MONITOR

Progressive news, views and ideas

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Founded in 1980, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) is a registered charitable research institute and Canada's leading source of progressive policy ideas, with offices in Ottawa, Vancouver, Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto and Halifax. The CCPA founded the Monitor magazine in 1994 to share and promote its progressive research and ideas, as well as those of like-minded Canadian and international voices. The Monitor is mailed to all CCPA supporters who give a minimum of $35 a year to the Centre. Write us at monitor@policyalternatives.ca if you would like to receive the Monitor.

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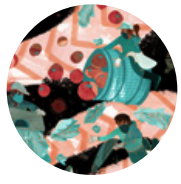

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RÓISÍN WEST

Back to the elements

IN ANOTHER LIFE, I did a stint in chef school. When you're first learning how to cook professionally, you have the basic elements of flavour drilled into you. Every dish comprises four key aspects: fat, acid, sweet, and salt. Building complex, well-balanced flavour means identifying all four in every dish (with bonus points for throwing in the elusive fifth element, umami).

At a cultural level, there was a massive shift a few years ago in identifying the main culprit for our dietary woes. While fat had been bearing the brunt of this blame through the late 20th century, consensus solidified around the new culprit. Sugar. Sugar was what was making everyone sick.

With a fresh target acquired, sugar taxes were proposed and implemented. New programs to get people away from sweets were rolled out. More and more conversations about *addictions* to the white stuff started taking over mainstream media. Though the sugar addiction study that kicked off so much of this concern has since been debunked, the panic and concern trolling around how people are eating hasn't stopped.

Of course, many of the diseases that we aim to prevent can't be seen. And the stand-in for them has, for the past century, been fatness. Fat[1] people have had our collective health anxieties hoisted upon them despite the fact that 1 in 2 people classified by the Body Mass Index (BMI) as overweight are metabolically healthy and the only BMI weight class associated with an early death is the underweight category.

In her book, *What we don't talk about when we talk about fat*, Aubrey Gordon describes having a complete stranger remove a cantaloupe from Gordon's grocery cart, chiding her because the melon had too much sugar and, as a fat person, that was "the last thing" she needed.

When we accept the idea that sugar is bad, and that fat bodies need to be corrected, we are doing several things. First off, we are moralizing foods. Food is fuel, it has no moral value. There can be moral values associated with the conditions in which it is grown, prepared and sold, but foods themselves are neither good nor bad, neither clean nor dirty. Perpetuating these ideas is perpetuating not only a colonial mindset, but it is mystifying the act of eating. Similarly, when we value one body type over another, we are once again maintaining colonial ideals that celebrate a thin, white, abled body above all others. These beliefs have real world consequences.

Researchers found that in news stories about fat bodies, "articles that reported on [Black] or [Latinx people] were over eight times more likely...to blame obesity on bad food choices, and over 13 times more likely to blame it on sedentary lifestyles." The authors concluded, "Such findings lend support to the theory that talk of an 'obesity epidemic' is serving to reinforce moral boundaries against minorities and the poor."[2]

These beliefs about who fat people are informs how programs aimed to help food insecure people operate. Programs can be paternalistic, assuming that larger bodied participants are incapable of eating healthy without rigid rules and guidance. Programs can focus on participants losing weight or counting calories, creating barriers to accessing healthy and nutritious food.

Gordon writes "We don't often ask ourselves what our response to fatness says about us, but it says so much about our empathy and our character. We spend so much time examining fat bodies in front of us that we fail to examine our response to them. We learn not to feel the heat and pressure that so many fat people face, and in doing so, we ignore our contributions to it."

I think there is something worth repurposing from my chef school fundamentals. Just as every dish needs to have its balance of fat, acid, sweet, and salt considered, I would suggest that every program aimed at helping food insecure communities needs to have four key attributes evaluated: appropriateness, autonomy, accessibility, and joy. Is this program and food appropriate for the people it is trying to serve? Is it respecting and celebrating their autonomy? Are the ingredients accessible to the point that the participants will be able to continue using them after the program ends? Does this program or food bring the participants joy? If a food program doesn't have these four elements, it is, as my old head chef would say, not making the pass.

It's time to decolonize how we are talked about and cared for, and to actively commit to no longer policing other people's. Commiting to food justice means committing to the belief that people and communities know what is best for themselves but have been prevented from actualizing that plan because of a history of systemic violence and exclusion. Let's get cooking. M

1. I USE FAT AS A NEUTRAL, DESCRIPTIVE ADJECTIVE, LIKE MANY FAT ACTIVISTS BECAUSE IT IS A NEUTRAL, DESCRIPTIVE ADJECTIVE AND NOT A PEJORATIVE TERM.

2. CAMPOS, P., SAGUY, A., ERNSBERGER, P., OLIVER, E., & GAESSER, G. (2005). THE EPIDEMIOLOGY OF OVERWEIGHT AND OBESITY: PUBLIC HEALTH CRISIS OR MORAL PANIC? INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF EPIDEMIOLOGY, 35(1), 55–60.

Letters

Nuclear capability is overblown

The letter regarding nuclear power in the May/June issue of the *Monitor* requires a response on a number of points. First of all, though, I was surprised that there was no mention of the fact that the letter's author, Ken Chaplin, works in the nuclear industry. A quick Google search reveals that Chaplin is "Principal Scientist at AECL [Atomic Energy of Canada Limited]" and "a retired long-term employee at Chalk River Labs" (both self-described).

In his letter, Chaplin refutes the points in M.V. Ramana and Eva Schacherl's article (Jan/Feb *Monitor*) and champions nuclear power. In doing so, he makes several claims as though they are facts, while giving no evidence to back them up. None of them holds up to closer scrutiny. For instance, he says that "Radiation is only dangerous at high dose rates." This claim is contrary to scientific research. In 2006, the U.S. National Research Council of the National Academies stated that "current scientific evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that...there is a linear dose-response relationship between exposure to ionizing radiation and the development of solid cancers in humans. It is unlikely that there is a threshold below which cancers are not induced..."

Chaplin also states that "Nuclear power reactors and Small Modular Reactors (SMR) have negligible greenhouse gasses or other emissions." This oft-repeated fallacy must be put to rest. In fact, the nuclear fuel chain, from mining to waste, has significant emissions. As nuclear physicist Manfred Lenzen notes in his 2008 article, "Life cycle energy and greenhouse gas emissions of nuclear energy," "While conventional fossil fuelled power plants cause emissions almost exclusively from the plant site, the majority of greenhouse gas emissions in the nuclear fuel cycle are caused in processing stages upstream and downstream from the plant." Comparing life-cycle emissions from several types of power, Lenzen found that nuclear energy production using high-grade uranium ore have average emissions of 65g CO_2 per kilowatt hour of electricity generation, versus 15–25g per kWh for wind turbines and hydroelectricity, and 600–1200 g per kWh for fossil fuels. And as uranium ore grades decline, more fuel will be needed to mine and mill it, resulting in higher CO_2 emissions.

Of course, there is also the matter of the nuclear waste created by the development and production of nuclear energy—which is toxic for hundreds of thousands of years—and for which no safe, permanent solution has been found anywhere in the world.

As for Chaplin's claim that "Nuclear energy is much cheaper than wind for space heating and industrial heat applications," it's a well-known fact that the cost of renewable energy has plunged. The business magazine *Forbes* reported in January 2020 that "Over the last decade, wind energy prices have fallen 70% and solar photovoltaics have fallen 89% on average... Utility-scale renewable energy prices are now significantly below those for coal and gas generation, and they're less than half the cost of nuclear."

Aside from presenting the usual costs and risks of nuclear power, SMR are not a viable strategy for mitigating climate change, simply because it will be years before this type of reactor comes online, and CO_2 emissions must be reduced significantly by 2030 to avoid climate catastrophe (as established by the U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change in the *Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5°C*).

The millions of public dollars presently being poured into SMR development could—and should—be spent on real, effective climate change strategies: energy efficiency and renewable energy. The means already exist to do this; it is the political will that is lacking.

The issue here (rather Chaplin's appeal to "reason") is in whose interest energy choices are made: what's good for public health and finances versus what a waning nuclear industry desperately needs to revive itself. Let's hope our political leaders have the integrity to make the right choices.

Rena Ginsberg

Time for a wealth tax

I have just finished reading Alex Hemingway's article in the May/June issue on the revenue a wealth tax would generate. Great article.

It was heartening. Why should all the lower income folk pay for road upkeep, airport upkeep, etc. that the wealthy use as well as the lower income folk.

Plus, I think the very rich should pay far, far more taxes.

When I had $10,000.00 transferred to my Canadian bank account from the sale of my mother's house in another country, the bank had to notify Revenue Canada who came down on me to pay taxes on this money.

Yet these big financial institutions can send money out of the country with no declaration of where they are sending it or for what purpose, or to check that appropriate taxes have been paid.

Get the very rich, I say.

Palma Berger,
Dawon, Yukon

Letters have been edited for clarity and length. Send your letters to monitor@policyalternatives.ca.

New from the CCPA

A $10-a-day national child care plan will mean big savings for parents

For the first time since 2005, it looks like a national child care plan is a real possibility. If implemented, the federal government's national child care plan would result in a 50% reduction in child care fees by 2022, and a national maximum $10-a-day child care fee by 2026. Senior economist David Macdonald calculated the savings in 37 cities in 2022 (50% reduction) and 2026 ($10-a-day). Read the analysis and use the interactive graphic to see what savings could look like in your city. (monitormag.ca/articles/a-10-a-day-national-child-care-plan-will-mean-big-savings-for-parents)

"Nobody should have to choose between wages or recovery"

The CCPA-Nova Scotia released *No Nova Scotian Should Have to Work Sick, The Urgent Need for Universal and Permanent Paid Sick Leave Legislation*, authored by a team of researchers at Acadia University. According to Lisa Cameron (Halifax-Workers Action Centre), "Paid sick day access during COVID-19 was possible because people fought for it. To take this protection away now is a massive step backwards. Nova Scotians simply deserve better. Of course, COVID-19 has shed light on this fact, but the provincial government ought to recognize the importance of paid sick leave moving forward, too." The report is available at policyalternatives.ca/offices/nova-scotia/publications.

Deeply unequal pandemic impacts on workers—particularly based on gender & race

In her latest report, *Inequality, employment and COVID-19: Priorities for fostering an inclusive recovery in BC*, CCPA-BC senior economist Iglika Ivanova examined the ongoing impact of COVID-19 on different groups of workers a year into the pandemic, and found that the pandemic has made clear how much of the economy relies on unpaid labour—mostly shouldered by women—and on the undervalued jobs in female-dominated industries staffed largely by racialized workers. The report concludes with recommendations for key policy frameworks needed to address the structural inequalities exposed by the pandemic and solutions for a more inclusive and just economy, rather than returning to the pre-pandemic status-quo.

Uncovering Big Oil's influence

As part of the Corporate Mapping Project's Virtual Conference in June, CCPA-Saskatchewan was proud to host a discussion of "The Price of Oil" journalism project. In conversation with the project's founders, Dr. Patricia Elliott and Patti Sonntag, the panel discussed how news coverage of the oil industry has influenced how the public views the industry in Saskatchewan, as well as the government's reaction to the coverage. Full video available here: vimeo.com/564273730

Welcoming new research associates to our ranks

The CCPA Ontario office is growing its capacity this year with a new crop of research associates. Research associates provide a window into new research areas, offer advice and expertise, create new connections, and routinely end up collaborating on CCPA reports and blogs. CCPA-Ontario is thrilled to welcome **Angele Alook**, Assistant Professor in the School of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at York University; **Martine August**, Assistant Professor in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo; **Beyhan Farhadi**, a postdoctoral researcher, secondary school teacher, and advocate for fully-funded and inclusive public education; **Anthony Morgan**, a lawyer and racial justice analyst with expertise in addressing anti-Black racism; and **Aminah Sheikh**, a union and community organizer based in Toronto. For full bios, please visit policyalternatives.ca.

Pushing back against privatization

In May 2021, the province of Manitoba demanded the City of Winnipeg undertake a single source contract with Deloitte LLP for a market assessment of Public-Private-Partnerships (P3s) for the much-needed north end sewage treatment plant with the City...at a cost of $400,000 dollars. A policy brief by CCPA-Manitoba Director Molly McCracken focuses on six broad evidence-based considerations about the challenges with P3s and why the City of Winnipeg should unilaterally say no to this zombie policy that has been repeatedly killed by evidence only to come back again and again. Read the brief *Provincial call for Winnipeg Public-Private Partnership for Sewage Stinks* on our website: policyalternatives.ca/offices/manitoba/publications. M

J David Hughes / BC Office

Canada's carbon conundrum and the difficult path forward

SINCE THE FIRST oil well was drilled in 1859 humans have been on a roll. Global population has increased more than six-fold and energy use per capita has grown more than nine-fold. Accompanying this explosive growth in energy use was unprecedented economic expansion—since 1965 global GDP has grown 6.8-fold and per capita GDP has increased 2.9 times adjusted for inflation.

Unfortunately, there is no free lunch.

Since the first oil well was drilled, anthropogenic emissions have grown 116-fold and more than 13-fold per capita. Half of all greenhouse gas emissions have been emitted since 1991 and half of the fossil fuels burnt since 1850 have been burned since 1993.

The halfway point in cumulative emissions from fossil fuel burning depends on the level of development of individual countries and their rate of growth: Canada's halfway point was in 1989; the U.S. in 1981; the U.K. in 1950; and China, where consumption is skyrocketing, in 2007.

Despite China's rapid growth, however, its per capita rate of emissions was just slightly over the world average in 2019, compared to three times the world average for Canada and the U.S. (the U.K. was at the world average).

Climate scientists have underscored the danger of global warming due to greenhouse gas emissions and the need to eliminate emissions as soon as possible. The Paris Agreement, signed in 2016 by 197 countries including Canada, pledged to control emissions to contain global warming to at most two degrees above pre-industrial levels. Canada committed to a 40% reduction by 2030 and has introduced Bill C-12 pledging to reduce emissions to "net-zero" by 2050.

High-emitting countries like Canada and the US clearly have the most room for cutting emissions. Despite signing the Paris Agreement, Canada's emissions have grown by 3.3% since 2016, the highest of any G-7 country. Although the U.S. also increased emissions by 0.6%, the other five G-7 countries reduced emissions by between 4.4% and 10.8%.

In 2019, the most-recent year for which emissions data are available, oil and gas production accounted for 26% of Canada's total emissions. In the Canada Energy Regulator's (CER) most conservative forecast (which assumes new policies to address climate change and improvements in emissions reduction from the oil sands), growth in oil and gas production to 2050 would cause the oil and gas sector alone to exceed an 80% emissions reduction target in 2050 by 32%.

Clearly the CER forecast is incompatible with meeting Canada's emissions reduction targets. Yet Canada is using taxpayer funds to build the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion project (TMX) to facilitate additional oil and gas production growth. This is completely at odds with its emissions reduction commitments.

Canada's investment in TMX is even more incomprehensible given the fact there is sufficient existing export pipeline capacity with the CER production forecast.

In BC, both the Canadian and BC governments are subsidizing LNG exports which will require increased gas production. CER's most-conservative production forecast for BC would exceed BC's CleanBC emissions target by 93% in 2050. This includes emissions from the production of gas required for LNG exports and assumes a 45% reduction in fugitive methane by 2025 and electrification of production facilities. If emissions from the liquefaction terminals are included the picture is even worse.

Government enthusiasm for increasing oil and gas production must also face the realities of falling revenue from the industry. Despite increasing production, royalty revenue has declined 45% since 2000. Tax revenue from the oil and gas industry has declined from more than 14% of total industry taxes in 2006 to less than 4% in 2018. Jobs, which peaked in 2014, have declined by 23% due to increased automation even though production is at an all-time high.

If Canada's commitments to emissions reduction are to be more than empty promises our government must face the fact that production will have to decline radically and that its policies to expand pipelines, production and exports are completely counterproductive to achieving its climate commitments. M

This piece was published as part of the Corporate Mapping Project, a six-year research and public engagement initiative jointly led by the University of Victoria, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives' BC and Saskatchewan Offices, and the Alberta-based Parkland Institute. This research was supported by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

Catherine Leviten-Reid and Christine Saulnier / NS Office

Tackling housing insecurity in Nova Scotia

THE PANDEMIC HAS fundamentally affected our social and economic systems and has uncovered just how deep the crises in our systems run. We must do better than returning to a pre-pandemic Nova Scotia. Before the pandemic, many Nova Scotians were struggling to make ends meet, uncertain about how they would pay next month's rent or power bill. Many were going without food or rationing because they had to use their food money as their only 'discretionary' money to ensure they did not lose the roof over their heads.

Indeed, as is outlined in a new report, many thousands are currently without any place to call their own, living on the streets, couch surfing or staying in shelters. Others are in accommodations that they cannot afford, or which are not safe, adequate or properly maintained. For others, there is a lack of accessible housing that accommodates their needs to live barrier-free. As housing becomes even more unaffordable in areas located close to employment, services and amenities, it pushes many out of their communities, isolating them.

So many Nova Scotians are housing insecure: they have very little protection to support them to stay in their current housing situation in the face of evictions and rising rents, or even to move to a more suitable location. Housing insecurity leads to increased stress, social exclusion, illness, and disease. That is why this new report proposes 95 recommendations, on which 48 individuals and organizations across Nova Scotia came to consensus, for how to address the homelessness and affordable housing crises.

