

WIDENING THE CIRCLE: RACIALIZED IMMIGRANTS IN TORONTO'S ALTERNATIVE FOOD MOVEMENT

by

Hilda Nouri-Sabzikar, BA, University of Guelph, 2012

A Major Research Paper

presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Program of

Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2016

©Hilda Nouri-Sabzikar, 2016

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER (MRP)

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this Major Research Paper. This is a true copy of the MRP, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this MRP to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this MRP by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I understand that my MRP may be made electronically available to the public.

Hilda Nouri-Sabzikar

Widening the Circle: Racialized Immigrants in Toronto's Alternative Food Movement

Hilda Nouri-Sabzikar

Masters of Arts 2016
Immigration and Settlement Studies
Ryerson University

ABSTRACT

Toronto is a growing site for the alternative food movement with plenty of innovative projects. While the alternative food movement may emphasize the participation of diverse members and communities some observers have noticed the underrepresentation of immigrants and visible minorities within the movement. As Toronto increasingly acts as an immigration hub, it becomes critical to create room for diverse and marginalized voices in food spaces. This major research paper will reflect findings from interviews with five food leaders in Toronto involved in food justice and food security initiatives while using critical whiteness theory and critical race theory to deconstruct the complexities which surround the needs and visions of immigrants and visible minorities. Findings reveal that when the voices of immigrants and visible minorities are recognized in the food movement, there is work to be done in improving accessibility, inclusivity and collaboration of the movement.

Keywords: alternative food; food justice; immigrants; race; whiteness.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor, Mustafa Koc, for his motivation, guidance and supportive communication and feedback throughout this MRP process. I would also like to thank all of my participants who generously gave their time to share their personal experiences and valuable words. Finally I wish to thank all my wonderful classmates in being so supportive to one another throughout our MRP experience.

Table of Contents

Author's Declaration.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
Introduction.....	1
<i>Research Objectives</i>	3
Literature Review.....	5
<i>Emergence of the Alternative Food Movement</i>	5
<i>Food justice and Food Sovereignty</i>	6
<i>Toronto's Multicultural Food Networks</i>	8
<i>Challenging Social and Racial Inequalities in Alternative Food Pathways</i>	10
<i>The Problem of Whiteness</i>	11
<i>Identifying Whiteness in Alternative Food Pathways</i>	13
<i>The Importance of Critical Race Theory</i>	15
<i>Restructuring Food Spaces</i>	18
Research Methodology.....	19
<i>Design</i>	19
<i>Target Population</i>	20
<i>Sample Size</i>	21
<i>Ethical Considerations</i>	21
<i>Data Collection</i>	22
<i>Data Analysis</i>	22
<i>Sample Size</i>	22
Findings and Discussion	22
<i>(1) Perspectives and Experiences on Representation and Identity</i>	24
<i>(2) Barriers to Participating in Alternative Food Practices</i>	27
<i>(3) Community-run Groups and Apprehension of the NGO sector</i>	31
<i>(4) Alternative Approaches Offered by Participants</i>	35
Conclusion.....	39
<i>Limitation</i>	40
<i>Policy Recommendations</i>	41
<i>Future Research</i>	43
Appendices.....	45
Appendix A: <i>Interview Guide</i>	45
Appendix B: <i>Overview of Participants</i>	48
Reference List.....	49

Introduction

With widespread desire for a more equitable, sustainable and nutritious food system in North America, the alternative food movement has grown to respond to the sweeping concerns of farmers, consumers, academics and activists. Alternative food pathways have emerged as place-based remedies to conventional food practices of industrial farming and big box grocery stores which have disconnected consumers from the origins of their food. While the alternative food movement and more recent food justice and food sovereignty movements have strived to serve diverse communities, the practices and spaces of these movements have not always been accessible to marginalized participants such as racialized communities, immigrants and low-income individuals.

Alternative food initiatives have become particularly present in the city of Toronto, a burgeoning site of the food movement, where policies, councils, projects and action groups have been formed around addressing the inequalities and gaps set by our food system. Toronto's alternative food initiatives attempt to respond to numerous concerns across the food chain. Examples of initiatives include: restoring relationships between farmers and consumers (e.g., farmer's markets and community supported agriculture); improving food security through increased education and urban agricultural projects; increasing accessibility and affordability of food to marginalized residents (e.g., food subsidies and food hubs) and creating more democratized participation in decision-making processes (e.g., Toronto Food Policy Council and food security coalition) (Levkoe, 2014 & City of Toronto, 2016). As the food movement gains momentum in the fast-paced and vibrant city of Toronto, it is continuously being re-shaped by its participants and its environment.

The city of Toronto is diverse, where over half of residents are immigrants and just below half are ‘visible minorities’ as reported in the 2006 census (Gibson-Wood and Wakefield, 2013). Immigrant communities have contributed immensely to the dynamic culture and foodscape which Toronto offers, where neighborhoods, festivals and popular food trends have been largely shaped by migrants. At the same time, immigrants and racialized individuals also encounter increased systemic challenges and barriers which set them apart from the rest of the city. Visible minorities and immigrants experience high income disparities, rates of unemployment and prevalence of food insecurity and associated health conditions, when compared to their counterparts. Immigrants often cope with being uprooted into new surroundings through engaging in food production and consumption practices which allow individuals to recreate and redefine a sense of place (Parasecoli, 2014). With increasing numbers of immigrants arriving to the city of Toronto, and other Canadian cities, it is important to ask what the experiences of diverse and marginalized are in Toronto’s food movement and if these voices are being adequately represented.

The motivation for this research topic came from a concern over the underlying race and class inequalities which continue to be present in major spaces and initiatives of alternative food within North America. While social movements such as the food justice movement and food sovereignty movement have emerged to further consider the histories of people of color and the centralized participation of marginalized groups, the major key actors in the food movement have tended to be white, middle class and liberal (Alkon & McCullen, 2011). As a response to this trend, this study intends to situate the experiences of a sample of leaders in Toronto’s food movement who are racialized minorities and entered Canada with immigrant status. I believe the experiences of racialized immigrants will help us understand the barriers other racialized

immigrants may face in accessing food spaces and practices within Toronto. Furthermore this research can give insight into how racism, whiteness and classism are perpetuated through the food movement.

This project intends to follow in the footsteps of critical scholars in the field of food studies who have been raising issues of race, whiteness, colonialism, indigenous sovereignty and capitalism in the food movement. The importance of this research is demonstrated in the projected growth of the population of immigrants and racialized individuals in Toronto, whereby 2031 it is estimated that 3 in 5 people will belong to a visible minority group and 78% of residents will be immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2010). Growth in Toronto's immigrant and visible minority population, calls for an even greater need to create approaches to food which meaningfully engage diverse participants of society and recognize unique challenges they face.

Research Objectives

This research strives to further explore the experiences and worldviews of racialized immigrants who play important roles in Toronto's food movement. The goal of this research is to uncover the underlying structures of whiteness and race and class inequality which uphold alternative food practices and to determine ways in which to re-work initiatives to acknowledge these injustices. Interviews were carried out with five key informants who were food leaders in Toronto, identified as racialized immigrants and had diverse backgrounds and several years of work experience in various food-related projects. Research questions were structured to determine the personal experience, successes and barriers participants notice in the current food movement as well as the personal experiences which immigrants and racialized individuals have around food.

Critical scholars of the alternative food movement, such as Rachel Slocum, Kirsten Valentine Cadieux, Christie Grace McCullen, Alison Hope Alkon and Sarah Wakefield have been identifying that the current food movement is largely structured by discourses and practices of whiteness, which set limitations to the participation of people of color (Alkon and McCullen, 2011). They also argue that some of the current alternative food initiatives do pay little attention to some of the challenges faced by marginalized individuals of the food system including migrant farmworkers and low-income individuals (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015).

As a person of color, I wanted to pursue a critical analysis of the alternative food movement which considers racial and class bias as well the immigrant experience. I also sought out to engage in a critical analysis of the alternative food movement by prioritizing voices of people of color and former immigrants, as it is traditionally a field founded by white scholars and writers (Cermak, 2014). This research strives to include the experiences of immigrants and racialized individuals who are seldom included in scholarly work and to understand alternative food approaches from a non-white worldview. Hearing the accounts of food leaders who often work with communities of color and low-income status individuals can provide a deeper understanding into the lived realities of marginalized people, the barriers they face as well as effective approaches which can be used to address rooted social, racial and economic inequalities.

This paper will begin with a review of the literature on the alternative food movement largely active in the United States and Canada. There will then be a brief overview on the alternative food approaches and current demographics present in Toronto, the site of this project. This will be followed by discussing the theoretical frameworks of whiteness and critical race theory in order to deconstruct the structures which uphold alternative food practices. Whiteness

and critical race theory will also inform in how alternative food spaces can be re-structured to acknowledge histories and practices of marginalized communities. The research methodology will then be provided, followed by the research findings and an analysis of the major themes detected from the findings along with concluding remarks.

Literature Review

Emergence of the Alternative Food Movement

The alternative food movement surfaced in the last 20 to 30 years in response to environmental degradation, spreading food insecurity and the increasing demoralisation around food (Slocum, 2007). These growing concerns largely came as a response to the ‘Green Revolution’ of the 1940s-1960s and ‘Biotechnology Revolution’ of the second half of the 20th century, which both doubled crop yields (Slocum, 2007). Major increases in agricultural output came from large scale use of genetic modification, irrigation and pesticides and fertilizers (Grauerholz & Owens, 2015). With increased mechanization of agricultural practices also came a shift towards lower-skilled and lower-waged labour to fuel farms, positions often filled by migrant labour in order to save production costs for farm owners in a competitive economy (Grzywacz et al., 2013).

