FARMERS’ MARKETS AND THEIR PRACTICES CONCERNING INCOME, PRIVILEGE, AND RACE: A CASE STUDY OF WYCHWOOD ARTSCAPE BARNs IN TORONTO

By

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Abstract

The popularity of Farmers’ markets is on the rise; in Canada there are 425 farmers’ markets, with over 130 in Ontario alone (Feagan, Morris, & Krug, 2004). Farmers’ markets provide high quality, local produce and are often considered an environmentally sustainable food practice (Taxel, 2003; King 2008). United States studies have scrutinized farmers’ markets as exlusionary white spaces that are not equitably accessible, but similar Canadian studies are rare. A case study at the Wychwood Artscape Barns, located in an economically and culturally diverse neighbourhood, in Toronto Ontario has been conducted. Demographics surveys of patrons were compared with existing demographic data; interviews were conducted to discover who shops at the market and for what reasons; results were analyzed using whiteness theory. Results were consistent with U.S. studies – Wychwood Farmers’ Market patrons were white, high income, individuals with university educations; these individuals shop at the market disproportionally to the demographic data.
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Chapter 1: Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

Each Saturday, a buzz of activity can be heard throughout the main hall at the Wychwood Artscape Barns Farmers Market, located in the St. Clair West and Christie neighbourhood of Toronto ON; it is packed and one must wade their way through the crowd to get close to the vendors. The market is open year round – the summer produce is offered outside, while in the winter the vendors congregate inside. There are many items to choose from - practical items such as apples, various vegetables, and meat, as well as other specialty items such as baked goods, prepared items and flowers, all of which are popular with the neighbourhood visitors. Even though ‘The Barn’ as it is fondly called by the neighbourhood, is relatively new, having been opened in November 2008, it has already developed a following of impressive proportions.

The Wychwood Artscape barn was developed by a committee of community members who sought to re-use the existing structure of street car barns; in an attempt to create a multi-use initiative, the members devised and implemented a space which provides geared-to-income housing for artists, a community oven, a greenhouse, and art space to showcase local work (Artscape, 2008). The farmers’ market portion is partnered with a local organization known as ‘The Stop’ that focuses on access to sustainable and healthy food for all. This organization teaches sustainable food practices, and uses Wychwood Artscape Barns as a place to educate those that take advantage of their program. The demographic of the neighbourhood in which ‘The Barn’ is located has an income of $50 000 - $75 000; it also borders a neighbourhood whose demographic is in the highest income bracket between $151 000 – $175 000 as shown in Appendix 2 (Glazier & Booth, 2007); this demographic information was taken from an extensive
study done on diabetes in the Toronto area. One aspect of this diabetes study looked at the number of farmers’ markets, as well as alternative food sources, such as good food boxes, available in a variety of income areas. In Toronto, as of 2005, it was found that there were 9 farmers’ markets servicing a number of income levels (Appendix 1). This information was collected prior to the opening of the Wychwood Artscape Barns.

Wychwood farmers’ market, while unique in its converted location, is not alone in offering local food to Toronto city members; it is one of many offered across the city, and across the country. Farmers’ markets are becoming an increasingly popular way for communities to shop; in Canada there are 425 farmers’ markets, with over 130 in Ontario alone (Feagan, Morris, & Krug, 2004). I have always been interested in the alternative food movement and their link to sustainable practices. Since I am part of the Wychwood Barns neighbourhood, I got to see firsthand the development of this farmers’ market; it was important to me to understand and question the construction of this market in particular, not only to support the sustainable aspects of it, but to question whether or not this space is equitable and open to the diverse population of the neighbourhood. I believe it is essential to evaluate and investigate this farmers’ market, as well as others, from an equity standpoint. I am impressed, as are others, by the attention paid to sustainability throughout the construction of this venue, but equity and sustainability, from my point of view, must go hand in hand.

Many aspects of farmers’ markets in the United States have been considered – the incorporation of sustainability and equity, the whiteness of farmers’ markets and the reasons why patrons shop there (Fegan, Morris, & Krug, 2004; King, 2000; Guthman, 2008; Slocum, 2007; Alkon, 2008) – but there is an absence of literature within the Ontario region. This research is important because
it looks at the values present in sustainable practices – I believe that a sustainable practice should also consider equity issues, and through evaluation of local research I found it often does not incorporate it or consider it adequately. This issue is especially important in present society, with such a large push toward policies that focus on sustainability coupled with a public desire to be sustainable; this newfound desire for sustainable practice should not ignore equity.

There are many positive aspects to farmers’ markets, such as providing high quality, local produce and thus they are often considered part of a sustainable food practice (Taxel, 2003; King 2008). While no one debates the sustainable aspects of farmers’ providing local food to the community, there is an aspect of farmers’ markets that is often scrutinized – their construction as exclusionary spaces. Farmers’ markets, within the United States, have been criticized for excluding people based on income and race; oftentimes a farmers’ market can be named a white space – this notion of whiteness, income and race will be considered in this Canadian case study at the Wychwood Artscape Barns in Toronto ON. Whiteness, in this case, refers to bodies with pale skin and the tendency of these individuals to do certain things in a particular context and social space (Slocum, 2007). In this study, a farmers’ market is the social space that these participants create as a community for white individuals, thereby excluding others. The goal of farmers’ markets is to provide good, sustainable food – this notion or desire is not inherently white, but it may become white in the way we construct this effort for sufficient food and economy (Slocum, 2007, p. 526). The realization that farmers’ markets may be a white space is a starting point, but a look into exactly how that is executed, with or without awareness of those involved, was studied at Wychwood farmers’ market.
With this consideration, a case study of the Wychwood Artscape Barn, located in Ward 21 of Toronto Ontario, was conducted in an attempt to discover who shops at the market, the reasons they do so, and if there are barriers for certain people. This was accomplished administrating 100 demographic surveys and 10 interviews. The survey was limited to questions on age, cultural/national/ethnic identity, education level achieved and household income. The categories and ranges were modeled after the existing neighbourhood ward profiles (Toronto, 2006) in order to make a comparison possible. The average patron at Wychwood Farmers’ Market was 47 years of age for females and 44.8 years for males. The reasons patrons shop at the market were additionally considered in the interview.

The demographic information and reasons for participation were then analyzed using whiteness theory. I compared the responses given by Wychwood patrons to existing literature; in addition I compared their incomes, race and culture identification and education to existing demographic information of the neighbourhood, Ward 21 (Toronto, 2006). It can be assumed that location, convenience and proximity, would allow and encourage an average person from Ward 21 to attend the market, since barriers such as time to arrive and location would be similar among the population surrounding the market. This assumption was supported when I discovered that, out of 10 people interviewed, 80% walked or rode a bicycle, and travelled less than 10 minutes to arrive at the market.

Similar findings within the United States show factors such as whiteness, privilege, racism, and income may cause barriers that convenience and proximity cannot compensate for. I found, by comparing Ward 21 data with demographic data from the farmers’ market, that the education level of market patrons was higher than expected. Compared to the existing neighbourhood, the
average income of a Wychwood farmers’ market patron was higher. In addition, only a small percentage identified as a visible minority which is not representative of the neighbourhood demographics. The main reasons for shopping at Wychwood were found to be access to a community or feeling a part of a community, and to buy local, and organic food which is consistent with the reasons of other farmers’ market patrons.

1.2 Sustainability

Sustainability is a word that is used in many different contexts. Many argue that sustainability has no set meaning and is an ever-evolving concept; sustainability is something to keep striving for and is an aspiration or a vision (Sumner J., 2005, p. 77). Sustainability, according to the Oxford English dictionary, means capable of being borne or endured; supportable, bearable, or when related to ecology, relating to forms of human economic activity and culture that do not lead to environmental degradation, such as conducting practices that avoid the long-term depletion of natural resources (Oxford English Dictionary Online, 1989). There are hundreds, if not more, definitions of sustainability which is perhaps the reason so many practices that are considered sustainable are often debated. It is difficult to know what parameters to consider, and what definitions of sustainability to focus on in order to make changes on a large scale due to the multitude of definitions and directions. When struggling to define sustainability, a conflict arises concerning growth: will a sustainable future treat economic development and growth as a positive direction, or one to be cautioned against?

It has been argued that the conflation of development with the term sustainable is a mistake, one that arose out of the Bruntland Report in 1987; it was this report that defined sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the
ability of future generations to meet their own” (Brundtland, 1987, p. 24). Some believe that the coupled use of the terms *sustainability* and *development* caused confusion for the reader, confusion that still exists today, and is believed to be the root of a lot of issues in understanding sustainability only in terms of economic growth (Sumner, 2005). What is missing from this definition is the effect that sustainability has on people, and the consideration of equity aspects, instead of economic aspects. I find Farrell and Hart’s (1998) definition to be most useful to this discussion; they are one source that creates a more helpful definition of sustainability by considering society – they include the relationship between society and nature, and see this relationship as inclusive and not separate in the goal to achieve sustainability. They define sustainability as ‘improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems’ (Farrell & Hart, 1998). I will use this definition, since I believe that while sustainable practices are necessary, we should not adhere to practices that are inequitable. A dictionary definition does not work for this project, since it is limited in scope; it does not consider that sustainability has many definitions.

Despite the struggle to define sustainability, what should be clear is that, for the purpose of this study, sustainability respects the earth and its processes and simultaneously recognizes that society has a role in maintaining these processes by participating in practices that are considered sustainable – one such practice being farmer’s markets. In later discussions the sustainable aspects of farmers’ markets will be considered; namely the reduction of waste by using less packaging, supporting local farmers, and bringing organic healthy food to the forefront.

One final perspective on sustainability involves the concept of the ‘civil commons’. The civil commons can be defined as any ‘cooperative human construction that protects or enables the
universal access to life goods’ (McMurty, 1999). There are many examples, on all levels in society, such as individual, community and government, which partake, protect, and establish the civil commons. Some examples include healthcare, public education, some laws and legislation and much more. Life goods are defined as anything a person needs in order to survive – food, shelter, water etc. I use this definition because I believe it could be useful to consider the civil commons in the definition of sustainability - the role of the civil commons is to protect and enable individual and social well-being, and sustainability provides the means to ensure this protection for generations to come (Sumner, 2003). Following this line of reasoning, a practice, arguably, can only be considered sustainable if it protects individual and societal rights in terms of having access to the civil commons – any life goods that a member or group in society needs in order to survive and thrive. In order for institutions and spaces within society to be truly sustainable they must support the civil commons and life goods must be available to all, including humans, non-humans, and ecosystems.

A closer look at the sustainable aspects of farmers’ markets is necessary to evaluate the role it plays in maintaining access to life goods, and the promotion of sustainability, the protection and enhancement of the natural environment, as well as the maintenance and creation of an equitable environment for those needing access to these life goods.
1.3 The Sustainable Aspects of Farmers’ Markets

The prominence of farmers’ markets has increased in popularity over the last thirty years. The number of markets in the United States had increased to over 3000 according to a study conducted in 2002 (Taxel, 2003), while in Canada there were 425, with over 130 in Ontario alone in a study conducted in 2003 (Feagan, Morris, & Krug, 2004). With many positive aspects, such as high quality and locally grown food, these markets are a dependable source of good food for shoppers across the United States and Canada (Taxel, 2003). From a purely sustainability approach, farmers’ markets use less energy and packaging compared to goods found at supermarkets and large chain stores; it is known that food processing, and the packaging and transportation tied to the long transportation of goods, consumes 75% – 85% of all energy used in the commercial food industry (Taxel, 2003). The supermarket lulls communities into a sense of abundance and selection all year round. The supermarket can be a perpetual “Garden of Eden” but what remains hidden is the amount of energy, packaging, and transportation attached to it (Gurin, 2006, p. 18). From a social standpoint, farmers’ markets increase the interaction between farmers and other citizens, shrink the physical food chain, and incorporate human social and cultural values into environmental actions which are critical for long term sustainability (Fegan, Morris, & Krug, 2004).

In addition, farmers’ markets can be an avenue to address the disparities in health among citizens; one such study focused on the health differences of those living in the country compared to those residing in the cities of Australia (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005). In order to increase social capital as well as health, a farmers’ market initiative was put into place. Throughout this initiative, it was found that farmers’ markets were an effective way to address gaps in food availability, increase social interaction, and increase local economy and
community pride, with 86% of vendors in the Australian market saying the market was safe and brought more people to the town’s centre (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005); other studies point to addressing the gap in food availability by bringing good, mostly organic, food to customers in a cost-effective and resource-efficient way (Taxel, 2003; King, 2008).

