

**International  
Institute of  
Social Studies**

*Erasmus*

**Food Motivations, Ethical Consumerism, and  
Farmers Markets**

**A Case of Peterborough, Ontario**

A Research Paper presented by:

*Amanda Rylott*

Canada

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Agrarian, Food, and Environmental Studies**

AFES

Specialization:

**Environment and Sustainable Development**

Members of the Examining Committee:

C. Sathyamala

O. Visser

The Hague, The Netherlands  
December 2018

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

**Postal address:**

Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

**Location:**

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

# Contents

<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>viii</i>
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Ethical Consumerism	1
1.2 Context of the Study: Peterborough, Ontario	1
1.3 Location of Fieldwork: Wednesday Downtown Market	3
1.4 Statement of the Research Problem	4
1.5 Theoretical Framework	5
1.6 Scope and Limitations	7
1.7 Overview of Chapters	7
<b>Chapter 2 Methodology</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Methodological Framework	9
2.2 Overview of Field Research	9
2.3 Procedure	10
2.4 Limitations & Challenges of Data Collection	11
2.5 Positionality	13
2.6 Ethics	13
<b>Chapter 3 You Are What You Eat: Food and Identity Construction</b>	<b>14</b>
3.1 Individual Identity Construction	14
3.2 Collective Identity Construction	15
3.3 Social Media as a Performance of Identity	16
<b>Chapter 4 Conditionality of Convenience</b>	<b>20</b>
4.1 Time	20
4.2 Price	21
4.3 Food and Market Criteria	23
<b>Chapter 5 Ethical Consumption and Ideas of Responsibility</b>	<b>26</b>
5.1 Personal Responsibility	26
5.2 Social Responsibility	27
5.3 Ecological Responsibility	28
<b>Chapter 6 Conclusion</b>	<b>32</b>

5.1	What Now?	33
5.2	Future Research	33
	<b>Chapter 7 References</b>	<b>35</b>
	<b>Chapter 8 Appendices</b>	<b>39</b>

## **List of Appendices**

Appendix A: Market Rules & Regulations

Appendix B: Market User Survey

Appendix C: Consent Form Script

Appendix D: Interview Guides

Appendix E: Social Media Posts

Appendix F: Fieldwork Photos

Appendix G: Downtown Peterborough Food Environment

## List of Acronyms

AFN	Alternative Food Network
BoD	Board of Directors
DTM	Downtown Market (Wednesday)
ISS	Institute of Social Studies

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the many people whom without them, I would not be writing this research paper.

Thank you to my supervisor Christina Sathyamala, for keeping me empowered throughout this research process and for somehow always having time to answer my emails and questions. Your hard work and dedication are greatly appreciated.

Thank you to my second reader Oane Visser for your support and hard work as well. Also, to Mindi Schneider who provided guidance throughout the early stages of this research process.

To Haroon Akram-Lodhi, whose classes and guidance at Trent University sparked my passion for development studies and whom without I would not be at the ISS.

Thank you to the Peterborough Downtown Market and the Peterborough community for welcoming me into your space and offering your time and support.

To my parents, Carol and Ron Rylott, your constant support throughout my life and my studies has got me to where I am today. Thank you for everything you have done to make this possible.

Mark Ripley, you have been so incredibly supportive and a wonderful partner. You've encouraged me to push myself to be the best version I can be. Thank you for being in my life and a part of this journey.

Lauren Hayden, Ana Fabregas, Vira Mistry, and Cavan Kharrazian, not only have you supported me throughout these 15 months but you kept me laughing and optimistic even through the most stressful times. Each of you had made being away from home easier and I would have not survived without you. I am so grateful I have met you all through this program.

Thank you to my friends and family both in Canada and at the ISS. There are so many people who have kept me afloat throughout this period and it is difficult to name them all. In the 15 months, you had made this community a wonderful place to be a part of.

## **Abstract**

Through research conducted in a downtown farmer's market (DTM) in Peterborough, Ontario, this research paper aims to address and problematize the "ethical consumer" and how it is practised at the everyday level of the DTM. This paper contributes to existing urban food research by examining how ethical consumerism and food motivations are practised on a micro-level. By focusing on market users and market vendors, it examines the motivations on why people attend the DTM and their assumptions around the food choices people make. Results show that resident's food choices are determined not only by identity, convenience, and ethical eating/responsibility, but also price and social status. It also shows that those participating in ethical consumerism and farmers market spaces can be exclusive which has underlying issues of race and class. It is revealed that Peterborough is undergoing the process of "green gentrification" which can further exacerbate existing issues of exclusion and social justice.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

With threats of climate change and other environmental damage – the consequences of high-consumption lifestyles become more apparent, there is an increase of strategies for people to find ways to continue to consume "while producing optimal social outcomes" (Johnston 2008: 241). In turn, alternative food networks (AFNs) like farmers markets have become increasingly popular. This shows the commodification and co-optation of environmental activism (Alkon 2012). With the placement of these markets, there is a changing of the neighbourhood – mostly in terms of increased costs of living. Those involved in AFNs and promote ethical consumption fail to consider race, class, gender and social justice within their activism (Anguelovski 2015a). Food security has also been addressed by supplying more food stores which can be a misguided solution (Guthman 2008) instead of addressing the food accessibility of a community. In development, literature has progressed from promoting AFNs as ways to cure environmental and social issues to critiquing these networks in excluding existing community members. Recent development literature calls for food justice – "the right to healthy, fresh, affordable and local food for community food security" (Anguelovski 2015a: 185-186) – as a way to decrease food insecurity. Most literature surrounding AFNs and consumption focus on a macro-level approach – relating it to larger global systems. This paper will focus on every day practises and examining ethical consumption at a micro-level, analysing the nuances that happen within AFNs and how those who participate make their food choices. This paper aims to contribute to the growing literature around ethical consumerism and its critiques and also to food justice literature. By pursuing research in urban food systems and food justice – it can contribute to policy changes to properly address food insecurity while benefiting everyone in the community rather than only an elite group.

## **Keywords**

Farmers Markets; Ethical Consumerism; Food Justice; Green Gentrification; Food and Identity; Peterborough, Ontario



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Ethical Consumerism

Consumerism, as defined by Johnston (2008: 242) refers to, “the ideology suggesting a way of life dedicated to the possession and use of consumer goods.” Ethical consumerism is thus the idea that consumers are able to bring about social change through shopping (Johnston 2008). It allows citizens to exercise individual responsibility towards social and environmental justice (Johnston 2008). Ethical products are able to satisfy individual’s self-interest with consumption while also providing a discourse of sustainability and social justice for society (Johnston 2008). While there are many ways to ethically consume, food has become a significant contributor to this movement (Johnston 2008). Ethical consumerism is now taking place in niche markets, where consumers are able to form their identities and lifestyles (Johnston 2008). Farmers markets become a space where people can participate in ethical consumption while also forming an identity. Farmers markets have the ability to reinforce a sense of community while providing local food which can be a status symbol (Giorda 2018). In farmers markets, food is not just valued for caloric intake but is also valued for its drive towards sustainability and social justice (Dreby et al. 2017).

Food becomes a significant medium to express one’s identity and values. With threats of climate change and other environmental harms, people begin to take matters into their own hands to support environmental goods. People begin to identify as environmentalists through consuming “green products” rather than pressuring the government for environmental protection (Alkon 2012). This is Michael Pollan’s idea of “voting with your fork” (as cited in Alkon 2012: 31). By individuals pursuing this form of action, they are taking pressures off government and corporations for regulations. This paper will examine how consumers of Peterborough practise ethical consumption activism through a downtown farmer’s market. “Farmers markets reflect the rise of the green economy; they aim to increase environmental protection and justice through buying and selling goods” (Alkon 2012: 61). This paper is not examining the effectiveness of the Peterborough Downtown Market as an ethical place to shop – but how ethical consumption is practised and perceived by its market users.

### 1.2 Context of the Study: Peterborough, Ontario

Peterborough, Ontario is a city located in Southern Ontario, approximately half-way between Toronto and Ottawa. It was considered a significant city due to the General Electric factory, a large employer of the city and producing items which were significant for exports of Canada (New York Times 2018). In the 2013-2014 Canada’s census, out of major metropolitan areas, Peterborough County had the highest rate of food insecurity with 1 in 6 households being food insecure (Tarasuk et al. 2014). Peterborough County includes Peterborough city and also four other areas surrounding it. Peterborough has a history of having one of Canada’s highest unemployment rates (Peterborough Examiner 2013) with the unemployment rate reaching around the national average December 2017

(New York Times 2018). The unemployment rate may increase as General Electric is shutting down at the end of 2018 (New York Times 2018). The city is also a predominately white neighbourhood, with 93.8% of the population being white (StatsCanada 2016). It is also considered a low-income city, with income levels around 22% below the Ontario average and 17% below the Canadian average (Peterborough Examiner 2018b).

Until recently, there have been two farmers markets located in Peterborough; the Saturday “Morrow Park” market and the Wednesday “Downtown” market. Peterborough farmer’s markets have been a topic of discussion due to an investigation on one of the markets causing concern for market users. A group of local vendors reported that other vendors at the Saturday market were buying items from the Ontario food terminal in Toronto and reselling them at the market (Peterborough Examiner 2018a). Consequently, local market vendors who spoke up about this issue were kicked out of the market – which led to these vendors creating a new downtown market on Saturdays (Global News 2018a). Therefore, Peterborough currently has three farmers markets – two located in the downtown core and the Morrow Park market which is located approximately a ten-minute drive from downtown. This event has caused market users to be even more wary about where they buy their food from.

Peterborough is currently experiencing a housing crisis. The average income of houses has increased by \$100,000CAN (approximately 66,666 euro) within the past year (Peterborough Examiner 2018b). The average resident spends around 67% of their monthly income on rent and utilities and social housing is overflowed with 1500 people currently on the waitlist (Peterborough Examiner 2018b). According to Global News (2018b), “the cost of rent far exceeds the income levels people have here [in Peterborough].” There are two contributors to Peterborough’s housing crisis: people of higher incomes finding Peterborough attractive to move to and in general, a lack in the supply of housing (MyKawartha 2018). The lack of supply comes from developers who build new apartments that charge high rents or not wanting to redevelop old buildings because it’s challenging (MyKawartha 2018). There are some initiatives taking place to address this issue – for example, allowing homes to rent out unused space [as it was against the law before] (MyKawartha 2018) and the allocation of money for affordable housing units in Peterborough and the surrounding area (Monsef 2018). As these two initiatives were formed this year, it has yet to make any changes to the community. Peterborough is also home to two post-secondary schools which brings in many students to the area. Without proper provisioning of affordable housing, Peterborough is unable to support this growing population. A housing crisis can create a myriad of issues as it is tied to issues of income, employment, and food security (Global News 2018b). Therefore, housing has major implications for the future of Peterborough’s food security and accessibility.

Even with a housing crisis and the low-income of residents, the city is also undergoing changes in the neighbourhood, especially in the downtown area. In April 2018, Peterborough, along with other municipalities in Ontario, have received a substantial amount of money from the Ontario government for a “Mainstreet Revitalization Initiative” which calls for projects to improve the downtown core (Kawartha Now 2018). The reason for this initiative is to assist the small businesses of this area by beautifying the storefronts and also increasing tourism (AMO 2018b). People who have been living in the community also

noticed these changes, identifying it as “modernising” the town (Interviews 18 Aug 2018). These changes to Downtown Peterborough have been noticeable throughout the fieldwork – with new storefronts advertising health food or wellness products, and also the plans for creating a new urban park. Some of these changes have occurred within the 10 months of moving away from Peterborough for this program while other changes have happened since being back from fieldwork. While the initiative allows the funding to be allocated towards provision of affordable housing (AMO 2018a), it has yet to be pursued. Money instead is being allocated to beautifying the downtown area for businesses and tourism. Economic gains are taking priority over social welfare. This shows that Downtown Peterborough is undergoing a process of gentrification, risking the low-income residents of Peterborough to be unable to afford costs of living. Through this beautification, Peterborough will become even more attractive to those who want to move away from larger cities like Toronto, which can exacerbate the housing crisis.

