayan and Richard Long. 2013. “Sanitoriums and the Canadian Colonial Legacy: The Untold Experiences of Tuberculosis Treatment.” *Qualitative Health Research* 23 (12) : 1591– 1599. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732313508843>
- Montana Department of Public Health and Human Services. 2022. The Montana WIC program-approved foods list. Montana Department of Public Health and Human Services website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Montana WIC Food List \(mt.gov\)](https://www.mt.gov/wic/food-list)
- Montana Department of Natural Resources & Conservation. 2022. *State Land Exchanges on the Flathead Indian Reservation* Montana Department of Natural Resources & Conservation website. Access July 5, 2022. [State Land Exchanges on the Flathead Indian Reservation — Montana DNRC \(mt.gov\)](https://dnrc.mt.gov/state-land-exchanges-on-the-flathead-indian-reservation)

- Moore, Holly. 2017. "APTN Investigates: Reliving Indian and Inuit Tuberculosis Sanatoriums." *Aboriginal Peoples Television Network* website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [APTN Investigates: Reliving Indian and Inuit Tuberculosis Sanatoriums - APTN News](#)
- Moore, Holly. 2018. "Indian Hospitals' lawsuit Triggers Memories of Horrific Abuse at Manitoba TB Sanatorium". *Aboriginal Peoples Television Network* website. Accessed July 5, 2022. ['Indian Hospitals' lawsuit triggers memories of horrific abuse at Manitoba TB sanatorium - APTN News](#)
- Morris, Aldon. 2022. "Alternative view of modernity: The subaltern speaks." *American Sociological Review* 87 (1) : 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224211065719>
- Mosby, Ian. 2013. "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952." *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 46 (91): 145-172. <https://doi.org/10.1353/his.2013.0015>
- Mourning Dove. 1990. *A Salishan Autobiography*. Lincoln: NE. University of Nebraska Press.
- Muckle, Robert J. 1998. *The First Nations of British Columbia An Anthropological Survey*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- National Congress of American Indians. 2019. "Becoming Visible: A Landscape Analysis of State Efforts to Provide Native American Education for All." Washington, DC. September 2019. [NCAI-Becoming Visible Report-Digital FINAL 10 2019.pdf](#)
- National Potato Council. 2022. "Where Potatoes are Grown." National Potato Council website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Where Potatoes are Grown - National Potato Council](#)
- Native Nations Institute. 2016. *Access to Capital and Credit in Native Communities* Tucson, AZ: Native Nations Institute. [Native Nations Institute :: Access to Capital and Credit in Native Communities \(arizona.edu\)](#)
- Nebehay, Stephanie, 2021. "U.S. condemns, China at UN rights forum for abuse of Uighurs, Tibetans." *Reuters* March 12, 2021. [U.S. condemns China at UN rights forum for abuse of Uighurs, Tibetans | Reuters](#)
- Nenemay, Alyssa. 2013. "Elder's Appreciation Luncheon a time for stories of the past." *Char Koosta News* February 28, 2013.
- Neumeyer, K. 2017. "Preserving 'Place of Mountain Huckleberries'." *Northwest Treaty Tribes* Winter 2016/17, 8.
- Noreen, Willows, Louise Johnson-Down, Moubarac Jean-Claude, Michel Lucas, Elizabeth Robinson, and Malek Batal. 2018. "Factors associated with the intake of traditional foods in the *EeyouIstchee* (Cree) of northern Quebec include age, speaking the Cree language and food sovereignty indicators." *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 77 (1): 1536251. <https://doi.org/10.1080/22423982.2018.1536251>

O'Brien, Diane M., Keneth E. Thummel, Lisa R. Bulkow, Zhican Wang., Brittany Corbin, Joseph Klejka, Scarlett E. Hopkins, Bert B. Boyer, Thomas W. Hennessy, and Rosalyn Singleton. 2016. "Declines in traditional marine food intake and vitamin D levels from the 1960s to present in young Alaska Native women." *Public Health Nutrition* 20 (10): 1738–1745. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1368980016001853>

