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The Political Economy of Culturally Appropriate Foods in Winnipeg: A Case of Refugee Path Immigrants (RPIs)

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Introduction

Culture, acquired taste and past experience shape people's food preferences (Adekunle et. al, 2010, 2011, and 2012) and their willingness to acculturate in a new country. As people are forced to migrate from Africa, South Asia and Middle East to Canada, there is a need to ensure that they are not worse off in their new country. This is necessary because the prevailing migration pattern causes some people to live with food insecurity. Often the foods they consume in their respective countries are not available, making people dependent on inexpensive, less nutritional foods that are available through food banks or mainstream grocery stores. This situation affects the different cultural groups that have migrated to Winnipeg, especially those living in the Inner City and North End. Based on this premise, there is a need for policies that will strengthen the value chain of culturally appropriate foods in terms of sovereignty, accessibility, availability and quality.

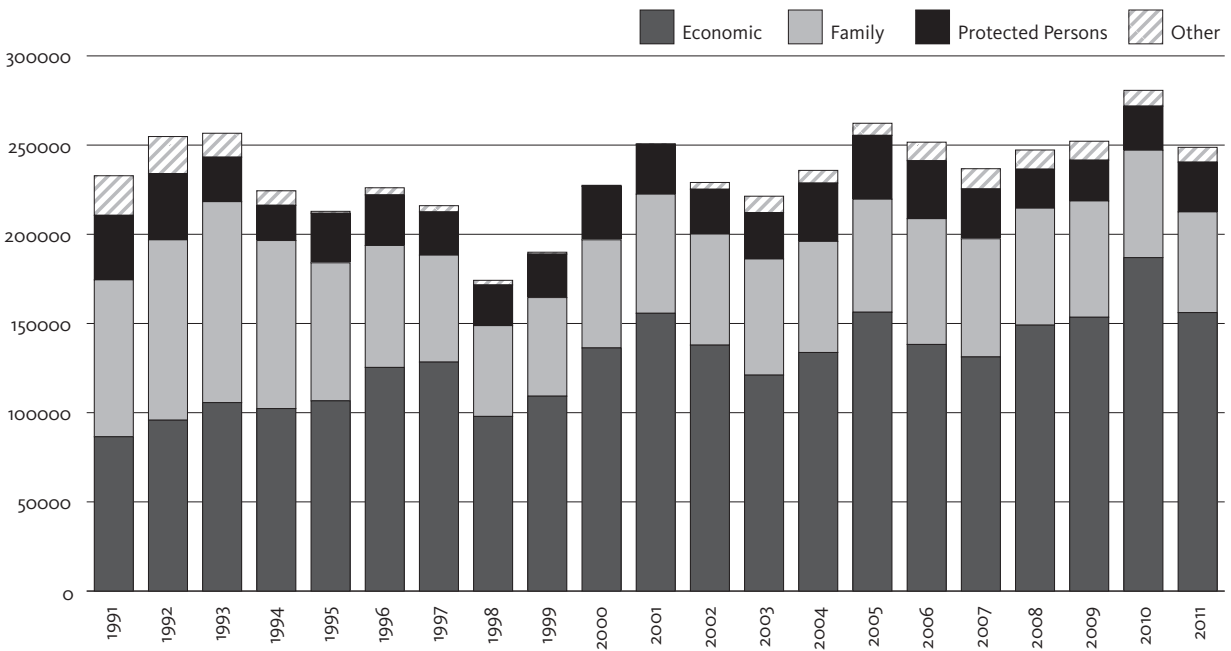
As seen in figure 1, Canada admitted mostly economic immigrants and family sponsored individuals between 1991 and 2011. The protected persons or refugees were the third largest group of immigrants to the country. On average, 27,600

refugees/protected persons were admitted into the country every year during this period.

Some of the refugees admitted to Canada make Manitoba their home. Figure 2 below presents the number of refugees that settled in Manitoba between 1992 and 2012. The number of refugees who moved to Manitoba has increased over the years, although there were fluctuations. The increase indicates the need for proper understanding of the political economy of their food sovereignty and its implications on the community economic development.

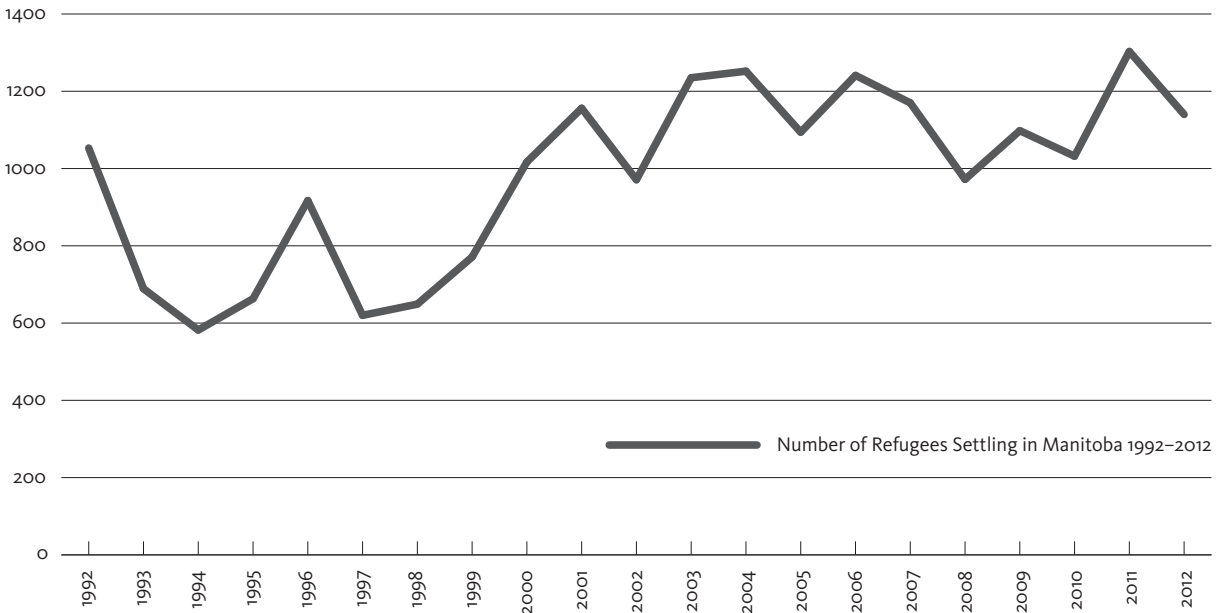
This report intends to improve our understanding of the food landscape of Refugee Path Immigrants (RPIS) in Winnipeg and Canada. We also present a conceptual framework that explains the relationship among RPIS, culturally appropriate foods, enabling policy environment and their contribution to the multicultural Canadian environment. The conceptual framework was validated by the analysis of our focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with refugee path immigrants in Winnipeg's Inner City and North End. Finally, we present workable and desirable policies that will help policy makers to strengthen the RPI food value chain in terms of accessibility, appropriateness and economic development.

FIGURE 1 Immigrants to Canada by Category: 1991–2011



SOURCE: Authors' computation based on data from Statistics Canada (2013)

FIGURE 2 Number of Refugees Settling in Manitoba: 1992–2012



SOURCE: Authors' computation based on data from the Government of Manitoba (2013)

- The specific objectives of this report are
- To develop a conceptual framework that explains the extent to which Winnipeg RPIs experience food sovereignty¹ and community economic development;
 - To examine the consumption of ethno-cultural food by RPIs in Winnipeg;

- To provide a foundation for culturally appropriate food systems policy that meets the demands of an increasing number of RPIs population in Manitoba.

This report presents a summary of the cultural food landscape, a list of preferred food, and policies that strengthen community economic development in Inner City and North End Winnipeg.

¹Food sovereignty is “the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods respecting cultural and productive diversity” (Patel, 2009). It involves people’s right to dictate their own food and production systems, putting them at the centre of the food system instead of markets and corporations (Patel, 2009). Food sovereignty allows people to decide how self-reliant they want to be, while promoting transparent trade policies that serve the people’s rights to healthy, culturally appropriate and environmentally sustainable food (Patel, 2009).

Understanding the Refugee Path Immigrants (RPIs) Landscape

I. Introduction

As refugees settle into a new environment, their ethnic food reminds them of their culture and can be a source of comfort, as it gives them something they can identify with. Many of these refugees come from cultures that value fresh fruits and vegetables unique to their cultural and ethnic heritage. These foods are known as ethno-cultural vegetables (ECV) or cultural foods (Adekunle et al, 2012). As well, some cultures, such as those from South Asia, may have predominately vegetarian diets that require a bigger proportion of ECV. In trying to acquire fresh ECV, immigrants find problems with their availability, freshness, and quality as most ECV are imported (Adekunle et al, 2011). In the case of refugees, access and affordability of ECV may also be a problem. People that entered the country through refugee routes are referred to as Refugee Path Immigrants (RPIs) in this study.

RPIs quite often reside in food deserts,² where a shortage of grocery stores, along with a lack of

adequate income makes ECV and health promoting foods unavailable (Peters et al, 2008). In Canada, RPIs usually start out with limited income and struggle to make ends meet (DeVoretz et al, 2004). There is a yearly influx of immigrants to Canada and a significant number of them settle in Manitoba, and ultimately, in Winnipeg. In Winnipeg, most RPIs first settle in the Inner City (Carter and Osborne, 2009), so are likely to experience food insecurity as a result of socio-economic factors and the scarcity of healthy food in their environment (Hadley et al, 2010).

If RPIs do not have economic or physical access to healthy food, including the cultural fruits and vegetables they are accustomed to, they may become nutritionally deficient and develop chronic diseases such as diabetes and obesity. In Winnipeg, many RPIs experience lack of access³ to healthy food, particularly in the Inner City and the North End. As such, Winnipeg presents an excellent location for conducting a case study to examine the political economy of food, including the food environment, accul-

² Areas where there are “physical and economic barriers to accessing healthy food” (Shaw, 2006).

³ Challenges can also be as result of cost of transportation, child supervision, and time required.

turation⁴ and socio-economic factors, and its relationship to culturally appropriate foods, including ECV that affect its population of RPIs.

II. Statistics on Refugee-Path Immigrants (RPIs) in Canada, and in Winnipeg

The greater number of RPIs in Winnipeg increases the demand for ethno-cultural foods, including fruits and vegetables, and highlights the issues of food insecurity and lack of access to healthy and culturally appropriate foods. Of roughly 250,000 new immigrants to Canada per year, fewer than 20,000 are RPIs, equating to about 8% of all new immigrants (University of Ottawa 2011; Government of Canada 2012; CIC 2012). Between 2000 and 2010, Manitoba accepted 11,215 RPIs at a rate of about 1,100 a year, or roughly 10% of all immigrants, with most settling in Winnipeg (Government of Manitoba News Release, 2010). In 2011, 1303 RPIs arrived in Manitoba; in 2012 — 1140 entered the province (Manitoba Immigration and Multiculturalism, 2013). Most of the refugees in Manitoba come from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (Government of Manitoba, 2011).

In Manitoba, there are both government-assisted and privately-sponsored refugees (Government of Canada, 2011; Government of Canada, 2013). In 2011 about 74 per cent of government-assisted refugees resettled in Manitoba were from Bhutan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia and Iraq. Furthermore, more than 80% per cent of privately sponsored (via religious, non-profit, or humanitarian aid organizations, or groups of private residents⁵) refugees were from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan and

Afghanistan (Government of Manitoba 2011; Government of Canada, 2012). The diversity of these ethnic groups within the RPI population in Manitoba creates potential demand for a variety of culturally appropriate foods and ethno-cultural vegetables specific to each culture.

III. Food Insecurity

Food security was defined at the World Food Summit in 1996 as “When all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life” (WHO, 2015). Food security includes both physical and economic aspects of attaining food that meets dietary needs and personal food preference (WHO, 2015). Food security has three core components: food availability (adequate amount of food), food access (means of obtaining food for a healthy diet), and food use (nutrition knowledge and access to water and sanitation means) (WHO, 2015). The Government of Canada has an Action Plan for Food Security that states that food security includes culturally acceptable food (Government of Canada, 1998).

At the community level, community food security (CFS) is a situation where members of the group or community have access to culturally appropriate foods in an environmental and economically sustainable way (Hamm and Bellows, 2003). In 2007–08, 7.7% (961,000) of Canadian households were food insecure (Health Canada, 2012). The prevalence of household food insecurity was higher among recent immigrant households (12.6%) as compared to non-immigrant households (7.5%) and non-recent immigrant households (7.8%) (Health Canada, 2012).

⁴ Both acculturation and enculturation affect food choices. Enculturation is the process of transmitting and acquiring culture, which includes behaviour patterns, language, roles, values, and beliefs (Shimahara, 1970). Enculturation usually occurs during childhood, but can also occur during adulthood as an adjustment to culture (Shimahara, 1970).

⁵ According to the Government of Canada, private sponsorship of refugees in Canada can also be provided by a group of five adult Canadian citizens or permanent residents who guarantee that the refugee will receive appropriate support during the sponsorship.

Food insecurity becomes a problem for RPIS as the political economic factors of low income, underemployment, low acculturation, and food deserts combine to make their safe culturally appropriate food inaccessible (Hadley et al, 2010). RPIS, in trying to settle into a new environment, often experience economic hardship that may affect their access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to sustain a healthy and active life (Health Canada, 2010; WHO, 2015). In a new environment where they are not familiar with the language or do not have higher education, RPIS typically are employed in low-wage positions involving physical labour, such as dishwashing, cleaning, and factory work (Hadley et al., 2010). These manual jobs do not allow RPIS much social interaction and do not offer the opportunity to practice English on a daily basis with coworkers (Patil et al., 2009). When they are unable to learn English, RPIS may not be qualified for jobs that mitigate food insecurity. In Canada, many refugees rely on social assistance, meaning that their income level must be at or below poverty level (DeVoretz et al., 2004). The resulting economic hardship of not earning adequate income to cover living expenses can affect RPIS access to healthy foods. Furthermore, food insecurity among RPIS becomes an issue as they grapple with having enough money for food and medicine. For example, Simich et al (2010) argue that Sudanese newcomers to Canada experience poorer health and psychological distress than most others as the result of economic difficulties.

In Dharod et al.'s (2013) study, refugee Somali women living in the United States increased their intake of dairy products and meats, decreased their intakes of fruits and vegetables, and had high rates of obesity. Their lack of fruit and vegetable intake may be attributed to not having enough income but also, they may be

unfamiliar with the types of fruits and vegetables in the new country, hinting that they may also be more comfortable with their own ECV. From this study, it can be concluded that having limited income can curtail the purchase of fruits and vegetables, and ultimately, ECV. As there are a number of Somali refugees in Manitoba, the study suggests that this group of RPIS in the province also experience similar issues leading to food insecurity and the lack of ECV intake.