As migrant workers are increasingly placed to fill Canada’s demand for agricultural labour and more and more international migrant worker violations are revealed in food-related industries, concerns over ethical practices have risen amongst consumers. Due to lack of unionization and clear contracts between employers and employees, many workers in the agrifood sector have suffered precarity, poor working conditions, low wages and unsafe working

environments. (Preibisch & Otero, 2014). For temporary migrant workers these issues have become compounded with the addition of non-citizen status (Preibisch & Otero, 2014).

Industrial and capital intensive agriculture gradually pushed the ethical concerns and risks of modern agriculture to the margins; ultimately blurring the connection between consumers and producers of food. The alternative food movement emerged with the goal of defetishizing conventional food in order to unveil harmful social and environmental processes of the food system and to introduce more ethical and environmentally conscious alternatives such as organic, local and fair trade food products (Alkon & McCullen, 2011). The alternative food movement takes many different forms which can loosely be classified into (1) local food organizations and projects (e.g., farmer's markets, community supported agriculture and buy-local campaigns); (2) education-based initiatives through non-profits which educate the public about nutrition, cooking and obesity; (3) environmental groups which encourage consumers to purchase more sustainable food options (e.g., organic, free-range, eating seasonally); and (4) organizations that advocate social justice for marginalized groups, such as for low-income individuals, racialized worker's rights and overall food security (Slocum, 2007).

Food Justice and Food Sovereignty

While the alternative food movement has made steps to bridge the gap between producers and consumers, many have pointed out that alternative food pathways offered by the movement fall short in actually challenging the conventional food system and offer market-based solutions only accessible to affluent consumers (Alkon and McCullen, 2011). More recently, the food justice and food sovereignty movement have materialized to fill in gaps of alternative food approaches and to address deeper issues of trauma, inequity, land and labour that are entangled in the food system. The food justice movement has brought together diverse members of the food

system, including activists, scholars and farmers, to leverage action towards creating a just food system which decommodifies citizens as solely consumers (Counihan & Van Esterik, 2012).

Food justice activists seek to eliminate inequities and disparities within the food system by initiating and institutionalizing greater control and equity from the production to the distribution processes of food (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015). Confronting social and historical inequalities within race, gender and class as well as pursuing fair labour relations which provide minimum income to food system workers are also part of the food justice manifesto (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015).

Food sovereignty has largely been introduced to Canada by the National Farmers Union and the Union Paysanne, both members of La Via Campesina, an international movement which brings together peasants, farmers and farmworkers from diverse backgrounds (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014). At the core of food sovereignty, the movement works towards strengthening community and livelihoods and attaining social and environmental sustainability in the food system through honouring diversity, human agency, respect for nature and restructured and balanced power relations (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014). Indigenous peoples and peasant lives are at the root of food sovereignty and have stressed the importance of prioritizing concepts such as decolonization of the food system and including indigenous cultural activities such as fishing, hunting and gathering as sustainable food practices within the movement's framework (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014).

Slocum and Cadieux (2015) call for a clarification of food justice and food sovereignty approaches from conflation with the rest of the alternative food movement, which distinctly prioritize a commitment to feminist, anti-racist and anti-colonialist values. The food justice and food sovereignty movement stem from separate origins but are both grounded in their aim to

respond to those who have been marginalized by the conventional food system. Both systems actively work towards acknowledging and overturning the systemic inequalities of the food system and are increasingly collaborating with groups based in cities to respond to urban food issues (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015).

Toronto's Multicultural Food Networks

Over the past decade, conversations around food justice and food citizenship have been growing in Toronto, sparking responses towards gaps left by the food system and an absence of institutional responses to issues of diet-related health problems, adequate access and affordability of food (Welsh and MacRae, 1998). More recently, communities have moved beyond ideas of inclusion and diversity in food projects and led initiatives such as Afri-Can Food Basket, FoodShare's Cross-Cultural Food Access Innovation Hub, Thorncliffe Park Women's Committee and the Black Farmers and Food Growers Collective which prioritize food access for underserved populations (Kepkiewicz et al., 2015). Groups such as these have countered the dominant narratives of the alternative movement with their own stories to allow space for the perspectives and experiences of marginalized people of their own communities (Kepkiewicz et al., 2015).

After John Tory, Mayor of Toronto, proclaimed May 5th to be Food Justice Day in Toronto in 2015, several recommendations were put forward in a town hall meeting held for the event which suggested the city adopt the concept of 'racialized food insecurity', to recognize that food insecurity is a racialized issue in Toronto with higher rates among Black and immigrant households (FoodSecureCanada, 2015). A call for increased funding, resources and training was also put out to increase the capacity to which individuals and groups can be educated about food

justice and inequality in the city, as many community-led groups had been recognized as having a difficulty in obtaining funding and a dependence on volunteers (FoodSecureCanada, 2015).

Toronto's multicultural landscape has acted as a host for many immigrant communities and food has come to be a cultural marker for many immigrants to use as a tool to re-ground themselves (Lessa and Rocha, 2012). Among Canada's largest cities, Toronto acts as a major urban immigrant hub; where approximately 50% of its population consists of immigrants and 46.9% of the city's population belongs to a visible minority group as of the 2006 census report (Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2010). With extensive growth in Toronto's immigrant population from 2001 to 2006, there also came growing inequalities within the city, such as rising unemployment and a decline in income amongst newcomer and immigrant communities (Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2010).

Despite newcomers having a proportionately higher education and better overall health than immigrants who have been in Toronto for more than 5 years and non-immigrant residents upon arrival, they are reported to have greater unemployment rates, larger income disparities and a higher prevalence of food insecurity than their counterparts (Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2010 & Sanou et al., 2013). Food insecurity amongst immigrants and newcomers can be a major barrier in integration and settlement as it is more difficult to engage in a lifestyle that is healthy, active and engaged with the community (Koc, Soo and Liu, 2015). Additionally, food insecurity may bring on added burdens to the healthcare system as well as worsen the conditions of immigrants living in poverty as adequate and healthy foods may not be accessible (Rodriguez et al., 2016).

Challenging Social and Racial Inequalities in Alternative Food Pathways

Critical scholars of the food movement have often argued that food security has been an ideal entry point for food justice and food sovereignty initiatives as it has materialized as an issue that is more important over others in food, however its processes and outcomes have been inclined to reproduce social inequalities and perpetuate food insecurity (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015). Alternative food networks have risked leaving behind those who are most harmed by the food system such as migrant farmworkers or immigrant-led farms, who do not benefit from initiatives such as organic farming principles or farmer's markets which do not actively address systemic and historical issues and which have excluded and marginalized people of color in the food system (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015). It is imperative that the alternative food movement acknowledge embedded systems of oppression such as white supremacy, classism and colonialism which continue to frame major parts of the food system in order to create meaningful interventions into our food system (Kepkiewicz et al., 2015).

Cadieux and Slocum (2015) bring attention to the widespread and casual use of the terms 'alternative food', 'food justice' and 'food sovereignty' amongst projects and organizations that lack demonstration of how their initiatives actually seek to achieve the goals of these concepts through their work. This can be noted throughout food justice initiatives which target people of color or immigrants but still operate under a framework which reflects the worldview and understanding of individuals who do not belong to these groups (Anguelovski, 2014).

Similarly, through the variety of ways in which individuals can become participants in alternative food practices; the demographic of leaders and organizers in alternative food initiatives reveal a lack of diversity of participants (Alkon & McCullen, 2011). The profile of

participants of alternative food initiatives tend to be white, economic and social middle class communities with liberal or left-leaning political ideologies who often have had access to an education involving nutrition and the environment and have the purchasing power to afford ethical foods such as organic or fair trade items (Alkon & McCullen, 2011). This has resulted in a tendency to not just exclude access to participating in alternative food networks but also conceal the experiences of marginalized groups, namely racialized minorities, immigrants and lower-income individuals in the formation of food projects.

Alkon and McCullen (2011) have identified that social and racial inequalities exist in alternative food spaces and practices, specifically in settings such as farmer's markets, health food stores and co-ops, where cultural practices and values of middle-class white culture are performed and have become embedded in the definition and practices of these spaces. It is argued that alternative food spaces are commonly misconceived as spaces that are culturally neutral and colorblind and carry a unified goal towards environmental sustainability which often takes precedence over challenging other issues such as social and racial inequalities (Alkon & McCullen, 2011). In order to unveil the underlying structures of class, culture and race, the motivations and practices which distinguish participants and consumers of alternative food practices will be examined through an intersectional lens which uses the theoretical frameworks of whiteness, critical race theory and class division.

The Problem of Whiteness

Henson, Z., and Munsey, G. (2014) discuss the 'white habitus' which exists in alternative food spaces and the greater non-profit sector, where whiteness is not inherent in the food movement but rather acts as a function of larger white racialized institutions. Practices which reflect the worldview of whites have become embedded into the non-profit and philanthropic

sector, often in the form of the ‘white saviour complex’ which has persisted throughout the alternative food movement (Guthman, 2015). The problem of whiteness in alternative food praxis goes onto not only manifest itself in the underlying structures of the movement but in everyday food practices which are prescribed throughout food projects. The theory of whiteness, a product of critical whiteness studies, will be used to deconstruct both normalized and everyday practices and beliefs to unveil the structures which hold these tenets in place in the alternative food and to differing degrees in food justice and food sovereignty practices. Whiteness was additionally selected as a theoretical base, as it incorporates an intersectional analysis which considers gender, class and ethnicity, and has been informed by racialized scholars for over a century while more recently being adopted by white scholars (McIntosh, 2015).