The report is a principled roadmap that gets at the root causes of the crises; we can't just address the lack of supply with piecemeal temporary solutions in the for-profit market. We must ensure that government massively invests in non-market housing (co-operative, non-profit and public/social) through both new builds and acquisitions. What is required is enough non-market housing for the just over 32,000 Nova Scotians who cannot afford their housing and are at risk of losing it.

The rental market in this province has become very attractive to financialized landlords because of the lack of rent control and other mechanisms to control profiting off housing, such as implementing the government's right of first purchase when rental units are put up for sale. Stronger regulations are needed for permanent rent control, but also for short-term rentals, and for condominium builds and conversions. Moreover, tenants deserve stronger protections that will be proactively enforced, so they are not vulnerable to those who have the power to take their shelter away without a full hearing and access to legal support and representation, and supported by tenant associations.

The crisis is not just about the lack of affordable housing, it is also about a lack of income—24.2% of renters have household incomes below $20,000. It is also about a lack of services, and discrimination.

The crisis is not just about the lack of affordable housing, it is also about a lack of income—24.2% of renters have household incomes below $20,000. It is also about a lack of services, and discrimination. We recommend: substantially increasing income assistance to bring people to the poverty line, raising the minimum wage, and ensuring addictions and mental health services are available. African Nova Scotians have faced dispossession of their land and we owe it to them to ensure housing solutions address continuing racism as well as the legacy of enslavement. Indigenous renters living off-reserve lack affordable housing, in good condition, and safe and appropriate supports.

People deserve housing *and* the supports needed to remain in their homes, whether that is wrap around 24/7 care, or minimal navigation and advocacy help. There are hundreds of people with disabilities unnecessarily institutionalized in our province—a gross violation of human rights.

Housing is a human right. It is time we ensure that everyone in Nova Scotia has a housing secure future, which is critical for their health and our collective community's well-being. M

Catherine Leviten-Reid, Cape Breton University and Christine Saulnier, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-NS are co-leads of the Housing for All Working Group

Alicia Massie and David Macdonald / National Office

Boundless bonuses

Skyrocketing Canadian executive pay during the 2020 pandemic

DESPITE A DEVASTATING pandemic and ensuing financial crisis, Canadian CEOs enjoyed healthier paycheques in 2020—thanks, in part, to alterations of bonus pay rules.

Executive pay in 2020 (covering all top execs not just CEOs) increased, on average, by 17% since 2019, despite the COVID-19 pandemic.

Using filings from 209 publicly traded companies on the S&P/TSX Composite Index, we've combed through the numbers to see how executive pay shifted between 2019 and 2020. We tracked the compensation of 1,096 of the Named Executive Officers (NEOs) at these companies. This includes the CEO (which we've tracked elsewhere) but also the other top paid execs at each company, like the Chief FInancial Officer (CFO) and others.

Executives across these companies are paid through multifaceted compensation programs where "salary" is typically the smallest component of overall pay. Beyond salaries and pensions, the rest of their pay is generally made up of "pay for performance" bonuses, which is hypothetically based on how the company is doing. The performance measures differ by company but can include revenue, profit or stock price goals and they can also include things like low workplace deaths and how much employees like working for a company.

We found many executive officers in Canada actively benefited from the pandemic—either because their companies were on the right side of COVID-19 and made a profit from it or because their bonus formulas were changed.

Executive pay is up 17% from 2019

Executives aren't paid like regular workers. Normal workers receive a salary or an hourly wage, which is taxed at statutory rates. They might get a small end-of-year bonus, but it would make up a very small part of their overall pay. Corporate executives are the exact opposite: the majority of their pay comes from bonuses, not salaries. To make matters more complicated, these executives often aren't paid in money, they are paid in stocks or stock options that will only have value in a few years' time. Being paid this way allows for often generous tax breaks that are generally unavailable for working Canadians.

How much they make in bonus cash, stock and stock options is notoriously convoluted. These awards, routinely related to multiple factors (like profit or stock price), are determined over multiple time frames, and are tied to categories or "targets" that might change from year to year or even quarter to quarter.

We found 49 companies, nearly a quarter of the S&P/TSX Composite companies, altered their own rules to boost executives' paycheques, relying on a variety of maneuvers, including:

- Awarding large COVID-19 related bonuses via either cash, shares or stock options;
- Simulating financial figures for 2020 that excluded the impact of COVID-19;
- Altering the weighting, percentages, or overall categories within performance evaluations;
- Shifting to different financial or time-based evaluations.

It is worth mentioning that a few companies changed their bonus calculations so as to cancel or reduce their bonuses. For example: The CEO of Agnico-Eagle Mines Ltd. committed to a reduction in his short-term bonus, and Air Canada agreed to return its "Pandemic Mitigation Bonuses" after widespread public outcry, given the federal loan support it had just received.

The devil remains in the details though: Air Canada's named executive officers (NEOs), for example, publicly returned their COVID-19 bonuses due to public outcry over their recent receipt of a $5.879 billion federal government bailout. The CEO and executive vice-presidents agreed to voluntarily return their combined $2 million "pandemic mitigation bonuses" and a small, undisclosed amount of share appreciation units. But this wasn't their entire bonus package for the 2020 year—it was only 15% of it. The execs kept the remaining 85% of their bonuses, which were worth $11 million (spread across five top executives).

Creating hypothetical financial results

Eight of Canada's biggest companies simulated their financial results without COVID-19 and then awarded bonuses based on the simulated results rather than the actual results for 2020. For example:

- Martinrea International rationalized its bonus payments based on the assertion that the financial impacts of COVID-19 were simply too "unusual and external" and, given the company's "heroic" efforts, excluded the second quarter from bonus calculations;
- Dollarama justified its bonuses by rationalizing that once you remove the direct costs associated with COVID-19, executives *would* have received bonuses. Consequently, their compensation committee recommended that executives *should* receive their bonus;

- Sienna Senior Living, a company that experienced multiple COVID-19 outbreaks at its facilities, explained that the loss of revenue and additional expenses incurred as a result of the pandemic were "extraordinary operating expenses" and were thus excluded when determining bonuses.

Altering performance evaluations

Twenty four big companies altered the weighting, percentage scores or categories upon which the final bonus was based. For example:

- Companies such as George Weston Ltd. and Laurentian Bank, bypassed their own performance results, saying that while 2020's results would have resulted in a nil (0%) bonus payout in particular categories, it didn't seem fair, given what they deemed as "substantial" and "significant" efforts during 2020. As a result, they paid the bonuses.

Shifting to different financial or time evaluations

Four companies modified the time frames or the financial measures used in calculating their bonuses. For example:

- CCL Industries argued that it created its bonus program before the pandemic, so it reworked its performance measures and targets to "motivate management to meet these unforeseen challenges." It did this by offering executives an additional two years to meet these targets;
- Bausch Health Companies bonus structure was based on using the results over an entire year. During the pandemic, the company instead evaluated bonuses on a quarterly basis "to allow for the instability and unpredictability of the COVID rebound".

Salary cuts = bigger bonuses

Many companies have used "salary cuts" to explain their compensation packages to their workers and the general public during such a difficult time.

Despite the prominence of those salary cuts within corporate public relations, flexible bonus packages can render those salary cuts to be symbolic in nature.

Salary is the smallest component of an executive's compensation package, which typically includes stocks, stock options, cash bonuses and pension allocations—these make up the real substance of their pay. Among the 209 companies analyzed, salary accounted for 28%, on average, of overall top executive pay.

Among the 1,096 executives reviewed in this analysis, only 169 agreed to salary reductions and over half (52%) of the top executives who experienced a salary cut saw their overall pay actually increase in 2020 because their bonuses went up by more than what they lost in salary.

Often salary cuts were completely offset by other bonuses.

For example, Open Text, a company that permanently closed half of its offices and laid off 5% of its workforce, offered "special performance bonuses" to executives in the amount equal to their original salary reductions.

Three of Alamos Gold's NEOs accepted a 25% reduction in salary for two months yet they saw their overall pay increase in 2020, despite experiencing multiple COVID-19 outbreaks at a mine and receiving federal support via CEWS.

> While ordinary Canadians pay the full tax rate on their income from working, those with income from businesses or selling investments can pay tax at only half the rate.

Executive compensation: No risk, all reward

Such bonus pay practices are perfectly legal. Many companies carve out room for discretionary adjustments and compensation committees can determine how much execs should be awarded in bonuses.

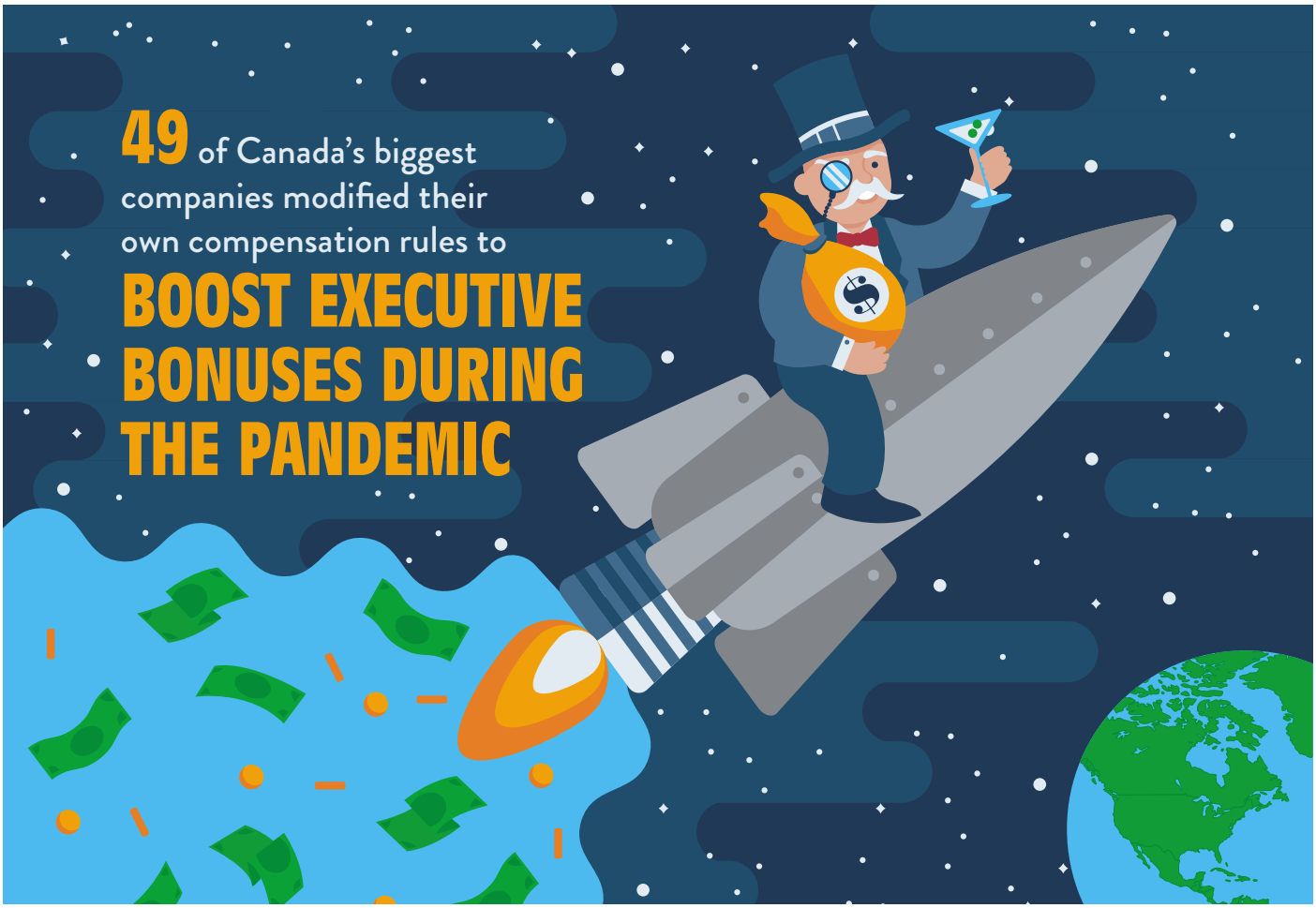
Executive bonuses are inflated all the time due to formula alterations, despite world events. Take Canadian National Railway's 2020 removal of the financial impacts of "illegal rail blockades" from its bonus calculations or Teck Resources' adjustments to account for commodity prices and foreign exchange rate changes.

An oft-stated rationale for high executive compensation is that it is due to the "exceptional risk" executives shoulder. The bonuses they receive are high, but *risky*. If targets aren't met, those bonuses could be wiped out. But this argument falls apart when looking at the bonus formula alterations to limit reductions in bonuses during the pandemic. Bad commodity prices this year? Adjust the performance target downward. Bad second quarter due to a pandemic? Eliminate that from the calculation. Less than half of company employees say this is a good place to work? Substitute a rating of 100% on employee engagement.

Tools that can push back

Not only are corporate executives receiving some of the biggest paycheques, they are often among the largest shareholders in companies providing them with extreme wealth.

There is an increased push across North America, and strong support



from the majority of Canadians, for the implementation of a wealth tax. The federal government has promised to explore ways to tax extreme wealth inequality, but we've seen nothing yet. CCPA's analysis shows that a modestly progressive wealth tax of 1% for wealth over $10 million, 2% on wealth over $100 million and 3% for wealth over a billion would generate close to $20 billion annually.

Rich corporate executives also benefit from tax loopholes that most Canadians would never be able to access.

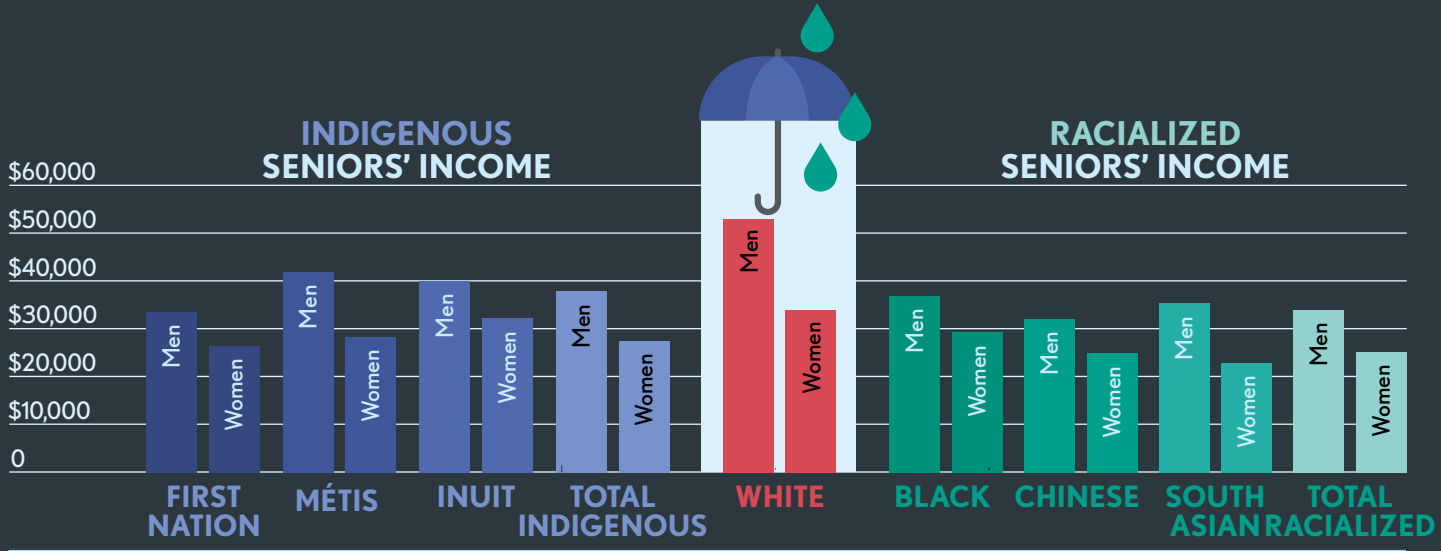
While ordinary Canadians pay the full tax rate on their income from working, those with income from businesses or selling investments can pay tax at only half the rate.

Corporate executives, with their share- and option-based compensation, are chief among those benefiting from this loophole. Canada should follow President Biden's announcement to tax capital gains at the full rate for millionaires. Even after recent stock option tax changes, up to $200,000 of executive compensation via option-based awards is subject only to capital gains tax, not income tax. That means a regular working Canadian must pay full income tax on their salary up to $200,000. But a multi-millionaire executive getting a share-based bonus pays only 50%.

Unlike in the U.S., where there is a $1 million limit per executive, Canadian companies are entitled to deduct any amount of corporate pay as a business deduction. Limiting this tax-deductible expense to $1 million per employee would send a signal to corporations and save the federal government hundreds of millions annually.

While last year was a period of devastating job loss and financial ruin for many Canadians, many executives were buffered from the pressure that COVID-19 placed on household income—thanks to executive compensation practices that are impervious to major crises such as a global pandemic. M

Boundless Bonuses: Skyrocketing Canadian executive pay during the 2020 pandemic is available at policyalternatives.ca



Senior First Nations women's average income is

50%

of senior white men's.