1.4 A Critical Look at Farmers’ Markets from a Whiteness Perspective

Many case studies of farmers’ markets conducted within the United States have found it useful to analyze them in terms of whiteness theory. A case study within Canada may or may not find such an approach useful. Regardless, to understand the literature within the United States, an understanding of whiteness theory, and the creation of white spaces, thereby aiding in the creation of ‘the other,’ can be an approach to understand the exclusion that many researchers believe is happening within farmers’ markets. Ruth Frankenberg (1993) found that ethnicity plays an important role in the lives of white people, and contrary to other popular theories, is a major part of their identity; rather than subordination, the term “whiteness” signals the presence of dominance and privilege. By internalizing discourses of power and colour the white women whom she interviewed, while they would not consider themselves racist or exhibit outward racist tendencies, were still found to perpetuate racism and inequity. Perhaps, by not identifying oneself as having an ethnicity, which white people often do, makes it easier to construct and dominate the other (Norton & Baker, 2007). What is sustained is the ideology that they have little in common with the other cultures and, therefore, find it difficult empathizing with them—by creating this wall they can ignore ‘the other’ in spaces dominated by white people (Norton & Baker, 2007). ‘Whiteness’ refers to bodies with pale skin colour, and the tendency to do certain things in a particular context and social space (Slocum, 2006).
At farmers’ markets, this exclusion from the community can come from the attitudes of vendors and the dominant patrons. An understanding of whiteness theory and the notion of privilege will be considered by an evaluation of attitudes towards the practice of shopping at the market. The realization of the construction as a white space is a starting point, but a look into exactly how that is executed, with or without awareness of those involved, is an area to be studied at the Wychwood Farmers’ Market.

1.5 The Construction of Farmers’ Markets as White Spaces, and the Impact on the Community

While farmers’ markets should be praised for their sustainable aspects, it is relevant to scrutinize what this practice may be lacking in equity; many studies criticize their construction of exclusionary spaces. This criticism is based on a number of factors, including income and race; oftentimes a farmers’ market can be named a white space. Being white has historically meant an increased access to basic needs – food, employment, and adequate living conditions – and provided more power in political, economic and social spheres (Harris, 1995, p. 283). Historically, whiteness played an integral role in the definition of freedom as well, since simply ‘being white’ meant you were free, being ‘non-white’ meant you were not (Harris, 1995, p. 281). Being white is often seen as being without a race, or being unmarked in the way we mark others of race (Shore, 2001).

The concept of whiteness is a critique of the privilege afforded to those who are white based solely on ‘being white’. Whiteness maintains the reasoning that whites have privileged access in many environments such as work and leisure. It is believed that the benefits of whiteness, and the exclusion of other races that it promotes, serves to temper the tension between different classes within the white community (Harris, 1995, p. 284). Historically it served as a direct way
to compare and define what a white person was - they were not a slave, they were free, they had access (even if it was limited because of their class) to public spaces (Harris, 1995, p. 285).

While the subjugation of race does not exist in nearly the scope it did in the past, there is still a lingering sense of the privilege one is afforded if one is white.

Whiteness and white privilege is a part of the legacy of domination – white people do not identify with having a colour or a race and thus can be blind to their own racial identity and the privilege it affords (Sammel, 2009). Whiteness is not a ‘thing’; it cannot be picked out of a crowd or instituted as a rule. It is symbolic and can be understood as a product. Whiteness is a social control, ideology, or worldview that constructs an inferior ‘other’ through systems and spaces (Sammel, 2009, p. 650). It is because of this blindness to whiteness as something one does not recognize or see, that it is able to play a role in narrowing worldviews and perceptions while constructing spaces; all the while remaining invisible to those constructing or partaking in the spaces. There is privilege afforded to those who are in a position to create systems and spaces and often unknowingly others are excluded as a result. White privilege is different from blatant racism or supremacy – it is less recognizable then other forms of discrimination since those involved do not have malicious intent, and but easily invest themselves in maintaining the privilege that already exists (Pulido, 2000).

Simply, farmers’ market have been said to be open and welcoming to those who are white, and exclude those that are not. It is not a conscious effort to keep any one group or person out; it is in the inherent construction of the way this space can be created to provide access and comfort to those who are white and to exclude by the inherent discomfort of those who are not. Guthman (2008) believes that the way spaces are coded can create discomfort in certain patrons and
because they feel uncomfortable, many people may choose not to visit. In the case of farmers’ markets the way the space is presented and the way people act within it, can make those not white feel unwelcome and intentionally excluded, whether that is the intention or not. Certain practices such as the packaging, selling, and promotion of food at the market engages with a white middle class narrative – it takes up what is considered a white ideal through the fetishization of fresh local organic produce for dietary obsessions as well as ownership over the idea that placing importance on organic and local food is a ‘white’ thing to do (Slocum, 2007, p.526). The belief that there is ownership of certain attitudes, the way these attitudes are presented, the values that are engaged, and the way the food is presented also points to ways in which a farmers’ market can be a white space.

This brings us back to the definition of sustainability – if sustainability includes equity then it must not be limited to providing local food and lessening the ecological footprint that food has on the environment. Sustainability must include access to the civil commons and to be sustainable, farmers’ markets must engage people from all communities and not maintain barriers to common goods. It is counterproductive to have barriers, such as cost, lack of transportation, and general acceptance of diversity, in accessing this food for some segments of society. The goal of farmers’ markets is to provide good, sustainable food – this notion or desire is not inherently white, but becomes white in the way we construct this effort for sufficient food and economy (Slocum, 2007, p. 526).

In other words, the notion of sustainability is not a strictly white value, although by looking at some farmers’ markets across the United States and Canada, one may wonder if this were true. Considering the notion of community is helpful since farmers’ markets also are often hailed for
building stronger ties within a community (247 Fegan, Morris, & Krug, 2004; 119 King, 2008). What should be questioned is the construction of the community – some research suggests that African Americans in the United States do not participate in these markets proportionate to their representation in the population, so what is keeping them away? (389 Guthman, 2008). What is known is that the communities that these markets attract are often upper middle class and white, regardless of the demographics of the community. Slocum (2007, p. 527), through her observations of shoppers and overheard conversations found that the construction of farmers’ markets tends to equate shopping local with ‘shopping white’; the Minneapolis market studied caters to the demographic of the ‘liberal hippie’, where the atmosphere is more bourgeois suburban, focused on the care of animals, and creation of a fabricated sustainable-chic culture, rather than a sustainable lifestyle with substance and actions for helpful change (527 Slocum, 2007). Ultimately, shopping at the farmers’ market is about creating a community and living a lifestyle is just as important as the benefits of local food.

Alkon (2008) mirrored this sentiment when observing and interviewing shoppers and vendors at a Berkeley market. Shopping at these markets seemed to be about the enjoyment of observing and shopping, as well as the creation of self-righteousness in knowing that you are engaging in this lifestyle. The same is true in Canada, where in the Niagara region, many patrons voiced themes of the market being “a people bonding place”; the reason for visiting often was associated with “people and friends”, and the “atmosphere” of the market, instead of values of sustainability (Fegan, Morris, & Krug, 2004). The motivation for attending the market and the ambiance created there is a positive one – people want to connect with each other and the farmers, and feel a sense of belonging. This sense of community, however, also can play a key role in excluding non-whites and perhaps keep them from attending the market. This exclusionary
attitude tied with the closeness of the community could present itself as an impenetrable wall to
break through; it also works to produce white privilege in society – legitimization of one race
over another for rightfully engaging in these practices.

In contrast, a market in Oakland California focuses on supporting and encouraging diversity and
community and actively structures its market to consider these values. The Oakland market
presents an environment where food is offered at a more affordable price because of the needs of
the population (Alkon, 2008). In this case, the markets were run with the empowerment of
African Americans in mind – the population was working poor, and the farmers’ market
benefitting the very population to which the vendors belonged. By letting control of the location
and composition, especially pricing, be decided by local populations, the city could accomplish a
fair market that supports its citizens. This is, of course, in a way anti-capitalist – the vendors in
the Oakland market made a fair living, but not at the expense of exploiting the citizens.
Involving community members would, perhaps, better reflect the needs of the community and
therefore create an inclusive environment. These varying attitudes speak directly to the vendors’
relationship to the environment, and their construction of what it means to be sustainable.

1.6 White Spaces – What They Say About the ‘Others’ Lack of
Inherent Values and Knowledge

Many studies, most having been conducted within the United States, have investigated the values
of those who shop at farmers’ markets, and the value they place in making the choice and effort
to shop local at a farmers’ market. The lack of diversity is often argued to be attributed to lack of
knowledge – some people just do not understand the benefits of local food. This mentality of ‘if
they only knew’ illustrates the colour blindness and universalizing impulses often associated
with whiteness and is naïve and inequitable; it only serves to reinforce whiteness within
alternative food practices (Guthman, 2008). It also fails to recognize the privilege that white middle class people have in the production of farmers’ markets and the exclusion they can produce (Alkon, 2008). Perhaps by not recognizing that white is a constructed category, one does not see the exclusion of others from that category. In order to be more inclusive, the population dominant in the alternative food culture needs to start asking serious questions about who is present and who is absent. Studies that survey the interests and values of those shoppers in the Toronto area, however, are few and far between. A willingness to pay and what that indicates about pricing and valuation of produce within the markets is also an area I wish to explore. An example of the values placed on shopping at farmers’ markets is reflected in a study conducted in the Niagara region. This study focused on the reasons for shopping at a farmers’ market and it was found that while price was not a significant motivator, internalized attitudes and values such as health, buying local and supporting famers played a huge role (Fegan, Morris, & Krug, 2004). The notion of values, and who has these values in accordance with sustainability are presented as a key factor to the exclusion of ‘the other’. The construction of exclusion is based on a perceived lack of knowledge, and in turn, the belief that the problem lies in an unwillingness to pay and adhere to sustainable practices.

1.7 ‘Willingness to Pay’: How This Belief Shapes Interactions Between Vendors and Patrons and Helps Create Exclusion

This notion of willingness to pay also reflects the assumption that values that are held by the white community are the only valid ones, and that they are presumably universal (Guthman, 2008). This belief is perpetuated in the vendors’ point of view and in turn could be translated into the way they deal with customers thus providing an explanation of why others may feel unwelcome at the farmers’ market; Payet et al., (2005) found that consumers in a farmers’
market were four times more likely to have a personal encounter with a seller or fellow consumer compared to those shopping in a mainstream store. This increased interaction makes the relationship between vendors and patrons, and the attitude of the vendors an essential aspect of a pleasant shopping experience. If a shopper feels looked down upon or isolated because of their social or economic capital, than it is more likely that they will avoid shopping there. Some vendors believe that a willingness to pay is a reflection of the values that certain customers hold (Alkon, 2008). Those who are willing to pay for local or organic food, in the minds of the vendors’, must value it; those who do not must not see the value in allocating money for these items and are therefore misinformed or uncaring about the sustainable aspects of shopping at a farmers’ market. What is often not considered is the role that privilege plays in this belief – there often is a lack of ability to pay the often higher price. One vendor argued that only when everyone is willing to pay for organic locally grown food will our relationship with the land become truly sustainable (Alkon, 2008). This places a heavy responsibility on the customer – the belief that if they value it they will pay for it makes it the customer’s problem, rather than a cooperative relationship between the consumer and producer. It also shows that there is ignorance towards other factors that makes shopping local and/or organic at a farmers’ market difficult, such as price. Many who are non-white and/or non-privileged in the neighbourhood may highly value the sustainable aspects of shopping at a farmers’ market. They may not be able to afford it, or they may not be willing to make the sacrifice to afford it because of the unwelcoming atmosphere towards their demographic group.

This idea of willingness to pay does not include equity at all – it relies on the belief that all people have the same ability and desire to allocate large sums (or larger sums) of money to food, regardless of their socio-economic status, when this is not the case. The average person involved
in the alternative food movement, such as socially just farming and distribution tends to be economically or socially middle class. They have the wealth and privilege to buy organic food, knowledge of nutrition, and are often more politically liberal (Slocum, 2007). That does not mean, as we will see later, that they are the only demographic group that values sustainable food and agriculture.