Office of the Federal Register National Archives and Records Administration. 2011. Code of Federal Regulations Title 25 Indians Parts 1 to 299. Office of the Federal Register National Archives and Records Administration website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [eCFR :: Title 25 of the CFR -- Indians](#)

Organization for Competitive Markets. 2020. "Organization for Competitive Markets: Fueling Beef Monopoly Expansion, U.S. Lifts Two-Year Ban on Brazilian Beef Imports." *Organization for Competitive Markets* February 23, 2020. [Fueling Beef Monopoly Expansion, U.S. Lifts Two-Year Ban on Brazilian Beef Imports – Organization for Competitive Markets](#)

Pace-Asciak, R., Dalmas, M., Gatt, M., Azzopardi Muscat, M. & Calleja, N. 2003. *The First National Health Interview Survey*. Malta: Department of Health Information

Palladino, Lawrence Benedict. 1922. *Indian and white in the Northwest: A history of Catholicity in Montana, 1831-1891*. Lancaster, PA. Wickerham Publishing Company.

Pappas, George D. 2016. *The literary and Legal Genealogy of Native American Dispossession*. London, England. Routledge.

Parham, Vera. 2012. "These Indians Are Apparently Well to Do": The Myth of Capitalism and Native American Labor." *International Review of Social History* 57 (30): 447-470. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002085901200051X>

Parham, Vera 2014. "All Go to the Hop Fields." *Native Diasporas Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas*. Edited by Gregory D. Smithers and Brooke N. Newman, Pekka Hämäläinen and Paul Spickard. Lincoln, NE. University of Nebraska Press. 317-346.

Parman, Donald Lee. 1967. "The Indian Civilian Conservation Corps." Dissertation. University of Oklahoma.

Parman, Donald Lee. 1971. "The Indian Civilian Conservation Corps." *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (1): 39-56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3637828>

Peacock, Sandra. 1998. "Putting Down Roots: The Emergence of Wild Plant Food Production on the Canadian Plateau." Dissertation, University of Calgary.

Pederson, Gregory T. Pederson, Lisa J. Graumlich, Daniel B. Fagre, Todd Kipfer, and Clint C. Muhlfeld. 2010. "A century of climate and ecosystem change in Western Montana: What do Temperature Trends portend?" *Climatic Change* 98: 133–154. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-009-9642-y>

Pelly, Lauren. 2018. "1.1B class action lawsuit filed on behalf of former 'Indian hospital' patients." *CBC News* January 30, 2018.

[\\$1.1B class-action lawsuit filed on behalf of former 'Indian hospital' patients | CBC News](#)

Perez, Annabel. 2010. "Policy Analysis Proposal Regarding the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978." MA thesis. California State University.

Perez, Deborah K. 1997. "Culture Change Among the Coastal Salish." MA thesis. University of Texas.

Pestano, Paul, Etan Yeshua and Jane Houlihan. 2011. *Sugar in children's cereals: Popular brands pack more sugar than snack cakes and cookies* Washington, D.C. Environmental Working Group.

Pindus, Nancy M., Carol Hafford, Diane K. Levy, Jennifer Biess, Jasmine Simington, Carl Hedman, and Jodie Smylie. 2016. "Study of the Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations (FDPIR): Final Report." *The Urban Institute for the U.S. Department of Agriculture Food and Nutrition Services* website, July 5. Accessed August 5, 2022.

[Study of the Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations \(FDPIR\) \(azuredge.us\)](#)

Platt, A. E. 1994. "Native American Women from Chemawa Train to work in Shipyards." *Oregon Journal* Accessed July 10, 2022. [Native American women from Chemawa train to work in shipyards \(oregonhistoryproject.org\)](#)

Prentice, Andrew M. 2006. "The emerging epidemic of obesity in developing countries." *International Journal of Epidemiology* 35 (1): 93-99. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyi272>

Pressler, Mariel, Julie Devinsky, Miranda Duster, Joyce Lee, Courtney Glick, Samson Wiener, Juliana Laze, Daniel Friedman, Timothy Roberts, and Orrin Devinsky. 2022. "Dietary Transitions and Health Outcomes in Four Populations - Systematic Review." *Frontiers in Nutrition* 9: 748305. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fnut.2022.748305>

Puddephatt, JA, G. S. Keenan, A. Fielden, D. L. Reaves, J. C. G. Halford, C. A. Hardman. 2020. "Eating to survive': A qualitative analysis of factors influencing food choice and eating behaviour in a food-insecure population." *Appetite* <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2019.104547>

Puisto, J. 2000. "*This is My Reservation, I belong here:*" *The Salish Kootenai Struggle Against Termination*. Ph.D. diss. Phoenix, AZ. Arizona State University.