### **1.3 Location of Fieldwork: Wednesday Downtown Market**

The Peterborough Downtown Market (DTM) was created in 1997 as an alternative to the Saturday farmer’s market at Morrow Park. The critique of the Saturday market is that many people believed it is filled with large producers or resellers and wanted a market specifically for locally-based small producers (Peterborough Downtown Market 2017). There are market rules and regulations that vendors need to meet and follow to ensure they can stay at the market and undergo inspections to ensure these rules are being met [please see Appendix A]. The DTM operates every Wednesday from the beginning of May to the end of October from 8:30 until 14:00 and is a “producer’s only market” (Interview 18 July 2018). The short season could be due to the market being completely outdoors and therefore it is difficult to run during cold Canadian winters. The short season can also be seen as increasing the exclusivity of the market as it’s only available for a limited time each year. There are thirty market stalls at the DTM which vary from week to week depending on seasonality of their product or absence. To be considered a farmer’s market in Ontario, 60% of the market vendors needs to be farmers – for the DTM, farmers occupy approximately 72% of the market (Interview 29 Aug 2018).

The DTM is organized by a Board of Directors (BoD) and also has a market manager (Interview 29 Aug 2018). Potential vendors apply through the BoD who will “vet” them based on criteria such as: reputation in the community, the vendor being a farmer themselves (rather than a baker or sells homemade goods), and if the market does not have their product yet or their products are interesting (Interview 29 Aug 2018). This allows the market to have a variety of different products and also to ensure they are supporting local farmers.

Due to the operation time of the DTM, those who work regular nine to five schedules are unable to attend the market. But the market can still be surprisingly busy on Wednesdays. Those who do work during those times but are located in the downtown core attend the market during their lunch hour and shop at the prepared food vendors (Interviews, Informal Conversations, Surveys). For those who do not fit into that demographic, one vendor noticed that most DTM users

tend to be white, middle-aged women (Interview 8 Aug 2018). Others noted a common demographic of market users were pregnant women, families with younger children and university-educated people (Informal Conversation). While at the market this became apparent; upon glances it is obvious that most of the market users tend to be white and seemed to be above the ages of thirty. Through surveys, the majority of respondents were between the age ranges of 18-29 and 50-70.

The DTM is located in the heart of Downtown Peterborough on Charlotte Street between George Street and Aylmer Street. This year because of the construction of a new urban park in their old location, the DTM is able to close off the street and be located directly onto the road. On the street itself, there are restaurants and other outlets which are open during the market. Some outlets on this street have opened in the last year boasting of organic health food or health and wellness items. On George Street, adjacent to the DTM, the food outlets consist of mostly fast food options [please see Appendix G].

## 1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

This research paper aims to address and problematize the “ethical consumer” and how it is practised at the everyday level of the DTM. Capitalism pursued by large corporations are deemed negative while ignoring the capitalist tendencies that exist within local economies (Alkon 2012). In farmer’s markets, while being spaces for people to express their identity, also ignore how the local can become a site of exclusion (Alkon 2012; Goodman et al. 2011). As ethical consumption becomes a site of activism, it excludes the low-income residents of Peterborough. This leads to a hierarchy of social status, where those who attend the DTM gather negative assumptions of those who do not. As the DTM is a place where people can engage in the local community and show their representation of the community, the local becomes a white middle-class space. Ethical consumption in the DTM is defined as ethical in terms of environmental goods, but often excludes social responsibilities. By relying on market-based approaches, ethical consumption works within the neoliberal framework of capitalism and puts pressure on the individual to solve problems that arise through capitalism’s harmful nature (Gunderson 2014). Individuals then begin blame each other for not consuming responsibly. Using Belasco’s (2008) framework for food choice motivations’, the research question will be explored using his three interconnected analytical lenses of identity, convenience, and responsibility. While Belasco’s work is useful for beginning to describe how these concepts are motivating people’s food choices, it overlooks how race and class issues are present in ethical consumption arenas. Therefore, while using Belasco’s work, this research paper will also fill in these gaps to provide a more well-rounded framework to be used in the context of Peterborough.

The central question that this research paper attempts to answer is:

“How is the concept of ‘local ethical consumerism’ constructed and practised through customers’ experiences at the Peterborough Farmers Market, and what role does it play as a motivating factor in their food choices?”

The following sub-questions will aid in answering this research question:

- 1) What is good food? – this question will examine how consumers select their food and what they find important when making food choices.

- 2) What motivates people to come to the market?
- 3) How does social media shape the identities of the DTM and its market users? – this question will examine what aspects are highlighted in social media posts, what is excluded, and the types of words used in posts.

Due to food security's close association with proper housing and farmer's markets and health wellness spaces association with gentrification and revitalization, this research question will address what is happening in Peterborough currently. By examining "local ethical consumerism" and how it is practised in Peterborough, this paper will show how individual responsibility has become the main platform to address justice issues and tries to create a specific identity of the Peterborough community. Through the idea of individual responsibility, the current issues of Peterborough are framed as issues of the individual, rather than addressing systemic problems of the community.

## 1.5 Theoretical Framework

This paper refers to different concepts and frameworks to analyse the data. This section will define the concepts used and how they have been applied to the research. While data will be structured and analysed through Belasco's framework, this paper will also engage in other development concepts. The other concepts included in this paper will be used to problematize and politicize Belasco's framework, and also fill in the gaps.

Alternative food networks (AFNs) are defined in this paper as food systems that are different to current food networks based on large-scale, industrial production (Davey 2018). Examples of AFNs are short food supply chains (Renting et al. 2003) and farmers markets. This paper will specifically focus on farmers markets. "Farmer's markets and various other food initiatives focus on local production and consumption" (Davey 2018: 854) – and thus can be considered an alternative food network. Unlike conventional grocery stores, farmers markets allow farmers to have direct sales to their consumers (Alkon 2012). AFNs like farmers markets also boast supplying fresh, organic food to its community (Alkon 2012).

Warren Belasco (2008) identifies three primary motivations in people's food choices and what they consume; identity, convenience, and responsibility. He expresses that responsibility needs to be given more attention but the main tensions are between convenience and identity (Belasco 2008). Mainly focusing on the industrial food system, he examines how people's identities influence their food choices and consumption, how the proliferation of the industrial food system has changed people's diets, and also how individual responsibility is prevalent in how people choose their food (Belasco 2008). He examines these three motivations through a global perspective – dividing choices between the "North" and the "South." He urges that people need to think about food differently and that we need to start accepting some inconveniences of a more sustainable food system for the betterment of our health, the environment, and the communities that we live in (Belasco 2008).

Belasco's framework falls under past alternative food network literature like short food supply chains (Renting et al. 2003), the slow food movement (Schneider 2008), and local food systems (Feenstra 1997). This literature focuses on the benefits of shortening the food chain and how consumers construct ideas of

value and how they can help solve issues of the industrial food system (Renting et al. 2003). While these literatures focus on the responsibility consumers have to the environment and their health – Belasco also brings in the aspect of identity and how that can affect food choices. This framework is relevant in analysing general food motivations by organising them under the broader motivations of identity, convenience, and responsibility for this paper and examining why people attend the DTM. This framework was chosen because these motivations were common themes continuously brought up in the data. He skims over the larger issues of race and class when discussing food motivations and focuses mainly on the individual outside of these systems (Belasco 2008). The limitations of this framework are that it ignores obstacles and underlying issues people face when consuming food and that not all food “choices” are necessarily a choice. By only focusing on macro-levels, Belasco also fails to analyse the differences of food choices and motivations that can happen within cities due to race, ethnicity, class, and gender. This framework can be improved by considering systemic issues involved in food choices and also including the proliferation of AFNs. By adding onto this framework, this paper will be situated with the growing body of food justice literature.

To fill in the gaps of the above framework, this paper will be using four other concepts; food justice, localism, ethical consumption/consumer, and social media narratives. Food justice combines environmental and social justice and these movements organize to ensure equitable access of healthy foods to marginalized residents in a community (Anguelovski 2015b). This movement has, “a vision that brings together food and economic development, improved nutrition and health, and community empowerment” (Anguelovski 2015a: 184). Food justice groups are often critical of AFNs, as they tend to only improve access of healthy foods to wealthier (and often whiter) residents of a community (Anguelovski 2015b). This concept will engage with the data by examining the perceptions and food motivations of the DTM and market users through a race and class perspective. Through the lens of food justice, this paper will critically analyse farmer markets and Belasco’s framework.

Localism is when, “the local is framed as space or context where ethical norms and values can flourish” (Goodman et al. 2011: 11). The local also becomes a resistance to a larger capitalist industrial food system (Goodman et al. 2011). But Goodman et al. (2011) is also critical of local food systems as it is predominately white middle-class residents who define what is local. Localism is often romanticized, lacking reflexivity, and ultimately can lead to exclusion of marginalized community members (Goodman et al. 2011). This concept will engage with the data in the identity and responsibility chapters, by examining how “the local” and local food is defined in the context of the DTM, who defines local, and also how it contributes to exclusion in this space.

Another concept that will be used throughout this paper is ethical consumption. Johnston (2008) explains that ethical consumption is used as a solution for the tensions between the socially-responsible citizen and a consumption lifestyle. Ethical consumption therefore is consumption that allows individuals to, “shop to satisfy their desires and produce optimal social outcomes” (Johnston 2008: 241). This type of activism still works within the neoliberal framework of capitalism; focusing on the individual to create positive social change. Using market users’ experiences, the research paper will examine how ethical consumption is

practised at the DTM and how the increase in ideas around ethical consumerism has motivated food choices.

Social media posts created by the vendors and the DTM will be analysed using Dreby et al.'s (2017) narratives that farmer's put forth through social media. Posts by the vendor's and the DTM tend to highlight a "community," "lifestyle," "small-business," or "market-oriented" narratives as defined by Dreby et al. (2017). A farm evoking a community narrative on social media post about how the farm has a goal of community-building and provides education to its following (Dreby et al. 2017). A farm that has a lifestyle narrative tends to use a family story to market their product, posting about daily activities and farm life (Dreby et al. 2017). Small business narratives are posts that show the farm as being successful due to its dedication to family and its long-standing history as a farm (Dreby et al. 2017). Lastly, market-oriented narratives focus on the quality of the product in their social media (Dreby et al. 2017). For this paper, the community and life-style narrative will be the focus for social media posts created by vendors and the DTM. Using these narratives, social media posts by the DTM and vendors were analysed to see what is included in these posts and how the DTM and farmers market food is framed.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitations**

This research paper was conducted at the DTM and in downtown Peterborough; any information reported about other markets is anecdotal from participants and was not collected at those markets. Due to this, I was not able to follow-up in those spaces to validate these statements. This is one of the limitations of this study; focusing only on one farmers market which occurs once a week throughout the summer season. Time constraints of the research period itself and the limited length of the research paper is why there is a focus on only one of Peterborough's markets. The DTM only operates from May until the end of October and does not examine how farmers market operations can change depending on changes in seasons as Canada undergoes four different seasons throughout the year. While examining micro-levels of ethical consumerism contributes to the growing literature on this topic, it also limits this research. By only focusing on the micro-level, this research is very context specific and may not be relevant to larger global instances or other contexts.

## **1.7 Overview of Chapters**

This research paper will be broken down by Belasco's food motivations; identities, convenience, and responsibility. Chapter 2 will focus on methodology and methods. This will include an overview of the fieldwork, how the data was collected, challenges that arose during the fieldwork period, ethical considerations, and positionality. Chapter 3 will examine how food choices and shopping forms individual and collective identities. It will also include how social media is used in farmer's market settings and aids in developing identities. Chapter 4 will analyse aspects of convenience and how convenience influences market users and non-market users in food choices and their ideas of "good food." It also examines from the view of the producer who makes decisions of what they provide or where they sell based on their own conveniences. Chapter 5 will look at how responsibility motivates market users to attend the DTM. Responsibility will be

divided by personal responsibility, environmental responsibility, and social responsibility. In the conclusion, this paper will suggest possible changes to be made to policy or to AFNs and where future research is needed to continue to add onto this topic.



# Chapter 2

## Methodology

### 2.1 Methodological Framework

I will be using qualitative research methodology with ethnography to pursue this research. Ethnography, according to Cerwonka (2007: 14) is looking at, “how social structures, relationships, and processes produce cultural forms that in turn shape individual consciousness and practises.” Ethnography is an interpretive approach that also requires flexibility (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007) making it an appropriate choice for this research. Ethnographic strategies, like mapping and participant observation, help analyse the DTM and downtown Peterborough. Ethnography involves the researcher being a part of the daily lives of participants, observing everyday occurrences in the form of participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). To complement the ethnographic approach, qualitative interviewing was also used in this research process in the form of semi-structured interviews. Participant observation became a significant method to collect research as I was able to see the interactions between vendors and market users in what I assume as the most common and neutral situation. That being said, as a researcher, I will always have an influence on those who I am researching. While it is possible for ethnography to have researchers that “covertly” involve themselves in the lives of the participants (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 3), this can still have an influence on how the participants are interacting. Qualitative interviewing complemented this research by gathering further information on notes from participant observation. These two research methods worked well together as ethnography allowed me to examine how people interacted at the market and how it functioned while qualitative interviewing allowed me to put that information into a better context. Ethnography also allowed me to look at how ethical consumption is practised on a weekly basis through the DTM.