Besides economic difficulties, low acculturation levels and the time spent in the country were also associated with food insecurity among refugees in the United States (Dharod et al 2013; Hadley et al, 2010). Similar risk factors have been found in residents of Winnipeg's Inner City (Zurba et al, 2012). These risk factors common to different geographical areas set the background for examining the socio-political economic factors that contribute to food insecurity in RPIS in Winnipeg. Furthermore, these may contribute to the Healthy Immigrant Effect, the tendency for new immigrants to be generally healthier than the Canadian-born population. After arrival in Canada their relatively good health often begins to deteriorate with the changes in lifestyle, including less physical activity and different patterns of food consumption (Sanou et al., 2013).

Living in a food desert is also another risk factor for food insecurity as there is a lack of grocery stores and access to fruits, vegetables and whole grains that help keep one healthy (Centers for Disease Control, 2012). The North End of Winnipeg is an impoverished area known as a food desert⁶ as many grocery stores have moved out of the area, and its residents are subject to food insecurity (Zurba et al, 2012). In the Inner City and North End between 31.7 and 58.7 per cent of households fall below the low-income

⁶ There is a food desert in Winnipeg for these cultural groups because they cannot access their culturally appropriate foods and even when they can it is often not affordable. Meanwhile there is a proliferation of fast food outlets in the areas where these people live which are hardly a source of healthy fruits and vegetables let alone their culturally appropriate foods.

line (Silver, 2015). While there are many grocery stores on Main Street and in downtown Winnipeg, continuing high rates of poverty prevents many residents from accessing sufficiently nutritious, culturally appropriate food. With the North End's status as a food desert and low-income area, food aid has been provided in the form of food banks and soup kitchens. However for longer term solutions to food insecurity, nutrition education programs and community gardens may be developed by non-profit organizations (Malabar and Grant, 2010; North End Community Renewal Corporation, 2013). An example of a workable program is the "The Good Food Box," coordinated by the Winnipeg Foodshare Co-op, which provides various sized-boxes of fresh seasonal fruits and vegetables to inner city residents with no profit earned. The Co-op provides free delivery purely as a service to the community and customers pay only for the cost of the produce (Winnipeg Foodshare Co-op, 2013).

Current research on food insecurity focuses on RPI groups elsewhere in Canada (e.g. Sharkey and Horel, 2008; Larsen and Gilliland, 2008), but there is not much research on RPIs in Winnipeg and in particular, their access to culturally appropriate foods. A lack of ECV may affect health conditions of RPIs and be associated with long-term chronic diseases as their diet may consist of unhealthy processed foods, high in fat and sugar, and low in nutrient density (Burns, 2004). It is also important to understand the risks and benefits associated with traditional/ethnic foods, food choices and education available to immigrants and their coping strategies (Sanou et al. 2014).

In sum, there is not a lot of research on the demand for culturally appropriate foods by RPIs in Canada, especially in Winnipeg. Our study aims to address this research gap by focusing on the food insecurity issues of RPIs in Winnipeg and how it might impact their access to healthy foods and food sovereignty through a better understanding of the value chain.

IV. Access to Culturally Appropriate Foods

When immigrants arrive in a new country, they bring their food cultures with them, and this is especially true of their fruits and vegetables. Since fruits and vegetables are often a main part of their diet, many immigrants to Canada spend more money, or more of their overall budget on ECV than non-immigrants (Adekunle et al., 2011).

A study which examined the demand for culturally appropriate foods in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) found that amongst the main immigrant populations in the GTA, 86% of those interviewed thought that vegetables were an important part of their diet. Some of the popular vegetables amongst immigrant groups in Toronto include bok choy for the Chinese community; okra, African eggplant, amaranth for the Afro-Caribbean community; and okra and eggplant for the South Asian community (FarmStart, 2010). A strong infrastructure exists for Chinese ECV as they have been around for longer period of time. However, for Afro-Caribbean and South Asians, there is less availability of their own ECV. Many immigrants from these latter two groups have learned to substitute similar ECV from Chinese food markets into their own ethnic recipes (Adekunle et al, 2011). It can be suggested that since there are Afro-Caribbean and South Asians in Winnipeg's RPI population, there are similar demands for the same ECV amongst these groups, however further research is needed to validate their preferences.

Freshness and quality of ECV is a concern to immigrant groups in Toronto. Most of the ECV in Toronto are imported from other countries, even though some of them can be grown locally. When imported from long distances, the ECV do not retain their freshness and quality. When interviewed, the immigrant respondents indicated that freshness and quality matters to the extent that they would pay higher prices for better quality vegetables (Adekunle, 2012, Farmstart, 2010). Freshness and quality may also be important to RPIs in Winnipeg as they may be

used to better quality of ECV indigenous to their old countries, although being poor limits their options to purchase ECV

Besides freshness, there are varying demands of ECV in different ethnic groups. It is important to note also the cultural norms and differences in food habits between the various ethnic groups of RPIS. For example, some RPI groups have more vegetables as a staple part of their diet, so their spending patterns on ECV differ from those from a culture where meat is more predominant (Dharod et al., 2013). If access to ECV is limited, then a significant portion of their diet is compromised, and can affect their future health status. A further analysis of the broad range of ethnic groups within the RPI community in Canada and Winnipeg is needed to better understand the issues associated with ECV demand in each ethnic group.

Since healthy foods are scarce in food deserts, it can be assumed that ECV are also scarce in these areas, and that this is also true for several areas within the North End as well as some parts of the Inner City. Even where ECV do exist, their cost and to some extent the educational level of poorer residents most in need deters them from buying them. Much more research has been conducted on food deserts in the U. S. and the U.K. than in Canada, though Larsen and Gilliland (2008), for instance, have studied food deserts in London, Ontario where they are prevalent in eastern and central parts of London. Aparicio et al, (2007) determined that poorer people in Montreal have less access to food than middle and higher class Montrealers. This social class artefact affecting access to culturally appropriate foods is also true of Winnipeg. Even with limited

income, some residents living in food deserts are still willing to pay for access to fresh produce.

In Detroit where the largest and most prominent food desert exists in the United States, a study indicated that urban food desert consumers would pay for normally priced fruit if it was of decent quality. Food desert consumers are also responsive to price elasticities in that if produce decreased in price, or if their income rose, their purchase of produce also rose (Weatherspoon et al, 2013). This study implies that RPIS in Winnipeg may have similar responses to the availability of fresh fruits and vegetables, including ECV but further study is needed to specifically assess Winnipeg's RPIS demand for ECV.⁷

In a study by Peters and McCreary (2008) of food retailing in the inner city of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan,⁸ it was found that moving food retail stores away from low-income neighbourhoods had a greater impact on its residents than moving stores away from wealthier neighbourhoods. Parts of Winnipeg's Inner City and North End, like Saskatoon's 20th St. West, can be classified as food deserts (van Raes, 2015). Residents in low-income neighbourhoods clearly have less purchasing power than those in higher income neighbourhoods. In the planning efforts for grocery stores in most cities, the need for improved food access for low-income residents is not usually addressed, but rather neighbourhood population demographics is weighed more (Peters and McCreary, 2008). This study is consistent with media reports in Winnipeg where many grocery stores have closed in the North End, resulting in a lack of access to food (Skerrit, 2013; Martin, 2012; van Raes, 2015). Skerrit quoted Councillor Eadie as saying "there are parts of the North End

⁷ This study has begun this determination but a quantitatively rigorous study would have required substantially more resources than the authors were able to obtain.

⁸ Filson, a co-author of this report originates from Saskatoon. Interaction with his recently deceased homeless brother allowed Filson to acquire extensive experience with Saskatoon's west end (west of Avenue I on 20th Street). This is an area with a large aboriginal population and an obvious absence of retail food outlets except for occasional pierogi outlets, cheap 'junk food' selling 'convenience or variety stores' and 'food' chains like McDonalds (see Saskatoon Community Clinic, 2008).

where there are no grocery stores, and Winnipeg may have a real problem if other retailers such as Safeway decide to pull out” (2013: A4). This information further solidifies the need to look at food deserts in Canadian cities and to determine food access issues specific to each city.

V. Linking the Inner City with Cultural Foods and Vulnerability of RPIS

Inner cities are often linked with food deserts and food insecurity as there can be an excess of convenience/variety stores with only junk food and a lack of grocery stores that carry healthy food, with more fast food outlets and unhealthy processed foods sold in the stores that are available in the area. As discussed earlier, there is a paucity of grocery stores in many inner cities, leaving residents with few options for healthy food. In the absence of grocery stores, there is also unlikely access to healthy and culturally appropriate foods for RPIS in food deserts. In Winnipeg, many RPIS live in the North End known as a poverty-stricken section of town (Carter and Osborne, 2009). Many grocery stores in this area have closed and moved out of the area, leaving a food desert where the residents of the North End find themselves experiencing food insecurity (Martin, 2012). Stores that have closed recently in the North End, and also in Winnipeg’s downtown core include Extra Foods, Zellers, and Food Fare (Redekop et. al., 2013). Food insecurity in the North End is intertwined with social problems prevalent in the area (Martin, 2012). Issues such as poverty, crime, safety issues, and possible racial discrimination may make the North End a less than desirable area for grocery stores to establish their businesses (Carter and Osborne, 2009; Fitzgerald et.al., 2004; Citizen Equity Committee, Winnipeg, 2012). When faced with low incomes, and the lack of access to healthy culturally appropriate foods, immigrants and RPIS may increase their consumption of processed foods as these foods may be more abundant in

their neighbourhoods. They may gravitate towards cheap “pseudo-foods” supplied in a food desert and not access the appropriate foods that help them retain their health (Winson, 2004).

Winson hypothesizes that the “foodscape”, or layout of food in a grocery store, often results in processed foods with high-fat and high-sugar content, or pseudo-foods being placed in more prominent areas at the front for shoppers to see. Healthier foods are often placed at the back of the store (Winson, 2004). In food deserts, many pseudo, or processed foods are offered at smaller stores, often making healthy food unavailable or placed in a more hidden area of the store (Boone-Heinonen et al., 2011; Cummins et al., 2005). This theory further supports the view that there are more processed foods available in food deserts than there are healthy foods, including culturally-appropriate foods. The North End of Winnipeg has more of these smaller food and or variety stores with processed foods as well (*Winnipeg Group Targets Food Deserts*, Oct. 10, 2012).

In Burns’ study of Somali refugee women living in Australia, it was found that the women still retained their traditional diets, but did increase their consumption of processed food such as breakfast cereals, instant noodles, pizza, and crisps. They also replaced their traditional bread with commercial western bread (Burns, 2004). The study did not specify whether or not the Somali refugee women lived in a food desert, but it is assumed that the general availability of processed foods where they shop has contributed to their increased intake of these foods. Another limitation of the study is that it focuses on female refugees in Australia, and may not be representative of RPIS of both genders in Canada or Winnipeg. What can be taken from this study however, is the hypothesis that when no healthy or culturally appropriate foods including ECV are available in their shopping environment, RPIS in Winnipeg may also replace some of their diet with cheaper, processed foods.

When grocery stores are available in lower income neighbourhoods, the food is not as fresh, and there is not enough variety in the food choices and stores available as reflected by African Americans in the inner city of Chicago in contrasting inner city black vs. suburban white neighbourhoods (Block et al., 2012). This finding may suggest the feelings about food availability of many inner city residents across North America, including RPIS in Winnipeg.

The other socio-economic factors that affect food insecurity in inner cities include lack of quality housing, and lack of adequate employment and income as discussed earlier. Income and employment have more of a direct impact on immediate food insecurity and access to culturally appropriate foods. Educational opportunities or the lack of education, coupled with limited English language skills, can hinder RPIS from finding good-paying jobs that allow them to avoid food insecurity. Inadequate housing, such as that found in inner cities can also be associated with intake of foods with higher fat and sodium content found in food deserts (Miewald, 2009). The socio-economic, political economic factors weave together to contribute to food insecurity

issues in the Inner City of Winnipeg, and ultimately the access to culturally appropriate foods by RPIS, which in turn, can affect their health.

Conclusion

This literature review sets out to examine food security and sovereignty of refugee-path immigrants (RPIS) in Winnipeg. It assesses their access to culturally appropriate foods and ethno-cultural vegetables, and also briefly examines the potential health implications associated with a lack of ECV intake. Factors associated with food insecurity such as income, food deserts, and acculturation of RPIS were examined in relation to access to ECV. This review sets the background for research into ECV demand and needs of the RPI population in Winnipeg, as well as the possibility for more local production of culturally appropriate foods in Winnipeg to satisfy the needs of RPIS and other immigrants in the community. The next section presents a conceptual framework on how a fully integrated RPI, through access to his/her culturally appropriate foods, reduces public health expenditure and improves community economic development.

Conceptual Framework

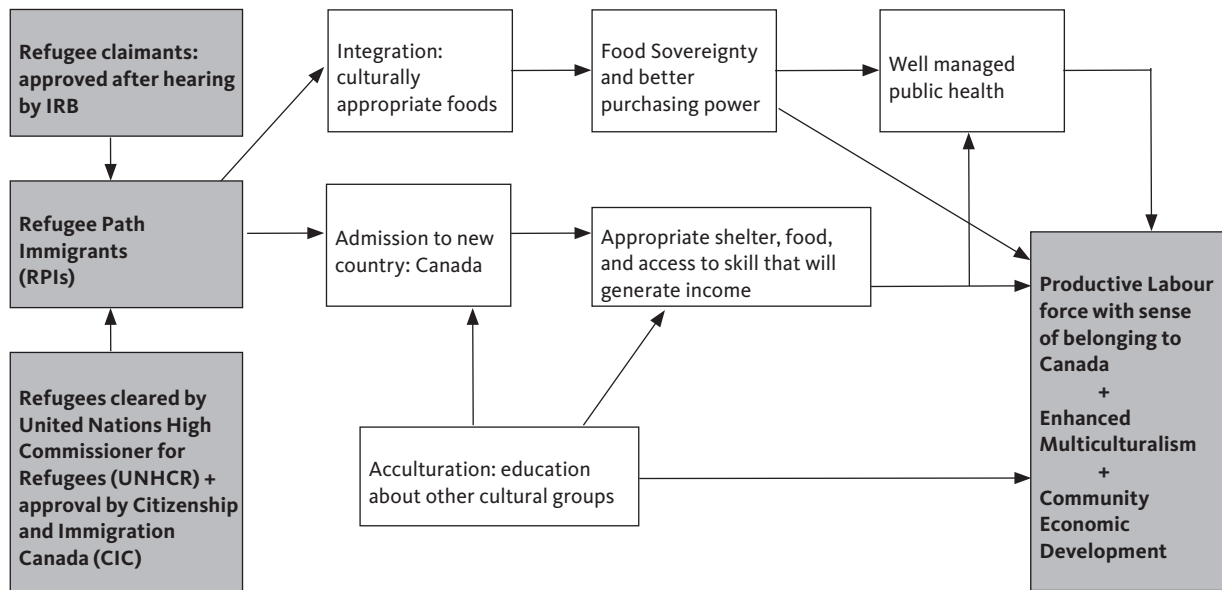
As we analyze the political economy of RPIS food sovereignty in Winnipeg, we present a conceptual framework that aids our understanding of the link between RPIS food sovereignty and community economic development in Winnipeg. The explanation of our framework (Figure 1) is presented below:

Refugee path immigrants are defined in this study as individuals who were (a) cleared by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and approved by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) for admission to Canada. They are mostly processed at refugee camps in a third country that served as temporary home for the individuals, at times with the help of International Organization for Migration (IOM) or; (b) people who find their way to Canada and then decided to claim refugee status while already on Canadian soil. Claimants are allowed to live and work in the country pending the time the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) decides whether their case should be approved; otherwise the claimant will be removed from the country. In this report, RPIS are refugee claimants whose application have been approved and are already residing in Canada.