I believe that in order to discover if a market is acting as an exclusionary space it is important to consider the composition of the community since it is not accurate to say that some farmers’ markets exclude based on privilege and whiteness, if they are located in a predominantly white area; Wychwood was chosen for a case study due to its diverse neighbourhood demographics. What has been found is that regardless of the demographic composition of the neighbourhood, ethnic minorities are not involved in the alternative food movement in accordance with their percentage within the population (Guthman, 2008; Slocum, 2006). In Guthman’s (2008) study of farmers’ markets, she found that in a working class, predominantly African American neighbourhood in Chicago, African American shoppers were much happier with the quality of food at the farmers’ market compared to that of the local store – yet, this population made up a small percentage of black sellers and buyers (14% compared to 74% white - the other 12% were considered ‘other’). She noted that there seemed to be a small dedicated number of black patrons, not representative of the demographic group as a whole, which may speak to the whiteness of these spaces; perhaps only a few people of colour have been able to overcome this whiteness and feel welcomed in the culture of the farmers’ market.

It should also be noted, that particularly in the United States, less participation from African Americans is often due to location of these markets (Guthman, 2008; Alkon, 2008).
markets are found in upper/middle class neighbourhoods which are historically lacking ethnic and cultural diversity – travelling to these markets from far distances may not be possible for people from other neighbourhoods. This is not the case for the Wychwood market which is located in an area with a population that is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity and income.

1.8 Paradigms of Nature and Their Role in Creating Inclusion or Exclusion

Another proposed explanation of the discrepancy of those who are or are not involved in farmer’s markets can be tied to two varying paradigms of nature that are used in the construction of farmers’ markets: the sustainable agricultural paradigm and the environmental justice paradigm. These two paradigms can explain the ways in which race and privilege play a key role in the alternative food movement. Agyeman and Evans (2008, p.37) define sustainability not only as the maintenance of the earth for future generations but include that this maintenance must be equitable and just. While the Berkley paradigm is sustainable, it seems to ignore the inclusion of others and focuses on ‘wild places’ or nature as separate from ourselves; this view only reinforces the privilege of the white middle class (Alkon, 2008). A comparison of two farmers markets was conducted, one in a lower socioeconomic predominantly African American area of West Oakland, and the other in a neighbourhood consisting of white affluent citizens in Berkeley. Each farmers’ market seemed to operate under unique paradigms: Berkeley under a sustainable agricultural movement focused on grassroots and free market based strategies that encourage the use of local and organic produce from small farms (Alkon, 2008). This paradigm advocates ‘farm as if nature matters’ and makes the link between ecological health such as the food from the farm, and human health, thereby constructing humans as the managers of wilderness (Alkon, 2008).
West Oakland operates under an *environmental justice* paradigm, which adheres to the belief that the relationships between humans often mirror relationships between humans and nature; they believe that those benefitting least from the capitalist process are most likely to feel adverse effects of environmental degradation (Alkon, 2008). For example, identified minorities within low socioeconomic areas are more likely to live in polluted areas, have less access to clean water, and healthy food – which reflects the importance of including communities and society in the definition of sustainability, not just environmental concerns.

The West Oakland Market is premised on the notion that environmental issues are inseparable from other social problems, such as poverty and food-insecurity. The basis of this market adheres more closely to a true definition of sustainability and opens up farmers’ markets to diversity in terms of income and race (Alkon, 2008). It is this attitude that I would like to see in markets in the Toronto area. There is joy found in the mixing of different bodies, and farmers’ markets provide an excellent place to practice sustainability as well as this closeness (Slocum, 2007). If the space was opened up to include all, and the realization of equity infused in the practice of these markets, everyone could benefit from this community. An integration of equity and sustainability would fully realize the potential of farmers’ markets.

More recently, dissatisfaction with both of these types of nature paradigms has surfaced. Some researchers believe that alternative agricultural practices such as backyard gardens, community kitchens, and farmers’ markets ignore the issue of food access, which is something I would like to draw attention to in the case study of the Wychwood Barns (Alkon & Norgaard, 2009). What is often wrongly assumed is that all communities have the ability to choose sustainable food – what is not considered in movements like sustainable agriculture is the entrenched history of
racism in the construction of food spaces, as well as the more obvious barrier of price (Alkon & Norgaard, 2009). Food security is a huge concern in the city of Toronto with studies indicating that 48% of those living below the poverty line in Toronto are in the paid labour force; 20% of those include minimum wage workers. The same study also found that users of food banks, once considered a small, poor, segment of the population are now lower middle class (Food Policy Council, 1994, p. 7). Just as it is important to include equity within the definition of sustainability, it is conversely important to include sustainability when considering social justice concepts, such as food security - in a Council Discussion (Toronto Food Policy, 1994) a comprehensive definition of food security has been updated to include aspects of sustainability. The more recent definition will inform the incorporation of food access into alternative practices, such as farmers’ markets.

The concept of food security includes the following:

Adapted from Campbell et al, 1998, food security refers to the belief that every citizen should have access to food available at a reasonable price; this access should be provided through grocery stores and alternative food sources and this food should include culturally acceptable options, quality food, and finally, there should be an assurance of a viable and sustainable food production system (Campbell, Katamay, & Connolly, 1988). I feel a consideration of several paradigms of nature and environmentalism is essential in understanding how we can make food secure and available, as well as sustainable.
Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The goal of this research is to conduct a case study of the Wychwood Artscape Barn in Toronto, Ontario. The research was conducted using a demographic survey and a short open-ended interview. I will identify an ‘average’ shopper at the market as well as delve into reason why people shop there and assess some sustainable aspects of their behaviour. I will then connect the demographic information and reasons for participation to the themes of income, privilege and race using existing literature and comparing it to figures that indicate the distribution of alternative food sources, and the division of neighbourhoods by income (Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, Glazier & Booth, 2007); I will also utilize Ward 21 statistics from city surveys (Toronto, 2006)

2.2 Purpose of Methods Chosen

Two types of data collections were utilized; the first being a survey and the second being a short interview of the participants at the farmers’ market. Surveys are used frequently in qualitative studies to explore themes and relationships (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006) and thus it fit the purpose of this study. The use of a survey is versatile and can investigate a variety of problems or questions (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). In this study it helped gather information from a large population, for a low cost – 100 Wychwood Farmers’ Market visitors. An analysis of the commonalities and unique reasons for shopping at the market will be done by identifying themes and comparing demographic data to existing data of the area (Ward 21) conducted by Statistics Canada.
2.3 Recruitment of Participants

The participants in this study were those in attendance at the weekly farmers’ market. They could be there to shop or for a variety of other reasons such as socializing and viewing the live entertainment present. The market employs 36 vendors and attracts a crowd varying from 600 to 1000 weekly according to the market manager. Permission to survey customers was obtained from the market manager prior to data collection. The research ethics council deemed the protocol of the survey and interview to be ethical and fair. There were no names taken for any portion of the data collection and each participant was assigned a number for organizational purposes. Verbal consent was given by the participants to take part in the demographic survey and a signature was required for the interview; the signature was kept separate from the interview transcript and cannot be connected to it. All signatures, and any other information, remain confidential. All participants were given the right to refuse participation and contact information should they decide to withdraw after completing the survey or interview.

The methods used to recruit participants follows:

a) For the demographic survey – 100 surveys were distributed to patrons. There was an attempt to ask each person that walked by for their consent to participate. The potential participants were approached, greeted, read the recruitment script for verbal consent (Appendix 3). They were also offered an information sheet about the details of the study, should they wish to decline or keep it for their records (Appendix 5). The majority of those asked agreed to participate, about one in five people refused to take part in the study.

b) For the interview – Every third person that walked by the table was asked to participate. If that person refused to allow me to provide an explanation of the project, then the cycle started
again. Once a participant agreed to listen, the recruitment script was read in full (Appendix 4) and I gave them an information sheet if they wished to participate. The finer points of the study were reviewed and the participant was given a permission form to sign (Appendix 6). There were no patrons who refused to participate at this point.

2.4 Data Collection

A survey, in the form of a short questionnaire consisting of five demographic questions, as well as an interview consisting of an expanded demographic survey with additional questions based on travel to the farmers’ market and frequency of visits was conducted with Wychwood Barn Farmers’ market attendees. Data collection took place on two different occasions. The first occasion was strictly to administer the demographic survey. A sample of the survey can be found in Appendix 7. The survey was limited to questions on age, cultural/national/ethnic identity, education level achieved and household income. The categories and ranges were modeled after the existing neighbourhoods ward profiles (Toronto, 2006) in order to make a comparison possible.

The second data collection date was strictly to administer the interview and accompanying demographic survey. It was administered to the population of patrons in attendance at the Saturday market, and ten participants chose to take part; the refusal rate was more frequent than with the initial data collection with approximately half of those asked refusing to be involved in the study. Due to the nature of the environment of the data collection location, a bustling and oftentimes noisy atmosphere, I chose to keep the interview informal and concise. I had a table set up for the participant to place their food items, or sit if they wished to. This made the interviewee able to relax more and expand on answers that might otherwise have been cut short
by having to move for other shoppers, or make place for cumbersome packages. It also allowed us to step back from the main crowd to hear each other clearly. No personal information, such as income or education, was asked aloud since it was a public space. The interview consisted of one main question (with a follow up question for expansion) as well as a second question aimed to generate new answers (Appendix 8). Both questions focused on the reasons the participant attended the market in an attempt to uncover the values presents and to find what values participants had in common. The answers were recorded in short form on the spot, noting key words, and writing in short form. For more detailed answers, the participant was often asked to repeat what they had said, as well as have their answer read back to them to ensure accuracy.

2.5 Data Organization for Survey

Each survey was numbered from 1 - 100. The date of data collection was also included in order to organize the survey in the event that multiple data collection events were necessary. The information was then reviewed and surveys that were inaccurate or incomplete were discarded. I deemed an incomplete survey to be one that did not answer two or more of questions 1, 2, 4 or 5. Question 3, ‘how do you identify in terms of race, ethnicity or nation?’ was not counted in the total due to its sensitive nature. There were also many inquiries regarding the wording of this question and in hindsight a list provided to the participant, with options for them to choose from would have been more informative. The positive aspect of this question is that it generated a variety of answers, and the participant was able to use what they were most comfortable with and not be ‘defined’ by a list. However, the variety of answers was also a downside in organizing these data, as many participants chose to identify themselves by multiple characteristics, which made grouping problematic. This multiple identification was dealt with in the following way – if a participant identified themselves as both white and Canadian, I counted the white identification
as one answer, and additionally counted the ‘Canadian’ characteristic as a separate value. For this example, the person would have yielded two answers overall, since equal weight was given to race and nation. This caused the total responses to be greater than 98, since some were ‘double counted’. Since I was interested in those who are visible minorities, I carefully considered if a visible minority identified in a way that would not accurately convey this - for example, if a person who was black identified only as Canadian, I planned to ask them if they would be willing to expand on their answer. This was not an issue, however, since there were few visible minorities at the farmers’ market and all who participated indicated their race, either solely or in addition to stating they were ‘Canadian’.

Upon reviewing and determining the ‘complete’ surveys, it was determined that 98 could be used in this study. The data were grouped, by separating male and female participants – 29 male participants and 69 female participants – and their individual information was then recorded on a spreadsheet. The data were used to generate graphs to compare demographic characteristics among participants, such as average income, education, and age. My observations concerning the actions and practices of the market and its visitors were also recorded.

2.6 Data Organization for Interview

The data generated from the expanded survey were treated the same as in the above survey the only difference being that there were three new questions. In total there were ten expanded surveys, with one male and nine females participating. All interviews were recorded with accuracy, using descriptive language and focusing on key words – such as fresh, organic, local, atmosphere etc. From these a list of common themes was generated and used to develop a framework for listening to and categorizing participants’ answers. The list was informed by
earlier studies (Slocum, 2007; Payet, Gilles, Howat, 2005 and Alkon, 2008). I later re-recorded the participants’ answers in a chart form in order to generate graphs and thematic figures.

