

Field Report

Decolonizing the learning of sitopias in Toronto: The case of the Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge

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Abstract

The Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge is a pilot experiential learning activity created at Ryerson University for the class *FNU100-Canadian Cuisine: Historical Roots*, a first/second year liberal studies course offered to students from diverse programs and cultural backgrounds. This activity is both a fun challenge and a required course assignment. It aims to engage students with Canadian cuisine and is inspired by a decolonial pedagogical approach (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Santos, 2018) to food studies, and elements of photovoice methodology (Wang & Burris, 1997). The Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge consists of a field trip to different food places or sitopias in Toronto, with the goal of learning about their histories and developing an appreciation of the roles of food and people in the city (Newman, 2017). The activity includes a map, instructions, and a set of ten challenge questions that students answer through photographs taken during their field trip. The field trip is followed by students' presentations in class and a reflection on their experiences. In the first phase of the project, students explored two sitopias: Kensington Market and Chinatown.

This paper will first describe the co-creation of the Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge with students from the School of Nutrition at Ryerson University. This was a collaboration between the course instructor and two School of Nutrition students and included input from other students who had previously taken the course. It will present key learnings from the feedback of students who participated in the challenge in the fall of 2019, including how they described their experience, what they learned, and suggestions for the future development of this project. In particular, this field report will discuss the use of a decolonial pedagogy in food studies, recognizing and challenging a Western hegemonic view of food places as representative of Canadian cuisine, while at the same time outlining the co-construction of experiential learning activities to engage students and provide content that reflects the multiple identities and food cultures of Canadians in Toronto. The main purpose of this field report is to share our experience co-creating and implementing this pilot project as one contribution towards decolonial food pedagogies.

Keywords: Canadian cuisine; photography; food pedagogies; decolonial pedagogies

Introduction

What is Canadian cuisine? Is it maple syrup, salmon, poutine, butter tarts, peameal bacon, or Montreal style bagels? Hot dogs? Tim Hortons' doughnuts (Ferguson & Ferguson, 2001; Power & Koc, 2015)? It is not easy to define Canadian cuisine due to the large size of the country, the diversity of Indigenous peoples, the historical impact of colonialism, and the continuing waves of immigration to Canada (Duncan, 2011; Jacobs, 2009; Newman, 2017; Mintz, 2020). A part of culture, food is closely tied to identity. Food can help a nation or group of people "assert its diversity, hierarchy and organization, but also, at the same time, both its oneness and the otherness of whoever eats differently" (Fischler, 1988, p.275). This means that cuisines have the potential to exclude or include, and to define who belongs and who does not.

Historically, Canada's regional cuisines were rooted in Indigenous foodways and European traditions brought by the English, the French, and other European immigrants. With few exceptions, it was only in the 1960s that immigration requirements changed from country of origin (mostly European) to a merit-based points system. This enabled the immigration of people of non-European background and the creation of the term 'cultural diversity', referring to "growth of non-white populations other than Aboriginal People, in Canadian society" (Li, 2000, p.1). The increased numbers of immigrants from different parts of the world and the challenges they faced in Canada with racism and discrimination led to the creation of the term "visible minorities" in 1986, referring to ten origins: "Blacks, Indo-Pakistani, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, South East Asian, Filipino, Other Pacific Islanders, West Asian and Arab, and Latin American, excluding Argentinian and Chilean" (Li, 2000, p.5). This is important for Canadian cuisine because, according to Li (2000), most native-born Canadians in the 1990s were of European origin, while most first-generation immigrants were visible minorities, the majority of whom settled in metropolitan areas such as Toronto.

Since 2016, the course FNU100: *Canadian Cuisine: Historical Roots* has been offered every fall as a *Lower-Level Liberal Studies* course from the School of Nutrition at Ryerson University. This course is an elective open to students from all academic programs (except Nutrition), including Engineering, Biological Sciences, and Graphic Arts. Based on student

demographic survey information, the majority of FNU100 students are second-generation Canadians from multiple cultural backgrounds. The enrollment limit is 60 students, and the course has been full every year since it was first offered. The main goal of FNU100: *Canadian Cuisine: Historical Roots* is for students to "explore the multidisciplinary field of food studies to understand the historical and cultural determinants of food selection including social, philosophical, political, and religious factors and their impact on cuisine" (Ryerson University, 2019). A special focus is given to understanding the contributions of new Canadians and Indigenous Peoples and the impacts of Canadian immigration and colonization policies on cuisine.

