## Indigenous Feminism and the Sea with Sherry Pictou

**Dr. Sherry Pictou**, Dalhousie University, Canada **Dr. Christine Knott**, San Diego State University, USA



Sherry Pictou

This chapter is a conversation between Dr. Sherry Pictou and Dr. Christine Knott about how feminist frameworks, specifically Indigenous feminist frameworks offer important insights into understanding and thinking about

oceans, coastal communities, emerging blue economies, and small-scale fisheries. The conversation is taken from a transcript of Episode 8 of the *Fishyfeminist Podcast from 2022,* and has been edited for easier reading. The specific geographical focus for this discussion is Northern Turtle Island known today as Canada, but many of these insights are important for thinking through blue economies and small-scale fisheries in other settler colonial contexts. This is not to say that these insights are directly transferable, more so that the questions raised in this conversation may also be raised in other contexts and regions where different answers may emerge. The conversation can therefore drive new questions for Canadian small-scale fisheries and beyond given the diversity of small-scale fisheries in Canada and globally.

[Christine] Thank you for joining us. This is the Fishyfeminist Podcast, a bi-monthly podcast that shares the stories of the amazing people and projects that take on fisheries, oceans and watery places, with a feminist lens. My name is Christine Knott and I am a postdoctoral fellow with the Ocean Frontier Institute at Memorial University.

Today I am talking to you from the traditional territory of the Coast and Straits Salish Peoples, specifically, the Lekwungen speaking people, known today as the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations. To learn more about the history of Indigenous people in Canada, there is a link on my website to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its calls to action.

This is Episode 8, Indigenous Feminism and Ocean Governance. Our guest today is Dr. Sherry Pictou. Dr. Sherry Pictou is a Mi'kmaw woman from L'sitkuk (water cuts through high rocks) known as Bear River First Nation, Nova Scotia. She is an Assistant Professor in the Faculties of Law and Management at Dalhousie University and holds a Tier 2 Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Governance. Dr. Pictou is also a former Chief in her community and the former Co-Chair of the World Forum of Fisher Peoples. She is a member of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) Task Force on Indigenous and Local Knowledge. In June of 2021, she became the first female Honorary District Chief for the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq. Her research interests include decolonizing treaty relations, social justice

for Indigenous women, Indigenous women's roles in food and lifeways, and gender roles in Indigenous governance. In partnership with Kairos, Dr. Pictou recently released the Wolastoqiyik and Mi'kmaq Grandmothers - Land/Water Defenders Sharing and Learning Circle: Generating Knowledge for Action Research and Digital Stories of Courage as part of a SSHRC Partnership Engage Grant. And I think you can find a link to that report on Dr. Pictou's website, if I'm not mistaken (Wolastoqiyik and Mi'kmaq Grandmothers 2021). So, welcome to the podcast!

[Dr. Pictou] Thank you. You did well with the pronunciation.

[Christine] I'm really excited to talk to you today. I read some of your recent papers and I'm excited to kind of talk through your engagement with feminism and Indigenous feminism and how you use that to understand and think about policy and governance in the Canadian context. Before we get into that kind of stuff, I wanted to just talk to you a bit about feminism and what feminism means to you.

[Dr. Pictou] Well, it's such a loaded question. It took me almost a lifetime to come to terms with what feminism means. It's been a learning process and ever evolving process. And, why I say that is because women of colour and Indigenous folks in particular shy away from mainstream concepts of feminism. And even though we know feminism itself has evolved throughout the years [they shy away] because it's been based on such a liberal concept of equality. Particularly, when you look at the history of feminism coming from the right to vote movement and so forth, Indigenous women's experience do not quite align with that particular history. Indigenous women in Canada didn't receive the right to vote even [in] their own chief in council elections till 1951. All Indigenous people didn't receive the right to vote in federal elections until 1960. And so, you know, the Indigenous women's experience didn't quite align with feminism. That being said, we also have to look at what colonialism is all about. In recent years, I'd say over the past 10 years, I've been doing a lot of thinking about this and how we cannot just disregard feminism in the sense that when you look at colonialism comes patriarchy. You'll hear a lot and read a lot about decolonizing practices and so forth—well, what does it mean to decolonize? You really have to look at colonialism and what came with that was patriarchy.