Etmansky(2012) describes whiteness in three layers, where the first layer is whiteness which is perceived in relation to physical characteristics associated to ‘white bodies’, second is the less visible social privilege which come from the adoption of standardized norms of Euro-Western culture and third are embedded institutional policies and practices which uphold the status quo and maintain power within ‘white’ communities. The study of critical whiteness fractures the natural order of whiteness and conceptualizes whiteness as standpoint, as practice, as structural advantage and most importantly whiteness as the exercise of power, practiced both visibly and invisibly and always with the construction of difference (McIntosh, 2015). Levine-Rasky (2016) and Warren (2003) encourage an understanding of whiteness which moves beyond an association with the perception of the white body, but whiteness as a performance of race, which is reached through verbal and non-verbal actions repeated until naturalized and achieving racial inclusion and exclusion.

Identifying Whiteness in Alternative Food Pathways

Whiteness exists in many forms in the alternative food movement, where it has become normalized and mainstream, resulting in the privileges and structures of whiteness to be rendered invisible to whites and highly visible to non-whites (Owen, 2007). Those who cannot attain the ideals set by whiteness tend to become marginalized and often are subject to education by whites (Owen, 2007). Hayes Conroy (2016) presents the term racialized consciousness which is useful in understanding white individuals who believe they are meaningfully engaging in food justice and other activism but unknowingly become covert actors of racism and white privilege as they preserve white epistemologies and white racialized consciousness which do not reflect non-white experiences. Educating those who experience food insecurity is often a primary approach in food projects, where concepts such as food literacy, budgeting and nutritional information are taught to targeted groups of newcomers and immigrants through a white normative approach (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2016). This often reinforces an idea that those who cannot afford or access food are lacking knowledge of nutrition and agriculture, often removing the decision-making power individuals have over their food practices and undermining their knowledge (Minkoff-Zern, 2012). Moreover alternative food principles which encourage and educate individuals on eating plant-based or vegan diets, dismiss the lived realities of those who are not benefiting from white upper and middle class values (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2016).

The language of concepts such as ‘food insecurity’ and ‘food deserts’ which may emerge from food justice and education efforts lean towards creating a discourse which is colorblind by perpetuating an assumption that low-income people of color do not have the knowledge or will to eat good and healthy food and require education in order to respond to their situation (Valiente, 2012). While education about nutrition is arguably helpful to individuals who are

unfamiliar with the food system of a new country, there is often an overemphasis on nutrition education rather than structural causes of food insecurity such as income inequality, systemic discrimination and immigration status (Minkoff-Zern, 2012). Guthman (2011) notes that these shortcomings of food justice projects are often due to their necessity to operate under a neoliberal conscience or according to Slocum and Cadieux (2015) as operating too closely with the state, which tends to privilege allies of the states whose goals are represented through government public health and food programs.

Whiteness can also be observed in the consumption based initiatives of the alternative food movement where a romanticized attachment has been formed with activities such as buying local and fair trade products and ritualized visits to the farmer's markets. Alkon and McCullen (2011) present the concept of the 'white farm imaginary', in which the 'small-scale, yeoman farmer' has often informed the face of farming through images on food packages, advertisements in grocery stores and the overwhelming presence of white vendors at farmer's markets. Through the construction of the white farm imaginary, the history of the displacement of Native Americans, African-American slavery and racialized farm labourers who for decades have been principle actors in North America's food production system is veiled (Alkon & McCullen, 2011). Popular mottos within the food movement such as 'buy local' and 'putting your hands in the soil' also seem to best fit non-racialized communities while failing to acknowledge a food system which has been upheld by immigrant and racialized labour (Slocum & Saldanha, 2013). A history of farming rich with race and class oppression is excluded while the experiences of white bodies are actively maintained.

Consideration of racialized histories and their relationships with agriculture can shed light on reasons for the lack of participation in prescribed food practices among people of color.

Historical traumas in relation to the production of food and farming often exist for immigrants and people of color and have resulted in perceptions of manual labour to be demeaning and to be performed by the lower class, however due to this historical erasure is often misconceived for a lack of interest in food practices or one's own personal well-being (Ramirez, 2015).

Earlier examples of initiatives powered by marginalized and racialized groups following a social justice discourse often go unmentioned in the work of the alternative food movement. Many of these actions emerged at the same time as the civil rights movement in the 1960s in the United States, including movements such as the Black Panthers Breakfast Program, Food not Bombs groups and the Delano Grape Strike in California led by Cesar Chavez which worked to create immediate community-led responses to address the needs of those left disempowered by the food system (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015).

While progression has been made in food justice and education, often the inclusion of people of color is selective. Cadieux and Slocum (2015) remark how the presence of people of colour is often made on education panels or meeting groups to speak on behalf of their ethnic populations. The representation of diversity in these environments can often turn into a tokenization of an individual rather than an opportunity to address deeper issues of institutionalized racism and self-reflection of white privilege (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015).

The Importance of Critical Race Theory

The critique of whiteness unveils the structures which sustain white histories and values in the alternative food movement and it is with the help of critical race theory which provides an understanding of the racial complexities and racist undertones of the movement. Critical race theory, is a post-structuralist approach that applies critical theory to race and racism (Goodman

et al., 2012). Levine-Rasky (2016) highlights the goals of critical race theory to expose the various forms in which racism is ubiquitous, pervasive and denied in order to spark radical change to eliminate racism from society (McIntosh, 2015). Etmansky (2012) brings attention to the importance of critical race theory, by examining the powerful rhetoric of multiculturalism and diversity which blinds individuals to embedded racial inequalities. This is particularly relevant to cities such as Toronto, where approximately half of the population identifies as visible minorities and where structural racism becomes obscured by visible widespread diversity. While there is increased participation of racialized individuals and immigrants in the food movement, often this participation is performed under the original structure of the alternative food movement which prioritizes white values and standpoints.

A racial hierarchy of meanings and values can be observed in the universal interpretations of well-meaning concepts such as clean, organic, healthy and natural foods. These terms can be viewed under a racially critical lens to gain sight into how they exclude and further marginalize certain individuals (Goodman et al., 2012). Prescribed food practices under the alternative food movement lens tend to be more favorable and accessible for those who have the privilege to participate. Appealing terms such as ‘local food’ and ‘healthy eating’ can act as tools of exclusion as they do not account for individuals whose geographical areas does not permit them to have access to local foods or whose cultural foods are not locally produced (Valiente, 2012). In the discourse of nutrition and healthy eating practices, eating healthy becomes primarily understood through a Western context in which those who do not participate are perceived to have a lack of concern for the environment and their health (Valiente, 2012). The failure to acknowledge this exclusion ignores the classist reality of attractive food practices, because they do not acknowledge that for low-income individuals a large percentage of income

goes towards purchasing food when compared to the proportion of income spent on food by middle and upper class individuals. In effect, this normalizes affluent whiteness and considers food choice to be a moral rather than economic choice for many people (Alkon & McCullen, 2011).

Critical race theory understands that universal notions are exclusionary, and this is a crucial point because often the alternative food movement is rooted in an understanding that alternative food practices are beneficial for everyone. Notions of justice, equality and what a good life is, is particular for individuals as there are differences in individual standpoints and histories of oppression and exclusion (Goodman, 2012). The claim of universality of the alternative food movement can be critiqued in the observation of colorblindness of spaces such as health food stores which often appropriate certain cultural foods such as quinoa and yerba mate which are indigenous to regions of South America. Uncovering the structural inequalities and traditional ties behind the appropriation of cultural ethnic foods by health food stores exposes how ethnic food items are often rendered inaccessible and unaffordable to their native users (Anguelovski, 2014).

Scholars such as Heldke (2015) and Counihan and Van Esterik (2012) use the term ‘cultural food colonialism’ to refer to the commodification and consumption of cultural and exotic foods and practices for personal satisfaction. Cultural food colonialism captures the resemblance of the ways in which activities such as dining out in different ethnic restaurants and looking for the most novel and exotic food recipes often reproduce experiences of Western colonialism (Counihan & Van Esterik, 2012). Often these activities are revered in the ‘foodie’ world, while the rich histories and origins of these foods are less celebrated.

Restructuring Food Spaces

Approaches which critique and question the presumed universality of whiteness by intentionally creating physical spaces for people of color to tell their stories works towards challenging the structural inequality in food politics. Alkon and McCullen (2011) highlight that while the presence of people of color does not necessarily undo the prevailing whiteness in alternative food spaces, it enforces participants to recognize that people of color also play a part in the movement. Food insecurity is intertwined with poverty, racism and underemployment and it is pertinent that the geographies of marginalized individuals are centralized in order to challenge whiteness within food approaches which uphold an asymmetrical power structure where the participation of marginalized individuals is always sought rather than embedded (Ramirez, 2015)

It is necessary that approaches to food security consider dimensions of class and race within their approaches and that formation of new spaces which incorporate the knowledge of immigrants and racialized communities. Baker (2004) discusses community gardens which function as one space in which immigrants can cultivate gardens which reflect desired cultural foods, create a socioeconomic environment they have control over and engage with other residents and community members (Baker, 2004). Baker's (2004) concept of 'food citizens' understands participants as citizens who are immigrants and whose knowledge and capacity is often underused and underestimated and through community gardens can be used to engage, shape and contest practices and policies. Often inevitable daily interactions with food force migrants to emotionally and physically interact with their transnational identities, through actively resisting, forming or letting go of food practices (Parasecoli, 2014).