While the course covers important historical time periods and related cuisines, it also explores current manifestations of Canadian cuisine and identity, including the role of food markets as public spaces where people eat together (commensality). In one of the key readings assigned to students, Newman (2017) uses the concept of sitopias (food places) as important sites for cuisines, both geographically and culturally. For her, these are spaces where cuisines are "shaped and constrained" (Newman, 2017, p.21). Moreover, sitopias are spaces of innovation and experimentation where citizens can learn about new foods and new immigrants might find previously known ingredients. Nevertheless, oftentimes easily identified sitopias do not provide the entire picture of Canadian food culture (Newman, 2017).

In fall 2018, feedback from a student's course evaluation suggested incorporating a field trip to one of Toronto's food markets into the course. This feedback ultimately sparked the creation of the Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge (CCPC), with the goal of creating an engaging experiential learning activity that would guide students in small groups to explore the history and role of sitopias in Toronto. Student engagement in higher education is a longstanding concern for educators (Brown et al., 2015). Engagement is a multidimensional concept that is associated with: being active and motivated; persistency, commitment, and attentiveness; curiosity and critical thinking; and a link between teaching and learning (Christensen Hughes & Mighty, 2010; Freire, 2013; Schlechty, 2011a; Schlechty, 2011b). Fredricks et al. (2004) state that engagement can be considered a multifaceted construct that takes into account behavioural engagement, emotional engagement, and cognitive engagement. Others highlight the relationship between engagement and active learning to facilitate building new knowledge and understanding (Coates & McCormick, 2014, p.3). As Hao et al. (2020) suggest, "in contrast to passive lectures, active learning emphasises real-life application, learning by doing and collaborations, which contribute to the ultimate goal of preparing students for lasting achievements and future roles outside school" (p.2). Informed by this research, we attempted to create an engaging educational activity for post-secondary students at Ryerson University. Our goal was to spark students' curiosity about Canadian cuisine, and to enable them to discover it through a collective adventure and a personal perspective.

The Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge (CCPC) Design

The CCPC was initially inspired by a treasure-hunt game called Geocaching (Geocaching, n.d) and a photography challenge called "Snap and Share", in which the City of Toronto partnered with Nikon Canada to capture different areas of Toronto using photographs (City of Toronto, 2018). After this initial inspiration, we conducted a literature review and visited a couple of food places in Toronto to refine our assignment structure. The activities guidelines were created to suit our intended learning outcomes, and they focused on creating a number of educational challenges that students of FNU100 would resolve on defined sites in Toronto. With the support of the course instructor, two senior Ryerson Nutrition and Food undergraduate students were involved in the pre-production, production, and testing of the CCPC. This involved conducting a scoping search of the literature and on-site research to define the structure. Senior students each focused on one Toronto sitopia and created a set of ten corresponding educational challenges that students of FNU100 would resolve in Fall 2019 (See Appendix A for challenge outline). Designing the CCPC also included testing and revisions if needed.

Photovoice, an effective methodology within the context of food studies (Pink, 2007), uses photography and group dialogue to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns through critical dialogue and knowledge generation (Wang, 1999; Wang & Burris, 1997). It emphasizes multi-disciplinary community involvement—from community members, researchers, policy makers, and others—in the production of photographs and encourages knowledge exchange within and between communities to mobilize change (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Photovoice has been used extensively in food studies research, emphasizing the "voices" of marginalized populations. In Canada, photovoice has been used to study international students' food experiences in Canada, urban school food systems, experiences with traditional foods among First Nations female youth, experiences of the food environment among new immigrants, and food (in)security (Amos & Lordly, 2014; Genuis et al., 2015; Hanemaayer, et al., 2020; Rodriguez, et al., 2016). Photography provides an opportunity for teaching and may offer unique contributions to food studies and education.