### 2.2 Overview of Field Research

This area was chosen to conduct field research as Peterborough is a place where I lived for five years from 2012 until 2017 before moving to The Hague for this program. It is a place where I am familiar and have connections in and have noticed the changes myself while living there and returning for fieldwork. The fieldwork period was from July 16, 2018 until August 29, 2018 where I lived in the downtown area of Peterborough with people who I knew before. Every Wednesday I would go to the market during set times – some mornings, some afternoons, and a few full days. Different times allowed me to observe the market during different periods of the day to notice any changes. This led to seven market days total in which I conducted participant observation, interviews, informal conversations, and surveys. On other days, I would interview non-market users, conduct observation of the downtown area, prepare for the next market day, and analyse the data that had been collected.

Overall, six DTM vendors were interviewed, four were recorded and transcribed, one of those vendors did not own the farm itself and was an employee.

The other two interviews were written down in a notebook during the interview. These interviews were conducted during market hours. Four were produce vendors, one was a meat vendor – specifically chicken and pork, one was a specialty stall selling speciality food items like artisanal chocolates and drinks. Four non-market users were interviewed which was recorded and transcribed. Two of the non-users were current college students, one was a recent university graduate, and one was retired. Of this group, three identified as women while one identified as a man. The market manager was also interviewed which was not recorded but written in a notebook. Informal conversations happened at the market with vendors, market users, and the market manager. Data from these conversations were either written down during or immediately after they were finished. All fieldnotes, interviews, and conversations were typed onto a computer following the market days to be analysed. Forty-one market user surveys were completed, twenty-five women, fifteen men, and one person who identified as agender. The participants who completed the survey were between the ages of 20 and 80, with the highest response from the age range of 20 to 29. Majority of the participants were white (34), two participants identified as “mixed race”, three participants were people of colour, and two participants did not answer the question.

## 2.3 Procedure

Data collection for this research was held in three locations: the DTM, Downtown Peterborough, and social media websites Facebook and Instagram. Twitter is not included as a part of the research study as it was underutilized by participants. The means of collecting data included market-user surveys, participant observation at the market, social media analysis, semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and mapping. Participant observation included attending the DTM and sitting with vendors on market days. This allowed me to observe the processes and interactions between vendors and market users. It also allowed me to have informal conversations with the vendors in between customers and when the market was slow. Sometimes these conversations would be about the market while other times it would be about ourselves which in turn, built rapport. Surveys were conducted with market users. Informal conversations happened between vendors, the market manager, and market users as they were filling out surveys. Mapping included the DTM itself and also the food environment of Downtown Peterborough.

Using purposeful sampling, 41 surveys were completed by market users. Respondents were approached at the market while they were walking through or when observing a vendor stall, they were asked by myself or vendors if they would like to participate after they purchased their items. Six vendors were interviewed for this study – chosen either through active participation or purposeful sampling. Some vendors came forward and said that they were interested in being interviewed. Purposeful sampling occurred when I was walking through the market observing, some vendors would stop me to talk and ask for further information about myself or the study – and then I would ask if they want to participate in an interview. I tried to obtain a variety of vendors from produce, to meat, and specialty food items. Using social media, non-market users were found using active participation through advertising and snowball sampling. I posted on Facebook to my followers if they wanted to participate in a research study and did not attend the DTM; this led to people “tagging” friends that they

knew who live in the Peterborough area. This led to two interviews initially. I ended up interviewing an acquaintance who then took me around downtown Peterborough to interview people they know who works downtown but do not attend the market.

After data collection, semi-structured interviews and informal conversations were manually coded. Categories for organizing the data were labelled as the different motivations stated by Belasco. Surveys were also coded to follow these categories. Data that did not fit were noted aside to try to find different themes. By analysing different answers and themes – three “sub-motivations” became apparent under Belasco’s food motivations. Identity was divided into individual, collective, and social media identities, convenience was divided into time, price, and food criteria, and lastly responsibility was divided by personal, social, and environmental. Surveys were examined and organized based on similarities and differences of individuals answers. Demographic characteristics were tallied and answers were sorted and grouped by the question asked. Due to the surveys being open-ended, answers had to be organized and modified to fit under one category. For example, if a market user answered “good atmosphere” under their favourite aspect of the market while another user answered “good vibes” – these both were put under an “atmosphere” category.

## 2.4 Limitations & Challenges of Data Collection

This section of the paper will overview the limitations of the research due to the sampling style and methodology that was chosen. It will also discuss the challenges that occurred while collecting and analysing data. These limitations and challenges recognized are those which I found significant during the fieldwork period. While some challenges are expected during any research period, some were unexpected.

*Ethnographic Approach* – Choosing ethnography as the main methodology for this study does come with its challenges. As expressed by Hammersley (1992: 85), when conducting ethnography, researchers tend to have an issue with “generalisability.” That is, because ethnography focuses on one case or a few small-scale cases, it can be difficult to relate it to a larger theory or make relevant outside of the context it is in (Hammersley 1992). This was an observation made by Goodman & Goodman (2009) who explained that in AFN literature, due to a heavy ethnographic approach to local networks, it lacks theoretical development. The challenge for this research was to make relevant a study about an AFN located in Peterborough to development theories and also have an original contribution to literature.

*Weather* - As the DTM is an outdoor-only market, one of the main factors that affected data collection was the weather in both positive and negative ways. Over the span of fieldwork, Peterborough underwent heat warnings. These heat warnings afterwards were sometimes met with thunderstorms. A few Wednesdays throughout the summer were rainy and hot – making the DTM slower than usual. As Wednesdays were the most appropriate time for sampling market users, this did have an effect on the research. It was much harder to sample market users who were interested in filling out a survey and having an interview afterwards. To overcome this challenge required flexibility and rearranging the re-

search design. It was easier for market users to fill out a survey rather than commit to an interview, therefore, instead of a small amount of surveys and interviews with market-users I decided to only conduct a large amount of surveys. With the market being slower than usual, this allowed for a perfect opportunity to speak to more vendors. Due to this, I added questions to vendor interviews asking about their perceptions on market users and non-market users.

*Open-Ended Survey Questions* – This was a challenge that arose during the analysis of the surveys. For surveys without any options, while I received some long, informative answers from participants, I also received short, vague answers – some that were unhelpful to the research. With open-ended questions, you receive a variety of answers which can be positive, but can also make it difficult to categorize for analysis. With this type of survey, market users need to take more time to fill it out which many people were disinterested in. I feel if the survey had more closed questions and different options for market users to choose from, I would have been able to retrieve more surveys and more precise answers.

*Snowball Sampling* – This sampling method is when one participant gets you into contact with people they know to participate in the research (King & Horrocks 2010). As noted by King & Horrocks (2010: 34), this can become a limitation in research because with this sampling method, the participant usually introduces other potential participants that are “like minded” and similar in demographic. This happened with the interviews of non-market users; when snowball sampling was used, the participants who I was introduced to were also young adults, either currently attending or recently graduated from post-secondary school – just like the initial participant. This limits the study as the majority of my non-market users were of similar demographics and could possibly provide similar answers within the interview and therefore limiting analysis. While this did provide a limitation, this type of sampling method was used as it was offered by the initial participant and I had difficulty finding non-market users on my own.

*Busy/Unreliability/Market Hours* – Due to the summer being busy for farmers in terms of on farm work and at the market, there was an unreliability in participants. For example, one week a vendor would express interest in being interviewed and have me sit at their stall for the next week and when that time came around, I was told it was too busy that day for them to have an interview. This would also happen if an interview was planned near the end of the market day and by the time market users would stop coming to the stall, it was time for the vendor to pack up and leave. Due to vendors having other obligations after the market, it was difficult to continue interviews after market hours. The best and most convenient time for vendors to be interviewed was only once a week during the market hours which made fieldwork more difficult. This also limited participants as it was difficult to speak to many prepared food vendors as they always had long line-ups of market users and had no time for an interview.

*Burn-Out* – With the structure of this program, students have little time to take a break from school and assignments. While fieldwork burn out is a challenge, I experienced burn out quicker during the fieldwork period due to the rest of the year catching up to me. This was noticeable on market days – at the start of the fieldwork period, I would immediately write my fieldnotes after I returned from the market. When a few weeks had passed, the amount of time between returning from the market and writing up my notes increased. It was more difficult to be excited about the research later on in the fieldwork period.

## 2.5 Positionality

Different aspects of your identity influence different parts of your research (Mullings 1999), this can include types of questions that are asked, how data is collected, and even how participants respond to you. It is important to note that these aspects of power are fluid and negotiated (Merriam et al. 2001), and thus is dependent on the context. I am a young, white, educated female from a middle-income family pursuing research. Mullings (1999) expressed that researchers tend to be in a position of power as they choose the questions that are asked, what is included in the research, and also how the information is analysed. As the position of a researcher – I identified as an outsider, but I can also be considered an insider (Mullings 1999). Living in Peterborough for five years before moving to the Hague and with both sides of my family growing up in Peterborough, I was able to build a reputation with participants in this study. Guthman (2008) concluded that food projects like farmers markets placed in low-income communities tend to resonate with white middle-income residents and that these spaces perpetuate whiteness, often excluding those who do not fit into those identities. I fit into the profile of someone who would attend a farmer's market. My identity and my connection with Peterborough allowed for easy access to participants for this study. In Peterborough and the DTM, I felt included and comfortable in the space – while not everyone wanted to talk to me, people were polite and explained why instead of ignoring me. This is a very different experience than those who may be excluded from farmers markets. Being this close to the market as well made it difficult to be critical because of my connections with Peterborough and its community. Throughout this research process I was reflecting on my positionality and its contributions to my work.

## 2.6 Ethics

Many steps were taken to ensure that the research process was ethical and protected the participants from harm. For this study, the main objectives of ethics were for participants to be informed, to know that what they are saying will be used for an academic paper, to ensure confidentiality for the participant, and lastly for them to know that they can revoke consent at any time. Before entering the field, the market manager was contacted about the research. I explained the reason of the paper and how I was planning on conducting research. I received permission to use the DTM as a space to conduct research and was introduced to those involved in the market. For each interview, oral informed consent was given [please see Appendix C]. I chose this approach instead of written consent as I did not want participants to feel as though they were “signing away” their consent. Participants were also provided with the form so they could keep it to review and have my contact information. Participants were also informed that at any time they can withdraw from the interview or revoke their interview afterwards if they did not feel comfortable. At the beginning of each survey, there was a paragraph to inform market users about the research, confidentiality, and what the information would be used for.

## Chapter 3

# You Are What You Eat: Food and Identity Construction

Belasco (2008: 8) discusses identity construction as a motivation of consumer food choice which involves, “personal preference, pleasure, creativity, the sense of who you are, and where you are.” Food choice and consumption expresses not only individual but also collective identities (Belasco 2008), creating feelings of community and a sense of belonging. “People use food to speak with each other, to establish rules of behaviour, and to reveal ‘what you are’” (Belasco 2008: 15). This chapter will explore the last part of that statement – how consumption at a farmer’s market formulates who and what you are as a consumer – both individually and collectively. While Belasco focuses mainly on ethnic or regional identities to food; the identities that I saw being constructed through the consumption at the DTM are those of a middle-class and socially conscious consumer. Using conversations with vendors, market-users, and non-market users alike, it becomes apparent the perception of the types of people that attend the market. Each of these participants were asked their perceptions on why they think people attend or do not attend the market, providing an idea of the assumptions made around market users and non-market users.