Research Methodology

The motivation behind this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the perceptions and experiences of food leaders in Toronto who are racialized and immigrants to Canada. The questions were structured to grasp an overview of some of the current projects the participants were working with and the perceptions they had of race and class inequality in the food movement. Research questions asked how food projects take into account the experiences and histories of immigrants, racialized minorities and low-income individuals and the general barriers that immigrants face around accessing food. The questions also served to uncover the barriers that different organizations face within Toronto and successful food projects the participants have experienced. My hope is that this project will shed light on the positive contributions of members of marginalized communities who tend to be generally invisible in the food movement.

Design

A qualitative approach was used in this research, involving semi-structured interviews to allow questions and answers to be exploratory and flow naturally. This method allowed participants to bring up personal experiences as well as points beyond what the questions may not directly have covered. While I recognize that I may bring my own biases and experiences to this research, which are informed through my own experiences of working in alternative food spaces and being immersed in farming and food environments as a person of color for many years, I chose questions which would allow for a neutral and open mind to be kept about participants responses. Questions were formed based on a preliminary understanding of the challenges which immigrants and racialized individuals may experience in alternative food spaces based on relevant literature and personal experience.

Target Population

The target population of this project were food leaders in Toronto who identified as racialized immigrants. The city of Toronto was selected for this study as it is a burgeoning site of the food movement in Canada, with a growing local food movement, expanding farmer's markets, reformed healthy food policies and an increasing number of innovative food and garden projects taking place in neighborhoods across the city (TYFPC & TFPC, 2016). There has additionally been an increase in the number of food projects which are being both specifically offered to and led by racialized individuals and immigrants in Toronto in the past few years, examples include the Afri-Can Food Basket, Black Farmers and Food Growers Collective, Thorncliffe Park's Women's Committee and Riverdale Immigrant Women's Centre Rooftop Gardens. Toronto also acts as a major centre for immigrant settlement. Amidst a growing population of immigrants and visible minorities and a thriving food movement, Toronto provides a valuable environment to look into the experiences and participation of racialized immigrants as members of the food movement.

The inclusion criteria of participants included individuals who were key informants between 18-62 years old, in order to capture individuals of different ages who were actively part of the working sector. Participants were required to be food leaders who had at least 3 years of experience of leading work in an area which directly engaged with work or research in food security or food justice in Toronto. Other criteria also included that participants must identify as a racialized person and must have been immigrants to Canada.

Sample Size

A sample of 5 participants was recruited for the study, involving individuals who participate in food-related work in various academic and community settings across Toronto. The recruitment process involved contacting a combination of personal connections and professors who were familiar with food leaders in the city and using snowball sampling. Individuals were contacted through email and sent a recruitment flyer, informing them of the details and obligations of the research study.

Initially ten individuals were contacted, with an intention of having up to 8 participants for the study, however only five participants responded to emails and agreed to be interviewed. The reduced number of participants is largely owed to the short timeline of the study and a lack of opportunity to pursue further recruitment. Lack of response is also thought to be owed to the timeframe of the study, as the months of June to August are particularly busy times for individuals working in food-related professions as it is when most farm, garden and market-related activities are taking place.

Ethical Considerations

Potential risks for participants were low. There was nevertheless a risk of identification of the participants which could potentially have negative impacts for them at work, with their colleagues, or other groups or organizations they may be working with. These risks were minimized by assuring their confidentiality and anonymity by removing their names, place of work and ethnicity of participants from the report as well as any third party names or institutions mentioned during the interviews. Participants were also given the option to check through

transcripts of their interviews. The option to stop or skip any questions or withdraw participation at any point before, after or during the interview was also offered to the participants.

Data Collection

Data collection was done through face-to-face interviews. Participants were contacted and recruited by email. Consent was obtained and an interview time and location was arranged and agreed upon by both the interviewer and interviewee. Interviews consisted of approximately six structured questions, with added prompts and additional open-ended questions fitted the conversation as the interview went on. With the consent of the participant, all interviews were recorded using an audio recorder and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

Data Analysis

Analysis of the data from interviews was done by several rounds of coding. General themes were drawn out from the transcribed interviews from a preliminary review of the data. Themes were then refined through subsequent analysis, which categorized the data into four final themes, including: (1) experiences and perspectives on representation and identity, (2) barriers to participating in alternative food practices, (3) community-run groups and apprehension of the NGO sector and (4) alternative approaches and recommendations offered by participants.

Findings and Discussion

Participants came from diverse backgrounds and had replies reflecting personal experiences as well as reflecting similarities both experientially and in terms of interpretations. This section will give an overview of the trends and experiences shared by the participants who are racialized immigrants and food leaders in Toronto.

All participants had at least three years or more years of experience as leaders in different areas of the food movement with much insight and enthusiasm to share. They had a wide range of experiences including working with smaller community groups, independent projects, academic settings, larger non-governmental organizations and the municipality. All participants were immigrants to Canada and provided me with, information about their immigration and settlement experience in Canada.

Each food leader had worked in a food security or food justice-related position in Toronto for 3 years or more, which made them experienced members and leaders in different areas of the food movement with much insight and enthusiasm to share. Interviewees had a different range of experiences which they drew upon, including working with smaller community groups, independent projects, academic settings, larger non-governmental organizations and the municipality. All participants were immigrants to Canada, who came through varying immigration pathways, which they touched upon in relation to their immigration process, settlement experience in Canada and throughout their academic and employment careers. Finally, all participants were racialized individuals who shared the experience of being a visible minority and acknowledged this identity to varying degrees throughout their interviews.

While there were definite similarities between the experiences of participants, there were also differences between the pathways participants took to come into their current positions, their areas of involvement and perceptions of identities. Some participants identified several barriers and challenges which they associated with the identity of a racialized person or an immigrant and brought up issues of culture, race and immigration status, while others brought up these points to lesser extents or did not share similar views. These differences are seen to be owed to the different experiences participants have had in personal, educational and work settings.

The following discussion will elaborate on the major themes which were drawn from the participant's interviews and answering the following research questions: how do food leaders perceive race and class inequalities in Toronto and what barriers do immigrants and racialized individuals face in the food movement. External sources will be drawn upon in order to engage in a deeper understanding of the participants' experiences.

(1) Perspectives and Experiences on Representation and Identity

One area, in which all participants related to, was their passion for their food-related work and the importance of food in their lives and the lives of others. Participants often went beyond describing food as necessary for survival but also as a source of connection; connecting food to their own communities, identities, histories and to other individuals and communities.

Participant B expressed:

"I think for anything to start, I think food is an essential part, anybody can gather around, talk, make friends and there is always informal conversation happening where there is food. I think it's a connecting piece."

Participant E went onto say:

"Food is really(a source of) nourishment, food is what sustains our lives, but also food is used in multiple ways, food brings people together and we use food when we have weddings, funeral, festivals, we use food in multiple ways. Food is a connector and it connects people, it is important, you see it any place people are gathering. In addition, to nourishment, we can't sustain life without food. That is why food is important to me and should be important to all of us."

Participant C:

"I think food is some way we can connect people - and have some power. So no matter what religion, what language you speak, cultural traditions, it's some way you can connect."

All five participants also connected their experiences with food to their identities as immigrants and their racial status. Four of the participants felt marginalized and underrepresented as visible minorities in their field of expertise, and they also sometimes felt that their participation or the inclusion of other food leaders of color was seen as a form of tokenism where they felt that they were included not because of a genuine concern of social justice but to fill a visible minority position. Some individuals also discussed challenges and strengths which they had as a result of their identity and experiences.

The food movement holds diverse pathways in which individuals can become engaged. However the literature critiquing the food movement often describes a movement which is dominated by white, liberal and affluent participants and consumers. Henson & Munsey (2014) employ Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus to analyze the embedded structures behind community food initiatives, which often operate on the basis of being inclusive and open to all. The reality of the prominent participation of white liberal middle and upper-class participants of the alternative food movement is understood to lead the movement's principles to operate from a habitus where practices and spaces are created and reproduced to reflect an affluent white habitus and worldview, often excluding viewpoints of marginalized individuals (Henson & Munsey, 2014).

Only a two participants discussed white privilege overtly, however four participants recognized that communities of color and low-income individuals are still pushing to be involved in the food movement. Participant C brought up experiences of occasions they felt spaces were mostly dominated by white leadership:

“But in Canada itself I am a visible minority and in a sense when I go to conferences, when I do different projects, I am usually the only one or among a few and it is harder to

“speak up, there are a lot of barriers in terms of speaking up or language issues for example.”

Participant D identified a similar experience in reference to their experiences as a person of color in the food community:

“Because the food community is relatively tight knit, that in itself is a barrier for involvement because we have the same scholar or actors or leaders speaking and I think the younger generations and immigrant communities should be able to speak and it doesn’t matter if their English isn’t the best or its not perfect it’s that knowledge or that voice. So when people are used to a different voice or knowledge then more people will feel comfortable and like tell my friend to come. So for me, if I go to a conference and I’m the only one and I don’t feel comfortable, I’m not going to go again.”

Henson and Munsey (2014) discuss, how for example in the local food movement, practices reflecting a white habitus are produced automatically, often unconsciously excluding the individuals which are sought to be included. With a growth in projects in the last few years of initiatives targeting marginalized individuals, the participation of immigrants, visible minorities and low income individuals may have increased but this demographic is not reflected in the same way in the leadership roles. Participant A supported this observation:

“I think the only thing for me is the fact that a lot of projects and non-profits that are dealing with issues faced by marginalized people and immigrants are not necessarily led or do not necessarily integrates those community members within their decision-making processes, or anything like that, so I think that that’s one of the problems.”