In order to explore the intersectionality between food studies and the broader cultural, political, economic, and social aspects of food and food practices, students were asked to visit two different Toronto sitopias: Kensington Market and Chinatown. We chose Kensington Market, located in the west end of downtown Toronto, because it is one of Toronto's oldest and most well-known cultural regions and has been designated a National Historic Site of Canada (Parks Canada, n.d.). Kensington Market has evolved into a cultural mecca, with many different immigrants settling there over the past century. The neighborhood comprises a unique blend of restaurants, specialty food shops featuring cuisines from all over the world, eclectic vintage stores, and quaint cafes.

Despite having five other designated Chinatowns, we chose the downtown location at Spadina Avenue because it is the largest and oldest in Toronto. This Chinatown is best known

for its many Asian and Asian-fusion restaurants (Hauch, 2017). Originally located closer to the downtown core, Chinatown was displaced when City Hall was built in 1960 and now resides at its current location at Spadina Avenue (Flack, 2017). Additionally, Chinatown is unique in that the majority of its businesses and residents are of Asian and Chinese descent.

In addition to their rich history and cultural diversity, we chose the selected sitopias based on geographical proximity to the Ryerson University campus, making the CCPC more accessible to students. It was important that students could walk to the selected food places from the University, not excluding anyone due to financial or mobility issues. Prior to choosing Kensington Market and Chinatown, we also explored St. Lawrence Market and Little India, however, limited hours of operation and geographical proximity to the University played a role in selecting other neighbourhoods for this pilot challenge activity.

Challenge testing and implementation

The development and design of the CCPC included testing and revisions. Student co-creators and the instructor were responsible for visiting each specified neighbourhood, answering a series of challenge questions (see Appendix), and documenting their experiences. This was done to see if the challenge would be accessible for students, thought-provoking, sensitive to time limitations of the course, and engaging, and to determine whether it would capture the major themes of the course.

Challenge questions acted as prompts that guided students to learn about the history and culture of food in Toronto. For example, Kensington Market challenge question one required students to search for a historic plaque that describes the successive waves of ethnocultural communities who have immigrated to Toronto since the beginning of the 20th century. The plaque describes how the district was first occupied by British workers, then Jewish immigrants, and later post-World War II-era new Canadians from Italy, Portugal, the Caribbean, and Asia. This challenge question gave students a brief history of the Canadian urban immigrant experience and is located in the centre of Kensington Market, which provided a good starting point for answering other challenge questions.

Kensington Market challenge question two gave insight into the specific cultural needs of Jewish immigrants living in Kensington Market during the early 1900s. At this time there were over 30 synagogues in Kensington Market, and now there are two fully operational synagogues left from this era: the Kiever Synagogue and the Anshei Minsk Synagogue. Students were required to walk around the neighbourhood in search of the Kiever synagogue and take a photograph, illustrating the specific cultural needs and practices of Jewish immigrants living in Kensington Market and how this synagogue remains a historical symbol of the Canadian urban immigrant experience.

In Chinatown challenge question one, students were encouraged to explore symbolism and cultural motifs. The symbol of a dragon is often associated with Chinese culture and symbolizes power, strength, and luck (StudyCLI, 2020). This challenge question was developed to allow students to have the flexibility of exploring a cultural motif of their choice. While it is common to make cultural connections and associations, it is important to understand their underlying purpose and meaning.

Chinatown challenge questions two and four highlighted culture-specific food and food practices. In question two, students were asked to explore several grocery stores that sell specialty Asian food products, and to choose and photograph one food item used in Asian cuisine. Some examples of popular chosen market items included mangosteen, custard apples, dragon fruit, daikon, spices, and dried fish. In question four, students were asked to find a piece of equipment used in food preparation. This allowed students to explore different foods from other cultures and to understand preparation methods that might be unfamiliar to them.

All of the challenge questions from each site, maps, and detailed assignment instructions can be found in the Appendix as FNU100 Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge Instructions. Students used their cell phone cameras to take pictures of the sites required in the challenge. They were expected to take at least one on-site selfie with the group as proof of participation, however most pictures taken were selfies.