Following the demographic survey, patrons were interviewed and asked one main question, broken into two parts in order to encourage expansion of answers. The first part asked the reasons the participant attends the market, while the second part of the question asked “what makes shopping here an experience you wish to participate in?” There was a follow up question asking if the participant had anything else to add to their responses. This type of interview was based on the method of similar larger scale studies, such as Alkon (2008, pp. 275-276) where demographic information was taken as well as observations and conversations between the researcher and participants were recorded and grouped according to similarities. Upon analysis many similarities between answers began to emerge; it was found that many reasons for shopping at the market were related to quality food, to the positive characteristics of the market itself. Other answers were unique and did not fit into categories already generated.

I found that grouping the data in terms of categories was most useful. The categories were further broken down into subcategories and grouped accordingly (Table 1). For example, Food was broken down into reasons related to health, the origin of the food, and the characteristics of the food. By creating categories and grouping them, the overall themes that were important became apparent and the frequency of responses within each category could be computed.

Grouping these themes was most useful in determining the reasons for shopping at the market and demonstrating the relationship to the research question - a possible relationship to privilege, race, and whiteness. The three main reasons for shopping at the market were then broken into more specific reasons, and the frequency of each response noted, in a thematic chart.
Chapter 3: Discussion of Results

3.1 Farmers’ Markets in Toronto and Ward 21

The neighbourhood in which ‘The Barn’ is located has an average household income of $50 000 - $75 000; it also borders a neighbourhood where the highest income bracket is between $151 000 – $175 000 show in Appendix 2 (Glazier & Booth, 2007); neighbourhood boundaries, statistics, and locations of farmer’s markets were found in Neighbourhood Environments and Resources for Healthy Living - A Focus on Diabetes in Toronto (Glazier & Booth, 2007) as well as data from Statistics Canada, Ward 21 profiles (Toronto, 2006). One aspect considered is the number of farmers’ markets, as well as alternative food sources, such as good food boxes, available in a variety of income areas. In Toronto, as of 2005 prior to Wychwood opening, there were 9 farmers’ markets servicing a number of income levels (refer to Appendix 1). Most of the farmers’ markets in Toronto, found when comparing Appendix 1 and 2, are located in the downtown core where incomes average $40000 – $75000 (Glazier & Booth, 2007); the study, as seen in Appendix 1, notes that with few exceptions outside of the downtown, alternative food sources were located in low-income areas.

It should be noted that the Glazier and Booth study (2007) considers many alternative food sources, not solely farmers’ markets, although I utilized this information solely for the locations’ of farmers’ markets; by comparing low income levels ($30 000 and under per annum) with medium to high income levels ($50 000 to $75 0000 per annum) I found that low income areas were less than half as likely to be located near farmers’ markets.
3.1.1 The Stop Community Food Centre

As previously mentioned the Wychwood Barns Farmers’ Market is located in a converted street car depot and was a community organized project. Various activities are housed there including school visits and an after-school program offer hands-on opportunities for children to learn about the food system run by The Stop Community Food Centre, a community organization that was integral in the conversion of the street car barns (The Stop, 2009). Being a resident of the community to which Wychwood Barns are located, I am well aware of the intention and the drive to make ‘The Barns’ a community based project – it is meant to be “an environment that addresses and responds to the needs of the surrounding community and cleverly utilizes existing and renewable resources will become a positive symbol and an important precedent for other community initiatives” (Park, 2009). The Stop, a community food activist group was integral in the opening of the Green Barn in 2009. I note this not only to provide an accurate picture of where the farmers’ market is located, but also to illustrate that, not surprisingly, there was no ill intention to opening the farmers’ market. This building is meant to be generated by the community, for the community. I am also acknowledging, that while I have found that the farmers’ market portion is not equally accessible to all groups, I am not diminishing the progress that The Stop Community Food Centre does through their activist work. The Stop’s motto in part is:

“We believe that healthy food is a basic human right. We recognize that the ability to access healthy food is often related to multiple issues and not just a result of low income” (The Stop, 2009)
I agree that food is a basic human right, and that farmers’ markets may be a way to help combat food insecurity, but only if they are accessible to everyone in the neighbourhood. The Green Barn is the secondary location for The Stop, the first being in a lower income area of the city which is viewed as their front line of defense against food insecurity with a food bank and a market that offers food at lower prices, often the leftovers from the Wychwood Farmers’ Market as I learned through discussions with the Market manager. The Stop attempts to bring the two locations together by setting up a booth at the Wychwood market in order to draw attention to their cause. I am by no means condemning the work of The Stop, merely looking at their new development with a critical eye. The emphasis of The Barns seems to be “sustainable food production” (The Stop, 2009) which no one would argue is unimportant; however sustainable food production does not automatically mean accessible food production as we will see in the resulting discoveries made in this case study.

3.2 Demographic Results: Education

Of the 98 survey’s utilized in the study the average age of participants was 46 years of age, with the average women being older (47 years of age) than the average man (44.8 years of age). In total, there were 29 male participants and 69 female participants. In previous studies of farmers’ markets it is often noted that there are consistently more females in attendance than males; one such study found that the composition regarding sex was 28.7% men and 71.3% women respectively (Kezis, Gwebu, Peavey, & Cheng, 1998), and it is not surprising that this study also found more women participants then men. The comparison between the average educational background for men and women is shown in Figure 1.
The participants were asked to indicate the highest level of education received at the time of the survey. The average women and man held a university degree, with 78.2% and 74.5% of those surveyed indicating this respectively. The educational level of Wychwood patrons is consistent with that of other markets, although most similar data are taken from the United States.

Traditionally those who are university educated attend markets, and Wychwood seems to attract a similar type of patron (Alkon A., 2008; Eastwood, 1996; Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005; Slocum, 2007). While the majority of those surveyed were university educated, the next largest education level was college; only 9% of the men responded had obtained only a high school diploma or some high school. None of the women surveyed indicated they only had a high school diploma.
The data collected from the demographic survey, regarding education, was compared to existing ward profiles conducted by the city of Toronto in 2006 (Toronto, 2006) and is shown in Figure 2.

**Figure 2.** A comparison of the education levels of Wychwood Farmers’ Market patrons, and Ward 21.

The Wychwood Artscape Barns are located in Ward 21 of the city. I have compared the data gathered from the case study with these existing Ward 21 data, as well as statistics from Toronto city averages. It can be assumed that location, convenience and proximity would allow and encourage an average person from Ward 21 to attend the market, and barriers such as time to arrive and location would be similar among the population surrounding the market. This assumption is based on previous studies that indicate that location, convenience, and proximity are reasons behind the visits at farmers’ markets. One example, from a study done in Main, found that 13.5% of patrons indicated that convenience was the main reason for shopping at the
farmers’ market (Kezis, Gwebu, Peavey, & Cheng, 1998); another conducted in New Jersey found that 20% of those surveyed valued convenience above all other reasons for shopping at the market (Govindasamy, Zurbriggen, Italia, Adelaja, Nitzche, & VanVranken, 1998). This comparison relates to the research questions that hope to discover what, if any, other barriers, such as privilege and race, are factors that affect the attendance of the market, when proximity is a shared characteristic of different demographic groups.

In the comparison, it is important to note that while the inclusion of partial completion of a degree, diploma or certificate was included in the case study, there is no information provided for these aspects in existing Ward 21 data, and thus the comparative focus will be on the major categories of the percentages having completed university, college, and high school. The average patron at Wychwood has a much higher education than what is typical for the surrounding area. In particular, patrons are university educated more than the average education demographics of Ward 21. Of the 98 people surveyed, 74% obtained a university degree, compared to 49% of the surrounding population. Fewer people surveyed at Wychwood went to college, 10%, compared to 12% of those living in Ward 21 (as seen in Figure 2). Very few patrons indicated that high school was the highest level of education achieved – only 8% surveyed indicated this compared to 20% of the neighbouring ward.

The rest of the population surveyed, shown in Figure 2, but not compared to the statistics of Ward 21, include those responding that they had completed some college or university (5%), some high school (1%) and other 1%. In the study conducted on Ward 21 (2006) 86% of those living in the area had obtained either a university, college, high school or apprenticeship degree, diploma or certificate, while 14% had no diploma, degree or certificate of any kind. These
educational levels are higher than the average for the city of Toronto, where 20% do not have a
degree, diploma or certificate, and 79.6% do have a combination of those specified above.

3.3 Demographic Results: Income

The participants were given categories from which to choose what income level most accurately
represented their household income presently. A comparison of income for women and men
who were surveyed at the farmers’ market is shown in Figure 3.

**Figure 3.** The household income of men women and men surveyed at Wychwood Farmers Market.

For both men and women between 31% -52% responded with an income of $110 000 plus for
their household. The next highest income bracket was $50 – 69 000 for women with 18.8%
stating they had an income within this bracket; 10.3% of men had a household income
between $50-109 000.
It should also be noted that, like the Wychwood case study, another study on the demographics of a farmers’ market found that both education and household income were vastly different from the existing area in which the farmers’ market was located. Slocum (2007) found that 27% of those surveyed had an income of $100 000 and up and in a New Jersey study it was found that two out of three patrons had a bachelor’s degree or higher, and an income of $60 000, which was twice high as the neighbourhood statistics (Govindsamy and Nayga, 1996). Similar findings were uncovered in this case study; a substantial portion of those surveyed at Wychwood had higher incomes in comparison with the neighbourhood.

Similar to the comparison involving education, the data gathered from Wychwood farmers’ market participants was compared to Ward 21 data (Toronto, 2006) and is shown in Figure 4.

**Figure 4.** Income levels of Wychwood Farmers’ Market patrons and Ward 21.
The biggest differences between the incomes of those surveyed at the Wychwood Farmers’ Market and those in the neighbourhood (Ward 21) can be found in the extreme high and the middle incomes. For the households earning less than $10 000 per annum, the percentages were very similar, with 4% in the Wychwood Case study, and 5.7% in the Ward 21 data. The largest gaps present in the income data are in the $10 000-29 999 ranges where 7% noted earning this in the Case study versus 20.7% in neighbourhood demographics. The $30 000 – 49 999 income level also showed a large discrepancy, with 11% reporting a household income in this bracket, compared to 20% in the existing neighbourhood incomes. Finally, the largest discrepancy was in the highest income bracket, $90 000 plus, where the farmers’ market participants reported 47.8% for this category compared to a much lower 29.9% average household income in this category for the neighbourhood. While one may assume that the convenient location, and the diversity of the area, would attract people from different income brackets, it does not. It seems that small percentages, those earning the highest income, are the ones in attendance on average, which is consistent with other studies. Possible reasons for this discrepancy will be discussed in later sections, when patrons’ opinions and reasons for shopping at the market are considered.
3.4 Demographic Results: Race, Culture and Ethnicity of Wychwood Farmers’ Market Patrons

In addition to collecting data on income and education, Wychwood patrons were also asked to identify themselves in terms of race, culture and ethnicity. The frequency of respondents answers are shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. The race, cultures, or ethnicities of Wychwood Farmers’ Market patrons

The question was left open ended with the intent to allow participants the chance to identify how they felt, rather than be forced to fit into a category. This question, being personal in nature, had some declined responses (n=7). As previously explained, if a person responded with a combination of race, culture or ethnicity, example – white/Jewish – the answer was counted equally for both white and for Jewish. This explains the appearance of a larger number of responses. In total there was 122 answers given to identify the patrons at the farmers’ market.
Most patrons identified as Canadian, either solely or in combination with other identification – for example Canadian/Jewish. Out of 122 responses, 48 indicated they were ‘Canadian’ (39% of those surveyed). The second largest ethnic identity category was Jewish, with a frequency of 14 responses of 122 (11.4%). This information compared to the existing data from Ward 21 (Toronto, 2006) is interesting. For existing demographic information, it was found that for ethnic identification, Jewish was the highest category with 9.3% of the entire population, and Canadian was much less frequent 4.4% for Ward 21 compared to 36% in the case study. At first glance, only physical characteristics can be noted, and with frequent visits to the market one would conclude that it is a predominantly ‘white space’. The answer ‘Canadian’ of course does not indicate white. A person of any race, ethnicity or culture can be born in Canada; similarly, someone who has emigrated from another county can rightfully identify as Canadian, just as someone who was born and raised in Canada can identify as Italian given their family heritage. This is why it should be noted that I observed the people answering the survey and made note of when the participant was a visible minority member and did not identify him or herself in a category that would express this. For example, if someone who the researcher would consider black identified as Canadian solely, a note would be made for the purpose of comparing to existing demographic data. This protocol did not add further information, however, since those that I would consider a ‘visible minority’ identified in a way that made it documentable.