Once RPIS are admitted as residents of Canada, they need to integrate in order to become part of their new country. Integration can be hastened through the availability of culturally appropriate foods. Such availability ensures the physical and mental well-being of new Canadians as they settle in to the new landscape. Food is also multifunctional and availability of the desired type in terms of culture and quality may promote positive attitudes and give RPIS a perception that their new home is a place where opportunities abound. Someone who is well fed has a tendency to be healthy and will thus contribute to the intellectual capital of his or her community as a knowledge worker.

The importance of availability of culturally appropriate foods cannot be over-emphasized because RPIS are usually nervous about food that they are not familiar with. Even when they want to explore new foods, they do not have access to appropriate recipes. It is important that the government takes cognizance of this as RPIS are welcomed in to the country. Although, RPIS are supported for a year in terms of accommodation, food and other expenses, there is not enough appropriate and affordable accommodation in Winnipeg. Often people must use money

FIGURE 3 Refugee Path Immigrants and Community Economic Development



from the food budget to pay for their rent and at times a situation of using money meant for food to support rent at the market rate may lead to food insecurity coupled with psychology and emotional stress. Even when there is availability of social housing, appropriate cultural food consumption and gradual introduction of the mainstream food will bring the best out of the immigrants in terms of ingenuity and contribution to the diverse food landscape in Canada.

Integration occurs with gradual acculturation, so as soon as new immigrants enter the country there should be strong institutional support to help them adapt to the multicultural Canadian system (not ad-hoc arrangements based on one-off funding). It is difficult for Canadians to appreciate other cultures when different ethnic groups live in social housing separated from the rest of the community. This approach encourages the creation of RPI ghettos in the inner city of Toronto, Quebec, Vancouver, Kitchener, Calgary and Winnipeg. This situation has led to little or no interaction of RPis with people of other groups and little or non-consumption of

other groups' food except if it is marketed via a mainstream channel with extensive advertisements. This is mostly done by big corporations that produce highly processed foods that are not desirable for the health of the RPis, causing a drain on public resources in the long run. And as long as these processed foods remain cheap, RPis will continue to have significant preference for them because price and quantity instead of quality drive the decision of new immigrants.

A well-integrated and acculturated RPI is likely to have a strong network of people that will give information on education advancement and relevant job opportunities. This scenario also creates a situation where the RPI can easily get his/her culturally appropriate food while substituting with close varieties when the desired variety is not available. Such an individual may have food sovereignty in terms of belonging to community shared agriculture (CSA) where the cultural foods can be grown, and attendance of farmers markets where foods are fresh and locally produced. The RPI can do all these activities if his/her purchasing power is strong. Pur-

chasing power is a function of whether or not one has obtained gainful employment and economic empowerment. Economic empowerment is achievable if obstacles such as lack of adequate knowledge of English and/or Canadian experience, as required by employers, are addressed.

As we mentioned earlier, accommodation should be appropriate and not located in a ghetto. Social housing should be well-maintained and not tagged as a priority neighbourhood or be a standalone that allows it to be stigmatized. Municipalities should also encourage the establishment of CSA-market garden or other alternative forms of agriculture among the RPIs in their territory. This may reduce insecurity and

encourage food sovereignty. Furthermore, there should be a way skills can be acquired that will guarantee employment. Stable employment leads to financial security so that RPIs do not have to rely on the state welfare system. Such dependence depletes the state's meagre resources and prevents RPIs from maximizing their potential.

In sum, acculturation helps RPIs access adequate shelter (not necessarily in a ghetto) and skill acquisition that will generate adequate income. Food sovereignty and decent housing improve public health and all these factors may give rise to a productive labour force with a sense of belonging to Canada, enhanced multiculturalism and community economic development.

Research Method

This research is descriptive and exploratory so that while we are unable to generalize from a sufficiently large enough random sample to the population of RPI in Winnipeg, the findings nevertheless allow us to make what Williams (2000) refers to as *moderatum generalizations*. It is hoped that more funding will become available to produce a larger study with stronger inferences.

A qualitative approach was used to understand the complexities around the issues of food, poverty and health. In order to do the investigation, we developed several partnerships that assisted us in understanding the landscape of food insecurity and the connection to health for inner city RPIs. These partnerships are central to the development of our research methodology. Our community partners helped us with the identification of research participants as well as appropriate physical space. The Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM) provided us with an accessible space for focus groups. The staff also provided translation services for the three focus groups and ten key informant interviews. We worked with IRCOM and Community Education Development Association (CEDA) to identify members from the RPI community who served as community based research assistants.

Our focus group and key informant interview questions were developed in consultation with our community partners to ensure they are culturally appropriate and accessible. The questions focused on challenges associated with ethno-cultural food consumption, access to preferred food and health challenges associated with healthy food consumption.

The first focus group took place on April 7th 2013 at 4pm in the IRCOM House. There were six participants, two men and four women, from a variety of regions in the world. One participant was from Iraq and another from India, two were from Nepal and two were from Central Africa. The two individuals from Nepal were related and the younger man translated for his sister-in-law, who was the most reserved in the group. The participants signed the ethics consent forms and were provided with Iraqi food that one of the participants had made. The focus group was fully underway by 4:15 pm. The mood was positive, not rushed or distracted. All participants were eager to contribute although some were a little bit reserved initially. The two individuals from Africa contributed the most without prompting, but due to how the focus group was being conducted, all were included. The facilitator asked

each individual the question from left to right and so each participant was given the opportunity to speak and the others did not interrupt. Without requiring any formalized ground rules, no participants were critical of others, there was no sense that any one individual's opinion was either superior or inferior to any other opinion.

The group was quite enthusiastic about the subject matter of cultural foods and seemed to appreciate that their opinions were being sought. They were all very interested in connecting their cultural foods with health effects. While it did sometimes drift into discussions of homeopathic remedies, the transcript reflected that many simply associated a positive overall health and access to their foods. There was an overwhelming connection between "freshness" and "healthiness", although many found that foods procured in Canada were "cleaner" than many foods produced elsewhere.

While all of the participants were respectful of each other and waited for their turn to speak, the focus group did not develop into a free flowing conversation and rarely were other individual's opinion expanded upon. There was also some confusion about the term 'food security'. Even after a definition was given, most participants still discussed the cleanliness of the foods and the effect on their well-being. One individual had a complete understanding of the concept but for the others this was something new. After almost one hour and forty-five minutes the focus group concluded and the participants were given their modest compensation. All agreed to be interviewed in a one-on-one setting should the need arise.

The second focus group discussion took place on April 14th 2013 at the IRCOM House. There were seven refugee path immigrants participating in total. All were women, except one male who also served as an interpreter. Five of the women, along with the man, were from the same region in Africa and the other woman was from a similar region but did not share the language. Lunch was provided by one of the participants and consisted of ugali, a maize flour dish com-

mon in many parts of East and Southern Africa, along with a stewed greens dish. During this time, the consent forms were explained and distributed, they were translated for those who did not speak or read English fluently. All were signed and returned and the actual focus group discussion was underway before five o'clock with all questions being covered by the facilitator.

The mood was pleasant and all participants were happy to be there. The nature of the focus group was quite different from the previous group. The fact that six of the seven participants spoke the same language and did not communicate comfortably in English meant that many questions were answered as a group. The question would be posed and the group of six participants would discuss their responses amongst themselves and then the interpreter would relay the consensus of the group. At times some difference responses would be explored, but often it is a singular reply as a group. The discussions between those participants were quite lively and visually it appeared that the questions were all given appropriate weight and consideration.

During the time these six participants would be having a conversation, one woman who did not share her language would offer her replies. However, by the mid-way point of the focus group, she began to lose interest, possibly because of her inability to join in the more animated conversation happening immediately beside her. While she continued to participate, her engagement level was considerably lower and the facilitator was unable to change that significantly, though attempts were made.

There was also confusion over the term 'food security' with many associating the term with the general health of individuals or the healthy preparation of foods, i.e. keeping raw meats separate from vegetables or keeping foods refrigerated. Later the term was associated with employment, or fear of unemployment, and the ability to purchase foods.

Because most discussions were conducted in the participants' first language and then presented to the facilitator as a group response, there

was not as much opportunity to engage in further developing their responses and the focus group was over by six o'clock. Some individuals did agree to potentially participate in a one-on-one interview, though others were not interested.

The third focus group involving refugee path immigrant took place on April 21st 2013 at the IRCOM House. Iraqi food was provided by the wife of one of the participants and the group ate while introductions were being done. This focus group consisted of five participants from a variety of backgrounds. Three participants were male and they were from Somalia, Iraq and Pakistan. There were two female participants from Asia and Africa. After the food was consumed, the consent forms were distributed. They were fully explained and all participants were given the opportunity to read them completely before signing and returning the forms. The discussion was fully underway by 4:50 pm.

This focus group included no interpreters and no large group of people of similar linguistic backgrounds; therefore, while some individuals were reserved initially, each individual's opinion was able to be procured directly without any perceived influence. There was one male participant who was quite dominant within the conversation. He was an older, educated man who had experience working with westerners in his home country. This man would interject while other participants were speaking. Oftentimes to help clarify the question being posed, or the answer being provided, this individual insisted on making comments. This was not a negative per se as it was never done to contradict the other group members. It was more of a concerted attempt to ensure that his opinions were heard. It's possible that he may have been trying to either establish a position of importance or help the facilitator. This did not become an issue but was something that the facilitator became aware of and ensured that each participant was still able to contribute fully.

The participants were eager to discuss their cultural foods and the members of this group

felt the strongest that their cultural needs were fully being met by their new country. Some even felt that some of their cultural foods were not as desirable as what is available here. Many felt that the availability of various cultural foods helped new immigrants become accustomed to Canadian life by providing some level of comfort when language, climate and attitude were so different. Another strong theme from all of the focus groups was the difficulty in getting their children to eat their traditional foods, and all parents of young children confronted this on a regular basis. The concept of 'food security' was mostly related to the cleanliness of the food available and not the World Health Organization's definition. One individual also believed that Canada's reliance on food produced in other countries affects Canadian sovereignty if something should negatively interfere with the global trade that provides those foods.

The focus group was over by six o'clock, everyone seemed satisfied that their views had been sought and acknowledged. Many of the participants agreed to participate in one-on-one interviews should they be needed.

After the completion of the three focus groups we conducted ten interviews with key informants or respondents who were willing to participate. The ten key informant interviews were based on a snowball sampling technique through referrals from IRCOM and CEDA. All the focus groups and interviews were audio taped and transcribed. The analysis of the data was done by setting up a table with three columns (notes/quotations, code/theme, and a personal comments section) for each interview and focus group discussion. We listened to the recordings, transcribed and identified key pieces of information each person discussed. As we took notes we assigned each separate note one or more codes/themes (see List of Codes/Themes in the Appendix). These codes later allowed us to easily sort and pick out the key ideas discussed by multiple participants, as presented in this paper.

Results

To understand the context of the respondents' and participants' answers, it is important to learn about their ethnic food consumption patterns. Most participants and respondents claimed to eat at least some of their ethnic food regularly. Many were eating their ethnic food every day or regularly (that is, many times a week). Other individuals said they ate their cultural food some, but not all, the time. Some gave reasons such as either their children do not like it, or they are unable to afford to eat it as a daily food. The most mentioned, and possibly consumed, ethno-cultural vegetables in the interviews and focus groups were tomatoes, cassava, peppers, potatoes, and okra (see Table 2 in the Appendix). When they do consume their cultural food, most respondents and participants said they consume their cultural food at home where they prepare the food. Parties, community events (such as potlucks), with friends, and for holidays or cultural events were other places where cultural foods were consumed.

Key Themes

Affordability

As mentioned above, some individuals do not eat their cultural food every day because they

cannot afford to. The respondents/participants discussed the importance of affordable foods to newcomers to Canada. Newcomers are typically not wealthy, so they need to choose the most cost-effective food option, not necessarily what they want to buy. Money-saving techniques suggested or performed by participants/respondents included cooking meals at home, forgoing or limiting certain cultural foods, budgeting money, growing a garden, and searching markets for the cheapest option. Real Canadian Superstore was considered by several individuals to be less expensive than ethnic food stores, such as Islamic or Halal stores, yet a few others found that there are similar prices between stores. It was noted that the prices of ethnic foods decreased when the foods were in season. One respondent said that foods seem more expensive in Canada when people are not familiar with the markets and where to purchase lower cost ingredients.

The high cost of cultural food was mentioned frequently by the respondents. Okra and eggplant were specific examples of high cost cultural foods. Several individuals said they were willing to pay more for cultural foods, one of which said she has no choice but to pay the prevailing rate. They try to find the best prices when they can

and are willing to pay more within reason, because there is a limit on affordability. Generally participants wanted cheap ethnic food. Price was a determining factor for which foods were purchased, including whether or not ethnic food was purchased at all. However, a few individuals (who were Indian and Pakistani) found their cultural food to be affordable. Certain types of ethnic foods are obviously less expensive than others. There was a perception by respondents/participants that local production of ethnic food could reduce prices due to factors such as reduced transportation costs and a larger supply that may drive down cost.

Availability & Accessibility

Local food was not only thought to reduce prices but as suggested by some of the individuals local production of ethnic food may increase the availability of cultural foods. Many of the respondents said that cultural foods are not easy to find in Canada, but even if they do find them the foods are expensive and may have different tastes (such as chili) or different names (such as bitter leaf). Several participants said there is not enough cultural food in Winnipeg. However, several other individuals said they do not have a problem finding cultural food in supermarkets and ethnic food stores. One individual said availability of cultural food in Canada makes immigrants and refugees feel comfortable.

The respondents were asked where they purchase their cultural foods. The following is a list of their responses: Young's, Dino's, Dong Thai, Akin's (Nigerian store), ethnic (halal, Islamic, Afghani, Indian, African, Sunni, Chinese...) stores, Superstore/Wal-Mart/Safeway/Lucky Store, and wholesale stores/Bulk Barn. The most frequently mentioned locations were supermarkets, and ethnic stores such as Young's and Dino's. Most individuals mentioned more than one location when asked this question, usually a combination of a supermarket, mainstream store, and an ethnic store or multiple ethnic stores, because they

usually find it difficult to get all their desired foods in one location. Some individuals seemed to be able to find all or most of their needed ingredients at the supermarket. The supermarket was said to be fresher and less expensive by a few individuals. There appeared to be various reasons for shopping at specific stores, such as cost, freshness, proximity, and availability of ingredients.

Even though the respondents/participants were able to find at least some of their ethnic foods in Canada, their home countries had more variety. When they are unable to find all the ingredients in Canada, respondents/participants usually use a substitute. For instance, an Indian woman in one of the focus groups said that spices are an important part of her family's cultural food, but if they cannot find their spices they eat other cultures' foods or spices. Another example provided was substituting canola oil for coconut oil. A few of the interview respondents said that they may alter what they eat if they cannot afford to pay for it.