While working within a movement which is embedded in a white habitus, Hayes-Conroy (2016) identifies the often present well-meant white actors which engage in food justice, but who become engaged in covert acts of racism or macroaggressions. Participant B brings up an experience highlighting the embedded whiteness of certain alternative food space:

“I see how comfortable people are, this white chick, coordinating the largest community garden in Canada, she was mimicking Chinese people, that was natural and people don’t see it as racist behaviour because it’s normalized. A lot of white folks who I know suffer from unconscious racism, they’re good people, but that piece they don’t know it. And some people of color they just tolerate it. We live in a world where you could say things and there are no consequences.”

Cadieaux and Slocum (2015) acknowledge that as there have been progressive steps made within food justice to form spaces for people of color, there is still tokenization present in spaces within the food movement which inhibit deeper issues of race and privilege from being addressed. Participant C comments on the tokenization that they see present in spaces which host speakers from Toronto's food movement:

"I've attended food conferences in Toronto and Canada, and the fact is that representation of people of color, so I'm not just talking about immigrants, but people of color it is so depressing, it's miniscule, so maybe in a room of 300, you'll have 5 and maybe you'll have 1 or 2 kind of token people. So I think there's this essence of tokenism, so you have a Black speaker and an Indian speaker and it's the same speaker over and over again and I'm not saying that there aren't more speakers or leaders out there but it's just this one face. The same leaders and speakers are being used to represent the immigrants or people of color and it's just like is that it? Is that all to offer?"

(2) Barriers to Participating in Alternative Food Practices

Alternative food initiatives have emerged as a trend to counter the mainstream narrative of the social and environmental practices of the food system and to respond to issues of food access and food insecurity (Wakefield et al., 2013). However in operation these alternatives often run the risk of drawing focus away from the root causes of these issues and fall towards supporting a neoliberal approach to issues of food access and healthier eating (Wakefield et al., 2013). While efforts have emerged towards increasing diversity and inclusion in alternative food initiatives, white dominance has prevailed in many of these spaces (Wakefield et al, 2013 & Reynolds, 2014). Due to the lack of meaningful engagement with issues of poverty, structural racism and inequality, the absence of immigrants, visible minorities and lower income individuals in alternative food spaces is owed to more complexities than what individuals may commonly assume to be cultural preference, a lack of education or awareness (Valiente, 2012).

Most participants remarked that some of the biggest barriers for immigrants to participate in alternative food pathways were the affordability and cultural and geographical accessibility of food and alternative food spaces. Alkon and McCullen (2011) highlight that due to the normalized affluent whiteness of the food movement, ethical consumption choices or behaviours are frequently perceived as a moral decision rather than an economic choice. Systemic and social barriers often bar individuals from being able to access healthy, nutritious and fresh foods, of which the alternative food movement prescribes. Participant A explains the reality of many newcomers when they first arrive to Canada:

Let's take an example of an immigrant community, it is a new environment for them,; you have to get integrated into the new society, and then you have the job and the place you live in; because you have to get money and then access to employment, and the opportunities for employment are very low here. And with that limited money, how can you get food? Forget about organic, even what you get in the stores is so expensive.

Participant B shares their observations on the connections between affordability and geography of participants:

I noticed that low-income residents in Toronto, especially those who live in certain communities, are purchasing the most expensive foods; because as new immigrants, these foods, especially from Africa and the Caribbean, were the most expensive, very big part of their whole budget for the family.

While Participant D expands on extra challenges for immigrants:

That also has to do with urban planning, so if you see where things are located in the city and where the biggest population of immigrants are, it is usually places that are farther away from access to farmers markets or access to grocery stores, so that adds an extra challenge.

Colasanti et al.,(2010) describes how immigrants and non-immigrants often have similar desires of purchasing ethical, natural and environmentally sustainable foods but factors such as hours of operation, location, a child-friendly-atmosphere and cultural representation influence the ability of individuals, particularly immigrants and lower-income individuals to act on them.

While participants acknowledged the barriers to accessing alternative foods, food leaders were also aware of the struggles and hardships of producers in the food system. The remarks of participants suggested a missing link or a tension between the desire for individuals to want to support local farmers and sustainable and ethical farming methods, but an inability to do so.

Participant E exclaimed:

We understand having a local farmer, the hardships and locally grown and people say organic, but it's so expensive, and I'm not telling that the farmers have to sell it at a low price but coming to a low income neighborhood, it is different.

Participant B expressed their frustration with the resulting disinterest of people from getting involved in food justice issues:

For example, when you look at farmer's markets, rich people get all the best food, and poor people get all the crap, chemically produced food and No Frills and you look at a farmers market. Poor people can't buy organic food, we been doing a community market since 1997 in (location name) and we know if you sell organic food at this market, people don't purchase it, it's too expensive, people aren't interested in organic food because that's reality. And it shouldn't be that way."

There are a variety of ways in which individuals can engage with alternative food practices, but what has remained unchallenged and continuously perpetuated are the ways in which food has acted as a tool of status and exclusion. Valiente (2012) questions whether concepts such as 'good food' and 'local food' reflect the cultural needs and realities of immigrants and visible minorities, as they often do not incorporate the cultural food preferences and practices of people with transnational identities. When considering the concept of 'local food', Valiente (2012) deconstructs the narrow definition of the term which is often associated with food made within the proximate geographic one resides in, to incorporate how local food is interpreted for individuals with transnational identities. Valiente (2012), explains that for Filipino immigrants in San Diego, local food was defined as Filipino dishes they grew up with

and associated to the Filipino way of cooking rather than food grown in San Diego. The continued ignorance of the cultural food needs and appropriation of ethnic foods for the benefit of white middle class consumers acts as a form of continued structural racism embedded in the food system (Anguelovski, 2014). As Participant C explains:

I have an issue with local, I support local as much as you can but it's different if you live in Toronto or if you live in Halifax, and all the local food there is fresh. But then in Toronto we don't have the thing with the local and it's hard because it is so multicultural so how are we going to have local and then you face the issue if you are from (name of country outside of Canada).

Participant E gives an example of the appropriate use of alternative food principles by expressing their rejection of promoting organic food choices for certain communities.

If people can buy organic, let them buy it. For low-income people, that's not a choice they can make, compared to conventionally grown foods. So for a low-income person, I will not be in a situation where I start a class of newcomers, immigrants or low-income people, where I say, in order to eat healthier, you have to eat organic, that is not ethical for me. No matter what I believe about organic, I am not pushing people for something people cannot afford. That is not the right way to go.

Several food leaders mentioned matters of race within the food movement, some more explicitly than others. Alkon and McCullen (2011) along with other scholars, bring attention to the glazing over of histories of people of color and immigrants who have played significant roles in the North American food system. Often the participation of people of color and immigrants through agricultural history and present day farming has been abundant in oppression and injustice, through discrimination of land ownership, indentured labor and present migrant farm workers. Participant B exclaims their frustration with the current food justice approach:

I think the biggest tumbling block is the acceptance of food justice within the administrative areas of food systems organization. These folks don't like to talk about racism, this is like a dagger in peoples chests, and anything about racism the fences come up. A lot of my colleagues, good folks you know, people I respect and love very much,

when you talk about racism, they don't give credibility to that and this will haunt them for the rest of their generation because it's good to confront it and deal with it.

Participant C similarly identified race as a barrier which individuals face, describing:

“Race is one of the biggest barriers as well, because people treat people different based on what you look like“

Participant D also identified race as a structural barrier towards participation in alternative food, where they say:

“If we are talking about Canada specifically we have to address those structures of racism and I think that is connected to the fact that some people get employment and some people don't. Just based on a name or from a look, from an interview stage, so that is already a barrier.”

(3) Community-run Groups and Apprehension of the NGO sector

As Toronto's alternative food landscape continues to evolve the relationships between community groups, the non-profit sector and government organizations will transform and influence how food projects serve residents. Community-led projects and non-profit organizations tend to make up the bulk of food justice and food security projects which prioritize underserved communities in Toronto (FoodSecure, 2015 & Wakefield et al., 2013). Wakefield et al.,(2013), utilizes the concept of the 'shadow state' to refer to the 'roll back' of the neoliberal state in provisioning welfare and social services, while private and non-profit initiatives come in to fulfill these public services. The concept of the 'shadow state' is a helpful approach in understanding the fulfillment of social provisions by non-profits and community organizations ultimately as a cushion for the state from responding to the welfare needs (Wakefield et al., 2013).

As a result, many community-run, private and non-profit organizations have felt burdened by the needs of underserved populations and are often faced with instability and a lack of sufficient resources and funding. Two participants who had worked with community-run

organizations commented on the challenges faced by their projects. Receiving stable funding has been recognized as a major barrier for community-led organizations that often operate over their capacity to support their clients (FoodSecure, 2015). Participant A discussed their frustration with funding as a barrier despite their history and past successes:

“Finding funding is very challenging. Like we have been in existence in the past 8 years and all the work we have been doing has had a very positive impact on the community and it has changed things here. In this (name of location) neighborhood our program has been duplicated by many members in the community. So I think funding is one of the biggest challenges.”