Senior Métis women's average income is

53%

of senior white men's.

Senior Inuit women's average income is

61%

of senior white men's.

Senior Black women's average income is

55%

of senior white men's.

Senior Chinese women's average income is

47%

of senior white men's.

Senior South Asian women's average income is

43%

of senior white men's.

WHO CAN AFFORD TO SAVE FOR RETIREMENT?

Indigenous households are **4%** of total households and account for

3%

of RRSP/RPP contributions.

Racialized households are **17%** of total households and account for

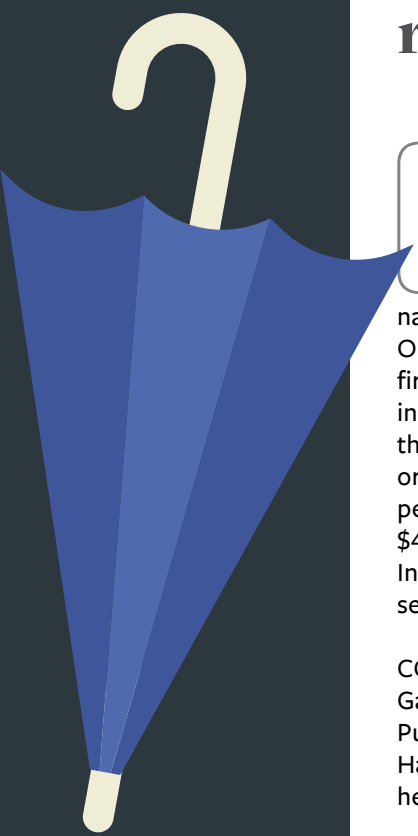
16%

of RRSP/RPP contributions.

White households are **79%** of total households and account for

82%

of RRSP/RPP contributions.



Randy Robinson / Ontario Office

White seniors faring better in retirement, CCPA study finds

CANADIANS' ABILITY to put food on the table in retirement depends on a wide range of factors. One of those factors is whether they happen to be white.

That's the main finding of a major national report published in June by the CCPA Ontario office. *Colour-coded Retirement* is the first study to compare Canadians' retirement incomes and retirement savings rates based on their self-identified status as white, Indigenous, or racialized. Using 2016 census data, the paper pegs the average income of white seniors at $42,800, sharply higher than that of either Indigenous ($32,200) or racialized ($29,200) seniors.

The report was co-authored by Sheila Block, CCPA Ontario senior economist; Grace-Edward Galabuzi, associate professor of Politics and Public Administration at X University; and Hayden King, executive director of the Yellowhead Institute.

"On average, incomes are lower and poverty rates are higher for both Indigenous and racialized seniors, which points to the barriers they face during their working careers when it comes to landing higher-paying work and saving for retirement," says Block. "Public pension sources like the Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security, and the Guaranteed Income Supplement play a large role in supporting marginalized seniors, but they don't come anywhere close to eliminating the income gap."

Within the Indigenous group, First Nations seniors age 65 and older have the lowest average income at $29,500, followed by Métis seniors at $35,000 and Inuit seniors at $35,900. Within the racialized groups studied, Chinese seniors have the lowest average income at $28,200, with South Asian seniors at $29,200 and Black seniors at $32,400. There is a consistent gender gap across all groups, with Indigenous and racialized senior women incomes at 52% and 47%, respectively, of white senior men's.

"The data reveal that there are real consequences of economic marginalization and systemic racism," says report co-author Hayden King. "Elders and seniors are financially insecure in retirement, if they can retire at all, because the opportunities for saving are so limited."

More than half of Canadian families save for retirement through workplace pension plans, individual Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSPs), or both.

Among Indigenous groups, First Nations' participation in pension plans is lower than white participation, but Métis and Inuit households are more likely to have members in pension plans, although with lower contributions. Racialized households are less likely to have members in pension plans compared to white households but are just as likely to contribute to RRSPs, and when they do, they contribute just as much, the report shows.

The CCPA report highlights wide variation in the income sources and savings of the groups studied. Inuit seniors are most likely to keep working after age 65. Chinese Canadians are the biggest contributors to RRSPs. Black retirees gain no income advantage from being Canadian-born, although Chinese and South Asian Canadians do.

Despite these variations, one thing is clear, says report co-author Grace-Edward Galabuzi: "Retirement security is, in fact, colour coded in Canada."

A root cause of income disparities in retirement is income disparities during people's working lives, says Sheila Block.

"If we want to raise the incomes of Indigenous and racialized seniors, that starts with eliminating barriers to good jobs and higher wages," she says. "At the same time, we need to keep pushing for improvements to Canada's public pension plans, whether it be the CPP, OAS, or the GIS.

"That's the way forward. All Canadians want to be comfortable in retirement. With enough political will at all levels of government, we can make it happen." M

Colour-coded Retirement: An intersectional analysis of retirement income and savings in Canada was made possible with funding from the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. The report is available for download on the CCPA website.

SPROUTING SEEDS OF HOPE

HOW A GARDEN UNITED MONTREAL'S CHINESE DIASPORA

/

BY DIAMOND YAO
ILLUSTRATIONS BY MONIQUE CHIAM

IN A HIDDEN corner of a dead end on Rue Masson in Montreal, you can find a big patch of greenery behind a row of cement blocks. As you get closer, you can see rows of black pots full of various types of plants—strawberry, shiso, hot peppers—tended by a few people hunched over leaves and stems.

This is Green Chinatown Montreal (GCM), a garden that aims to build a community environment of sharing and exchange, while increasing awareness of food security and urban sustainability. The principle is simple: a few times a week, GCM volunteers, who can sign up for shifts by emailing the garden, gather there to water, take care of, and harvest the vegetables. After a period of hard work, they get to pick whatever they like and bring it back home.

GCM members range from young adults to senior citizens, and many of them bring their families and children. On sunny days, you can often see smiling young children having fun amidst the greenery and learning about the different plants.

Started in 2011 in the heart of Montreal's Chinatown, the garden celebrates its 10th anniversary this year. Janet Lumb, a proud third-generation Chinese-Canadian eco-activist, is one of its founding members. She started the garden hoping it would help in Montreal reconnect with nature and with their agricultural roots.

"Being urban people, we don't know about our roots of growing things. For me, the garden is about learning about something as basic as gardening," she explains. "Chinatown is so urbanized [that] it was important for me that we start a garden there. Because we Chinese were all farmers in the past!"

When it was first established in front of the Montreal Chinese Hospital, the usually discreet lo wah kiu—a Taishanese term that designates the first Chinese who settled in Canada—would come out and yell cultivation tips to the gardeners.

"They normally are in old-age homes," says Lumb. "But when they saw us, they came out and their whole body became alive. All these old people came to life seeing us grow the garden. For me, it was an inspiration to bring that to Chinatown."

The founding members of GCM fondly recall these early days. At the time, the central location of the garden in front of the Montreal Chinese Hospital and near lo wah kiu residences allowed it to fulfill its mission of connecting the community through gardening and nature.

"It was really lovely because the patients would come and take walks. And because a lot of them had farm experience, sometimes they would criticize us or tell us what we were doing right. They would really enjoy looking at the vegetables," recalls May Chiu, a lawyer and anti-racist activist who's heavily involved in Montreal's Chinese community and a founding member of GCM.

Local organic farmers, and Marché Kei Phat, Inc., a staple Montreal Asian Chinese market, enthusiastically donated seeds to the garden. The garden collaborated with the hospital's occupational therapy department to develop nature-based therapies for the hospital's residents. They also distributed vegetables from the garden—a mix of Chinese and Western varieties—to ensure the food security of Chinese elders whose access to food is often compounded by language barriers and reduced mobility.

The organic vegetables were a huge hit at various markets. However, the garden didn't stay in that spot for long.

"One year, the last year that we were there, the board of the hospital wanted to kick us out. We were a victim of our own success," says Ms. Chiu. "They said, 'Because this garden is so lovely, we're going to take it back. And we're going to build a gazebo or a road'. I think they said they wanted to build a gazebo with a big garden. But then they booted us out and they never did anything. It's empty."

Since then, the garden has had to move multiple times, to wherever there was a space available for free. The gardeners have fought hard to return to Chinatown. Ms. Chiu has had multiple meetings with Montreal municipal city officials to ask them to give the gardeners empty city-owned spaces in Chinatown to host the garden.

"Every time I interact with the city, I try to tell them that this was in Chinatown. We belong in Chinatown. And we always ask for a space. Even during the consultation, we asked again," says Ms. Chiu. "I always write, 'We need green space.' And now everybody's saying we need green space. But there's no action to tell us exactly where."

The gardeners have long been coveting a space owned by the City of Montreal in front of the Chinese hospital. Bill Mersereau, the garden's resident plant expert, has been trying for years to present city officials with plans for a garden in that spot.

"But the city refused and gave us an excuse. They said they needed it for the Millennial project or whatever gardening project, just to store equipment and just dump crap and trucks and stuff," sighs Mr. Mersereau in frustration. "They said they needed that space as a dump for two years and for storing stuff, right on the doorstep of the Chinese hospital! How respectful is that?"

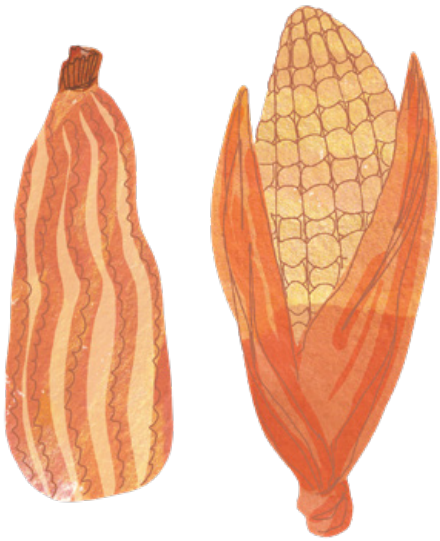
The gardeners hope to beautify that spot in front of the Chinese Hospital and make it a green sustainable project for the benefit of the hospital's residents. They dream of making it a space where patients and nearby elders living in small apartments can come and commune in fresh air and nature. Ms. Chiu also hopes to use the garden to build solidarity with the Indigenous community that lives in Chinatown.

"Chinatown is also the shared space of two Indigenous shelters. I know that sometimes there is discrimination in our community. We don't learn as immigrants that we are coming to stolen lands. So, we need to educate our own community as well," says Ms. Chiu.

She has many ideas about how she'd like to do that once the garden returns to Chinatown.

"We can have conversations as to how to bring our communities together. I think it would be amazing if we could offer some of what we grow to the residents of the shelters. That would be a really meaningful gesture."

She also hopes to use the garden to provide an educational opportunity for newly arrived immigrants to learn about the colonial realities of Canada. She wants to be able to



have a dialogue with new Chinese-Canadians about residential schools, stolen lands, and colonizations.

Indigenous environmental justice is woven into the fabric of GCM. At the back of the garden, on a patch of grass partially shaded by overhanging trees, three tall plants embody the gardeners' commitment to Indigenous solidarity. These plants—corn, climbing beans, and squash, the three sister crops of many Indigenous nations—keep watch over the rest of the garden.

It was Ms. Lumb who insisted on having these plants in the garden right from the beginning. A 1975 graduate of Trent University's Native Studies program, she's spent many years of her long and varied career working with Indigenous youth as a youth worker. As she was often the only racialized person on her team, Indigenous youth would flock to her and trust her to be there for them.

Passionate about Indigenous justice, Ms. Lumb says having the three sisters in a Chinese-Canadian garden is a way to recognize the debt the Chinese-Canadian community owes to Indigenous people.

"Having the three sisters here allows people to learn about them. It allows us to pass on the tradition, explain where this concept came from, and introduce it to people from Hong Kong or China who become part of the garden who've never heard of the three sisters before," says Ms. Lumb. "They didn't know anything about Indigenous gardening. So, for us, this has to do with a process of passing on and sharing, through which active learning happens in a way that is much more powerful than theoretical education."

Charo Foo, a Chinese-Canadian dancer who's been a member of the garden community for around two months, is the kind of person the GCM founders hope to reach. Having immigrated to Quebec City more than a decade ago, Ms. Foo found it very difficult to sustain her dancing career there. She felt very isolated without having an Asian community to be a part of.

"I moved to Montreal three years ago because I was looking for a more supportive community and more dancing contracts, because there's more discrimination in Quebec City," she says of her move. "I was in a dancing company for seven years. But ever since the contract ended, I've had to freelance. It's really hard to be Asian in Quebec City. And I had to get work as a dancer. So I told myself to move, and I'm so glad I came here."

Ms. Foo heard of GCM when she bumped into Ms. Lumb at a queer show. The two started talking to each other when they realized they were the only two Asians in the room. Since then, Ms. Foo has been regularly tending to the plants at the GCM once or twice a week.

"We connected, and I'm very happy, to be very honest. Whenever I come here, it's just a good energy," she beams.

GCM hopes that she and the other gardeners will be able to bring these positive vibes and intergenerational connection back to Chinatown soon. **M**

JUSTINE DESCHENES

It's time to decolonize food

DECOLONIZING FOOD MEANS much more than being choosy about where you harvest and source your meats and veggies. It's about being aware that every decision you make has an effect on everything, including what you choose to put in your body.

As Indigenous people, we are taught this literally from birth. In my Anishinabe culture, we have seven teachings that all tie into one another to keep the earth in balance. That balance is exactly what keeps the earth healthy and abundant, therefore nourishing us by providing exactly what we need to keep us in optimal health. What we have on every part of Turtle Island is there for the animals and indigenous people of that area. For instance, the Haudenosaunee people were considered farmers. They had permanent homes and massive gardens with enough vegetation to provide for entire communities. They relied heavily on vegetables and legumes (beans), and some fish and game. To this day, they will tell you they feel best when they eat what their ancestors ate. As for Anishinabe people, we relied heavily on large and small game, fish, berries, greens, and some vegetables (often traded with other tribes). Again, to this day, the Anishinabeg will tell you we feel best when we stick to this type of diet. First Nations people, in general, will tell you that the most of us are lactose- and even dairy-intolerant because cows are not indigenous to Turtle Island. As it is everywhere else in the world, our DNA is designed to accommodate where we come from.

In an Indigenous family, it's common to spend weeks at your traditional camp/trapline every season for harvesting purposes. When we're out harvesting, we always go out with the intention of finding what we need, and taking only that. We also give thanks to our Mother Earth and our ancestors for guiding our hunt and providing us with bountiful and adequate nutrition for our families. This means we don't get "trigger happy" and shoot at the first sign of movement. When we're out on the land, we're taught how to track the behaviour and movement of the animals by recognizing their trails, what they've been eating, acknowledging how the weather might affect their behaviour, and even the state of their health by looking at their droppings.

One of the most important things to notice is the male-to-female-to-baby ratio of what you're hunting. I'll use moose as an example. We know that one bull moose can impregnate many cows, but nonetheless we need both sexes to produce calves. Judging by these ratios, it's up to the most skilled hunters in the families to determine whether a male or female should be harvested at that time. The intention, again, is to maintain nature's balance and keep our mother earth healthy. To keep her healthy is to leave her as untouched as possible and ensure that every other living creature on this earth has what they need to thrive, including insects and plants. After harvesting, we always

A dish prepared by the author. The Anishinabe chef hosts live cooking demonstrations on Instagram, TikTok and Facebook using the handle @JustineCooks.

give thanks. We're grateful to be so well taken care of. In turn, we always promise to abide by our obligation to keep her healthy and strong.

It's said that after the first great flood, only one man survived. He was floating on a log when animals swam up to him, and they discussed amongst themselves how and where to find land. The turtle then said that if someone can come up with just a handful of dirt, she could carry it on her back and allow vegetation to grow. She said she would provide all living beings with everything they would need to live a healthy life, as long as every being promised to take care of her. Everyone agreed. All the animals tried to dive underwater to some dirt on the bottom. They all tried, but no one could dive deep enough. The otter was the only one left. He promised to try his best. He dived down, and all his friends waited above the water for him. A while passed, and they were sure all hope was lost. Finally, after a period of anticipation, the otter's lifeless body floated to the top. They noticed his hand was clutched tightly in a tiny fist. They opened it, and found dirt. The man placed the dirt on the turtle's back, and there began the growth of the vegetation and what we now know as Turtle Island, or what settlers like to call "North America".

The story varies slightly within every tribe; however, a few things remain consistent: there was a great flood, the turtle carries the land on her back, and there's an agreement of mutual caretaking of each other.

We are taught that everything on this planet is here for a reason. That reason is to maintain health and balance for all. They all play a role in our ecosystems. Therefore, things like mining, damming, and logging all need to stop because they play a major role in destroying the ecosystems and killing all these species. Every one of them is vital; otherwise, they wouldn't be on the earth. These industrial activities are making our Mother sick.

You see, all the things I mentioned are what we need to practice and change to truly understand what decolonizing food means. We shouldn't rely on large-scale factory farming for our food. This allows us to forget about the work that goes into growing and harvesting said food. We forget to give thanks, and forget to take only what we need. We're no longer appreciative of our Mother, who provides us with all we need to live an abundant life and thrive. We no longer respect her. Respect is a teaching in and of itself. It shows us that when we forget about just one teaching, it upsets the balance. We need to get back to these teachings as Indigenous people. However, it feels impossible when we face all the major issues, along with the social issues (such as harassment from non-Indigenous hunters in our traditional territory).