Food Preference

A participant said that migrating to Canada puts newcomers in food shock, especially since there are not as many varieties of ethnic food in Canada. The respondents wanted to keep eating their cultural food after their arrival in Canada. Participants said they preferred cultural foods and they wanted to continue eating them in Canada for a variety of reasons including: liking the taste, becoming nostalgic when eating it because they grew up eating it, wanting to follow a familiar routine or tradition, believing the food to be healthy and energy producing, being reminded of their personal history, believing they need it for survival, connecting the food to their cultural values and community, and feeling pleasure with the cooking process. Participants referred to cultural food as a 'habit', 'second nature', and 'what they are comfortable with'. However, they said ethnic food tastes different here, because it may not be fresh or some ingredients may not be available, such as spices. A few individuals

mentioned that their bodies are familiar with cultural food, and that it is not easily changeable. If they do not eat their cultural food their bodies may not respond well to the change in diet or they may become ill.

Acculturation and Children

As mentioned above, relocating to Canada is a shock but is less of a shock when migrants' cultural food is available. It may take years to acculturate and become accustomed to Canadian food. However, as one woman said, there was not enough of her cultural food, so she needed to adapt after she arrived in Canada. The same woman said she was also, "...trying to be a Canadian citizen... That's why I change..." she wanted to fit into the local culture and eat similar food as Canadians. Another individual mentioned that she eats a combination of ethnic foods and Canadian foods. Some of the participants seemed to be acculturating because of lack of availability and also by choice, especially those with children. Many of the respondents who mentioned their children said that their children preferred Canadian foods over ethnic foods. Their children liked eating Canadian foods (ie. cookies, bread, pasta, and grilled cheese) and a woman said her children would not eat ethnic food at school. A man expressed his concern for his son who was getting 'out of proportion' with his access to fast foods and sweets common in Canada. Another man was trying to pass the tastes of his ethnic foods down to his children by exposing them to those foods frequently. The participant's children appeared to be undergoing the process of dietary acculturation faster than their parents, preferring Canadian foods over ethnic foods.

Health

Even though there were concerns about the health of their children who eat Canadian foods, the respondents and participants had mixed responses when asked if cultural food made them healthier. Two of the responses were: (a) that

there were no health problems stemming from eating their cultural foods: and (b) that it helped them maintain good health. Cultural food was also seen to be healthier, more nutritious, and more 'natural' with no preservatives. A Chinese woman said that her cultural food is healthy because it is mainly vegetables. Specific cultural foods that were mentioned as healthy included fresh fish and cassava leaves. There were also certain plants or cultural remedies that were said to be used to treat illnesses such as colds, allergies, kidney stones, cholesterol, and pneumonia, for example, bitter leaf helps eliminate diabetes. A few individuals mentioned they had health issues after coming to Canada, such as weight gain, but did not need to worry about those health issues when they consumed their cultural foods. A woman in a focus group mentioned that people need to be more careful in Canada with health issues such as cholesterol and diabetes with the sedentary lifestyle. However, there were also multiple participants/respondents (including an Ethiopian and an Iraqi) who mentioned that Canadian foods use less oil and are therefore healthier than their cultural foods. Among those individuals, two of them mentioned that they reduce their oil usage when cooking their ethnic food. The ethnicities of individuals and types of cultural foods they consume may influence whether they see their ethnic foods as 'healthier' than Canadian foods.

Freshness

Some ethnic foods were viewed as healthier based on their freshness, so the more fresh the foods were, the healthier they were perceived. Even so, there was dissatisfaction among most participants/respondents over the quality and freshness of their ethnic foods in Canada. Several individuals who were not part of this consensus said they were satisfied with quality of their ethnic foods in Canada, but thought foods were expensive and were unable to find some foods. There was an agreement among respondents

that foods from their countries of origin were fresher and of better quality than their ethnic foods in Canada. Some of the participants found that their ethnic foods taste different from those available in their countries of origin. Some examples included chili, green peppers, millet, fish, species, bitter leaf, and coconut oil. This is especially true for ethnic foods they were unable to find fresh such as frozen fish, powdered hot peppers, and canned foods. Freshness was said to be a determining factor for the purchase of foods for some of the respondents, for instance ethnic food expiration dates were viewed as an issue by focus group participants. Increased freshness and quality was desired by participants/respondents, and locally grown food was perceived to be a solution to the freshness issue.

Food Security

Freshness was also discussed in the context of food security. To the respondents and participants food security had many meanings including fresh, high quality, reasonably priced, organic, healthy, and/or clean food (participants referred to food in Canada as 'clean' on several occasions, meaning that food inspection is more strict, and food is packaged and labeled); having the cultural/traditional food they desire to eat; and a country's ability to produce its own food. Each person had his or her own definition for food security, so there were mixed responses when asked about their personal food security. About half the individuals who responded said they or their community was food secure and the other half said they were food insecure. Those who were concerned about food insecurity discussed the prominence of health concerns, the lack of cultural foods available, and the low incomes of migrants that force individuals to choose between food wants and needs.

Gardening and Local Production

Food security is often considered alongside local production. This connection was mentioned

by one of the men in the focus groups who said Canada is not food secure because it is dependent on imports. The topic of local production, including gardening, was a key theme that was discussed to a great extent in the focus groups and interviews. Most of the respondents and participants did not grow their own food for reasons such as lack of space or the community garden was full. However, there were several individuals who made use of community gardens or had their own personal garden. One individual said he had a small garden to teach his children responsibility and accomplishment. Another respondent said he was dissatisfied with the quality of the imported frozen ethnic foods, so he began to grow his own fresh and organic food. Gardening also helped participants save money. Some of the vegetables grown included spinach, tomatoes, linga-linga, sukumawiki, green leaves (mustard leaves), broccoli, cabbage, chili, cucumbers, tomatoes, potatoes, baby cabbage, and garlic chives. Two of the respondents discussed their involvement in community gardens (such as Rainbow Community Garden) with various ethnic groups. One man said that the community knows techniques to produce their own food and are trying to teach more people, especially the younger generation and newcomers; however, they need more land. One of the community gardens mentioned also attempts garden trials every year to see if they can grow more ethnic crops, like sweet potato, sugar cane, and sorghum.

Even though there were participants/respondents who grew their own ethnic food, some individuals perceived that the soil and climate (humidity, length of growing season, sunlight, etc.) in Canada are too different from their countries of origin to allow for the growing of their ethnic crops. There was also a concern by a few individuals that the flavour or quality of locally produced ethnic vegetables may not be as high as it is in their original countries due to the growing season and other differences. Much of

the ethnic food purchased by the respondents was imported. Transportation was thought to be expensive, time consuming, and taste altering. Many participants wanted more local food production so food would be fresher, more easily available and less expensive.

Several of the participants/respondents believed that the Canadian Government should invest in research to determine if ethnic food can be grown locally. A focus group participant explained that research is needed to determine if ethnic food can be grown locally, and how health and food security go hand in hand:

It would be best if the Government could invest in research, maybe to consult some agronomists from Africa or tropical countries, like Cuba.

They can investigate whether those foods can be grown here. It would be very important because if they find that they can grow some of the foods here we won't need frozen food coming from India or Africa. But they have to consult the experts. Perhaps exchanges with Universities in tropical areas to further research.

A focus group participant suggested that the "Canadian government should encourage and support [those who] wish to produce food here," because it reduces the country's dependence on imports. The government should encourage the growth of these ethnic crops and their sale through ethnic food stores by providing economic incentives. Overall, the participants and respondents desired inexpensive, locally grown, fresh ethnic food.

Conclusion

All together this report explored a number of key themes that were discussed by focus group par-

ticipants and interview respondents. Affordability was important to respondents and there was a general desire for inexpensive cultural foods. However, not all their foods are available in Canada or they may taste differently; this may result in the substitution of ingredients. When cultural food is available and affordable they chose to eat ethnically because it is familiar and comfortable. Dietary acculturation for some participants had occurred through lack of access to their cultural food and some by choice to try to fit into Canadian culture. Several of the respondents said their children prefer Canadian foods over ethnic foods, implying they are more acculturated to Canadian diets. There were some health concerns from respondents, such as their children's or their personal weight gain since entering Canada. There were varying opinions on whether cultural food is healthy. However, it was generally agreed that ethnic foods in Canada were usually less fresh than they were in their countries of origin. Freshness was included in some individuals' definitions of food security, a term which was found to hold different meanings for each individual. Approximately half of the respondents were concerned about their personal or community's food security. Some of the participants were involved in a community garden or had their own home garden where they could grow fresh, inexpensive, ethnic foods. Some of the respondents and participants were skeptical of whether ethnic foods could be grown in Canada but believed the government should encourage research and growth of ethnic crops. Through the discussion of these themes, it is clear that affordability and availability of fresh, healthy, ethnic foods are important to this group. Local production and gardens have a potential to fill some of this group's needs.

Policy Implications

Understanding RPIs' food sovereignty in terms of their culturally appropriate foods is a journey. The more we explore, the better we are able to integrate these relatively new immigrants. The development of desirable and workable policies will enhance the emergence of intellectual capital, multiculturalism and community economic development. Our inductive reasoning as presented in our conceptual framework, focus groups discussions and interviews indicate the ideas below:

- Refugees are different based on their country origin, ethnicity (even if they are from the same country), and religious affiliations. All these factors should be taken in to consideration when policies are drafted on how to develop a food strategy that will be desirable to the health management of the RPIs and their acculturation to Canada.
- The provincial government has done a good job learning how to integrate newcomers because, CIC and other stakeholders now seem to understand that RPIs are not homogenous. However, there is a need for information based integration

that will help the new immigrants improve their language and entrepreneurial skills. This should be done in an atmosphere that is not intimidating. Employment policies should be directed to support groups.

- Most RPIs have financial challenges. If they are not below the poverty line, they may still be relatively poor even after spending years in the country. Weak purchasing power leads to a preference for quantity rather than the quality for any given product. Although there is an effort in certain parts of the country to properly disseminate knowledge about the importance of consuming healthy and culturally appropriate foods, there is still a need for more education on how to get culturally appropriate foods — especially fruits and vegetables — in a cheap and convenient way. Behaviour is partly habitual and people don't change their food consumption or become adventurous unless they are well educated about how to blend the new and old together in a nutritionally dense way. This notwithstanding, some are still

very innovative as seen by how they substitute their preferred ECV with available vegetables; for example, using spinach instead of amaranth or cassava leaves. Dissemination of information is better with the internet and social media.⁹ Government and policy makers should incorporate the use of information technology by the development of websites, blogs, appropriate videos, and experts that will help RPIS integrated to the society in a way that they will be able to access their fresh culturally appropriate foods while gradually learning about food in their new environment, including how to avoid highly processed food in mainstream stores or at the food bank.

- Food banks should have fresher, locally produced culturally appropriate foods. This is very important because RPIS visit food banks to reduce their expenses on food. It would be very helpful if this platform could be an avenue for foods with which these immigrants are familiar. Food banks are found in food deserts including areas where RPIS live. Food banks' proximity and accessibility to RPIS make the platform a place where the food immigrants consume can be influenced right from the time they arrive in this country.
- Fresh culturally appropriate foods can be very expensive because of perishability or scarcity. We recommend that local production of these products by both large and small farmers be encouraged by the provincial government. CSA and community gardening should also be encouraged among RPIS in such way that they will own their food and be productive

within their communities. Furthermore, mobile food services or organized shopping trips might be other alternatives.

- Mainstream stores should provide more variety of ethno-cultural vegetables (ECV) because this will provide and take care of the needs of these new immigrants when they cannot get fresh products from their ethnic stores. More farmers' markets should be encouraged by the provincial government to consider providing at least some of the foods typically consumed by RPIS. This will lead to development of more inclusionary farmers' market spaces.
- Public health is promoted when RPIS eat their culturally appropriate foods and learn how to make it nutritionally better. We suggest the consumption of adequate fresh fruits and vegetables be encouraged. Local production guarantees¹⁰ food safety, promotes easy access and strengthens the value chain. Community gardening will help with the local production of some of these foods, especially those that can grow in Canada, and should be encouraged by the City of Winnipeg. Access to land through well defined leases and property rights should be implemented.
- Educational opportunities (through schools, government organizations, community-based organizations), already happening, for newcomers should be better developed. RPIS should be exposed to food and nutrition education, learn about Canadian grocery stores that carry their culturally appropriate foods and improved access to community food programs such as workshops on gardening and recipe preparation.

⁹ However, there is a misconception that income, education and language can be a barrier. Most of these RPIS are very active on social media such as Facebook.

¹⁰ The challenge at times is that it is expensive as is often seen in the farmers' markets.

- Food preferences of people in a particular space will continue to change over time. Based on this, we recommend policy

reform that is based on continuous monitoring and evaluation of RPIs as they integrate into their new communities.

Limitations

The study was conducted by employing in-depth interviews and focus groups and as such may not be as inferentially useful as studying the respondents' behavior over time. This type of research is also less rigorous than conducting quantitative relational and/or explanatory analysis on data collected through the administration of ques-

tionnaires, but we lacked sufficient resources to conduct it that way. Another limitation is that the focus group discussions were based on IRCOM premises (mostly IRCOM tenants). But we were advised by our community partners that this was an appropriate approach.