### 3.1 Individual Identity Construction

Johnston (2008) explains that consumption, especially ethical consumption, became popular because it is a way that people can frame their identity. Vendors and the market stress education as an important factor for attending the DTM. Whether this was formal education; as a vendor stated that popularity of farmers markets in Peterborough was due to the two universities we have or just being aware about food and food systems (Informal Conversation & Interviews). Some participants even stated that while farmers market food is more expensive, people will find it worth it if they are educated. One vendor said that they wished people were more educated about farm work and that food is cheap at grocery stores due to subsidies and exploited labour (Interview 8 Aug 2018). These assumptions indicate that the identity of people who go to the market are knowledgeable, university educated people who “care” about the food that they are eating. Identities with food can also be expressed through rituals and traditions (Belasco 2008). Vendors noted that they see the same people who attend the DTM every week which was noticeable during observation. It becomes a part of people’s routine and tradition to come to the market every Wednesday. Food can also bring about personal recollections – motivating people on their food shopping (Belasco 2008). For example, a market user said that they came to the market because it reminded them of the markets “back home” in Egypt (Survey). While still expressing issues with the pricing of products, his recollection of personal experiences in Egypt from the DTM brings him to the market.

Buying food from a farmer’s market has become a way that people are able to display their status and knowledge about food. “Consumption of green prod-

ucts remain an expression of middle-class identity” (Alkon 2012: 145). One vendor explained that people enjoy serving food to others and say that “their friend grew that” or saying that they know who grew it (Interview 29 Aug 2018). Farmer’s market food is a topic that can be discussed around the table. Cohen (2018: 4) states that, “food culture shapes identity and status and is integral to gentrification.” One of the motivations behind ethical consumerism is that the consumer is able to shape and show off their identities. By notifying other people about their knowledge and consumption of farmer’s market food – consumers are notifying their class and wealth in a socially acceptable way. “Taste as an aesthetic has become a sign of privilege” (Guthman 2003: 52). Guthman (2003) explains that one’s taste has become a performance of identity. Through AFNs, one is able to display their tastes of high quality, expensive, local food.

Individual identity can also be a reason why some people do not go to the market or do not buy all their groceries from the market. One non-market user explained that they need to buy things that you are not able to at the market like Chinese vegetables because of their mother who they live with (Interview 18 Aug 2018). A market user had also expressed that while they do shop at the market they also go to the local Chinese grocer in town among others, listing products that you are unable to get at the DTM (Survey). This shows that while some people form part of their identity through shopping at the DTM, there is a wide range of identities and tastes that people have – some which are more important than others. With the DTM’s regulations of what can be sold, majority of the products have to be made within the 100km radius. This means that the products, especially the produce, needs to be able to endure the Canadian climate and grow in the area. While many things can grow in the Peterborough area from May to October, they may not be culturally appropriate for all of its residents.

### **3.2 Collective Identity Construction**

The recent events surrounding Peterborough’s farmers markets has caused the creation of the identity of the market-user that attends specifically the DTM instead of the other Morrow Park market. It has been expressed that some market users have “boycotted” the Morrow Park market after learning that there were resellers and do not support the real local farmers (Informal Conversations). When asked where else people shop, there were more people saying that they attend the new downtown market on Saturdays than people who shopped at the Morrow Park market (Surveys). People who come to the DTM are those who want “truly” local food or do not want to be involved in the issues of the Morrow Park market (Informal Conversations). Even in the group of ethical consumers, there are some consumers considered more ethical or more dedicated to responsibility than others.

Not only is there an identity construction around the market user as a “socially-conscious, knowledgeable consumer” but there is identity construction of Peterborough and its residents. Through the DTM, other farmers markets, and its recent revitalization, Peterborough begins to construct the identity as an environmental city. Three out of the four non-market users discussed how Peterborough has changed since they moved into the neighbourhood. As stated by one of the non-market users, “Peterborough is probably the best city for farmer’s markets” due to its environmental initiatives, restaurants buying local produce, and also because of the two post-secondary schools that buy local food

for their restaurants on campus (Interview 18 Aug 2018). This identity of an environmentally-friendly city can attract future residents who may be interested in these spaces. These accounts described aspects that can trigger or exacerbate gentrification without using that term. Some examples of these include the creation of bike lanes, modernisation of the neighbourhood, more community or environmental events and the opening of more stores in the downtown area (Interviews 18 Aug 2018).

The DTM situating its vendors within a 100km radius and boasting about its locality, creates an identity of “Peterborough food.” Peterborough is romanticized through these lenses, showing what is included and excluded from the collective identity of its market users and even non-market users. Many participants expressed the importance of supporting local Peterborough farmers or Canadian farmers. While this includes an obligation of social responsibility which will be further examined in Chapter 5, there is also an identity aspect to these statements. By continuously using the word “Canadian” or “Peterborough” farmers or food, participants expressed aspects of nationalism or localism. It implies that Canadian or Peterborough products are “good” compared to products that come from elsewhere. Guthman (2008) noted this while examining alternative food practises, that localism can have underlying xenophobia; being from Peterborough or Canada is deemed superior. As said by a vendor, “a farmers market is a reflection of its own community” (Interview 29 Aug 2018). That is, a farmer’s market is more than just a place where people go to buy food – it becomes a place where people can become involved and socialize in their community and also represents Peterborough. But, by saying a farmer’s market reflects its own community can leave others who are unable to participate in these spaces and ultimately become excluded from this reflection.

In the surveys, market users answered how long they have been attending the market and there is a drastic difference between white market users and people of colour. Those who identified as a person of colour or “mixed” seemed to have only been attending the DTM recently – the longest period of time was 4 years. This is compared to market users who identified themselves as white who have been attending for many years – the longest period of time being 21 years which was an answer for multiple users. There is also a drastic difference in the number of white market users and people of colour who attend the market – making it difficult to compare the quantitative information. These differences could mean that the DTM identifies more with the white residents of Peterborough, leaving non-white residents feeling out-of-place or excluded from the space and thus have only participating more recently. Only one person of colour wrote down “community” as one of their favourite aspects of the market – which was a more frequent answer with white market users. This could explain that there is less of a community feel for people of colour at the DTM.

### **3.3 Social Media as a Performance of Identity**

Social media has become an outlet where you can create a brand for yourself – whether you are an individual, a vendor, or the market manager. While individuals tend to stick to social media sites like Facebook or Instagram, some vendors and the DTM have websites which can go further into detail about their business. Vendors were asked if and how they use social media in terms of their business, market users and non-market users were asked if they have ever used



social media to post about the market, food, or their food consumption and if they knew anyone else who did. Websites and social media pages of certain vendors and the DTM were collected to see what was being posted, the words that were being used, and what was being excluded from the posts. Market user's posts were excluded from this research due to ethical considerations and time limitations.

Vendor's explained that they post updates on how produce is growing, photos of their farm, and their stalls on market days which fits in with Dreby et al.'s (2017) lifestyle narrative. This allows farmers to show accountability with their products and brings their followers into their lives. It is used as a way to advertise products and also build consumer confidence; which seems to be a bigger necessity since it was revealed that there were some resellers instead of farmers at the Morrow Park market. On the other hand, the DTM social media invokes a community-based narrative as described by Dreby et al. (2017). This could be because it does not have to prove transparency – as the vendors are already doing that – but it wants to show how the DTM benefits the community. Many posts are photos of the street captioned as “transforming” the neighbourhood, others are photos of products sold at the market using terms like “bounty” or expressing its locality (Social Media). Some posts are about community events outside of food that occur during the market days – showing how the Peterborough community outside of agriculture can also be involved in the market (Social Media). Through the community-based narrative, the DTM is able to solidify itself as a significant contributor to the Peterborough community. Through advertising, producers are able to frame what consumers want or need (Gundersen 2014). In this context, the DTM and vendors are able to frame what “good food” is.

In social media and website content, certain aspects are highlighted while others are hidden. Belasco (2008) uses an example of Nabisco, the company that founded Oreos, provides a section on their website where Oreo consumers can share their personal memories, but is moderated to post only positive memories. Aspects that are excluded from these posts tend to be negative (Belasco 2008). This also happens with the social media posts of the vendors and the DTM. While the beauty and locality of products are highlighted in these posts, price is often excluded. The social media used in the DTM context forms the identity of a market that benefits Peterborough by providing “good food” to its community without addressing that their products are only accessible to certain people. [Please see Appendix E for examples of social media posts]

Out of 41 surveys, 18 participants stated that they posted on social media about food, the market, or their food consumption. These answers ranged from “not really” or “not regularly” to “yes.” One participant even explained they did because everything at the market was “so beautiful” (Survey). While some participants expressed that they do not use social media themselves to post about food, they know people who do. A vendor addressed that they often see people they know come to the market and later post a photo on social media, even if they did not buy anything (Interview 29 Aug 2018). Even without purchasing a product, the DTM becomes a place that can prove someone's status. The vendor further explained this happens because being at a farmer's market is “hip” or “trendy” (Interview 29 Aug 2018). Vendors who do not use social media often explained that they know they need to start or they are trying to develop it (Interviews). This shows that social media is not the main priority of farmers to

reach out to their consumers but they realize its importance in advertising. This could be due to the reliance of existing relationships they have with long-standing market users while realizing the need to reach out to new potential consumers.

By emphasizing beauty and locality in these posts, the market frames good food as aesthetically pleasing and also originates from a short distance. In some farmers markets, “space is reduced to good and bad distances” (Slocum 2006: 8). This seems to be evident in the social media posts of the DTM, framing local food as good while non-local is bad. The posts also emphasize social responsibility with captions that include terms like “hard-working” or that farmers will always be at the market no matter the weather (Social Media). It expresses a social contract in which farmers work hard and endure bad weather to provide food for the community so people should come to the market and support them – this will be further addressed in section 5.2.

White is considered the “default” in these spaces, which was noticeable while surveying market users. At the end of the surveys, questions about the demographics of market users were asked including age, race, and gender identity. The market users who had an issue with that question were white – either asking why I was asking that question, how it was a weird question or leaving it blank. Some users used the term “white” when answering the question and others would put terms like “Caucasian,” “Canadian,” or other terms used in replacement of white. Guthman (2008: 434) suggests that this is due to the invisibility of “white” in these spaces and the denial of white privilege. The surveys noted that the majority of people who attend the market are white. This fits in with current literature which states that due to the exclusivity of these AFNs, people of colour often do not participate (Anguelovski 2015a). Whiteness then, tends to be a part of AFNs and ethical consumption practises.

Green consumerism allows consumers to differentiate themselves from “non-ethical” consumers (Gunderson 2014). While Belasco (2008) examines how identities influence food motivations, he does little examination of how food choices can also form identities beyond cultural identities. By analysing these assumptions, we can see how participants divide and categorize themselves through their food choices. Food shapes who we are while simultaneously shaping who we are not (Belasco 2008). Suggesting the type of people who attend the market also suggests the identities of the people who do not attend the market. Thus, by saying market users are people who are educated and care about what they put in their body – people are also suggesting those who do not go to the market (or are unable to) do not care and are not intelligent. Wendell Berry (as cited in Belasco 2008: 57) said, “industrial eaters are simply ignorant, irresponsible, and easily deceived.” Belasco (2008) does not critically address this statement. When education is also based on “formal education” like attending universities, these can also have class-based implications. While aspects of environmental responsibility or justice is highlighted in the collective identity of Peterborough, aspects of social justice are often ignored. None of the participants discussed Peterborough as being a low-income community, having high unemployment rates, or the housing crisis. When discussing changes in the city, the terms used were modernising or revitalising, “brightening it up” (Interview 18 Aug 2018), not gentrification, displacement, or the closing of downtown stores. These instances show that the identity of those who attend farmer’s markets and the collective identity of the DTM and Peterborough is a white middle-class

identity. Defining a community has an aspect of exclusion – groups can only be defined in reference to those who do not belong (Alkon 2012). While it can bring people close together – the local identity, “is constructed through race, class, and lifestyle” (Alkon 2012: 98). While it can be a friendly atmosphere if you belong to the farmer’s market, it can also be unfriendly if you do not.

This section has overviewed how identity can shape food choices and how food can be used to show off these identities. It examines how market users and vendors perceive themselves which in turn expresses how they perceive those who do not use the market. This section also examines how the DTM, vendors, and market users frame their collective identities through the market and while also defining what is local. Only the positive aspects of Peterborough are included in this definition while its systemic issues are ignored. Through the analysis of social media, the data shows how vendors and the DTM frame “good food” to its consumers. Good food in this context is defined as local and aesthetically pleasing rather than financially accessible to the community. Ethical consumerism and farmers markets become a way in which identities can be expressed.