To decolonize food is to live your life intentionally, in every way. To decolonize food is to stop climate change. The way to do this? #LANDBACK M

RAY MWAREYA

Canadian landlords can be hostile to African food

IN JULY 2019, I and two Black African friends settled into a new apartment in Ottawa. I quickly guessed that our "African food" would become a racial tinder box.

Our co-landlords—two white male Canadians—subsisted on "real Canadian cuisine": Tim Horton's cookies, dark coffee in the morning, fruity muffins, and Popeye's noodles ordered via Uber Eats. It was the first time they'd rented out part of their home to three Black immigrants of African origin, former refugees whose daily kitchen chores raised a variety of smells.

Where we hail from in Africa, most of us live by cooking our meals three times a day, be it thick corn, goat meat, or wild spinach. We cook it over firewood or using a paraffin stove. In Africa, 70% of households use firewood to cook meals because they lack electrified kitchens or robust digital food-ordering technologies like UberEats or Doordash in Canada. "African food is still seen as home cooking, so it's suffered in regards to gastronomy because of the hardships the continent has faced," explained Duncan Welgemoed, an Australian chef who is passionate in promoting African culinary in Adelaide, Australia.

Spying on African food

In our apartment kitchen in Ottawa, when we began to cook goat stew or fry curried Tilapia bream fish and add an exotic Ethiopian Berbere spice blend, our landlords were baffled.

"Hmm...Africa food curries even bread, right?" one of my white landlords once asked as he sniffed condescendingly over my bowl of goat leg.

"No, we apply curry only to beans and meat dishes," I replied.

Soon, the comments melted into coded insults. We began to overhear them: "Next thing, the Africans are gonna burn down the whole kitchen." The insults accelerated to actual spying on our pots, vases, and cups to surveil what we were cooking frequently.

We were cooking "too many exotic dishes," we were told. It was the first time the apartment had housed folks who cooked three time a day.

The tensions spilled over. The landlords complained one night that our cuisine was too smoky and smelly.

At last, on a certain weekend in December, we woke up and were immediately shocked. A sign had been stuck to the kitchen cabinet. It read, in bold font:

"NEW RULES, NO COOKING THAT LASTS 40 MINUTES! MIND YOU, SPICES SMELL STRANGE."

Our dishes were discarded in the trash bin, which of course never went to the garbage truck. One of my African friends lost his cool with our landlords. "You hate Black food!" he said.

"Eat the Canadian way!" shouted one of them, shaking his Tim Hortons latte cup.

From then on, a thin peace held, but we knew we had one foot out of this apartment.

Black food limits my rental options in Ottawa

Food, the very act of cooking meals thrice a daily in the home rather than the Western habit of ordering food online, shapes my identity in Canada as a Black African refugee. In my culture, I simply have to cook at home to feel human. The act of mixing flour at home, washing raw fish, picking vegetable pods apart, or stewing a green banana connects my spirituality to the food I put into my mouth.

But in Canada, before I seek a new place to rent, as a racialized person I always wonder if the tenant or landlord will be uncomfortable with someone cooking exotic, foreign-smelling, "un-Canadian" foods like mine. Whenever I look up a flat advertised on Kijiji, I wonder whether the landlord is white, and if so, whether they will allow a tenant to cook up some Somali oxtail weekly on their stove.

I end up walking on eggshells and seeking places to rent only in suburbs, with folks that look like me and where food for people like me is available—like in Herongate, the poorest and most racialized suburb of Ottawa. Here, I at least got a fair chance of renting a flat owned by a person of color who could tolerate my African food.

Landlords shun Black restaurants

Because Black Lives Matter, so does Black food—and Black chefs and Black restaurants in Canada. Dazzling gourmet magazines or TV programs today usually dedicate their coverage to European, French, Asian, or white American dishes. Historically, Black dishes have been ignored in popular culture, though this is beginning to change.

In North America, Toronto is one of the fastest-expanding food-hub cities, but the white chefs bag most of the publicity and kitchen startup venture money.

James Gregg, a veteran Black chef who started the Carib 1 Restaurant in Toronto, claims that racist attitudes towards Black food are so entrenched that some landlords hesitate to rent out places if they know the tenant will be a Black eatery.

"The false stigma is there... 'We can't be trusted', 'We are not worthy.' It sucks to think people view us that way. Racism is clearly still alive and well. Landlords downtown don't want to rent to us. They say they don't want that kind of business. It will attract the wrong crowd," James told ByBlacks.com in a story entitled The Business of Food: Why Black restaurants are not cashing in.

My uncomfortable experience is that if you are an African in Canada keen to cook African, you might have trouble finding a place to do it. M

Worth Repeating

"It is not that Asians are offended by white people cooking and selling slow-cooked rice, which is what many articles implied. Even though the idea of cultural theft is the thrust of these stories, the real issue is disrespect: the way this kind of appropriation links Westernization and whitewashing with sophistication and value, while deeming nonwhite cultures to be less refined. It perpetuates the corrosive notion of "exotic" food that must be tamed for American consumption."—*Frankie Huang's analysis of "Congee Queen" media coverage for Grub Street. This summer, a white woman in Oregon launched a business selling an "improved" version of congee for $15 per serving, and published an essay on her business' website titled "How I discovered the miracle of congee and improved it."*

"I wish we focused on people being nourished as opposed to [being] a specific size."—*Dr. Erin Harrop on Maintenance Phase*

"[W]e kept returning to this idea of how oppression is still reproduced in progressive or "woke" spaces. We hope to ensure that movements for fat justice do not reproduce problematic conceptualizations of activism and resistance, but that they provide new possibilities for participation in fat justice."—*Terah J. Stewart & Roshaunda L. Breeden, "Feeling good as hell": Black women and the nuances of fat resistance, Fat Studies.*

"We sit here in silence, eating our lunch. But I know we are all here for the same reason. We're all searching for a piece of home, or a piece of ourselves. We look for a taste of it in the food we order and the ingredients we buy. Then we separate. We bring the haul back to our dorm rooms or our suburban kitchens, and we re-create the dish that wouldn't be made without our journey."—*Michelle Zauner, Crying in H Mart*

YOUR CCPA
Get to know **Simon Enoch**

OFFICE: **SASKATCHEWAN**
POSITION:**DIRECTOR**
YEARS WITH THE CCPA: **12**

This issue is all about food security. How does this play out in your community? Dr. Rachel Engler-Stringer at the University of Saskatchewan estimates that, pre-COVID, about 13% of the Saskatchewan population experienced some degree of food insecurity. According to her research, it's a good bet that the pandemic has doubled those numbers. Loss of income has probably been the most significant driver, but also lockdown restrictions that ended access to school food programs or travel restrictions that prevented northern residents from accessing southern grocery stores. There has been a proliferation of community fridges in our cities during the pandemic, which is another stark indicator. It's also no secret that Regina and Saskatoon are home to significant food deserts in our poorer and racialized neighbourhoods, which always made access to fresh food and produce difficult. The pandemic would have only exacerbated those existing obstacles. If there's a silver lining to the pandemic, it may be that by exposing many of these challenges, we can no longer ignore them and will feel compelled to act. For example, there are tremendous opportunities to explore how climate justice and food security can work in tandem in our cities through policies like free transit, community gardens, bus-stop grocers and mobile markets. These are some of the ideas we put forward in our *Renewable Regina* report that we hope the City will adopt.

What should we look forward to from CCPA-SK next year? We've got a new look and a new Twitter feed (@ccpa_sk) that we hope will raise our profile and get our research seen by even more people in the province.

Outside of the CCPA, what progressive issues are you following? There's not much that's progressive that falls outside of the CCPA's ambit! But I'm becoming interested in the political economy of rare earth elements. They're going to become essential to the renewable energy economy, but can also be extremely toxic to refine. The Saskatchewan government is trying to position itself as a key producer of some of these elements, many derived from uranium. It recently announced a $35-million processing facility in Saskatoon. I'm interested to see how the province will deal with that waste stream.

What are some challenges in your region? There are plenty, but I think the most pressing in our province are the general apathy or ignorance of climate change and its consequences for the region, and the very deep racism and colonial ideology that taints Indigenous-settler relations in the province. Both are real obstacles to progressive change. Fortunately, we have some amazing people making real efforts in these areas. I just wish there were more of them!

What is something cool/fun/impressive about the CCPA SK that people might not know? We do everything we do with a single employee: me!

Extracurricular activities/something people might not know about you: I'm learning scooter tricks with my five-year-old daughter. She's significantly better than me.

What's the best thing about Saskatchewan in the fall? It's not winter yet.

What are you most hopeful about in the coming year? I really want to see what the impact of the pandemic will be on our politics. As I mentioned earlier, the pandemic's silver lining may be that it's exposed all these social problems that were previously hidden from many of us. What do we do with that realization? Will we address those problems or try to render them invisible again? We hear many say that we can't go back to normal, but there are powerful interests that would like nothing more. With the incredible challenge of climate change staring us in the face, we can't let those interests succeed. I'm hoping that when we look back at this time years from now, we'll recognize it as the beginning of the refusal to accept "back to normal" as an adequate response to the problems in our country and the world.

SETTLER WORK:

Answering the call

What do reconciliation and decolonization mean? How can we, as settlers in this place, begin to repair the harm that has been and continues to be done to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis (FNIM) communities across the country?

These questions can feel insurmountable. So at the *Monitor*, we decided to do something about them.

As settlers, we have a responsibility to understand how the history of colonization creates the present-day conditions for harm, and to commit to repairing the damage and undoing these systems. To that end, we are introducing a new feature exploring the broader history of Canada's colonial legacy. We will share the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls National Inquiry's Final Report as guideposts for how reconciliation and decolonization could look. Every issue of the *Monitor* will be connected to a conversation about how we can commit to doing better, and the work required to do so.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY AND FOOD

"[Indigenous] livelihoods were based on access to the land; colonization disrupted that access and introduced new illnesses to North America. Colonial policies helped wipe out food sources and confined [Indigenous] people to poorly located reserves, with inadequate sanitation and shelter." [1]

"This disregard for [Indigenous] health and well-being was consistent with the long-established patterns of colonialism: the introduction of new diseases, the disruption of traditional food sources, and the concentration of people on unproductive land and the housing of them in cramped, unsanitary dwellings." [2]

"Many participants discussed the impact of the killing of Inuit sled dogs in the mid-20th century. As one participant described, the sled dogs were an essential part of Inuit people's livelihood, serving as protectors and companions while facilitating transportation and hunting. Participants discussed how losing the sled dogs, as well as losing traditional hunting skills and being forced into stationary communities, contributed to poverty, food insecurity, and a sense of anger, frustration, and purposelessness among Inuit youth and men. As one Inuk explained, "They used the agricultural law from the South to justify the kill[ing] of the dogs and killed the lives of those men as they knew it." [3]

WHERE WE ARE NOW

"To deny one's food is to deny them of their culture" [4]

"The Canadian state has caused Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people to be removed from their homelands and territories and from their families and communities. They experience disproportionately high rates of poverty and insurmountable barriers to obtaining secure housing, food, education, employment, transportation, and other basic needs. Indigenous children and the elderly are especially vulnerable under these circumstances." [5]

"We identify a number of factors as foundational in the ongoing violation of cultural, health, security, and justice-related rights. But the violation of these rights also has deep historical roots. In the area of culture, for instance, some of the most egregious rights violations include the early logic of discovery and the assertion of Canadian sovereignty, the regulation of Indigenous identities and governance, and the attempt to assimilate Indigenous Peoples in the context of residential schools and, later on, within the Sixties Scoop and child welfare systems. In the area of health, the impact of colonization in northern communities is particularly important, as it is connected to relocations and the lack of food security." [6]

1 Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future, Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
2 Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future, Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
3 Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1b
4 Nourish Healthcare, on the TRC findings
5 Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1a
6 Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1a

"So my fear is that this generation will not have any of the knowledge of what my generation had because we are on a caribou-hunting ban. We can no longer hunt our caribou. Our salmon is in jeopardy due to methylmercury concerns. Our seals are in jeopardy due to methylmercury concerns, and we know that development takes away from the natural habitat of our animals and sometimes their breeding grounds, and I'm fearful, I really am, that the more Labrador gets exploited, the more our culture will diminish, and that's a fact.... Many of us here are [afraid], and that would be a very sad day for me." [7]

"We have a generation that are stuck because they don't know traditional practices for resiliency and survival. They don't have an education that provides that opportunity so that they can't fall back to the traditional skills, but they also don't succeed in the wage economy and they are stuck in the middle."[8]

"Participants advocated for equitable access to basic needs, such as shelter and food, along with increased support to attain higher levels of education and employment."[9]

WHERE CAN WE GO FROM HERE?

Restoring access to the culture and the land

Article 24 1. "Indigenous peoples have the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals. Indigenous individuals also have the right to access, without any discrimination, to all social and health services."[10]

The Canadian government endorsed UNDRIP in 2016. On June 21, 2021, Bill C-15, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act received Royal Assent. This Act is intended to provide the capacity to the federal government to fully implement UNDRIP in Canada. Access to traditional food systems is a vital part of cultural restoration but also plays a vital role in improving health outcomes for FNIM communities.

Improving employment and education opportunities

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Call To Action 7. "We call upon the federal government to develop with [Indigenous] groups a joint strategy to eliminate educational and employment gaps between [Indigenous] and non-[Indigenous] Canadians."[11]

Calls for Justice for All Governments: Human Security 4.1 "We call upon all governments to uphold the social and economic rights of Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people by ensuring that Indigenous Peoples have services and infrastructure that meet their social and economic needs. All governments must immediately ensure that Indigenous Peoples have access to safe housing, clean drinking water, and adequate food." [12]

12.4 "We call upon all governments to prohibit the apprehension of children on the basis of poverty and cultural bias. All governments must resolve issues of poverty, inadequate and substandard housing, and lack of financial support for families, and increase food security to ensure that Indigenous families can succeed."[13]

Why this matters for food security: the income and employment gaps between Indigenous and and non-Indigenous people living in Canada directly impacts their ability to continually afford adequate, nutritious food.

Measuring and improving health outcomes

UNDRIP Article 24. 2. "Indigenous individuals have an equal right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. States shall take the necessary steps with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of this right."[14]

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Call To Action 19. "We call upon the federal government, in consultation with [Indigenous] peoples, to establish measurable goals to identify and close the gaps in health outcomes between [Indigenous] and non-[Indigenous] communities, and to publish annual progress reports and assess long term trends. Such efforts would focus on indicators such as: infant mortality, maternal health, suicide, mental health, addictions, life expectancy, birth rates, infant and child health issues, chronic diseases, illness and injury incidence, and the availability of appropriate health services."[15]

Why this matters for food security: food security directly affects health outcomes. Addressing food insecurity and food sovereignty for FNIM communities can improve indicators including maternal health, mental health and chronic disease management. Monitoring these health outcomes is an important first step. Addressing the disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities is a critical next step.

Written by Róisín West
Layout & Illustration by Katie Sheedy

7 E Kim C.-M., the Executive Director of the AnânauKatiget Tumingit Regional Inuit Women's Association of Nunatsiavut, quoted in Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1a

8 Participant in Inuit Perspectives session, quoted in Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1b

9 Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1b

10 The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

11 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action.

12 Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1b

13 Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, Volume 1b

14 The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

15 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action.

JUMKO OGATA-AGUILAR

The gentrification of food

A Mexican example

MEXICO CITY'S PUJOL is considered by international critics to be one of Mexico's most prestigious restaurants. Created by chef Enrique Olvera in 2000, its website describes its founder in the following fashion: "His cooking is always changing; it draws ideas from everywhere, always reinterpreting and evolving, but with roots in Mexican ingredients and techniques of all times." Since 2013, William Reed Business Media has published an annual list of Latin America's 50 Best Restaurants "to provide diners around the globe with local insight and culinary recommendations." Pujol peaked on the list at number 3 in 2019, and even though it ranked number 5 in 2020 it is still regarded as The Best Restaurant in Mexico by the Reed's World Top 50 list.

Pujol currently has two menus to choose from: the first is a six-course tasting menu, either maize or seafood-based, while the second is a taco *omakase* (or chef's choice) arranged in a nine-course meal. The average cost of a meal at Pujol starts at 2,500 Mexican pesos, about $155 Canadian.

In 2020, it was granted the Flor de Caña Sustainable Award by Latin America's 50 Best Restaurants, which certified that the restaurant uses ingredients that can be traced back to farmers who avoid the use of agrochemicals. The group also organizes workshops to help these producers use less environmentally invasive production methods. The prize notes that Olvera created an educational kitchen garden at Pujol so customers can learn about sourcing, traceability, and food waste and learn how to apply these ideas within their own homes. The prize also mentions how, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the restaurant was part of a fundraising campaign for migrant workers in the U.S. and ensured its staff received full payment of their salaries during lockdown. Finally, it highlights Chef Olvera's support the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals for 2030, whose main priority is to end world poverty and hunger.

These awards portray the Pujol as a sustainable space where Mexican culinary traditions are honoured and reinvented, with chef Enrique Olvera at the helm. However, in May 2021, a young chef named Ximena published her experience of working briefly at the restaurant. She worked 16-hour shifts, six days a week, for a salary of 14,000 Mexican pesos (about $868 CAD), for a restaurant whose income is around 10 million pesos ($620,500 CAD) per month.