Purdy, John Lloyd. 1996. *The Legacy of D'Arcy McNickle: writer, historian activist*. Norman, OK. University of Oklahoma Press.

Randall, Beckye. 2010. "Tribal Leader Shares his Story in a New Book." *North Country Outlook*. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Tribal leader shares his story in a new book | Communities | northcountyoutlook.com](#)

Ravenscroft, J., Schell, L. M., and Akwesasne Task Force on the Environment 2014. Dietary patterns of Akwesasne Mohawk adolescents. *Annals of Human Biology* 41 (5): 403-414. <https://doi.org/10.3109/03014460.2013.857722>

Reid, John, Matthew Rout, Te Maire Tau, Cheryl Smith. 2017. *The Colonising Environment: An aetiology of the Trauma of Settler Colonisation and Land Alienation on Ngāi Tahu Whānau*. UC Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha, Christchurch New Zealand.

Richards, Timothy J., and Paul M. Patterson. 2006. "Native American Obesity: An Economic Model of the "Thrifty Gene" Theory." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 88 (3): 542-560. [Actions for Individuals and Families | Healthy Weight for Life \(ihs.gov\)](#)

Roberts, Jerry. 2020. "Historic Courthouse Plaques Recognize Santa Barbara's 'First White' Men and Women" *The Santa Barbara Independent* July 13, 2020. [Historic Courthouse Plaques Recognize Santa Barbara's 'First White' Men and Women - The Santa Barbara Independent](#)

Robidoux, M. A., and Mason, C. W. eds. 2017. *A land not forgotten: Indigenous food security and land-based practices in northern Ontario*. Winnipeg, Manitoba University of Manitoba Press.

Rockwell, David L. 1983. "The Mission Mountain Wilderness" *Montana Magazine* 61: 81-86.

Rosenthal, Nicolas G. 2012. *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press.

Rozin, Paul. 1990a. "Acquisition of stable food preferences." *Nutrition Reviews* 48 (2): 06-113. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1753-4887.1990.tb02912.x>

Rozin, Paul. 1990b. "Development in the food domain." *Developmental Psychology* 26 (4): 355-36.2 <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0012-1649.26.4.555>

Salish Institute. 2022. "Camps." *Salish Institute website*. Accessed July 5, 2022. [The Salish Institute - Camps](#)

Samuels, Iris. 2021. "Montana Bans critical race theory programs." *Indian Country Today* July 7, 2021. [Montana bans critical race theory programs - ICT \(indiancountrytoday.com\)](#)

Satia, J. A. 2009. "Diet-related disparities: understanding the problem and accelerating solutions." *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 109(4): 610-615. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jada.2008.12.019>

Satran, Joe. 2017. "This Is Where America Gets Almost All Its Winter Lettuce. Who knew?" *Huffpost* Mar 4, 2015. [This Is Where America Gets Almost All Its Winter Lettuce | HuffPost Life](#)

Schelling, Thomas C. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven, CT. Yale University Press.

Schmitt. 2020. "Missouri Co-Sponsors Letter Urging Federal Investigation into Meat Packing Anti-Trust Concerns." *Eric Schmitt Missouri Attorney General News* May 5, 2020. [Missouri Co-Sponsors Letter Urging Federal Investigation into Meat Packing Anti-Trust Concerns \(mo.gov\)](https://www.mo.gov/newsroom/2020/05/05/missouri-co-sponsors-letter-urging-federal-investigation-into-meat-packing-anti-trust-concerns)

Schulz, Leslie O., Peter H. Bennett, Eric Ravussin, Judith R. Kidd, Kenneth K. Kidd, Julian Esparza, J, & Mauro E. Valencia. 2006. "Effects of traditional and western environments on prevalence of type 2 diabetes in Pima Indians in Mexico and the U.S." *Diabetes Care* 29 (8): 1866–1871. <https://doi.org/10.2337/dc06-0138>

Seifried, Richard Dwight. 1968. "Early Administration of the Flathead Indian Reservation 1855 to 1893." MA thesis University of Montana.