And of course, Indigenous women received what was imposed on their societies [which] was a really paternalistic, patriarchal, colonial structure or structures. We lost our roles in the decision-making processes. We lost our sacred roles, our ceremonies and so forth. So okay, feminism is useful; mainstream feminism is useful in the sense of looking at those patriarchal structures imposed on our societies. But, we also need feminism, or we need to contextualize feminism within the Indigenous context. And, so that's what brought me to feminism. It's been prevalent throughout all my life, even though I may have not called it feminism. I was quite aware from a very young age of not being able to vote prior to my generation because of the teachings of my grandmother, and the fact that I had so many aunties and relatives, and myself [were] at risk of losing our status, because of the Indian Act. If you married a non-Indigenous man, you lost your status, your children lost their status, and that's quite a complicated history. But, there were all kinds of ways to dispossess Indigenous women from their communities, from their lands. We have to put that feminist context or the Indigenous context with mainstream feminism, and you come up with Indigenous feminism. So, it qualifies the feminism a bit because it doesn't quite align to mainstream feminism.

[Christine] I appreciate that nuance because I think it's really important to talk about the complexity within feminist theory itself and its patriarchal colonial history. But I think you were starting to maybe get at this a bit, and this kind of speaks to my second question, which is, how you were introduced to feminism and your journey to applying it into your research? I don't know if you wanted to expand on that at all.

[Dr. Pictou] Well, I think as an Indigenous woman, and as a Mi'kmaw woman, my life has been very fragile on the edges of patriarchy because I was always quite aware [that] most Chief in Councils were predominantly male, most managers were predominantly male, which would not be new to mainstream feminism, but for us Indigenous folks, this continued long after [when] mainstream feminism took hold and the whole equality rights movement. And so, it's always been there. However, where it really started

to become every day conscious awareness, or it infiltrated my conscious awareness every day is with the missing and murdered Indigenous women. And, this was something that was starting to become very scary. It finally made headlines. It was starting to get out there on the news waves and so forth. We've always knew these issues had existed but, for anybody who knows the history, this took decades of struggle, decades of advocacy and so forth by the Indigenous women themselves to bring this issue to light. I remember when the conservative government, the Harper years, when they refused to do an inquiry, that CBC [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] took it upon themselves to at least start investigating the criminal cases, or these cases of missing murdered Indigenous women that just sort of dissipated, just wasn't being taken up. And I have a daughter and I have a granddaughter, and I remember just having this low-level nervous anxiety about all of that, particularly when the figures start coming out, that Indigenous women were three to four, or even six times in some cases at risk of losing their lives or being forced into violent situations and so forth. And that's where there was this self-actualization that said, "oh, look, something has to be done." What do we do to transform this situation? And this is when the Indigenous feminist theories started taking hold for me. How do you analyze what's happening to Indigenous women? What are putting them in these precarious situations? And, it's much more than just doing that analysis from a social deficit perspective, that "oh, they're lacking something so let's get them something." It's all of that in terms of services, but it's much more. And for me, it's about change. It was about change in the structures.

[Christine] Right.

[*Dr. Pictou*] So, how do we unpack that? I don't have the answers, but this is how I came to Indigenous, feminist theory. How do we unpack that? And how do we transform that?

[Christine] Yeah, is there any scholarship that you specifically remember being really insightful or any?

[*Dr. Pictou*] Are you going to put me on the spot? I love Leanne Simpson's work. I absolutely love her work. I think she's very brave, very courageous, in the way she writes. And, I love her book. Well, it was an article and became a

chapter in a book, *Land as a Pedagogy* and the book, *As We've Always Done*. It's so empowering, I think, for Indigenous women, Two Spirited people, and also for Indigenous people as a whole. I love her work in the sense that it comes from a very strength-based perspective. It's not from a deficit perspective, [and argues] that we have the tools. All the tools [are] in our language, in our life ways, in our land based practices, and so forth. And then, there's another article, and I would have to follow up with her full name. She wrote this really extraordinary article about feminism and Indigenous feminism and how we have to decolonize through Indigenous feminism, [and] the environmental sciences.

[Christine] Okay.

[*Dr. Pictou*] It was so strong and it stayed with me because she talked about Indigenous knowledge, and it was not enough to just include it - to have that little tickbox and say, "Oh, we're doing Indigenous knowledge." It is that Indigenous knowledge within itself should be transformative. It should transform the educational structures (Dhillon 2020).