Ximena's testimony catalyzed other workers at Pujol to anonymously share their stories via a Twitter account named "TerrorRestaurantesMX" (Restaurant terrors in Mexico). There, they have been documenting abuse in the restaurant industry throughout Mexico, focusing mainly on gourmet eateries in Mexico City. They posted a thread by former workers denouncing abuse in the workspace, ranging from shifts that were well over the established eight hours to sexual harassment and racist violence towards employees.

By the beginning of June, chef Jesús Durón, along with other former chefs who had worked at Pujol, posted a message admitting they'd had to neglect friends and family due to their work but claimed they were never abused. Instead, they praised the fantastic working conditions at the restaurant (including competitive pay, vacations, and rest days that the workers are entitled to, among others).

On June 4th, in a post that has since been deleted, the restaurant officially published its stance on the allegations, repeating its commitment to providing optimal working conditions regulated under Mexican legislation and posting the results of a psycho-social risk factor at work study that it hired a private firm to do, which found the restaurant posed a low risk to its employees' well-being.

At this time, news of a class-action lawsuit against chef Olvera and chef Daniela Soto-Ines (granted the title of World's Best Female Chef) in their U.S. restaurant, Cosme, resurfaced. It sparked a conversation in Mexico about labour exploitation that began with, but was not limited to, the restaurant industry.

An important part of this conversation must involve a discussion of the degree to which Pujol's recent success based on its menu, which is based on traditional Mexican cuisine, and how this choice seems to follow a recent trend of food gentrification. Mikki Kendall speaks to this social phenomenon, explaining how inexpensive ingredients are "discovered" by gourmet chefs and suddenly become fashionable delicacies that quickly rise in price and therefore become inaccessible to the communities that traditionally eat them. In Kendall's words: "The gentrification of food is a global problem, with global consequences. As each gentrified food moves out of the financial range of those at the lowest income level, the question of what will be left for the poor to eat becomes more pressing." Kendall

highlights the fact that the chefs that appropriate and "re-package" these ingredients don't belong to the cultures they're taking from, disrespect their culinary traditions, and profit from ingredients and dishes at the expense of the communities that created them.

Pujol's original concept was to offer "contemporary cuisine with jumps towards the [East] and many references to new American cuisine, with very little about Mexico." However, its first two years saw little success and all of chef Olvera's partners, except for his father, abandoned the project. By 2006, he decided to "reinterpret" traditional dishes, and in 2013 realized that "[Pujol] took themselves too seriously, and they had to rethink their idea of cooking Mexican food...we decided to leave the discourse behind and search for the aesthetics of the dish, we looked toward the ingredient, we worked at it less, we respect it more."

Now, one of its most famous dishes is the "Mole Madre." Mole is one of Mexico's most diverse and traditional recipes and varies greatly not only between regions, but in family recipes. Olvera's take on mole is to use leftover sauce to create a new batch, day by day creating an aged flavour served with a more recent batch to be eaten with tortillas, and no silverware. In contrast, most people who eat mole wouldn't dream of just eating it with a single tortilla; they eat it with chicken, or tortillas filled with cheese or egg, amongst many other options. This is a simple but meaningful example of the ways gentrification operates within the gourmet context; dishes that are normally consumed in meaningful cultural contexts are stripped of their symbolism and offered in an exoticized fashion to whoever can afford it. In addition, his use of insects as ingredients is simply an imitation of what Indigenous communities have done for thousands of years—and which, for racist reasons, they have been villified for. However, practices once deemed "gross" by elites are now appreciated when they're re-packaged and made "gourmet" by a white chef.

Enrique Olvera has built his prestige upon the appropriation of traditional Mesoamerican ingredients and making them and his dishes palatable to a mainly white and international audience. He is credited as being at the vanguard of sustainable food practices (such as the prize mentioned earlier, as well as his collaboration with the United Nations) for repeating what Indigenous cultures in Mesoamerica have done for thousands of years, while also allegedly abusing the descendants of these cultures that work in his restaurants in Mexico and the U.S.

In this bleak situation, what can we do to confront these exploitative dynamics if we want to enjoy Mexican cuisine? If you visit Mexico, instead of trying to snag a reservation at restaurants like Pujol, seek out local markets and the variety of fresh ingredients and food they offer. Buy ingredients and dishes at local small businesses. Instead of recurring to "official" tourist guides, talk to local vendors, taxi drivers and people you encounter in the day to day and ask about the places where they eat and what they recommend. Making an effort to learn about the history of different Mexican dishes is great, but actively deciding to redistribute your own funds toward Indigenous and Black Mexicans is an important step when recognizing how gentrification operates, particularly when it comes to food.

The issue of food justice is tied inextricably to race and class; paying a fair price is fundamental to the recognition and questioning of inequality, so that no person will lose access to the ingredients that they and their communities have enjoyed for generations. **M**

Colour-coded Justice

ANTHONY N. MORGAN

Anti-Black racism in Canada's food sector

BLACK FOOD IS inextricably linked to Black freedom. The shared cultivation, preparation, and consumption of Black food is not only a cherished form of collective creativity, care, community, and culture for Black populations. It's also a rich tradition that connects Black folks to their generational inheritance of resiliency. Their ancestors knew how to make something sustaining out of food scraps seen by others as substandard refuse.

The legacies of the enslavement of African people for their labour and the colonization of African lands continue to reverberate in the foods created and associated with African diasporic populations around the world, including in Canada.

Plantain, callaloo, rice, sugar cane, ackee, beans, cornmeal, and cassava are just a few examples of cooked, baked, boiled, and/or fried foods frequently found on menus in African and Caribbean eateries in contemporary Canadian cities. These, and so many other foods, tell an often un(der)told story about the ways Black populations have carried and created foods, cultures, and communities across oceans, borders, and generations.

Foods that sustained Black communities through the punishing predicaments of slavery and colonization have become present-day culinary treats and treasures. We can often find these foods featured at summer festivals and, in an increasing number of Canadian cities, at storefront and corner-store food joints. They're enjoyed by both Black people and many of the non-Afro-descendants that make up Canada's diverse urban centres.

Savoury, sweet, and often spicy foods from African-descendant communities are a hallmark inheritance of multiple government policies and practices that have shaped the multicultural mosaic found in Canada's largest cities. Today, these foods are more than simply an enjoyable affirmation of culture, community, and comfort for Black people in Canada. They're also a critical Black contribution to Canadian life, a generous sharing of tastes, smells, flavours, textures that enrich the plates, palates, and culture of all Canadians.

Indeed, the average Canadian might recognize the positive role that Black food has played in bettering Canada by enhancing cross-cultural exchange, experience, and understanding. However, a recent ruling from the Ontario Court of Appeal reminds us of the persistent anti-Black barriers faced by Black food buyers, sellers, and growers and demonstrates the ongoing need to decolonize Black food and food systems in Canada.

In June, in the case of *8573123 Canada Inc.* (*Elias Restaurant*) *v. Keele Sheppard Plaza Inc.* (*"Elias"*), Ontario's highest court affirmed a lower court's finding that a commercial landlord and property manager had jointly terminated the lease of a successful and popular Caribbean eatery due to anti-Black racism.

Elias Restaurant is a Toronto-based eatery that specializes in Afro-Caribbean food and primarily, though not exclusively, serves a Black customer base. The eatery is owned and operated by a Black husband and wife.

Their case began in May 2020, after they received an unexpected notice of termination of their tenancy from the landlord and property manager of the commercial plaza that housed the restaurant. The couple was especially shocked to receive this termination notice given that they'd made numerous attempts to contact the landlord and manager to express their interest in renewing their lease, in accordance with the option for renewal in their tenancy agreement. It was also an unwelcome surprise to the couple because they'd invested $150,000 to upgrade the restaurant during their seven-year tenancy.

Despite this, the landlord and manager refused to change their position and insisted on moving forward with unceremoniously terminating Elias Restaurant's lease. This forced the restaurant owners to take the matter to court.

Both the lower court and the Court of Appeal found that the property owners' reasons for seeking to terminate the lease were infected with unconscious anti-Black racism. For instance, the landlord and manager testified that, compared to the other businesses in the plaza, Elias didn't attract "like-minded family-oriented customers"—but couldn't explain what they meant by 'like-minded'.

The landlord and manager also relied on an affidavit from a contractor they'd hired to do work on the plaza. In the affidavit, the contractor stated, among other things, that: "The customers visiting Elias Restaurant seemed to me to be quite unlike, in a negative way, the usual clientele visiting other tenants..." and "the Elias Restaurant does not attract family-oriented customers and detracts from the appeal of the Plaza for families."

The landlord and property manager also revealed that they were aiming to replace the Elias Restaurant with another tenant because the restaurant was selling alcohol and they didn't want a "liquor bar" in the plaza—this, even though Elias held a liquor license and its tenancy agreement explicitly recognized that alcohol would be sold there.

It's also important to note that both courts found that Elias's owners had never missed or been late with rent (even during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the restaurant only offered takeout). The judges also found that Elias's rent was substantially higher than the amount proposed for a prospective tenant that the landlord and manager wanted to house in the Elias Restaurant space.

In a rare recognition of the subtle and insidious ways that anti-Black racism manifests in Canadian society, the judges in both courts astutely noted that, based on the evidence provided, the plaza's landlord and property manager weren't actually concerned about Elias Restaurant or attracting families. Rather, the court recognized, their concern centred on the kind of families that were attracted to and frequented the business—namely, Black, African, and Caribbean families. The courts pointed to the irony of calling a family-run restaurant not sufficiently family-friendly.

The courts also recognized that Elias Restaurant was being punished by the landlord and property manager for doing what it was authorized to do, including selling alcohol. They found that other businesses would likely not have been punished for doing the same thing if they were not Black businesses serving a predominantly Black clientele. For these reasons, this case might be referred to as an instance of "catering while Black."

The Elias case is especially important and interesting in the context of Black food decolonization in Canada. It offers a revealing glimpse of the discrimination that Black food growers, sellers, and consumers face in Canadian food industries when making, marketing, and selling foods originating from and catering to African, Caribbean, and Black communities.

The courts found that Elias Restaurant was a successful Black food business whose only fault seemed to be that it catered primarily to Black patrons. As such, the case demonstrates that a shortage of Black ownership and control over land renders Black food businesses perpetually vulnerable to being shut out and shut down, regardless of their actual or potential commercial success.

In Toronto alone, the recent closures of popular restaurants like True True Diner, Aunty Lucy's, and the now-resolved but still resonant challenges historically faced by the iconic restaurant, Real Jerk, are just a few examples of the challenges the *Elias* case helps highlight for Black restaurateurs.

The findings of a 2019 X University report, entitled *Future Farmers: The Challenge of Food Sovereignty for Black Farmers in the Greater Toronto Area*, strongly suggests that without Canadian food policies and initiatives that specifically support Black food growers, producers, and vendors to own and control the lands and properties where they grow and/or sell their foods, this legal victory of Elias Restaurant won't necessarily translate into better realities for Black food businesses.

That said, this ruling from Ontario's highest court should be taken as a powerful signal that Canadian courts will now be much less tolerant of anti-Black racism in Canada's food sector. Canadian food policy actors should mindfully follow suit. M

Trade and investment

STUART TREW

TC Energy plays NAFTA trump card against the U.S.

IN MY LAST column, I commented on the potential of a Canada-U.K. free trade deal reproducing NAFTA's most antidemocratic feature: its investor-state dispute settlement process, or ISDS. I underlined how ridiculous it was that fossil fuel companies can sue for damages in unaccountable and lengthy private arbitrations when decarbonization policies hurt their current or potential future profits. And I noted with some relief that Canada and the U.S. purged ISDS, at least with respect to Canadian investment in the U.S. and U.S. investment in Canada, from the renegotiated Canada-U.S.-Mexico Agreement, or CUSMA.

On July 2, which happens to be the most important day of the year (my birthday) and the same day we published an issue of the *Monitor*, TC Energy (formerly TransCanada Pipelines) rebooted its 2016 NAFTA lawsuit demanding US$15 billion ($18.8 billion CAD) in compensation from the United States for the cancellation (again) of the Keystone XL pipeline. How is this possible? Because through either great carelessness or overt cowering before corporate fossil fuel interests (and probably both), Canada, Mexico and the U.S. decided to extend NAFTA's excessive investment protections to July 2023 for "legacy" investors on the continent.

That means companies like TC Energy, which fit the definition of an "investor" in NAFTA, have three years from July 2020 to file as many ISDS claims as they like. The oil boom may be coming to an end, but it's bonanza time for trade-based investment arbitration.

Already, more than half a dozen "legacy" ISDS claims have been lodged. At least four are against Mexico, and two of those from fossil fuel companies. Koch Industries is targeting Canada related to Ontario's cancellation of the province's cap-and-trade program. And most recently, there is

the Keystone case against the United States. Law firms specializing in ISDS are encouraging others to "Get Your Investment Claims In!"

As the *Monitor* went to print, TC Energy's notice of intent to file for NAFTA arbitration wasn't publicly available. But it will most likely elaborate on the original notice in 2016, which challenged the Obama administration's first cancellation of Keystone in 2015. (TransCanada dropped that suit after the Trump administration reversed Obama's decision and approved the pipeline in 2017.) The company's case is winnable but uncertain, according to legal experts, and rests on some very sketchy assumptions.

One of them is that the Keystone XL pipeline was not going to materially affect U.S. carbon emissions or production decisions in the Alberta tar sands, since, as the U.S. State Department repeatedly claimed, the oil would find other ways to market. TC also says the review process for Keystone XL was more complicated than promised in presidential executive orders going back to the George W. Bush administration. You might recall that President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney's priority was speeding up construction of cross-border energy infrastructure to fuel the Global War on Terror, not climate change.

Possibly TC's strongest point is that the original Keystone XL cancellation was politically motivated and contradictory, based on environmentalist pressure and the *appearance*, not the reality, of climate leadership. The company's NAFTA notice of intent quotes John Kerry, then U.S Secretary of State, saying "[t]he critical factor in my determination was this: moving forward with this project would significantly undermine our ability to continue leading the world in combating climate change."

Multiple statements from top Democrats, including Kerry, President Barack Obama, and Hillary Clinton, are cited to show how the political establishment agreed that the U.S. needs more pipelines, including Keystone XL, to remove bottlenecks and feed southern refineries. Exports of fracked oil exploded on Obama's watch, not Bush Jr.'s or Trump's. The Obama administration also continued to approve new U.S. pipelines while it dealt with backlash to the cross-border project—the justification for TC's claim it was deprived of the "national treatment" guaranteed to foreign investors in NAFTA. The U.S. "leadership" on climate that Kerry mentioned has yet to materialize.

But politics is messy—and on climate change there will be many necessarily hard, potentially inconsistent steps toward dismantling fossil fuel infrastructures. The legal dispute in Montana against Keystone XL, brought by Indigenous communities like the Rosebud Sioux and Gros Venture Tribes alongside environmental defenders and farmers, is also part of the political process. Like the two recent major spills from the current Keystone pipeline, widespread legal and public opposition to new fossil fuel infrastructure is not mentioned in TC's NAFTA suit. Nor is the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Which brings us to TC's most galling NAFTA claim: that cancelling Keystone XL violated the firm's minimum standard of treatment under international law and unfairly expropriated its future earnings. Putting aside the cheerleading from Obama, Trump, and Trudeau—and billions of dollars in subsidies and loan guarantees from the Alberta government—TC Energy should have had *no reasonable expectations* to turn a profit.

We have known for decades that burning fossil fuels on the scale that we do is warming the planet, with catastrophic effects. Oil companies have hidden their own data on climate change and spent billions lobbying governments to keep business going as usual. They ran out of excuses when countries began co-ordinating (though repeatedly missing) targeted reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. And for at least 20 years, dire warnings from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change should have left no doubt that the party was over.

There are mixed reviews on whether TC Energy has a good case or not, and these ISDS proceedings can drag on for years. For a company that complained furiously in its 2016 NAFTA notice about the politicization of its pipeline, this rebooted "legacy" claim guarantees the failed project will stay in the spotlight for some time.

Is there any way to make lemonade out of this lemon?

There could be. With Democrats lobbying Biden to reopen CUSMA to make it more climate-friendly, there may be an opening to remove the "legacy" investment annex altogether. This would prevent the almost certain explosion of new ISDS cases—no doubt many of them related to environmental policy—before the July 2023 deadline.

While they're at it, North American leaders could agree to cancel ISDS completely between the U.S. and Mexico, as will eventually be the case between the U.S. and Canada. This would correct a racist imbalance in the final CUSMA outcome while giving Mexico the policy space to regulate and address the climate emergency as their democratically elected governments deems appropriate. That would be a legacy worth leaving future generations. M

CCPA DONOR PROFILE

Meet Larry Cann, CCPA donor

Larry Cann is a retired steamfitter living in Baltimore, Ontario. A lifelong member of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, Larry's connection with labour and its commitment to decent work and dignity for all runs deep. We sat down with Larry to ask him about his support of the CCPA and his decision four years ago to become a monthly donor.