Many farmers’ market patrons identified as ‘white’ with 35 responses out of 122 (29%). There are not directly comparable data for Ward 21 – where instead of identifying as ‘white’ the reverse was considered and a breakdown for visible minorities is given. In Ward 21, the community in which the Wychwood Farmers’ Market is located, 23% of the population identifies as a visible minority. The major group categorized as a visible minority identify as
Filipino 5.5% and black 5.2%. In the study conducted at the Wychwood Farmers’ market there was a very small representation of the population that could identify as a visible minority, even in the most predominant categories. There was only one patron that identified as Filipino (0.8%) and two patrons identified as black (1.7%). It seems that, similar to the income category, the farmers’ market attracts individuals that are not comparable to the ‘average’ neighbourhood resident. It seems that Wychwood follows a similar pattern to studies conducted in the United States that finds farmers’ markets to attract a white middle class, middle aged individual, regardless of the composition of the surrounding community.

There has been much discussion about farmers’ markets being attractive only to white upper class people who value organic food and this discussion only contributes to the belief that they pay for it because they understand the importance of local and/or organic food to the environment. The validity of this attitude has been questioned. Many markets within the United States have tried to address this issue by making markets more accessible in a number of ways, including making food stamps redeemable at the market, and lowering prices. Take barriers away, such as high prices, and location, and one may find that more diverse shoppers of organic or local foods do exist and they do value these things as much as white patrons (McKibben, 2008, p. 90). In the case of Wychwood farmers’ market, the location is already convenient, situated in a diverse income and diverse culture neighbourhood, but it is not inviting for these citizens. It is not correct to believe this is because of their disinterest in organic and from the farm produce. In a recent survey of organic food buyers, it was found that Asians, Native American’s, Hispanics and African Americans were more likely to seek out organic food thus showing it may be incorrect to assume that this desire is a ‘yuppie indulgence’ (McKibben, 2008, p. 90). From experience, Wychwood farmers’ market does not intentionally prohibit anyone for
attending – it is a very welcoming and open space, which seems to be community centered.

Recognizing that farmers’ markets are a business is important, but it is also important to consider that a market can remain profitable and still be inclusive; some of the busiest farmers’ markets within the United States are found in culturally diverse areas that accept food stamps (McKibben, 2008, p. 89). Wychwood is convenient in location, but perhaps is constructed, albeit subconsciously, to exclude those who do not fit into the community of the market. A more in-depth look at the reasons these individuals shop at Wychwood farmers’ market will be considered.
Chapter 4: Discussion of the Results: Interview Data

4.1 Introduction: Results of the Interview

Following the collection of demographic data, I was eager to have a more in-depth conversation with some of those who visit Wychwood Farmers’ market. The interview would be a chance to have a more personal discussion with the patrons, rather than the more formal distribution of surveys. The interview was conducted with 10 participants and gathered data on income, identity, education, and reasons why these patrons attend the farmers’ market (Appendix 8). This was accomplished by asking two questions: “What are the reasons you come to this market?” and “what makes shopping here an experience you wish to participate in?” The patrons were also encouraged to add to their responses by prompting them to add any additional information they felt was important.

I found that overall many people in the farmers’ market were friendly and wanted to participate. A large number of people, especially for the demographic surveys, asked what I was doing without waiting for me to approach them. Many of the patrons are regulars and can thus recognize when a ‘newcomer’ has set up in the market and their eagerness made the data collection a friendly and relaxing process. The excitement and buzz of the market is something that is felt immediately once on the premise – there are friendly greetings, waving across the room, vendors helping with shoppers’ bags, and even some patrons bringing coffee to the vendors. The manner in which I was welcomed, I believe, is a direct reflection of the atmosphere of the market itself – not surprisingly one of the reasons that many visitors said they attended.
I received a variety of responses from the participants regarding the reasons they shopped at the farmers market, but there were definite themes throughout the responses. While this is a small sample of the population of shoppers at the market, and a larger study would confirm if this is consistent among all shoppers, I feel that if I had obtained more interviews the answers would have continued along the same lines. This is only estimation, but it is based on the fact that many of the shoppers at the market share a number of characteristics, as seen in demographic data. These reasons are similar to those given in other studies that have surveyed why people participate in farmers’ markets. In a similar study by Payet, Gilles, & Howat (2005, p. 311) customers were surveyed over a four week period at various markets taking demographic information on age, sex, education, as well as reasons for shopping at the market. The reasons they found included satisfaction based on shopping locally, shopping outdoors, and meeting people.

4.2 The Interview: Demographic Results

A demographic survey was also conducted with the participants who were interviewed. In this demographic survey I asked the same questions regarding income, education, age, and ethnicity, race or nation. I also asked additional questions which included questions on the frequency with which the participant attends the market, how they arrive and the time it takes to arrive at the market. The demographic findings of this smaller sample size (n=10) was similar to that of the demographic survey, in that most participants had incomes over $110 000 and held a university degree. Five participants had a household income of $110 000 and up, and seven held a university degree. The average age of the participants, 44 years of age, was also very close to that of the previous 100 participants sampled, which was 47 years old.
The farmers’ market proved to be popular with the participants surveyed; four of the ten surveyed visited the market on a weekly basis. In total, two participants surveyed noted visiting the market every 2-3 weeks. Given that proximity and convenience are popular reasons for visiting the farmers’ market it is not surprising that patrons visit on a regular basis. In terms of arrival, it was not surprising that most of the people who shopped at the market lived close by and arrived on foot since many noted that convenience was a reason for visiting the market. Of the ten participants who were interviewed, eight either walked or rode their bicycle. The time each person took to arrive at the market by foot or bike varied from 2 minutes to 10 minutes. Both bicyclists travelled 2 minutes each, and those who came to the market on foot, a total of six participants, travelled from 3-10 minutes to get to the market. Even those who chose to drive to the market, 2 of the 10 interviewees, each took 5 minutes to arrive at the market.

4.3 Reasons for Shopping at the Wychwood Farmers’ Market: Positive Characteristics of Food, the Market and Other Reasons

There are many reasons people visit the Wychwood farmers’ market; when asked why they shop at the farmers’ market many participants gave reasons related to the importance of buying local produce, the desire for organic food, and food that comes from the farm. Still other market goers noted the welcoming atmosphere of the market, and stated that it provides a sense of community. Many of the reasons given in this case study are similar to previous studies that found that participants value the farmers’ market for providing a place to meet the community and to buy wholesome, healthy food (Slocum, 2007, p. 527). After compiling all of the reasons given for shopping at the market, I found that there were two main themes present. Notably, reasons
related to the good quality of food (n=27), and reasons related to positive market characteristics (n= 45) and finally a few responses that do not fit into the two main categories, Other (n=4).

These results can be viewed in Figure 6.

**Figure 6.** Reasons for shopping at the Wychwood Farmers’ Market grouped into three categories: the quality of food, the positive characteristics of the market, and other.

Each reason was counted according to the frequency of response, and then grouped under these main headings. If 5 participants noted that buying organic food was a reason for shopping at Wychwood, it was counted 5 times.

4.3.1 A Comparison of the Main Categories

When patrons were interviewed they were asked a series of questions that were meant to encourage discussion and variety of answers. This makes analysis richer and although a person maintained the ability to end their answer at any time, or refuse to add to it, the goal was to have a conversation rather than a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ question and answer period. Patrons were asked to
explain the reasons they shopped at the farmers’ market, then they were asked to reflect upon what the market experience has to do with their participation; lastly they were encouraged to add additional reasons. Each answer was grouped according to three categories – reasons related to the quality of food, reasons related to the positive aspects of the market, and unique reasons not fitting into either category. Each question was grouped individually and is shown Figure 7.

Figure 7. The frequency of answers given by surveyed Wychwood Patrons concerning the reasons they shop at the farmers’ market

In total, for all three questions, there were 77 reasons given for shopping at the market. These are not unique reasons, since many participants gave the same reason for shopping at the market and each time a reason was given it was counted. There were 27 reasons associated with the quality of food, 45 reasons regarding the positive characteristics of the market, and 4 reasons that were considered unique.
When asked the reasons for shopping at the farmers’ market, patrons specifically liked the quality of food which was mentioned 19 times; market characteristics was a close second, being mentioned 14 times, also shown in Figure 7. When patrons were asked to reflect on the aspects of the market that make them come back, the importance of the market itself was evident. Most patrons stated the market characteristics were the reason for returning. Patrons were also asked “Are there any other reasons you shop at this market?” Most participants used this question to expand further and to specify and explain situations, personal observations and reasons, rather than merely listing terms as was found to most common during initial discussions. An analysis of the detailed reasons given for shopping at Wychwood will be given in the subsequent section.

4.3.2 Reasons for Shopping at Wychwood Farmers’ Market: A Breakdown of Specific Reasons

Each category was broken down further, as indicated by the Reasons for Shopping at the Farmers’ Market: Categorizing Specific Reasons (Table 1) in order to get a more accurate picture of what was important to patrons at the farmers’ market and the in depth analysis can be seen in Table 1.
Table 1. Reasons for shopping at the Farmers’ Market: Categorizing Specific Reasons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quality of Food</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin of Food</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepared</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Characteristics of Food</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepared</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive Characteristics of Market</strong></td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity of People</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with Vendors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenient</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eco-conscious - do not need to drive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Environment</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmosphere</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of vendors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novelty</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Friendly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogs Allowed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other**                          | 4     |                      |       |
| My wife                           | 1     |                      |       |
| Support the Project               | 3     |                      |       |
| Resonable Prices                  | 1     |                      |       |
| Reasonable Prices                 | 1     |                      |       |
| My wife                           | 1     |                      |       |
The main reason for shopping at the farmers’ market was the sense of community or interacting with community members, with a total of 17 responses. The second most frequent response can be found under Food, further broken down into Origin of food, with the reason being to show their support for local food. There were 10 responses indicating that local food was a reason for shopping at the market. As seen in Table 1, location of the market, as in the proximity to their home, and the support or preference for organic food that can be purchased at the market were also popular responses, with a frequency of 7 and 6 respectively.

The positive characteristics of the market (n=45) provided the majority of reasons patrons visited the facility. Reasons related to market characteristics included people (n=20), the location of the market (n=8) and reasons related to the social environment (n=17). Food (n=27) was the second most popular reason for shopping at the market, with emphasis on health (n=4), the origin of the food (n=12), and characteristics of the food (n=13). Lastly, some unique answers, grouped under other’ (n=4) were also stated as reasons for shopping at the market. These were unique and could not be grouped under subcategories and are as follows – reasonable prices (n=1), the support of the project (n=3), a patron who comes because of his wife (n=1). It should be noted that two responses were not counted in the data as ‘reasons’ – two separate participants made mention that they shopped at Wychwood Farmers’ Market in spite of the lack of diversity. This is not a positive reason, and while important, does not fit accurately into the ‘reasons data’ for comparison.
4.4 Is it Really Just About Food? Wychwood Farmers’ Market and the Importance of Community

Community, as previously stated, was the most frequent response given for the overall reason for shopping at the Wychwood market, with 17 responses of the total 77 counted. Many of the patrons noted the importance of a sense of community, and the importance that their community attended this market – the sense of ownership over the market, the fact that it is in their neighbourhood created a sense of connection and relationship to one another even I felt as a new visitor. This attitude is similar to a market in Niagara, where the market was identified as a place for people to bond (Feagan, Morris, & Krug, 2004). As many at the Wychwood Farmers’ Market have pointed out, community is a key reason why they attend the market – to either establish new or existing relationships. Some noted the enjoyment they get from talking with those in the neighbourhood by stating “I get to talk to community members”; some referred to the market as “a place to come together, feel a part of something”. A sense of belonging seemed to be an important reason to come to the market, and the market place provided that to some attendees. Another participant noted the role of the other visitors and the impact it had on the experience - “real neighbourhood feel, lots of family and friends... it brings people together”; the patrons at Wychwood were proud to have this market in their community – it was obvious in their enthusiastic responses, to the explanations in our discussions. Some stated that they supported the project – Wychwood Artscape Barns was built in 2008 from converted streetcar barns, and was a community developed space. A reference was made to the actual building itself, rather than the people in it by stating that the building “[was the] best market in the city... like the redo of the building”. The patrons felt ownership of the market, since it was a community project. This could also play a role in the development of a community space and the feel one gets when shopping there. The focus on community shows the involvement and
importance placed on being a participant, rather than ‘just’ a consumer as one would be at the local grocery store.