[Christine] Do you want to talk a little bit about your work that engages with Indigenous feminist frameworks?

[Dr. Pictou] Well, I have a couple of projects that are just in their beginning process. We're at the beginning of a long process, and particularly going back to the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women's final inquiry report. There're 231 recommendations in the calls to justice and what really spoke to me was [this specific recommendation for] the need for gender based social, economic impact assessments, particularly as Indigenous people's treaty rights, their Indigenous rights, are always faced with this dilemma of only being able to exercise those rights within the Canadian state in a very neoliberal way. And, what I mean by that is this notion that economic development will save all the social issues of Indigenous people.

[Christine] Mm, hmm.

[*Dr. Pictou*] There's that notion, but there's also, it's a very exploitative... um I'm not sure how to word that [Christine: framework]. Yeah, it just seems like exploitative industry seems to be the only alternative to exercising treaty rights, and why is that?

[Christine] Right.

[Dr. Pictou] So, you know, and of course, there's all kinds of complicated reasons or all kinds of complicated issues, I should say, that impact Indigenous women. And the second call [to justice] that stood out to me was the call on governments and in particular Indigenous governments, which I thought was just so strong, to ensure the political rights of Indigenous women and 2SLGBTQQIA in governance process, in the decision-making processes. And to me, those are two transformative elements, they're not without issues and so forth. And so, my current work that I'm just in the startup stages of is doing, I want to do some broader engagement with Indigenous women and two-spirited folks about well, what would it look like to be included in a decision-making process?

[Christine] Okay.

[*Dr. Pictou*] And even to do some work, because being the District Chief now, with the Chiefs, what would that look like? And hopefully that will transform the way decisions get made. So that's sort of where my work now lies.

[Christine] Okay.

[*Dr. Pictou*] Yeah, and, uh, and we're, we're looking at extractive industries here, but we're also looking at livelihoods, and that includes livelihoods in the ocean.

[Christine] Right.

[Dr. Pictou] Yeah.

[Christine] Well, that's where I was going to take you, so you brought us there yourself. I don't know if you're engaging in the blue economy narratives at all, but what aspect of ocean economy or ocean developments are you interested in?

[*Dr. Pictou*] I am engaged with the blue economy to some extent. But this is not new to me. In my work [with] The World Forum of Fisher Peoples [up until] 2016, the blue economy was quite well established in the global narrative of things. You know.

[Christine] Yeah.

[Dr. Pictou] It's just recently been becoming quite strong in Canada and I'm

so worried about it in so many ways because think about the green economy and think about the blue economy. They're one and the same beast in a way because first of all, the blue economy is supposed to be this looking at the ocean as a frontier and there's all kinds of problems with that name, you know. How can we get the best out of the oceans? I'm thinking to myself because of the issues that we had with industrialized fishing, the issues that we have with pollution, the issues that we have with climate change. I did experience the tsunami...not directly, but through some colleagues around the world [with] that, particularly in Sri Lanka and India, and you look at all these things, and I'm thinking what on earth is left to exploit in the ocean? And how are you going to make that in a sustainable way? Are we looking at seabed mining? Are those the things - and so I do have some concerns about that and that's one issue that I'm not sure how to tackle. I have colleagues that I work with, at least to bring some type of critical analysis, or some social justice issues to hopefully influence how that blue economy unfolds.

[Christine] Right.

[*Dr. Pictou*] The other is with this notion – that's quite strong here in Canada – with the Indigenous protected and conserved areas. And, they're supposed to be Indigenous led. I am very conscientious of programs and that's not to say all of the IPCA's are like this, but I am very conscientious of programs that are just rubber stamping and put the word Indigenous and somehow that makes that okay. Is there really Indigenous knowledge going into those [Indigenous Led approaches]?

[Christine] Yeah.

[Dr. Pictou] And why I bring that up in the ocean context is because I do know that folks in the government, in the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. They're really strongly looking at the IPCA's to see what they can adopt for the MPA's, marine protected areas. I'm so leery of both of those. I've often said that we seem to be caught in between. Either you over exploit or you exploit and extract resources in an unsustainable way, or you can conserve them. And I'm always saying, who are we conserving them for? And who are we exploiting for? Where does Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous existence as a people, where do we play a role in that? And even more so

where, or how, does Indigenous women's roles play into that? And Two Spirited people play into that?