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Appendix

List of Codes/Themes:

Food from ECV (better labeled 'cultural food')	Empowerment
Type of ECV	Cooking
Frequency of consumption	Policy
Cost/Price	Education
Locations to buy cultural foods	Convenience
Food Preference/Taste	Proximity
Quality/Freshness	Variety
Food bank	Defining ECV
Health	History
Availability	Income
Substitution	Transportation
Familiarity	Acculturation
Imports	Labeling/Names
Local	Market Familiarity
Nostalgia	Comfort
Dietary Restrictions	Growing Environment
Cross-Over foods	Food Security
Gardening	Shelf Life
Mixed Cuisines	Children
Cultural/Personal Significance	Research
Location of Consumption	Clean food
Region	Religion- Halal
Willingness to Pay Community	Personal Past

TABLE A1 Cultural Food Mentioned (under the code: Food from ECV & Type of ECV)

Cultural Food	Description	Times Mentioned	Cultural Food	Description	Times Mentioned
amala	made from dried, peeled yam	1	meats	ie. fish, chicken, goat	8
appa (hoppers)		1	millet		1
biriyani		3	momos	similar to samosas	1
bulgur		1	mutama	kind of maize, but the maize it comes covered in its own leaves. Beside it is maize tree, but it comes like the hair you see on top of trees of maize, and they have a little bit like pears. There is red mutama and white	1
chi kwanga	made from cassava	1	okra soup		1
coconut oil		2	pounded yam		2
curry		3	puri	wheat flour doughnut	1
dolma	use cabbage and vine leaves, rice, meat and cook with fava beans and some bones	3	rice		10
dumplings		1	rice balls		1
fried plantain		1	roti		1
fufu		1	soup/stew	made with meats/beans/nuts and vegetables	6
gari (cassava) with Milo		1	stir fry		1
injera	made with teff flour; can eat with beans	1	string hoppers/ idiyappam	made with rice flour	1
kebab (shish-kebab)		1	tishreeb	boil meat with tomato paste, and chickpeas. Eat with bread	1
Khubiz		1	tizit	made from corn flour	1
kubba	a bulgur ball with meat	1	touom		1
mansa		1	ugali	made from maize flour	4

TABLE A2 Ethno-Cultural Vegetables Mentioned (Under code: Type of ECV)

ECV	Times Mentioned	ECV	Times Mentioned	ECV	Times Mentioned
baby chi gai/baby mustard leaves	1	garlic chives	1	potatoes	3
bitter leaf (medicinal)	1	green leaves	1	prunes	1
broccoli	1	linga-linga	1	pumpkin	1
cabbage (regular and baby)	2	long beans	1	spices	1
cassava (including flour)	4	melka leaf (medicinal)	1	spinach	1
cassava leaves	1	molokhiya (ewedu or jute leaves)	1	sukuma wiki (collard greens)	1
chili	2	okra	3	tomatoes	9
coconut	2	onions	2	tulsi (medicinal)	1
cucumbers	1	peppers	4	vine leaf	1
eggplant	2	plantain	1	wood ear (mor)	1
fava beans	1	pawpaw seeds (medicinal)	1	yam	1

Notes on Interviews and Focus Groups:

Focus Groups:

Focus Group 1: 702_0002 (File 14/14)

Person 1: Male

Person 2 & 3: Female Indo-Hindu

Person 4: Female Indian- here 10-11 months

Person 5: Female

Person 6: Iraqi Female

TABLE A3 Notes on Interviews and Focus Groups (Focus Group 1: 702_0002 (File 14/14))

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
P1: "cultural foods if I understand it is a specific type of food for a particular group of people that you may not easily find it used cooked or prepared by another culture or people..."(pg1)	Defining Cultural foods; Cooking
P1: cultural foods are not easy to find by most people	Availability
P2: "cultural means different from every people in the world"	Defining Cultural Foods
P2: Difficult to find cultural food because there is such a small ethnic population (ie. Spicy food)	Availability
P4: "cultural foods are foods that we are preparing from generation to generation and they are prepared during the ceremonies, mostly during the ceremonies. Some we prepare daily and I think most of the food from India we get it over here. Some we don't get but I get most of it from Indian stores"	Defining Cultural Foods; Cultural Significance; Availability; Locations to buy ECV; History
P5: "a culture food can be a food you have when you are a baby, or your grandma, your ancestor used"	Defining Cultural Foods; History
P5: When found, cultural food can be expensive	Availability; Cost/Price;
P5: Cook ugali	Food from ECV
P5: Cultural food can be expensive. Sometimes gets it through friends from home if can't find it. Sometimes share cultural foods at parties. Buy from stores too like Young's & Dino's	Cost/Price; Availability; Locations to buy ECV
P6: Food from home is unhealthy b/c oil. Canada has healthy food. Easy to find cultural food	Health; Availability
P1: Try to buy the cultural foods that are available, but it can be expensive.	Availability; Cost/Price
P1: ugali is maize flour- mix with water	Type of ecv; Food form ecv
P1: newcomers are not very wealthy. They need to choose between ethnic foods- they will choose what goes the furthest ie. If 5 kilos of rice that will last for 3 weeks vs 2 kilos of ugali which will last one week are the same price... go for the rice.	Income; Type of ECV; Cost/Price; Substitution
P2: Eats cultural food. For example, once a week (or twice if they have visitors) she cooks donut (puri. From wheat flour) for breakfast	Type of ECV; Frequency of Consumption; Food from ECV
P4: Daily prepares her Indian food (90% of her food is Indian)	Frequency of consumption
P4: Need spices to eat their cultural food so it tastes good. But if they don't have spices they need to eat other food	Substitution; Type of ECV (spices)
P5: Prepares cultural food because it is quick and easy to cook with a busy Canadian schedule ie. Ugali- just boil water and put in flour; She also described a type of one pot stew (with potato, onion, beans) that is cultural and easy to prepare	Cooking; convenience; Food from ECV
P4: Make breakfasts from rice flour and coconut, coconut milk:	
"Most of our breakfast is with this or different types of foods we prepare with this rice flour. We soak rice overnight and then we make a paste of it and we prepare that morning. At night we mix it, the paste of it at night and in the morning, after the fermentation, we make the breakfast" (idli/dorsha)	Food from ECV; Types of ECV; Cooking
P4: Usually uses coconut oil, but substituting for canola oil here. Coconut oil here is completely different than where she is from	Substitutions; Type of ECV; Quality/ Freshness
P4: Brought special pots from home (ie. Putakumba) to cook with	Cooking

P6: makes rice and soup (maraq) every day because her family likes it. Or if busy tomatoes and potatoes cooked in oil	Frequency of consumption; Food Preference
P1: Not enough cultural food in Winnipeg. If there was enough, the price would be cheaper. Lack of variety. Cannot afford to eat it every day. Affordability is the main issue along with variety.	Availability; Cost/Price; Variety; Frequency of consumption
P2: Cannot find food here. Chili is not the same here as it is at home- not as strong of flavor. And it is expensive here too. "it's really hard to find our own food here"	Type of ECV; availability; quality/freshness; Cost/Price
P4: Most cultural foods are here, but not some vegetables. Costly.	Availability; cost/Price
P5: Not enough cultural foods and it's expensive. If she doesn't really need it, she won't buy it	Availability; Cost/Price
P6: Enough cultural food, but is sometimes expensive	Availability; Cost/Price
P1: Local production could drop the prices (become more affordable) of cultural food because it wouldn't need to be transported from Africa by airplane/cargo (eliminates transportation costs)	Local; Cost/Price; Transportation
P1: ". So it would be a good idea but as a nation I don't know if it can allowed because some crops take almost two years, some take six years and if there's no sunshine they can't grow"	Local; Growing environment
P2: The soils and climate (ie. heat) differ between home and here so she doesn't think growing her ethnic food would be feasible locally since it cannot germinate. Can grow some things here like potatoes and tomatoes well here that taste good.	Local; Growing environment
P4: Most of the vegetables are the same as she gets in her city, but mainly asking for coconut oil, coconut milk, coconut. The soil types are different and the climate is more humid at home, so can't grow certain ethnic foods here.	Type of ECV; Growing environment; Local
P5: Seafood is an issue- can't necessarily find it here. Like ndaga- (P1: a small fish high in protein) it is dried in the sun for 3-4 days. Can find it at Young's, it looks the same, but doesn't taste the same. There is another type called mkaka that you can't even find here	Type of ECV; Quality Freshness; Availability
P6: Different food here. No fresh fish, usually frozen, which doesn't taste as good	Type of ECV; Availability; Quality/Freshness; Food preference
P5: Buy chicken at market at home then kill it and cook it fresh	Type of ECV; Quality/Freshness
P2: Sometimes goes fishing in Canada. Doesn't taste the same [ie species don't taste the same].	Food Preference; Quality/Freshness
P6: Food security means having rice and beef and special food, small lamb	Types of ECV; Food Security
P4: Food security means fresher and cleaner	Food Security; quality/freshness; Health; clean food
P1: Have three elements: 1) having food needed and what he wants to eat." It's comfort and security by itself". 2) Buy according to the way we grew up (using cassava leaves as source of iron for pregnant and nursing women or using ngada or other foods as medicines against diseases	Food security; Types of ECV; Health; Food Preference
P1: "Yet here we cannot access that quality of food we need at the given time, maybe because it's not available or it's expensive. I want to put all those elements together and then sum up food security as: having what I need and when I need it."	Food Security; Cost/Price; Availability
P6: "fresh fish is good for the body"	Type of ECV; Health
P5: "food security, it's a food that, when you eat it you can't get sick, it makes you healthy"	Food Security; Health
P2: Food Security: Food for body and health (ie. not frozen foods)... Fresh foods that are not expired. "If the food, whatever you eat, makes you sick or something, makes you uncomfortable, vomiting, anything, diarrhea, and sometimes it's if you've eaten those foods, like frozen food."	Food Security; Health; Quality and Freshness ; Shelf-life
P1: The ethnic food from back home takes a long time to reach here, sometimes altering the taste. If the foods are grown locally that can solve the issue of 'expiry' (for example, Cassava leaves- can make you sick if stored wrong)	Transportation; Quality/Freshness; Shelf-life; Local; Type of ECV
P1 & P4: Some don't know you can eat cassava leaves. You can, the tender ones- they are high in iron. But the ones here are turning yellow.... Not proper for consumption ("Maybe that will help to open the eyes of the govt. because it is not proper for consumption")	Type of ECV; Health; Quality/Freshness
P6 & P5 & P4: Don't garden (community garden)- was full (wants to do it this year) or don't have time	Gardening
P2: Have a garden with a few Nepalese families (and so does person 3)	Gardening

P1: Had a small garden to teach his children responsibility, “the fruit of their effort when they saw things come up” Feeling of accomplishment “feel like you’ve done something special”-children’s appreciation	Gardening; Children
P1: Thinks cassava can be grown in Canada- like around Vancouver where it is a little warmer- but majority is brought in. Doesn’t agree with expiry dates- an issue with ECV	Type of ECV; local production; Shelf-life; Quality/Freshness; imports
P6: Superstore; Afghani store (halal store)	Locations to buy ECV
P5: Superstore mainly (ie flour, rice), but when can’t find it there, Dino’s (ie. Cassava). Good quality	Locations to buy ECV; Types of ECV; Quality and Freshness
P5: Children like Canadian foods (like cookies, bread, and grilled cheese), sometimes if they take ethnic foods with them to school (ie. rice) it comes back with them at night	Children; Food Preference
P4: Dino’s mainly, Super store, Indian stores	Locations to buy ECV
The ‘superstores’ are Sargent, WalMart, and Superstore. Superstore, Young’s, Afghani and Indian stores are close... near and go by bus	Locations to buy ECV; Transportation
P3: Dino’s and wholesale sometimes	Locations to buy ECV
P2: Wholesale, Centurion alleys	Locations to buy ECV
P1: Dino’s and Young’s for cultural food. Superstore buys other foods, but not cultural unless potatoes, they don’t have typical Congolese or African foods there. Quality is 50:50	Locations to buy ECV; Type of ECV; Quality and Freshness
P5: Cannot buy only from Young’s it isn’t enough (may not know how to cook some of the Chinese items there), need to supplement with going to Superstore (general agreement)	Locations to Buy ECV
P5: Can get nearly everything she needs for her house at Superstore (B- like a one-stop-shop... Superstore has more variety of what she can eat)	Locations to buy ECV; Convenience
P6: Fresh is healthy. At home there is fresh food, but here there isn’t	Freshness/Quality; Health
P5: Issue with diabetes- was given a pill, but it did not work very well, so the doctor told her to eat half and take Mbogabuchungu (Swahili)/ Bilolo (Congo) (an ECV for people with diabetes). It is a bitter leaf that regulates the sugar in your body. Was at Young’s, but not the same (P1 & P4 have also heard of this)	Health; Type of ECV; Quality/ Freshness; Locations to buy ECV
P4: Fresh foods are good for you – meats and vegetables. At home they use different types of leaves for different sicknesses (ie. Tulsi for a cold; or to treat allergies; roots for kidney stones; ‘melka’ leaf which can restore tone to your hand), before they try the doctor	Health; Quality/Freshness; Type of ECV
P2: Also tries leaves first – 95% of the time. Doesn’t know as much as her mother, but for example her mother uses “‘touch-me-nots’ [mimosa], the roots”... there are also leaves for pneumonia.	Type of ECV; Health
P1: “I just want to mention the difference between medicine and plants or food with medicinal value. There are lots of foods we eat that are medicinal by themselves. In case of low blood, anemic, there is a plant you eat, just like food, and it helps you to be more strong. And I said before, like chicken pox, measles, things like that, there is a type of fish for the children basically and it cures them. They feel better without injection or medicine. And the food security, or healthy food, goes along the same lines. We are not used to going to buy drugs or medicines, because the foods we eat help us maintain balance in the body.”	Health; Types of ECV
P1: Their food that is good and healthy for them to eat is difficult to access and may not be fresh, or may be expensive	Accessibility; Freshness/Quality; Price/Cost
P5: ie. Prunes can help regulate anemia- don’t need a pill	Health; Type of ECV
P1: Eat fruits or pawpaw seeds to salve gastric problems or ulcers. “What we eat is like medicine and keeps us healthy”	Type of ECV; Health
P5- Raw egg and milk help the stomach	Health
P6- yes cultural food makes her healthier	Health
P5: Cultural food does not make you healthier. If she eats cultural food or not, she feels fine. She adapts to Canadian food and manage her body with that. :” . My cultural food here is not enough. If I just used that, I would be dead from waiting for my cultural food to get here, that’s why I have to adapt. Canadian food, Canadian culture. I am trying to be a Canadian citizen, Canadian. That’s why I change all”	Health; Acculturation; Availability

P4: 75% cultural food and 25% Canadian food would be good... a lot of health issues after coming here	Health
P3: cultural food is good, makes you healthy. Gained a lot of fat after being here 2 months	Health
P2: Feel better with her cultural food, but doesn't think it has effects on health if she doesn't eat it. Gained weight after being in Canada- sweet food, but it is clean and healthy	Health; Clean food
P1: Worry less about health with cultural food (ie. Blood pressure, diabetes) because it is balanced more than Canadian food. More secure with traditional foods.	Health
P1: 'Clean' = food inspection is more strict. Packaged labeled.	Health; Clean food
P4- Wants cheap and non-frozen ethnic food	Policy; Freshness/Quality; Cost/Price; Transportation
P6: More ethnic food production locally	Local; Policy
P1: Health goes with security and economy and everything. ". If there are lots of unhealthy people then the government has to spend a lot to treat you. You cannot produce, cannot pay your taxes, because you can't, you're not healthy. It would be best if the government could invest in research, maybe to consult some agronomists from Africa or tropical countries, like Cuba. They can investigate whether those foods can be grown here. It would be very important because if they find that they can grow some of the foods here we won't need frozen food coming from India or Africa. But they have to consult the experts. Perhaps exchanges with Universities in tropical areas to further research."	Policy; Local; Transportation; Research
P1: Would call his situation in Canada food insecurity. He has health concerns for his son who is getting 'out of proportion' with his access to fast foods and sweets in Canada. Wants more cultural foods	Food Security; Health; Children
P4: Food insecurity is an issue for her cultural group because the climate conditions- not grown here. Cannot get all vegetables here- ie. Leafy and root vegetables such as Cassava, coleus, cowpea	Food Security; Types of ECV; Growing Environment
P5: Not food insecure- try to cook fresh food everyday	Food Security
P6: Not food insecure- "This food is healthy, no problem. Eat in moderation"	Food security

Focus Group 2 702_0003 (file 13/14)

7 people present: 2 English speakers

TABLE A4 Notes on Interviews and Focus Groups (Focus Group 2 702_0003 (file 13/14))