Funding for community groups and non-profits is often a result of the size, history and capacity of groups, which many smaller-scale groups cannot attain. Funding inequalities often exist amongst community-led versus registered non-profit groups (Bradley and Herrera, 2015). Bradley and Herrera (2015) demonstrate that in the case of the United States funding often goes to large-scale and well-established organizations which are often led by white individuals. Due to the white dominance of higher positions within organizations, a ‘white habitus’ of norms, behaviours and expectations which adhere to whites, often becomes reproduced in the non-profit sector (Henson and Munsey, 2014). Furthermore this may lead to reproducing a staff structure and hiring requirements which hinder accessibility for people of color and immigrants (Henson and Munsey, 2014). Participant D’s frustration with Toronto’s food sector suggests a lack of openness or awareness to who may carry the expertise to fulfill leadership positions:

“The food sector in a way is similar to the international development sector, and whose doing the development work, whose seen as the actual expert and whose doing the grants and the studies? So unfortunately while in the Toronto scene there is definitely diversity and it is more progressive, there is a kind of expert mentality and who is still generally leading; it is definitely not the immigrants or people of color.”

While people of color have attained positions of power and overcome white leadership, this does not defy the embedded whiteness in operational structures nor has it translated into widespread representation (Herrera and Bradley, 2015).

Initiatives working within larger-scale non-profit and government-assisted organizations often have advantages, such as in having increased access to available resources and funding and harboring the capacity to address systemic challenges and influence policy shifts (Weiler et al., 2016). However, as Weiler et al., (2016) point out, when operating under the mandate of larger organizations that may have diversified interests, this may come with a negotiation of transformative values and approaches of small-scale initiatives. Prioritized values raised by participants included: the importance of meaningful community involvement, informality of operations within the community and directly serving community needs. Participant C discusses the continued importance of working with a community lens in light of progress and growth in the food movement:

“Especially when you talk about food insecurity a lot of people get very excited, and a lot of work has been done on that and its happening in the GTA. But what is important? If you have a farm or whatever, you have to understanding what is important for the community? What is the vision? So working through that community lens, that is very much lacking. Especially these food insecurity things, it comes from the bigger organization where the money is involved and it isn’t community-based.”

In the context of marginalized communities and communities of color, the experiences of participants suggested the importance of approaches which centralize aspects of community. Ramirez (2014) discusses the importance of pushing to the forefront the histories and complex relationships communities of color have had with food and land in racialized communities. The approach of centralizing Black food geographies is put forth; when operating community initiatives particularly in Black neighborhoods to de-center white epistemologies from which the

alternative food movement is built from (Ramirez, 2014). Participant B elaborates on the importance of acknowledging histories and how this can lead to empowering communities:

“There is a history of discriminating attitudes in Canada and people don’t see it, but I have seen it, because even these young women coming into these communities is racism; what they need to do is look at the programming and try to empower communities. It’s like you could see a person and give them a fish or you could teach them to fish. And then they will probably end up teaching you something.”

Community-led organizations have carved out spaces which have helped form notions of community and identity for individuals in response to the regulation and control of market and state regulation (Walter, 2013). Walter (2013) discusses the role that ‘communicative interaction’, otherwise known as informal communication and democratic decision-making, can play in community spaces in creating opportunities to gain new knowledge and contest and re-imagine the system, such as through interactions at farmers markets. Several participants mentioned the importance of a community structure in organizations and how this is necessary for the operations of projects specifically in low-income and immigrant neighborhoods.

Participant A describes:

“And we in the community understood the needs of the community because we are from the neighborhood itself, we are the community members itself, so we know the needs of the community. We are regularly in touch with them, they come, and they meet informally and talk about the issues or just say hello and go. That approach of the committee had really been helpful in understanding what the needs of the community are and how we can address them. We haven’t done a huge change, like develop strategies for “poverty reduction” or “health promotion” (said mockingly) in the neighborhood, but definitely we have done a positive impact on the neighborhood and recognized people are from a low-income neighborhood.”

There are often complexities within structures of larger organizations, where perceptions of the capacity organizations can hold do not always meet expectations. Participant E discusses the

reliance larger organizations may have on community collaborations for the success of their projects:

“Although (name) is a huge organization, people think we are well-resourced and we can do any project, but we can’t do any project. We really need the collaborations of the community. So (name of project) is no exception when it comes to that, we work with community agencies and individuals. Because our target population is low-income, low-literacy and new Canadians, that becomes challenging-.”

The comments of food leaders suggest that there are intricate relationships between community-led, larger-scale and government-led organizations which often support one another but may hinder the other’s projects from moving forward. The role of roundtables or food policy councils often help to bridge the disconnect present between different groups and advocates of the food system by facilitating conversations and forming new relationships (Mooney et al., 2014).

(4) Alternative Approaches Offered by Participants

The colorblindness and exclusion of race and class in alternative food spaces can be understood as structural racism. While there are conversations around the social and cultural exclusivity of the movement, these observations are often isolated or too often come as an afterthought. Centralizing discussions on race in the alternative food movement is needed in order to unpack the white privilege and systemic inequalities engrained in alternative food initiatives (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015). The overwhelming presence of whites as participants and leaders of initiatives, the appropriation of cultural foods as ‘foodie’ trends and the widespread ignorance of collective traumas of people of color, Black communities and indigenous people are but a few of the race issues present in our food system (Bradley and Herrera, 2015 & Cadieux and Slocum, 2015). With recognition of the challenges and barriers faced by low-income individuals, immigrants and people of color within alternative food spaces,

all participants mentioned alternate methods of re-imagining alternative food spaces to increase access to marginalized individuals.

Participant C discussed the importance of flexibility within projects to accommodate non-white cultural norms amongst participants of projects. In the example they provide, they discuss the normalized use of bank accounts in Western culture and the non-use of them amongst certain indigenous communities, whom they were collaborating:

“We have to keep in mind that they may not work at the same speed as us and we have to be very flexible with different cultures, because they do things differently. Because as a Western culture, sometimes we have to be flexible, because some indigenous people don’t have a bank account and then what are we going to do with the money.”

Participant E acknowledges the geographical barriers experienced by certain residents and discusses the importance of accessibility and how this can meaningfully be done through creating initiatives within people’s own communities:

“And because we go where people live, we don’t want people to have to come to us. So that is another burden. So if you provide TTC tokens, come to our office, you are not doing a favor for people. That is very difficult for people. So instead we go to people, in their neighborhoods, where they live. But all the neighborhoods are not well-resourced, it’s very hard to get a kitchen, where we can cook and do the hands-on component. But we see what we can do; we try to get spaces from a church or community centre.”

While participant B is aware of the ways in which to make programs more culturally appropriate:

“In our programs we do a lot of translations, very much culturally appropriate, we go look for translators and interpreters and we intentionally engage these communities, whether you’re from Turkey, Iraq or Nigeria or Africa, Caribbean, Latin America.”

Alternative food and food security concepts, such as ‘local’, ‘organic’ and ‘healthy eating’ are often promoted with an absence of racialized and low-income consumers. The narratives around these terms often include an erasure of the labor of undocumented and migrant

farmworkers, the experiences of land displacement of Native Americans and the historical discrimination of Black communities in land ownership which have built our food system (Alkon and Vang, 2016). The concerns shared by food leaders around historical trauma and the embedded discrimination of common alternative food concepts suggests a need to reorient current initiatives to be more accessible to racialized and immigrant communities. Two participants commented on the concept of local food:

“In (name of organization), we have a project dealing with different crops that are consumed by immigrants and how that can be produced locally. So it’s like we have this local food movement but how can we also integrate cultural foods.”

Participant B pointed out a difference between their food box program and others:

“The only difference was the (name of food box program) was culturally specific, had more tropical foods than foods from local foods in the basket.”

While participants mentioned ways through which projects can be culturally accessible, practices often fall short in addressing migrant worker justice and historical traumas of communities of color in alternative food practices.

Throughout interviews, food leaders mentioned comments which acknowledged that there needs to be more structural change within food approaches which incorporate an understanding of racism and social determinants of health. Alkon and Vang (2016) believe this is particularly important in alternative food spaces as they are often coded as white spaces, which serve to minimize the work of people of color in the food system and celebrate the work of white activists and scholars. Participant B expresses the importance of anti-racism training in food justice work to counter systemic racism:

“One of the only main areas of work that we see in dismantling racism is in anti-racism training in food system program; there’s not enough of that. We need a food justice conference every year. Many people get away from doing food justice work and go to the

other side because they can't stand up to this kind of work, this work create a lot of tension. This work for me is good, there's good coming of it. I want to confront systemic racism and discrimination in the food system.”

Three participants also mentioned opportunities for collaborations to occur between immigrant communities and other organizing groups. Brent et al., (2015) suggest that convergence of the various efforts in the food system is needed; where organizers and resisters of the food system, including advocates of food sovereignty, migrant worker justice, anti-racist practice and indigenous organizers should collaborate. Often the work of these various groups and communities are raised in separate contexts, but with similar transformative work being done amongst different communities, there exist increasing opportunities to assemble efforts. Three participants expressed agreement around the need for more recognition of indigenous people and indigenous history in food work. Participant D mentions the opportunity for partnership to occur in order to move forward in the food movement:

“I think another thing is also, this is collaborative, is to put more emphasis and value on food and food system learning and culture. I think that is a collaboration that immigrants should do with the indigenous communities because it's very empowering and also there's a lot of similarities in terms of tradition and spirituality. I think when we think about food system in Canada we don't necessarily think about indigenous food systems and I think that connection between indigenous food system and immigrant communities and culture, there is room for that connection.”

Three food leaders also mentioned justice for migrant farmworkers as a critical issue in food justice work, where work conditions and the precarious nature of migrant farm work were discussed. Participant B's response to the following question “what area of the food movement deserves more attention?” was :

“Migrant labor. Stuff happening in the countryside that people don’t have a chance to look at, let’s check out this stuff and write some stuff on racist farmers. We have a lot of work to do in the research and evaluation of the food system and communities of color.”