Completing the CCPC, attending a class presentation, and participating in a class discussion were worth 10% of the students' total grade. The field trip was planned for week four of the semester, which allowed students to form groups early in the term. There were 12 groups in total: six visited Kensington Market and six visited Chinatown. The field trip was scheduled during class time and gave students a two-hour period to walk to and from the chosen sitopias and have at least one hour to complete the challenge. Out of 60 students, only one student could not participate due to a family emergency and decided to do the challenge separately and present it to the instructor during office hours. Other than this one exception, there were no other issues.

Impact and student evaluations

The CCPC played a significant role in creating a safe environment where students felt they could share their ideas and express themselves. By participating in the CCPC, students were able to meet their classmates and collaborate, bringing more interest and enthusiasm into the classroom. This enhanced in-class participation within the first few weeks of the course.

On week seven, when students shared their presentations in class, we noticed the positive impact the activity had had. Students talked about the history, food, and food practices of the two Toronto sitopias with great enthusiasm. It is important to notice that most of the photographs presented were selfies, with the group of students in the photograph and the places as a background, which embedded them in the sitopia, as part of the food environment. Students told stories about their experiences navigating the different streets and local vendors, interacting with different people in the community, and seeing and smelling (sometimes even tasting) different foods in addition to taking photographs. Many students drew inspiration from their own cultural

backgrounds to explain observations and their experiences during the challenge. They saw themselves in these places.

Once students completed the challenge, they were asked to answer a survey about their experiences and provide feedback about ways to improve the challenge. The questions were: (1) In two words describe your experience doing the CCPC; (2) What did you learn, that you will not forget?; and (3) What were your suggestions to improve this activity? All students were required to give consent for their answers to be shared anonymously. Student evaluations and feedback were to be used to improve the challenge and to create a proposal for expansion. The following provides a sample of students' responses to the questions.

Two words that describe the experience

Based on students' feedback, 42 out of 55 students described the experiential activity as "fun". Other keywords included interesting (20), meaningful (5), engaging (2), interactive (2), refreshing (2), and exciting (2). This demonstrates that students enjoyed the activity and found it engaging.

What students learned

There were three main themes that students reported learning about: the historical significance of immigration, multiculturalism and diversity, and teamwork (see Table 1). Students recognized that both sitopias had multiple waves of immigration and that this played a role in shaping food practices and cuisines in each sitopia as well as in the city of Toronto. Another important theme highlighted was multiculturalism and diversity. This was represented by the diverse food places, cuisines, and fusions in both Kensington Market and Chinatown. Students discovered new food places and were surprised to discover there were many cuisines they had not tried before.

Students reported learning about cuisine, history, and culture, but also about teamwork and navigating challenges associated with working in groups. After reflecting on their experiences, students stated that "teamwork is very valuable," thought it was important to be "mindful of other team members' points of view," and enjoyed "working together to find answers". The focus on teamwork and collaboration shows that learning can be an engaging, social experience while simultaneously involving completing tasks and having fun.

Table 1: Selected student responses to reflection question two: "What did you learn that you wil	1
not forget?"	

Student Responses
"I learned about the history of the market and its restaurants"
"I learned about the history and significance of Kensington Market. I never knew the impact of immigrants on the
community"
"I learned that many nationalities came together to create an amazing environment of food and culture"
"The diverse blend of cultures shown through food"
"I learned that there are many different infused cuisines I have not tried. For example, the Italian/Jamaican dishes at
Rasta Pasta"
"I learned the neighbourhood is a good place to show regional food of China. Also, I found some food that shows the
multicultural part of Chinese cuisine"
"Very prominent Latin American food culture within Toronto"
"I got a better understanding about why we say, 'regional cuisines constitute national cuisines'"

Student suggestions

Suggestions on ways to improve the learning experience included changing the presentation format from a powerpoint slideshow to include more audio and video elements, creating more interactions with community members, and having students taste and try foods from the sitopias. However, the most common suggestion (23 out of 55 students) was to include more food places, as the class presentations sometimes felt a bit repetitive. New food places suggested included Greektown, Little Italy, and Little India, but also flea markets, which are important sitopias to new immigrants and visible minorities (Sharkey et al, 2012) and definitely deserve more attention.