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Can get everything from home in Canada. "They are the same names, same kind of foods but different here"	Availability
F1: Can get vegetables and curd here	Type of ECV
The flavour here is different than the flavour at home (like hot dogs don't taste the same)	Freshness/Quality
The food here is not as fresh as the food at home that is usually taken right from the fields, there are no stores like there are here. It changes the flavour.	Freshness/Quality
"most of the time, they have their cultural foods in their homes. But for small kids that go to school, they like having Canadian food" Children want Canadian food	Children; Frequency of Consumption
Their cultural food is accessible and in the stores. 'different kinds of foods' are.	Availability
There are issues with the names here- they can be different from what they are called at home. If there is uncertainty, they usually won't buy it unless someone tells them which item is which.	Labeling/Names
Freshness and cleaning food is important	Food Security ; Clean food
Important to keep food properly (ie. In the feeder or fridge), away from contamination with other foods, such as cooked/raw meats need to be separated. "That will be one of the food securities"	Food Security ; clean food
Organic food (ie. Free of chemical usage)- better for health in long term. Less exposure to chemicals and unknown health risks	Food Security; Health
Concerns over food going bad in Canada, but it did not back home	Food Security; Freshness/Quality
The ethnic foods here are 'too much money'	Cost/Price
Some of their foods are only available in one store... they are too expensive. For example 'teff' grown in Ethiopia. It is a type of flour used for injera. It is available at Dino's, but it's expensive.	Type of ECV; Food from ECV; Availability; Cost/Price
Hot peppers they can get powdered or crushed or dried, but not fresh. When someone comes from home they bring it.	Freshness/Quality; Type of ECV
None of the individuals in this group have participated in the community garden. They are all relatively new to Canada (within the past 2 years)	Gardening
The community garden does grow their country food like tomatoes and other vegetables	Gardening; Type of ECV
Locally grown has the potential to be better, fresher, and cheaper. Transporting food from a distance is expensive.	Transportation; Quality and freshness; Local
"The summer weather is similar to the weather at home, and we have seen some vegetables that we have back home also growing here, but maybe the flavor will be different."	Growing Environment; Local
Differences in flavour between the countries. ". In my opinion, food should not taste the same in every country. It depends on what the animals eat in Canada, and what kinds of plants are there in Africa. What the animals are eating will affect the flavour, and it is not in our hands. But there are hotdogs there, and there are hotdogs here too, so the food is available."	Availability; Food preference (taste)
Dino's, Superstore, Salaam grocery (Ethiopian). Halal. Expensive.	Location to buy ECV
Most food can be found in the Superstore, but some cannot... which are expensive at other stores. Cannot get all vegetables or flours from the superstore, but can find fresh and organic there.	Location to buy ECV; Availability; Cost/Price

Yes food insecurity is an issue in their community. People are worried about unemployment. Rely on jobs for money for food, rent, and house payments. Unemployment affects food security. "We need to have a plan, and we have to spend from what we have. Budgeting system is important, because if we go shopping we have to know how much money we have, and also what other things we have to pay for; bills like TV, electricity, rent, busses, kids." Need to go according to budget... 'can't buy something you want if you don't have money'... need to differentiate between wants and needs. "There are some cheap foods that they like, and there are some expensive foods, but they can't always buy what is expensive. They will choose several types of foods according to the prices."	Food Security; income- budget; Cost/price
It is important to eat fresh, home cooked meals because they are good (healthier) for you. They make things like their own cultural foods and things like bread, because the expiry dates on the store foods worry them.	Health; Freshness/Quality; shelf-life
They believe that buying ingredients, then preparing and cooking at home is healthier. They think it is healthier and more financially beneficial in the long run. For example cook during free weekends for the entire week and refrigerate the food.	Policy; Cooking: price/cost
To encourage the opening of an ethnic grocery store with all the cultural foods, it should be easier to open stores... the government should encourage it with loans and licenses for the grocery stores.	Policy; Locations to buy ECV
If cultural foods are grown here it will help reduce transportation costs and help the consumers get the foods at a lower price. Greater financial access to start up.	Local; Transportation; Price/Cost
Overall, it is very important for all them to have cultural food available to them (ie. Important because kids like it)	Availability
Overall, they have had generally good experiences consuming cultural foods	Food Preference

Focus Group 3 702_0004 (file 12/14)

5 participants:

P1: Male Arabic (Muslim who follows halal)- 16 months in Winnipeg

P2: Female (Ethiopian)... grew up in Kenya- 2.5 years in Winnipeg

P3: Woman Asian- Almost 3 years

P4: Male Somalian- about a year in Winnipeg

P5: Male Pakistani- in Winnipeg 6 months

TABLE A5 Notes on Interviews and Focus Groups (Focus Group 3 702_0004 (file 12/14))

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
P1: "... food is considered one of the characteristics of the culture of any community"	Cultural significance
P1: Want to continue eating cultural food after arrival in Canada... bodies are used to that kind of food and cannot just change it easily	Food Preference; Personal/Cultural significance; Health; Familiarity
P1: After arriving, searched markets for ethnic ingredients (eps. pepper), some areas were suggested by friends, ... "And we tried our best, now we feel that we can somehow, even though we find some of them expensive, but it's better that we found it."	Locations to buy ECV; Type of ECV; Availability; Cost/Price; Willingness to Pay; Community
P1: Eats "as if we were at home"... able to manage food here in Canada. His wife makes bread at home. Dolma. vine leaf (describes how it is prepared in a dish).	Type of ECV; Food from ECV; Frequency of consumption
P2: Injera (bread) and beans.	Type of ECV; Food from ECV
P2: Able to buy Ethiopian foods. Her ethnic food is coming directly from Ethiopia, but quality is about the same	Availability, Transportation; Quality/ Freshness
P3: Easy to get food here than anticipated.	Availability,
P3: Chinese stores & Superstore	Locations to buy ECV

P3: "We live in the IRCOM building, we have different culture and different language and sometimes we have a potluck to learn share about our cultural food, and we taste and had to try to eat their food and ask our friends to share their recipes"	Community; Location of Consumption; Education
P4: Left Somalia when he was young and doesn't know much about it.	Acculturation; Children
P5: Eats Indian/Pakistani food. It is mainly available in Winnipeg - veg., meat, chicken, etc. Can find everything and normal price ranges	Availability, Type of ECV; Cost/Price
P4 & 3: Find cultural food easily	Availability,
P1: After some time spent in Canada, one becomes more familiar with the markets and is able to find food for a lower cost (ie. direct farm sale for meats). May purchase a cow with friends... not too far from the city (1/2 hour).	Market Familiarity; Cost/Price
P1: Halal- eat anything but pork. Discusses religion and religious diets (see interview for more information)	Religion- Halal
P1: Don't have a problem finding Halal in the area. Only need to ask about pork vs cow meat. Want fresh meat. People tend to mark up prices if they label it 'Halal'	Religion- Halal; Quality/Freshness; Cost/Price
P1: Cheap prices are important for new comers	Cost/Price
P5: Eats cultural food everyday (Pakistani/Indian food)	Frequency of consumption
P1: Eats cultural food only when he is invited somewhere and they serve non-cultural food	Frequency of consumption
P4: Makes food he wants whether it is cultural or not	Frequency of consumption
P3: Eats cultural food everyday with her husband, but her kids don't like it, they like Canadian food like bread, pasta, cookies, F&V	Frequency of consumption; Children; Food Preference
P2: Likes to eat Kenyan food, even though it isn't her cultural food. In Ethiopia they use a lot of oil to cook that can give you cholesterol, it is tasty, but not healthy	Health; Food preference
P2: Buy flour for injera at Dino's. Finds it affordable	Locations to buy ECV; Type of ECV; Cost/Price.
P1: Eats cultural food everyday four times a day. Everything he eats is traditional.	Frequency of consumption
P1: "When we come here... we don't expect to find everything here as it is back home. There are some differences, but in many cases it is acceptable..."	Availability
P1: Many of the ingredients here are always expensive compared to back home, such as egg plant, tomatoes, onions... potatoes aren't bad though. "Some food if we buy it and they are in season they are a good price, but if we try to buy it in another season it is expensive."	Cost/Price; Type of ECV
P1: Food security is about the price and Quality. The quality is 65-70% ... "it is good". But the price is expensive (esp. for tomatoes and cheeses). There is no tax on food here, otherwise it would be too much.	Food Security; Price/Cost; Quality/Freshness; Type of ECV
P1: Try to get organic food (which smells better) because of the chemicals used.	Clean food
P3: was in a refugee camp years ago where she didn't have money to buy anything. Here she can and there is food in many stores. And the food is clean	Clean food; Availability; Food Security; Personal Past- Refugee Camp
P5: Thinks about clean food for food security	Food Security; Clean food
P2: (the only person in the group with gardening experience) Plants seem to grow up faster here. They taste different. Grows spinach and shares it. Also grows tomatoes.	Gardening, Type of ECV; Taste/Food Preference
P1: Canada imports food from many other countries: "... it is difficult for a country to always eat from other countries. I hope that one day Canada will solve this problem. At least for some percentage that we depend upon our production."	Food Security; Imports; Local
P1: Okra is expensive and bad here	Type of ECV; Cost/Price; Quality/Freshness.
P5: Freshness is important and liking the food you eat	Food Preference; Freshness/Quality
P1: Believes it is important for countries to produce their own foods, at least a majority of them. Decreases dependence... "Canadian government should encourage and support each one who have the wishes to produce food here." Even if more expensive then imports, it is better.	Local; Imports; Empowerment
P4: Better to grow here because of the price	Local; Cost/price
P2: Local is good, but uncertain of the quality ... after she moved here she started feeling sick and unhealthy (which she never felt at home).	Local; Quality; Health

P2: Not eating her cultural food... she mixes. At home they would always eat fresh meat and vegetables. The vegetables were high quality because they took time to grow, but here vegetables are 'empty'; Doesn't like local foods, prefers imported food	Quality; Frequency of consumption; Local; Imports
P1: the weather is the main problem in local production, suggests green houses. Soil can be a problem.	Growing environment; Local
P5: Dino's and Young's. Accessible transportation wise. Prices are normal, but chicken is expensive	Locations to buy ECV; Price/Cost; Accessible/Transportation
P4: Goes to Safeway to buy whatever he wants, but not ethnic stores	Locations to buy ECV; Convenience
P3: Go to stores like Lucky store and Superstore. Low prices on things like rice. Cost is good	Locations to buy ECV; Price/Cost.
P2: Superstore and Halal. Halal is expensive, but needs to buy it. Halal store is close buy- easily accessible by transportation. Superstore- need to take a bus. Can get many things at the Superstore, but not everything- convenience (such as quick cooking chicken).	Locations to buy ECV; Price/Cost; Accessibility/Transportation; Convenience.
P1: There are many Islamic markets, but they are expensive. Likes going to the Superstore because it is cheap. If he can't find something there, he will get it at one of the other stores. Finds Bulk Barn expensive. Superstore has the best price and freshest (because they sell so much)	Locations to buy ECV; Price/Cost.
P4 & 5: Does not think there is a food security problem in their community	Community; Food Security;
P3: Need to carefully read expiration dates	Freshness/Quality; Shelf Life; Food Security
P3 & 2: Able to find traditional food	Food Security
P1: Does not believe there is much food insecurity... maybe 20%.	Food Security
P5: Food here is not as good as at home	Health; Quality; Taste/food preference
P4: Doesn't get sick from what he is eating	Health
P3: Able to find and cook cultural food, it is easy... but doesn't think there are any health problems with not eating cultural foods	Health; Cooking; Accessibility
P2: At home they never sit... even when they eat they work and don't sit. Everything is going... but in Canada we sit and then you can get cholesterol and diabetes... at lot of bad things, need to be careful. At home it is always hard work	Health
P1: Many shocks when coming to Canada such as culture, weather, and food shock. If you know how to cook your country food and it is available, there is less of a food shock. Helps adjustment to life in Canada and try out Canadian foods too. When their foods are available there is less shock ... "But because there are these foods and we can cook, so there is no food shock. Which make us comfortable."	acculturation; Comfort; Availability; Familiarity
P1: There is organic food here, lessons on how to cook healthy, oils (canola) are good (though expensive). Wishes things were cheaper, but it is acceptable	Health; Clean food; Price/Cost.
P1: Canada is dependent on food imports to survive... not food secure. Not ready for some sort of crisis abroad (ie in Mexico)	Imports; Food Security
P4: Good to have your own farm and grow food in your own country so you don't 'have to wait for imports'	Imports; Local
P3: To open ethnic stores- Need food handling training, cooking/food preparation classes.	Local; policy; locations to buy ECV
P2: If opened ethnic store- have many cultural foods, not just hers. Healthy food that's imported and high quality	Imports; Locations to buy ECV; Quality; Health
P1: Responsibilities of people who run the country to encourage local food growth- to make a profit and more importantly, for food security. Like a subsidy. Keep people who can grow/farm farming	Food Security; Polity; Local
Importance of the availability of culturally appropriate foods: P5: 3; P4: 3; P3: 3; P2: 1; P1: 1 (for his entire community- it would not be an easy life without his cultural food... it takes years to acculturate and get used to Canadian food. Lack of availability would be a problem) P2 Moved from original city she was in in Canada to where she could buy her cultural food.	Availability; Acculturation
Importance of eating your cultural food: P5: 4; P4: 3; P3: 3; P2: 1; P1: 1.	Personal Significance
Importance of being able to grow your own cultural food: P5- 2; P4- 3; P3-1; P2-1; P1- 1	Gardening

Interviews:

Interview 702_0005.MP3 (file 11/14)

- Woman with children

Q1) What kinds of cultural foods do you like to eat?
 Q2) Do you eat significant amounts of cultural foods in your household?
 Q3) Where do you get these cultural foods from?
 Q4) What do you like about your cultural food?
 Q5) Are you satisfied with the quality of the cultural foods that you eat? When you buy it is the quality good?
 Q6) Do you like what you get? Like when you buy it are you happy? Well, you need to eat it, so you just buy it, right? (Note: This is slightly leading)
 Q7) Would you like to see any changes in the cultural foods available here?
 Q8) What are your top four favourite cultural foods?
 Q9) Have you eaten any of your cultural food in the last twelve months?
 Q10) In a month, how much would you spend on cultural food? Approx.

Q11) Why are cultural foods important? Why do you think they're important, and what are the things that could help you decide to acquire cultural foods? Why is it important to you and what makes you buy it?
 Q12) Because it's more expensive are you willing to pay more for your cultural foods, or if it's at a certain price you'll just give up; 'no more'?
 Q13) So there's a limit, really. When you eat cultural food, what is the most common place you are eating it? Where do you eat your cultural foods? Where do you eat it most often?
 Q14) Do you grow cultural foods for your own consumption?
 Q15) . Rate your own general health; do you think you have poor health, fair, good, very good, or excellent?
 Q16) Do you have any long-term disability or long-term physical or mental condition or health problem that limits the amount of activity you participate in?
 Q17) do you think eating your cultural food has health implications? Is it good for health, or bad for health?