Seligman, H. K., and D. Schillinger. 2010. "Hunger and socioeconomic disparities in chronic disease." *New England Journal of Medicine* 363 (1): 6-9.

Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee. 2020. "1908 Swan Valley Massacre." *Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee* website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Documents \(salishaudio.org\)](https://salishaudio.org/documents/1908-swain-valley-massacre)

Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee. 2019. "Sk^wsk^wstúlex^w Names upon the Land *Ethnogeography of the Salish and Kalispel People* Introduction for a Portfolio of Maps and Signs." Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee website. Accessed July 5, 2022.

Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee. 2018. "The Swan Massacre: A Brief History by the Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee." Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee website. Accessed July 5, 2022.

Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee.. 1999. *Coyote Stories of the Montana Salish Indian*. Pablo, MT and Helena, MT. Salish Kootenai College Press and Montana Historical Society Press.

Séliš-Qlispé Culture Committee. 2005. *The Salish People and the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Lincoln, NE. University of Nebraska Press.

Sevilla, G. 1999. "A people in peril: Pimas on the front lines of an epidemic." *The Arizona Republic* Oct. 31, 1999.

Shakil, Ismail. 2023. "Canadian PM urges Israel to change its approach after raid, clashes." *Reuters* April 5, 2023.

Shanks, Carmen Byker, Selena Ahmed, Virgil Dupuis, Mike Tryon, MaryAnn Running Crane, Baily Houghtaling, and Teres Garvin. 2020. "Dietary Quality Varies Among Adults on the Flathead Nation of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes in Montana." *Journal of Community Health* 45: 388-399. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10900-019-00753-3>

Wendt, Simon. 2013. "Defenders of Patriotism or Mothers of Fascism? The Daughters of the American Revolution, Antiradicalism, and Un-Americanism in the Interwar Period" *Journal of American Studies* 47 (4): 943-969. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875813001321>

- Sindelar, Rita. 2004. "Negotiating Indian Identity: Native Americans And Transracial Adoption." MA thesis. Loyola University of Chicago.
- Singer, Merril. 1989. "The Coming Age of Critical Medical Anthropology." *Social Science Medicine* 28 (11) 1193-1203.
- Singer M., and Hans Baer. 1995. *Critical Medical Anthropology*. Amityville NY: Baywood Publishing Company.
- Singer, Merrill. 1993. "A Rejoinder to Wiley's Critique of Critical Medical Anthropology." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*. 7 (2): 185-191.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/MAQ.1993.7.2.02A00040>
- Singer J, Putulik Kidlapik C, Martin B, Dean HJ, Trepman E, Embil JM. 2014. "Food consumption, obesity and abnormal glycaemic control in a Canadian Inuit community." *Clinical Obesity* 4 (6): 316-23. doi: [10.1111/cob.12074](https://doi.org/10.1111/cob.12074)
- Singletary, Loretta, Staci Emm, Fara Ann Brummer, George C. Hill, Steve Lewis and Vicki Hebb. 2016. "Results of an assessment to identify potential barriers to sustainable agriculture on American Indian reservations in the Western United States." *The Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension* 22 (4): 375-387.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1389224X.2015.1074591>
- Snelgrove, C., R. K. Dhamoon, and J. Corntassel. 2014. "Unsettling settler colonialism: The discourse and politics of settlers, and solidarity with indigenous nations." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3 (2): 1–32.
- Sonora, Robert and Brigitta Miranda-Freer. 2019. "The trade war comes to Montana." *Montana Business Quarterly* 57 (4): 24-27.
- Stephens, Carolyn, Clive Nettleton, John Porter, Ruth Willis, Stephanie Clark. 2005. "Indigenous peoples' health-why are they behind everyone, everywhere?" *The Lancet* 366 (9479): 10-13.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(05\)66801-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(05)66801-8)
- Stephens, Carolyn, John Porter, Clive Nettleton, Ruth Willis. 2006. "Indigenous health 4-Disappearing, displaced, and undervalued: a call to action for Indigenous health worldwide." *The Lancet* 367 (9527): 2019-2028. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(06\)68892-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(06)68892-2)
- Stout, M.A. 2012. *Native American Boarding Schools*. Greenwood.
- Stovall, Tyler. 2022. *White freedom: The racial history of an idea*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Suttles, Wayne P. 1951. "The early diffusion of the potato among the Coast Salish." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7 (3) : 272-288.