In addition to completing these evaluations, students also participated anonymously in an end-of-term evaluation, which showed similar feedback. Students mentioned how much they enjoyed the field trip and hands-on learning experience, and stated that they considered the CCPC to be a positive experience while taking the course. Students also highlighted the benefits of group work, with some students mentioning that this activity helped them make friends in class. Finally, similar to the previous evaluations, students also mentioned that they wanted the CCPC to be expanded and to include more locations.

Discussion

The main goal of the CCPC was to engage students from different academic backgrounds in the study of Canadian cuisine. As previously stated, engagement can be considered a multifaceted construct that takes into account behavioural engagement, emotional engagement, and cognitive engagement (Fredricks et al., 2004). All three of these constructs were observed following the completion of the challenge and presentations among the students. Behavioural engagement was seen through the collaboration among groups. This allowed for learning to occur among peers,

and ultimately resulted in a supportive class environment for the following weeks of the course (Coates & McCormick, 2014). Of importance, a culture of trust was created in the classroom, where students felt comfortable sharing their personal experiences and how they related to the course content. An important benefit of creating this environment in the classroom was that students felt connected to and respected among their peers. These students, being in first and second year, were provided with the opportunity to make friends in one of their courses. Emotional engagement was evident in the ways that students described the activity. The students were invested in completing the challenges, the presentations were creatively executed, and students were able to situate the content of the challenge and the course to their own personal context and realm of knowledge. Finally, cognitive engagement was apparent through discovery of new information and the inquisitive nature of the activity. Some students commented that the challenges exceeded their expectations, creating a sense of commitment to achieve all ten of them (please see the ten challenges in the Appendix). The students were allowed the freedom to discover two Toronto sitopias through an active method of learning. In essence, students participating in this game were building and constructing their own knowledge through active exploration.

Students engaging in the CCPC were able to partake in a non-traditional way of learning. The interdisciplinarity of food studies lent itself to the development of a pedagogical tool that allows students to actively explore their surrounding environment through a photography challenge. Small group discussions and teamwork were at the core of the activity, where students were provided with many opportunities to participate and share their insights. Additionally, the incorporation of technology and photography further engaged students in this unique way of learning.

This challenge was designed to allow students to enhance their learning outside of the classroom and the traditional uni-directional lecture format. Similar to what Santos (2018) calls knowing-with instead of knowing-about, the CCPC created a co-learning environment that enabled students to question concepts, find answers, and exchange with peers and the instructor. The role of the instructor was to facilitate continuous knowledge exchange among peers. In this environment, students and the instructor were both learning and teaching simultaneously about Canadian cuisine, which ultimately led to an inquisitive and supportive classroom environment. Through this activity, we observed a significant shift between students' participation and comfort. After numerous peer collaborations, students were more willing to participate in class discussions and share personal experiences.

Food studies includes a wide range of perspectives and approaches to understanding the processes that are involved in providing food for populations (Levkoe et al., 2020). The multidisciplinarity of food studies allowed students to draw connections between food and cultural influences, economic impacts, and political movements. In Kensington Market and Chinatown, students were exposed to and gained a deeper understanding of examples of urban policy, the importance of architecture, and its relation to food. Incorporating knowledge from many disciplines allowed students to widen their perspectives and understandings of sitopias in

Toronto. Students were also able to draw from personal experiences as a valid way of knowing (Gingras & Tiro, 2008) and see themselves within Canadian cuisine.

Activities such as the CCPC carry the potential for enabling students to situate themselves as participants of Canadian cuisine. Since cuisines can be inclusive or exclusive, there are contested views around multiculturalism and food. A common trap is the concept of "boutique multiculturalism", where a superficial commitment to diversity occurs while many underlying systemic social issues are ignored, such as racism, differences in religious beliefs, oppression, and other local conflicts (Fruchter & Harris, 2010). Another trap is the tension between "high cuisine" and the anthropological concept of cuisine as part of culture (Fischler, 1988). This highlights the need for decolonial approaches (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) in food studies that invite us to recognize and challenge the predominance of a Western hegemonic view of food places and Canadian cuisine as being overwhelmingly white. It also inspires us to coconstruct with students (including Indigenous and other visible minorities) experiential learning activities and content that reflect the multiple identities and food cultures of Canadians in Toronto, including the students and instructor in this course.