TABLE A6 Interview 702_0005.MP3 (file 11/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) ugali (maize flour)	Food from ECV
Q1) Cassava flour	Type of ECV
Q1) Mutama – “Its a kind of maize, but the maize it comes covered in its own leaves. Beside it is maize tree, but it comes like the hair you see on top of trees of maize, and they have a little bit like pears. There is red mutama and white” ... “Sometimes you can make a cream in the morning for kids; you boil oil and take a little bit of flour and mix it with hot water and after put in sugar, and the kids drink it and then they go to school.”	Type of ECV; Food from ECV
Q2) Only eats cultural food sometimes because her children aren't interested in them	Frequency of consumption; Children
Q2) It is expensive to eat culturally, so only buy a bit when she wants to taste it	Cost/Price
Q3) African (ethnic) Food Stores: “Young's store. Dino's. There are two, how do you say, African-? It is on Notre Dame, beside _____ center, there is a shop there. And another one on Sargent.”	Locations to buy ECV
Q3) Superstores (was led into that question)- sometimes can find vegetables and a few other needed cultural items	Locations to buy ECV
Q4) Grew up eating her cultural food, so likes it. But Canada has its own food so her children don't like her cultural food	Food Preference- acquired taste; Children
Q5) Sometime she is satisfied with the quality of ECV, but it sometimes isn't fresh	Quality/Freshness of cultural foods
Q7) Does not want changes to the cultural food available here	Availability of ECV

Q7) Pumpkin	Type of ECV
Q7) Food bank carries ECV like Pumpkin- seemed satisfied with it	Food Bank
Q7) There are similar types of foods available here that may be also be considered ethnic/similar, like pumpkin	Cross-over Foods
Q8) Ugali (food), Cassava (ECV- but expensive), linga-linga (ECV- similar to spinach... grows it herself in summer- gets it from Ilcoum. There are different varieties from different African countries- the best/softest is from Nigeria, but probably would not be able to find that variety in her own country)	Types of ECV; Foods from ECV; Cost/price; Gardening/Grow-it-yourself
Q9) Has eaten cultural food in past 12 months- alongside Canadian foods at parties	Frequency of Consumption; Mixed Cuisines
Q10) \$20 on flour for every 2-3 months.	Price/Cost
Q10) Grows some of her own vegetables- cooks some and puts in fridge to cook later	Gardening/Grow-it-yourself
Q10) sukumawiki (from Kenya); Tomatoes	Type of ECV
Q11) "... it is important for me because it is from my culture... I grow up I see it, I used to eat it, and when I came to Canada, also it's the same. I can say that it's inside me, in my blood like that. Usually for me, that's why I can say it's important to me. Because I knew it from when I was a baby."	Cultural Significance; Personal Significance
Q12) Sometimes it is too expensive and she won't buy it, but sometimes she will take a cheaper one she can afford. Gave an example of expensive chi kwanga that she had to leave because she couldn't afford it. There is a limit	Cost/Price; Willingness to Pay
Q12) Chi Kwanga (made from Cassava)	Food from ECV; Type of ECV
Q13) Consume cultural foods mostly at home or at parties	Location of consumption: home, parties
Q14) Grows some of own cultural food including linga-linga, tomatoes, and sukumawiki. Saves money.	Gardening/Grow-it-yourself; Cost/price; Types of ECV
Q15 & 16) Health is 'good' & no disability	Health
Q17) mboga buchungu (bitter leaf?)- to help with diabetes (makes sugar go down)	Health; Types of ECV
Q17) She has diabetes- told to eat half of what she normally does and eat the vegetable 'bitter leaf' and it got rid of her diabetes, but limited in her sweets	Health
Q17) Couldn't think of any cultural foods that aren't good for health	Health

Interview 702_0006.MP3 (file 10/14)

- Male

Q12) Because it's more expensive are you willing to pay more for your cultural foods, or if it's at a certain price you'll just give up; 'no more'? (willing to pay more for your cultural foods?)

TABLE A7 Interview 702_0006.MP3 (file 10/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) Iraqi, Mediterranean, or Middle East	Region
Q1) Biryani, dolma (use cabbage of vine leaves- roll inside it cooked rice and meat, and cook it with fava beans and some bones), fish kebab (shish-kebab)	Food from ECV
Q2) Eats a significant amount of his cultural food in his household because it is his cultural food	Cultural Significance; Food Preference
Q3) "I bought it in the markets when it is available. But at times it is expensive. But it is available. There are some cultural shops. Muslims like the Afghani and Tanzanian shops, and also I bought from Superstore."	Locations to buy cultural food; Cost/Price
Q4) He likes everything about his cultural food: "the material, ingredients, the way we cook it... The taste."	Food Preference

Q5) Satisfied with the quality, everything is available but everything is expensive here (ie. Eggplant). Wants less oil in his cultural foods	Quality/Freshness; Cost/price; Type of ECV; Availability
Q8) Favourite cultural foods: "Kebab, biriyani, bulgur, kubba. [Kubba] is a bulgur ball with meat, inside it is meat, we put it in the soup." Dolma is number 2. Tishreeb too: "P1 Tishreeb you cook, you boil the meat with some tomato paste, and some chickpeas, and with bread. But of course rice is always our main food. Rice, you shouldn't forget rice" & Khubiz (a cultural bread)	Food from ECV
Q9) Always eats his cultural food	Frequency of consumption
Q10) \$350 per month on his cultural food	Cost/price
Q10.5) Buys at ethnic stores and superstores because that is where his cultural foods are available, in addition to the Chinese store (Young's)... "But Superstore's enough. They have everything"	Availability; Locations to buy cultural foods
Q11) Get used to eating (ie our bodies) cultural food	Food Preference
Q12) Willing to pay more for cultural foods	Cost/Price; Willingness to Pay
Q13) Eat cultural foods at home, not at restaurants. Eat in parks (using a grill in the park) with family friends	Location of Consumption
Q14) Doesn't grow cultural vegetables... prefers it, but doesn't do it	Gardening
Q15 & 16) 'Fair' health- he is an older man. Has blood pressure issues and diabetes	Health
17) Cultural food for health: "You know each food can be suitable, or in the way you cook it you can make it match with your own health. So the way we cooked, we cooked it in a way that it matched our special ways, when they make tea, they don't put in too much sugar for me, when they make orange juice, they make something for me." Believes Canadian food to be more healthy than his cultural food (less greasy and fatty)	Health
Foods such as tomatoes and chickens are too expensive... even more expensive here than even in the US. It is also dependent upon the city you are in for expense of cultural foods	Cost/Price

Interview 702_0014.MP3 (file 5/14)

- Two women present during this interview who consult one another

Q7.5) How about the price, is it too expensive

TABLE A8 Interview 702_0014.MP3 (file 5/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) rice, soup, meat, potatoes, vegetables, okra, beans, tomatoes	Food from ECV; Type of ECV
Q2) Eats a lot of cultural food because it is routine	Frequency of consumption
Q3) Purchase cultural food from superstore. Sometimes halal stores (there are many in Winnipeg), Afghani stores, yusuf halal, Walmart	Locations to buy cultural foods
Q4) Like it because it is "routine, from my culture. Second, I don't know what I say about that, because Canadian food good and healthy, my own food not healthy." Does taste good	Food preference
Q5) Yes the quality is okay	Quality/freshness
Q7) The quality and variety is higher in the halal stores.	Quality/freshness; Locations to buy
Q7.5) Sometimes food is expensive, but it is not a problem. Budgets	Cost/Price
Q8) Dolma, biriyani, fish and chicken in the oven, BBQ chicken	Food from ECV
Q9) Eats cultural food all the time	Frequency of consumption
Q10) Spends \$700-800 per month on food overall (cultural and Canadian)	Cost/Price
Q12) Not willing to pay more than she already is for cultural foods: "Maybe I change it, maybe I don't buy meat, sometimes, or don't buy chicken, maybe I buy vegetables or something like that."	Substitution; Cost/Price

Q13) Eat cultural food at times, sometimes in the Iraqi community (ie for special days in Canada or cultural festivals) Location of Consumption

Q14) No doesn't grow own foods	Gardening
Q15) Health is 'good'	Health
Q17) Food of her culture is not healthy because of the oil (reduces the oil she uses when cooking). It tastes good, but isn't as healthy as Canadian foods	Health

Interview 702_0012.MP3 (file 7/14)

- Woman

Q10.5) Where do you get your cultural foods

Q11.5) What are the things that help you decide to buy cultural foods?

Q18) Is there anything you would like to add?

TABLE A9 Interview 702_0012.MP3 (file 7/14)	
Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) Pounded yam (fresh), fresh fish soup, amala (made from dried and peeled yam), amala and okra soup	Type of ECV; Food From ECV
Q2) "To some extent- not so much because of the kids, they are not used to the food, because they came her while they were sill young"	Frequency of consumption; Children
Q3) The African Store and downtown	Locations to buy cultural foods
Q4) Her cultural foods are "Because they are natural, like, organic, natural things, not any artificial things, you're sure you are eating the real thing, the real food... Healthier, easier to prepare, more satisfying"	Food Preference; Health; Quality/Freshness
Q5) Not satisfied with the quality. Everything was fresh and natural back home... but they need to transport and use preservatives (that alters taste) when bringing it here. "Like back home, I would have everything fresh, natural. Here, because they have to bring it all the way here from back home, they have to put some form of preservatives on it, and that will alter the taste and... like - the healthy part of it. You know? Its no longer natural, its contaminated (laughs) well not quite 'contaminated', but you know - they use artificial stuff. To preserve it."	Quality/Freshness; Health
Q7) Increased freshness; reduced cost (ie. Reduced tax)	Quality/Freshness; cost/price
Q8) Pounded yam, amala, touo, rice, and mansa	Type of ECV; Food from ECV
Q9) Yes she has eaten cultural foods in the past 12 months	Frequency of consumption
Q10) Spends about \$50 for every months on cultural foods because she doesn't eat them all the time	Frequency of consumption; Cost/price
Q10.5) Can also get cultural food at places such as superstore (ie okra, semolina, corn, tomatoes). The African store is from "back home", but the superstore is cheaper and from 'here'	Types of ECV, Location to buy ECV; cost/price
Q11) "Cultural foods are important because they are what we grew up with" It's natural, healthy and tasty	Health; Cultural importance
Q11.5) Cost and freshness help her determine which cultural foods to purchase	Cost/Price; Quality/Freshness
Q12) Yes willing to pay more for cultural foods: "Because when you're craving for something, you want to eat it, you don't mind the cost. As long as it will satisfy you. And if you can get the good one, provided it's the right one."	Cost/Price; Personal significance; Food Preference
Q13) At home	Location of consumption
Q14) Doesn't grow her own vegetables- doesn't have enough space	Gardening
Q15 & 16) Rates heath as very good, depending on the food. No long term disabilities or illnesses	Health
Q17) Cultural foods are from natural sources and therefore healthier. Nothing is added to the livestock's food, the soil is good. This makes you healthier. No additives and not packaged.	Health
Q18) Wants more African/cultural/specialty foods and vegetables in Canadian stores. More frozen vegetables and stuff. More affordability and variety.	Quality/Freshness; Availability

Interview 702_0010.MP3 (file 8/14)

- Nepali Male

Q2.5) Why do you eat cultural foods in your house?

Q10.5) Where do you get cultural foods?

TABLE A10 Interview 702_0010.MP3 (file 8/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) rice, green vegetables, meat, goat meat, chicken, fish. Nothing specific. Mentioned Momos (similar to samosas)	Food from ECV
Q2) Eat ethnic food everyday at least twice: "I mean just rice, with some vegetables. With at least twice a week a meat, twice or thrice a week meat. And most of the time we can eat like the fruits and whatever."	Frequency of consumption
Q2.5) Used to the foods. Everyone likes it. Don't want to eat fast food/junk food you can find 'around here'. Can cook it themselves. Personal choice.	Food Preference
Q3) Superstore, Safeway, Indian grocery market, and Young's Market	Locations to buy ECV
Q4) Taste good, healthy food. Implied that is good to know what is in your food: "We know that they are good food, like healthy food..."	Health, food preference
Q4) Eats green leaves- baby chi gai/baby mustard leaves	Type of ECV
Q5) Satisfied with the quality of cultural foods, but some they can't find in Canada (~60% availability)	Availability; Quality/Freshness
Q7) Wants more varieties from his culture	Availability
Q7) Sunni stores- place to get meat	Locations to buy ECV
Q7) Need to run according to the seasons (ie. Farming seasons) in Canada	Availability: Seasons
Q8) green leaves, yaro rice, meat items, and dairy products (like milk, yoghurt and cheese- they make cheese themselves from milk)	Type of ECV; Foods from ECV
Q9) Eats Cultural food regularly	Frequency of consumption
Q10) Spends about \$500+ total per month for a family of 4	Cost/Price
Q10.5) Do a lot of gardening. Rainbow Community Garden- work with people in his cultural group as well as other cultural groups to produce foods by themselves	Gardening; Community
Q11) "...it's important to realize our 'back life. Just the life that we spent before. Also, to make our piece of mind just eating what we used to eat, being in a complete different world."	Personal & Cultural Significance; Familiarity
Q11) "They're healthier too... because that is what their people have been eating for the last hundreds of years."	Health
Q12) Looks for a cheaper price. It would be best if they could produce their own food- but need land... but they (almost whole community) know the techniques... trying to teach this to the younger generation	Willingness to Pay; Gardening; Empowerment; Cultural significance
Q13) Eat and Prepare food at home	Location of Consumption
Q14) Grows own food- green leaves (mustard leaves), broccoli, cabbage, chili, cucumbers, tomatoes, and esp. potatoes (in curry)	Gardening; Type of ECV; Food From ECV
Q15 & 16) Very Good health and no long term sickness or disability	Health
Q17) No problems with side effects of foods. There is nothing that is said to prevent or help with diseases such as diabetes, but their food doesn't cause those issues.	Health
Q18) Encourage newcomers to grow own food, but need land. Want to help people in other communities too... Rainbow Community Gardens	Gardening; Empowerment

Interview 702_0009.MP3 (file 9/14)

• Male

Q5.5) Where do you grow them?

Q10.5) Where do you get your cultural foods and why?

Q13) So there's a limit, really. When you eat cultural food, what is the most common place you are eating it? Where do you eat your cultural foods? Where do you eat it most often?

Q14) Do you grow cultural foods for your own consumption?

Q15) . Rate your own general health; do you think you have poor health, fair, good, very good, or excellent?

Q16) Do have any long-term disability or long-term physical or mental condition or health problem that limits the amount of activity you participate in?

Q17) do you think eating your cultural food has health implications? Is it good for health, or bad for health?