Smith, Burton M. 1979. "The Politics of Allotment: The Flathead Indian Reservation as a Test Case." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 70 (3): 131- 140. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40489857>

Smith, Thompson. 1990. "A Brief History of Kerr Dam and the Reservation." Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. Pablo, CSKN.

Snipp, Matthew C. 1986. "The Changing Political and Economic Status of the American Indians: From Captive Nations to Internal Colonies." *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 45 (2): 145-157. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1536-7150.1986.tb01915.x>

Sokol, Chad. 2020. "Congress passes historic CSKT water compact with massive spending bill." *Daily Inter Lake* December 22, 2020. [Congress passes historic CSKT water compact with massive spending bill | Daily Inter Lake](#)

Sokol, Chad. 2021. "Lake County settles lawsuit over tribal tax breaks." *Daily Inter Lake* January 26, 2021. [Lake County settles lawsuit over tribal tax breaks | Daily Inter Lake](#)

Strahan, Rene. 2006. "Wake cooks: a light during times of darkness." *Char Koosta News* September 14, 2006. [Wake cooks: a light during times of darkness | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Striffler, Steve. 2005. *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America's Favorite Food*. New Haven, CT. Yale University Press.

Stubbs, Ron D. 1966. "An Investigation of the Edible and Medicinal Plants Used by the Flathead Indians." MA thesis. University of Montana.

Suttles, Wayne. ed. *1990 Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 7, Northwest Coast*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Swaney, Kim. 2012. "Rooted in tradition." *Char Koosta News* May 17, 2012 [Rooted in tradition: | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Tanner, Chuck. 2013. "Take these tribes down" The anti-Indian Movement Comes to Washington State." ["Take these Tribes Down" The Anti-Indian Movement Comes to Washington State * Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights \(irehr.org\)](#)

Tanner, Chuck. 2015. "The Revolutionary War for Citizens of Montana." *Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights* ["The Revolutionary War for Citizens of Montana" * Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights \(irehr.org\)](#)

Tanner, Chuck. 2021. "The People's Rights Campaign to Overturn Tribal Water and Fishing Rights in the Klamath Basin." *Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights* [The People's Rights Campaign to Overturn Tribal Water and Fishing Rights in the Klamath Basin * Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights \(irehr.org\)](#)

Teit, James. 1900. The Thompson Indian of British Columbia. *Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History* 1 (9):163-392. New York City, NY. Stechert and Company.

Teufel-Shone, Nicolette. I., Luohua Jiang, Jennifer Rockell,, Jennifer Chang, Janette Beals, Ann Bullock, and Spero M. Manson. 2018. “Food choices and distress in reservation-based American Indians and Alaska Natives with type 2 diabetes.” *Public Health Nutrition* 21 (13): 2367–2375. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1368980018000897>

Thomas, Alston V.1989. “The Northern Roots of Hunter-gatherer Intensification: Camas and the Pacific Northwest. Ph.D. Diss. Pullman, WA. Washington State University.