Similar comments from two other participants, concerning migrant farmworkers, suggest further effort in considering the struggle of migrant farmworkers in food justice work is needed.

Conclusion

This project presents preliminary findings on the challenges and barriers in engaging racialized individuals, immigrants and low-income people in alternative food spaces and food justice projects in Toronto. Findings suggest that further work needs to be done in restructuring approaches and producing transformative change in creating accessible alternative food spaces which engage with systemic and historical inequalities of communities of color in the food system. Brent et al., (2015) explain that working towards food justice does not mean working towards reviving the traditional agrarian lifestyle of the past, but a radically reshaped food system which acknowledges where our food system came from and functions with the absence of exploitation and discrimination. While not all food projects are presented as explicitly part of the alternative food movement, many of the projects discussed by participants and observed in Toronto, adopt food justice principles, a branch to the alternative food movement.

In-depth interviews with five of Toronto’s food leaders helped provide important insight into the challenges and experiences of food leaders and marginalized communities in relation to the accessibility and capacities of food projects in Toronto. Discussions with participants along with an in-depth literature review, led to three key findings. Firstly, it was determined that food leaders who identified as racialized immigrants perceived food spaces to lack representation of

people of color and to harness a culture of white privilege which prioritized white individuals in positions of power. Furthermore when people of color or the food leaders themselves gained temporary positions as presenters or speakers, while these opportunities were valued, they were also understood as a form of tokenization in some cases.

The second finding established that racialized and low-income individuals experience persistent economic, geographic and social barriers to accessing alternative food pathways. Discussions with food leaders suggest that it is necessary to move beyond ‘conscious consumerism’ through purchase of local and organic foods at farmers markets and grocery stores as the main alternative food pathway, as market-based approaches tend to deepen class and race inequalities within the food system (Brent et al., 2015).

The third major finding revealed that employing approaches which were community-led were vital to responding to the needs of marginalized communities in Toronto. It was however identified that a challenge to directly involving community members and accommodating diverse leaders and participants may be impeded by the colorblind and neoliberal practices of the non-profit sector. Discussions with food leaders concluded that meaningful community interventions involve hard work and acknowledgement of the complex histories and relationships which communities have held with food and agriculture.

Limitations

This research study aimed to seek an understanding of race and class inequalities present in the food system through the perspective and voices of racialized immigrants who were food leaders in Toronto. While this research prioritized the experiences of marginalized individuals, there were several viewpoints which can be further explored in this research. Critical

perspectives from feminist scholars and literature which provide a more in depth critical class analysis of alternative food pathways were lacking. Additionally, due to the limited timeline of the study, only a small number of participants could be accessed for this research, resulting in insufficient data to draw meaningful conclusions from. A larger number of interviewees with various backgrounds could provide a more in-depth analysis on this topic and the diverse experiences and perceptions of food-related work and research within Toronto.

Policy Recommendations

As the food movement grows in Toronto, it is critical that organizations, community groups and academic spaces continue to restructure themselves to be accessible to underserved city residents. Participants mentioned a number of recommendations throughout their interviews in order to respond to social and racial disparities through Toronto's food movement. Concern over a lack of understanding of anti-racism among food leaders in Toronto was voiced; suggesting a need to implement more systematic anti-racism and anti-oppression training amongst food leaders and individuals working in food justice initiatives. In 2015, several workshops regarding understanding racism in the food system were offered for individuals interested in food justice, one of which was "Growing Food Justice by Uprooting Racism" (Lockhart, 2015). It is advised that resources be put into developing similar workshops which are offered to individuals doing food justice work in Toronto in order to foster a deeper understanding of the ways that institutional racism shapes food access. It is also recommended that members of the alternative food and food justice movements make further efforts to create alliances with rapidly growing community movements such as: BlackLivesMatter, IdleNoMore, Justicia for Migrant Workers and similar groups which are working to reverse systemic racism within society.

Moreover a transparent understanding should be portrayed of the complicated relationships which racialized communities have and continue to have with food and agriculture. It is recommended that food projects take on the capacity to meaningfully engage and prioritize the stories and experiences of communities who have these complex relationships and to work towards acknowledging and working through historical traumas which can be nourished through re-imagining spaces and power structures. This work can be observed in the structure of several projects within Toronto including the Afri-Can Food Basket, the Black Farmers and Food Growers Collective and the Thorncliffe Park Women's Committee which prioritize the participation of residents within their own communities and embody practices which reflect their communities' worldviews and cultural understandings.

Stanley et al (2014) illuminate the lack of engagement with Canada's colonial history and domination of indigenous peoples in immigration and settlement discourses. It is recommended that migration studies incorporate indigenous history and indigenous sovereignty into their studies in order to address the relationships and injustices which have historically occurred between different groups on settler land (Stanley et al., 2014). Efforts such as these can begin to help bridge the disconnection between immigrant and indigenous communities.

Participants articulated that working directly with community members is an important goal for food-related projects in order to respond to needs which are unique to communities. It is recommended that community groups and organizations receive increased financial and resource support to run programs in order to relieve the burden which is felt by small-scale organizations and groups to respond the community food insecurity, unemployment and social barriers (e.g., language barriers, feelings of isolation and immigration-related trauma). While community groups are often supported by larger non-profit organizations, it is recommended that policies

and stipulations be reviewed to allow projects room to fully establish culturally-specific practices to be appropriate to the diverse communities which projects are serving. The policy suggestion for municipal and provincial government is to fund projects which utilize people-centered approaches and centralize and value the lives of marginalized and underserved individuals who face additional challenges to reaching their well-being.

Future Research

Due to the time constraints and limited resources of this project, there were several areas of research which were left unexplored. Firstly, it would be encouraged that future research take on an effort to be more open and accessible through creating more accountability and transparency in the practices of power which go on behind research. It is also imperative to perform more research where people of color, immigrants, women and other marginalized individuals are participants and lead researchers of studies. This is particularly necessary in the food studies where academic scholars are traditionally white and tend not to include the non-participants of alternative food pathways. Brent et al., (2015) highlight that it is not possible to discuss food justice or food sovereignty without talking about race and class, as it is intertwined into all aspects of the food movement, including land, food practices and the identity of actors involved. It would be ideal for future research in food studies to more consistently consider accessibility of the food movement through an anti-racist praxis which considers the worldview of individuals with experiences as an immigrant or racialized person.

Exploring the connections which can be made in shortening the gap between rural and urban issues; where the struggles of migrant workers are often disconnected from education around local and seasonal foods is also suggested. Further research in investigating the health effects and experiences of immigrants who often make up a large percentage of workers

throughout industries across the food chain (e.g., farmworkers and workers in processing facilities, grocery stores, food services and restaurants) would prove beneficial.

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Research Aims

- To uncover the underlying structures of whiteness and racial and class biases
- To determine ways in which to re-work initiatives to acknowledge injustices and obtain information which can be useful for those in the food movement.
- To understand experiences from a non-white worldview by prioritizing voices which are less heard in food studies and alternative food.

Research Questions

- What are the experiences and perceptions of diverse and marginalized individuals in Toronto's food movement and are these voices being adequately represented?
- How are food projects and food practices made and not made accessible to marginalized groups?
- What are effective approaches that can address rooted social, racial and economic inequalities in the alternative food movement and larger food system? And how can we use food approaches to address more sensitive issues such as violence and trauma in relation to food production?
- What are the gaps in present initiatives?

Interview Questions:

1) Describe your work as a food leader in Toronto.

Probes:

- What is your role in your place of work?
- What kind of projects do you work on?
- Since when have you worked in a food-related field?
- What were some of the major steps in your work in the food sector?

2) Can you describe how the food projects you have worked on are connected to immigrants, racialized individuals and low-income people in the city?

Probes:

- Is there a connection at all? Is there a connections between these individuals?
- How do food projects target these individuals?
- Do the needs and experiences of these individuals influence how food projects are shaped?

3) Can you tell me about how your experience as a racialized immigrant influences your work?

Probes:

- How significant do you think your identity as a racialized immigrant is in your work?
- Do you connect with this identity? Degree of reflexivity?
- Does your work reflect your experience as a racialized immigrant?
- Do you see a difference between your work and non-racialized immigrants in this field?

4) Can you describe every day or weekly activities in your field of work?

Probes:

- What are your primary goals in your work?
- What are setbacks and barriers you might deal with?
- What are the demands and pressures put on you in your position?
- How do you stay engaged and inspired in your work?

5) There is a lot of talk about emerging alternative food, food justice and food sovereignty movement, how do you see your work fitting in within these movements?

Probes:

- What is your understanding of these food movements?
- Is there any importance in them for you?
- What is your experience in these movements? Do you attend farmer's markets, health food stores, buy organic, etc?
- What are the gaps you see in these movements?

6) How do you see alternative food approaches as a response to food insecurity?

Probes:

- Are alternative food approaches appropriate for diverse populations?
- How do you see class and race to be connected to alternative food and food justice approaches?
- What are the most important points which are important to consider in food insecurity responses?

7) Based on your experience, how can we better address the food issues amongst immigrants?

Probes:

- What are some connections you see between immigrants and food?
 - Immigrant identity? History?
- What are some of the greatest barriers immigrants face in regards to achieving food security?
- Is there a connection between integration of immigrants and food security?
- What were policy recommendations you would make to better address this issue?

8) How can class and race be better addressed in food approaches and the wider alternative food

movement?