Tell us about someone you find particularly inspiring right now. Essential workers! COVID-19 has made us realize how many people really are essential workers who we depend on for our well-being, but live a precarious life and are underpaid and underappreciated. For example, farmers and all the people who play a role in getting food onto our tables.

Can you give us an example of how COVID-19 has forced you to think outside the box? We had to come up with creative ways to stay active, so we started volunteering at the Primrose Donkey Sanctuary. My years as a union rep helps with the mules! It has helped and continues to help us stay active through this COVID situation, but we look forward to being able to travel and getting our Airstream back on the road again.

Tell us about someone who was a big influence on you early in life. It all started when I met my wife, Susan, 50 years ago. She has managed to make me a better person. Rounded off some of the sharp edges. She was the daughter of a steamfitter who was a member of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada,

the UA. I joined the UA in 1979 and am still a member. I will be until I die. I did an apprenticeship as a steamfitter, became an instructor, was elected to our Executive Board, elected as Business Agent, elected as Business Manager for our local union—this spanned about 20 years. I then moved on to be a union representative for our International Union for the next 10 years. I retired four years ago. During my time as a union rep, I always wanted to make things better for our members. I was always trying to figure out how to positively influence decisions that affected the quality of life of our members through the provincial and federal political process. Let me tell you, it was extremely frustrating to learn that the majority of decision-makers really did not want to hear my opinions or welcome my input.

What has the CCPA done lately that's made you feel proud to be a supporter? To me, it's not about what the CCPA has done lately; it's about what it continues to do every day. The CCPA consistently delivers positive, fact-based policy alternatives that force people to think. The CCPA gives average Canadians the information we need to dispel conspiracy theories and misinformation.

Could you tell us why you switched to monthly giving four years ago? The CCPA makes my voice louder. This is why I support the CPPA with my monthly donations.

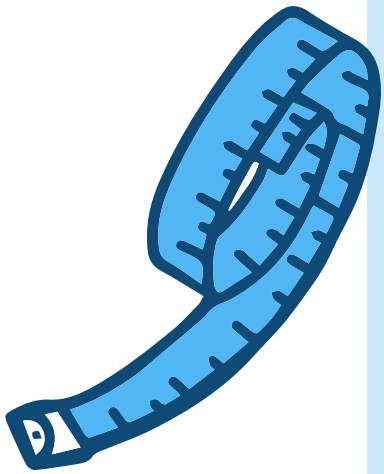
Everyone, and every organization that represents people, should support the CCPA. It makes all of our voices louder.

What is your hope for the future? My hope for the future is that all our politicians realize they are supposed to be the referees in this game between corporate interests and the everyday person. There is a place where everyone at least gets the opportunity to have a safe and happy life.

A legacy gift is a charitable donation that you arrange now that will benefit the CCPA in the future. Making a gift to the CCPA in your will is not just for the wealthy or the elderly. And a legacy gift makes a special impact—it is often the largest gift that anyone can give. To ask about how you can leave a legacy gift to the CCPA, or to let us know you have already arranged it, please call or write Katie Loftus, Development Officer (National Office), at 613-563-1341 ext. 318 (toll free: 1-844-563-1341) or katie@policyalternatives.ca.

CCPA
CANADIAN CENTRE for POLICY ALTERNATIVES
CENTRE CANADIEN de POLITIQUES ALTERNATIVES

Index



214

The number of articles published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* between 1921 and 1940 that mentioned obesity.

2,998

The number of articles published between 2001 and 2020 in the *JAMA* that mention obesity.

5,496

The number of additional articles mentioning obesity published in that same timeframe by *JAMA* Network publications including *JAMA Pediatrics*, *JAMA Dermatology*, and *JAMA Psychiatry*.

1832 Quetelet's Index was created. This index was developed by Adolphe Quetelet to measure the averages (height, weight, birth and death rates) of an entire population. It was never intended to provide health information on an individual level. Quetelet was a mathematician, astronomer, and sociologist who had no training in health sciences. Despite this limitation, Quetelet's Index would be reinterpreted in 1972 by Ancel Keys as a mechanism for determining obesity.* Both Quetelet's Index and Key's subsequent Body Mass Index (BMI) were based predominantly on measurements of Western European white bodies.

25 The new cutoff for an "overweight" BMI, recommended by a 1995 report written by the World Health Organization (WHO) in collaboration with The International Obesity Taskforce (IOTF). The IOTF received the majority of its funding from the pharmaceutical companies Hoffman-La Roche and Abbott Laboratories, both of which were set to release new diet drugs when the cutoffs were introduced. In their research, Paul Campos et al. observed, "although expert panels on obesity are largely devoted to evaluating epidemiological evidence and claims, qualified epidemiologists are almost never included as members." 25 was chosen as the new cutoff, not for scientific reasons but because it was believed that it would be easy to remember.

>100 The number of factors that inform a person's weight identified by a 2007 British study. The report further illustrates over 300 connections between these factors. Contrary to the popular adage that weight is determined by a simple formula of "calories in, calories out," this report maps a complex web of factors including those related to food production, physical environment, and social psychology.

*This index uses the terms obese and obesity to reflect the language of the scientific studies and articles that it cites. The *Monitor* recognizes that obese is a socially constructed classification that, as this Index details, has caused a significant amount of damage to those who live with that label.

>50% of 620 physicians, when surveyed, reported viewing obese* patients as awkward, unattractive, ugly, and noncompliant.

49.5% percentage of Canadian physicians surveyed in 2019 who said they believed that obese* people increase demand on the public health care system.

18.5% percentage of physicians in the same survey who agreed with the statement " I feel disgust when treating [an obese* patient]."

1.65x times more likely deceased obese* patients in an autopsy study were to have a missed major diagnosis than their normal and underweight counterparts combined. Pulmonary thromboembolism was the most frequent significant missed clinical diagnosis. The study authors concluded "greater clinical vigilance" when treating obese* patients was warranted.

0.94kg The average amount of weight loss maintained among participants in diet conditions from baseline to follow-up, across the 21 trials in a meta-analysis. The article authors noted that weight loss in all 21 trials did not correlate with improvements in participants' diastolic and systolic blood pressure, fasting blood glucose, cholesterol, or triglyceride levels analysis. In addition to their finding that weight loss treatments did not improve health outcomes, the researchers also concluded that their findings "are in line with a recent meta-analysis that found that overweight and class I obesity were not associated with higher all-cause mortality."

46.5% Percentage of obese* respondents to the 2002-2003 National Latino and Asian American Study who reported experiencing racial discrimination. Researchers found that experiences of racism among respondents "were associated with increased BMI and obesity* among Asian Americans, even after control for reports of weight discrimination and other factors."

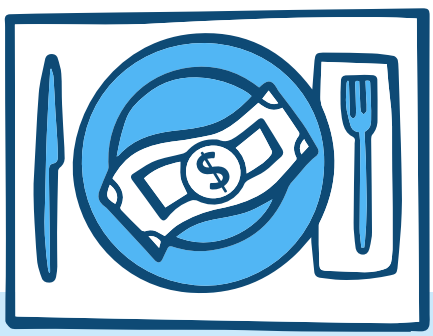
21,357 Number of American adults surveyed in the 2001-2002 and 2004-2005 National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions (NESARC) who were classified by the BMI as either overweight* or obese*. Researchers found that participants' experiences of weight discrimination significantly correlated with their likelihood of developing arteriosclerosis, diabetes, high cholesterol, heart conditions, and stomach ulcers.

$192.2B

Estimated global value of the weight loss industry in 2019. It is projected to be worth $295.3 billion by 2027.

$189.4B

Estimated gross domestic product (GDP) of Greece in 2020. Put another way, in 2019 the weight loss industry was worth the equivalent of the combined 2020 GDPs of Ecuador, Lithuania, Honduras and Madagascar.



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CRUZ BONLARRON MARTÍNEZ

From rebels to hipsters

Former FARC guerrillas turn to craft beer

AS I SIT at the bar sipping my craft beer on a cold Thursday night in Bogotá, I enjoy the place's musical selection of '80s New Wave. But as Sting's voice resonates through the speakers ("Every move you make, Every vow you break, Every smile you fake, Every claim you stake, I'll be watching you"), I start to think about how fitting the song is for the bar I'm at. It's owned by former guerrillas from what was once one of the world's oldest insurgent groups, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), who often had to live a great portion of their lives clandestinely.

Bierepolitik

Lubianka, located in one of Bogotá's hippest neighbourhoods, Parkway, looks like most bars in the area. It's a large mid-century house, most likely abandoned by the rich during Bogotá's urban expansion, that was converted into a bar with an inviting outside patio. But when you step into the bar, you quickly realize that it's radically different from the other bars nearby.

The decorations are different, to say the least. There are Soviet posters, pictures of Fidel Castro and Salvador Allende, and one room has a FARC flag in it. The bar's beers also have unique names that either honour revolutionaries or play on Colombian politics. There's the *Zapata*, whose taste has a hint of habanero and a label showing a picture of the Mexican revolutionary. The *Allende* is an American pale ale brewed in honour of Chile's democratic socialist president, who was overthrown by a U.S. backed-coup in 1973. The *Sin Mente Como el Presidente* (Without a Brain, Like the President), an American amber ale, expresses how the owners feel about Colombia's current administration. In celebration of International Women's Day, they put out a beer in memory of Mariana Paéz, a FARC commander who died in 2009 during a Colombian military operation.

Yet, Lubianka doesn't just sell its own beers. It serves craft beers from all over Colombia. According to one of the owners and a former ex-combatant, Illich Cerón, they look for beers brewed with a cause. They serve beers brewed by ex-combatants and beers and other products made by young people, victims of the conflict, and other marginalized communities.

Cerón says the bar is not just about beer, though. It's a space for people and organizations to gather and have a real debate over beer, something Cerón likes to refer to as *Bierepolitik*. He says Lubianka is a laboratory for ideas that promote the construction of peace and dialogue.

> "We could not get a reference for a bank account because of the time we'd spent in the guerrilla movement or in prison."
> —Doris Suarez

"We've had a lot of people come in since we started. People from the left, but also people from the right. But that's exactly who we want coming in. People who voted against the peace agreement, people who have questions because they have also been ignored by the system. This space is a receptor of dialogue. In this space, they know that they can at least be heard."

The craft beer revolution

In 2019, before the pandemic, Colombia had 255 craft beer businesses. This number has most likely shrunk, given the difficulties that many of these businesses had to endure during the national COVID-19 lockdown Colombia implemented and the continued restrictions due to the inability of the Duque administration to control the virus. Beyond these restrictions, it's a difficult business in general because craft beer is still relatively new in Colombia and many of the ingredients have to be imported.

"Brewing craft beer in Colombia is a hyper-mega revolutionary project for a lot of reasons. First, it's so expensive. Almost everything has to be imported—hops from Argentina or Chile, lupulo from the United States. Whoever gets involved in this process has a lot of challenges to overcome and a lot of work ahead of them. Then we have to challenge the industrial beer monopoly in the country. One company controls all production and buys out serious competitors," Cerón stated.

However, he said these difficulties haven't stopped people from supporting craft breweries. "What

we're seeing is a craft beer revolution. Mostly young people are making the conscious decision to not consume industrial beers and instead consume craft beers. This is leading to an awakening to the power of local businesses. All of this [has been] happening over the past 7 to 8 years and is leading to the expansion of these projects."

La Casa de La Paz

Besides Lubianka, various craft beer projects have been founded by reincorporados. In Bogotá, three brands have begun circulating in craft beer bars: La Roja, La Trocha, and la Alternativa. Each has a unique flavor and each name plays on radical-political tropes: *la roja* means "red", *la trocha* means "trail", and *la alternativa* means "alternative."

Each of these beers has a unique story about how the former combatants came around to brewing beer as part of their reincorporation project. According to Doris Suarez, one of the owners of La Trocha, their project surged when various former political prisoners put together the 8 million pesos (about 2,600 CAD) they received as part of the peace agreement to found a business together. Saurez says they had originally thought of various projects until a craft brewery, La Popular, reached out and offered to show them how to brew beer. This gesture led them to get a certificate in brewing from the National University of Colombia.

Despite the help they received, it was not easy for Suarez and the others behind La Trocha to start the brewery.

"We could not get a reference for a bank account because of the time we'd spent in the guerrilla movement or in prison. We'd go to one place and they'd tell us we needed something, then another would tell us we needed something else. It became an endless circle," says Suarez.

"Then, when we finally found a locale for the brewery, we were kicked out. Then we couldn't find anyone to rent to us because of the stigma against former members of the FARC. It wasn't until we put out a viral video that we were finally able to get help finding a place."

But that didn't stop them from turning the new place into La Casa de la Paz (The House of Peace)—a part bar, part social center. Suarez says La Trocha is different from a traditional capitalist business because it's trying to compete with high-quality service to the community and not chase profits. La Casa de la Paz embodies this business model.

Like Lubianka, La Casa de la Paz serves as a place for people to debate new ideas and see what the peace and reincorporation process looks like upfront, whether it 's while having a beer with friends or participating in their weekend Campesino markets. There, various social enterprises, some made up of excombatientes and some of campesinos, sell everything from cheese to homemade belts. I even had the opportunity to participate in a coffee-growing workshop, where I learned the ins and outs of coffee production and was able to buy coffee from excombatientes afterwards.

Maintaining a fragile peace

While Colombia is once again in the news cycle due to the national strike, the peace process remains a contentious issue in the country, where a slim majority of voters voted against the peace deal in 2016. Many reincorporation initiatives are agricultural projects based in rural areas where armed groups still exercise some control, so excombatents have to deal not only with stigmatization but also violence, according to Indepaz, a Human Rights NGO. Twenty-nine ex-combatants have been murdered this year, and 278 have been murdered since the peace agreement was signed in 2016.

However, the growing craft brewery movement gives hope to those trying to visibilize the struggle of ex-combatants trying to reincorporate into society. There's something unique about sitting down and having a beer with someone that makes us realize the humanity in others, despite the differences we may have in our politics or life experiences.

"A lot of people come in and buy a box of beer to give as a gift," says Cerón. "To some, it might just be liquid in a bottle but for us, it has an extreme symbolism. This liquid stands for something, and the fact that someone is giving that away means something." M

ASAD ISMI

Pedro Castillo and the failure of neoliberalism in Peru

WITH THE SLOGAN "No poor people in a wealthy country", Pedro Castillo, a poor, Indigenous peasant farmer, elementary school teacher and union leader, became president of Peru on July 28. Castillo was the candidate of Peru Libre (Free Peru), a Marxist-Leninist party. Castillo's victory is unprecedented in Peru's 200-year history. As he emphasized in his inaugural speech, "It is the first time that this country will be governed by a peasant." Professor Cecilia Méndez, a Peruvian historian at the University of California-Santa Barbara, adds: "There are no cases of a person unrelated to the professional, military or economic elites [of Peru] who reaches the presidency."

Castillo has never held political office and is known mainly for the teachers' strike he led in 2017. He won the election by a razor-thin margin of 44,000 votes (less than 1%), beating his rich and powerful right-wing opponent, Keiko Fujimori, the epitome of "entrenched privilege." Fujimori is the daughter of former President Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000), a disgraced dictator who is serving a 25-year jail sentence for corruption, kidnapping, and murder committed by death squads under his command. Keiko Fujimori disputed the election results, claiming fraud, but could provide no evidence. After a six-week investigation, the election authorities rejected her complaint.

Like her father, Keiko is tainted by corruption and is being prosecuted for money laundering and running a criminal organization. If convicted, she also faces a long prison sentence. Becoming president would have given her respite from prosecution for five years.

Peruvian journalist and sociologist Francesca Emanuele tells me that Castillo's election is a result of the crisis of neoliberalism in Peru. Emanuele is a columnist for *Wayka*, a progressive publication in Peru and was an observer of Peru's election. Emanuele points out that the crisis of neoliberalism is a regional phenomenon: the massive inequality, poverty and concentration of wealth produced by this economic model are driving the two leading neoliberal states of Latin America, Chile, and Peru, to the left. Leftist parties are currently writing a new progressive constitution for Chile.

Neoliberalism has given rise to intersecting crises in Peru and created a perfect storm of political destabilization, discrediting the country's elite and opening the way for Castillo.

Although Peru is the world's second-largest copper producer, one-third of its population lives in poverty and has little access to health and education services. The richest fifth takes half the country's income and the poorest fifth gets less than 5%. The wealthy tend to be concentrated in coastal cities such as the capital, Lima, while rural areas and northern regions such as Cajamarca (where Castillo comes from) are deeply impoverished. In San Luis de Puna, Castillo's village, 40% of the children are "chronically malnourished."

Neoliberalism has given rise to intersecting crises in Peru and created a perfect storm of political destabilization, discrediting the country's elite and opening the way for Castillo. As Emanuele explains, "Peru is in deep economic and health crises and has been dragging itself through a state of political instability for decades." The fourth crisis is that of constant corruption scandals that have ensnared not only the two Fujimoris, but all presidents ruling Peru since 1985, two-thirds of Congress representatives (who have been indicted), and judicial officials.

Peru has had five presidents in the past five years and, in November 2020, three in one week. Combine all this with the COVID-19 pandemic, and the result is disastrous. Peru has the highest per-capita death rate globally from the coronavirus, partly due to neoliberalism's failure to build an adequate health system. More than a million Peruvians out of a population of 32 million have been infected with COVID-19, and

about 50,000 have died from it. In 2020, the economy contracted by an astounding 11.6% as the virus raged, and 6.7 million people lost their jobs.