[Christine] Okay.

[Dr. Pictou] And so that's some of my work. What I've noticed with some of the work that Mi'kmaw in Debert is doing, which is.... I didn't even know how to describe it... Debert is an archaeological site, but there's a group of people that's been working for a number of years through the guidance of Elders and so forth, of story gathering. And hopefully we'll have a cultural center.

[Christine] Okay.

[Dr. Pictou] There's research and some of that information that they've gathered to get those nuggets out of there, that are teachings by Indigenous women. The connections to the ocean, because we have this long history here in Mi'kma'ki. We were whale hunters at one point. We know we have stories about sea serpents. We have creation stories that are based on the ocean. And women have been involved in most of these in some way or form. How do we rescue those? What are those teachings in there?

I'm hoping to work with some folks on looking at the gender aspects of ocean. And another thing, too, with the fisheries issues here. We know the treaty, The Peace and Friendship Treaties that were upheld particularly 1760 and 61 in 1999 were supposed to give us a rights to fish for a livelihood, and I'm not going to say moderate because it's even debatable about that moderate livelihood. And it's 20 some odd years later and this is still a big issue in Nova Scotia, and it's still being negotiated and so forth. But despite all of that, not being able to exercise those rights the way we want [instead we are being] incorporate[ed] into the status quo commercial fishery as it is.

[Christine] Right.

[Dr. Pictou] All of their struggles, you know, there's hardly any independent fisherman left.

[Christine] Yeah.

[Dr. Pictou] Despite all of that what I think we've taken for granted is how many Mi'Kmaw women are out there fishing.

[Christine] Oh, really? Okay. Interesting.

[Dr. Pictou] Yeah, and I'm just interested in that. I do know of a community that is working very hard to put an all Mi'kmaw women vessel out.

[Christine] Okay.

[*Dr. Pictou*] So. I'm trying to figure out a way that I can be there to document that. How we can tell that story? And so that type of resilience of even fishing in that way, even though it may not be as a Mi'kmaw envisioned as a treaty right. I think it's very important. It will be very important to learn from the women engaged in those processes.

[Christine] Okay, yeah, that sounds amazing. When I'm thinking about the blue economy work that I'm doing, I think that the work that you've done that I find really helpful is around the terra nullius and aqua nullius concept that creates or allows Western scientists and governance structures to act as if these areas are unused, open.

[Dr. Pictou] Yeah.

[Christine] Spaces that don't have beings already, complex life systems already existing in them and other users, other rights and other peoples using them. Um, but not just people, but also other, other animals and ecosystems. So, I find your work that you have written on that really helpful as a way of trying to think of, or be really conscious of what is evolving in similar ways to the past and how it could be done differently, and you write about this in your *De-colonizing decolonization* paper. So, I really appreciate those insights. I think it's really important because it gets at what you're talking about in terms of neoliberal, corporate privilege that happens through legal systems. I think that when you're talking about the issues that around both economic development, our neoliberal economic development expansion, and then also conservation, and they seem to be the flip side of the same coin because they are both privatization and enclosure of these spaces that are under that assumption of terra and aqua nullius. That's definitely how I have been drawing on your work.

[*Dr. Pictou*] Fantastic. That's so fantastic Christine because the terra nullius, that whole concept from Roman law, and aqua nullius that we owe to Virginia Miller out of Aboriginal Australia when she came up with that. I said, "Wow," because [it's] one of the things you hear about land back, land rights and so

forth and yes that's so fundamentally important. And there's rivers and water attached to that, but I'm now saying land and water-based practices because we tend to forget that we were displaced from the ocean as well.

[Christine] Right.

[Dr. Pictou] We were displaced from the sea and so forth. But one of the things that you had brought up is that yes, those concepts are based on the assumption that humans didn't, or don't exist, which is why Indigenous people were considered non-human, particularly here in Canada, and we were wards of the state for up until we received voting rights. But it's those other beings. It's other beings. And this is something that I've worked with some Indigenous women who were defending their lands and waters from development and ... they want to know how do you get river rights? Because they see this happening and we've had this happen in Quebec not too long ago. And I had a colleague not too long ago, and she reminded me of something I had told her, or I asked her. We were in a discussion, and she was in her car, and it was about fishing, the fishing issues. And she said [that] she'll always remember me asking her who is speaking for the fish.