Tohono O'odham Community Action. 2010. “A new generation of O’odam farmers.” Tohono O'odham Community Action website. Accessed July 5th, 2022. [A New Generation of O'odham Farmers - Tohono O’odham Community Action \(TOCA\) \(usda.gov\)](https://www.usda.gov/press-releases/2010/07/05/20100705tocafarmers)

Tohono O’odham Nation. 2016. Issue Brief: The United States’ Obligation to Replace Damaged Reservation Land. Tohono O’odham Nation website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Microsoft Word - 99-503 Issue Brief 20090129.doc \(tonation-nsn.gov\)](https://www.tonation-nsn.gov/issue-brief-20090129)

Trosper, Ron. L. 1974. “The Economic Impact of the Allotment Policy on the Flathead Indian Reservation.” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University. Boston, M.A.

Tucson Local Media. 2006. “From the ground, up: The Tohono O'odham fight diabetes with crops their grandparents grew.” *Tucson Local Media* November 9, 2006. [From the ground, up: The Tohono O'odham fight diabetes with crops their grandparents grew | Import | tucsonlocalmedia.com](https://www.tucsonlocalmedia.com/2006/11/09/from-the-ground-up-the-tohono-odham-fight-diabetes-with-crops-their-grandparents-grew/)

Tunc, Tanfer Emin and Annessa Ann Babic. 2017. “Food on the Home Front, Food on the Warfront: World War II and the American Diet. *Food and Foodways* 25 (1): 101-106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2017.1311159>

Tudor, Keith, Emma Green, and Elizabeth Brett. 2022. “Critical Whiteness: A Transactional Analysis of a Systemic Oppression.” *Transactional Analysis Journal* 52 (3): 193-208 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03621537.2022.2076394>

Turner, Katherine Laurel. 2007. “Food Security is what is Indigenous to Our People”: Colonization, Camas, and the Diet of the Coast Salish People of British Columbia [“Food Security is what is Indigenous to Our People” | Journal of Undergraduate Studies at Trent \(JUST\) \(trentu.ca\)](https://www.trentu.ca/undergraduate-studies/journal-of-undergraduate-studies-at-trent/food-security-is-what-is-indigenous-to-our-people/)

Turner, Nancy J. 1997. *Food Plants of Interior First Peoples*. Vancouver, B.C. UBC Press.

Turner, Nancy J., Harriet V. Kuhnlein, Keith N. Eggar. 1986. “The Cottonwood Mushroom (*Tricholoma Populinum*): A Food Resource of the Interior Salish Indian Peoples of British Columbia.” *Canadian Journal of Botany* 65: 921-927.

Turner, Nancy J., Laurence C. Thompson, M. Terry. Thompson, and Annie Z. York. 1990. *Thompson Ethnobotany: Knowledge and Usage of Plants by the Thompson Indians of British Columbia*. Victoria, B.C. Royal British Columbia Museum.

- Turner, Nancy J., and Dawn C. Loewen. 1998. "The Original "Free Trade": Exchange of Botanical Products and Associated Plant Knowledge in Northwestern North America." *Anthropologica* 40 (1): 49-70. <https://doi.org/10.2307/25605872>
- Turner, Nancy J., Thelma Harvey, Sandy Burgess, Harriet V. Kuhnlein. 2006. "The Nuxalt Food and Nutrition Program, Coastal British Columbia: 1981-2006." *Indigenous Peoples' Food Systems/Nuxalk*: 23-44. [The Nuxalk Food and Nutrition Program, Coastal British Columbia, Canada: 1981--2006 - DocsLib](#)
- Turner, Nancy J., and Katherine Turner. 2008. "Where our women used to get the food": cumulative effects and loss of ethnobotanical knowledge and practice; case study from Coastal British Columbia." *Botany* 115: 103–115. <https://doi.org/10.1139/B07-020>
- Turner, Nancy J. 2014. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral Knowledge: Ethnobotany and Ecological Wisdom of Indigenous Peoples of Northwestern North America*. Montreal, Quebec. McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Turner, Nancy J. ed. 2020. *Plants, People and Places. The Roles of Ethnobotany and Ethnoecology in Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights in Canada and Beyond*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Turney-High, Harry Holbert. 1937. "The Flathead Indians of Montana." *American Anthropological Association* 48:5-160.
- Ulrich, Roberta. 2010. *American Indian Nations from Termination to Restoration, 1953-2006*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln.
- Ulrichs, Martina, Terry Cannon, Andrew Newsham, Lars Otto Naess, and Mipsie Marchall. 2023. *Climate Change & Food Security Vulnerability Assessment Toolkit for assessing community-level potential for adaptation to climate change*. 108. CGIAR Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security Montpellier, France.
- Under the Big Sky. 2022. *Roam Free Ranch*. YouTube. [Roam Free Ranch | Under the Big Sky - YouTube](#)
- United States Census Bureau. 2020. "Flathead Reservation, MT is a American Indian Area/Hawaiian Home Land located in the United States." *United States Census Bureau*. [Flathead Reservation, MT - Census Bureau Profile](#)
- United States. Congress. House of Representatives. Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs. 1920. "Indians of the United States: Investigation of the Field Service." Sixty-sixth Congress, Second session. Washington, D.C., *U.S. Government Printing Office* 3: 1277-1284.
- United States Department of Agriculture National Agricultural Statistics Service. 2019. "Census of Agriculture Race/Ethnicity/ Gender Profile." *United States Department of Agriculture National Agricultural Statistics Service* [cpd30047.pdf \(usda.gov\)](#)