Instead of ensuring fair public distribution of vaccines for COVID-19, government officials created another major scandal in March 2021 by jumping the queue to get the vaccines for themselves. About 500 people did this, using their influence as former presidents, vice-presidents, ministers, and vice-ministers, thereby eliciting public outrage.

Castillo started his election campaign by calling for the nationalization of mining companies and gas corporations in Peru. Later, he changed his stance to increasing taxes on the companies, regulating them (partly to ensure strict environmental standards), and renegotiating their contracts to fund expanded health and education facilities for the poor. He also plans to hold a constituent assembly to replace ex-President Fujimori's dictatorial Peruvian constitution with one that empowers the poor and creates a political basis for implementing progressive policies.

How much of the neoliberal model can Castillo change? His objectives don't look very radical, but his approach still may not work, warns Alexander Main, Director of International Policy at the Washington D.C.-based Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR).

"Currently, it appears likely that Castillo will choose, at least initially, to pursue a relatively moderate progressive agenda to try to ensure his political survival," says Main. "Given the widespread rejection of politics as usual in Peru, this strategy could end up backfiring.

"The most likely scenario for Peru is to see a progressive shift away from neoliberal agendas rather than the sort of dramatic ruptures with policy paradigms that were observed in the first decade of the 21st century in countries like Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador," adds Main. "A partial re-orientation of social and economic agendas such as what was seen in Brazil under Workers Party administrations seems more likely."

Castillo's tempering of his radicalism is also partly explained by the fact that the right-wing opposition has a majority in the Peruvian Congress. For Main this means that "it remains to be seen whether Castillo will be able to effectively govern the country or even stay in power for very long."

Main doesn't think Castillo will be able to attain his constituent assembly partly because of the opposition of elites who control Peru's economy "and seem prepared to carry out economic destabilization tactics" against their new president. Emanuele also warns of this economic danger by pointing out how concentrated corporate power is in Peru, which is "plagued by both monopolies and oligopolies." One brand, Backus, controls 99% of beer sales, the Intercop company owns 83% of all pharmacies, and EL Comercio controls 78% of the print media (20 newspapers and magazines).

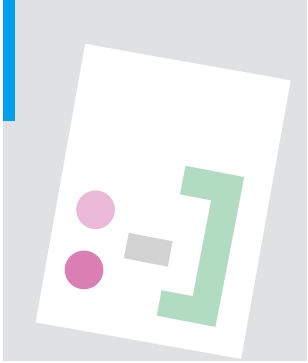
Castillo wants to regulate large corporations in Peru, but according to Emanuele, these companies "could take revenge and manipulate prices if Castillo implements measures to limit their oligopolies. A price war induced by these companies could lead to an economic crisis, people in the streets, instability and a possible overthrow of the government."

Main is optimistic that Castillo can most likely make a significant difference, in the foreign policy arena: "Peru and Chile could, for the first time, play a proactive role in reviving the regional integration efforts that were pursued at the height of the 'pink tide' period [in the late 2000s and early 2010s] and developing a common front with other left governments in opposing much of the U.S. political, military and economic agenda in Latin America."

Such a policy direction would include withdrawing Peru from the sinister Lima Group, the alliance of right-wing Latin American states and Canada, which is aimed at overthrowing and undermining leftist governments in the region, especially that of Venezuela. The Lima Group comprises 10 countries including Colombia, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Paraguay. Castillo has pledged to remove Peru from the Lima Group.

This would be a welcome setback for Canada's destructive policy in Latin America, as would Castillo's plans to regulate Canadian mining companies in Peru, which are the third-largest investors in the sector after China and Britain. The main companies are Barrick Gold, Teck, Pan American Silver, Iberian Minerals, Fortuna, and Málaga. Canadian mining companies are notorious for damaging communities and the environment all over the world, and they have a bad reputation in Peru as well. In a story in the June issue of *Canadian Dimension* magazine, Owen Schalk noted that "Barrick Gold's Lagunas Norte project (which it sold to a Singaporean company earlier this year) faced significant criticism for its atrocious environmental and labour practices in Peru." The company had frequent conflicts with the local people about water pollution and with their own workers on labour rights. Barrick was also sued by the people of El Sauco, Quiruvilca, "who wanted the company to pay indemnifications for its pollution of nearby water sources."

Castillo's determination to make mining companies pay more and meet high environmental standards will most likely bring him into conflict with both the Canadian and U.S. governments, which will probably collaborate with the discredited Peruvian elite to try to overthrow him. Whether Castillo succeeds or not in the long run, his election has already shown the utter failure of neoliberalism in Peru and highlighted this tendency for the region as well. This failure is so massive that it has drowned the economic, political, and health systems of Peru in a cesspool of corruption. If Castillo is not allowed to save Peru, it is unlikely that anyone else can. M



The good news page

COMPILED
BY ELAINE HUGHES

Women find helping hand to break into tech jobs in Germany

Women in Germany make up less than 17% of the country's tech specialists. To address this disparity, FrauenLoop, a non-profit aiming to boost diversity in tech, is training women from different ethnic backgrounds and with no prior experience in tech to become web developers, data analysts, and AI specialists. / Reuters

First African American to win spelling bee also holds 3 basketball world records

Recently, Zaila Avant-garde, a 14-year-old eighth-grader from Harvey, Louisiana, won the prestigious Scripps National Spelling Bee and $50,000 by correctly spelling the winning word, 'murraya', a genus of tropical Asiatic and Australian trees. After clinching the victory, she said, "I'm really hoping lots of little brown girls all over the world and stuff are really motivated to try out spelling and stuff because it's really a fun thing to do and it's a great way to kind of connect yourself with education, which is super important." / National Public Radio

Irish musicians saving oral history by recording elders singing old campfire songs

With an emphasis on Irish, Scottish, and English traveler communities, the Song Collectors Collective (SCC) of young Irish musicians have begun to record elders' songs and stories for musicians and folklorists to hear and study. Copies of all the songs are donated to the Irish Traditional Music Archive and National Sound Archive in London. / Good News Network

Follow our lead: U.K. brings forward end to coal power target

In advance of the United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP26) in November, host country Britain is stepping up its efforts to end its use of coal for electricity generation by October 2024, earlier than originally planned. It is also encouraging other nations to cut emissions more quickly. / Reuters

Europe aims to phase out gasoline and diesel cars by 2035

Europe wants to be the first continent to be climate-neutral in 2050. To meet that goal, the European Commission recently announced plans to cut greenhouse gas emissions by at least 55% by 2030 compared to 1990 levels, and to end the sale of polluting vehicles by 2035 and usher in a rapid and dramatic shift to fully electric models. To facilitate that shift, the Commission requires the 27 EU member states to expand vehicle-charging capacity by installing charging stations every 60km (37.3 miles) on major highways and hiking the tax rate for gasoline and diesel fuel. / CNN Business

Germany to have 1 million electric cars on the road in July: paper

Germany recently stated that, due to an increase in bonuses to €1.25 billion during the first half of 2021, the country will have 1 million electric cars on the road in July, adding that it may exceed its longer-term goal of having 7–10 million electric vehicles on its streets. / Reuters

Spain to invest $5.1 billion in electric vehicle production

As part of a major national spending program financed mostly by European Union recovery funds, Spain's government recently announced that it will invest 4.3 billion euro ($5.1 billion) to kick-start the production of electric vehicles (EVs) and batteries. The goal is for the number of new EVs to reach 250,000 in 2023. After Germany, Spain is Europe's second-largest auto producer and the world's eighth-largest. / Reuters

Leicester is turning all of its bus stops into green-roof pollinator gardens for bees

To help protect the world's vital bee population, the U.K. city of Leicester plans to replace its traditional bus stops with Living Roof bus shelters called 'Bee Bus Stops'. They will be solar-powered and topped with pollinator gardens. While attracting bees and other pollinating insects, the gardens will also absorb rainwater, help reduce the urban heat island effect, capture particles in the air, support local biodiversity, and promote sustainable transport in the city. / My Modern Met

Glasgow to plant 18m trees as city readies for COP26 climate summit

As Glasgow prepares to host the COP 26 world climate talks in November, native councils have pledged to plant 18 million trees in the city while proposing to increase forestry by up to 9,000 hectares in the surrounding area. Echoing comparable programs elsewhere in the U.K., the scheme is anticipated to help mitigate the worst results of climate warming, which include flooding, landslides, and erosion that might threaten outlying communities, rail hyperlinks and roads. The new trees will also absorb CO_2 emissions and help restore biodiversity. / Pehal News

AMBIKA SAMARTHYA-HOWARD

Learning to raise and cook food from Nana, not a book

> "A cookbook can serve simply as a compendium of recipes or it can offer a story of a people and a place. I am the prodigal son, the custodian of Jupiter Gilliard's legacy. This book is my origin story." —Matthew Raiford

IT'S RARE FOR one to "read" a cookbook. The texts are meant to be acted upon, to be a resource for meals. Instead, Matthew Raiford's *Bress 'n' Nyam: Gullah Geechee Recipes from a Sixth Generation Farmer* offers stories and artifacts. Raiford connects ingredients he uses to flavors from his Cameroonian heritage or the stoves his grandmother used before his family was brought to Georgia via the slave trade.

Raiford farms land he owns in rural Georgia with his sister, Althea. Amongst New Zealand hogs (charcuterie), 125 chickens and hens, they have hibiscus and other botanicals and work to diversify the crops on their 40-acre-plus spread by producing 250 lbs of sweet potatoes, alongside onions and turmeric. "I make a basic living because we own this land and don't pay for housing."

Raiford is part of a recent tradition among Black farmers who are returning to their ancestral land in recent years to reconnect, perhaps literally, to their roots. He is a renowned chef and sells to restaurants and farmers markets, but acknowledges that many others in his community lack the financial capital to make the change to farming for a living. "Farming is about autonomy, about feeding my family with the first fruits of what we are growing. No farmer should go hungry," he says.

Unfortunately, farmers on food stamps are common in America, and Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) farmers suffer the most from these dynamics. But many Black farmers are taking challenging steps to reclaim their ancestral land in the South, and Raiford is proudly networked with them. Luckily, the resources section of his book shares the contact information and details of many farms in his community, like Sapelo Sea Farms or Oliver Carolina Gold Rice.

"If any of us cousins has a cold or the crud, our moms would call Nana and she would tell them to send us over," reads the intro to Raiford's Hot Rum Toddy recipe. Each recipe draws from moments in the author's life and memories from his ancestry in ways that bring together the current opportunity and challenge for Black farmers: there is so much knowledge, but also much pain.

Media narratives about BIPOC farmers often revolve around rediscovering their connection to the land, but the stories stop there, as if discovering a love for land is the end of their journey. In the U.S. context, people of color who choose to farm confront historical inequities and racist policies that complicate farming as a livelihood. White landowners currently control between 95–98% of U.S. farmland and nearly 100% in the Northeast; they also receive over 97% of agriculture-related financial assistance.

While people often cite the increasing numbers of Black farmers every year, there has simultaneously been a decrease in the area of farmland owned by Black farmers due to foreclosures, their inability to secure resources, and racist FDA policies that discriminate against Black farmers applying for loans.

We also know that land use has a profound impact on the climate crisis. Ironically, BIPOC farmers' historical lack of access to chemicals and large machinery has contributed to many farmers' current engagement with regenerative agricultural practices, which have proven long-term climate benefits. The environment is also crucially tied to the ability of BIPOC communities to farm.

Recent developments like public land leasing in Washington State, cooperative solutions designed and led by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, and land trusts such as the Northeast Farmers of Colors Land Trust support natural land-use practices such as agroforestry and crop rotation. Is there potential to model national land policy around these solutions? These debates are clearly front and center in President Joe Biden's administration, as he is ramping up debt relief for Black farmers.

Ironically, Raiford often spoke to me about Black folks leaning on ancestral knowledge about farming and being open to learning from "your own people: learning from nana, not a book." And yet, *Bress 'n' Nyam* is both.

I highly suggest that anyone interested in American history—or who wants new, delicious meals—read *Bress 'n' Nyam: Gullah Geechee Recipes from a Sixth-Generation Farmer*, which documents and shares recipes from a long line of Black farmers, marking their journey after the Great Migration back to their land. M

GAVIN FRIDELL AND KATE ERVINE

Demanding justice

Can trade policy be fair?

"The Fair Trade movement won't be able to realise its vision only through a market-based approach. Shaping the rules of the game … and tackling imbalances of power in supply chains is essential to realise our movement's vision, where justice and sustainable development are at the heart of trade structures and practices."
—Sergi Corbalán

OVER THE PAST few decades, free trade agreements have spread rapidly across the globe, entrenching the conditions under which goods, services and investments can flow with minimal friction and maximum profitability. While unprecedented wealth has been generated, its extreme concentration has led organizations like Oxfam, and even the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to identify the gap between the rich and poor as a major threat to global stability and prosperity. Free trade agreements have overwhelmingly favoured investor rights, with labour, human, gender, racial and environmental rights sidelined, ignored and trampled.

The rise of fair trade has been a response to these injustices. But, as Sergi Corbalán, Executive Director of the Fair Trade Advocacy Office (FTAO) in Brussels acknowledges above, the impact of fair trade as a consumer-based movement remains limited. A challenge for fair traders is to create a vision for how the principles of fair trade—democracy, justice, dignity, human rights, a living income and environmental stewardship—can be used to inspire a new generation of trade agreements where human and planetary well-being are prioritized in the spirit of solidarity.

A multilateral world order?

A starting point for building a fair trade agreement could be to look at existing multilateral institutions that deal with everything from trade and investment rules to global poverty, human rights and climate change. These institutions have vastly different degrees of effectiveness, often depending on the extent to which their goals align with those of powerful countries and corporations. As a result, issues of social and ecological justice are rarely prioritized.

The 2015 Paris Climate Agreement illustrates this point. Climate breakdown represents one of the gravest threats to humanity and demands bold action. Ratified by 189 countries, the Paris Agreement emerged from years of difficult negotiations led by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). It represents the main multilateral framework for globally organizing state action on climate breakdown, and yet, it lacks the status of an official treaty and legally binding emissions reduction or financial commitments. The *voluntary* commitments made through the agreement, moreover, have been widely assessed as inadequate to avoid catastrophic climate change. The Climate Action Tracker projects possible warming of over 3°C under current commitments, significantly higher than the agreement's target to limit warming above pre-industrial levels to well below 2°C.

In contrast, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the world's top intergovernmental trade body, has enforceable trade liberalization rules with legally binding commitments and a range of penalties that carry political weight. Certainly, the threat posed by climate breakdown warrants an agreement vested with these sorts of powers, or those held by global financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank, which regularly make decisions that impact the livelihoods of millions. In practice, no such agreement exists for the environment.

While positive examples of multilateral cooperation exist, the norm in global politics is to show little interest in social and ecological justice. Some international law experts argue that multilateral negotiations offer an opportunity for smaller or more marginalized nations to make collective demands on more powerful ones. A case in point is the work of the Alliance of Small Island States in securing broad support to include an aspirational limit of 1.5°C of warming above pre-industrial levels in the Paris Agreement. When measured against the actual emission reduction commitments, however, and the lack of legal force around them, this success appears mostly symbolic. All too often, multilateral forums are perceived as places where progressive agendas around the common good go to die, hindered by opposition or disinterest from powerful states.

Going it alone: The unilateral option

Frustrated by the pace of things at the multilateral level, unions, social justice organizations and human rights groups have often lobbied for unilateral action from their own governments. Generalized systems of preferences (GSPs) are

one example. Used in particular by the United States and the European Union (EU), GSPs allow low- and middle-income countries to gain preferential access to Northern markets in return for fulfilling obligations with respect to labour, human rights and sustainable development. While some gains have been documented, GSPs are often criticized as unilateral, paternalistic impositions on Southern nations that can hamper their economic competitiveness without providing genuine partnership or shared responsibility for the costs associated with improved standards (e.g., for higher wages, technical training and expanded labour inspections).

To avoid some of these concerns, social justice groups have increased efforts to push their national governments to adopt policies that demand accountability from their domestic-based transnational companies. Modern slavery legislation has been particularly notable and widely adopted by countries such as the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Australia. In Canada, a coalition of groups led by World Vision, Fairtrade Canada, UNICEF Canada and Save the Children successfully lobbied the government to table legislation for a Modern Slavery Act in 2020. While this legislation has been a welcome victory for human rights advocates, a great deal remains to be done. In the United Kingdom, corporations must only report the steps they have taken, even if this means stating "no such steps" have been taken. The legislation in Canada, if it receives final approval, could go beyond this by directly prohibiting the importation of goods produced by forced or child labour.

Riding on free trade agreements: From sidelines to main game?

Efforts to include social rights chapters in trade agreements have been among the most prominent options over the past few years. These agreements have long contained extensive regulations on everything from investment and intellectual property rights to public procurement and state enterprises. As passionate free trade economist Jagdish Bhagwati argues in *Termites in the Trading System*, under the cover of "trade-related," trade agreements have expanded to include a wide range of rules that have "nothing to do with the freeing of trade."