Probes:

- What are the greatest barriers?
- What are examples of successful initiatives which address these themes? What are unsuccessful examples?
- Where should there be more research?
- What areas should future research be directed in?

Appendix B: Overview of Participants

In order to minimize identification risks among participants, the names of participants, any personal information about participants and the names of organizations and third party individuals and groups were left out of this MRP. However a brief overview of participants will be given to provide readers with a sense of the background and experience of participants.

This study included 5 participants, 1 of which was male and 4 of which were female. Participants ranged in age and cultural background. The work, research and volunteer experience of individuals varied, including working in academic food research, community-based organizations, farmer's markets, food box programs, low-income youth engagement, nutrition-related outreach and food justice work. All participants were extremely passionate about their roles and often engaged in workshops, conferences and other speaking engagements.

Reference List

- Alkon, H. A., & McCullen, G. C. (2011). Whiteness and Farmer's Markets: Performances, Perpetuations.. Contestations? *Antipode*, (43)44, 937-959.
- Alkon, A. H., & Vang, D. (2016). The Stockton Farmers' Market: Racialization and Sustainable Food Systems. *Food, Culture & Society*, 19(2), 389-411.
- Anguelovski, I. (2014). Alternative food provision conflicts in cities: Contesting food privilege, injustice, and whiteness in Jamaica Plain, Boston. *Geoforum*, 158, 184-194.
- Baker, L. E. (2004). Tending Cultural Landscapes And Food Citizenship In Toronto's Community Gardens. *Geographical Review* 94(3), 305-25.
- Bradley, K., & Herrera, H. (2016). Decolonizing food justice: Naming, resisting, and researching colonizing forces in the movement. *Antipode*, 48(1), 97-114.
- Brent, Z. W., Schiavoni, C. M., & Alonso-Fradejas, A. (2015). Contextualising food sovereignty: the politics of convergence among movements in the USA. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(3), 618-635.
- Cadieux, K. V., & Slocum, R. (2015). What does it mean to do food justice?. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 22, 1.
- Cermak, M. (2014). Amplifying the Youth Voice of the Food Justice Movement with Film: Action Media Projects and Participatory Media Production. *Sociologists in Action on Inequalities: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality*, 4.
- Colasanti, K. J., Conner, D. S., & Smalley, S. B. (2010). Understanding Barriers to Farmers' Market Patronage in Michigan: Perspectives From Marginalized Populations. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 5(3), 316-338.
- Counihan, C., & Van Esterik, P. (2012). Food and Culture: A Reader. Taylor and Francis.
- Desmarais, A. A., & Wittman, H. (2014). Farmers, foodies and First Nations: Getting to food sovereignty in Canada. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41(6), 1153-1173.
- Etmansky, C. (2012). A critical race and class analysis of learning in the organic farming movement. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, 52(3), 484-507.
- Food Secure Canada. (2015). Resetting the table: A People's Food Policy for Canada. 2nd ed. Montreal, Quebec: Food Secure Canada. Retrieved from http://foodsecurecanada.org/sites/default/files/fsc-resetting-2015_web.pdf

- Gibson-Wood, H., & Wakefield, S. (2012). "Participation", White Privilege and Environmental Justice: Understanding Environmentalism Among Hispanics in Toronto. *Antipode*, 45(3), 641-662.
- Goodman, D., DuPuis, E. M., & Goodman, M. K. (2012). *Alternative food networks: Knowledge, practice, and politics*. Routledge.
- Grauerholz, L., & Owens, N. (2015). Alternative Food Movements. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 1(2), 566-572
- Grzywacz, J. G., Quandt, S. A., Vallejos, Q. M., Whalley, L. E., Chen, H., Isom, S., Arcury, T. A. (2010). Job Demands & Pesticide Exposure among Immigrant Latino Farmworkers. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 15(3), 252-266.
- Guthman, Julie. (2015). Food Justice. Retrieved from: <https://critical-sustainabilities.ucsc.edu/food-justice/>
- Hayes-Conroy, A., & Hayes-Conroy, J. (2016). *Doing nutrition differently: Critical approaches to diet and dietary intervention*. New York: Routledge.
- Heldke, L. (2015). *Exotic appetites: Ruminations of a food adventurer*. Routledge.
- Henson, Z., & Munsey, G. (2014). Race, culture, and practice: segregation and local food in Birmingham, Alabama. *Urban Geography*, 35(7), 998-1019.
- Kepkiewicz, L., Chrobok, M., Whetung, M., Cahuas, M., Gill, J., Walker, S., & Wakefield, S. (2015). Beyond Inclusion: Toward an Anti-colonial Food Justice Praxis. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 1-6.
- Koc, M., & Welsh, J. (2001). Food, foodways and immigrant experience. *Toronto: Centre for Studies in Food Security*, 2, 46-48
- Koc, M., Soo, K and Liu, L. W. (2015), Newcomer Food Security and Safety, Chapter 12, in H. Bauder and J. Shields edited *Immigrant Experiences in North America, Understanding Settlement and Integration*, Canadian Scholar's Press Toronto.
- Lessa, I., & Rocha, C. (2012). REGROUNDING IN INFERTILE SOIL: Food Insecurity in the Lives of New Immigrant Women. *Canadian Social Work Review*, 29(2), 187-203.
- Levkoe, C. Z. (2014). The food movement in Canada: A social movement network perspective. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41(3), 385-403
- McIntosh, L. (2015). *Whiteness Fractured*. Cynthia Levine-Rasky. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013. 245 pp. *American Ethnologist*, 42(3), 549-550.

- Minkoff-Zern, L. (2012). Knowing “Good Food”: Immigrant Knowledge and the Racial Politics of Farmworker Food Insecurity. *Antipode*, 46(5), 1190-1204.
- Mooney, H. P., Tanaka, K., & Ciciurkaite, G. (2014). Alternative Agrifood Movements: Patterns of Convergence and Divergence. *Research in Rural Sociology and Development*, 21, 229-255.
- Ontario Trillium Foundation. (2010). Diversity in Toronto: A Community Profile. Canadian Electronic Library, 1-46.
- Owen, S.D. (2007). Towards a Critical Theory of Whiteness. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 33, 203-222.
- Levine-Rasky, C. (2016). Whiteness fractured. Routledge.
- Parasecoli, F. (2014). Food, Identity, and Cultural Reproduction in Immigrant Communities. *Social Research*, 81(2): 415-439.
- Preibisch, K., & Otero, G. (2014). Does Citizenship Status Matter in Canadian Agriculture? Workplace Health and Safety for Migrant and Immigrant Laborers. *Rural Sociology*, 79(2), 174-199.
- Ramirez, M. M. (2015). The Elusive Inclusive : Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces. *Antipode*, 47, 748-769.
- Reynolds, K. (2014). Disparity Despite Diversity: Social Injustice in New York City's Urban Agriculture System. *Antipode*, 47(1), 240-259.
- Rodriguez, P. I., Dean, J., Kirkpatrick, S., Barbary, L., & Scott, S. (2016). Exploring experiences of the food environment among immigrants living in the Region of Waterloo, Ontario. *Canadian Journal Public Health*, 107, 53.
- Sanou, D., O'Reilly, E., Ngnie-Teta, I., Batal, M., Mondain, N., Andrew, C., Bourgeault, I. L. (2013). Acculturation and Nutritional Health of Immigrants in Canada: A Scoping Review. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 16(1), 24-34.
- Slocum, R. (2007). Whiteness, Space and Alternative Food Practice. *Geoforum*, 38, 520-533.
- Slocum, R., & Saldanha, A. (2016). Geographies of race and food: Fields, bodies, markets. Routledge.
- Stanley, A., Arat-Koç, S., Bertram, L. K., & King, H. (2014). Intervention—‘Addressing the Indigenous-Immigration “Parallax Gap”’. *Antipode*.
- Statistics Canada. Projections of the Diversity of the Canadian Population 2006 to 2031 (Rep.). (2010). Retrieved <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-551-x/91-551-x2010001-eng.pdf>

- Toronto Food Policy Council. (2016). Retrieved August 25, 2016, from <http://tfpc.to/>
- Toronto Food Strategy: 2015 Update (Staff Report, June, 2015), 2015 , Toronto Public Health
- Toronto Youth Food Policy Council. (2016). Retrieved August 25, 2016, from <http://tyfpc.ca/>
- Valiente-Neighbours, J. M. (2012). Mobility, embodiment, and scales: Filipino immigrant perspectives on local food. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 29(4), 531-541.
- Wakefield, S., Fleming, J., Klassen, C., & Skinner, A. (2013). Sweet Charity, revisited: Organizational responses to food insecurity in Hamilton and Toronto, Canada. *Critical Social Policy*, 33(3), 427-450.
- Walter, P. (2013). Theorising community gardens as pedagogical sites in the food movement. *Environmental Education Research*, 19(4), 521-539.
- Warren, J. T. (2003). Performing purity: Whiteness, pedagogy, and the reconstitution of power. New York: P. Lang.
- Weiler, A. M., Levkoe, C. Z., Young, C., & Ontario, S. (2016). Cultivating equitable ground: Community-based participatory research to connect food movements with migrant farmworkers.
- Welsh, J., & Macrae, R. (1998). Food Citizenship and Community Food Security: Lessons from Toronto, Canada. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue Canadienne D'études Du Développement*, 19(4), 237-255.
- Weiler, A., Levkoe, C., & Young, C. (2016). Cultivating Equitable Ground: Community-based Participatory Research To Connect Food Movements with Migrant Farmworkers. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 1-15.