United States Department of Agriculture. 2022. *Creating and Range of Value-added Opportunities with Roam Free Ranch*. YouTube. [Roam Free Ranch Uses USDA To Expand Markets - YouTube](#)

United States Department of Agriculture. 2022a. “Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children About WIC.” United States Department of Agriculture website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [About WIC | Food and Nutrition Service \(usda.gov\)](#)

United States Department of Agriculture. 2022. “2021 State Agriculture Overview Montana.” United States Department of Agriculture website. Accessed September 5, 2022. [USDA/NASS 2021 State Agriculture Overview for Montana](#)

United States Congress Apr. 23, 1904. [H. R. 12231.] | [Public, No. 159.] 33 Stat., 302. [1904-Flathead Allotment Act.pdf \(mt.gov\)](#)

United States Department of the Interior. 2022. “Bureau of Trust Funds Administration” United States Department of the Interior website. Accessed July 5, 2022. [Bureau of Trust Funds Administration | Indian Affairs \(bia.gov\)](#)

University of Montana. 1964. Office of University Relations, "Montana State University Biological Station on Yellow Bay of Flathead" University of Montana News Releases, 1928, 1956-present. <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/newsreleases/1469>

Upham, Lailani. 2011. “Community gardens continue to grow.” *Char Koosta News* July 14, 2011. [Community gardens continue to grow | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Upham, Lailani. 2016. “Tales of the bison hunt.” *Char Koosta News* Jan 28, 2016. [Tales of the bison hunt | News | charkoosta.com](#)

Upham, Lailani. 2019. “Tony Incashola remembers Whitebark pine from his youth.” *Char Kootsa News* September 26, 2019.

Vannoy, J. 2021 “History of Sheridan’s Drum and Bugle Corps.” *Sheridan Media* July 17, 2021. [History of Sheridan’s Drum and Bugle Corps – Sheridan Media](#)

VanWinkle, T.N. and Friedman, J.R. 2018. American Indian Landowners, Leasemen, and Bureaucrats: Property, Paper, and the Poli-Technics of Dispossession in Southwestern Oklahoma. *The American Indian Quarterly* 42 (4): 508-533. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/708889>.

Vendiola, Michelle, Michael Vendiola, and Chuck Tanner. 2017. “Confronting Anti-Indianism in Skagit County.” [Confronting Anti-Indianism in Skagit County * Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights \(irehr.org\)](#)

Voggeser, Garrit. 2001. *The Flathead Project: The Indian Projects*. Denver, Colorado. Bureau of Reclamation.

Walls, Melissa L., Les B. Whitbeck. 2012. "The Intergenerational Effects of Relocation Policies on Indigenous Families." *Journal of Family Issues* 33 (9): 1272–1293.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x12447178>

Walsh, M. K., M.L. Lukens, P.T. McCutcheon, and G.C. Burtchard. 2017. "Fire-climate-human interactions during the postglacial period at Sunrise Ridge, Mount Rainier National Park, Washington (USA)." *Quaternary Science Reviews*, 177, 246-264.