[Christine] hmm.

[Dr. Pictou] My point being is that aqua nullius is not just absence of people, but this assumption that there's not these live beings there and fish are live beings. And we tend to forget because it's been so commodified as a [product]. And think about fish, and then you think about the whole, you know ecosystem, I don't know what you call it and how one fish depends upon the other and, and so forth. It's quite interesting. And, and who's speaking for those fish?

[Christine] I agree. There's some really interesting, there's one ecofeminist scholar who, I can't think of her name right now, but, I think the name of the paper is Fish First, and she poses the question, what is more important? How do you resolve this contention between the economic priorities of fishing people versus the livelihood and wellbeing of fish and their lives themselves? And within Western colonial histories, and also current Western neoliberal economies where we have the economic ability to make profit a priority. And that's just become so normalized that it's really hard to have conversations

that call that into question or counter that in any way. Because of what you talk about in terms of how the solutions to social problems, and to the solutions to any equity problems are around neoliberal development and growth?

[Dr. Pictou] I know. And if that was so true, why do we still have long term drinking water advisories in First Nations communities and Northern communities as well? I think it might've been Taiaiake Alfred in an article that I read where he and Jeff Corntassel or both where there's not one bit of evidence. There's not one bit of evidence that this neoliberal notion of economic development equates to Indigenous wellbeing.

[Christine] Right.

[*Dr. Pictou*] And I've thought about that, and I continue to think about that. And while some communities are progressing, you know, and maybe have better health statistics then others, but we still have all of these issues. We still have missing and murdered Indigenous women, these types of things.

[*Christine*] Right. It is a really important insight actually. Think about that in terms of, well what community has really benefited, anywhere.

[*Dr. Pictou*] Yeah. And, and look at Canada as a whole. [*Christine*] Yeah.

[Dr. Pictou] You know, it just flabbergasted me when we talk about the need for certain industries, and that we need those jobs, that jobs equate to better health. Well, I'm sorry, we have a huge number of unhoused. We have more and more and more people depending upon food banks. And, this has always been my contention. There's something fundamentally wrong when the fundamental basic human rights, such as the right to shelter, the right to food, and health are superseded by the right to produce profit. That is not equality in my sense, in my world. But, just to go back Christine to something that you've said, all of these beings, all of our relations M'sit No'kmaq, as we say, I just sort of had an 'Aha moment' here that we often speak about Western versus Indigenous world views in the sense that there is this notion that we control nature, that humans control nature, whereas a lot of Indigenous world views say well, no, that has to be in balanced. As Elder Albert Marshall would say (Elder Dr. Albert Marshall, here in Mi'kma'ki)

that you provide for yourself and your community, but not to the extent that you compromise the ecological integrity of those resources. Right? And, it does beg the question where? Well, this is still debatable. There's still forms of human enslavement, but we got rid of slavery to some degree. So, who gave us the right to commodify that fish to the extent that we do to the extent of extinction.

[Christine] Yep.

[*Dr. Pictou*] So, it's a very complex thing, but what I'm trying to get at is that it's not only domination to control nature, but to exploit nature.

[Christine] Yeah, I know. I think it's really fascinating which brings me to one thing that I have been grappling with, thinking about and thinking with people about, and so I've been asking everybody on the podcast: how do you keep in mind all of these really complex relational inequities and worldviews, and different epistemologies and ontologies that we're sort of all trying to grapple with right now and understanding those power structures the really dominant power structures that come into play, in terms of colonialism and patriarchy? What do you think would make fisheries and other ocean and water industries as, well as the cultural communities that are connected to them, more equitable, diverse and inclusive?

[*Dr. Pictou*] Well, first we have to get some rights to those non-human beings. Right? You know, and when you think about it, even rights to water, if we can give river rights, can we give oceans rights?

[Christine] Yeah.

[*Dr. Pictou*] I'm not sure what the answer of that is, but we are being taught it. We're being taught something right now with climate change.

[Christine] Yeah.

[*Dr. Pictou*] And one of the things that we tend to take for granted is that climate change has all to do with the weather. And it does in a lot of ways, and it does for a number [of reasons], but we cannot separate climate change from land and water as well.