Future perspectives

Looking back at the CCPC pilot phase, it is possible to see areas that could be expanded in the future, including community engagement, the number of Toronto sitopias included as part of the activity, and improvements to funding and resources. Furthermore, it is also impossible to ignore the impact of COVID-19 on the future of experiential learning activities such as the CCPC. The CCPC did not include organized interactions with the community and community members within Kensington Market and Chinatown. Therefore, people from the local communities were not involved in challenge selection, planning, and creation processes. Students did not visit these food places to extract information from communities, but rather to co-create knowledge about Canadian cuisine and their own identities as Canadians. In future, we would include community members in the activity creation process. Despite not organizing more community engagement opportunities, this naturally happened during the challenge. For instance, while exploring the two sitopias, locals asked students about the project and volunteered to share information about specific sites, for example the car park in Kensington.

One limitation of the CCPC was the number of sitopias researched and included as part of the challenge. Due to logistics and course time constraints, more sitopias could not be included in 2019. Based on extensive student feedback and given how successful the challenge was, we are looking to expand the CCPC to include other Toronto food sitopias such as St. Lawrence Market, Little India, Little Italy, and flea markets, and to diversify the types of food places by including more Indigenous restaurants and food hubs.

Lack of funding and resources represented another limitation. Due to budget constraints, we did not have the funding to support students in tasting and trying different foods in

Kensington Market or Chinatown. This was unfortunate because food and eating are in themselves very engaging, providing deep significance through time and across cultures. The sensuousness, tastes, smells, and appearance of food are recognized as having the power to connect people, places, and occasions together (Crowther, 2014). Lack of funding was also a barrier to hiring more Indigenous and visible minority students to expand the CCPC to other less well-known locations in Toronto, with greater focus on decolonizing the learning of Canadian cuisine in Toronto.

Finally, if COVID-19 persists, *FNU100-Canadian Cuisine: Historical Roots* will likely be an online course, and the CCPC would need to be modified for the safety of the students. We foresee adapting the challenge through having student do an analysis of their own food communities and coming together to share their findings in an online format. The challenge questions would consist of more general guidelines and prompting questions to explore key themes within the course, and yet would still challenge students to be creative. Additionally, we could include the involvement of guest speakers who might not be able to travel to a classroom (e.g., restaurant owners, community members, or members of parliament), as well as ways to engage with multimedia (e.g., new food-related films and podcasts, slideshows) that new technology and advanced software platforms would enable. As a result, the future of the FNU100 Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge remains uncertain. As creators, we will continue to be open to change and willing to adapt the course and experiential elements in such a way as to keep students engaged under the circumstances.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this field report was to share our experience in co-creating this pilot project and its impact on students. We recognize that there are other initiatives, such as the Culinaria Research Centre, that are also exploring how food is shaped in different food places in Toronto (University of Toronto Scarborough, n.d). We wanted to inspire others to use decolonial approaches to Canadian cuisine and have created an open-access educational resource to share with other educators. With this experiential activity, in future, we hope to engage more students and expand the Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge.

The Canadian Cuisine Photography Challenge serves as a novel, pedagogical tool created to facilitate students' engagement with Canadian cuisine. It was designed to introduce students to the historical roots of Canadian cuisine, show how food has been an instrument of adaptation, and demonstrate the multidisciplinary ways in which food explains the human condition. Food is essential for life, and the foods we consume reflect our personal, social, and cultural experiences. National cuisines are simultaneously outcomes and processes, being in constant creation. This project highlights these aspects and challenges students to look deeper into people's relationships with food, and to explore how these relationships are shaped by broader and intersecting systemic forces. By taking students out of the classroom to explore the diversity of Canadian cuisine in the streets of Toronto, we wanted students to construct knowledge collectively and to see themselves as part of Canadian cuisine.

As an essential ingredient in Canadian culture and identity, Canadian cuisine reflects continuity and change. It is also influenced by its geography and people, as well as by global influences, climate change, and recently by COVID-19. We feel that it is important that all Canadians see themselves in this picture, including young adults that are now second-generation Canadians. Say cheese!

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