Washington Department of State Fish and Wildlife. 2016. "Hunting Co-management Agreement Between the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife and the Skokomish Indian Tribe (Public Lands and Private Industrial Timberlands). WDFW and Skokomish wildlife management. https://wdfw.wa.gov/sites/default/files/2018-12/skokomish_hunting_co-mgmt_agreement_oct_2016.pdf

Ward, Patrick Dennis. 2002. *Manifest destiny: The idea of progress and the rationalization of violence in western colonization*. Ph.D. diss. Buffalo, NY. University of New York.
<http://weplib.lib.umt.edu:8080/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.weplib.lib.umt.edu:2443/dissertations-theses/manifest-destiny-idea-progress-rationalization/docview/251635996/se-2>

Warne, Donald and Linda Bane Frizzell. 2014. "American Indian health policy: historical trends and contemporary issues." *American Journal of Public Health* 104 (Suppl 3): S263–S267.
<https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2013.301682>

Washington to Sullivan, May 31, 1779, in Division of Archives and History, *The Sullivan- Clinton Campaign*, 90-91.

Waterworth, Pippa, Melanie Pescud, Rebecca Braham, James Dimmock, and Michael Rosenberg. 2015. "Factors Influencing the Health Behaviour of Indigenous Australians: Perspectives from Support People." *PLoS ONE* 10 (11) :e0142323.
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0142323>

Weber, Jeremy. 2020. "Couple realizes longtime dream of running bison ranch." *Daily Inter Lake* August 9, 2020. [Couple realizes longtime dream of running bison ranch | Daily Inter Lake](#)

Wegner, Joyce Decker. 2010. *Lake County School History, Volume I: Once in Missoula County: One Large District Becomes Many*. Polson, MT. Flathead Reservation Area Historical Society.

Wegner, Joyce Decker. 2013. *Lake County School History, Volume II: Once in Missoula County: One Large District Becomes Many*. Polson, MT. Flathead Reservation Area Historical Society

Weitkamp, Laurie. 1994. "A Review of the Effects of Dams on the Columbia River Estuarine environment with Special Reference to Salmonids." Seattle, WA. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. [6867_03112012_231538_Weitkamp.1994b.pdf \(noaa.gov\)](#)

Whalen, Jane Elizabeth. 2013. "Wasting Away: The impact of Policy and Policymakers on the Rise of Tuberculosis in Aboriginal Communities, 1867-1945." Dissertation. Wilfrid Laurier University.

Whealdon, Bon I. 2001 *"I will be Meat for Salish"*. Pablo, MT and Helena, MT. Salish Kootenai College Press and Montana Historical Society Press.

Wheeler, M. J. 2006. History of Indian hunting and fishing rights as they pertain to the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes and the Hellgate Treaty of 1855. Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers. 5795. <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/5795>

White, Kerry. 2020. "Falsehoods Thrown at Montana Water Rights Protection Act." *Flathead Beacon*, February 1, 2020. [Falsehoods Thrown at Montana Water Rights Protection Act - Flathead Beacon](#)

Williams, Judith. 2006. *Clam Gardens: Aboriginal Mariculture and Canada's West Coast*. Vancouver, B.C. New Star Books.

Wilson, Denise, Pidi Barton, Zoë Tipa. 2022. "Rhetoric, racism, and the reality for the indigenous Maori nursing workforce in Aotearoa New Zealand." *Online Journal of Issues in Nursing* 27 (1): 1-13.

Wolf, Eric R. 1982. *Europe and The People Without History*. Berkeley, CA. University of California Press.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(4): 387-409. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>

Wooltorton, Sandra., John Guenther, Anne Poelina, Mindy Blaise, Len Collard, and Pete White. 2022. "Learning regenerative cultures: Indigenous nations in higher education renewal in Australia." *Asia Pacific Education Review* 23 (4): 639-651. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-022-09789-y>

Zamora-Kapoor, A., K. Sinclair, L. Nelson, H. Lee, and D. Buchwald. 2019. "Obesity risk factors in American Indians and Alaska Natives: a systematic review." *Public Health* 174: 85-96. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2019.05.021>