## Chapter 4

# Conditionality of Convenience

Convenience in terms of food, defined by Belasco (2008), includes price, availability, and also requirements of time as a part of food preparation. Belasco (2008) does acknowledge that there are disparities in which people are afforded different amounts of convenience – often unavailable to the world’s poor – and also notes that in order to start fixing the food system, people should deal with more inconveniences. Belasco (2008) references critics ideas that the industrial food system and the convenience it provides us through pre-prepared food brings about a loss of independence and knowledge about food and cooking. This chapter will examine how time and price motivates the food choices of Peterborough residents, and also food criteria. Food criteria will examine the set of characteristics that people look for in food before choosing it and what is considered “good food.” It will also problematise the assumptions made by Belasco who only examines these categories globally without analysing these issues in a local context. By leaving out the local context, Belasco divides his work between the “rich North” and the “poor South” – which can exclude micro-level disparities.

### 4.1 Time

Many participants have expressed the convenience of the DTM’s location, being at the heart of downtown Peterborough. Many survey participants have noted that their favourite part of the DTM was that it was close to work, they were able to come during their lunch break, or it was walking distance from their home (Surveys). If you work downtown, the DTM offers people to be able to grab food and groceries on their lunch break, saving them time after work for food preparation. The vendors and market manager also expressed the significance of the “lunch rush” in which people, mainly from the office jobs downtown, during their lunch hour would fill up the market (Informal Conversations & Interviews). This could be because these jobs may offer their employees an hour for lunch rather than fast food places that may offer fifteen to thirty-minute breaks – not leaving enough time for employees to attend the farmer’s market and shop. The downtown location, while being beneficial to some, also steers non-market users away from it. Two non-market users who live outside of Downtown Peterborough discussed the difficulty of its location mainly due to lack of parking and traffic (Interviews). One interviewee who works at a mall attached to a supermarket said that even though the supermarket is farther away from her home than the DTM, it is more convenient for her to go there as she can go on break or after work to buy food (Interview 18 Aug 2018). This is a similar strategy that is used by market users who work downtown.

Due to the DTM’s hours of operation – on a weekday in the morning to early afternoon – it can make it difficult for those who do not work in the area with lengthy breaks to attend the market. With non-market users, the hours of the market made it difficult for them to attend. Two non-market users stated that the DTM did not fit in with their work schedule and that they worked during the hours it was open or could not get up early enough to attend before work

(Interviews). Therefore, it is necessary for them to go to grocery stores that fit in with their work schedule; open late or open on other days. Very few market users and vendors discussed the hours of operation as being a limitation for people to attend the market. By excluding this from their observations, they imply that the responsibility should be placed on the individual to find time to attend the DTM, rather than the DTM accommodating different schedules.

Another aspect of time and convenience that is not addressed by Belasco is that you are unable to buy everything you need at a farmer's market, like dry goods and household items. Vendors, the market manager, and market users all expressed the different places they shop to get everything they need. Therefore, when you spend time at the market – people still need to spend time shopping elsewhere. This was stated as being a limitation by one vendor, who explained that people may not come to the DTM because they do not want to walk to the market and grab a few things and that some people like to just stop at one place and grab everything that they need (Interview 29 Aug 2018). While this can be a legitimate issue – especially when people have inflexible work schedule – when discussing with non-market users, this was not the main deterrent for attending the market. While the statement made by the vendor implies an aspect of laziness; that non-market users do not “want” to have to shop at more than one place rather than they are unable to – interviews with non-market users have expressed the opposite. Three out of the four non-market users discussed how they shop at different grocery stores – usually one budget grocery store and one full-service grocery store, depending on prices and what they need (Interviews). For example, when asked where they buy their food, one non-market user said they go to No Frills – a Canadian budget grocery store – and Sobeys which is a full-service grocery store. The interviewee explained they go to No Frills for cost effectiveness but Sobeys to buy products that you are unable to get at No Frills like deli meat [No Frills does not have a deli section] (Interview 25 Aug 2018). Another non-market user explained that they will go “wherever there is a sale” (Interview 18 Aug 2018). These interviews show that non-market users are not lazy as perceived by some comments, but may spend more time with food shopping to ensure they get the best deals to fit within their budget. As stated by Goodman et al. (2011), low-income residents do not necessarily choose what is closest when shopping for food – they will often go further away to purchase the cheapest products. This is the tension between accessibility and availability. Anugelovski (2015a) also expressed that the location is only one of many determinants of why people choose to shop where they do. While the DTM may be located in the heart of downtown Peterborough, increasing the availability of healthy food, it is still not accessible to all of the Peterborough community. We therefore need to further examine how the cost of food is a motivation for people's food choices.

## 4.2 Price

“Pricing and poverty are crucial elements determining the real access for food for historically marginalized groups” (Anugelovski 2015b: 1214). There are many factors that determine the pricing of food. Due to government subsidies, food products like meat at the supermarket are cheap (Belasco 2008). The introduction of concentrated animal feeding operations has allowed cheap meat to be readily available (Winson & Choi 2017). This can have an effect on the food

choices of what people eat and also the choices of what vendors sell. A current produce vendor explained how he started in farmer's markets selling pork and produce was used to fill up the spaces in his stall. He later noticed that selling produce was more successful and he switched to selling only produce. He explained that people are less likely to buy meat from a farmer's market when it is so cheaply available at the supermarket – and the pricing is difficult to compete with (Interview 8 Aug 2018). This was evident when also interviewing one of the meat vendors at the DTM; unlike the other interviews which had to be paused multiple times so the vendor can help customers – the interview with the meat vendor only had to be paused once. This can show that people are less willing to spend more money on meat due to a larger difference in pricing. This could also show that those who attend the DTM are more likely to be vegetarian or vegan which is why meat is bought less frequently. During the interview, the meat vendor did inform me that they discount their product at the end of the season (Interview 22 Aug 2018) and therefore market users may have been waiting for the end of the season to buy meat products.

As stated in section 4.1, many people cannot only shop at a farmer's market and will also have to go to different stores to grab everything that they need. Two vendors with families discussed how they were unable to buy everything from a market. One explained that they have a family of eight, so the most cost-effective grocery store option for their family is to buy their food at Costco (Interview 8 Aug 2018) – a wholesale store where you can buy items in bulk. The other vendor said she had a small family of five where the children are young, so while it would be nice for them to solely shop at farmers markets, it can be expensive which is difficult for a family just “starting out” (Interview 29 Aug 2018). She used an example of a market in Toronto where you can even buy dried goods like specialty crackers and explained that you could buy less crackers for a higher price there or you could go somewhere else and buy more for less (Interview 29 Aug 2018). At the DTM, much of the produce is displayed in wooden boxes around the size of a pint; each of these boxes are usually \$4 or \$5 (CAN). For perspective, 3 to 4 heritage tomatoes [approximately the size of field tomatoes] would fit into a pint. These costs would add up if you are buying a week's worth of food for a family. With larger families, especially those with young children, it can be difficult to solely shop at the DTM as you tend to buy produce in small quantities and it also has to align with the taste of children.

In the surveys, the average amount of money market users would spend at the DTM is \$25 and the most popular answer for users was spending between \$20 and \$40 (Surveys). Amongst the highest amount of money spent at the market was \$80 and additional money spent at the stores around the market (Survey). These are costs only associated with shopping at the DTM – every market user surveyed expressed going to another grocery store or farmers market to complete their shopping. The only complaint made on a survey about the prices at the market was by a person of colour – who suggested that the market needs to be cheaper than the supermarket or have no taxes (Survey). One non-white, non-market user was wary about using farmers markets because of the issue with resellers – they did not want to pay more for an item that would be identical to what they may get at a supermarket (Interview 18 Aug 2018). They also explained that they will shop “wherever there is a sale” (Interview 18 Aug 2018) – price is one of the most important factors when determining where this person shops.

It was surprising to find that not many market users were discussing issues with price or wishing the prices were lower. There could be a few reasons why price is not significant to them. This could be because those who attend the market may have a higher income and therefore this is not considered a big expense. It can also suggest that those who attend the DTM like how market food is priced – as it symbolizes how “good” it is and that it can be used as a status symbol. Lockie (2009) suggests that there is a tension with organic food, between making it accessible by making it cheaper or by keeping it inaccessible and having it be a niche product. Anguelovski (2015a: 185) considered this “food privilege,” in which access to healthy, natural foods are based on economic power. If market food was accessible to everyone in the community, ethical consumers would not be able to differentiate themselves from industrial consumers and would lose this as a status symbol. With the premium pricing of market food, it suggests that good food is not for “non-elites” (Guthman 2003: 46).

While industrial food may cost less, Belasco (2008) explains that this is because of the external costs, like environmental damages, are hidden and that these should be taken into consideration when purchasing food. But this idea is not necessarily realistic for people who are living with a limited income. As Belasco (2008) suggests that convenience comes to those who afford it; with pre-packaged industrial food, it seems as though it costs less, and is available to those who may not be able to afford farmer’s market products. While costs are hidden in industrial food as suggested by Belasco, there are also costs that are not accounted for in farmer’s market food. For example, during a market day, a person was going around asking market users and vendors for money – one vendor offered to provide produce instead. This offer was met with a reply about how they would love to take some food but they do not have a stove or oven to cook it with. These are costs that need to be considered when analysing the motivations of food choices in low-income areas. Due to the rising living costs and lack of housing in Peterborough, residents may not have a place to live or cook – and if they do, they may not have electricity. This event also shows that it may not matter how knowledgeable someone is, they still may not be able to have access to this space.

### **4.3 Food and Market Criteria**

This section will examine the characteristics food needs to have to be considered “good” by market users. The proliferation of natural and organic products came about by marketers trying to alleviate insecurities consumers have about food safety issues (Belasco 2008). The idea of freshness becomes important when choosing food; throughout the surveys, many participants use the term “fresh” when describing what they buy from the market (Surveys). Participants assumed that people attend farmers markets to buy fresh product (Interviews). This was noticeable when sitting at a vendor’s stall for a day, where a market user picked up some produce and asked the vendor when they harvested it. When they responded with “yesterday,” the market user put the produce back and walked away without saying anything – a seemingly rude response which is out of the ordinary from other interactions I have observed at the market. Once they left, the vendor explained to me that they have to wake up early just to be at the market and could not wake up earlier to harvest produce that morning. With vendors living outside of Peterborough city, they prepare for markets the night

before and wake up around 5 or 6 in the morning to have stalls set up by 8:30 – it is reasonable that farmers are not able to harvest produce that morning. But this market user was expecting produce freshly picked that day and through their actions showed disappointment when the vendor was not able to offer up to their expectations. Criteria for “good food” and a good environmental space is determined by market users. Those apart of AFNs are the ones who determine what is good, green, or ethical consumption (Anguelovski 2015a).

Another aspect of freshness is the colour and brightness of the produce (Belasco 2008). There are many ways that the DTM emphasizes the bright colours of produce through social media and through vendor displays. Many vendors brought up how the presentation of food is an important aspect of their work. One vendor expressed that, “the business of food is not just eating food... it’s a show” (Interview 25 July 2018). Vendors would also fill in gaps in their stalls once a market user bought something – to ensure that their stall never looked empty. Some vendors say that when a stall looks good it is a form of advertising (Interviews). With a stall that shows the brightness and abundance of produce, people may be more likely to stop by, even if they were not planning on buying anything. When I asked for permission to take a photo of one vendor’s stall they said yes, but told me to wait so they could fill it up more with their product. In the end, they sent me another photo of their stall to use which had more variety of their produce. It is important for vendors to have a stall that is full of produce to show abundance. These aspects become important for social media marketing. The DTM’s Instagram photos of stalls all show full stalls and close-ups of brightly coloured produce. These photos were usually captioned with words like, “bounty,” “beautiful,” and “delicious” (Social Media). The DTM associates these characteristics towards good food. For market users, food also has to look beautiful and bountiful for it to be considered good food. Giorda (2018) expresses the importance of the presentation of a vendor’s stall and their food. “Presentation of food quality emphasizes craftsmanship and cultural values more than affordability or provenance” (Giorda 2018: 747). [Please see Appendix F for fieldwork photos].

All non-market users noted that they understand the food that is available at the DTM and farmer’s markets in general are better quality and “healthier” (Interviews). Even while expressing this, some participants implied some shame or guilt when discussing their food choices. Some participants stated that they know they should be going or that their diets do not fit in with foods you can buy at the farmers market (Interviews). This shows that the negative assumptions made by market users in regards to non-market users are affecting how non-market users are feeling about their food choices. Throughout the data, it becomes clear that non-market users are knowledgeable about the issues in the food system and expressed that they do think that going to a farmer’s market provides better quality and healthier food but have other reasons why they do not attend. While time and location does play a factor in why people choose to go or not go, it is not the only motivation. It also shows that market users are willing to pay farmers market pricing, but only if it they decide it is worth it. Ultimately, market user’s ethical food choices are not unconditional and they need to meet a certain expectation of “good food” that is based off of their own sets of standards. It seems as though participants ideas of what good food is, is not scientifically based, but of being the opposite to what people consider the “industrial food system.”