[Christine] Right.

[*Dr. Pictou*] It's the damage that it's being done to the land and the water, why we are experiencing climate change.

[Christine] Yeah.

[*Dr. Pictou*] So, I've read elsewhere, and other people have spoken to this to some degree is that the land and water have a way of speaking back. And, is climate change a way of the land and water universe speaking back?

[Christine] That's an interesting way to think.

[*Dr. Pictou*] Yeah, speaking back and saying, "You know what humans you've done a little bit too much, we're taking control here." You know because in so many ways, I never thought this conversation would turn this way, but in so many ways when we talk about this notion, this old notion of humans dominating nature, I don't think that's not the case anymore.

[Christine] Right.

[*Dr. Pictou*] Nature is turning things on its head, and we better listen. Who's really in control here? You know? And, so it is interesting.

[Christine] Yeah, that is interesting to think of it that way.

[Dr. Pictou] And, my only hope I would say is that I've been so excited. I have so many Indigenous women, Indigenous sisters, [who] are teaching me, and I'm getting to be a fairly old lady here. I didn't plan on being a professor this late in life and so forth. There's a lot of reasons that I'm here on this journey, but I just admire some of the great Indigenous women in my life and how there's such a strong resurgence of ceremony. And, when I say ceremony, it's actual ceremony for the water. Actual ceremony for all of life. It's actual ceremony engaging those knowledge keepers and there's some work being done that I just envy of really engaging with the language. What is in that language? What can that tell us about how we can become more equitable not just among humans, but with the natural world in which we live?

[Christine] Right yeah, that's awesome. Is there any last point or last question? Or, anybody else you want to shout out to or anything that you want to leave us with?

[*Dr. Pictou*] I'll probably think of a lot of things after we end this podcast. You know, but I will say this, going back to Indigenous women and Two Spirited people or the 2SLGBTQQIA+, is that I think we're in a moment of history. We're in a time in history that if something isn't substantively done, that's not truly transformative... I hope that I'm not here or my granddaughter's not

here or my grandchildren in 20 years from now and that we're losing women at 10 to 20 times the rate. And this is all impartial with the land with the water and so forth because it's complicated. In a lot of Indigenous women's struggle, in their work to defend the land and water, which is our school, our ontological existence, if you will, or where we draw our stories from—that we can't afford to lose any more women as they do that work. Because I think that's the only chance we have, really, restoring our society, not just with women, but with men as well. I don't know if this will make sense when you play this back. But the essence of what I'm trying to say here is that I just think there's valuable knowledge being lost as we lose our women, and that we have to do better at helping protect them and to transform these structures that are putting us in these precarious situations to begin with.

[Christine] Yeah, that's such a good point about the knowledge that's lost. And just the incredibly inequitable structures that allow that to continue to occur at such alarming rates. But also, that those colonial and patriarchal structures are the same colonial patriarchal structures that allow the violence that happens to not only some people, but to the earth itself, to other animals too. Right? And so, I think that it's such important to work on making these structures seen. Calling them out and how they are all so interconnected is so important, because it's the only way or it's one way to try to change them.

[Dr. Pictou] Exactly. Women and Two Spirit people shouldn't be considered as dispensable as the land and water that we take for granted in these neoliberal structures and that's exactly what's happening. And, that's why you'll often hear the talk about sovereignty. Not only land, but our own bodies.

[Christine] Right. It was really great to chat with you and I hope we get to do it again sometime. Thank you for coming on the podcast. It was a pleasure, as always, to hear you talk about these things. If people want to find out more information or get a hold of you, how would they do that?

[*Dr. Pictou*] Uh, sherry.pictou@dal.ca, or just look me up at the Dalhousie University for sure.

[*Christine*] Okay, great. And if you'd like to get a hold of me, you can find me on Twitter @fishyfeminist or contact me by email, fishyfeminists@gmail.com.

So, I hope that you've enjoyed this episode. You can listen to past, present and future episodes on my website, www.fishyfeminist.com. Music credits are to snowflake, copyright 2018. The song is called Die Trying. I'm Christine Knott. Thank you for listening to the *Fishyfeminist Podcast* 

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## THINKING BIG ABOUT SMALL-SCALE FISHERIES IN CANADA

dmothers-shut-out-of-resource-development-consultations-report (2021)