Not only do these agreements extend beyond freeing trade, but they are also heavily slanted in favour of corporate interests. Investment rights chapters, for instance, have binding rules, penalties for violations, and dispute panels that can be launched unilaterally by transnational corporations. As a result, they have been used extensively. According to a 2017 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) analysis on *Investor-State Dispute Settlement*, from 1987 to 2017, a total of 855 investor disputes were launched against states, awarding billions of dollars to corporations, with the average award amounting to $125 million.

Labour chapters, in contrast, when they exist at all, contain general language and significant barriers to enforcement. Only one major labour case has ever been brought before a trade tribunal, through the Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR) with the United States. In this case, the tribunal infamously determined in 2017 that the Guatemalan government had violated labour laws at eight separate workplaces, but that the actions did not "affect trade," so the case was dismissed.

Can this bias in trade agreements be shifted? Many groups have offered proposals with this in mind, advocating for new or improved trade chapters on labour, gender equality, the environment, Indigenous rights and human rights. While many of the best ideas remain on paper, some important gains have emerged in recent years.

Perhaps most important has been an expansion of labour chapters that might have enforceable mechanisms. This includes the renegotiated NAFTA, which, in 2020, became the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA), with a labour rights chapter that goes beyond previous models, including stronger standards, a more direct path to dispute panels and a new "rapid-response" enforcement mechanism with the power to investigate labour violations and impose penalties. The inclusion of this chapter builds upon years of tri-national union lobbying, which, according to Angelo DiCaro, National Representative of Unifor, Canada's largest private-sector union, aimed at "a very ambitious approach to reforming how labour standards are addressed in free trade agreements." In a recent interview, DiCaro said, "I think what they have proposed in NAFTA really does break the mold in terms of what we've seen in other free trade accords."

Other new social rights chapters, while offering some promise, could equally end up like the empty chapters of the past. The CUSMA's environment chapter, Chapter 24, while technically enforceable, fails to directly mention climate change and contains key loopholes that suggest it is unlikely to be rigorously enforced. For instance, while groups can raise a complaint if they think a country has failed to follow its own environmental laws, the complaint "may" be considered by an environmental commission if it meets various criteria, including that it "appears to be aimed at promoting enforcement rather than at harassing industry."

In other agreements, the government of Canada under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has been keen to promote gender chapters as part of its "progressive" trade agenda. This commitment led to new gender additions to the pre-existing Canada-Chile Free Trade Agreement (CCFTA) in 2017 and the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement (CIFTA) in 2018. Only the Canada-Israel chapter is, in theory, subject to dispute resolution. In both cases, however, the language is

vague, offering general commitments to gender-responsive policies fostering inclusion, leadership, entrepreneurship and capacity-building for women. It is difficult to imagine how these commitments could be meaningfully enforced or transcend the pledges typically made by governments. They also run the risk of perpetuating free trade agreements without regard for their negative impacts that disproportionately affect women, such as cuts to public spending, increasing costs for medicine, or the feminization of low-paid precarious work (Bissio 2017).

A fair trade vision for bilateral agreements?

One of the more interesting models to emerge in recent years is that of Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPAs), which advance a vision for bilateral agreements that are not about free trade per se, but rather about achieving specific social and ecological goals. According to Sergi Corbalán, of the FTAO, VPAs offer an opportunity to imagine what fair trade agreements could look like. To this end, the FTAO has worked in partnership with sustainable forestry groups to advocate for VPAs modelled off those that exist between the EU and timber-exporting countries.

Under the terms of the EU's Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) Action Plan, initiated in 2003, VPAs have been adopted between the EU and its timber suppliers; as a result, the latter gain easier access to the EU market in exchange for demonstrating that the timber has been legally and more sustainably produced. As the VPA is a "partnership," the EU has stepped up to provide capacity-building to help exporters set up licensing schemes and improve enforcement.

Despite slow progress at the start, as of 2019, the EU had VPAs with nine countries, with more in the works. Duncan Brack, in his report *Towards Sustainable Cocoa Supply Chains*, concludes that the VPAs have "in some cases significantly improved governance and law enforcement, making the forest sector more transparent and accountable, and reducing illegal logging." At the same time, FLEGT has been criticized for its role in criminalizing and negatively impacting small timber suppliers that lack secure land tenure.

The FTAO and its partners believe the concept of a VPA could be applied to other products, like cocoa, which is a major driver of deforestation in West Africa, while its shortcomings could be addressed through a wider mandate aimed at the needs of smallholders and workers through fair trade standards. This could be combined with other existing and proposed EU policies, such as sustainable procurement, supply chain legislation and corporate due diligence laws, for maximum impact.

Moving the discussion away from the EU, Canada could explore similar models, with fair trade and ecological justice as the key objectives. One benefit of the VPA vision is that it shifts away from unilateral imposition toward partnership, shared responsibility and mutual benefits, with both countries negotiating an agreement designed to meet their needs. It also lifts things out of the sometimes-amorphous world of global agreements, where grand statements and general commitments are often made without clear, direct objectives and a precise way to measure real impacts.

Imagine a VPA for coffee between Canada and its major coffee-exporting partners. Starting with Guatemala, for instance, Canada could negotiate a VPA aimed at assisting coffee farmers in addressing the impact of climate change, including unpredictable weather patterns and increased vulnerability to disease and pests, while also achieving fair trade standards. The initial VPA could be reproduced to include other exporters and provide a mechanism for multi-stakeholder engagement between governments, farmer representatives, unions, nongovernmental organizations and industry.

Fair trade could be scaled up to the level of intergovernmental relations through a model crafted to avoid the paternalist impositions of the past.

Stepping up fair trade

The COVID-19 pandemic shines a light on the profound dangers of an international order designed to safeguard corporate profitability and, in doing so, diminishes the capacity of far too many to withstand the crisis. While fair trade advocates have highlighted this fact for decades, grinding poverty remains a daily reality for an unacceptably high number of the world's small producers. A major challenge is to imagine how fair trade principles might serve as a starting point to reimagine trade as a tool for achieving human and planetary well-being.

While there is no silver bullet for making trade truly fair, the task ahead demands of us an honest naming of the injustices that mark contemporary trade, an openness to learn the lessons from existing initiatives and a willingness to reject business-as-usual. M

Adapted from *The Fair Trade Handbook: Building a Better World, Together*, edited by Gavin Fridell, Zack Gross, and Sean McHugh, published by Fernwood Publishing.

RÓISÍN WEST

Hungry for more?

A reading list

THE THEMES EXPLORED in this issue of the *Monitor* could fill libraries. In fact, they do! The following resources explore various aspects of decolonizing the food justice movement. This is a resource list for unlearning things that we have previously accepted as "common knowledge" and decentring white experiences of food. A linked version of this list will be available on the Monitor website to help you connect with each of the suggested resources listed below. Resources are offered in a variety of formats and on multiple platforms to accommodate different learning styles, budgets, and interests. Happy exploring!

Books about bodies, fatness and diet culture

The Body Is Not An Apology: The Power of Radical Self-Love
Sonya Renee Taylor

"As a Black girl," writes Ijeoma Oluo in the foreword of Taylor's book, "I quickly learned from others that there were many things about myself that needed to shrink. Not just my body—my laugh, my ambitions, my imagination, my will, and eventually my anger—everything I was would need to be less." *The Body Is Not An Apology* is the culmination of Taylor's work, and a call to people in racialized, fat, and disabled bodies to take up space, to find self-acceptance, and to not apologize for their existence. It is an exceptional text that every ally and accomplice should read.

What We Don't Talk About When We Talk About Fat
Aubrey Gordon

If the data presented in this issue's Index piqued your interest, then Gordon's book is for you. Gordon pushes beyond the discourse of self love to look at how rampant anti-fat views in health care and media have led to discrimination, deletrious health outcomes, and violence. A devoted activist, researcher, and author, Gordon roots her writing in her own experiences of stigma. This book is not to be missed.

Fearing the Black Body: The Racial Origins of Fat Phobia
Sabrina Strings

This deep, intersectional history ties together the origins of anti-Blackness and anti-fatness from the Renaissance to the present day. Through her historical analysis Strings details that, "fat phobia is not based on health concerns. What I found in my research is that in the West, it's actually rooted in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and Protestantism... By the early 19th century, particularly in the U.S., fatness was deemed evidence of immorality and racial inferiority."

Diet and the Disease of Civilization
Adrienne Rose Bitar

Diet and the Disease of Civilization explores the mythos behind popular diets. Studying 17,000 diet books, Bitar found that popular diet trends—Paleo, devotional, Pacific Isalnder, and Detox—are responses to the socio-political anxieties of North Americans. Bitar examines how powerful diet narratives mourn a loss of purity and purpose in the post-industrial age and how they exoticize and fetishize the Global South. This is a fascinating and important read for problematizing both diet culture and colonization narratives within our food spaces.

Cookbooks and books about food

tawâw: Progressive Indigenous Cuisine
Shane M. Chartrand
with Jennifer Cockrall-King

Chartrand's journey through the culinary world is one of self discovery and cultural exploration that culminates in an indispensable and visually stunning cookbook. His collection of 75 recipes celebrates progessive Indigenous cuisine while blending in inspiration from Europe and Japan. "Whether you have Indigenous ancestors or not," writes Chartrand, "everyone in North America should be learning about the First Nations' cultures that surround them. For my part, I can share recipes that I've created or learned, relay stories, and highlight the creativity of my Indigenous world through food."

Jubilee: Recipes from Two Centuries of African American Cooking
Toni Tipton-Martin

Tipton-Martin takes readers on a journey through 200 years and more than 150 cookbooks in this historical and culinary tour de force. Jubilee traces the origins of African American cooking, its many inspirations and roots. "The gift that the cookbook authors give us," explains Tipton-Martin, "is validation to

convince the broader community that our story existed and that it mattered." This book is a critical addition to any historian's librarian, and any cook's pantry.

Chop Suey Nation
Ann Hui

Written following an 18-day road trip across Canada, the book is Hui's exploration into how and why Canada ended up with myriad Chinese restaurants in small towns across the country. Anti-Asian racism shut many newly arriving immigrants out of Canada's job market. Opening restaurants was one of the few options for working available to families when they arrived. Hui's book blends together her personal narrative with a broader national story as she takes the reader across the country to explore Ginger Beef, Newfoundland Chow Mein, and Chinese Perogies.

> "In terms of something that focuses not just on the cuisine, but on all of these different ways that food intersects with culture and immigration and business and commerce, and all of these things that make these restaurants so fascinating, I don't think anybody else has done it here [in Canada]."
> —Ann Hui in *MonteCristo Magazine*

Kids' books

Fry Bread
Written by Kevin Noble Maillard, illustrated by Juana Martinez-Neal

Fry Bread is an award winning children's book for readers ages 5–7. Featuring diverse representations of Indigenous people, it explores how fry bread connects communities across Turtle Island.

> "When my children were small... I wanted something that was a little more diverse that spoke to their many heritages. This was long before I even thought about becoming an author of children's books. I just wanted them to see themselves in the picture."
> —*Fry Bread* author, Kevin Noble Maillard, speaking with CBC's Unreserved in May 2020.

Drum From The Heart
Written by Ren Louie, illustrated by Karlene Harvey (available for preorder)

While not explicitly about food culture, I wanted to include this forthcoming book in our list, which I've already pre-ordered for all the kids in my life. It follows the young protagonist, Ren, who connects to the culture and the traditional songs of his Nuu-chah-nulth Nation after he is gifted a drum by his mother. If you've ever received a thank you card from the CCPA, the artwork on the front was created by Karlene Harvey, who has also shared her artwork with us to use on National Indigenous Peoples Day. Teachers can also pre-order lesson plans from Medicine Wheel Education to go with the book, appropriate for kids ages 7 and up.

Salma the Syrian Chef
Written by Danny Ramadan, illustrated by Anna Bron

Salma and her mother have moved to Vancouver from Syria, leaving not only their home, but Salma's father as well. As Salma watches her mother struggling, she hatches a plan to cheer her up by cooking a traditional meal. This book, written for children ages 4-7, explores the experience of Canadian newcomers and shares the recipe for a traditional Syrian dish, foul shami.

My Day with Gong Gong
Written by Sennah Yee, illustrated by Elaine Chen

May's mother drops her off to spend the day with her Gong Gong (grandfather), but May worries that their language barrier will cause problems. What follows is a journey through Chinatown for the two of them. Of her similarities to the young protagonist, Senneh Yee writes "May and I both learn from our family about the different ways we can love. I've been thinking about this more and more as I get older and find new ways to show, as well as accept love—whether through listening, helping with an errand, thoughtful gifts, hugs, or of course, eating yummy food together. I hope this book can show readers how love can take on endless forms!"

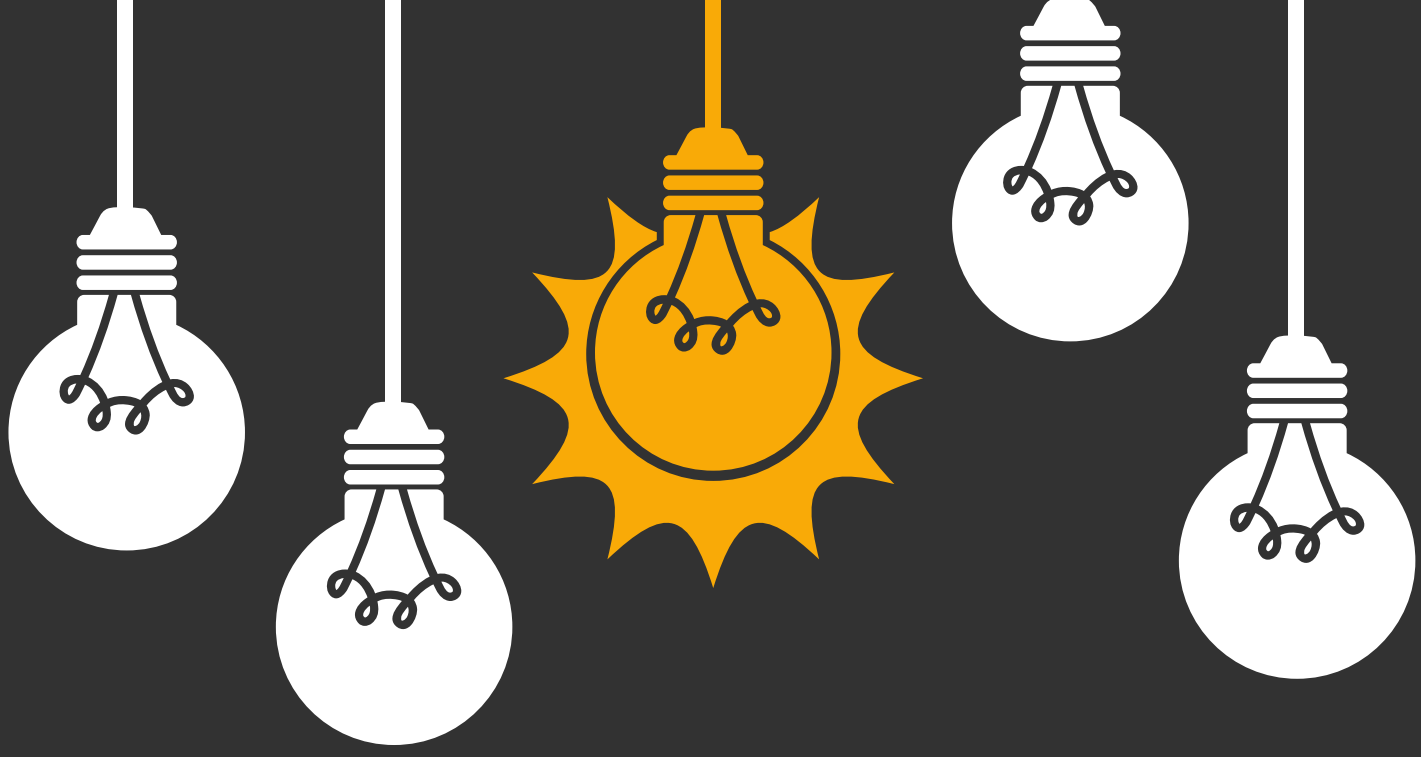
Podcasts and webinars

Decolonizing the Land and Food System: Indigenous Resilience in Times of Crisis, UBC Farm. A webinar recorded June 11, 2021 features presenters Dawn Morrison, Wilson Mendes, Alannah Young Leon and Angela McIntyre. It is part of The Building Resilient Food Systems During COVID-19 and Beyond series.

The Sporkful: This podcast digs into food culture, history, and the people involved. Winner of the James Beard and Webby Award for Best Food Podcast. Recommended episodes: Ayesha Curry on the Importance of Saying No; Notes From A Young Black Chef Pt 1 and 2; and a Reckoning at Bon Appetit.

Maintenance Phase: Hosted by Aubrey Gordon and Michael Hobbs, this bi-weekly podcast debunks the junk science behind health fads, wellness scams and nonsensical nutrition advice. Recommended episodes: The Body Mass Index; Oprah Winfrey & The Wagon of Fat; Weight Watchers.

Telling Our Twisted Histories: This CBC podcast aims to reclaim Indigenous histories that have been twisted by centuries of colonization. Each episode, host Kaniehti:io Horn takes listeners on a journey to decolonize their thinking around one concept. Recommended episodes: Bannock, Discovery, Reconciliation.



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