TABLE A11 Interview 702_0009.MP3 (file 9/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) Like to consume cultural foods from Africa, esp. around the region he grew up in- Chad, Central Africa. Nigerians, CAR, Cameroon, Sudan, Niger share similar cultural foods	Cross-over foods; region; Food Preference; Cultural Foods/Food From ECV
Q1) Cassava Leaves, Okra, Sorrel, African sorrel, African eggplants, Yams (not sweet potatoes, but molokhia/kalgon)... usually accompanied with rice or fufu (from Syria), flours	Types of ECV
Q2) Eats a significant amount of cultural foods. Grows own cultural food from home here- experience growing own cultural food.	Gardening
Q2) "Actually the reason why I started growing my own food from back home is that, when I got here, when I newly arrived here, I used to buy most of those foods from the local groceries. And those vegetables and stuff are imported here frozen, with quality lowered, not a good taste. When you check, when you take a closer look at those vegetables imported frozen, you can find out that there are some which are not good quality at all, it's a mix of some leaves, some herbs which are not the real vegetables which are labeled and I assume they do that, the importers or the sellers, from tropical Libya, they want to do that to increase the quantity."	Gardening; Quality/Freshness; Imports
Q2) Also they are very expensive and some cannot be found (ie. Molokhiya from Egypt- similar to okra, but more leaves... it is a leafy vegetable)	Cost/Price; Availability; Type of ECV
Q3) International food stores- Dino's, Young's	Locations to buy ECV
Q4) Used to cultural foods- grew up eating it. More nutritious. Easy to cook without a recipe, but can be time consuming	Familiarity; Health; Cooking- Easy
Q5) Satisfied with the quality of what he grows himself (fresh, organic, etc), not before.	Quality/Freshness; Gardening; Empowerment
Q5.5) Grow them in various places including U. Manitoba, Niverville, backyards, Landmark, Sir John Howard's back yard (former Lieutenant Governor).	Gardening
Q5.5) Co-ops/group gardening- Rainbow Community Gardens. Working with Manitoba School Improvement (MSIP) to start more community gardens (ie. Peaceful Village Garden)	Gardening; Community; Empowerment
Q7) Wants more ECV to be grown locally. Wants affordability and Availability: "I would like to see them grown a lot, produced a lot here, I would like to see the production increased so that they become more affordable, a more affordable price for the consumers. Because today many newcomers and new immigrants are wanting fast foods because they cannot find what they used to eat. If they do find it here, it's very expensive and they can't afford it." Especially with large family sizes	Local; Cost/Price; Availability
Q8) Okra ("Kills the cholesterol"), amaranth, aubergine (African Eggplant), sorrel (leafy vegetable), amorell (leaf)	Types of ECV; Health
Q9) Has eaten cultural foods within the past 12 months	Frequency of consumption
Q10) When he first started growing them he was spending ~\$30/month (2006), when he wasn't eating them as often because he couldn't afford to. After he started growing he spent less- only buys flours, taros, cassava, etc. But price has gone up since then to double.	Types of ECV; Gardening; Cost/Price

Q10.5) Young's- that is where they are available. Also own Garden- freeze for the winter	Gardening; Locations to buy ECV
Q11) "because they are nutritious; according to me they are, more than some of the fast food that we are bombarded with here. And also because I'm used to them. My body is used to them, so if I do not eat fufu or some of these cultural foods for a month, I'm about sick! It became a habit, my second nature, eating them." Tastes = Nostalgia. Know how to cook cultural foods. Helps regulate weight. Try to pass onto family members –ie. Sons.... Don't want to lose the taste	Health; Familiarity; Nostalgia; Cooking; Children; Food Preference-acquired tastes
Q12) Willing to pay more for cultural foods... "paying more for it comes to the idea of lobbying, participating in any kinds of actions which can allow, or which can constrain the law makers to give some priority or some consideration to the ethno-cultural food production here. And also for the scientists in the field to work on the situation. Let people know that not all tropical vegetables grown, our ethno-cultural foods which are growing here, which can be grown here, are harmful to the land, or are invasive. Because one of the problems here is I think the legislation or policies in place do not encourage or allow the production. The government, everybody would gain a lot in encouraging ethno-cultural food production. In terms of finance, in terms of economy, social... it goes even beyond food security"	Willingness to Pay, Policy, Local
Q13) Eats cultural foods at home, with African friends, community events. Share cultural foods with other ethnic groups (Nepal and Bhutan)	Location of consumption; cross-over foods
Q13) "Educational, awareness, and when Canadian-born people do taste ethno-cultural foods or meals they do like it, and they become easily familiar with it and continue eating it."	Education on cultural food
Q14) Do trials every year for gardening. Tried cereals- sorghum (did well in 2008... some years better than others), use grain from top and chew stem as sugar cane. Tried Sweet potato. Tried more from Nepal and Bhutan and China	Gardening; Types of ECV
Q15 & 16) Very Good Health and no long term health issues or disabilities.	Health
Q17) Cultural food helps him maintain his health	Health
Q17) He discussed his projects with community gardens (Garden2Table). Both him and them are learning about different vegetables around the world and adopting them into his diet. (See interview for more details, if necessary)- learned that pepper leaves are edible, similar to sweet potato leaves in Sierra Leone.	Type of ECV
Q17) People have been coming to him to find out how to grow their foods here	Education; Empowerment

Interview 702_0020.MP3 (file 1/14)

- Woman

Q10.5) What are the factors that make you decide to shop there (Dinos, etc.)?

TABLE A12 Interview 702_0020.MP3 (file 1/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) Tizit- Made of corn flour	Food from ECV
Q2) Yes eats a significant amount of cultural foods in household because she is used to it.	Frequency of consumption; Familiarity
Q3) Purchase from Dino's and Dong Thai (an ethnic grocery store)	Locations to buy ECV
Q4) Likes the palatability (taste) of cultural food. Get a lot of energy from the food.	Food Preference; Health
Q5 & 7) No not satisfied with cultural food here. Cost and availability. "If they could be done here, I think there would be less cost for them.... Make it less costly and more available for consumption"	Availability; Cost/Price; Local
Q8) Tizit, fufu, yam, rice & stew	Types of ECV; Food from ECV
Q9) Yes has eaten cultural food in the past year	Frequency of consumption
Q10) Spends around \$50-60 per month on cultural foods	Cost/Price

Q10.5) Shop there because they have the foods from back home	Familiarity; Location to buy ECV
Q12) Not willing to pay more for cultural foods	Willingness to Pay
Q13) Eats cultural food at home	Location of consumption
Q14) Doesn't grow own ECV	Gardening
Q15 & 16) Rates health as excellent and has no disabilities or health issues	Health
Q17) Doesn't think eating the cultural food has any health implications because she doesn't know of any... but thinks that eating it makes her healthier	Health

Interview 702_0015.MP3 (file 4/14)

- Woman

Q10.5) Why do you buy your cultural food where you do?

Q11.5) Why is it important to you and what makes you buy it?

TABLE A13 Interview 702_0015.MP3 (file 4/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) Rice and curries	Food From ECV; Type of ECV
Q2) Eats a significant amount of cultural foods... used to eating it... implies needing it to survive	Frequency of Consumption; ; Familiarity; Health/Personal Significance
Q3) Superstore, India Spice House, Dino's.. Safeway has curry ingredients (coconut & dahl)	Location to buy ECV; Type of ECV
Q4) Tastes good- spicy. Healthy.	Health; Food Preference
Q5) Satisfied with the quality of cultural foods	Quality/ Freshness
Q7) Wishes there were more fresh cultural foods, opposed to canned	Quality/Freshness
Q8) Rice & curry, string hoppers/idiappan (made with rice flour), hoppers/appa, roti	Food from ECV
Q9) Eats cultural food everyday	Frequency of consumption
Q10) \$100/month for her as a single person on cultural food	Cost/Price
Q10.5) Buys cultural food in those locations because everything in one place (ie. Superstore) or close to house (ie Safeway- but can't find everything in there). Dino's has more variety- goes there if she can't find what she wants at the other two stores.	Location to Buy ECV; Convenience; Proximity; Variety
Q10.5) Price is similar now between the three different stores	Cost/price
Q11) "I think that's the thing we grow up with, eating those foods, since we were babies, and what our parents keep telling us and feeding us, 'this is a healthy food, eat this and you'll grow up'. So I think it's just like a seed, a plant, and it's growing in our head. So we believe it's healthy. And I know it's healthy too..."	Familiarity; Health
11.5) Says it is not a decision to get cultural foods: "it's just that's what I used to eat, that's what my comfort is. So when I got here, and I know that I can get it, I'll go buy it. It's the comfort zone. That's what my body accepts... Also I have lots of allergies, like sauce, and gluten, so my cultural food is the only thing I can eat here healthier. Because rice, I'm ok. Here a lot of everything is pasta; I can't have a lot of flour anyway. That way it's convenient and very healthy for me to eat my own cultural food."	Familiarity; Health; Dietary Restrictions; Convenience
Q12) Willingness to Pay: "...If something I really want to, I might pay more. If it's the same thing in a different store, cheaper, I'll go for the cheaper one... I compare, yeah. But that does not mean that if it's not really fresh I'm not going to buy it, but I consider the health side too."	Willingness to Pay; Cost/Price; Quality/Freshness; Health
Q13) Usually at home. Rarely goes to restaurants- oil food & food allergies.	Location of Consumption; Health; Dietary Restrictions

Q14) Does not grow anything- lives in a rented room	Gardening
Q15 & 16) Rates health as 'good'. No long term disabilities or illnesses	Health
Q17) Doesn't have health implications, which is why she is eating it, other foods may cause her problem	Health

Interview 702_0016.MP3 (file 3/14)

- Chinese Woman

Q10.5) Where do you get your cultural foods from? Why?

TABLE A14 Interview 702_0016.MP3 (file 3/14)

Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) garlic chives, cabbage (baby)- use in soup. "Wood ear" called mor in Mandarin- grows on wood then people dry and sell it. Long beans that they cook- buy from Superstore, but expensive.	Type of ECV, Food from ECV, Locations to buy ECV, Cost/Price. cooking
Q2) Food is a 'habit' : ". I stayed in China a long time, so I already have a habit. I'm used to these kinds of foods, and the taste of some things. For the cook, we couldn't cook this kind of food."	Familiarity
Q3) Get cultural foods from Chinese stores and sometimes from Superstore. For example: "Garlic chives only in the Chinese store. And wood ear only from Chinese store, but cabbage we can buy anywhere. But not baby cabbage."	Locations to buy ECV; Type of ECV
Q4) Likes the taste of cultural food, and it's really healthy	Health; Food Preference
Q5) Quality is good here, but it is expensive	Quality/ Freshness; Price/Cost
Q7) Millet here is different than millet from her home, even though it has the same name	Type of ECV; Food Preference
Q8) Garlic chives, baby cabbage, wood ear, kidney beans. Eat with rice or stir fry most of them. For Garlic chives she makes them into dumplings. Grows Garlic chives in backyard.	Types of ECV; Food from ECV; Gardening
Q9) Eats cultural food nearly everyday	Frequency of consumption
Q10) Spends about \$100-200/month on cultural vegetables. "in summer it's cheaper because I grow some in my backyard"	Gardening; Cost/Price
10.5) What isn't available at the superstore she needs to buy at a Chinese store. "It's not convenient"	Availability; Convenience
Q11) Cultural food is important because "we need to eat"... know how to cook them. Used to them.	Cooking; Familiarity
Q12) "If no choice, we have to pay more. But I'd like to pay less."	Willingness to Pay
Q13) Usually eats cultural food at home, but sometimes have a party	Location of consumption
Q14) Yes does grow own cultural food. Grows garlic chives all summer to make lots of dumplings.	Gardening; Type of ECV; Foods from ECV
Q14) Her children like the dumplings	Children
Q14) Takes time to make dumplings (almost 3 hours)	Cooking; Convenience
Q14) Garlic chives are easy to grow- perennials	Gardening
Q14) Also plants baby cabbage- not easy to grow, but it is liked by her family.	Gardening
Q14) Has had some problems with birds and animals liking to eat from her garden	Gardening
Q15 & 16) In the middle range for health- 'good' because of age. No long term disabilities or health conditions	Health
Q17) Doesn't believe her cultural food has any health implications, "most of them are healthy, vegetables"	Health

Interview 702_0017.MP3 (file2/14)

- Male

TABLE A15 Interview 702_0017.MP3 (file2/14)	
Note/Quote	Code/Theme
Q1) Cultural food was difficult to find in his first few weeks in Canada, but eventually got some from Dino's.	Locations to buy ECV; Availability
Q1) Rice and Stew is his favourite- it is "...a combination of tomatoes, both fresh and canned ones, and either chicken or dried fish, with pepper, onions, green pepper, those. Those vegetables mixed together..."	Type of ECV; Food from ECV
Q2) Eats mainly cultural food	Frequency of consumption
Q2) Has been eating that food from infancy. Difficult changing to eat Canadian or American food. "I'm used to it, and it has my taste, and I like eating it"	Familiarity; Food Preference
Q2) "It is only when it is hard for me to get it that I will resort to any other kind of food."	Availability; Substitution
Q3) Dino's, Chinese grocer, a Nigerian store (Akin's) are his main spots for getting cultural foods	Locations to buy ECV
Q4) Likes the taste of cultural food. Cooking process.	Food Preference; Cooking
Q5) Satisfied with quality because he prepares it himself and knows ingredients	Quality/ Freshness; Familiarity
Q7) Unable to find all the ingredients here (but can usually find the basic ones), such as dried fish, but needs to 'improvise to make it'. Some of the vegetables, like green pepper are different here.	Availability; substitution; Type of ECV
Q8) Rice and Stew; Rice balls and soup (rice balls is different from rice... the soup is tomato soup, sometimes with ground nuts and peanut butter); fried plantain or red plantain with bean stew; gari (cassava) with Milo (chocolate) then you put ground nuts in there with sugar or milk- eat it in liquid form like porridge	Type of ECV; Food from ECV; Cooking
Q9) Has eaten lots of cultural food in the past year	Frequency of consumption
Q10) Comparatively high. On average about \$120. It takes about \$30 to prepare stew that lasts a week.	Price/Cost
Q10.5) Interviewer asked about Superstore or Safeway... his response: " I haven't tried those areas to get cultural food but somebody told me they have also started selling some African foods, as Dino's and other stores do, because they realize the market is there."	Locations to buy ECV
Q11) First it's about taste. It is difficult to switch the food you've been eating your entire life, especially if it is there for you to prepare. Doesn't have the appetite for certain foods, like pizza.	Food Preference; Availability
Q12) Yes willing to pay more for cultural foods	Willingness to Pay
Q13) Eat at home because he prepares it at home	Location of consumption
Q14) Doesn't grow own foods in Canada	Gardening
Q15 &16) Rates health as 'very good' and has no long term disabilities or illnesses	Health
Q17) Health implications: "it could be that it might have health implications because I can eat the cultural food almost every day, three times in a day I can eat it. That might have implications because I'm not changing diet, or balancing diet... Honestly, normally I don't have a balanced diet. I eat the same food in the morning, the afternoon, the evening, I could eat rice with stew three times a day."	Health; Frequency of consumption; Food Preference
Q18) ", our cultural food is very important. Because food and culture are I would say synonymous. Wherever you go in as much as you want to maintain your culture you want to find a kind of food that goes with it. So it's a very important thing for immigrants, for newer people to be able to find their cultural food."	Cultural Importance: Personal importance; Familiarity
Q18) "When I came, in the first week, I found it difficult cooking in terms of food because I hardly knew any place where I could get my food, and I was not settled enough to prepare something for myself. So in the first week I found it difficult in terms of food. Until after a week I managed to know places where I can get this food and start preparing it."	Personal Importance; Locations to buy ECV; Familiarity; Accessibility



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