At Wychwood Farmers’ Market many participants stated that the creation, feel and function of a community were important to their reasons for shopping at this particular market, but how does a market space achieve this? One such explanation is that the space supports interaction and relationships; it was found that more than 75% of patrons of a farmers’ market arrive in the company of others, and are four times more likely to interact with another patron or a vendor compared to their social interaction at traditional grocery stores (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005, p. 310). I noticed that many people arrived with friends or met up with friends – everyone seemed to know each other, and I was immediately recognized as a ‘new’ person at the market. It has been noted that farmers’ markets tend to increase social interaction in areas that were lacking in social cohesion (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005, p. 310). Wychwood, obvious to anyone that visits, is providing a space for people to come together and to interact, not just a space to shop.

4.4.1 Community: Conversations and Interactions Unique to Farmers’ Markets

Interaction with vendors, and between patrons, is one way to create or inhibit the creation of community among certain groups in the neighbourhood. Unlike shopping at a more traditional grocery store, there is an emphasis on dialogue at farmers’ markets through the increased communication between patrons, as well as between patrons and vendors. A market can be a space to address the needs of a community and find common ground to those who appear to have differences. At a grocery store, this interaction is lacking - it is not common to have a conversation with someone about the food you buy, or what you will do with it at home, but at a farmers’ market it is encouraged. A farmers’ market is often considered ‘food with a face’ and
traditionally tends to attract customers who care about product quality, market ambiance, convenience and price (Hinrichs & Lyson, 2007, p. 69). A 2005 survey of Greenbelt area farmers’ markets, that did not include central Toronto, found that customers were satisfied with the market location, variety and the quality of the food available, as well as the friendliness of vendors (Gurin, 2006, p. 12). The relationship between farmers and their customers is paramount to the success of the market, and this is the main cause that so many become regulars.

Patrons at Wychwood mentioned that speaking with vendors, with known friends, and new friends, was a great aspect of visiting the market. It is, therefore, not surprising that the sense of community was a major reason for visiting the farmers’ market at Wychwood. Networking (n=1) was also mentioned as a reason to visit the market – business relationship or even friendships were considered in the goal of visiting the market, which shows that buying food is not the sole goal of being a part of the market. The increase of community interaction found in previous studies was very important to the patrons at Wychwood as well (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005). Many mentioned a sense of belonging at the farmers’ market, and saw its potential to create a community among the neighbourhood. I personally witnessed many conversations about products between patrons. Discussions of where a certain type of potato was purchased and the introduction of a new patron to a vendor are common. Certainly, patrons are not making a profit from guiding friends to a farmers’ booth, but they do take a sense of pride in knowing the farmer, and knowing that a certain food tastes good. There is a certain pride in visibly seeing who sells the food, and passing on this knowledge makes one aware of how the community works, and how it fits together (McKibben, 2008, p. 105). The farmers’ also benefit from this interaction as well – not only from a financial stand point, but also from being a part of the community created at the farmers’ market. Farmers’ enjoy the interaction they have with their customers, and it is
often cited as a main reason why they choose to sell at a market; they get to know the people that buy their food and enjoy the conversations they have with their customers (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003). That connection becomes available to the shopper and thus it is important to discuss the impact that farmers’ markets can have on the creation or exclusion of community members, since they are such an integral part in the sustainable food system. A shopper is four times more likely to have an interaction with a vendor at a market, and this personal encounter can impact heavily on their comfort level, and even their willingness to come back to the market (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005).

4.4.2 Farmers’ Markets – the link Between Community and Health

The market can also be a place to address sustainability and health. Cheap and fast food, like the food that is prepared by microwave or bought at a fast food restaurant lacks many things such as nutrition and quality. People buy it perhaps because it is convenient and inexpensive. What many do not realize is that there are additional costs to buying this type of food – the cost of a community. When we shop at stores that specialize in food from faraway places, that are cheap and convenient, we make people unnecessary to the process (McKibben, 2008, p. 54). It was a treat to see the face of the farmer and be able to ask questions about how to cook with a new ingredient; for me, shopping at Wychwood filled a void I feel at the grocery store. Shopping at a farmers’ market allows people to see where the food comes from, and perhaps most importantly see the person who grew the food. The sense of community is also a key reason for many patrons that come and visit the farmers market at Wychwood, and has been a reason noted among many studies (Connell, Smithers, & Joseph, 2008; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Alkon A., 2008). The purchasing and cooking of the food also is a huge benefit to the customer. Perhaps cooking with raw materials – fresh vegetables and fruits, fresh meat – can take more time but the
role of eating such food can play a role in connecting the consumer to the community
(McKibben, 2008, p. 128). A positive experience within the community farmers’ market can
have positive implications reaching beyond the venue, often translating into positive home
experiences when patrons cook the food bought there. Even though farmers’ markets seem small
in size and impact, they are the fastest growing part of the new food economy (McKibben, 2008,
p. 3). As their popularity increases, and as they become a constant fixture in many communities
as a way to access food, the question of whether or not they are sustainable or equitable is very
important. If this is the way North Americans are eating, and it provides a lot of positive aspects
to the community – local, healthy, organic food, from the farm, then it is increasingly important
to reflect on how they are run and who has access to them.

4.4.3 The Desire for Local, Organic Food

The availability of fresh, good quality and healthy food, have been shown to be reasons for the
increase in people shopping at farmers’ markets. People are beginning to have a greater
understanding of the importance that their food choices have and this is apparent in the increase
of consumption of organic and local produce (Waters, 2003). A University of Maine farmers
market that sets up on Saturday morning much like Wychwood farmers’ market sells similar
types of food – baked goods, fresh produce, herbs, and organic foods (Govindasamy, Zurbriggen,
Italia, Adelaja, Nitzche, & VanVranken, 1998, page 92). It is not surprising that many patrons at
Wychwood focused their reasons on local and organic purchases as a reason for shopping at the
farmers’ market. At Wychwood, six people indicated that organic food was a top reason for
shopping there, and ten people noted that the fact the food was local was important; reasons such
as the food being from the farm (n=2) and fresh (n=5) were also given. The support and belief
that local produce is important was a strong theme among responses from market attendee’. One
patron expressed her belief that Wychwood offers quality food since they focus on “local produce, I like to support local farmers and farms, it is fresh”. That patron’s support is shared by another patron who believes that “the food is local” and expresses the importance of local food by stating “I like to support local business and food” as well as purchase “a lot of good organic food”.

The reasons for shopping at a farmers’ market concerning food says a lot more about community and sustainability than one might imagine. Food is a reflection on how our community functions, and how the economy in a community works (McKibben, 2008, p. 47). Food is often used as a gathering place, a way to communicate and relate to one another. Elbert van Donkersgoed of GTA Agricultural Action Committee believes that those who purchase local food at a farmers’ market do so because it tastes better, to help local farmers, and the local economy, it is fun and more sociable (Campise, 2008, p. 9). His belief is reflected in the literature, as well as by the findings of my study of Wychwood. There are also many environmental reasons for shopping at a farmers’ market, including concern for climate change and the harmful effects of pesticides sprayed on most agriculture (Campise, 2008).

At the farmers’ market, food is presented in a more sustainable way compared to the ‘same’ food that is bought at the grocery store which often travels up to fifteen hundred miles before it is consumed at the dinner table (McKibben, 2008, p. 47; 64). The desire to buy local food is a common reason for shopping at a farmers’ market, noted throughout various studies. At one such study in Maine, it was found that quality of products (72.5%) and the desire to support local farmers (59.6%) were the top two reasons for shopping at a farmers’ market (Kezis, Gwebu,
Peavey, & Cheng, 1998). Another participant noted that buying local is a luxury we may not have for long, and should thus support it by noting:

“I like to buy local, food comes from the farmers instead of Mexico and the United States – we should buy it while it is still available (from Canada)”.

The fear that our global economy does not support local business or food production was a concern to this patron and by buying local she feels she is encouraging the practice of localizing food production. Her concern that local food production is in jeopardy is a legitimate concern – Ontario has a huge reliance on imported food, and currently imports $4 billion more food than it exports (Ministry of Agriculture, 2006). Ontario does rely heavily on food from other countries, but many believe that we should support local farmers and what can be grown in Canada while we still can. It is unbelievable to some that there are only three days worth of fresh food in a city as large as Toronto, at any given time (Cook, 2007) – the concern that we should buy food “while it’s still available” demonstrates that some people see the need for local independence in food production, should something drastic happen to make the region vulnerable, such as a natural disaster, flu pandemic, terrorist attack, or an event that closes the boarder to trade (Campise, 2008, p. 13). Local food is not only important for environmental reasons, it is also important to ensure that food is secure and available. The availability of food at farmers markets ensures a direct path from the farm to the consumer.

The concern for authenticity has been shown to be a priority in previous studies, and many indicate that it is among the white narrative of shopping local, at a farmers’ market where “shopping local is shopping white” (Solcum, 2007, p. 527). “Shopping white” has a lot to do with perception: Americans frequented the St. Paul market because it was upscale and attributed
that fact to a better quality, local product; in fact, this perception was incorrect (pg.527). The shopping white narrative was also present at Wychwood; the quality and authenticity of the Wychwood market (n=1) was believed to be important to one shopper. Her statement, that “it is a real farmers market where the actual Ontario farmers grow it and sell it – [the food is] grown and sold by them” indicates that she feels that other markets do not adhere to a policy of selling food directly from farmers. Authenticity is, perhaps, another key term related to food, since the notion of a “real farmers’ market” – the idea that shoppers know where the food comes from at this market opposed to others or in opposition to the grocery store. This perception, that food can be expected to be ‘good, proximate, wholesome, and local’ is called, by Slocum, a white narrative of space (Solcum, 2007, p. 527). The support of local farmers and the importance of farms in general seemed to be supported. The notion that food was good simply because it is sold at the farmers’ market, where all food is to be assumed organic can also be seen among the reasons stated in this category.

4.4.4 The Question of who Visits the Market

As previously discussed, the lack of diversity at Wychwood farmers’ market was discovered by the results of the demographic survey, as well as the demographic data of those participating in the interview. I will again reiterate that lack of proximity to a diverse population does not seem to be the underlying reason for a lack of diversity of patrons. Ward 21 is a fairly diverse neighbourhood, which is not reflected in the patrons at the market. The idea that proximity makes or breaks the inclusion of a diverse population at a farmers market has been disputed. It is not as simple as creating a market in a culturally diverse neighbourhood, much like Ward 21 where Wychwood Artscape barns are located, and believing that inclusivity will be accomplished automatically. The mentality of ‘if you build it they will come’ does not guarantee diversity, and
that can be seen in the discontent of those patrons who stated they come “in spite of a lack of diversity”. As we have seen, it is not enough to build community-based projects in diverse neighbourhoods and assume that it will be inclusive or accessible to everyone. Somehow these projects are still excluding part of the community they may or may not hope to reach; it is the farmers’ market that draws nearly exclusively white participants who take the time to speak to the one black worker who offers ethnic food and go home feeling accomplished in abolishing oppression (Solcum, 2007, p. 524). This exact statement could be made about Wychwood – it is a welcoming place for me, as a privileged white person who resides in the neighbourhood, and it was made with no intention to exclude anyone. I cannot imagine a single person speaking against or even secretly believing that diversity should not be welcomed and celebrated at this market. Perhaps what is at play is the ideal that proximity is enough – the ignorance about the exclusion that can occur just by simply the ‘massing of bodies’ and the white link to wealth, cars, leisure time that makes others uncomfortable. Even the knowledge or promotion that diversity is welcomed and encouraged may not distract from the fact that diverse individuals may not feel ‘right’ when entering (Solcum, 2007, p. 524). No one wants to feel different and by creating the environment the way it is, on white terms and with white hegemony, it is an exclusion that is not necessarily intended but is imposed nonetheless (Solcum, 2007).