Using Belasco's motivation of convenience, this paper overviews how time, price, and criteria influence food motivations and ethical consumerism. Work schedules and the location of the DTM did have an influence on whether or not residents attended the market. Throughout the data, it was also evident that the pricing of food was a significant motivating factor. Non-market users shopped at different stores for products with better pricing and sales. Those with larger families may be unable to fully shop at a farmer's market due to pricing and smaller portions. Market users did not discuss issues of price which could indicate that they are higher income and therefore it is not a large expense or that higher pricing is positive as this food can remain a status symbol. Lastly, this paper examined that market users will participate in ethical consumption if the food meets their criteria of good food which is bright, colourful, fresh products. This chapter explained how ethical consumerism in this context is conditional upon these different factors.

## Chapter 5

# Ethical Consumption and Ideas of Responsibility

Belasco (2008: 79) defines responsibility as, “meeting one’s obligations to others.” This chapter will examine how market users’ food motivations include the need to attend a farmer’s market for the betterment of their community and also the environment. “Customer sovereignty does work” (Belasco 2008: 75). Belasco (2008) uses this quote to say that consumers can show corporations and governments that they value consuming ethically and therefore they should take ethics into consideration when making products. For this chapter, personal responsibility will refer to responsibility to one’s own health, social responsibility will refer to the obligation to one’s own community, and environmental responsibility will refer to the need to be environmentally conscious and responsible for animal welfare.

### 5.1 Personal Responsibility

Personal health of the consumer is one of the dominant concerns with the food system (Belasco 2008). Market users who attend the DTM are thought to care where their food comes from and want to be responsible for what they put in their bodies (Interview 29 Aug 2018). This comes from the idea that farmers markets sell food that is healthier and has less additives than food you can buy at a grocery store (Interviews). The DTM provides consumers with a sense of food security – knowing that they are putting “good food” into their bodies. There are different types of personal responsibilities - one’s concern with their own health and also the concern for the health of future generations. On the first day of my fieldwork, it was pointed out that there are a lot of pregnant women who come to the market (Interview 18 July 2018). While this could be because they are on maternity leave and thus have more time to attend, it can also show the change in their diet to one that has less chemicals in them. The responsibility towards future generations goes beyond this and towards educating children about the importance of farmers markets. A goal for one of the vendors is to set up an “educational booth” for young children (Interview 29 Aug 2018). This booth is meant to teach children about the food system, how important it is to know what you are putting in your body, the work that goes into growing food, and also the importance of local food (Interview 29 Aug 2018). Davey (2018) also noticed this feeling of personal responsibility towards educating others and their families about “good food.” They note that this promotes the idea that individuals should and are able to improve their communities and lives, rather than looking at the structural forces that may have caused these issues in the first place (Davey 2018).

Knowing where your food comes from or knowing the farmer as an aspect of the DTM falls under the defetishization thesis. Gunderson (2014) explains defetishization is about informing the consumer about what they are buying and how it is produced. In theory, alternative markets allow a defetishization of consumer goods and brings the consumer closer to their food which is thought to

strengthen civil society (Gunderson 2014). With one assumed to be personally responsible for their own food choices and health, it ignores other aspects that may involve the accessibility of food. The idea is, you are buying health and safety at the DTM because you know what is going into your food and you know who is growing it. Market users then, are displayed as healthy or “reflexive” eaters – those who pay attention to food systems and their taste prefers healthier food (Guthman 2003: 46). Reflexive eaters actually being healthier is only an assumption and implied through this discourse (Guthman 2003). Through the proliferation of organic and natural foods, whether it is from the grocery store or from a farmer’s market, places the responsibility of food safety onto the individual (Belasco 2008). The trust and relationship between farmers and market users will be further addressed in section 5.2.

## 5.2 Social Responsibility

Social responsibility in this paper includes obligations to one’s community and to other human beings. One common theme throughout the DTM is the relationship that vendors have with market users. This was addressed as many favourite aspects through the surveys and interviews with vendors. Supporting local farmers came up as to why people come to the DTM. Market users follow up with vendors about how their produce turned out the week before. This shows that there’s not only an obligation to purchase food from farmers but to also let them know how their product was. Farmer’s in this space are held accountable for the food that they provide. With face to face interactions, producers are more accountable for their food (Belasco 2008). While one vendor did bring up the issue of industrial food using exploited, migrant labour (Interview 8 Aug 2018), this was not expressed as a motivation to buy food from the DTM by market users. This seems to be a common theme at predominately white farmers markets – where social responsibility for those who attend farmers markets are not as important as environmental responsibility (Alkon 2012).

The Nourish Project is a program associated with the DTM to try to increase access of healthy food to the low-income community of Peterborough. This program is made up of different workshops in which people can attend. These workshops involve cooking classes, gardening, canning, and other food-related classes that last anywhere from one to three hours. By attending a workshop, the attendee will receive 10 nourish dollars which they can spend at the market. When vendors were asked about the Nourish Project – many of them expressed that it was a great initiative and accepted them. This shows the social responsibility vendors feel towards providing food security to low-income residents of Peterborough. One vendor expressed that they sometimes offer food to people who come to the market to ask for money (Informal Conversation). Another vendor has expressed that they wouldn’t give money to someone but would give food if they asked (Informal Conversation). But, with the Nourish Project, it does not tackle the underlying issues that make healthy food inaccessible. It also puts forth an idea that people should have to earn money or earn the ability to access food by requiring people to go through these workshops. Alkon’s (2012: 149) discourse of the “undeserving” poor becomes evident in the DTM – people would not provide money possibly due to the assumptions of low-income residents not earning it. Not realizing that they could buy a lot more food at one of the low-budget grocery stores than getting food from the market

which they may need to cook. As stated above in section 4.2, at grocery stores people can buy pre-prepared food which is useful when they do not have the facilities to cook.

Another example of the undeserving poor was through a conversation while collecting a survey from a market user. The participant expressed that the new urban park was a bad idea due to its location which was “right beside a methadone clinic” (Informal Conversation). This attitude shows that environmental goods should only include those who are deserving of it and in this case was non-substance abuse residents. This shows that social responsibility only goes so far and it tends to be middle-income residents who decide who deserves environmental and social goods. Anguelovski (2015b: 1210) labels this as “environmental privilege,” which is “exclusive access that whiter and wealthier residents have to prime environmental amenities and to exclusive green neighbourhoods.” In this sense, social justice goals seem to not be a priority in market users’ decisions around food. This is common amongst those attending farmers markets according to Alkon (2012), who states that people are willing to pay high prices for environmental green goods but the social justice is secondary. Anguelovski (2015b) made this evident in their case study of Jamaica Plain, Boston, that while the neighbourhood was gentrifying, anti-poor and anti-homeless behaviours became more overt.

While market users show a responsibility towards their community and farmers, the farmers and the DTM show a responsibility to the community. In Ontario, a farmer’s market needs to have at least 60% of stalls dedicated to farmers – the DTM has approximately 72% (Interview 29 Aug 2018). When deciding who can have a stall at the DTM each season, the priority is always given towards farmers (Interview 29 Aug 2018). The DTM shows responsibility to farmers by providing them with the most opportunities to be able to sell their product. The DTM also puts obligations on market users to continue to support local farmers. This was seen in one of their social media posts which exclaimed, “farmer’s work hard rain or shine to bring you local products” and telling people to come down to the market to show your support (Social Media). Pressure is put onto the community to buy local products because of the hard work that is put into it and community members should be obligated to purchase it. Food and farmer’s markets not only have to meet a certain criterion for market users, it also has to meet a certain criterion for vendors. Two vendors explained that they “trial-run” farmer’s markets before paying the registration fee for the season (Interviews). This allows farmers to determine whether or not they will receive many customers and if the time is worth the profit from the market. The need to succeed economically tends to take priority over social responsibility of farmers at a farmer’s market (Alkon 2012).

### **5.3 Ecological Responsibility**

Vendor’s have expressed the importance of growing sustainably and organically. A meat vendor who I had the opportunity to speak with discussed that they spend a lot of their time at the market educating people on industrial meat production (Interview 22 Aug 2018). They often question this way of meat production and whether or not the animals are being treated with respect, if it is safe, and if the animals are happy (Interview 22 Aug 2018). Another vendor stated that while they do have to use organic spray on some of their produce to ensure

they don't lose their crop, with the amount that they spray, they do not think its harmful to people or the environment (Interview 25 July 2018). Before they would not spray and try to torch pests – but this took too much time and they were not able to grow different crops; but they still strive to be as organic as possible (Interview 25 July 2018). Some vendors also pay a fee to be inspected and become a verified “MyPick” farmer (Interview 25 July 2018). A MyPick farmer at the DTM will have a large sign that shows information like how much of their produce is organic, where and how far away their farm is from the DTM. As said by some market users, the signage is appreciated so they know what they are buying. The DTM also frames other environmental issues around individual responsibility. This can be noted through a large sign placed on one of the market days [please see Appendix F]. This sign is used to provide information about food waste and claims that a bulk of food waste comes from the household with the words “YOU can reduce food waste!” on it. Food waste is put on the responsibility of the individual – rather than noting the waste creation on the production end of the food system that accounts for the majority of food waste.

During the market user surveys, people expressed environmental responsibility as being an important part of the market. Market users enjoyed shopping seasonally and the market being sustainable (Surveys). One market user stated that they like that there's no packaging (Survey). While vendors did offer plastic bags to put their products in, many market users brought their own reusable bags. Market users expressed that they liked buying local products (Surveys). These all have implications of consumers cutting back on “food miles” – the distance it takes food to get from the farm to the consumer (Weber & Matthews 2008: 3508). The current industrial food system degrades the soil, pollutes water, and is harmful to the environment through the use of chemical fertilizers (Belasco 2008). The idea of shopping at a farmer's market allows consumers to avoid these pollutants and feel better about consuming. While a non-market user assumed people go to farmers markets mainly to buy organic produce that is, “not terrible for the environment” (Interview 18 Aug 2018), only few market users – around three – actually wrote the words “organic” or “sustainable” in what they buy or why they attend the DTM (Surveys). This could be either implied when talking about “local” food or “seasonal” products – but it was not explicitly said. The assumptions that people want to buy organic came from vendors and non-market users rather than market users.

The relationships between vendors and market users seem to be built on trust and mutual responsibility. Market users put trust in the farmer to provide healthy, environmentally sustainable food for the community, while farmer's put trust on market users to continue to purchase food from them. For ethical consumerism, onus is put on the individual to bring about social and environmental goods. They are also to blame if they are not “healthy.” This excludes pressure from governments to enact policies to provide environmental and social goods. It also does not look at how systems of racism and classism can affect someone's ability to participate in ethical consumerism. By following a market logic and placing responsibility on the individual, there is a creation of a hierarchy in which those who “care” or can afford to attend the DTM are thought as “superior” to those who do not or cannot. It also decides who is deserving and undeserving of environmental, social, and personal goods – which tend to be those who can afford it. This could be why social responsibility is not as important to market users of the DTM than environmental responsibility. With these examples, it

becomes clear that responsibility is conditional upon convenience. That is, market users think it is important to be responsible, but only if they think it is worth it or up to their standards. This is seen with vendors as well; they feel responsible to provide healthy local food to communities, but only if they are able to make a profit and it is worth it to them.

Ethical consumerism relies on the belief that the higher demand for environmental goods will lead to the market shifting towards locally produced products (Alkon 2012). These foods, however, currently have premium pricing (Goodman et al. 2011). Therefore, quality foods are deserving of those who can afford to pay. In the Peterborough context, it seems like the higher demand for green products has led to a larger supply of places that sell green products – like health food restaurants and cafes. This in turn, can exacerbate the process of gentrification. With the idea that consuming good, sustainable food helps the food system, “only few consumers of a certain ethnicity and class can save the food system” (Goodman et al. 2011: 19). While social responsibility of ethical consumerism is addressed through supporting farmers, other responsibilities to social justice are ignored. With emphasis on “hard-working,” “local,” or “Canadian” farmers, market users decide who is deserving of their money and support.