This lack of diversity was not lost on some patrons at the market and there were two who confided that this was a problem. While most of the responses were positive, the only negative ones were about the lack of diversity. Why didn’t more patrons discuss this? Perhaps it is not something you notice when you are among the privileged group. One such patron noted he comes here because his “wife likes it better” but he prefers Spadina market since “it is more diverse”. Another patron unknowingly spoke on the little difference that proximity of the
market can have on welcoming a diverse population – as we have seen with the discrepancy between demographics of the market and demographics of the neighbourhood. When asked to discuss the reasons she shopped at the farmers’ market she noted that it was “great for neighbourhood since it is healthy and there is excitement in shopping here, makes health more fun/accessible”. This statement is very positive and brings about a lot of the same points as other patrons – she recognizes the many positive aspects of farmers’ markets, but she also wonders aloud ‘where have all the ‘others’ gone?’ It is in this moment, that her voice is lowered when she states she “has noticed that since the move from the church it is not as ‘mixed’ in diversity, more monochromatic, she felt more types of people walked past it (at St. Michaels & All Angels) and therefore shopped there, now not so much”. To me, the mannerism of her inquisition is interesting – it was as if she felt she was letting out a big secret that no one else had recognized, but that she wasn’t sure if she should even mention it. The lack of diversity was left out of my tabulation – as previously mentioned – as it is not a ‘reason to shop’ it is something that those who recognize it, and shop ‘in spite of’ the concern (Table 1). It should be reiterated that the Wychwood farmers’ market was held at St. Michaels & All Angels church for a number of years, before the construction of the Artscape Barns space in 2008. Interestingly, the location of the ‘old’ famers’ market is a block away from the Barns. It is so close that one can see the corner which the church stands on from the front of the Artscape Barns. What makes this space so different from one a block away?

With the lack of diversity at the market, and the misrepresentation of the diversity of the neighbourhood, it seems odd that a move of a few blocks could potentially make a difference in clientele. It could be that the space alone has been created with ‘white’ ideals in mind – the space is much more boutique and upscale and from personal experience so are the prices. It also
could be that the prices were increased – the move was to an indoor upscale venue and perhaps a higher price could be demanded based on this. Data on previous prices does not exist, so the latter is merely speculation on my part. What I can conclude is that the change in location does not change the fact that it is still potentially available to the same crowd. Farmers’ markets attempt to increase access and availability of food and often the presence of whiteness can take ownership of ‘health’ ‘organic’ and ‘local’ creating a white ideal. These ideals are not intrinsically white but become white in the objectives and strategies when creating a space of access to food (Solcum, 2007, p. 526). It is the creation of a white culture that makes it obvious to others that while it is assumed they are welcomed they are not really included in the creation and presentation of the market itself. It seems that once the new space was created a dominant white hegemony was taken up as well. It is comparable to the drastic difference in inclusion to farmers’ markets in West Oakland and Berkeley. While West Oakland constructed the farmers’ market based on empowerment of the ‘other’, Berkeley catered to a desire for a boutique style based on the fad of being ‘green’ in society today (Alkon, 2008). It should be noted that these two markets were compared due to their location in different income and race areas – Wychwood and its former location are in the ‘same’ location, so in this case that is not a factor; the architecture has changed as previously mentioned – from a small outdoor market compared to an indoor/outdoor store-like structure. It is useful though to consider how Berkeley and Oakland are constructed and the possible similarities that Berkeley may have with Wychwood. Slocum (2007) focuses on what white bodies, those considered ‘white’ by society, do and how they shape these environments by their actions (Solcum, 2007, p. 521). She believes that whiteness does not necessarily indicate a space with white bodies that it is hegemonic within the United States, and is more about the construction of the space rather than the exact numbers of white bodies within
it (Solcum, 2007, p. 521). It is the ideals, the way that the space is formed, who enters it and who does not and for what reasons, which are all related to the hegemonic whiteness of a space. In this sense, it is possible that even increasing the effort to include diversity at Wychwood farmers’ market, and that effort coming to fruition, is not the answer to the problem of whiteness. The number of diverse bodies does not mean a place is not adhering or reinforcing ideals of whiteness. To study a space with the hegemony of whiteness is different from tallying the number of white people versus others, but this is a starting point. Slocum (2007) is quick to point out that the existence of those of colour within a space does not mitigate the ‘whiteness’ of a space, and that the desire for local, organic food is not a white ideal and has been documented across nearly every culture. It is, perhaps, the white narrative and perceived ownership that whites have over the importance of ‘organic’ and ‘local’ food – the ability to place that importance over affordable price that makes others uncomfortable.

How can food and the space it is sold in, be white? The way the food is produced, sold, packaged, the discussion of health, environmental integrity, and the knowledge it takes to understand these, are taken up as white ideals (Solcum, 2007, p. 526). It is, again, the conflation of having time, leisure time, wealth, and education with knowing what is ‘environmentally friendly much like at the Berkeley market (Alkon, 2008). It is the process of ignoring knowledge found through experience, and passed down through generations, and perhaps excluding the social and cultural aspect of what is rolled into ‘sustainability’ that makes it a white space. The farmers’ market has the potential to address social exclusion by creating a community where everyone is welcome through the subjects of health, and access to local food, a cause that any person would support regardless of race or culture (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005, p. 313).
4.4.5 Convenience, Location and Atmosphere as Reasons to Shop at Wychwood

Other reasons related to the market characteristics category, were also present. Location, with a frequency of 7 responses was also a notable reason for attending the market: “It is handy being close by... live two doors from here”; and a reference such as the market is “close by” and makes it a great convenient location to shop. I feel that the notion of convenience is important – it is a natural and correct assumption to make that people, by nature, will do what is convenient for them. If a market is close by, I would assume that I would be more likely to attend it rather than choosing a far location that costs more of my time, money, and gas to get to. The fact that proximity is valued by Wychwood patrons is not surprising, yet it does make one aware that proximity is not the answer to having an inclusive market. Being close does not mean that everyone will feel welcome.

The atmosphere of the market was an essential part of the reasons people shop at Wychwood. One patron expanded on the atmosphere saying “there is excitement in shopping here”. This is consistent with the views of patrons studied at other markets, where many note that there is more of an ‘experience’ shopping at a farmers’ market then at a regular chain store (Hinrichs & Lyson, 2007, pp. 78-81). The relationship with vendors, explored briefly in the discussion regarding the community of the market can also be explored here. The interaction between the farmers’ and the patrons also contributes to the atmosphere that is created at the market – the shopping experience. The enjoyment of farmers’ and the pleasure they take in their job also contributes to the atmosphere of enjoyment and excitement. Surveys of vendors in California and New York cite enjoyment as a major reason, usually second to profit, for selling at a market (Alkon A., 2008; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003). Many patrons develop a relationship with the vendors and
vendors get to know the people who buy their food, enjoy the conversations they have with their customers (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003). It was easy to observe that the farmers at Wychwood take pride in their produce – they grew it and feed it to their families – and the cooperative atmosphere among vendors contributes to the atmosphere of the market. The relationship between vendors, exhibited by watching each other’s stands, defending another farmer if a customer were to complain about them, directing them to a stall when asked for an item they personally do not have contributes to the atmosphere of the market (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003).

This response came under the category ‘social environment’ – and this indicates that the novelty of the market was appreciated. The novelty of the market was noted by two participants, with one stating he or she “liked to try new things”. This could be in reference to the market itself or the unique food that is purchased there. Many believe the nature of the market – a public, welcoming space, that punctuates the neighbourhood for only a limited time period, causes people to have a greater appreciation for it (Hinrichs & Lyson, 2007). A market can draw people in and experiences foot traffic different from that of a shopping plaza, and it supports the desire to try new experiences. Patrons are less likely to take services and products offered at the market for granted since they are only there for a limited time (Hinrichs & Lyson, 2007, pp. 78-81).

4.5 What about Price?

The case study at Wychwood shares a number of characteristics with existing literature – as noted above, the main reasons for visiting a farmers’ market seem to be shared among Wychwood patrons – local, organic, fresh produce and an atmosphere that is conducive to a community feel. This is nearly identical to the studies mentioned previously as well as another one conducted by Nelson, (1985) who found that the main reasons that people shop at markets include: price,
quality, freshness, price savings and social atmosphere. What is unique to some markets, Wychwood included, is the general absence of concern about price. It seems interesting to me that at a place where things are bought that at least some patrons interviewed would make mention of the prices – whether they are reasonable or expensive. Barring the fact that many come to the market for socializing purposes, an almost equal number did mention they came for the quality of produce – still no mention of price. There are studies, however, which support a general disregard for the prices at a farmers’ market, which could be consistent with the socio-economic status of shoppers; many patrons have an income which allows them to be unconcerned with price. Similar to a study conducted at a farmers’ market in Maine, the purchases made by Wychwood patrons were not affected by price. A 1995 survey of a Maine farmers’ market found that only 10.7% of patrons mentioned that a good price would be important for them to continue shopping there (Kezis, Gwebu, Peavey, & Cheng, 1998, p. 95). At Wychwood only one person (1% of those surveyed) even mentioned price at all and that was to say it was reasonable. In Maine, only 10.7% listed price as important – they were asked if they would be willing to pay more for those items grown and sold at a farmers’ market compared to a grocery store; close to 75% said that they would be willing to pay more for food at a farmers’ market, with the average increase in price that is acceptable, being 17% (Kezis, Gwebu, Peavey, & Cheng, 1998, p. 98). This perhaps points to the privilege of those in attendance at the market. They are willing to pay more, since they have more than others living in the neighbourhood. They have the option to pay more. A survey of those at an Australian farmers’ market also indicated that over 40% of patrons had ‘no interest’ in comparing prices (Payet, Gilles, & Howat, 2005, p. 311).
4.6 The Importance of Equal Access to Farmers’ Markets

As previously discussed, farmers markets are becoming more important to the food system since they are a sustainable way to gain access to local, healthy food. People are beginning to have a greater understanding of the importance that their food choices have and this is apparent in the increase of consumption of organic and local food. This desire is shared by diverse types of people (Waters, 2003). This desire for healthy and organic food should be met with equitable access for everyone and farmers’ markets can be a way to do it. Farmers markets are a community of social and economic institutions that can be keystones for building more localized food systems (Hinrichs & Lyson, 2007, p. 66). By developing community, and joining seemingly separate building blocks, such as social and economic factors, farmers’ markets join local food systems with communities. Places like Wychwood make local produce visible, incubate small businesses, and create an environment where economic and social interactions are joined (Hinrichs & Lyson, 2007, p. 66). It is therefore important to support farmers’ markets and the sustainable lifestyles they can foster – it is essential, however, that the creation of farmers’ markets include an inclusive atmosphere and combat any ‘whiteness’ that may be inherent in its creation.

Farmers’ Markets are also a way to help combat hunger in a local food system if they provide equal access. A considerable number of people in Toronto are experiencing hunger. While this is a complicated political issue with many layers, a farmers’ market that acts as an equitable space can perhaps combat some of the issues with access. I strongly feel that the intentions of The Stop, in the support of the Wychwood farmers’ market, are trying to create new ways to combat hunger, as they say with dignity. A survey conducted in April 2008 – March 2009 found that the total number of client visits in Toronto and the GTA to a food bank was 1,030,568 – this number
has been increasing steadily for nine years in a row, and has increased 9% in Toronto in the past year alone (Oliphant, Matern, Chackal, & Singer, 2009, p. 6). Hunger is often an issue that hits children the hardest, and in Toronto over one third of food bank users are children and youth under 18 years of age; a large portion of food bank users are educated at the post-secondary level, with 26% of those having a college or university degree; 72% identify as a Canadian citizen, and 14% are landed immigrants – 49% of respondents were born outside of Canada, and 21% have been in Canada for less than one year (Oliphant, Matern, Chackal, & Singer, 2009).

One of the main reasons for hunger can be attributed to a lack of access to affordable food. There is no lack of food in Toronto and surrounding areas, it is the equitable access to food that presents a barrier – for those who visit the food bank, a lack of money for food costs is a major issue since their median income is $980/month, and on average 76% of that income goes to rent or mortgages (pg.3, Oliphant, Matern, Chackal, & Singer, 2009). This speaks to larger problems, such as housing costs, the low contribution the government makes to the needy, among other things. It clearly indicates the importance of equitable access to food in a dignified and affordable way. Farmers’ markets could be a part of the solution, rather than a venue where whiteness and exclusionary practices build barriers to food security. As previously mentioned food security includes access to a wide variety of food, both personally and culturally appropriate, at reasonable prices (Campbell, Katamay, & Connolly, 1988; Toronto Food Policy, 1994; Alkon & Norgaard, 2009). Community food security includes sustainable practices necessary for environmental success, but also incorporates people into the success – the human race cannot achieve sustainability without equitable access to sustainable practices, such as farmers markets (Alkon & Norgaard, 2009). When we include social justice and equity the approach shifts to looking at issues on a community level – food security at the community level,
can create linkages between food consumption and production and it can promote peoples’ participation in life changing decisions about food (Jacobson, 2007). If farmers’ markets can open up the space to be more welcoming to everyone in different economic circumstances, perhaps not only could society benefit more fully from the sustainable aspects, but everyone could enjoy the community these markets create, and the educational aspects of knowing where our food comes from.