Peterborough is currently undergoing “green gentrification” which happens when environmental improvements to a neighbourhood attract investors and new residents due to its label as a healthy and environmentally conscious space (Cohen 2018). These environmental changes can also take on the form of healthy food stores and spaces (Anguelovski 2015b), and in this case it is farmer’s markets. While revitalizing or beautifying a neighbourhood can be a positive thing, if it fails to consider already vulnerable residents of the area, environmental transformation can also displace low-income residents and people of colour (Anguelovski 2015b). In the Peterborough context, this can exacerbate the already existing housing crisis. When examining a community’s food security, it is also important to include housing security. “Food gentrification and housing gentrification are intertwined” (Cohen 2018: 4). Gentrification does not necessarily have to physically remove people from their home – but can make residents feel “out-of-place” (Anguelovski 2015a: 184). One of the ways that people can feel excluded from the community is being unable to afford healthy, local food (Slocum 2006). With the DTM’s higher price point – it is inaccessible to many of the residents of Peterborough.

While ethical consumerism is practised on a weekly basis at the DTM to bring about a better community – it fails to make any real changes by itself, and often leads to further inequities. Due to capitalism’s inherent harm to the environment and exploitation of workers – it is unable to bring about a just food system (Gunderson 2014). Therefore, market-based solutions will be unsuccessful in providing a more ethical society (Gunderson 2014). Ethical consumerism is practised on an individual level in which each person is obligated to regulate their behaviour – rather than the state or corporations (Lockie 2009). This individualized responsibility drives ethical consumerism – it allows consumers who can afford green products to form their identity around this consumption, as responsible and socially conscious. The state’s responsibility now is only to provide information to consumer’s on how to make proper food choices (Lockie 2009). This can be seen through the publications of national food guides, public service announcements, and certifications of food items. Lockie (2009: 200) also points out an important flaw in ethical consumerism and states, “the refusal to

buy a particular product does not necessarily result in the supply of more desirable alternatives.” Since market users still need to utilize grocery stores outside of farmers markets, more needs to be done to create a societal shift that goes beyond shopping.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

This paper has overviewed the Peterborough context and how some of its residents practise ethical consumerism through attending the DTM. It examines the motivations of these consumers using Belasco's framework and why some people do or do not attend the farmer's market. By analysing ethical consumerism through identity, convenience, and responsibility, this paper shows how the Peterborough community is formed through a white middle-class perspective, often excluding what does not fit into the ideal type. The DTM is predominately used by white residents who have also been attending the market for a longer period of time compared to people of colour. It also shows how there is a move towards individual responsibility to bring about social and environmental justice – leaving those who can afford it to determine who deserves this justice. In Peterborough, healthy food does not have an issue of availability, but has an issue of access.

This paper tries to fill in the gaps of Belasco's framework – politicizing and problematizing the assumptions made through this framework. By only focusing on the North versus South, it limits the framework and excludes differentiation within these areas. His suggestions of how people can consume more ethically to bring about a just food system does not adequately address how class and race can affect food motivations and choices. Farmers markets play a significant role in ethical consumerism and how it can become a place of exclusion. Those who are low-income are unable to participate in these spaces. Through farmers markets, people are able to express their connection to place and their dedication to their community (Alkon 2012). This paper noted that this dedication is often conditional and only includes those who they decide are deserving. The disparity between those who cannot and those who can participate or those who are deserving and those who are undeserving creates a social hierarchy in the Peterborough community.

Food choice is based on a variety of factors (Weber & Matthews 2008). These factors extend beyond identity, convenience of time, and responsibility as suggested by Belasco. While people feel they have a responsibility towards the environment, they do not feel they have a responsibility to certain people in the community. Green products tend to have a premium price compared to other products (Alkon 2012). This differential price point can be one of the main deterrents of participating in ethical consumerism. As stated by Goodman et al. (2011), without reflecting on systemic issues, localism is being used for exclusion rather than inclusion. This is the case happening in Peterborough. Being an ethical consumer is conditional on price and whether or not the consumer is receiving a good value. Those who are defining the locality of Peterborough tend to be the white middle-class which often excludes certain identities of Peterborough. Ethical consumerism through farmers markets is not a resistance to capitalism, but a part of it (Goodman et al. 2011). Supplying Peterborough with more health food venues is not reducing food insecurity. Instead, there needs to be a drive towards food justice, which is motivated by providing low income residents and people of colour in the community with healthy food by making it more affordable (Anguelovski 2015a).



Ethical consumerism works within neoclassical economic theory and allows the government to distance itself from responsibility towards its citizens (Johnston 2008). It is unable to provide an adequate role in social change due to its inaccessibility to the majority of those in its community. For farmers markets to be more equitable, Goodman et al. (2011: 15) suggest that these spaces should include “reflexive local politics.” This would include local food systems recognizing and addressing race, class, and gender and how it influences “right living and right eating” (Goodman et al. 2011: 15). The way that ethical consumerism is currently being practised at the DTM, it is not an effective solution to the social inequalities and environmental issues occurring in Peterborough and the broader system.

## 5.1 What Now?

The intention of this research is to examine the place of farmers markets in ethical consumerism and activism and wants to address the inequalities that happen within these spaces and be critical of them. It was also written to address that these alternatives by themselves do not adequately address social and environmental issues. As stated by Gunderson (2014: 113), “alternative food systems have shown that alternatives do exist – but individual consumptive habits are certainly not enough to create an ecologically sustainable and socially just food system.” As Lake et al. (2015: 16) would suggest, food insecurity and food justice are “wicked problems,” there is no one solution to address these issues, there is a multitude of actions that need to take place to ensure all aspects are heard and considered.

To increase food security and food justice in Peterborough, the underlying issues that hinder food choices must be resolved. There have been different authors that critique AFNs who have offered suggestions on how to improve these spaces (Cohen 2018; Goodman et al. 2011). As stated in the introduction, because food security is closely linked with housing security – there needs to be a better implementation of social and affordable housing in Peterborough. With access to affordable housing, residents would have the means to be able to cook. High rents reduce the amount of money for food consumption (Cohen 2018). Therefore, by reducing rents or providing affordable housing, Peterborough residents will be able to direct more money to healthy food. Local food systems should call for inclusive discussion of how all residents of the community could improve on the community and food system (Goodman et al. 2011). By being reflexive in local food spaces, issues of exclusion and social hierarchy can be addressed. For the problem of food security in Peterborough to be adequately addressed, all of its residents have to be included in the conversation and systemic forces of inequalities need to be recognized.

## 5.2 Future Research

Due to the limited scope of this paper, there is room for future research. It would be important to examine how or if market users practise their social and environmental responsibilities outside of food consumption. In terms of the Peterborough context, due to the acceleration of changes in the community, it is a critical time to further examine gentrification and its effects on the housing crisis. Since the opening of the new farmer’s market, research should be conducted on

the acceleration of green gentrification in Downtown Peterborough. More research should be dedicated towards micro-levels of ethical consumerism and local spaces. As Anguelovski (2015b) suggests, there is little research addressing the everyday forms of injustice in urban spaces. Due to literature focusing on macro-levels, much of these everyday forms of injustices are overlooked. Another aspect of research that would be important is to examine market user's social media and how they frame ethical consumption and "good food" through online posts.

Word Count: 17,032

## Chapter 7 References

- Alkon, A.H. (2012) *Black, White, and Green: Farmers Markets, Race, and the Green Economy*. Georgia: University of Georgia Press.
- AMO (2018a) “Guide to the Municipal Funding Agreement” Accessed on 25 October 2018 <https://www.amo.on.ca/AMO-Content/Main-Street/MFAGuide#What%20is%20eligible?>
- AMO (2018b) “Ontario’s Mainstreet Revitalization Initiative” Accessed on 25 October 2018 <https://www.amo.on.ca/AMO-Content/Main-Street/MFAGuide#What%20is%20eligible?>
- Anguelovski, I. (2015a) “Alternative Food Provision Conflicts in Cities: Contesting Food Privilege, Injustice, and Whiteness in Jamaica Plain, Boston” *Geoforum* 58: 184-194.
- Anguelovski, I. (2015b) “Healthy Food Stores, Greenlining, and Food Gentrification: Contesting New Forms of Privilege, Displacement, and Locally Unwanted Land Uses in Racially Mixed Neighbourhoods”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39(6): 1209-1230.
- Anonymous (n.d.) “Vendor’s Stall” (Image) Accessed on 29 August 2018.
- Belasco, W. (2008) *Food: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: New York
- Cerwonka, A. (2007) “Nervous Conditions: The Stakes in Interdisciplinary Research” in Cerwonka, A. and L.H Mallki (2007). *Improvising Theory: Process and Temporality in Ethnographic Fieldwork*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 14-40.
- Cohen, N. (2018) “Feeding or Starving Gentrification: The Role of Food Policy” *CUNY Urban Food Policy Institute*.
- Davey, A. (2018) “‘Conservative’ Ideology and the Politics of Local Food” *Agriculture and Human Values* 35(4): 853-865.
- Dreby, J., G. Jung & R. Sullivan (2017) “At the Nexus of Work and Family: Family Farms in Upstate New York” *Journal of Rural Studies* 49: 151-161.
- Feenstra, G. (1997) “Local Food Systems and Sustainable Communities” *American Journal of Alternative Agriculture* 28-36.
- Giorda, E. (2018) “Boutique Food Producers at the Detroit Eastern Market: The Complex Identities of Authentic Food” *Agriculture and Human Values* 35: 747-760.
- Global News (2018a) “New Saturday Farmers’ Market to Open Next Month in Downtown Peterborough” 22 May 2018. Accessed on 25 October 2018 <https://globalnews.ca/news/4223382/new-saturday-farmers-market-to-open-next-month-in-downtown-peterborough/>
- Global News (2018b) “New Report Looks to Ease Rental Crisis by Allowing Peterborough Homeowners to Build Suites” 15 May 2018. Accessed on 25 October 2018 <https://globalnews.ca/news/4210616/new-report-ease-peterborough-housing-crisis-homeowners-build-suites/>
- Goodman, D., E.M. DuPuis, & M.K. Goodman (2011) “Coming Home to Eat? Reflexive Localism and Just Food,” in Goodman D., Dupuis, E.M., and Goodman, M.K. *Alternative Food Networks: Knowledge, Practise and Politics* pp. 11-32. London: Routledge.

- Goodman, D. & M.K. Goodman (2009) "Alternative Food Networks" in Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Gunderson, R. (2014) "Problems with the Defetishization Thesis: Ethical Consumerism, Alternative Food Systems, and Commodity Fetishism" *Agriculture and Human Values* 31: 109-117.
- Guthman, J. (2008) "Bringing Good Food to Others: Investigating the Subjects of Alternative Food Practises" *Cultural Geographies* 15: 431-447.
- Guthman, J. (2003) "Fast Food/Organic Food: Reflexive Tastes and the Making of 'Yuppie Chow'" *Social & Cultural Geography* 4(1): 45-58.
- Hammersley, M. (1992) *What's Wrong with Ethnography? Methodological Explorations*. London, New York, Routledge.
- Hammersley, M. & P. Atkinson (2007) *Ethnography: Principles in Practise* (third edition). London, New York, Routledge.
- Johnston, J. (2008) "The Citizen-Consumer Hybrid: Ideological Tensions and the Case of Whole Foods Market" *Theoretical Sociology* 37: 229-270.
- Kawartha Now (2018) "Ontario Announces Funding for Rural Communities to Improve their Downtowns" 23 January 2018. Accessed on 25 October 2018 <https://kawarthanow.com/2018/01/23/ontario-announces-funding-for-rural-communities-to-improve-their-downtowns/>
- King, N. & C. Horrocks (2010) *Interviews in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Lake, D., L. Sission & L. Jaskiewicz (2015) "Local Food Innovation in a World of Wicked Problems: The Pitfalls and the Potential" *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development* 5(3): 13-26
- Lockie, S. (2009) "Responsibility and Agency within Alternative Food Networks: Assembling the 'Citizen Consumer'" *Agriculture and Human Values* 26: 193-201.
- Merriam, S., J. Johnson-Bailey, M. Lee, Y. Kee, K. Ntseane, & M. Muhamad (2001) "Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status Within and Across Cultures" *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 20(5): 405-416.
- Monsef, M. (2018) "Release: Governments of Canada and Ontario Celebrate Affordable Housing in Peterborough and Area" Accessed on 25 October 2018 <https://mmonsef.liberal.ca/news-nouvelles/release-governments-of-canada-and-ontario-celebrate-affordable-housing-in-peterborough-and-area/>
- Mullings, B. (1999) "Insider or Outsider, Both or Neither: Some Dilemmas of Interviewing in a Cross-Cultural Setting" *Geoforum* 30: 337-350.
- MyKawartha (2018) "Tackling Peterborough's Housing Crisis Key Priority for Next City Council" 28 September 2018. Accessed on 15 October 2018. <https://www.mykawartha.com/news-story/8927233-tackling-peterborough-s-housing-crisis-key-priority-for-next-city-council/>
- New York Times (2018) "The City Once Made Much of What Canada Bought. But No More" 21 January 2018. Accessed on 10 May 2018 <https://www.ny-times.com/2018/01/21/world/canada/peterborough-nafta-manufacturing.html?partner=rss&emc=rss>

- Peterborough Downtown Farmers' Market (2018) (Facebook Image) Accessed on 21 August 2018 <https://www.facebook.com/PeterboroughDowntownFarmersMarket/>
- Peterborough Downtown Market (2018a) "Market Rules and Regulations 2018" (Image) Accessed on 10 May 2018 <http://ptbodowntownmarket.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/RulesandRegulations2018F.pdf>
- Peterborough Downtown Market (2018b) "What's in Season" (Image) Accessed on 05 November 2018 <http://ptbodowntownmarket.com/at-the-market/whats-in-season/>
- Peterborough Downtown Market (2017) "History of our Farmer's Market" Accessed on 10 May 2018 <http://ptbodowntownmarket.com/history-of-our-farmers-market/>
- Ptbodowntownmarket (2018) (Instagram Image) Accessed on 01 August 2018 <https://www.instagram.com/ptbodowntownmarket/?hl=en>
- Peterborough Examiner (2018a) "Angry at Eviction of Five Vendors in Dispute Over Resellers, Some Shoppers Say They Won't Return to Peterborough Farmers' Market" 05 May 2018 Accessed on 15 October 2018 <https://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/news-story/8590417-angry-at-eviction-of-five-vendors-in-dispute-over-resellers-some-shoppers-say-they-won-t-return-to-peterborough-farmers-market/>
- Peterborough Examiner (2018b) "Peterborough Affordable Housing Shortage 'Severe'" 13 July 2018. Accessed on 15 October 2018 <https://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/news-story/8739351-peterborough-affordable-housing-shortage-severe-/>
- Peterborough Examiner (2013) "Unemployment Still A Big Problem As Peterborough Leads Country in Jobless Rate" 05 April 2013. Accessed on 10 May 2018 <https://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/news-story/8199873-unemployment-still-a-big-problem-as-peterborough-leads-country-in-jobless-rate/>
- Renting, H., T.K. Marsden & J. Banks (2003) "Understanding Alternative Food Networks: Exploring the Role of Short Food Supply Chains in Rural Development" *Environment and Planning* 35: 393-411.
- Rylott (2018a) "Food Waste Sign at DTM" (Image)
- Rylott (2018b) "Peterborough Downtown Food Environment" (Map Image)
- Rylott (2018c) "Vendor's Stall" (Image)
- Schneider, S. (2008) "Good, Clean, Fair: The Rhetoric of the Slow Food Movement" *College English* 70(4): 384-402
- Slocum, R. (2006) "Whiteness, Space, and Alternative Food Practise" *Geoforum* 1-14.
- StatsCanada (2016) "Census Profile, 2016 Census by Location Peterborough, Released at 18 February 2017" Accessed on 20 May 2018 <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/de-tails/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=3515014&Geo2=CD&Code2=3515&Data=Count&SearchText=peterborough&SearchType=Be-gins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1>

- Tarasuk, V., A. Mitchell & N. Dachner (2014) "Household Food Insecurity in Canada, 2014" PROOF Food Insecurity Policy Research 1-29.
- Weber, C. & H.S Matthews (2008) "Food-Miles and the Relative Climate Impacts of Food Choices in the United States" *Environmental Science & Technology*: 42(10): 3508-3513.
- Winson, A. & J. Choi (2017) "Dietary Regimes and the Nutrition Transition: Bridging Disciplinary Domains" *Agriculture and Human Values* 34: 559-572.

# Chapter 8 Appendices

## Appendix A: Market Rules & Regulations

---

### MARKET RULES AND REGULATIONS 2018

- Vendors may not bring items to sell for which they have not been approved.
- All vendors may be subject to and agree to a farm/kitchen visit to verify they are producing their own goods.
- A minimum of 80% of all products must be grown/produced/crafted by the vendor.
- Special permission may be given to a vendor by the Board or Directors to sell products not produced by the vendor (maximum 20% of vendor offerings) in order to increase the selection offered at the market. In this case, products must be purchased directly from an Ontario producer, and labeled as such.
- Baked goods and prepared foods are to be 100% "homemade" by the vendor.
- For craft vendors all items for sale must be original works and may be juried for quality and individuality by the membership committee. Materials used must compliment the farmers' market.
- Selling products bought from wholesale distributors is strictly forbidden.
- OMAFRA regulations require that all produce and other farm products have appropriate signage labeled with the following information: Product of Ontario, price and name of crop. Please see <http://www.omafra.gov.on.ca/english/food/inspection/fruitveg/sellingfruitsvegs.htm#Signs>
- Peterborough Public Health requires that all vendors follow appropriate health and safety protocols. Periodic inspections will occur throughout the season.
- Vendor membership, toilet and stall fees are due, in full on the vendor's first day at market. If not paid vendors will not be allowed to set-up and their space may be forfeited.
- Vendors must inform the market coordinator 48 hours in advance when planning on not attending the market - failure to do so, will result in a warning and count as a first infraction.
- No one is to arrive at the market after 8:30 am or leave prior to 2 pm. Those arriving late will have to walk in their products.

---

### MARKET PROTOCOLS AND VENDOR RESPONSIBILITIES 2018:

- ALL VENDORS ARE REQUIRED TO TREAT ALL OTHER VENDORS, VOLUNTEERS, CUSTOMERS AND THE MARKET MANAGER WITH COURTESY, RESPECT AND KINDNESS AT ALL TIMES. Any infractions of this code of behavior will result in an immediate 2-week suspension from the market. A second infraction may result in expulsion for the remaining market season.
- All vendors must follow these regulations. If they fail to do so, a written warning will be issued for the first infraction. A second infraction will result in a 2-week suspension from the market. A third may result in expulsion from the market. A VENDOR CAN BE ASKED TO LEAVE THE MARKET IF NOT COMPLYING WITH THE RULES AND REGULATIONS.
- If a vendor has an issue, it can be brought to the Market Manager or a board member on-site. Concerns raised that are outside the roles of the Market Manager will be directed to an appropriate BOD member.
- Vendors are responsible for their stall space.
- Products, vehicles and canopies must fit within the allocated 10ft wide space.
- Vendors are responsible for cleaning up their own garbage.
- On rare occasions you may be asked to move your stall location slightly to accommodate market special events or seasonal fluctuations.
- If you are NOT going to be attending the market, you are required to provide the Market Manager with at least 48-hour notice.
- We have based our market on collectively providing high quality fresh local produce and hand made goods and making these local products accessible to the community. Therefore please consider the pricing of your products. Setting too low or too high of a price sets a tone for the whole market.
- Please ensure that products are labeled authentically. If you use signs such as "no sprays", "organic" or "chemical free" your entire garden must meet these requirements.
- Please ensure that all staff working your booth are knowledgeable and able to answer any questions about how your products are grown.

(Peterborough Downtown Market 2018a)

## Appendix B: Market User Survey

### Market User Survey

My name is Amanda Rylott and I am a student at the International Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands, pursuing a Masters' degree in Development Studies. The purpose of the study is to learn about the functioning of farmers' markets and how it influences the diet of the local people.

I would like to ask some questions about your experiences in shopping/using this market. This survey will be used in academic research

I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. Taking part in this survey is completely voluntary and if you do not feel comfortable about answering some of these questions, please feel free not to answer them

How long have you been coming to this Farmer's Market?

How often do you come to this Market?

Why do you come here?

What do you buy here?

How much money do you spend at the market on average?

Where do you shop on other days? What do you buy outside of this market?

What foods are you excited about this year?

What is your favourite aspect of this Market?



If you could change anything about this market, what would it be?

Do you know about the Nourish Programs or Market Dollars? Do you participate in these programs?

Do you post on social media about the market and/or your food consumption?

Gender Identity:

Race:

Age:

#### Appendix C: Consent Form Script

##### Oral Consent Script

I am a student at the International Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands, pursuing a Masters' degree in Development Studies. As part of the course requirements, I have to carry out a research study. I have chosen to study the farmers' market in Peterborough.

I would like to interview you as someone who has knowledge about the functioning of this market.

**What the study is about:** The purpose of the study is to learn about the functioning of farmers' markets and how it influences the diet of the local people.

**What I will ask you to do:** If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about your experiences in being part of the Peterborough Downtown Market. The interview will take about 20 to 30 minutes to complete. With your permission, I would also like to tape-record the interview.

**Risks + benefits:** I do not anticipate any risks to you because of your participation in this study. Although there are no direct benefits to you, the information you provide is an important part of my research paper and will help me to better understand this topic.

**Your answers will be confidential.** In the research paper, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. I will change all names and identifying characteristics of you and any people you may talk about. Only I will have access to your information. If I tape-record the interview, I will destroy the digital voice files after they have been transcribed.

**Taking part is voluntary.** Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer. If you decide to take part, you are free to withdraw/stop the interview at any time.

**If you have any questions:** The researcher who is conducting this study is Amanda Rylott, MA Student, Agrarian Food and Environmental Studies, International Institute of Social Studies, Netherlands. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later you may contact me at [464689ar@student.eur.nl](mailto:464689ar@student.eur.nl).

You have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

#### Appendix D: Interview Guides

*Due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, the following questions were just guides – other questions were asked depending on the participants answers.*

##### Non-Market User Questions:

Tell me a little about yourself

What you do, age, etc.

How long have you been living in Peterborough for?

Have you noticed a change in Peterborough from when you moved here until now? - what is it?

Have you ever gone to the Wednesday Market - or any other Farmer's Market in Peterborough? Why/Why not

Where do you shop for food? What do you buy?

Why do you shop there?

How much on average do you spend on groceries?

Do you use social media to post about food or your food consumption?

What do you post?

Does any of your friends or family go to the Farmers Market (Wednesday)?

Why do you think people go to the market or not go to the market?

##### Vendor Questions:

Tell me about your business/stall?

How much does it cost to set up a stall?

What made you get into this?

Tell me about a day in the market.

What is your favourite thing about the market?

If you could change anything about the market, what would it be?

What do you do with the leftovers? How do you make sure you have product every week?

Do you accept Nourish Dollars?

Do you sell anywhere else?

How do you market your products?

Do you use social media?

My research also includes social media analysis - Would I be able to look through your page for data collection?

Do you shop here as well? What do you buy? Where else do you shop?

Market Manager Questions:

Tell me about the market – when did it start? Why? What’s different about this farmers market? Why did you change locations? Costs involved?

How many vendors are at the market? How do they get chosen?

What are the costs of setting up a stall?

Do you mostly shop here yourself?

What roles does a market manager entail? Are you here every week?

How is the market set up? Who does this?

Nourish Project? How much is a Nourish dollar? How many do you get from attending a workshop?

Where does the money from the stalls go to?

## Appendix E: Social Media Posts

Our vendors offer some of the best produce you'll find in Peterborough. Since our farmers grow what they sell, you can always be sure to get the freshest **seasonal** fruits and veggies at our market.

**Above: Image of Description on DTM Website (Peterborough Downtown Market 2018b)**



**Peterborough Downtown Farmers' Market shared a post.**

8 hrs · 🌐

Hard working farmers, picking for you, no matter the weather! Come on down tomorrow and stock up on the abundance of harvest season! And, well you're there, tell your farmers how awesome they are!  
**#buylocal #eatfresh #freshfromfarms**

**Above: Image of DTM Facebook Post (Peterborough Downtown Farmers' Market 2018)**



1 like  
 ptbodowntownmarket We love bringing fresh, locally grown ingredients to @downtownptbo every Wednesday 8:30-2pm #charlottest

Left: DTM Instagram Post (PtboDowntown-Market 2018)

Appendix F: Fieldwork Photos



Above: Food Waste Sign at DTM (Rylott 2018a)





Above: Vendor's Stall (Anonymous n.d.) sent via. Text message



Above: Vendors Stall (Rylott 2018c)

Appendix G: Downtown Peterborough Food Environment (Rylott 2018b)