Food is a life good – which is why it is essential that farmers’ markets, a viable sustainable way to procure healthy food, should be available to all people in a given neighbourhood (Sumner, 2003). Food is about pleasure, community, family and spirituality, a relationship to the natural world, and culture; farmers’ market and the relationship with food it supports can be a source of education. Food is often chosen for environmental or ethical reasons that are important to developing a relationship to food; this relationship can also be fostered in the way food is eaten – cooking and being actively involved in the process of gathering and cooking teaches generations the idea of mutual responsibility, caring and love of families (Waters, 2003). It may be difficult to get children involved but it is essential – they need to learn from birth that healthy nutritious food, as well as the act of eating it together, is the most beneficial way to eat. Learning to use their senses through food helps them to communicate better – it should be available to everyone, not just the rich (Waters, 2003).
Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Can we Embrace Farmers’ Markets and Can they Embrace Equity?

To those who can access them, farmers’ markets have been shown to have many positive aspects and benefits. I am not suggesting that we should scrap the idea of farmers’ markets altogether – quite on the contrary. The function of farmers’ markets as sustainable practices should not be ignored. Farmers’ markets are important since they exist outside of the global market exchange – they bring production and distribution ‘home’ as opposed to from far away. Markets like Wychwood are a part of the local food supply chain that should be celebrated, especially since many proponents of Toronto’s Green Belt agriculture fear for its ability to survive (Gurin, 2006, p. 10). Farmers’ markets can combat the ignorance about the food we eat – over the process of production and of the presentation of a disembodied final product (Sumner, 2003). Making farmers’ markets equitable may be no small task. From the perspective of price it is sometimes difficult for a farmer to sell his or her food for the same price as food that is shipped from far away- simply because there is not the support systems available to create the right balance of providing farmers’ with a fair wage and still providing local food at a competitive price (Gurin, 2006, p. 19). More supports within the system that utilizes not only the land we have available for sustainable agriculture, but supports the talents of the farmers’ who use this land are needed in order to make this successful. The Greenbelt in Toronto’s surrounding area has the potential to reward farmers, who are providing food to customers at a reasonable price, and entrenching the value of local food if farmers’ markets selling these products are made available (Gurin, 2006, p. 19). Education, especially at the elementary level, is imperative to introducing good,
fresh food to children, and farmers’ markets can play a key role in developing this appreciation. The Stop sees this, and offers the facilities of Wychwood Barns to local schools, but there is no linkage with the market itself. The atmosphere of a market is alluring and alight with activity – children would love to be a part of this safe and welcoming environment and schools can visit local markets, or invite farmers to their classroom, to get them excited about food and the health benefits of local food. What can be done about the discrepancy between those who visit the market, and those that live in the area and do not attend these markets? Perhaps expanding the focus of Wychwood to include equity and sustainable food production, would be a start. A new market can focus on building alley’s across the ‘barriers’ of race and privilege by making inclusion in the planning process mandatory for a new venue. By this I mean not only consultation with the neighbourhood, but the use of those ideas that represent the diverse communities present. The focus on farmers’ markets should be on what people in the neighbourhood have in common, as well as based upon the unique set of cultural knowledge that exists – the market can draw on this knowledge by introducing container gardening of plants native to a variety of cultures, seed swapping days and education on culturally relevant food. The incorporation of sustainability with community is essential – including diversity within decision making, focusing on empowering rather than charitable donations, as well as opening up the space to everyone within the neighbourhood to increase the comfort level of those who do not attend. This can be done by having affordable, culturally relevant food. For Wychwood, I think the first step would be acknowledging that, while the best of intentions are present, there are areas of improvement. This improvement should be a priority. It is a great farmers’ market, for some…but it has, in my opinion, the potential to be an excellent market for all.
Works Cited


Appendices

Appendix 1. Distribution of Toronto’s alternative food sources – Farmers’ Markets, Good Food Box Programs and Community Garden
Appendix 2. Distribution of income levels in the Toronto area
Appendix 3

Sample of Verbal Consent Script – Demographic survey

Researcher

- Hello. How are you doing?

- My name is Rachelle Souliere and I am a University of Toronto master’s student studying sociology and equity studies and environmental studies. I am conducting a case study at Wychwood Farmers’ market. Is it possible that I speak with you for a moment about my research, and perhaps have your participation?

- The title of my thesis project is Farmers’ Markets and their practices concerning income, privilege and race: A Case Study of Wychwood Artscape Barns in Toronto.

- I am collecting demographic information about the patrons at the farmers’ market in a short survey. With your help, I hope to paint a picture of a typical shopper at this market. There are no known risks if you decide to participate in this research study, nor are there any costs for participating in the study. All of your information is confidential. The information you provide will help me get insight to what aspects of the market are sustainable and equitable, and suggest ways to improve the experience of shopping at the market.

- Do you have any questions? (Before asking them if they would like to participate I will answer any questions or discuss concerns they may have)

- Would you like to participate?

- I will then hand them the survey; upon completion I will ask if there are any more questions and thank them for their participation.
Appendix 4: Sample of verbal consent script – Reason’s interview

Researcher

- Hello. How are you doing?
- My name is Rachelle Souliere and I am a University of Toronto master’s student studying Sociology and Equity studies and environmental studies. I am conducting a case study Wychwood Farmers’ market. Is it possible that I speak with you for a moment about my research, and perhaps have your participation?
- The title of my thesis project is Farmers’ Markets and their practices concerning income, privilege and race: A Case Study of Wychwood Artscape Barns in Toronto. What I am doing today is collecting demographic information as well as interviewing people about the reasons they shop at the market.

- With your help, I hope to discover ways to make the shopping experience more enjoyable and more equitable for the community. There are no known risks if you decide to participate in this research study, nor are there any costs for participating in the study. All of your information will be confidential. The information you provide will help me get insight to what aspects of the market are sustainable and equitable, and suggest ways to improve the experience of shopping at the market. It will take approximately 5 minutes.
- Do you have any questions? (I will answer any questions they have)
- Can I count on your participation?
Appendix 5

(to be printed on department letterhead)

INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM
FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION IN A DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Farmers’ Markets and their practices concerning income, privilege and race: A Case Study of Wychwood Artscape Barns in Toronto

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Rachelle Soulliere

SUPERVISING INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Margrit Eichler

July 1, 2009

Thank you for your participating in this study. I am a student enrolled in Sociology and Equity Studies/Environmental Studies, University of Toronto and I am conducting this research as part of my Master’s in Education, and your participation makes this possible.

Description and Purpose of Research

Visiting a farmers’ market, such as Wychwood Barn, is always an interesting experience. Wychwood is new to the community and there are many opportunities to meet new people, shop, and learn. I personally want to take the opportunity to learn more about the shopping experience at Wychwood farmers’ market and for this I need help of community members like you. I am conducting a case study at Wychwood Barns to discover what the average patron looks like, and what the reasons are for shopping at this farmers’ market.
Risks and Benefits

I am conducting a demographic survey that will collect statistical information in the form of a questionnaire. There are no known risks or costs of participating and it will only take a minute. The information you provide will help me get insight to what aspects of the market are sustainable and equitable, and suggest ways to improve the experience of shopping at the market.

Confidentiality

All participation is voluntary and any information collected will be kept confidential. No identifying information will be used in any reports.

All of the information collected will be kept confidential and used only for the purposes of this case study. There will be no way to identify who has participated in the survey, as no names will be taken.

Again, if you have any questions please feel free to ask at any time or contact Office of Research Ethics, McMurrich Building, 12 Queen's Park Crescent W, 3rd Floor; Telephone: 416-946-3273; E-mail: ethics.review@utoronto.ca

Thank you,

Sincerely,

Rachelle Soulliere
Appendix 6

INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION IN AN INTERVIEW

Farmers’ Markets and their practices concerning income, privilege and race: A Case Study of Wychwood Artscape Barns in Toronto

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Rachelle Soulliere
SUPERVISOR: Dr. Margrit Eichler

July 1, 2009

Thank you for your participating in this study. I am a student enrolled in Sociology and Equity Studies/Environmental Studies, University of Toronto and I am conducting this research as part of my Master’s in Education, and your participation makes this possible.

At the end of this letter, you will find a place to indicate your intent to participate; if you wish to participate please sign and date one of the letters and return it to me; you may keep the other letter for you reference. You may return the letter unsigned if you do not wish to participate. Please feel free to ask any questions you may have regarding the study at any time.

Description and Purpose of Research

Visiting a farmers’ market, such as Wychwood Barn, is always an interesting experience. Wychwood is new to the community and there are many opportunities to meet new people, shop, and learn. I personally want to take the opportunity to learn more about the shopping experience at Wychwood
farmers’ market and for this I need help of community members like you. I am conducting a case study at Wychwood Barns to discover what the average patron looks like, and what the reasons are for shopping at this farmers’ market.

Risks and Benefits

With your help, I hope to discover ways to make the shopping experience more enjoyable and more equitable for the community. It is a small time commitment of approximately five minutes. There are no known risks or costs of participating, just the satisfaction of helping in academic research. The information collected may not benefit you directly, but it may help the Wychwood community and those attending the farmers’ market.

Confidentiality

All participation is voluntary and any information collected will be kept confidential. No identifying information will be used in any reports.

This interview is anonymous. If you choose to participate, do not write your name on the questionnaire. You will be assigned a participation number to protect your anonymity.

Again, if you have any questions please feel free to ask at any time or contact:
Office of Research Ethics, McMurrich Building, 12 Queen's Park Crescent W, 3rd Floor;
Telephone: 416-946-3273; E-mail: ethics.review@utoronto.ca

Thank you,

Sincerely,

Rachelle Souliere
To be completed by Participants

I have read this consent form. I understand what is being asked of me.

I agree to participate in this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time.

If I do not wish to participate in the research, I can just return the unsigned form to the student researcher.

__________________________ (Signature)  ________________ (Date)

__________________________ (Printed name)
Appendix 7

Demographics

Study ID #___________ Date ____________

1. Age ______

2. Sex: ___ Male ___ Female

3. How do you identify in terms of race, ethnicity or nation? _____________________

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (Choose one)

☐ University degree
☐ College or other Non-University diploma/certificate, including apprentice
☐ Some college or some university
☐ High School Diploma or Equivalent
☐ Some High School
☐ Other

5. Household Income – please choose one

☐ Under $10 000
☐ $10,000 – $29,999
☐ $30,000 – $49,999
☐ $50,000 - $69,999
☐ $70,000 - $89,999
☐ $90,000 – $109,999
☐ $110,000 or more
Appendix 8

_Reasons associated with shopping at the farmers’ market_

Study ID #__________ Date__________

1) Can you tell me the reasons you shop at this farmers’ market? What makes shopping here an experience you wish to participate in?

2) Are there any other reasons you shop at this market?

Notes:

_For use of the researcher_
Demographics

Study ID #____________ Date ____________

1. Age ______

2. Sex:     ___ Male   ___ Female

3. How do you identify in terms of race, ethnicity or nation? _____________________

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (Choose one)

☐ University degree
☐ College or other Non-University diploma/certificate, including apprentice
☐ Some college or some university
☐ High School Diploma or Equivalent
☐ Some High School
☐ Other

5. Household Income – please choose one

☐ Under $10 000
☐ $10 000 – $29 999
☐ $30 000 – $49 999
☐ $50 000 - $69 999
☐ $70 000 - $89 999
☐ $90 000 – $109 999
☐ $110 000 or more

How often do you shop at this market (choose one):

☐ Once a month
☐ 2-3 times a month
☐ Every week

How did you arrive at the market today?
☐ By foot
☐ By Bicycle
☐ By public transportation
☐ By car

Approximately how long did it take you to arrive at the market?

(in minutes/hour; eg. 10)